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**RAISE THE ARMED REVOLUTION
TO A NEW AND HIGHER LEVEL:
MESSAGE TO ALL COMRADES**

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CONDEMN THE MODERN REVISIONISTS,
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UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT**



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Joint Declaration
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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.

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Raise the Armed Revolution to a New and Higher Level

Message to All Comrades

**By Armando Liwanag
Chairman, Central Committee
Communist Party of the Philippines
December 26, 1996**

On behalf of the Central Committee, I extend warmest greetings of comradeship to all the Party cadres and members on the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

We congratulate you for all the victories in the course of the Second Great Rectification Movement. We have expanded and consolidated the mass base for carrying out the national-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. We have the confidence to lead the intensification of guerrilla warfare and the mass movement.

Let us celebrate our significant successes and allow these to resound. However, let there be no room for complacency. Let our successes inspire us to pursue the revolutionary struggle ever more vigorously. Let us constantly improve our style of hard work and arduous struggle. Let us continue to rectify and overcome our errors and shortcomings through comradely criticism and self-criticism. Let us unite more than ever before and work ever harder to carry the Philippine revolution forward.

I. All-Round Achievements of the Party

The Communist Party of the Philippines is stronger than ever before as it continues to win all-round victories in ideology, politics and organization in carrying out the critical and constructive tasks of the rectification movement.

All Party cadres and members adhere to the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. They uphold and strive to apply this on the concrete conditions of the Philippines and on the concrete practice of the Philippine revolution. They have learned important lessons from the rich accumulation of positive and negative experiences in 28 years of continuous revolutionary struggle.

They have tested and tempered themselves in all-round revolutionary struggle against the imperialists and the local reactionaries as well as against the subjectivists, revisionists and the "Left" and Right opportunists. Using the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, they have gone repeatedly through the dialectical process of study and practice.

As a result of the Second Great Rectification Movement, the ideological level of the Party's rank and file and their revolutionary commitment of service to the people have risen. At the core of the Party are old and new cadres who have educated and trained themselves in the course of the rectification movement and revolutionary struggle against the enemy.

The Party has stood forthrightly against the modern revisionists and the capitalist-roaders in other countries where socialism had long been betrayed. It has won the respect of proletarian revolutionaries throughout the world by undertaking the rectification movement and by clarifying the Marxist-Leninist position for socialism against modern revisionism in the face of the imperialist ideological and political offensive.

The Second Great Rectification Movement has undergone two major phases. The first is identifying, criticizing and repudiating

major errors and shortcomings for which the central leadership has been responsible. The second is dealing with errors and shortcomings arising at the level of specific organs and units, with or without the influence of errors and shortcomings from above.

The dialectical relationship of the two phases has enriched the living study of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The process involves the initiative of both the Central Committee and the lower organs of leadership. The departure of the incorrigible opportunists and liquidationists has enhanced this process. Comradely criticism and self-criticism has been promoted as a scientific method for raising the level of unity and fighting will and capabilities of the entire Party and the people.

Formal Party courses at the primary, intermediate and advanced levels are enthusiastically being undertaken. Party organs and units have taken the basic Party course and regional Party cadres, the intermediate course. All Party organs and units are being encouraged to move ahead in the reading and study of Marxist-Leninist texts. These texts are being reproduced and circulated, with the use of traditional and modern methods.

All Party cadres and members resolutely and militantly adhere to the general line of new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war in correspondence to the analysis of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution. The proletariat holds the class leadership and the perspective is socialist.

Together with the broad masses of the people, the Party pursues the general political line of struggle for national liberation and democracy to overthrow by armed force the ruling system of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class and defeat their imperialist masters, chiefly US and Japanese imperialism. The Ramos regime is the current chief representative of the ruling system. It is the enemy escalating the oppression and exploitation of the broad masses of the people.

The political line is sharpened by resolute revolutionary struggle not only against the violence and deception perpetrated by the US-Ramos regime but also against "Left" and Right opportunism and the thinly disguised counterrevolutionary line of the renegades and various types of anticommunist petty-bourgeois grouplets that the enemy is using in the anti-CPP psychological warfare in the US-instigated low-intensity conflict.

With the correct ideological and political line, the Party strengthens itself as the advanced detachment of the proletariat and as the vanguard of the Filipino people in the Philippine revolution. By leading the New People's Army, the CPP differentiates itself in principle and in practice from all those that pretend to be Left but take a reformist position against the revolutionary movement.

As a result of the rectification movement, the Party cadres and members have widened and deepened the revolutionary mass base, have recovered many of the areas lost because of "Left" and Right opportunist errors and have expanded into new areas. The mass base is more than ever ready for the intensification of guerrilla warfare nationwide. The regional Party committees and the guerrilla front commands can form, train and direct combat units to carry out tactical offensives, using flexible tactics.

Under the guidance of the central leadership and the closer direction of the regional Party committees, the guerrilla front commands can collect accurate information for discovering or creating opportunities for tactical offensives and assign the fighters for the core combat units, rotate them periodically for combat duty and mass work and augment their strength with small units or with fighters who know best the target and the pertinent social, political and physical terrain.

In the course of the rectification movement, the New People's Army has carried out tactical offensives and other armed operations and campaigns in the strategic defense of the people and in

securing the advance of revolutionary mass work. In accordance with the demands of the masses, it is high time to raise the level of revolutionary armed struggle within the capabilities of the revolutionary forces and the masses. The NPA must launch only the tactical offensives that they are capable of winning and must let the enemy punch the air when he comes in superior force and there is no way to defeat him.

Land reform is being carried out as the main content of the democratic revolution. The minimum land reform program of rent reduction, elimination of usury, raising of farm wages, improving farm-gate prices and promoting production is being pursued vigorously. It needs to be carried out on a wide scale, especially in new areas as well as in recovered areas where previous gains in land reform have been lost. In only a few areas has land rent been reduced to as low as 10 percent of the crop. In far more areas, the antifeudal struggle needs to be revived or even launched for the first time.

The preliminary organ of political power, the barrio organizing committee, is a means of rapid expansion, following contact work and social investigation. It initiates the immediate assumption of responsibility by persons appointed and starts the process of consolidation, which entails building the mass organizations and conducting the mass movement in preparation for the regular elected organs of political power and building the local branches of the Party.

Mass campaigns are being undertaken to wipe out illiteracy and conduct revolutionary education, organize and mobilize the masses, train the militia and self-defense units, promote production and sideline occupations, collect contributions and taxes, safeguard public health and sanitation, settle disputes among the people and create a healthy cultural life. Depending on the political and security situation, the barrio revolutionary committees

can be elected by the representatives of the mass organizations or directly by the local people.

The legal democratic mass movement has developed dramatically since the beginning of the rectification movement. The mass organizations and alliances that take the national and democratic line have expanded and consolidated themselves. They are at the forefront of the struggle against the intensified oppression and exploitation by the US-Ramos regime.

The workers, peasants, urban poor, ethnic minorities, fisherfolk, women, student youth, professionals, patriotic businessmen, religious and other people have engaged in militant mass actions on class and sectoral issues as well as national and international issues. With more Party cadres and members at the grassroots level and doing painstaking mass work in urban and rural areas, the Party has maintained its leadership in the mass movement and has undertaken mass actions and campaigns on a self-reliant basis.

Since 1992, and especially since last year, the Party has demonstrated the growing strength of the organized masses and has debunked the lie of the imperialists, the reactionaries and the reformists that the masses have turned away from the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy led by the Party.

There is coordination between the revolutionary armed struggle as the main form of struggle for overthrowing the ruling system and the legal struggle as the secondary but indispensable and important form of struggle for confronting the enemy in his own urban citadels and trunklines. The legal democratic mass movement has energetically broadcast the revolutionary message throughout the country.

Because of the rapid class polarization in the Philippines, the Party can further develop the united front in support of the revolutionary armed struggle against the enemy. The basic alliance of the toiling masses, the alliance of basic revolutionary forces

(including the urban petty bourgeoisie) and the alliance of the positive forces (including the middle bourgeoisie) can be strengthened. Further on, the Party can take advantage of the splits among the reactionaries. The objective is to range the broadest array of forces in order to isolate and destroy the power of the enemy.

The Party upholds the organizational principle of democratic centralism. It is centralized leadership based on democracy and democracy guided by centralized leadership. There is both discipline and democracy in opposition to revisionism and liquidationism and to bureaucratism and ultrademocracy.

The Party has recruited many candidates and full members from the ranks of the advanced activists in the mass movement in the urban and rural areas. It has continued to grow in strength on a nationwide scale and is closely linked with the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

An increasing number of Party members and candidate-members from the ranks of workers and educated youth are going to the countryside to serve in the New People's Army or as cadres among the peasant masses in the community. At the same time, the vibrant legal democratic mass movement is testing and tempering an ever growing number of mass activists from the ranks of the workers, urban poor, peasants, farm workers, fisherfolk, educated youth, women, ethnic minorities and other people and preparing them to become Party candidate-members and full Party members.

The removal of incorrigible opportunist renegades and traitors from the Party has made the Party and mass movement healthy and strong. If they had their way, these scoundrels would have destroyed the Party from within. They would have brought the Party to where they are now — collaborators of the US-Ramos regime. The correctness of the rectification movement is verified not only by the resounding victories of the Party but also by the

flagrant degeneration of the few who have been removed or have removed themselves from the Party.

To let them announce publicly the status of their work, all central staff organs and regional Party organs are enjoined to submit within the next three months to the Central Committee the draft of a communiqué of five to ten pages reporting on their ideological, political and organizational achievements, major problems already solved or still to be solved, in their respective spheres of responsibility since the start of the Second Great Rectification Movement but especially in the year of 1996. These communiqués shall be published in *Rebolusyon* and *Ang Bayan*.

II. Bankruptcy and Instability of the Ruling System

The chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system continues to deepen and worsen. It provides the fertile ground for the subjective forces of the new-democratic revolution to grow in strength. The ever intensifying exploitation and oppression drives the broad masses of the people to wage revolutionary struggle.

The Philippine economy has further deteriorated because of the unbridled rapacity of the foreign monopolies and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. The US-Ramos regime has been extremely servile to the neocolonial and neoliberal dictates of the US, Japan and other imperialists, directly and through such multilateral agencies as the IMF, World Bank and WTO.

The regime's promise to turn the Philippines into a newly-industrializing country by the year 2000 and a "new economic tiger" is patently false. In fact, the policies of trade and investment liberalization, deregulation and privatization prevent industrial development and aggravate the agrarian character and underdevelopment of the country.

Unlike Taiwan and South Korea during the cold war, the Philippines does not protect the investments of the state and domestic private sector, does not carry out land reform and neither has nor use savings to build basic industries. *The Philippines is now* confronted with a global crisis of overproduction of the low value-added products of export-oriented manufacturing, that is concurrent with reduced consumption in the stagnant industrial capitalist countries and with the export drive of the US in nearly all types of manufactures, including consumer electronics and textile.

The so-called GDP growth rate of more than 5 percent and the GNP of more than 7 percent in the Philippines means neither the industrial development nor any rise in the standard of living. In fact, the bigger the GDP and GNP become, the more severe is the reality of exploitation and impoverishment of the overwhelming majority of the people.

These macro-data are bloated by the rising cost of imported goods for local consumption and export-oriented manufacturing, the double counting of export receipts and remittances of overseas contract workers, the big bubble in real estate speculation and private construction, the high cost of importing energy, transport, telecommunications and office computer equipment, the fleeting revenues from selling off state assets, bureaucratic corruption and military overspending, the rising tax and debt burden, the understatement of the inflation rate and the usual false estimates of gross output in agriculture, industry and services.

There can be no industrial development where the basic industries are not being established but where manufactures are imported in larger proportion than ever before and where land reform is not at all carried out beyond the tokens of the past but where land accumulation has been accelerated by so many old and new devices. Even the infrastructure (roads, bridges and the like) has become rotten and inadequate because funds have gone into

far more unproductive spending as cited in pointing to the content of the GDP and the GNP.

Import-dependent manufacturing for domestic consumption and agricultural production (rice, corn, sugar and coconut) are threatened and cut down by import liberalization. The entire service sector, from banking to retail trade, has been opened to 100 percent foreign ownership. The land is open to massive acquisition by foreign and domestic speculators under the signboards of industrial zones, real estate development, integrated forest management agreement (IFMA), the Mining Act of 1995 and so on.

The ever growing foreign trade deficit and foreign debt burden show quickly the bankrupt status of the Philippine economy. The current accounts deficit is actually far bigger than what it appears to be. It is reduced by window-dressing, especially by double counting of the foreign exchange deposits of exporters and overseas contract workers as new nonmerchandise income when these are converted into pesos.

The deterioration of the Philippine economy is reflected in the abuse of a widening range of financial devices, including the following: foreign loans (public and private), local public debt (especially the sale of treasury bills at high interest), conversion of foreign loans into local equity, foreign portfolio investments, privatization of state assets, expanded coverage of the value-added tax, repeated oil price increases and so on. The tax burden is being increased at the expense of the toiling masses and the middle social strata.

The budget of the reactionary government is becoming more ludicrous than ever. Most of the appropriations go to debt service and to the military, police and other coercive apparatuses of the state. The rest are mainly for bureaucratic purposes, including scandalously large "pork barrel" appropriations and a splurge on office computer equipment. The so-called budgetary surplus in recent years has been created by revenues from the sale of state

assets, borrowings from the banks and social security funds and, of course, by the increasing tax burden of the people.

The US-Ramos regime is obsessed with "modernizing" the *armed forces and police rather than making any pretense at industrialization or providing social services*. Under the cover of appropriating 331 billion pesos for a 15-year period, the regime intends to spend more than 30 billion pesos for "military modernization" within the 1993-1998 period. The money goes mainly to graft-ridden acquisition of weapons, communications equipment, planes and naval vessels, supplied by US companies.

The "social reform agenda" of the US-Ramos regime is a sham. This regime falsifies the data on the social conditions of the people, conceals or minimizes the havoc wrought on their lives by its policies and actions, exaggerates tokens of pretended social concern, and makes false promises. The acknowledgment of any social problem becomes an excuse for channeling public funds to bureaucratic corruption. Brute military force has been used to destroy the homes of the urban poor and to deprive ethnic communities and the rural poor of their land. Even such a huge natural disaster as the lahar overflow from the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo becomes an occasion for the officials of the regime to steal billions of pesos.

Unemployment continues to go beyond 40 percent. The prices of basic commodities keep on rising, pulled up by heavier taxation, rising cost of imports and repeated oil price increases. Inflation cuts down the real income of the employed. The impoverishment of the broad masses of the people is accelerated. At the same time, the infrastructure is deteriorating and social spending for education, health and the like is being reduced in favor of military spending.

There is superabundance of urban and rural oddjobbers. The unemployed from both the ranks of the toiling masses and middle social strata are driven to look for employment abroad. Thus,

documented and undocumented overseas contract workers are now nearly ten percent of the total population. Under the "flexible labor policy" dictated by the imperialists, the regime escalates exploitation and oppression of the working people purportedly in order to further cheapen labor and thereby to attract foreign investments and overseas labor contracts. Such labor policy corresponds to the policy of preventing national industrialization and land reform.

The ruling system is thoroughly rotten. The people detest the oppressive and corrupt character of all branches of the government. They are also outraged by the fact that all the current key players in reactionary politics, in parties and coalitions, are all descendants and beneficiaries of the US-Marcos regime.

The Aquino regime was merely a passing device to do away with Marcos in person and at the same time to preserve the ruling system. Against the interests of the broad masses of the people, the post-Marcos regimes have reconciled the interests of the political descendants of Marcos and the anti-Marcos reactionaries. General Ramos represents most the continuity of the ruling system under the direction of US imperialism.

The repressive character of the state has sharpened against the broad masses of the people, especially against the workers and peasants, even as the regime tries to conjure the illusion that it is benign and seeks national reconciliation. The regime has always exposed its basically fascist character by conducting military and police campaigns of suppression against the people in the name of peace and development and by pushing the so-called antiterrorism bill and the antidemocratic content of such a bill in various bills, executive proclamations and orders.

The objective of the psychological warfare in the US-instigated low-intensity conflict strategy is to create the illusion of political stability and democratization, split the patriotic and progressive forces and isolate the revolutionary forces. Thus, the regime

has cultivated, handled and fielded special agents to pose as Left and to attack the Left.

The political parties and coalitions of the big compradors and landlords unite against the people and the revolutionary movement. But they also compete against each other and tend to weaken and put their own political system in crisis and disarray. The electoral exercises among them do not mean onesidedly the stabilization of the ruling system but also mean the exposure of their severe differences, which the revolutionary movement can take advantage of.

The ever worsening socioeconomic crisis generates more bitter rivalry over economic loot and power. And in turn the political crisis aggravates the socioeconomic crisis. These conditions present opportunities for the revolutionary movement to use the armed struggle and the united front to put the ruling system in an even more desperate and hopeless course.

The US-Ramos regime wants to perpetuate itself in power. If Ramos himself cannot stay in power beyond 1998, he is bent on picking his successor and maximizing the political role of military officers in the ruling system. The election and appointment of military and police officers to civilian positions and rising appropriations for the military and police forces are clear manifestations of the ceaseless militarization of the state.

Since coming to the presidency, the US-Ramos ruling clique has apparently been able to contain temporarily the political factionalization within the military by providing extraordinary political and economic accommodations to erstwhile anti-Ramos factions. But more than ever, the military and police forces remain grossly factionalized, as competing bureaucratic cliques and as criminal syndicates.

The Moro people's struggle for self-determination does not cease with the flagrant capitulation of the Nur Misuari clique in the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) to the US-Ramos

regime. The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) is continuing the armed struggle and is winning over to its side many of the MNLF followers. Opportunities have arisen for the revolutionary movement led by the Party to build its own strength among the Moro people and to build an alliance with Moro forces determined to continue the struggle for the Moro people's right to national self-determination.

The revolutionary movement has not lost an ally with the Misuari clique's capitulation to the Manila government. Since the signing of the Tripoli Agreement in 1976, the Misuari clique in the MNLF had begun to betray the Moro people's revolutionary cause and had engaged continuously in truces with the Marcos, Aquino and Ramos regimes. By ceasing armed struggle since 1976, the MNLF gave away initiative to the MILF and other armed Moro organizations. But even after capitulation, the Nur Misuari clique remains problematic to the ruling system as the clique tries to retain or even enlarge an armed force to protect itself.

US imperialism and the local reactionaries have utterly failed in their attempt either to destroy the Party and the revolutionary movement from within or to discredit them and isolate them by using traitors and renegades and an array of anticommunist petty-bourgeois grouplets, that deck themselves out as Trotskyites, urban insurrectionists, popular democrats, social-democrats, Gorbachovites and so on.

These agents of psychological warfare in the LIC have proven to be no more effective than the paramilitary forces, fanatical religious cults and special operations teams (SOTs) previously fielded by the enemy in the countryside against the revolutionary movement. They have been thoroughly exposed as racketeers feeding on secret funds from the imperialists, the reactionary state and foreign funding agencies.

They fail to realize even the minimum objective of conjuring the illusion of a "big split" in the Left, separating the urban petty

bourgeoisie from the revolutionary movement and spreading the notion that globalization, population control, sustainable development, democratization, environmentalism, genderism, ethnocentrism and civil society (to mention some of their buzzwords) under the rule of the bourgeoisie have made the anti-imperialist and the class struggle outdated and irrelevant.

As far as the question of revolution is concerned, the issue of solving the basic problems of the people, the life-and-death struggle between the armed revolution and armed counterrevolution occupies the center of the political stage. So-called mainstream and sidestream organizations within the ruling system cannot conjure the illusion of political stability and decline of human rights violations. The armed revolutionary movement led by the Party is determined to overthrow the entire ruling system through a protracted people's war.

The regime unceasingly launches military and police campaigns and operations to grab the natural resources and social wealth from the people in the name of "development", "environmental protection" and "social reform" and to suppress the mass movement and the revolutionary forces. The political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights of the people are violated and trampled upon. The depredations of the imperialists and local exploiters justify and incite the broad masses of the people to armed revolution.

As a result of the rectification movement, the revolutionary movement has seized the initiative, expanded and consolidated the mass base for waging the people's war. Under the absolute leadership of the CPP, the New People's Army is in a position to intensify guerrilla warfare on a nationwide scale on the basis of an ever expanding and deepening mass base. The united front for armed struggle has broadened.

The legal democratic mass movement has also surged forward. The nationwide and localized mass protest actions on national,

class and sectoral issues are ever growing and prove the correctness of the rectification movement. In the past year, the most important protest actions included those against the anti-terrorism bill, the expanded value-added tax, oil price increases, the Mining Act of 1995, the brutal forced mass evacuation of ethnic communities and rural poor from their homes and farms and the suppression of the rights of students and teachers.

The recent people's caravan from Manila to Subic and the nationwide mass actions in November to protest against the Asia-Pacific Economic Conference (APEC) Leaders' Summit has demonstrated the strength and broad mass support of the national-democratic movement. The anticommunist petty-bourgeois grouplets once more exposed themselves as puny reformist adjuncts of the imperialists and local reactionaries, specializing in pro-imperialist and anticommunist liberal phraseology.

The CPP has correctly characterized the NDFP peace negotiations with the GRP as a process subject to the line of national-democratic revolution and as one of the legal forms of struggle subordinate to the armed struggle and the legal mass movement.

A just and lasting peace is impossible without addressing the roots of the civil war, without solving the basic problems of the people. In the course of the peace negotiations with the GRP, the NDFP has demonstrated to the entire world the justness of the revolutionary cause and has set the principled standards for negotiating with the enemy.

The NDFP has submitted to the Federal Council of the Swiss Government and the International Committee of the Red Cross the Declaration of Undertaking to Apply the Geneva Conventions and Protocol I. This means the adherence of the revolutionary forces to international humanitarian law as a belligerent force in the civil war. The people's war conducted by the Party is a struggle for national liberation and democracy.

The NDFP has made a draft of the Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law and is eager to accomplish a mutual agreement with the GRP on this. It also wishes to proceed to the discussion of social and economic reforms. But the GRP has so extreme a reactionary position as to deny human rights violations even under the Marcos regime. It has also refused to enter into a mutual agreement on the indemnification of the victims in accordance with the favorable decision of the US court.

The GRP's repeated violations of the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) have jeopardized the continuity of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and have sharpened the vigilance of the NDFP, especially the personnel involved in the peace negotiations. The revolutionary forces are prepared against any act of the GRP to collapse the negotiations.

The ever-worsening crisis of the ruling system urges the broad masses of the people and the revolutionary forces to carry the national-democratic revolution forward through protracted people's war, more resolutely and more militantly than ever before.

III. Depressed and Turbulent Capitalist World

The crisis of the world capitalist system continues to worsen. The global centers of capitalism no less are stagnant. Beyond them are worse conditions of depression and social turbulence. Capitalism is destructive to productive forces on a world scale. Thus, the global disorder rages. Lenin's theory of uneven development and his description of the era as that of imperialism and proletarian revolution remain valid.

The rapid concentration of capital in the global centers of capitalism is unprecedented in the entire history of capitalism. It is accelerated by the capitalist adoption of high technology in social production and by the most exploitative and speculative forms of finance capital. The main aspect of capitalism today is

not the global expansion of industrial capitalist development but the destruction of productive forces on a global scale, mainly affecting the third world and the former Soviet-bloc countries but also affecting even the industrial capitalist countries.

There is the sharp contradiction between the capitalist relations of production and the forces of production. The organic composition of capital (constant capital in the means of production) has risen so fast that the profit rates for entire national economies tend to fall. The monopolies try to counter the global and national falling rates of profit and maximize their profits by reducing the wage fund and causing chronic mass unemployment. Unemployment and pressing down of wages and living conditions constrict the market and further cause the profit rates to fall as in a vicious cycle. The crisis of overproduction worsens. Large unsold inventories lead to bankruptcies and retrenched production.

The US has sought to revive its manufacturing capability for domestic consumption and export, has undervalued its currency and has promoted its exports at the expense of the other global centers of capitalism. Its objective is to overcome the accumulated foreign debt, the budgetary and trade deficits incurred in the course of waging the cold war against the Soviet Union and accommodating allies in the US consumption market.

The US is using its lead in high technology as the cutting edge of its drive to retain its supreme economic, political, military and cultural position in the world capitalist system. It is upsetting the balance of its relations with other imperialist countries. The imperialist countries are straining to contain their sharpening competition by uniting against the less developed countries and shifting to them the burden of the crisis.

The manufacture and sale of high-tech products became the most important factor for some limited growth in the US economy in 1994 and 1995. In part, high-tech products are for retooling US industry and in another for personal use and consumption. The

US is pushing the International Technology Agreement to totally eliminate tariff rates on its electronic exports by the year 2000 and to sell these products to the "middle class" of the world, in other capitalist countries and some ten "emergent markets".

The US has pressed down wage levels domestically and in the NAFTA. It has taken advantage of its domestic and regional market and has pushed its export drive towards the European Union, Japan and the less developed countries where fiscal spending and consumption are assisted by multilateral official loans and speculative private capital. The export drive sharpens US competition with the other global centers of capitalism and aggravates the economic and social contradictions within national boundaries.

Among the global centers of capitalism, the European Union has the highest unemployment rate. It is driven to adopt austerity measures, further press down wage and living conditions and cut down social spending in the name of fulfilling requirements for monetary union. The economic and social conditions in Western Europe have so deteriorated that the proletariat and the rest of the people in many countries, especially Germany, France, Italy, Greece, Spain and Portugal, have risen up to wage general strikes and other forms of mass protest.

The former Soviet-bloc countries are wide open for capital expansion. But in the main, the policy of all the imperialists is to dump their surplus products on them, develop some Central European countries and Russia itself as the distributing centers of consumer products from the West, keep some industries in order to avail of cheap labor to some extent, make Russia further dependent on its raw material exports and let its nuclear and other weapons systems deteriorate.

Even as Japan is still in the morass of bad bank debts and other consequences of the bursting of its bubble economy, it has come under pressure to engage heavily in public-deficit spending for infrastructure, promote domestic luxury consumption, reduce its

trade surplus with the US and further open up to investments and US manufactured imports and military buildup subordinate to the US as main security partner. The Japanese proletariat and people have waged militant struggles against the worsened terms of the US-Japan security alliance, against the continuing US occupation of Okinawa and against the economic and other impositions of the US on Japan at the expense of the people.

Aside from trying to break the Japanese market wide open for US exports, the US is taking the initiative in trade and investments in East Asia and keeping Japan to a position of senior but secondary economic partner. They seek to allay their contradictions by mutually exploiting Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia. With Southeast Asia securely in their pocket through the neocolonial states, IMF, World Bank, WTO, the ASEAN and the APEC, the US and Japan are united and determined to turn China into their mutual neocolonial adjunct. This is supposed to be the big prize.

The US is confident of openly pushing China to further liberalize its trade and investment policies and dismantle or privatize the state enterprises. The confidence of the US stems from the fact that both the Chinese bureaucrat and private capitalists are deeply entrenched and are committed to big comprador relations with the world capitalist system, that the export-oriented manufacturing in China is dependent on the US consumer market and that the Chinese economy has become lopsided enough and has fully departed from a self-reliant comprehensive socialist economy.

The US policy towards China continues to be one of "engagement" and "containment", encouraging economic liberalization to lead to political liberalization as in the former Soviet Union (the capitalist roaders themselves ultimately cast off the signboards of communist party rule and socialism) and containing China on such issues as military buildup, Taiwan, Tibet and the like. The anti-communists are still more conspicuous in demanding the

proclamation of an undisguised bourgeois state than the proletarian revolutionaries are in opposing the Dengist road of capitalist restoration.

At any rate, the "tigers" of East Asia and their imitators, including China, are now faced with the recessive economies of the imperialist countries, the global overproduction in export-oriented manufacturing of garments, personal electronics, leather products, toys and the like, the pressure to liberalize trade and investment policies and the US drive to export US and NAFTA consumer products. The outbreak of the workers' general strike in South Korea exposes the limits of import-dependent export-oriented manufacturing and marks a new significant development in the resistance of the proletariat to the crises of overproduction in the world capitalist system and the neoliberal policy of deregulation and privatization and the flexible labor policy of the big bourgeoisie.

The overproduction of raw materials since the '70s continue to devastate the economies of the overwhelming majority of third world countries. No foreign capital flows into these countries even for export-oriented manufacturing. The oil-producing countries have rapidly declining economies and plunging levels of consumption. More than three-fourths of the flows of global capital are concentrated in the three global centers of capitalism. The rest circulate in some ten countries mainly in East Asia, secondarily in Latin America and tertiarily in the former Soviet-bloc countries. Africa has gotten only a trickle.

The economies of Russia and other former Soviet-bloc countries continue to deteriorate. Their industries have been depressed since the late '70s when monopoly bureaucrat capitalism was still masquerading as socialism. Under the current undisguised rule of the private and bureaucrat capitalists, far more criminal than entrepreneurial, entire industrial systems have been either closed down or cannibalized.

Production decline in the former Soviet Union remains more than 50 percent from the level in 1991. The dominant mafia bourgeoisie headed by Yeltsin is preoccupied with the export of raw materials and the import of consumer products facilitated by the imperialist banks. The revisionists and neorevisionists are still politically ahead of proletarian revolutionaries in opposing anti-communist ruling cliques and therefore serve to block the advance of the proletarian revolutionaries who are still in the process of understanding how the revisionists reversed the socialist line of Lenin and Stalin.

In all continents of the world today, there is grave and deepgoing social unrest and disorder. The most barbaric kinds of counterrevolutionary violence have arisen from the longrunning depredations of neocolonialism and finance capital, and from the desperate rivalries of reactionary cliques mouthing the slogans of anticommunism, nationalism, ethnocentrism and religion. At the same time, in certain countries, there are armed revolutionary movements for national liberation and democracy led by working class parties.

The objective conditions for making revolution against imperialism and the local exploiting classes are favorable. But some time is needed for the subjective forces of the revolution to arise and develop in strength from the ranks of the proletariat and other working people. The intensifying oppression and exploitation of the people drives them to resist the imperialists and local exploiters. But the people must also shake off the stultifying influence of revisionism, reformism and opportunism which have run for so long.

It is a matter of honor and just pride for the Communist Party of the Philippines to be among the revolutionary parties of the proletariat in the world which are at the forefront of the struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and reaction by waging the new-democratic revolution through

protracted people's war. At the same time, the CPP is aware of the tremendous odds and has a strong sense of humility and perseverance as it encourages the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement on a global scale.

As surely as the imperialists and local reactionaries are intensifying the exploitation and oppression of the proletariat and people, the CPP is certain of the eventual resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement on an unprecedented global scale. Being the most oppressed and exploited, the peoples and nations of the third world countries and former Soviet-bloc countries are the most predisposed to wage armed revolution. There is the crying need for the subjective forces of the revolution to arise and develop.

The few revolutionary parties of the proletariat leading armed revolutionary movements are in the third world. There are other parties which avow themselves to be Marxist-Leninist and are leading armed revolutionary movements for national liberation and democracy. There are also some ruling parties that still describe their states as socialist and are fighting for national independence against imperialism.

In countries where socialism previously existed but was subsequently betrayed by the revisionists and where revisionist regimes ultimately collapsed or are still ruling, there are genuine communists who continue to adhere to the revolutionary legacy of the great communists and who are still learning how to seize the ideological and political initiative from the blatant anticommunists and persistent revisionists.

The revisionist betrayal of socialism in China has been a key point in the successful all-out economic, political and ideological offensive of imperialism against the anti-imperialist and socialist movement. Priorly, the US had started to be on the strategic decline and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution had appeared to consolidate socialism in China. It remains an

interesting question whether there are still enough proletarian revolutionaries who can take advantage of the growing struggle between the phony communists (revisionists) and the blatant anticommunists.

In the industrial capitalist countries, parties that strive to be Marxist-Leninist and antirevisionist are still few, small and weak. Revisionist, unabashed social-democratic parties, bureaucratic trade unions and petty bourgeois-minded "civic initiatives" are still running ahead of proletarian revolutionaries in riding on the social discontent of the proletariat and the people, despite the widespread disintegration of the revisionist communist parties.

There have been dramatic upsurges of mass resistance by workers, women, youth, and other people in industrial capitalist countries because of chronic unemployment and social cutbacks. But the lack or weakness of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties is a major cause for the still sporadic character of mass protest actions.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the CPP is active in developing the closest bilateral and multilateral relations with the parties that adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and also close relations with parties that avow themselves to be Marxist-Leninist and are open to exchange of ideas and experience and desirous of mutual learning, mutual understanding and mutual support.

At the same time, the CPP engages in broad relations of anti-imperialist solidarity with all parties, organizations and movements that fight imperialism and reaction. A broad anti-imperialist united front is necessary for Marxist-Leninist parties to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people and draw up the broadest possible range of forces against the enemy.

There is a dialectical relationship between upholding the ideological line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and pursuing the political line of anti-imperialist struggle. By its ideological line, the

CPP is sure of its own revolutionary integrity and footing. By its political line, it can link itself with the broad masses of the people and engage in alliances.

IV. Carry the Philippine Revolution Forward

In concluding, let us underscore certain major tasks for the Party to carry out in the forthcoming year.

1. Let us continue with our living study of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism through the rectification movement and with periodic and timely criticism and self-criticism of errors and shortcomings. Let us continue to criticize and repudiate revisionism, empiricism and dogmatism. Let us advance in carrying out the formal Party study courses at the primary, intermediate and advanced levels.

2. Let us carry the new-democratic revolution forward by striving for greater victories in the revolutionary armed struggle, in mass work and mass movement in both urban and rural areas and in united front work. Let us intensify guerrilla warfare on a nationwide scale on the basis of an ever widening and ever deepening mass base.

3. Let us uphold the principle of democratic centralism. Let us recruit more candidate-members from among the advanced mass activists in the revolutionary mass movement. Let us assign more Party cadres and mass activists from the ranks of the proletariat and the educated youth to work with the New People's Army and the peasant masses.

4. Let us hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism and participate in the broad anti-imperialist movement. The new-democratic revolution led by the proletariat in the Philippines is part of the world proletarian revolution and the broad anti-imperialist movement. #

**Long Live Lenin and Stalin,
Condemn the Modern Revisionists,
Resume the Proletarian Revolution**

**By Armando Liwanag
Chairman, Central Committee
Communist Party of the Philippines
8 November 1996**

Message and Contribution of the Communist Party of the Philippines to the Conference of the International Committee for the Restoration of the Soviet Union and the International Conference for the Formation of the Modern Communist Doctrine

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, we the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) leading the New People's Army (NPA), the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) and other revolutionary forces of the Filipino people convey our warmest comradely greetings of solidarity to all participants of your conference on "Class Analysis in the Modern Communist Movement" on November 8 and 9 in Moscow.

We thank the joint organizers, the International Committee for the Restoration of the Soviet Union (ICRSU) and the International Conference for the Formation of the Modern Communist Doctrine (ICFMCD), for inviting us to this conference. We join you in celebrating the 79th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and in renewing our common resolve to carry forward the historic mission of the working class in waging the class struggle for socialism until imperialism is defeated on a global scale and communism is attained.

We are pleased to know that this conference is the result and continuation of the 1994 international seminar of the ICRSU on

"Stalin Today", which upheld Comrade Joseph Stalin as a great Marxist-Leninist and repudiated the modern revisionists. We are interested in getting copies of the most significant papers of the seminar in English translation.

We agree with you that the objective conditions are favorable for making revolution in Russia and other parts of the former Soviet Union. We are glad that large sections of the working class are moving towards militant positions and that you are striving to clear the path for the formation of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party.

Following the bureaucrat monopoly capitalists' thirty-five years of revisionist rule and disguised capitalist restoration, the destruction of the Soviet Union and undisguised restoration of capitalism since 1991 have brought about far more intolerable suffering to the proletariat and people in Russia and the former Soviet Union than ever before.

The undisguised bureaucrat monopoly capitalists have continued to use their public office for private gain. In combination with their private collaborators, including Western monopoly capitalists, the domestic businessmen and criminal syndicates, they have privatized public assets and entire lines of economic activity. They have drastically reduced, chopped up or closed down production in entire enterprises and have thrown out of work huge numbers of workers and thereby further worsened the oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and the people.

As a result of the ever worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation, the anticommunist slogans of bourgeois nationalism, neoliberalism, social democracy and religion, mouthed by the big bourgeoisie and by their ideological and political subalterns, have been rapidly discredited among the proletariat and people. The point now is to reaffirm Marxism-Leninism and socialism—to reassert the legacy of Lenin and Stalin and overcome four decades

of imperialist, revisionist and reactionary misrepresentation of socialism.

Defend Lenin and Stalin

The revisionist ruling cliques, from Khrushchov through the long period of Brezhnev to Gorbachov, restored capitalism by negating Stalin, his principles and his work. They stood for bureaucrat monopoly capitalism against socialism.

To account for the degradation of the Soviet Union from a socialist state to an antisocialist one under the revisionist ruling cliques, we must grasp the internal factors before we proceed to the external ones. We must grasp materialist dialectics and apply the law of contradiction. Otherwise, outward appearances in the superpower rivalry of the Soviet Union and the United States in the Cold War can lead to wrong conclusions regarding the nature of the Brezhnev regime.

The most clever forms of revisionism and opportunism persist. These are Brezhnevism and neo-Brezhnevism which pay some lip service to Lenin and Stalin but in fact continue to undermine and confuse basic Marxist-Leninist teachings in philosophy, political economy and social science. In the main and in essence, the Brezhnevites and neo-Brezhnevites misrepresent the anti-Stalin Brezhnev as a faithful descendant of Stalin.

Khrushchov, the initial chieftain of revisionism in power, and Gorbachov, the ultimate revisionist destroyer of the Soviet Union, were, of course, the most blatant anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist rulers of the Soviet Union, with their vicious and vociferous total negation of Stalin and their ill-disguised efforts at restoring capitalism. In the case of these two revisionist scoundrels, it is so clear that they used the attacks on Stalin in order to attack Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

Brezhnev had the longest record of revisionism and capitalist restoration. His "new economic system" entrenched, empowered and enriched the bureaucrat monopoly capitalists and the criminal syndicates and restored capitalism far more than Khrushchov had done. With a genuine Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, we should be able to cut through the phrasemongering of Brezhnev, Suslov and Kosygin and their current descendants.

In addition to allowing the new bourgeoisie to loot the social wealth, Brezhnev was responsible for wasting tremendous amounts of the surplus product by rushing headlong into the arms race and foreign adventures. In the pursuit of social-imperialism, his regime competed and colluded with US imperialism in the practice of neocolonialism.

In the past, only the steadfast Marxist-Leninists and loyal followers of Lenin and Stalin could promptly see through the shallow phrasemongering of the Brezhnev ruling clique. When the stagnation and corruption, which had been brought about by bureaucrat monopoly capitalism, came to the fore in the late '70s, the new bourgeoisie could capitalize on these as the "sins of socialism" because the bourgeois ideology of modern revisionism had succeeded in misrepresenting itself as Marxism-Leninism and had been able to misrepresent bureaucrat monopoly capitalism as socialism.

Today, the full track record and consequences of the Brezhnevite line are exposed as inimical to the interest of the proletariat and the people. But the imperialists and the revisionists ceaselessly help each other out in falsely claiming that the Brezhnev regime was socialist. Thus, the genuine communists of today are required to clarify both the real antisocialist record of Brezhnev and the misuse of the term socialism.

With the support of the multilayered new bourgeoisie in the state, party, economy and culture, the bureaucrat monopoly capitalists overthrew the proletariat from state power in 1956 and,

from one revisionist regime to another, proceeded to further subordinate the proletariat. They obscured their counterrevolutionary policies and acts by usurping the name of Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the name of socialism as well as by retaining the formal public ownership of the principal means of production and some vestigial social and cultural provisions.

Internationally, Soviet contention with the stronger superpower, US imperialism, obscured the social-imperialist character of the Soviet modern revisionists. Such contention obliged the Soviet Union from time to time to put itself on the side of revolutionary movements abroad as well as on the side of counterrevolutionary movements and regimes. Originally, the US launched the Cold War against socialism and the national liberation movements. But from 1956 onward, the Cold War became increasingly characterized by the contention and collusion of US monopoly capitalism and Soviet bureaucrat monopoly capitalism at the expense of the world proletariat and people.

Before Gorbachov could disorganize and destroy the Soviet Union, Brezhnev in his own extended period of time had already severely damaged the social well-being of the Soviet proletariat and people, unwittingly undermined the base of Soviet social-imperialism and prepared the way for Gorbachovite treason in the following manner:

1. The new bourgeoisie (the bureaucrat monopoly capitalists, the bourgeoisie in military production and armed forces and the criminal syndicates) were engaged in unofficial private appropriation of a large part of the social wealth created by the working people, and developed a strong appetite for high-grade consumer goods from the West and the hard currency for acquiring these.

2. In science and technology, research and development in the Soviet Union were directed towards military production, the arms race and space exploration at the expense of civil production. Thus the renovation and expansion of civil production were neglected.

The military expenditures gobbled up a great part of the Soviet state budget.

3. The Soviet Union became dependent on the export of weapons, oil and other raw materials to earn hard currency from the world capitalist market for the importation of high-grade consumer goods for the new bourgeoisie and necessities like wheat. Foreign trade transactions involved corruption and private stashing away of foreign exchange earnings. The US-led alliance of traditional capitalist powers assigned West Germany the task of getting the revisionist regimes of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe hooked to Western foreign loans and manufactured supplies.

4. The US tightened the noose around the neck of Soviet social-imperialism by promoting a global overproduction of oil and other raw materials since the '70s and by instigating "people's wars in reverse" driven by nationalist, tribalist and religious motivations in the neocolonies of Soviet social-imperialism, as in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and so on. The neocolonies lost the means to pay for Soviet supplies and became unprofitable.

It is fine that by upholding, defending and promoting the proletarian-socialist line of Stalin the papers of the seminar "Stalin Today" have inspired the formation of a number of organizations that advocate Marxist-Leninist principles in theory and practice and expose revisionism, especially in the form of Brezhnevism and neo-Brezhnevism. It is also fine that the papers have been widely disseminated in Russia and other parts of the former Soviet Union, if such papers can promote the criticism and repudiation of Brezhnevism and Neo-Brezhnevism. The papers should be translated into other major languages for study by dedicated Marxist-Leninists and the working class in various countries.

It is of crucial importance for the Marxist-Leninists and the working class movement not only in Russia or the former Soviet Union but also throughout the world to make a comprehensive and

profound criticism and condemnation of the full range of modern revisionism in the Soviet Union, from 1956 onwards.

The imperialist ideologues and publicists have falsely described the long Brezhnev period as neo-Stalinist simply because it *recentralized the planning ministries and the industries* that Khrushchov had decentralized to breach and fracture the socialist work of Stalin. To this day, they continue to sum up all the revisionist regimes in the Soviet Union as Stalinist.

But the worst of the misinterpreters of Soviet history in the world today are some neorevisionists who seek to mislead the working class movement by proclaiming themselves as staunch defenders of Stalin but self-contradictorily defending Brezhnev as a Marxist-Leninist and builder of real socialism. They obscure the fact that he was the longest-reigning, most clever and most effective anti-Stalin destroyer of socialism in Soviet history. They also get out of the track of Soviet history to collide Stalin and Mao, misrepresent Mao as the complete opposite of Stalin and defend the anti-Stalin Brezhnev.

It is completely absurd to contrapose and collide Stalin and Mao, each of whom made great contributions to the communist cause and fought to advance socialism on the scale of their respective countries; and fail to contrapose the entire Lenin-Stalin period to the entire period of modern revisionism in Soviet history for the purpose of passing off Brezhnev as a Marxist-Leninist and as a real socialist. Mao had the advantage of learning from the theory and practice of Lenin and Stalin in building socialism and understanding the origins and development of modern revisionism. He was therefore in a position to defend Lenin and Stalin and combat modern revisionism.

Soviet modern revisionism started to exert strong influence on the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Chinese revolution as soon as Khrushchov succeeded in overthrowing the proletariat in the Soviet Union in 1956. The initial response of the Political

Bureau of the CPC in April 1956 to Khrushchov's February 1956 speech, which totally negated Stalin, was to concede that the Soviet Party knew best its own history and situation and concur *partially with the anti-Stalin charge of "personality cult"* and at the same time opposed the total negation of Stalin and regarded him on the whole as a great Marxist-Leninist, with his merits weighing 70 percent and his demerits 30 percent.

Subsequently, within the same year and outside the Politburo which included such elements as Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, Mao increasingly defended Stalin, warned that throwing away the sword of Stalin was also doing away with the sword of Lenin and strongly condemned those who were throwing away these two swords, not only in the Soviet Union but also in Eastern Europe. Mao saw through the scheme of the revisionists to destroy socialism and attack Leninism by attacking Stalin.

The CPC had a high regard for the CPSU. The two parties had close comradely relations and cooperation, involving the exchange of many Chinese students and trainees on the one hand and Soviet experts and other personnel on the other. The Right opportunists and revisionists in the CPC whipped up an uncritical acceptance of the latest from the Soviet Union, especially modern revisionism.

Since 1956, Mao had to begin fighting difficult battles against the Right opportunists and revisionists within the CPC. Driven by their erroneous view of the concrete circumstances within China and by the influence of Soviet modern revisionism, they attacked him from behind in the same way that Khrushchov and other revisionists in the CPSU attacked Stalin. Khrushchov and his Chinese revisionist followers denigrated Mao as a Stalinist, especially for launching the Great Leap Forward and for standing his ground against modern revisionism.

To uphold Marxism-Leninism and advance the cause of socialism, Mao fought his way from one high point to another high

point, in the sequence of the Great Leap Forward, the international debate against modern revisionism and the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in order to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism.

Had Mao not fought to defend Marxism-Leninism and socialism brilliantly and effectively, he and his line could have been completely overthrown earlier than 1960. The revisionist reversal of Mao's line and capitalist restoration after his death do not impeach but unwittingly vindicate his great theoretical and practical achievements in the same way that the great achievements of Stalin cannot be invalidated and cannot but be vindicated by his revisionist betrayers.

A year before his death, Stalin realized fully that the power and influence of the Right opportunists had grown in Soviet society but unfortunately he had no more opportunity to launch a successful counteroffensive. In the case of Mao, he had the opportunity to look over fully the transition of socialism under Stalin to the revisionism of Khrushchov and the more clever anti-Stalin and antisocialist line of Brezhnev, to fight battles against the modern revisionists in the Soviet Union, in China and on a world scale and to strive to advance the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

The Soviet modern revisionists banned Mao's works, especially the antirevisionist ones. We must study and read these. His critique of modern revisionism and his theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship are certainly important to the study and understanding of the entire Soviet history. Such study and understanding are necessary to answer the question of whether Marxist-Leninists and the proletariat can build and consolidate socialism and prevent capitalist subversion and

restoration in the forthcoming great battles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Because the dictatorship of the proletariat has been overthrown in the Soviet Union since 1956, revolutionary violence is required to overthrow capitalism and restore socialism. To bring about proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, the basic principles taught by Lenin and Stalin are adequate. But it is also necessary to study how to consolidate socialism, combat revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism in order to answer the recurrent jibe that socialism is destined to revert to capitalism and also in order to anticipate scientifically the problems of the future. So far, no figure has surpassed Mao in criticizing modern revisionism and in striving to overcome it in accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles.

Of course, new theoretical and practical advances will have to be made under new conditions in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and in the context of the world proletarian-socialist revolution. To stay within that context, we cannot deviate from the basic Marxist-Leninist teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao.

Class Analysis in the Modern Communist Movement

In consonance with the topic of your conference, "Class analysis in the modern communist movement", allow us to state our views. We appreciate the position that the definition of the class concept of the proletariat as a revolutionary class is crucial to the formation of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party, in the face of the unceasing attempts of the Brezhnevites and neo-Brezhnevites to revise the concept.

It is our view that the definition first put forward by Marx and further developed by Lenin in "A Great Beginning" remains valid, historically and currently. It is a definition that is grounded on

the mode of production in accordance with historical materialism. Upon the material conditions of large-scale industrial production, the working class arises and grows in contradiction with the dominant capitalist class in capitalist society. Consequently, it becomes the dominant class in socialist society after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and continues to wage class struggle until classes are abolished.

Lenin taught us, "Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor, and, consequently, by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it." He said further that classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labor of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy.

He pointed out, "Clearly, in order to abolish classes completely, it is not enough to overthrow the exploiters, the landowners and capitalists, not enough to abolish their rights of ownership; it is necessary also to abolish all private ownership of the means of production, it is necessary to abolish the distinction between town and country, as well as the distinction between manual and mental workers. This requires a very long period of time."

He added, "In order to achieve this, an enormous step must be taken in developing the productive forces; it is necessary to overcome the resistance (frequently passive, which is particularly stubborn and particularly difficult to overcome) of the numerous survivals of small scale production; it is necessary to overcome the enormous force of habit and conservatism which are connected with these survivals."

As a dialectical materialist, Lenin recognized first that the classes and class struggle arise in the mode of production and he

proceeded to look at the interaction of the superstructure and the mode of production in the course of class struggle. He did not confine classes and class struggle to the mode of production and the development of the productive forces.

He combated the attempts to expand and vulgarize the meaning of proletariat as to include all toilers and the petty bourgeoisie. He also combated the confabulations of the petty bourgeois (Kautsky, Martov and the like) about liberty, equality, democracy in general, equality of labor democracy, etc., as the supposed way to solve the problems in the transition from capitalism to socialism. At the same time, he called for the alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry and other revolutionary forces.

The proletariat cannot build socialism by confining itself to economic struggle in the mode of production and without developing its revolutionary theory as guide to its revolutionary movement, without smashing the bourgeois class dictatorship and replacing it with the proletarian class dictatorship and without supplanting the bourgeois and other antiquated culture with the proletarian-socialist culture.

In the course of socialist revolution and construction, the exploiting classes can be abolished in the economic and legal spheres. Although basically required, socialist economic construction alone cannot automatically create a proletarian-socialist superstructure that can extirpate the vestiges or new shoots of the bourgeoisie in the superstructure. The revolutionary proletariat must make a conscious and deliberate effort to extend and win the class struggle in the superstructure.

In the historical experience of both the Soviet Union and China, the old bourgeoisie and the landlord class took their last line of resistance in the superstructure under many pretenses and eventually a new petty bourgeoisie arose from the new intelligentsia and bureaucracy as a result of uneven development and the errors and shortcomings of the revolutionary party of the proletariat

in the conduct of the two-line struggle with the bourgeoisie. Mao observed and fought the new petty bourgeoisie and won against it in his lifetime but his line would still be defeated after his death.

The new petty bourgeoisie is the initial social base of modern revisionism in socialist society. It generates supraclass or prematurely classless concepts, contempt for the proletariat and cynical disdain for the proletariat's historic mission of building socialism. It corrodes the ranks of communists. As a technocratic force, it buttresses and promotes at the highest level of the ruling communist party and socialist state a clique of revisionists ready to seize power from the proletariat at the opportune moment. It adulates the international bourgeoisie and contraposes bourgeois cosmopolitanism to proletarian internationalism.

After seizing political power, the top revisionists become bureaucrat monopoly capitalists. They revise the fundamental principles of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and whip up idealism and mechanical materialism. They prate about "universal humanism" and at the same time about the theory of productive forces. They proclaim—as in the Soviet Union—that the proletariat has already accomplished its historic mission of building socialism or—as in China—that classes and class struggle are dying out while they restore capitalism and impose social-fascism on the proletariat and the people.

They whip up the slogans of bourgeois populism, bourgeois democracy and bourgeois pacifism as Khrushchov initially did in order to lay aside the proletariat's epochal mission. They reinstate the capitalist law of value and re Commodify living labor and the means of production and expand the bourgeois right to exploit the working people. They claim at first that a certain amount of private enterprise in agriculture, handicrafts and services would help build socialism and they go so far as to say that a retrogression into the "new economic policy" is the main path to socialism rather than a transitory measure of the past. Eventually they widen

the road to capitalism for the domestic and international bourgeoisie.

For a long while, they use the names of the communist party and the socialist state and systematically further change their character and composition until the time comes for discarding shallow tokens of socialism and legalizing bureaucratic loot and unbridled privatization of public assets. The genuine communists know very well the historical course and ongoing consequences of revisionist betrayal and capitalist restoration in the former Soviet Union. They are in a better position to tell us about these. We admire the determination and effort to restore socialism and the Soviet Union and look forward to the resurgence and advance of the revolutionary movement for socialism.

It is our view that for them to be successful, proletarian revolutionaries must avail of the Marxist-Leninist legacy of Lenin and Stalin and rebuild a genuine Bolshevik party. They must arouse, organize and mobilize the proletariat and the entire people against the big bourgeoisie and the local reactionaries. They must build their independent armed organization and, in the same way that their Bolshevik forefathers did, build communist cells within the reactionary armed forces. They must overthrow the bourgeois class dictatorship and replace it with the proletarian class dictatorship.

If the objective is to restore a socialist Soviet Union, it is necessary to resolutely keep in mind and practice the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship as well as on the nationality question. Great Russian chauvinism and imperialism are now in force and at work in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and so is local bourgeois nationalism in various parts of the former Soviet Union against the proletariat and people.

The proletarian revolutionaries must pick up the swords of Lenin and Stalin, lead the proletariat and the oppressed nations and peoples, take away the initiative from the Russian imperial-

ists and the local bourgeois nationalists and smite them in order to restore proletarian dictatorship and build socialism. The oppressors and exploiters are vulnerable to armed revolution because they have so flagrantly robbed the social wealth created by the proletariat and people. The world's proletariat and people are eagerly awaiting an armed revolutionary movement to arise and punish the traitors and robbers in the former Soviet Union.

It is not only in the former Soviet Union that revisionist and neorevisionist currents about classes and class struggle are running in order to lead the proletariat and the people astray. In imperialist countries and some third world countries, there are parties that persist in generating these currents. Their understanding of classes and class struggle is preconditioned by Brezhnevism and neo-Brezhnevism even as they may either condemn Gorbachov or continue to adulate him as one who "sincerely" tried to "renew socialism".

The imperialist countries are powerful sources of the main conspicuously bourgeois ideas about classes and class struggle as well as deviously petty bourgeois ideas about these. The consistent line running through all these ideas is the obfuscation of class struggle and the espousal of class conciliation between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat. These ideas revolve around the practice of tripartism (collaboration of the state, the monopoly capitalists and the bureaucratized trade unions) or simply bipartism between the state and the monopoly capitalists.

The monopoly bourgeoisie has never ceased to use petty-bourgeois ideas in order to reinforce state power and impose social order in capitalist society. It has systematically spread the petty-bourgeois mentality among the more highly paid workers and has successfully done so in relative calm periods of the class struggle. In times of severe crisis, such petty-bourgeois ideas as bourgeois laborism, opportunism, reformism and revisionism are let loose to block the proletarian revolutionaries before the ultimate weapon

of fascist violence is used against an irrepressible revolutionary proletariat.

In recent decades, the most fantastic tale is that the proletariat is a vanishing tribe in a "post-industrial" society and that the "service sector" in the industrial capitalist countries is expanding the ranks of the white collars. The term "middle class" has been used to include the white collars and the more highly paid stratum of the blue collars. Some babblers speak of the white collars as the new vanguard to displace the "outdated" proletariat in fundamental change against the monopoly bourgeoisie. Other babblers more timidly describe the white collars as no more than beggars of reform and cooperators of the big bourgeoisie within the capitalist system.

The information technology has been presumed to reduce and replace the blue collars on the way from one severe crisis of overproduction to another. And yet they have remained as basic producers, despite the rise of productivity and chronic unemployment. The basic electro-mechanical processes cannot run without the blue collars operating them and producing new values with their labor power. In the '80s, the blue collars appeared to be more vulnerable than the white collars to displacement by automatons and computers. But now, in the '90s, the white collars are as vulnerable as or even more so than the blue collars in the drive of the monopoly bourgeois to maximize profits, accumulate constant capital and reduce the wage fund.

In industrial capitalist societies, the blue collars by themselves alone outnumber by so many times their class opponent, the monopoly bourgeoisie. But if we were to divide these societies into those that own capital and those that have to sell their labor power in order to subsist, including the blue and white collars, then Marx's prediction of capitalist society being divided into the two camps has long been fulfilled.

In the most advanced capitalist countries, as well as in the semicolonies and dependent countries where cheap labor is resorted to by the multinational corporations, the proletariat as a class concept remains valid. The proletariat continues to be a real force for fighting and overthrowing the monopoly bourgeoisie and for building socialism in the future. To make believe that the proletariat is disappearing or has become inconsequential will not create any other new vanguard for socialism.

The petty bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeois-minded cannot move away from their servitude and servility to capitalism unless they follow the class leadership of the proletariat and join the broad revolutionary mass movement. By remoulding themselves into communists in the course of revolutionary struggle, some petty bourgeois can change their class position to that of the proletariat. But the general run of the petty bourgeoisie will tend to be servitors of the bourgeoisie in periods of relatively unhindered capital expansion and tend to follow the revolutionary proletariat in periods of severe crisis in the capitalist system.

The imperialists and the most reactionary forces have long funded a few petty-bourgeois hirelings in the industrial capitalist and underdeveloped countries to specialize in spreading anticommunist and antiproletarian notions and undertake programs and projects to obscure and blunt the class struggle of the proletariat and the big bourgeoisie and the anti-imperialist struggles of the oppressed peoples and nations.

The petty-bourgeois hirelings pretend to criticize their imperialist and reactionary benefactors but prettify them by conjuring illusions that these can reform themselves about such issues as oppression and exploitation, sustainable development, poverty alleviation, environment, gender equality, ethnicity, civil society and so on. Pretending to be engaged in social movement or civic initiative, above classes and without class or government support,

they misappropriate certain issues to slander and attack the proletariat and its revolutionary party.

The reality of exploiting and exploited classes and class struggle in the underdeveloped countries of the third world is similar to that obtaining in the many economically depressed and underdeveloped republics of Russia and the former Soviet Union. The long process of restoring capitalism and the current deprivations of undisguised capitalism of the most barbaric kind have destroyed the productive forces in a big and deepgoing way and have degraded many republics to the status of backward third world countries. To prevent Russia from rebounding as a major imperialist rival and to let her military capability deteriorate further, the US, the European Union and Japan are deliberately carrying out a policy of dumping surplus goods on her, limiting productive investments from abroad and effecting the further destruction of her industrial and military-industrial base.

In most of the underdeveloped countries of the third world, a modern industrial proletariat has somehow arisen from import-dependent manufacturing, transport and communications, public utilities, mining and so on. Only in a few countries of the third world is there a modern industrial proletariat arising from some comprehensive industrial foundation or some heavy and basic industries, where once before socialism was in place as in China or where once before an anti-imperialist bourgeois nationalism could insist on national industrialization as in India.

There is a new development in the world arising from high-tech capitalist production for profit and the most avaricious forms of profit-taking by finance capitalism. There is an unprecedentedly high rate of capital accumulation, concentration and centralization of capital in such global centers of capitalism as the US, the European Union and Japan. As a result, there is a rapid process of deindustrialization and decapitalization in most countries of the world.

In some ten countries outside the said global centers of capitalism, investments are concentrated on sweatshops engaged in the manufacture or reassembly of consumer goods for the industrial capitalist countries. These avail of cheap labor, do not provide job tenure and other workers' rights, are easily relocated, undermine the national industry and are now increasingly vulnerable to their own distinctive crisis of overproduction and to reduced consumption in the recession-ridden export market.

At the same time, in most of the underdeveloped countries where these sweatshops are not established and where production equipment are not renovated, there are depressed economic conditions, extreme poverty and social disorder as a result of the overproduction of raw materials since the 1970s. Production of raw materials and some manufactures with the old equipment has become uncompetitive in the world capitalist system and has resulted in stagnation and closures.

At present, there is a great spasm in the world capitalist system due to the crisis of overproduction induced by high technology for profit and the most abusive forms of finance capitalism. There is widespread destruction of productive forces through mass unemployment and closures of factories. Condition in the republics of the former Soviet Union are increasingly becoming similar to those in the third world.

But the monopoly capitalists will always need a proletariat to exploit in their own homegrounds and on a world scale. No matter how far the current crisis of the world capitalist system goes, the modern industrial proletariat will continue to exist in most countries of the world and remain as the most productive and progressive political force against monopoly capitalism. There is no way for another class to take away from the proletariat the revolutionary role of class leadership in the struggle for socialism against imperialism.

We are still in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution as defined by Lenin. This is true especially because of the revisionist betrayal and capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and other former socialist countries. The teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao about classes and class struggle remain valid to this day. Without a foundation in the revolutionary theory and practice, we cannot make new theoretical and practical advances in the struggle of the proletariat for socialism and communism.

Long live Lenin and Stalin!

Build a Marxist-Leninist party in Russia!

Long live Marxism-Leninism! #

**The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution:
Impact on the Philippines
and Continuing Global Significance**

**Contribution to the Symposium
Marking the 30th Anniversary of the GPCR
December 14-15, 1996**

**By Jose Maria Sison
CPP Founding Chairman**

I wish to express my warmest greetings to the China Study Group of New York, *Monthly Review* and ESU of the New York School and all the participants of the Symposium, "Reexamining the Chinese Cultural Revolution", which is being held to mark the 30th anniversary of the launching of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) as well as the 20th anniversary of its effective end in September 1976.

I also wish to thank the organizers for inviting me to contribute a paper devoted to the GPCR, in particular about its impact and the way this ended or continued in revolutionary struggles in the third world. Due to some burden of work, I am unable to submit on time a more elaborate paper on the impact of the GPCR on the entire third world. But let me deal with this in general terms and give some focus on the Philippines and proceed to make some remarks on the continuing global significance of the GPCR.

For your reference, there is a longer article which is pertinent to the impact of the GPCR on the Philippines. This is "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as Guide to the Philippine Revolution", contributed by Armando Liwanag, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, to the International Seminar on Mao Zedong Thought, held in 1993 in

Germany, on the occasion of the 100th birth anniversary of Mao Zedong.

And let me take the opportunity to cite the General Declaration on Mao Zedong Thought, issued by the aforesaid seminar. It upholds the theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship and the GPCR as the greatest contribution of Mao to the further development of Marxism-Leninism. This declaration diametrically opposes the common view of the imperialists and the Chinese revisionists and bureaucrat capitalists that the GPCR was a total disaster.

Impact of the GPCR on the Philippines

The GPCR inspired the building and strengthening of many Marxist-Leninist parties in the third world. To this day, a significant number of them persevere in revolutionary struggle in Southeast Asia, South Asia, Central Asia, Latin America and Africa. Some of them are in the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations, upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

At the forefront are revolutionary parties of the proletariat guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism and leading new-democratic revolutions through people's war against imperialism and reaction. They are the most tempered and most serious advanced detachments of the proletariat. They follow the basic teachings of Mao Zedong and respond to the central question of revolution.

They stand in sharp contrast to the parties that previously avowed themselves to be Marxist-Leninist and antirevisionist but have become drawn to the path of revisionism and reformism. They have also withstood the attempts of the followers of Deng Xiaoping and Enver Hoxha to fragment and destroy the antirevisionist parties as well as certain attempts to reduce adher-

ence to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to a question of defending one or another Chinese figure or group regarded as the principal successor or supporter of Mao.

The parties most prone to abandoning the Marxist-Leninist position have been those constituted by the unremoulded petty-bourgeois, especially in the industrial capitalist countries. In the late '70s and early '80s, they were confused and driven towards liquidationism or abandonment of Mao's line by the Deng revisionist line of reversing the GPCR, betraying socialism and making out US imperialism and the bourgeoisie as the principal positive forces for China's economic development and for a pretended opposition to Soviet social-imperialism, as well as by the Hoxha line of holding Mao chiefly responsible for Deng's misuse of China's three-world diplomatic concept as a license for capitalist restoration in collusion with US imperialism, as a way of capitulating to the bourgeoisie under the guise of combating Soviet social imperialism and as a substitute for proletarian internationalism.

The theory and practice of the GPCR pertained directly to China as a socialist country, with the proletarian revolutionaries, the proletariat and the rest of the masses striving to continue the revolution under proletarian dictatorship in order to consolidate socialism, combat revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism. But in a comprehensive and profound way, the GPCR has also inspired and influenced the revolutionary parties of the proletariat in the third world even as these are not yet in the process of socialist revolution and construction. It has enhanced the understanding of the basic principles for making the new-democratic and socialist stages of the revolution and for aiming at the ultimate goal of communism.

It has urged the study and application of the basic teachings of the great communists, including the major contributions of Mao in the advance of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy

and social science. It has educated proletarian revolutionaries in building the vanguard party and in carrying out the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war and subsequently the socialist revolution and construction.

It has clarified the basic principles and methods of class struggle for combating modern revisionism, preventing the restoration of capitalism and consolidating socialism in socialist society, up to the threshold of communism in the long process of making a radical rupture from the millennia-old institution and consequences of private ownership of the means of production. Thus, it has shed light as never before on the road to communism.

The proletarian revolutionaries in the Philippines reestablished the Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968 on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. They sought to apply the universal theory of the proletariat on the concrete conditions of the Philippines. They drew inspiration and encouragement from the full range of Marxist-Leninist teachings, from the Chinese revolution as a whole and from the GPCR.

They earnestly learned crucial lessons from the experience of the Chinese revolution and criticized and repudiated modern revisionism centered in the Soviet Union. Thus they armed themselves with a powerful ideological weapon to fight and defeat the long-running line of revisionism and opportunism of the Lava revisionist renegades in the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist parties. They studied and endeavored to apply the teachings of Mao Zedong on the law of contradiction and social practice, on Party building and the rectification movement, the class analysis of semicolonial and semifeudal conditions, the new-democratic revolution, the strategy and tactics of protracted people's war and united front policy.

The revolutionary forces and the people advanced from victory to victory for so long as the CPP adhered to the ideological

line of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and to the general political line of new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war. From 1969 to 1977, the CPP grew in strength and became nationwide in scale and deeply rooted among the masses in the course of the armed revolution against the US-Marcos dictatorship.

Departing from the "Tribute to Mao Zedong" written by Amado Guerrero, chairman of the CPP Central Committee, soon after Mao's death, the central leadership of the CPP did not resolutely and militantly defend Mao's Marxist-Leninist line and accomplishments against Dengist attack even after this started to become full scale and conspicuous after 1978 when the policy of capitalist-oriented reforms and "opening up" to the world capitalist system was proclaimed. Eventually, the silence led to the neglect of the study and application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and to the growth of subjectivism and opportunism, despite the continuous formal declarations of adherence to Mao Zedong Thought and of upholding the GPCR in CPP documents.

Mao Zedong became reduced to just one in an amorphous array of revolutionary leaders. Even the petty-bourgeois radical leaders of anti-imperialist movements in Central America gained a standing higher than Mao's among some members of the CPP Central Committee. These stirred up the revisionist notion that the Philippine revolution could win only if it had direct or indirect Soviet military and financial assistance. They frowned upon the principle of self-reliance. And they started to consider the Soviet Union as socialist in violation of the CPP's long-standing criticism and repudiation of Soviet revisionism and social-imperialism.

Contrary to the facts, the subjectivist notion arose that the Philippines was no longer semifeudal and that the US-Marcos regime had industrialized and urbanized the country to the extent that the strategic line of people's war, requiring the encirclement

of the cities from the countryside, was no longer valid. The worst of the "Left" opportunists called for armed urban insurrection as the principal form of struggle. And the worst of the Right opportunists called for urban-based legal struggle as the principal form of struggle and for liquidating the leading role and independent initiative of the CPP in the united front.

The Right opportunists became assertive from 1986 onward under the influence of the US-Aquino regime and later on by Gorbachovism. Frustrated by their own errors and setbacks, the "Left" opportunists openly swung to the Right in 1989 and joined the long-running Right opportunists along a revisionist and liquidationist line under the influence of events in China and the Soviet-bloc countries.

The "Left" opportunists had inflicted the most severe damage on the revolutionary movement with their revisionist concept of armed struggle, divorced from painstaking mass work and corrosive of the principle of self-reliance. The damage was only overshadowed by the advances made by the proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary masses up to 1986.

Because good Party cadres and members continued to stand on the CPP's strong foundation in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the revisionists and opportunists could not go on spreading their erroneous lines and inflicting damage to the CPP and the revolutionary movement. Exactly when they were at the peak of their anti-CPP activities, the CPP was ready to launch a rectification movement. Since 1992, this movement has been conducted and has won resounding victories.

The CPP owes to Mao Zedong the principle and method of rectification. It has been able to strengthen itself ideologically, politically and organizationally by reaffirming the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It has defeated the revisionists and liquidationists. It has also thwarted the imperialist ideological and political offensive.

This offensive uses as grist the disintegration of the revisionist bureaucrat capitalist regimes in the former Soviet-bloc countries, the restoration of capitalism in China and the uprisings in 80 Chinese cities in 1989, especially the massacre at Tienanmen; and misrepresents the revisionist regimes as socialist and as proof of the futility of the socialist cause in order to dissuade the people from the revolutionary cause.

The imperialist offensive also involves the use of Filipino revisionist renegades and anticommunist petty-bourgeois grouplets in carrying out anti-CPP propaganda as a component of the psychological warfare in the US-instigated "low-intensity conflict". Thanks to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the CPP has been able to consolidate its ranks and continues to reap victories in performing the critical and constructive tasks of the rectification movement.

By reaffirming and carrying out the basic revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in ideology, politics and organization, the CPP has revitalized itself and has become more confident than ever before in holding high the banner of proletarian revolutionary leadership and carrying out the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war.

It is proud of persevering in the highest form of revolutionary struggle and being at the forefront at a time that the anti-imperialist and socialist movements are at an ebb on a global scale. At the same time, it is humbly well aware of the tremendous odds that it faces. It is conscious of performing its internationalist duty by carrying the Philippine revolution forward and contributing to the stimulation and resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movements.

The Continuing Global Significance of the GPCR

Let me make just a few remarks on the continuing global significance of the theory and practice of the GPCR. I hope that these are relevant and useful in your discussions. I make these remarks against the notion that because the GPCR was defeated it has lost significance and validity.

As long as capitalism exists, the cause of socialist revolution does not cease. In making revolution, there are twists and turns, victories and defeats until total victory is won on the scale of one country and that of the whole world. The struggle between capitalism and socialism will continue for a whole historical epoch, as Lenin and Mao pointed out, until socialism wins on a global scale and communism becomes possible.

The proletarian revolutionaries never gave up the cause of socialism when the short-lived Paris Commune of 1871 or the Russian revolution of 1905 was defeated. They were never discouraged when the fascists crushed the communist parties and invaded the Soviet Union and other countries. The capitalist counterrevolution by the revisionists in socialist countries does not spell the end of the socialist cause. The proletarian revolutionaries always come out the wiser and more victorious when they learn lessons from previous victories and defeats.

1. The fact that the GPCR triumphed in Mao's time should not be glossed over. Until now in the history of mankind, there has never been as intensive and extensive a democratic process as the GPCR, with the proletariat and the people being able to express themselves freely, seize back the authority usurped by capitalist-roaders and overthrow such deeply entrenched high officials of the Party and the state. The victory of the GPCR came as the culmination of a series of struggles between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois renegade line within the Com-

munist Party of China (CPC) and the Chinese socialist state. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie started to simmer in 1956, following the overthrow of the proletariat by the revisionists in the Soviet Union and the basic socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in China and in the course of the Eighth Congress of the CPC.

The basic principles and practical methods that Mao drew up for the GPCR were guided by and developed from the basic teachings of his great communist predecessors and arose from the two-line struggle within the CPC and from the lessons learned from the building of socialism by Lenin and Stalin, from the achievements and shortcomings of Stalin and from the betrayal of socialism by the Soviet revisionists.

Among the points that Mao put forward during the GPCR were the following: that the main contradiction in socialist society is between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, that class struggle is the key link in all spheres, that revolutionary politics must be in command, that the mass line must be pursued, that both the mode of production and the superstructure must be revolutionized, that the youth and the masses must be trained and gain experience as revolutionary successors through cultural revolution, that there must be the dialectical interaction and mutual supervision and cooperation between the leadership and the masses, that there must be a three-in-one combination of cadres, masses and experts, that there must be freedom and discipline, that special attention must be paid to the revolutionary education of the intelligentsia and the bureaucracy lest they become the ideological and social base of revisionism and capitalist restoration.

Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping and the like opposed the proletarian revolutionary line of Mao with such notions as the harmony of Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, self-cultivation and expertise above the heads of the masses, dying out of the class struggle, the main contradiction in socialist society is between the back-

ward productive forces and the advanced relations of production, the Kautskyite "theory of productive forces" (building socialism is merely an economic operation), dealing with labor power and means of production as commodities subject to the capitalist law of value, the consolidation of the national democratic revolution and Bukharinite prolongation of concessions to the national bourgeoisie and the rich peasants and shunning the restriction and eventual elimination of bourgeois rights.

The Chinese capitalist roaders wanted to overthrow Mao and his proletarian revolutionary line. In the demagogic fashion of the Soviet revisionists, they depicted him as guilty of the cult of personality and even as a feudal autocrat. But on the way to the GPCR, Mao succeeded in putting forward the general line of socialist revolution and construction, launching the Great Leap Forward and building the people's communes, making a comprehensive critique of Soviet modern revisionism and defeating the most overt Right opportunists from 1957 to 1959 and redirecting the socialist education movement against the Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road as the main target.

What makes the theory and practice of the GPCR the greatest achievement of Mao is that by this he was able to identify the crucial problems that, if unsolved, can spell the peaceful change of socialism into capitalism and to win victory in the solution of those problems up to a significant level in a significant period of time. The defeat of the GPCR urges us to learn both positive and negative lessons, in the same way that Marx analyzed the Paris Commune and upheld its revolutionary significance.

Some lessons include the necessity of combatting ultra-democracy and factionalism, ensuring that the Left win over the Middle to isolate the Right, using due process in addition to Party leadership and mass movement in order to narrow the target and limit the number of those subject to punitive measures, directing the ideological and political offensive against the worst forces and

factors, using education and persuasion on those who merely lag behind and preventing the return to power of the incorrigible and systematic capitalist-roaders like Deng Xiaoping. Because of serious errors, the proletarian revolutionary succession to Mao could not be fulfilled all the way after his death.

2. The Chinese revisionists who have reversed the proletarian revolutionary line of Mao and falsely judged the GPCR as a total disaster cannot gloat endlessly over their betrayal of socialism. The actual restoration of capitalism in China indubitably proves the correctness of Mao in putting forward the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through the GPCR. The basic revisionist notions of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping against the socialist line of Mao have led to capitalist counterrevolution and the unbridled exploitation and oppression of the proletariat and people by the imperialists and the Chinese bourgeoisie.

The Chinese revisionists and bureaucrat capitalists still masquerade as communists and pretend to run a socialist state. But the truth can be easily drawn from the facts. The class rule of the proletariat has been overthrown in all spheres and the capitalist-oriented reforms and integration of China into the world capitalist system have created a powerful bureaucrat and private comprador big bourgeoisie. Especially after Mao's criticism of Soviet revisionism and monopoly bureaucrat capitalism, it is naive of some people to say that China is socialist simply because of the existence of state-owned enterprises and the formal rule of a communist party. These are merely the base of a bureaucrat monopoly bourgeoisie, which is growing as a comprador big bourgeoisie in collusion with the imperialists and private bourgeoisie in the Chinese economy.

It is important for the symposium to clarify and demonstrate how the Chinese revisionists and bureaucrat capitalists have revised the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong

Thought in philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, overthrown the class dictatorship of the proletariat, redirected and reorganized the CPC, adopted and enforced policies and laws that have destroyed the socialist character of China and turned it into capitalist in politics, economy and culture and in fact inflicted severe oppression and exploitation on the broad masses of the people by the imperialists and the domestic Chinese bourgeoisie.

Mao said before that when the revisionists come to power they impose fascism on the proletariat and the people. There is certainly the fascist application of open terror and mass deception when in the name of stability and socialist labor discipline the workers are prohibited from and punished for organizing themselves and acting in concert against the foreign monopoly firms and the domestic big bourgeoisie which have extracted superprofits from cheap Chinese labor.

It is interesting to try answering the following questions: how much longer will the bureaucrat and private capitalists use the signboards of the communist party and the socialist state to legitimize and enforce their bourgeois class rule before giving way to openly anticommunist political liberalization as the inevitable consequence of economic liberalization; and whether there are still sufficiently resolute and courageous proletarian revolutionaries to avail of the legacy of Mao Zedong and the GPCR and lead the masses in a revolutionary movement for socialism.

3. The completely undisguised restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union and the disintegration of the Soviet Union verify and vindicate the correctness of Mao's critique of modern revisionism and the theory and practice of the GPCR. The direction in which the Chinese revisionists are taking China is presaged by the earlier 35-year experience of the Soviet revisionist renegades.

In a manner of speaking, the Chinese revolution was overtaken by the betrayal of socialism in the Soviet Union in 1956. Mao's

opponents took inspiration from the Soviet revisionists and tried to cast away his proletarian revolutionary line. But Mao prevailed while he was alive. His successful resistance to modern revisionism and defense of Chinese socialism actually lasted for 20 years from 1956 to 1976 and gave him the opportunity to make a pathbreaking critique of an unprecedented phenomenon, which was revisionism in power and capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union.

A necessary component of Mao's theory and practice of the GPCR is his comprehensive and profound critique of Soviet modern revisionism. History presented to him the task of analyzing something unprecedented, revisionism subverting and gaining power in a socialist society. And he performed his task well, up to predicting correctly the undisguised restoration of capitalism and disintegration of the revisionist regimes. Quite a number of people had believed that Khrushchov would build the material and technical foundation of communism in the Soviet Union in twenty years' time and later on that Brezhnev's "real socialism" was irreversible.

4. Mao's theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship through the GPCR is indispensable to proletarian revolutionaries in understanding the problems of making socialist revolution and construction in the face of imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

Without this theory and practice, Marxist-Leninists would be at a loss in the face of the attempt of the imperialists, the revisionists and all their anticommunist petty-bourgeois camp followers to completely discredit the socialist record of Lenin, Stalin and Mao, further attack socialism by misrepresenting the anti-Stalin and anti-Mao revisionist regimes as socialist and prate about the futility of the socialist cause.

With Mao's critique of modern revisionism and his theory and practice of the GPCR, there is ample scientific basis for revolu-

tionary foresight and optimism and for the confidence that when socialist societies shall again arise from the crisis of imperialism and upsurge of proletarian revolution, the communists will have a better grasp of what to do in upholding, defending and advancing socialism towards the ultimate goal of communism.

5. Because of the defeat of socialism since 1956 in the Soviet Union and conspicuously since 1978 in China, the proletariat and the people of the world are still very much in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and are being subjected to ever worsening conditions of exploitation and oppression. (Hua Guofeng from 1976 to 1978 was comparable to Malenkov from 1954 to 1956 as a transition figure, already encircled by the revisionists.)

The centralization and concentration of capital are more rapid than ever before in the entire history of capitalism because of the use of high technology and the most speculative forms of finance capital. The destructive consequences of present-day capitalism are unprecedented in both industrial capitalist countries and underdeveloped countries. The uneven development of capitalism is far grosser than ever before, as most evident in the general run of third world and former Soviet-bloc countries.

Insofar as the new-democratic and socialist revolutions will still have to be waged in various countries at different times, the basic teachings of the great communists from Marx to Mao and the lessons from successful revolutions will continue to be relevant and applicable long into the future. The basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought shall be upheld and further developed on the basis of persistent, worsened and new concrete conditions.

In closing, I wish you all the success in the symposium and I eagerly await the results to be published. #

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

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

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

I

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

1. The Sharpening General Crisis of Capitalism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.1. The situation in the imperialist countries

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.4. The intensification of the contradictions among the imperialists

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

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

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

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

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

2. Perspective of the World Proletarian Revolution

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

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

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

2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4

On Continuing the International Conference

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Signatories Marxist-Leninist organization of Afghanistan • Revolutionary Communist Party, Argentina • Workers' Party of Bangladesh • Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany • Communist Organization Marxist-Leninist, Revolutionary Way, France • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Janashakti • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) New Democracy • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) People's War • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Provisional Central Committee • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Red Flag • Communist Organization of Luxembourg • Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninists) (excluding no. 2 and no. 5 A) • Marxist-Leninist Group (Red Dawn), Netherlands • Workers' Communist Party, Norway • Communist Party of the Philippines •

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Signatories: Marxist-Leninist organization of Afghanistan • Workers' Party of Bangladesh • Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany • Communist Organization Marxist-Leninist, Luxembourg • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Janashakti • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) New Democracy • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) People's War • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Provisional Central Committee • Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Red Flag • Marxist-Leninist Group (Red Dawn), Netherlands • Communist Party of the Philippines • Pan Africanist Congress, South Africa • ChingKang Mountains Institute, Taiwan • Revolutionary organization of Zaire **

**Celebrate the Great October
Socialist Revolution,
Wage Revolutionary Struggles
Under the Leadership of the Proletariat**

**Joint Declaration
November 1996**

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism and broad anti-imperialist solidarity, we the undersigned celebrate the 79th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and renew our resolve to wage revolutionary struggles under the leadership of the proletariat against imperialism and for socialism in our respective countries and throughout the world.

The October Revolution brought about the establishment of the first socialist country in the history of mankind. It was the result of the resolute struggle of the proletariat and people, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, against imperialism, revisionism and reaction. Led by the great Lenin, the Bolsheviks took advantage of the first general crisis of monopoly capitalism and the first interimperialist war in the 20th century.

The salvoes of the October Revolution inspired the proletariat in the capitalist countries to struggle for socialism as well as the oppressed peoples and nations in colonies, semicolonies and dependent countries to fight for national liberation and socialism against imperialism.

The proletariat proved capable of carrying out its historic mission of building socialism. The great achievements of the Soviet proletariat and the people in socialist revolution and construction, in defeating international fascism in World War II and in paving the way for the victory of several socialist countries and

national liberation movements are unforgettable and resound even today.

The scientific and proletarian revolutionary theory and practice of Lenin and Stalin are in sharp contrast to the subsequent reign of modern revisionism and disguised restoration of capitalism and in even sharper contrast to the current depredations of undisguised and unbridled capitalism following the destruction of the Soviet Union in 1991.

The Meaning of the October Revolution Today

We are still in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution, as defined by Lenin. This is true because of the continuing dominance of monopoly capitalism, the reversal of socialism in several countries and the ravages of neocolonialism.

There is the crying need to wage the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and for socialism. The teachings of Lenin and Stalin on proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship and on the need to fight imperialism in its own homegrounds and in the semicolonies and dependent countries remain valid.

The meaning of the October Revolution for us today is that the proletariat and people of the world must fight back against imperialism, resist the ever worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation, overthrow the oppressors and exploiters and march forward in the direction of socialism.

It is not enough to celebrate and cherish the great revolutionary victories of the proletariat and the people in the past. The point is to strengthen anew the ranks of the subjective forces of the revolution and arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people against imperialism and for socialism.

The World Situation: Economic and Political

The world capitalist system is in the throes of a severe crisis of overproduction. It is being ripped apart by the contradiction between the *highly social character of the high-tech means of production* and the extremely avaricious forms of private profit-taking by the multinational corporations. The main consequence of high-tech production for profit and the large overhang of finance capital is destructive rather than productive and is aggravating and deepening all basic contradictions in the world capitalist system.

Capital is being rapidly accumulated, concentrated and centralized in the hands of the multinational corporations and banks. Overproduction follows. The monopoly capitalists try to counter the falling rates of profit by engaging in mass layoffs and pressing down wage and living conditions in the imperialist countries. Thus, the basic contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is sharpening. The workers, women, the youth and senior citizens are undertaking general strikes and other forms of mass resistance.

The basic contradiction between the imperialists and the oppressed peoples and nations is also sharpening. The drive of the imperialists to maximize profits, press down the wage and living conditions, overload the dominated countries with counterproductive loans and portfolio funds, undermine their national economies and maintain repressive regimes generates widespread social unrest and turbulence in the third world and former Soviet bloc countries.

In the new world disorder, the imperialists and the local reactionaries are responsible for widespread counterrevolutionary violence. However, there are nations and peoples waging various forms of revolutionary struggle, including armed struggle, for national and social liberation. There are also governments and

peoples asserting and defending their national independence and their right to aspire for a better society in the face of imperialist blockade, intervention and aggression.

Such imperialist powers as the *United States, European Union* and *Japan* are in alliance against the proletariat and the people but they are also increasingly in bitter economic competition. They consolidate their national and regional markets (*NAFTA, APEC, the European Union and Japan*) and try to penetrate each other's markets as they try to redivide the world among themselves.

As they engage in trade wars and maneuvers and counter maneuvers, they trample on the proletariat and the people. The interimperialist contradictions are exposing the absurdity and vulnerability of the world capitalist system. The danger of interimperialist war arises from the trade wars, the imperialist-instigated violence and the emergence of military fascism in *Russia*.

Necessity of Proletarian Internationalism

There is an urgent need for proletarian internationalism. The workers of the world are simultaneously under attack by the imperialists. They must build genuine revolutionary parties of their class under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and overcome the ceaseless efforts of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the labor aristocrats, the revisionists, the reformists and other pseudo-revolutionary and antiworker forces to confuse and disorganize the ranks of the working class.

The anti-imperialist and socialist movement can resurge and march forward, from victory to victory only under the leadership of the proletariat, which is the most productive and most progressive force in the world. This class can perform its leading role only by having an advanced detachment armed with revolutionary theory and trained and tested in class struggle.

We are in a period of clarifying the situation and the general line of the international working class movement. The communist and workers' parties must exchange ideas and experiences to raise the level of their common understanding and practical cooperation.

The most important way for the communist and workers' parties to unite is to study the basic principles of all the great communists, apply these in the concrete conditions of their respective countries and advance their revolutionary practice in order to realize the basis for proletarian internationalism.

Necessity for a Broad Anti-Imperialist Solidarity

Irrespective of their differences in ideology and social conditions, all parties, organizations and movements which are determined to fight imperialism can seek common political ground and engage in broad solidarity and cooperation.

There is an acute need for an international united front against imperialism and all forms of reaction. A broad range of organized political forces is needed to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people in every country and on a world scale in order to isolate and destroy the power of imperialism and its reactionary agents.

There are various forms of cooperation available. Among them are conferences, seminars and forums and mass campaigns to clarify the situation, the issues and the tasks to undertake. For instance, we the undersigned are resolved to hold the annual celebration of the October Revolution as an occasion for the aforesaid purpose.

By coming together to celebrate the October Revolution, we are inspired to raise the level of our revolutionary struggle in our respective countries, to support each other in every way possible and necessary and to engage in concerted anti-imperialist actions on a global scale and in the Netherlands

Solidarity and Cooperation in the Netherlands

We, the undersigned, including Dutch and foreign organizations in the Netherlands, are in solidarity against imperialism and for socialism. We are determined to raise higher our common political understanding and to engage in campaigns of information and mass actions and other forms of practical cooperation in the spirit of mutual support and mutual benefit.

Workers of all countries, unite!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

- **New Communist Party of the Netherlands**
- **Revolutionary People's Liberation Front (DHKC-Turkey)**
- **Immigrants and Migrants from Latin America (EMLA)**
 - **Communist Party of Chile (PCCH)**
- **Coordination Group for Solidarity with the People's Resistance in Indonesia (GPDI)**
- **National Democratic Front of the Philippines**