

JOINT DECLARATION

**of the COMMUNIST PARTY of GERMANY (m-l),
the COMMUNIST PARTY of SPAIN (m-l),
the COMMUNIST PARTY of GREECE (m-l),
the COMMUNIST PARTY of ITALY (m-l),
and the PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY
(RECONSTRUCTED)**



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In a special issue of October 1977, the newspaper «Vanguardia Obrera», central organ of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L), published the Joint Declaration of the Communist Party of Germany (M-L), the Communist Party of Spain (M-L), the Communist Party of Greece (M-L), the Communist Party of Italy (M-L) and the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed).

Delegations of the Communist Party of Germany (M-L), the Communist Party of Spain (M-L), the Communist Party of Greece (M-L), the Communist Party of Italy (M-L) and the Portuguese Communist Party (Reconstructed) have had fraternal meetings to deal with questions of mutual interest and exchange experience on the class struggle in various countries, as well as to discuss fundamental questions of the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics.

Our parties are of the opinion that the sharpening of the class struggle in our countries, the development of the situation in Europe, and the development of the world situation, require the strengthening of the unity and cooperation among the communist

parties. To respond to this need, our parties have begun these joint meetings, in which they have discussed the most important current questions of the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics. These meetings have been held in an atmosphere of profound fraternal and militant unity. The participating parties have decided to sum up the essential outcome in the following joint Declaration, in order to strengthen the common struggle of the working class and the masses of the peoples of our countries as well as to make their contribution to the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

1. — ON THE SITUATION IN OUR COUNTRIES

The struggle of the parties and the working class in our countries has many common aspects. The yoke of capitalist slavery weighs heavily on the proletariat of our countries. For the working class and the masses of the people, who have risen in struggle, there is but one road to liberate themselves from exploitation and oppression, the road of the violent overthrow of capitalism through the revolution, the road of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism.

At present the struggle of the working class and the working people is directed, first and foremost, against the consequences of the deep crisis which has gripped our countries and the whole capitalist-revisionist world system. Millions of working people of our countries are unemploy-

ed. Millions of workers have abandoned their countries in search of jobs and minimum living conditions, have emigrated to foreign soil, where as emigrant workers they are subject to special exploitation and oppression by the capitalists. On the other hand, hundreds of thousands of them have now been forced to return to their own countries, where they fill the ranks of the unemployed. The youth and women are subjected to special oppression and exploitation. Unemployment among the youth is increasing. In the enterprises the capitalists are intensifying the exploitation and imposing monstrously high rates of work. As a result the number of fatal accidents at work is increasing and the maiming of the workers and occupational diseases are increasing. The fall in real wages, the increase in prices, inflation and increasing taxes are causing the ever greater deterioration of the economic situation of the working people of our countries. The working class and the masses of the people in our countries are fighting with more and more determination against the efforts of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois governments that are trying to load the burden of the crisis on to the backs of working people.

The working class and the masses of the people in our countries who have suffered greatly under the fascist terror are still struggling today against fascism and social-fascism. In Spain the fascist dictatorship is decked out today in monarchic and parliamentary robes, striving in this way to get out of the profound crisis it is in, to cope with the revolutionary movement of the masses with the fraud of a false «democracy» and to facilitate its complete

integration into NATO and the European Common Market (EEC). In East Germany the social-fascist dictatorship of the new revisionist bourgeoisie is reigning. In Greece and Portugal, the fascist dictatorships were overthrown or replaced as a result of various factors, including the heroic struggle of the peoples of the respective countries. Despite this, the fascist forces, incited by imperialism and the big bourgeoisie, are active and threatening in both these countries. In Italy and West Germany, the monopoly bourgeoisie are hastening the fascistization of the state apparatus in all fields and at the same time inciting the development of fascist organizations and their paramilitary terrorist gangs. The bourgeoisie is trying to suppress the struggles of the working class and the masses of the people their strikes and demonstrations, by means of the increasing repression exercised by the state through the expansion of the police and army apparatus, and the fascist and social-fascist terror.

The peoples of our countries, who have suffered the consequences of two world wars prepared and unleashed by the imperialists, like all the peoples of the world, are faced with the growing danger of a new imperialist world war. While officially there is talk about peace, «detente» and disarmament, in order to deceive the peoples, in reality the armaments race and the preparations for war are being incessantly stepped up. War expenditure, particularly that of the two superpowers (the United States and the Soviet Union) as well as of all the other imperialist states is continually increasing. Ever larger sectors of production are being directed towards military purposes. The working class and

the masses of the people are becoming more and more aware of the need for resolute struggle against the policy of war of imperialism, and especially against the two superpowers.

2. — THE CHARACTER AND ESSENTIAL CONTRADICTIONS OF OUR EPOCH

The epoch in which we are living is the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution and the existing situation in the world is a result of the development and sharpening of the fundamental contradictions of this epoch, which were analysed by Lenin and Stalin. These contradictions are developing on the basis of the contradictions which pervade the whole historical epoch of capitalism, that is, the contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalist character of appropriation:

— the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie,

— the contradiction between the socialist system and the capitalist system,

— the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and nations on the one hand and imperialism on the other,

— the contradictions among imperialist states and financial groups.

These contradictions and the struggles deriving from them are linked with one another and interact reciprocally. None of these contradictions can be wiped out or denied.

In analysing the development of these contra-

dictions, it is necessary to keep in mind also the specific features of the present-day world. Thus, the revisionist countries are part of the capitalist system, because in them socialism and dictatorship of the proletariat have long since been replaced, capitalism has been completely restored, and the new bourgeoisie has established its own social-fascist dictatorship. Today, all the imperialist powers, and in particular the two superpowers, are actively opposing the oppressed peoples and nations. Among the inter-imperialist contradictions, today the contradiction between US imperialism and its allies on the one hand, and social-imperialism and its allies on the other hand, has emerged as the principal contradiction.

The two imperialist superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, constitute the biggest international exploiters and oppressors, the greatest enemies of the freedom and independence of the nations, the revolution and socialism. While they collaborate in struggle against the peoples and the revolution, they are competing for world hegemony. Today the main danger of new imperialist wars, and especially of a new imperialist world war, results from their rivalry in the struggle for world hegemony.

Each of the two superpowers is trying to win the trust of the peoples through deception and the use of demagoguery, trying for its own aggressive aims to profit from the just struggles being waged by the peoples against the other superpower. Thus, US imperialism presents itself before the peoples as a protector power in the face of the expansionist pretensions of Soviet social-imperialism, while Soviet

social-imperialism uses the slogan of anti-imperialist struggle in a demagogic way to put the just struggles of the peoples against US imperialism under its influence and control. However, the peoples who are fighting for their liberation from the yoke of imperialism and do not want to exchange one slavery with another, cannot rely on one superpower to fight the other. The two imperialist superpowers represent, in the same extent and to the same degree, the main enemy of the international proletariat, the socialist countries, and the oppressed peoples. Today it is essential to direct the main fire of the international united front against the two superpowers, against imperialism, capitalism, reaction and revisionism.

However, the two superpowers are not the only enemies of the international proletariat, the socialist countries and the oppressed peoples. The other imperialist and capitalist powers are also their enemies. The reactionary capitalist character of these countries has not altered in the least, their practice of exploiting and oppressing the peoples has not altered in the least, and their hostility to socialism and communism has not altered in the least. In the struggle for the triumph of the revolution and socialism it is necessary to take advantage of the contradictions between capitalist and imperialist states on the one hand, and the two superpowers on the other.

But here we are speaking of contradictions within the ranks of the enemies of the revolution and socialism, because these capitalist and imperialist states are not allies of the peoples in struggle against the superpowers. In reality, despite the more or less abrasive contradictions that exist between them and the superpowers, these capitalist and imperialist sta-

tes are integrated to this or that degree and in this or that form into the systems of **military alliances** and blocs of the superpowers.

The struggle against the two superpowers demands a life-and-death struggle against the aggressive military blocs, against NATO, which is under the direction of US imperialism, as well as against the Warsaw Treaty, directed by the Soviet social-imperialists. NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, and all the bourgeois and revisionist armies which have been incorporated into each of these blocs, represent the biggest armed forces to attack the revolution and socialism, and the freedom and independence of the peoples and nations. The two military blocs constitute the main implements in the hands of the two superpowers to prepare and launch imperialist wars.

In Europe, the two imperialist superpowers and their aggressive military blocs are confronting each other. In this strategic area, the two superpowers are relentlessly increasing the number of their troops and the annihilating capacity of their weapons. Western Europe is hitched to the war chariot of NATO, which has eliminated or restricted the independence of those countries. The Warsaw Treaty is keeping the countries of Eastern Europe under military occupation and strangling the aspirations of their peoples for independence.

Likewise it is necessary to fight against both the EEC and Comecon. The monopoly bourgeoisie of the countries of Western Europe claims that the EEC is a means to increase the joint prosperity of the West European peoples and for the independence of Western Europe in face of the superpowers. In rea-

lity, the European Common Market is an instrument of the monopolies to suppress and exploit the peoples of Western Europe and the other peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa. Although US imperialism is not formally a member of the EEC, it plays a dominant role in it. It is a dangerous illusion, if not a fraud, to claim that the European Common Market represents a force against the two superpowers or serves the interests of the peoples. The European Common Market is a tool of the West European imperialists and US imperialism to suppress and exploit the peoples, oppose the revolution and socialism.

Contrary to what the new bourgeoisie in the revisionist countries claims today, Comecon does not serve the «socialist integration» nor does it assist the prosperity of the peoples of the East. Just as capitalism has been completely restored in the revisionist countries, the laws of jungle, characteristic of imperialism, predominate in the relations between the Comecon countries. Thus, Comecon is, first of all, a tool of social-imperialism to plunder and enslave the other member countries, a tool of the Soviet social-imperialists to secure maximum profits and for expansion within its own spheres of influence. Like the European Common Market, Comecon is directed against the freedom and independence of the peoples, against the revolution and socialism. The forces of the revolution and socialism are becoming stronger in the struggle against the camp of the counter-revolution comprised of imperialism, with the two superpowers at the head, capitalism, reaction and revisionism.

The existence of the socialist countries, which consistently carry on the Marxist-Leninist line and

resolutely uphold proletarian internationalism, has very great importance for the international proletariat and the revolutionary movement throughout the world. The contradiction between socialist countries and imperialism is a class contradiction.

The fundamental character of this contradiction is based on the fact that the countries of the dictatorship of the proletariat and those where the bourgeois dictatorship prevails are irreconcilably opposed to one another. For the international proletariat and the peoples who are fighting, the socialist countries provide a shining example and are important fortresses in the struggle against imperialism, capitalism, reaction and revisionism.

At present, we are witnesses of a period in which important revolutionary struggles are going on, which prove once again that the international proletariat represents the decisive and leading force in the struggle for freedom and independence, against fascism and the imperialist war, and for the revolution and socialism. Likewise the proletariat is showing that it is the only consistently revolutionary class today. Because of its class situation and class interests, the proletariat is the genuine protagonist of the socialist revolution and the ideals of communism. It is only the proletariat, headed by the Marxist-Leninist party, which can lead and carry the revolutionary struggles through to victory.

The wide-ranging struggle of oppressed peoples against imperialism and internal reaction, and especially against the two superpowers, has assumed major proportions. The national liberation and anti-imperialist movement of the oppressed peoples continues to strike telling blows at imperialism and

represents the biggest strategic reserve of the proletarian revolution in our epoch. Under the leadership of the working class and its communist party, the revolution for national liberation will march triumphantly forward towards socialism, in the process of uninterrupted revolution.

The increased severity of all the fundamental contradictions of our epoch at this moment constitutes a characteristic symptom of the collapse of the imperialist world system of the general crisis of capitalism which is growing deeper day by day. The world situation today is complicated, but in general it is favourable for the struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples. Imperialism, with US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism at the head, is tight in the grip of a deep crisis. At the same time, the world front of the working class, the socialist countries, and the oppressed peoples and nations, under the leadership of the international proletariat headed by the Marxist-Leninist parties, against imperialism, and especially against the two superpowers, against capitalism, reaction and revisionism, is developing and growing stronger. All the continents are seething because of the upsurge of the revolutionary movement which is undermining the very foundations of the old world of oppression and exploitation. The revolution and socialism are on the agenda throughout the world.

3. — OUR TASKS IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The present situation in our countries proves with the greatest clarity that capitalism cannot alter and replace the laws which determine its develop-

ment. The struggle of the monopoly groups for maximum profits, anarchy and the absence of planning of production are essential features of the capitalist mode of production, which is based on the exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie. In the present deep crisis of «overproduction» the contradiction between social production and capitalist private appropriation is expressing itself with its full force. The deep crisis which is accelerating the relative and absolute impoverishment of the proletariat, as well as the progressive ruin of small farmers and other small producers, is accompanied with the mass destruction of social wealth. In capitalism the relations of production, have long ago turned irreparably into shackles for the productive forces.

Imperialism is sharpening all the contradictions of capitalism to the maximum. Imperialism is parasitic capitalism in decay, the highest and last stage of capitalism.

From the economic viewpoint, and consequently, from the political viewpoint, the monopoly bourgeoisie is the most powerful section of the bourgeoisie. The domination of a small group of monopolies, which concentrate the biggest part of the economic power in their hands and to which the apparatus of the bourgeois state is absolutely subject, is totally reactionary. Crises, fascism and predatory wars accompany imperialism, just as the shadow accompanies the body.

Bearing these facts in mind, it is not possible to have common interests between the proletariat and the monopoly bourgeoisie in our countries. Such common interests do not exist, either with regard to the struggle for national independence against the

two superpowers, or with regard to the threat of a new imperialist world war. On the contrary, the situation in our countries is characterized by the fact that the contradiction between the proletariat and the working masses on the one hand, and the monopoly bourgeoisie on the other, is rapidly becoming more acute.

Our Marxist-Leninist parties are unanimously of the opinion that, as vanguard revolutionary parties of the proletariat, it is their duty to resolutely combat the propaganda of revisionists and opportunists of all hues, who under any pretext, call on the proletariat and the popular masses to give up the struggle in defence of their interests and seek reconciliation with the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, we communists must strengthen our stand at the head of the struggles of the proletariat, farm workers, poor peasants, the worker and student youth. In this context, our parties defend the Leninist thesis that the working masses of the countryside, especially the farm workers, the semi-proletarians of the countryside and the poor peasants, constitute the main ally of the proletariat in the struggle for the revolution and socialism. The struggles of the popular masses of our countries are taking place with an ever greater awareness that the domination of the bourgeoisie must be overthrown and that the system of the exploitation of man by man must be ended.

Our parties support and lead the struggle of the working class and the working masses against unemployment and inflation, against the reduction of wages and super-exploitation, against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to shift the burden of the

crisis on to the backs of working people. In these struggles our parties are tempering the revolutionary unity of the working class and all the working people. By combating all forms of the ideology which preaches class conciliation, our parties help in the promotion and the development of the consciousness of the working people that their interests are of such a character as to be incompatible with those of the bourgeoisie, as well as the absolute necessity for the social revolution, in order to make a radical improvement in their situation.

In the struggle against fascism and social-fascism, against the reactionary violence of the governments and the apparatus of bourgeois states, against the terror of the fascist gangs, our parties resolutely encourage the anti-fascist struggles of the masses of the people and the creation of broad fronts of the anti-fascist struggle of the masses. During these struggles it is essential to expose the true role of revisionism and social democracy, which are trying systematically to disarm the people's forces, thus opening the way to fascism. It is essential to resolutely combat the stand of some opportunists who demand that the struggle against the fascist forces should be abandoned, on the pretext that in the struggle against Soviet social-fascism these forces would allegedly be on the side of the people.

Our parties stress the necessity of responding to the reactionary and fascist violence of the bourgeoisie with the revolutionary violence of the masses. While leading the struggles against reaction and fascism, our parties are working tirelessly to make the masses aware that capitalism, above all finance capitalism, is the source of fascism, and consequent-

ly, that fascism and social-fascism cannot be rooted out once and for all except by overthrowing capitalism.

Our parties are mobilizing the working class and the masses of the people in a broad front against the imperialist policy of war, especially against that of the two superpowers. It is our duty to raise the consciousness of the working class and the masses of the people in everything which has to do with the danger of a new imperialist world war and to smash any illusion about «detente» and so-called disarmament, propagated by the bourgeoisie and revisionism. The consistent struggle against imperialism, especially against the two superpowers, constitutes the only possible way to prevent a new imperialist world war. In every country the triumph of the revolution and socialism constitutes the greatest contribution to the struggle against those who are to blame for imperialist wars. Imperialism means war, and the elimination of any war will be possible only through the overthrow of imperialism throughout the world.

While fighting imperialism's policy of war it is necessary to fight determinedly against the stand points of opportunists who, under the pretext of the danger of war, propagate capitulation to imperialism and reconciliation with it, or trumpet the social-chauvinist propaganda according to which if war unleashes, it would be necessary to rank on the side of one of the superpowers or on the side of the local bourgeoisie. Fighting against these revisionist and social-chauvinist concepts, the communists must strengthen the conviction of the masses in the

revolutionary perspective, according to which either the revolution will prevent war or the war will lead to the revolution.

The communists must mobilize the masses against the main instigators of war, that is, against the two superpowers, against the aggressive military blocs as well as against the war preparations of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the reactionary governments of every country. We communists have the duty to fight so that the workers of all countries, the working masses and the oppressed peoples, rise in solidarity, in struggle against the instigators of imperialist wars, with the aim of overthrowing them.

While fighting against the threat of imperialist war, we communists have the duty to prepare the working class and the other masses of the people in every country in case the outbreak of a new imperialist war cannot be avoided. In such a situation the working class and masses of the people of every country must oppose the reactionary imperialist war with just revolutionary struggle with the aim of overthrowing those who cause the war and the ruling classes, to ensure the triumph of the revolution and socialism and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our parties are developing all these struggles with the aim of creating the necessary conditions for the triumph of the revolution and socialism in our countries, that is, for the violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and capitalism, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the construction of socialism and the continuation of the revolution until the classless society, com-

munism, is achieved. This is the historic mission of the proletariat long since pointed out by Marx and Engels, and the entire struggle of our parties serves the realization of this mission.

4. — THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ROLE OF MODERN REVISIONISM

Our parties consider that now the force which is trying to prevent the proletariat from carrying out its great historic mission is, in the first place, modern revisionism. Today as yesterday, social democracy is making every effort to lead the proletariat into the positions of class collaboration, but it is modern revisionism, and above all, Khrushchevite revisionism, which, after completely betraying Marxism-Leninism and the cause of communism, constitutes the main enemy in the ranks of the working class. The revisionist parties are a result of the degeneration of former revolutionary communist parties, they try to deceive the working people by disguising their betrayal of working class interests and Marxism-Leninism, continue to use the label of communists, whereas in reality have taken the road of counter-revolution. The revisionist parties have placed themselves in the service of capitalism and oppose the revolution, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They deny the need for violent revolution and, indeed, some of them do not even formally defend the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to hinder the proletariat from following the road of violent revolution, they trumpet the so-called peaceful road of transition from capitalism

to socialism. In compliance with the circumstances, they go so far as to support even the most reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and make compromises with US imperialism. Step by step they are following the path opened by the old social democrats after their betrayal of Marxism, a betrayal which led only to the splitting and disarming of the working class in the face of the bourgeoisie and fascism, and this allowed fascism to attain state power. While serving the bourgeoisie of their own countries, at the same time the revisionist parties are also serving the interests of Russian social-imperialism, directly or indirectly.

At present, modern revisionism is split into various trends in rivalry with one another. One of these trends is also «Eurocommunism». In essence, its revisionist theses aim at the liquidation of the struggle for national and social liberation, the struggle for the revolution, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the main objective of all revisionist trends. The struggle against Titoite revisionism also, is absolutely indispensable. Basing themselves on the thesis of a so-called «non-alignment», the Titoite revisionists are trying to liquidate the struggle of the oppressed peoples for national liberation, and this constitutes support for the two superpowers and the other imperialist powers. At the same time, the Titoites are trying to hinder the proletariat from fighting for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, in opposition to which they advocate the capitalist model of their «workers' self-administration».

In the countries where the modern revisionists are in power, they employ the great slogan of the

dictatorship of the proletariat to deceive the working class and the working people of these countries, concealing the fact that capitalism has long been restored there, and that in those countries a social-fascist dictatorship, in the service of the new bourgeoisie has been established. In some revisionist countries, the new bourgeoisie continue demagogically to describe what is nothing but a social-fascist-dictatorship, as the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other countries, such as in the Soviet Union, they use such nomenclature as «the state of the entire people» to conceal the class character of the social-fascist dictatorship. Relying on this demagogy they are trying to hinder the working class and the working masses of these countries from recommencing the fight for the socialist revolution and the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Because of this, it is essential not only to wage a large-scale ideological and political struggle against modern revisionism, but also to promote the class struggle in all fields, in order to expose modern revisionism in the eyes of the broad masses that it has betrayed. It is essential that the modern revisionists in the mass movement are isolated through the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists who are working tirelessly with the aim of attracting the masses to the revolutionary line. We Marxist-Leninists must wage a resolute struggle against all trends of modern revisionism in defence of Marxism-Leninism.

5. — THE NEW INTERNATIONAL OPPORTUNIST CURRENT AND THE "THEORY OF THREE WORLDS"

Our parties see with deep concern the present-day efforts to develop a new international opportunist current against the Marxist-Leninist movement on an international scale, a current which has as its aim the utter falsification of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the splitting of the ranks of the communist movement.

This new international opportunist current pretends that it is fighting modern revisionism in a particularly consistent way. But in reality it is in complete accord with the ideology of modern revisionism on all the fundamental issues on which Marxism-Leninism has been betrayed; in reality this current denigrates Marxism-Leninism and serves the bourgeoisie and imperialism. The new opportunists make use, in demagogic way, of the existing danger of a new world war, but not with the aim of mobilizing the popular masses to combat this danger, but with the aim of strengthening NATO and the EEC, with the aim of supporting the war preparations of US imperialism and its allies.

This international opportunist trend recognizes social-imperialism as the only major enemy. But the great clamour of these modern opportunists against social-imperialism and against revisionism has nothing at all to do with the revolutionary interests of the proletariat and the popular masses. This opportunist trend is using the necessary and correct slogan of the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism to call on the proletariat and the working masses to put an

end to the struggle against US imperialism and any other imperialism, against the reactionary bourgeoisie and the reactionaries of all tendencies, to unite with the most savage forces of the counter-revolution, under the pretext of fighting in unity with them against Soviet social-imperialism. This new international opportunist trend describes the correct actions of the masses against NATO, against the US domination, and against the local bourgeoisie as social-fascist manoeuvres and tries to present the reactionary bourgeoisie as an ally of the proletariat. The new opportunists preach the subjection of the interests of the proletariat to the interests of the bourgeoisie, allegedly for the sake of national defence.

In this way, the new international opportunist trend is directly playing the game of the Russian social-imperialists. The propaganda which advocates the military strengthening and arming of US imperialism, NATO, as well as other imperialist states, the propaganda which advocates the need for alliance, or the establishment, at present, of an armistice with its own imperialist bourgeoisie in the Western imperialist states, facilitates the manoeuvres of social-imperialism, which is interested in camouflaging its rivalry with the other superpower with its clamour about the anti-imperialist struggle; with its demagoguery, this propaganda drives the working masses, who aspire to socialism, into the arms of revisionism. This policy, through which it is claimed that Soviet social-imperialism is being isolated, is, in fact, a particularly effective means to strengthen both social-imperialism itself and its agents in the Western countries, and facilitates the preparation of the ground for the realization of its aggressive plans.

The new international opportunist trend is opposed, both in theory and in fact, to the class struggle of the proletariat, the struggle for the revolution, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, opposed to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The theoretical basis of this new international opportunist trend is the so-called "theory of three worlds". The new opportunist trend presents this theory as the fundamental strategy of the international communist movement. Our parties declare categorically that the "theory of three worlds" can never constitute the strategic basis of the world communist movement, that this theory is not a Marxist-Leninist theory, but a revision and complete falsification of Marxism-Leninism. The strategy which derives from this theory is not a Marxist-Leninist strategy, but a counter-revolutionary strategy directed against the interests of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples, against the revolution and socialism.

The so-called "theory of three worlds" is in complete opposition to the teachings of Lenin and Stalin as to the character of our epoch, which is the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, and to the analysis that Lenin and Stalin made to its fundamental contradictions.

Thus, the "theory of three worlds" negates the fundamental contradiction of our epoch, that between socialism and capitalism. The socialist countries do not exist in the scheme of the "three worlds". In this scheme, the socialist countries are ranked along with the fascist regimes, such as of Brazil, Chile, or that of the Shah of Iran, which comprise

part of the so-called "third world". In this theory, the importance of socialist countries for the international proletariat and the world communist movement is completely negated. Despite this, for the world communist movement and the international proletariat the existence of socialist countries constitutes their greatest historic victory. And even though, due to the betrayal of the modern revisionists, the socialist camp does not exist today, as it emerged after the Second World War, this does not alter this fact. Even if little socialist Albania were the only socialist country in the world, it would be of very great importance for the international proletariat and the world communist movement in general, because the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established in that country, socialism has been transformed into a reality, and the oppression and exploitation of the working class have been liquidated. Therefore, even if, in fact, it were the only socialist country in the world, Albania would represent the aspirations, hopes and aims of the international proletariat and would be a bastion of the world revolution confronting imperialism and the old world of oppression and exploitation. Any theory which denies the importance of socialist countries is anti-Leninist. In the socialist countries, this theory weakens the struggle in defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in the capitalist countries it is directed against the struggle of the proletariat for the socialist revolution by trying to shut off its perspectives.

The «theory of three worlds» negates the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. At the same time, it negates the great historic mission of the proletariat and its leading role in the struggle

for the revolution and socialism. The «theory of three worlds» is opposed to the struggle for the socialist revolution in the capitalist countries, the main protagonist of which is the proletariat. This theory negates the leading role of the proletariat in the struggle for national liberation. However, the leading role of the proletariat in this struggle, which it realizes through its communist party, is the essential condition which guarantees that this struggle will develop on a consistent anti-imperialist course and that the national liberation revolution will lead triumphantly to socialism in the process of the uninterrupted revolution. According to the «theory of three worlds», the proletariat of the capitalist countries of the so-called «second world» ought to enter into alliance with its own reactionary bourgeoisie, which oppresses and exploits it, and the proletariat of the dependent countries ought to cease the struggle against internal reaction and allow the bourgeoisie to lead the struggle for national liberation. The «theory of three worlds» completely negates the fundamental principle of Marxism, according to which the class struggle is the motor of history. It is a revisionist theory of class conciliation and class collaboration.

The «theory of three worlds» completely negates the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and nations on the one hand, and imperialism on the other hand, and accepts only one contradiction, that between the so-called «third world» and the so-called «first world». The capitalist and imperialist states of the so-called «second world», that is, the imperialists of Western Europe, Japanese imperialism, etc., are presented as allies of the dependent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The colonialist and neo-

colonialist exploitation of the countries dependent on these imperialists of the so-called «second world» is described as a «dialogue» and even an «alliance», between the «second and third worlds», minimizing and even prettifying this exploitation. To maintain such a stand towards the policy of the imperialists of Western Europe and Japan in regard to the oppressed peoples means to support the colonialist and neo-colonialist exploitation and oppression, to betray the interests of the oppressed peoples, to replace proletarian internationalism with social-chauvinism.

The «theory of three worlds» considers the so-called «third world» as the main force of the revolution. In reality, the dependent countries of the so-called «third world» are under the domination of regimes, the bulk of which are not only reactionary, anti-democratic and anticommunist, but, moreover, are completely linked with imperialism. Such lackeys of imperialism do not, in any way, represent a force against imperialism. On the contrary, it is necessary that the revolutionary peoples overthrow these regimes through struggle, in order to liberate themselves from imperialism.

Without doubt it is the duty of the proletariat of the capitalist countries to condemn and fight the policy of aggression and blackmail of imperialism and social-imperialism against the governments of dependent countries. But the real place of the proletariat is in no way shoulder to shoulder with the governments, the oligarchy, the compradore bourgeoisie, but shoulder to shoulder with the proletariat, the masses of the people and the genuine anti-imperialist forces of these countries.

The «theory of three worlds» completely falsifies

the inter-imperialist contradictions which exist in the world today, as well as the stand of Marxism-Leninism towards these contradictions. The «theory of three worlds» claims that inter-imperialist contradictions, which are contradictions between the enemies of the revolution and socialism, the contradictions between the imperialists of the so-called «second world» and the two superpowers are contradictions between the enemies and friends of the people, and this is how it presents them. In this way it tries to present all the imperialist and capitalist states of the so-called «second world» as allies of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples. In reality, these imperialist and capitalist states are integrated into the systems of the alliances and blocs of the two superpowers and the monopoly bourgeoisie of those countries has betrayed the national interests.

In practice, the new international opportunist trend has now changed its thesis on the so-called «first world»; this trend claims that US imperialism is in decline and decay, and that for this reason Soviet social-imperialism, in fact, constitutes the only enemy of the peoples. This trend considers US imperialism an ally of a special category. In conformity with this, the defenders of the «theory of three worlds» preach more or less openly the strengthening of NATO, the European Common Market, the US presence in Europe etc. All this brings out the antagonistic contradiction that exists between the «theory of three worlds» and Marxism-Leninism in regard to the question of how the inter-imperialist contradictions should be exploited. The defenders of the «theory of three worlds» aim at the strengthening of US imperialism and the imperialists of the so-called

«second world» with the intention of uniting with them against Russian social-imperialism; on the other hand, the Marxist-Leninists take advantage of the inter-imperialist contradictions, in conformity with the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, to weaken imperialism in general and create revolutionary situations.

The «theory of three worlds» strengthens the enemies of the revolution and socialism, supports the war preparations of US imperialism and its imperialist allies and is aimed against the struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries for the socialist revolution, as well as against the struggle of the oppressed peoples for national liberation. For all these reasons, our parties express the need for a resolute struggle against the «theory of three worlds» and against the new international opportunist trend.

6. — PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND THE UNITY OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT

Our parties stress the need to defend proletarian internationalism against modern revisionism and social-chauvinism. Lenin educated the international proletariat by insisting that «there is one, and only one, genuine internationalism — the work full of self-sacrifice for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in your own country, support (through propaganda, sympathy, material aid) for such a struggle, such a line, and only such, in all countries without exception».

This is how our parties understand militant proletarian internationalism today.

The implementation of proletarian internationalism requires that the unity and cooperation between the Marxist-Leninist parties must be deepened and strengthened. In each country there is and can be only one communist party which holds aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, the struggle for the unity of the world Marxist-Leninist movement means, above all, the consolidation and strengthening of fraternal relations between the genuine communist parties.

It is a fact that there are people who are following in practice a policy directed against the unity of the communist movement. With the aim of imposing the «theory of three worlds» and other opportunist concepts, efforts are being made to exert pressure on various sister parties, to split them and create factions in their ranks. In a series of countries, groups of opportunists and provocateurs are supported against the existing communist parties and the creation of such groups is encouraged. On the other hand, in practice relations are severed with the sister parties for the sole reason that they do not accept this opportunist line, at a time when the above mentioned groups of opportunists and provocateurs, which are completely isolated from the masses, are described as «communist parties», for the sole reason that they mechanically repeat the opportunist stands. Such an entirely unprincipled policy is sabotage of the unity of the world communist movement and an attempt to split it.

In the struggle for the strengthening and deepening of the unity and cooperation of the Marxist-Leninist parties, it is necessary to profit from all the opportunities which present themselves to establish

bilateral and multilateral contacts, to coordinate the common struggle in ever more effective forms, as well as to adopt joint declarations.

In this context, our parties welcome the Joint Declaration of the Marxist-Leninist parties of Latin America as an important success in this struggle. At the same time and in the same direction, we underline the great importance of the international rallies which have been held during the current year in Rome, Ludwigshafen, Athens and Lisbon.

Our parties have the same opinion that the defence of and solidarity with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today, the only socialist country in Europe, is a primary duty of proletarian internationalism. The dictatorship of the proletariat is growing steadily stronger and socialism is being built in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, under the leadership of the glorious Party of Labour of Albania with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, and in the difficult conditions of the capitalist-revisionist encirclement. Our parties hold that the report delivered by comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania constitutes a document of great importance for the strategy and tactics of the world communist movement, as well as a brilliant weapon for the revolutionary understanding of the class struggle on an international scale at the present time. The Party of Labour of Albania and comrade Enver Hoxha provide a brilliant example of the Marxist-Leninist determination and revolutionary courage that fills our parties with enthusiasm, and we once again hail the determined and courageous stand adopted by the Party of Labour of Albania in its protracted and courageous struggle against all forms of opportunism and revisionism.

In their Declaration, the sister parties honour the memory of comrade Mao Tsetung, on the occasion of the first anniversary of his death.

The world communist movement will develop and become stronger despite the difficulties, because it gains strength from the invincible theory of Marxism-Leninism and from the great tempests of the class struggle. The resolute militant alliance of the international proletariat, socialist countries and oppressed peoples will undoubtedly deal ever heavier blows to imperialism, headed by the two superpowers, capitalism, reaction and revisionism. The revolutionary struggle, guided on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will overthrow imperialism in every country and will put an end to the capitalist society of exploitation and oppression. The socialist revolution will triumph the world over.

Long live Marxism-Leninism!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

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

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

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

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

The Central Committee of the Portuguese Com-
munist Party (Reconstructed).

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