

Joint Declaration of Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America

Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist)
Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador
Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile
Red Flag Party of Venezuela

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***Adopted at a meeting of the delegations of the leadership of the
above Parties in Latin America, September 29-30, 1978.***

Publisher's Note

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA believes that the Joint Declaration of Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America represents an important development in the international communist movement. It contains much that can be united with and much that should be seriously studied by revolutionaries in the U.S.

For the RCPUSA's views on some of the questions raised in this document, see the recently published book, Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions and also the following issues of Revolution, organ of the Central Committee of the RCPUSA: on Albania, Vol. 4, No. 1, p. 4; on the "three worlds" theory, Vol. 3, No. 14, p. 3.

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Table of Contents

I. North American Imperialism's Domination of Latin America	1
II. The Latin American People's Struggle Against Imperialist Domination	10
III. The Anti-Imperialist, Anti-Monopoly and Anti-Landlord United Front	16
IV. The Ideological and Political Tasks of Our Parties	18
Conclusions	26

Joint Declaration of Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America

The Delegations of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L), the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Ecuador, and of the National Political Committee of the Red Flag Party of Venezuela, meeting in September 1978 somewhere on the continent, express in the following Joint Declaration their views on the fundamental problems faced by the revolutionary class struggle of our countries, and on the current situation in the International Communist Movement.

1. North American Imperialism's Domination of Latin America

Since 100 years ago more or less, when North American imperialism fundamentally displaced the domination of British imperialism, Latin America has become the "backyard" of North American imperialism, except for Cuba, which today has become one more link in Soviet social-imperialism's chain of dependents.

North American imperialism, like all imperialism, is characterized by export of capital, banditry for the division of markets and spheres of influence, the exploitation and pillaging of natural resources and raw materials of other countries, and the exploitation and all-around oppression of the proletariat of its own country, as well as the proletariat and peoples under its domination.

Imperialism, as capitalism on its death bed, is affected by periodic crises which are deeper each time and occur in more and more frequent cycles. Currently, it is going through a deep crisis on every level, but it is still able to maintain a certain capacity to maneuver which permits it to dodge temporarily, making use of different forms and methods to unload it onto the proletariat and the peoples of the world, particularly on those of Latin America. But none of its innovations, created feverishly to try and hide their domination or to shift their crisis somewhere else, can modify their aggressive, exploitative and oppressive nature.

The North American monopolies directly exploit the different branches of the economy of our countries. They have heavy investments associated with the state or with individual capitalists in numerous key businesses of all types. They have been able to generate strong economic dependence in our countries through control of technology, commerce, financing, and usurious loans through credit institutions managed by the North American government or private banks. They obtain a significant part of the surplus value extracted from the workers directly through joint ventures, through commerce, or through the leasing of royalties to businesses of our countries. They control technology so as to obtain substantial profits through transfer or service contracts. They benefit from the commercial monopoly which they have imposed on our nations, selling spare parts, machinery, fuel, surplus agricultural products, etc., while they make off with the raw materials of the continent and other products at low cost. Especially recently, they have intensified their direct investments to completely take over manufacturing. The economic integration agreements, such as the Latin American Association for Free Commerce, the Andes Pact, the Central American Common Market, SELA, etc., serve these imperialist interests.

The systems of oppression against the peoples, while there are inevitable particularities in each country, generally mold themselves to the needs of the policy of exploitation and domination of North American imperialism on the continent, and on a world scale. During the period of World War 2, under pressure from the economic and political struggle of the masses of people, and due to the necessity of allying themselves with the Soviet Union to combat fascism, they allowed the formation of anti-fascist united fronts, and they tolerated the existence of bourgeois democracies in Latin America in which certain relatively broad democratic rights held sway. With the end of WW2, and in the framework of the cold war against the USSR, North American imperialism started to sponsor legal or open dictatorships in different countries, and to eliminate the democratic guarantees established before. Afterwards, afraid that the example of the Cuban revolu-

tion would extend to other countries of the continent, they sponsored the so-called "Alliance for Progress." Through this policy, they initiated certain reforms which affected, up to a point, certain native monopolies, and especially the *latifundista* sectors [large-scale landowners], with a view to getting a hold of the manufacturing industry in some countries of the continent. To concretize this policy, they once again accepted the vogue of bourgeois democratic regimes, and demagogically stimulated populist tendencies. A clear example of this policy was the Christian Democratic government in Chile between the years 1964-1970, which was closely linked to North American imperialist plans. Later on, faced with the failure of this demagogic policy, and despite having been able to intensify the exploitation and the plunder of our countries, and faced with the rise of the struggle of the masses in almost all the countries of Latin America, they sponsored ferocious coups or the use of pseudo-democratic regimes which were just as bloody as those dictatorships. Finally, now, because of the strong repudiation which these bloody military fascist regimes have encountered, as well as their isolation internally and internationally, given the economic crisis and the explosive situation which the super-exploitation of the masses in our countries has engendered, North American imperialism is making efforts to facilitate the restoration of regimes—always at their service—which will accept certain rights pertaining to bourgeois democracies. But [it is] making certain that these regimes, in return, remain under the tutelage of the reactionary armed forces, ready to repress the people and reinstate open dictatorship if their domination is in danger.

The changes in terms of the systems of oppression in force on our continent, be it the establishment of dictatorial regimes which exercise brutal repression, or of repressive regimes which have certain bourgeois democratic rights, depend more on the powerful rise of the struggle of the masses than on the political changes which go on within the government of the United States or on the contradictions within the ruling classes in each country. Faced with the constant rise of the democratic and anti-imperialist struggles of our peoples, imperialism and internal reaction resort to repression and the implantation of bloody dictatorships which sweep away all democratic rights, thus trying to defend their reactionary privileges and interests. On the other hand, this same development of the people's struggle, despite fascist terror and arbitrariness, often forces the reactionary sectors and the imperialists to take the initiative and to favor the implantation of democratic regimes in which certain liberties are allowed. In so doing, they intend, with the help of the opportunists, to lessen the revolutionary pressure, fearful that it may result in a powerful and uncontrollable mass movement capable of overthrowing the dictatorship which they

imposed.

Right now, faced with the increasingly obvious development of the mass revolutionary struggle on the continent, which is rising despite the predominant repression, the North American government is trying to present itself as "defender" of human rights and "opponent" of fascist dictatorships.

The revisionists, using the excuse that only imperialism can get rid of the current dictatorships, are putting a break on the popular struggle which is aimed at the overthrow of these dictatorships and the destruction of their repressive apparatus. They present themselves as the pacifiers of the class struggle, in exchange for the alms of certain legal rights and guarantees, the replacement of open dictatorships by hidden ones which also serve imperialism. A replacement of the current dictatorships brought about by Yankee imperialism and local reactionaries will no doubt lead to forms of government which will continue to serve the exploitative policies of imperialism and its allies in each country. In the final analysis, they are trying to leave the repressive system intact, although masked under an apparently democratic regime, ready to reinstate dictatorship when the people intensify their struggle and bourgeois democracy becomes unable to stop them. And this is the game which the revisionists help along as they try to put a brake on the struggle against dictatorship waged by the masses of people.

The policy of North American imperialism and of the ruling class of our countries, up till now, takes the form of a hellish cycle of legal dictatorships replacing fascist regimes, and fascist regimes replacing those bourgeois democracies, of civilian governments overthrown by military ones, and military governments followed by civilian reactionaries. Both kinds of governments, despite their differences and the particularities which they assume in each country, have in common being at the service of North American imperialism and of the internal reactionaries (except for Cuba which serves Soviet social-imperialism). Both exploit the people and oppose their struggle through repression and trickery, although they use these arms to varying degrees. And both also concentrate the fundamental powers of the executive and have the armed forces as the basic pillar of their legal or open dictatorship.

Our Parties agree with the need to take advantage of the different political circumstances in our various countries that arise as a consequence of the struggles of our peoples and of the fluctuations of the policy of imperialism and its lackeys. In the thick of the class struggle, we must fight hand to hand for the leadership of the masses of people, fight for democracy and to take maximum advantage of the democratic opening and bourgeois legality which we tear from our enemies.

This cycle of "bourgeois democracy—open dictatorship" has not been fundamentally broken because of the limitations under which the revolutionary popular movement suffers. It is up to us, and only us, to wage that struggle on every level in the future and put forward the people's revolutionary alternative, to put an end to this game of imperialism and reaction.

These different kinds of government, by maintaining our nations and peoples dependent on North American imperialism and on other lesser imperialists, by maintaining the exploitation by the most reactionary sectors of each country, condemn our economies to deformation and backwardness, and they prevent the elimination of the pre-capitalist forms which exist in the continent's agriculture, intensifying the economic and social crisis. They subject our peoples to hunger, to death by all kinds of social sickness, to premature old age and death, to suffer from the shortage of housing, illiteracy, chronic unemployment (be it open or disguised), as well as all the evils which result from exploitation and poverty, which grow worse with the imbalance between the growth of the population and the slow economic growth of the countries of Latin America.

Our peoples, and especially the proletariat of Latin America, certainly do not resign themselves to those conditions of exploitation, oppression and misery. They fight resolutely against them, despite the fierce repression which at certain times the reactionary classes and imperialism unleash upon them.

Although the reactionary sectors of our countries, which also serve as instruments of imperialist domination, may differ from one country to another, and often have secondary contradictions among themselves, they don't hesitate to unite and help each other keep the people in chains and oppose their revolutionary struggle. Particularly evident is the interrelation and coordination of the reactionary police and armed forces of the continent. North American imperialism itself, the common enemy of our peoples, has taken on the task of establishing solid links between the police and military forces of the countries of Latin America, through the Interamerican Defense Union, various pacts and mutual aid agreements, promoting periodic meetings of their High Commands, training their troops in Panama, in Tolomaida (Colombia) and other common schools, standardizing their arms and techniques, carrying out joint maneuvers such as the *Operaciones Unidas*, and exchanging police information and experiences in methods of torture and other repressive procedures. Particularly noteworthy is the sinister spying role of the CIA, which also includes the utilization, direction and coordination of the repressive forces of our countries as the need arises.

It is well known that on the political and economic front, North

American imperialism tries to unite the continent through different organisms. In the political aspect, through the Organization of American States (OAS) and various kinds of other organizations. At the same time, it promotes the division and the control of the union movement through the intervention of trade union federations and agents at their service. On the economic front, the regional and subregional organisms which are promoted by imperialism to unify and control the economy according to its interests are well known. As to the ideological plane, we can see how cultural dependence in regard to imperialism and the loss of our peoples' own cultural values grows each day. In this sphere there are also numerous agreements between the reactionary governments of the continent, the universities and different institutions, and North American imperialism. All this, without considering the alienation and cultural decadence which imperialism introduces daily and on a grand scale, through the media and the popular art forms such as the movies, music, etc.

Our Parties consider that the fundamental enemies of our peoples are North American imperialism, the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie, and the *latifundistas*. These internal classes constitute the social base for imperialist domination. They, together with imperialism, constitute the main target of the popular-democratic revolution of our countries, destined to clear the way for socialism. They constitute a target to be eliminated by revolution. There cannot be a consistent anti-imperialist struggle in our countries, nor can the People's Democratic Revolution be carried out, and still less the socialist revolution, without combatting and overthrowing these reactionary classes, without destroying the state apparatus which they control and the army which is their central pillar, and without conquering power from their hands. Still less can these objectives be attained by alliance with them—as proposed by the Chinese revisionists, promoters of the "three worlds" theory—on the pretext that they oppose Soviet social-imperialism.

It is important to clearly grasp that the reactionaries' current opposition to Soviet social-imperialism is completely different from the peoples' opposition and struggle against it. It is the same with the opposition to North American imperialism on the part of sectors linked to Soviet revisionism. To tell the truth, our peoples who are fighting against North American imperialism in the first place are doing so based on their own interests, for the genuine interests of liberation and socialism, and they do not confuse these interests up with the interests of Soviet social-imperialism and its agents in Latin America who raise anti-North American slogans only to create the conditions for replacing this domination by that of Soviet social-imperialism.

Reactionaries oppose Soviet social-imperialism because through

its revisionist agents it promotes the replacement of the existing system of exploitation by another: state capitalism. Because this change of the system of exploitation is done at the expense of some sectors of the old bourgeoisie, which would be replaced by another, created under the wing of the state apparatus, and because, on top of all this, it intends to replace the domination of North America over our peoples by that of the Soviet social-imperialists, the reactionary sectors' opposition to Soviet social-imperialism has nothing to do with being progressive or favorable to the people. It only seeks to maintain and reinforce the current system of imperialist exploitation and domination. The Chinese revisionists, by raising their "three worlds" theory, in which they promote the alliance of the people with these reactionary sectors and with North American imperialism itself—with the pretext that they oppose Soviet social-imperialism—are no more than the servants of the current North American and reactionary domination over Latin America. It is clear that they are doing this to benefit their own hegemonic interests in opposition to Soviet social-imperialism.

The local pro-Soviet revisionists, on their part, oppose and raise slogans against North American imperialism, with the sole object of tricking the peoples and using them for their own ends to undermine Yankee domination and create the conditions to replace it with Soviet domination. What they are looking for in the final analysis is not the liberation of our peoples, and still less the construction of a genuine socialism, but, on the contrary, the establishment of social-fascist dictatorship regimes similar to those of Eastern Europe and Cuba, to develop a kind of state capitalism, and replace North American domination by that of Soviet social-imperialism. This is in line with Soviet social-imperialism's struggle against North American imperialism for spheres of influence, for a new redivision of the planet, and for world hegemony.

In the revolutionary struggle of the peoples, it is also necessary to keep in mind that North American imperialism, in order to exercise its domination and exploitation over our countries, relies not only on its traditional allies, on the monopoly and *latifundista* sectors. Especially the North American monopoly sectors, interested in developing dependent capitalism in Latin America, and in taking over the key manufacturing industries, have relied on, in some of our countries, more dynamic capitalist sectors, capable of undertaking some reforms at the expense of the more retrograde sectors and capable of heading up demagogical populist currents. These pro-Yankee bourgeois sectors drag with them sectors of the masses, not only making demagogic reforms with the help of the powerful means which imperialism gives them, but also fomenting religious, nationalist or other kinds of prejudices, and especially promoting anticommunism on the basis of presenting it as the

regime of exploitation and domination existing in the USSR and other Soviet dominated countries. These sectors, to the degree that they rise or revive, will be able to count not only on the support of North American imperialism, but also the fervent and powerful support of the Chinese revisionists, promoters of the "three worlds" theory. To allow ourselves to be misled by this reformist demagogy, to not understand that they are dangerous enemies of revolution, to be impressed by their secondary contradictions with the more retrograde exploiters, would leave us at the mercy of the maneuvers of the imperialism which they serve, would keep us from being able to pull the masses away from their trickery and advance on the road of genuine liberation and socialism.

Our Parties share the assessment that North American imperialism is the common and most important enemy exploiting and oppressing the peoples of our continent. This superpower is the main enemy for us, which does not mean that we should ignore the struggle against other imperialists which also exploit our peoples, in association with North American imperialism, as well as used by it. Neither does all this mean ignoring the struggle against the other superpower, Soviet social-imperialism, whose plans for penetration include not only its agents, the revisionist parties, but also totally dependent Cuba. This superpower is already meddling in some Latin American countries, where it is carrying out investments, exploiting our peoples, and developing a big unequal commercial exchange, as well as penetrating the reactionary armed forces of the continent.

The presence of Soviet social-imperialism in Latin America, through the revisionist parties and the government of Cuba, as well as through the commercial, political and military means which it develops directly, to a certain degree conditions the policy of North American imperialism on the continent. Although this inter-imperialist conflict has not reached the level of sharpness which we see in other parts of the world, as in Africa, the Middle East, and Europe, it is important that our Parties consider it as a fact which more and more will tend to distort the anti-imperialist struggle of our peoples. An example of this in the past has been Cuba's utilization of petit-bourgeois guerrilla tactics to sidetrack the genuine revolutionary struggle of the masses and to put obstacles in the way of its proletarian leadership. But besides these counter-revolutionary objectives, it used these guerrilla movements as a means to negotiate with and blackmail the bourgeois governments of our countries to gain diplomatic recognition and the possibility of establishing commercial links. Such negotiations, in which Cuba gave up its support of the guerrilla groups, have been developing with North American imperialism itself, with the goal of getting it to give up its economic

blockade of Cuba. Today it is clear that these maneuvers corresponded completely with the objectives of Soviet social-imperialism, interested in opening the Cuban road in Latin America so as to later use it as one more diplomatic and commercial tool, and if conditions permit, also as a military one (as it is currently doing in Africa), for its goal of domination on the continent.

Soviet social-imperialism has been able to penetrate in some countries, although in a beginning way, and it is making efforts to extend and deepen its penetration in Latin America. However, this does not change the fact that North American imperialism continues to be the main enemy of our peoples. The Marxist-Leninist Parties must be alert to firmly combat the efforts which Soviet social-imperialism is making, directly or through its pawns in Eastern Europe, towards exploiting the riches of the continent and of its peoples and dislodging North American imperialism. This inter-imperialist struggle has fallen brutally on our peoples when North American imperialism has intervened to overthrow governments favorable to Soviet social-imperialism, as occurred in Peru and Chile. However, the establishment of a series of pro-Yankee dictatorships has not succeeded in stopping Soviet penetration in Latin America through commerce, the granting of credits, and the financing of various projects.

Social-imperialism's commerce with Latin America, unequal and favorable to the metropolis as is that of all imperialism, already has passed the \$5 billion a year mark. Among the countries with the most trade with the USSR are Peru, with more than \$168 million a year; Argentina, with more than \$400 million a year; Brazil, with more or less \$500 million a year with the USSR and close to \$300 million with other COMECON countries [the Soviet-dominated Council of Mutual Economic Assistance]. Also, the Pinochet regime of Chile has begun to reopen its commerce with the COMECON countries, and recently it sold to the USSR a consignment of molybdenum, an important strategic mineral. The content of these commercial exchanges has been the usual one between imperialist and dependent countries: the USSR sells machinery or finished products at high prices, and our countries sell raw materials and semi-finished products at low prices. Thus, for example, Argentina sells the USSR meat and wine and buys machinery in return. All this commerce is accompanied by the granting of financial credits to the bourgeoisies of our countries for carrying out various projects, with strings attached—the obligation to buy from the USSR. Argentina has received \$600 million to buy electrical equipment from the USSR, and Uruguay \$59 million for similar elements for the construction of the hydroelectrical complex in the Paraná and Uruguay rivers.

Recently, in Colombia, a \$400 million agreement was signed with the government of the USSR for the realization of the URRRA Dam Projects. Simultaneously, the adapting of the river Sinu for these works will be financed by the Inter-American Development Bank, with a loan of \$40 million. It is important to point out that this joint investment project between the two superpowers is being done in the *Alto Sinú* [High Sinú], the heart of the zone where the work for the development of the revolutionary base area led by the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L) is being carried out. The realization of this project and its complementary works will particularly benefit North American imperialism with the electrical interconnection of the Atlantic Coast to exploit the nickel, natural gas, coal, gold, etc., which exists in the area. Of special significance is the presence in the zone of the FARC [*Fueras Armadas Revolucionarias Colombianas*], the military arm of revisionism, with a view to insuring the Soviet investment, among other things.

For its plans, Soviet social-imperialism counts on Cuba, which today, completely dependent on the USSR, is an important military, economic, political and ideological base on the continent. It is well known that currently the Cuban state, directed by a bureaucrat pro-Soviet bourgeoisie, has been transformed into a mercenary state of social-imperialism, which sends its troops to far away places such as Africa where there are tens of thousands of Cuban soldiers, to serve the hegemonic ends of that superpower. No doubt Cuba aspires to play the same role in Latin America, although that hasn't been very possible. For now, it is actively attempting to bribe some of the heads of the armed forces of Latin America, with the cooperation of the local revisionists, so as to create in them a base to feed off of for future pro-Soviet coups. In Peru they reached an important level of penetration in the armed forces during the government of Velazco Alvarado, even providing them with Soviet arms, which was one of the reasons for the coup which overthrew that government.

II. The Latin American Peoples' Struggle Against Imperialist Domination

The anti-imperialist consciousness of our peoples is a fact that has been developing for more than a hundred years, since the past century, when protests and struggles arose in some Latin American countries against exploitation by British monopoly companies. Likewise, it is a fact that in the struggles against the domination of British capital, as for example happened in Argentina and Chile, U.S. imperialism played an important role through its agents, supporting sections of the native bourgeoisie with the aim of using them afterward for its own policies of penetration.

In this century, when U.S. imperialism has fundamentally established itself as the dominant imperialist power on the continent, despite efforts to cover up its penetration, we can see a growing movement by the popular masses and sectors of the intellectuals who struggle to defeat its domination and exploitation.

Great movements against U.S. imperialism have developed in practically every country of Latin America, denouncing economic, political, cultural and military treaties which attack the development, independence and sovereignty of our people. For example, throughout the continent struggles have developed against U.S. imperialism for the defense and recovery of natural resources, the defense of the territorial waters, the peoples' right to self-determination, the defense of national cultural values against imperialist ideological penetration.

U.S. imperialism itself has given reason to unleash the struggle against it in the most open form. Thus, we see the way the peoples of Latin America have united to struggle against the Yankee Marines' invasion of Santo Domingo, how they support the Panamanian people's struggle in defense of their sovereignty over the Canal, how they stand in solidarity with the people of Puerto Rico subjected to North American imperialism's colonial rule, how they have opposed in all countries the so-called *Operaciones Unitas* and the disembarkation of Yankee troops in our ports. The North American criminal war of aggression against the Vietnamese peoples was another reason for the Latin American people to struggle against Yankee imperialism, in solidarity with the just struggle of the Indochinese peoples.

All of these are examples of the level of anti-imperialist consciousness of the Latin American people. It is also necessary to make clear that this anti-imperialist consciousness has to develop much more to reach the level of a real anti-imperialist consciousness that not only points to North American domination, but that also recognizes the intentions of the agents of Soviet social-imperialism that behind an anti-Yankee mask tries to replace U.S. domination with its own.

But since the decade of the '60s, with the formation of the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties in our continent, anti-imperialist consciousness has acquired a new vitality and the anti-imperialist movement a correct perspective. For example, we can say that the people's war that the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L) leads is a clear expression of the level of anti-imperialist struggle and consciousness that is being reached in Latin America. Other indications are the important struggles that the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties lead against imperialist domination and exploitation in our countries. To be sure, our Parties are conscious that the

correct alternative which they represent in the anti-imperialist struggle must develop to reach the level of a real revolutionary mass force—a force which under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninists and based on the principle of revolutionary violence will be able to destroy imperialist and reactionary rule and finally liberate our peoples, to guide them towards people's democracy and socialism.

Our Parties agree in the appraisal that the principal obstacle to a correct development of the anti-imperialist struggle of our peoples was the absence of correct politics, born out of the genuine interests of the proletariat and the people, and the lack of authentic Marxist-Leninist proletarian leadership in this struggle. This was due to the transformation of the Communist Parties into revisionist parties or simply the non-existence of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties in our countries, a situation that has begun to change since the emergence of our Parties as vanguards.

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

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

ability to deceive the masses, they intend to transform themselves from agents of the bourgeoisie into a ruling bourgeoisie displacing some traditional bourgeois sectors and allying with others. For our peoples, it is of fundamental importance to grasp this dual reactionary character of the revisionists and to expose their false anti-imperialism, of shrieking anti-U.S. slogans to be able to accomplish their servile pro-Soviet objectives.

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

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

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

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

Our Parties consider that even though the revisionists propose some reforms in order to deceive the masses and build state capitalism, they cannot be confused with the bourgeois reformist sectors which the proletariat should bring under its leadership. The revisionists try to deceive the proletariat by falsely presenting themselves as its vanguard party, while they falsify its ideology and politics to keep it from playing its leading role, making revolution and seizing power. Although the revisionists put forward reforms, they do so not in the interests of the proletariat or the people or in defense of certain sectors of the middle bourgeoisie ground down by the imperialists and the big exploiters of each country, but rather to occupy the place of the former big exploiters, continuing to exploit and oppress the people under state capitalism and submitting them to Soviet social-imperialist domination. The fact that the revisionists may drag with them sectors of the proletariat and masses of people, far from changing their character, makes it necessary to fight even more uncompromisingly against them, to break off those sectors from their sinister influence and win them over to making revolution.

Cuba is an example of the destiny that awaits our countries if pro-Soviet state capitalist regimes come to power. That country is now dependent politically, economically and militarily on social-imperialism. This has come about through the methods that it has employed in Eastern Europe of deforming the economy of the countries under its dependency, of exploiting them and completely subordinating them economically, to satisfy not the needs of their own peoples, but those of Soviet social-imperialism, which opposed the diversification of Cuba's production and the development of an

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

The experience of the Latin American peoples' struggle shows repeatedly that a genuine and thoroughgoing struggle against imperialism and internal reaction can only be possible if it is led by the proletariat and its vanguards, the Marxist-Leninist parties of each country. At the same time, it reaffirms that this struggle against imperialism and reaction can be victorious and lead the people to real liberation only if at the same time we combat revisionism, unmasking its plans and defeating among the masses of people its sinister influence which is meant to transform our coun-

tries into dependencies of Soviet social-imperialism. Experience has shown, by negative example, that no section of the bourgeoisie is in a position to lead a genuine anti-imperialist movement. The populist failures in past years teach this. The examples of and the revisionist experiences like that suffered by the Chilean people constitute a clear lesson that they, like the pro-U.S. bourgeoisie, cannot lead the people to real liberation. And the guerrilla movements led by the petit-bourgeoisie, sunk in defeat and failure, are eloquent proof.

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

Our Parties resolutely support the anti-imperialist struggles that have been developing throughout the continent in recent years. They agree with the necessity of making greater efforts to channel them behind a correct alternative and program that takes into account the common aspirations so long felt by our peoples. They agree with the necessity of uniting around this common program, and under the firm leadership of the proletariat, all possible anti-imperialist forces that can be united. Likewise they agree on the need to develop the class struggle to a higher and higher level, with a view to developing the victorious people's armed struggle, the only possible way to completely defeat the fundamental enemies and to assure the real liberation of our peoples, paving the way for people's democracy and socialism. On this road, they resolutely support the people's war correctly led in their respective countries by the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L) and by the Red Flag Party of Venezuela, which have stood and developed as an example for our peoples of the continent of the correct and only possible alternative in the face of the populist failures of the bourgeoisie, or of the revisionists, and particularly in the face of the "guerrilla foco" strategy proposed by the petit-bourgeois sectors supported by Cuba.

III. The Anti-Imperialist, Anti-Monopoly and Anti-Landlord United Front

Our Parties have the historic mission of uniting, in each country, all the forces that have objective contradictions with and are opposed to the fundamental enemies of our peoples. The proletariat, through its Party, must lead and have hegemony in the Front made up of these forces, a front that, based on the worker-peasant alliance, unites the petit-bourgeoisie, semi-proletariat and other

sectors which can be united because of their contradictions with imperialism and its lackeys. All of those forces can be united by the proletariat behind an anti-imperialist, democratic and popular program, with the condition that it firmly exercise its leadership and develop its own forces. Although the middle and other non-monopoly sectors of the bourgeoisie are tied by strong economic, political and ideological bonds to U.S. imperialism and the monopolist sectors of each country, it is no less true that these bonds are contradictory, since they contain the methods through which the imperialists and the big exploiters benefit at their expense, limit their development, and in fact, lead them to bankruptcy. If the proletariat firmly exercises leadership on the basis of developing its political, ideological and organizational forces, it can take advantage of these contradictions for the benefit of the anti-imperialist struggle and bring these sectors under its program, or at least, when this is not possible, neutralize them.

Although it is correct, according to the conditions in each one of our countries, to mobilize vast sections of the petit and middle bourgeoisie of the city and the countryside against the fundamental enemy, it is necessary to insure that the leadership of this united front will always be in the hands of the proletariat. This is indispensable for the development and success of this struggle. It is unacceptable to the interests of the proletariat and the people that they favor or accept the leadership of the bourgeoisie or petit-bourgeoisie in the united front, since their inconsistency and vacillating character will lead the struggle to defeat. For sure, it is even more unacceptable to seek to unite with or hand over the leadership of the united front to the reactionary big bourgeoisie, under the pretext of struggling against Soviet social-imperialism, as is proposed by the Chinese revisionists in their theory of "the three worlds." In such a case our peoples would be dragged into a reactionary united front, in the service of their enemies and completely opposed to their interests.

Our Parties agree on the need to strengthen the unity and the ties of the proletariat and the peoples of Latin America, with the aim of pushing forward, developing and leading a broad movement in our countries of the anti-imperialist, democratic and popular forces, through common actions of struggle that heighten the anti-imperialist consciousness of our peoples. This implies enormous responsibilities for our Parties, to be able to respond as they must to the revolutionary tasks set forward, and to be able to bring down the force of hundreds of millions of oppressed and exploited people in Latin America against North American imperialism and the reactionary forces of the continent.

IV. The Ideological and Political Tasks of Our Parties

The struggle of our peoples for their liberation and to reach socialism and communism is being carried out in the epoch of moribund imperialist capitalism and of rising proletarian revolution. This epoch is characterized by the fundamental contradictions defined by Lenin: The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; between the socialist system and the capitalist system; between the peoples of the oppressed nations and imperialism; and among the various imperialist states and the monopoly capitalist groups.

These contradictions are interrelated and influence each other. Within a correct analysis of the international situation, it is impossible to negate or mask any of them. The changes in the class struggle which arise on a world level determine that at certain times one or another of these contradictions becomes in fact the sharpest, introducing changes in revolutionary tactics. At present, the sharpest contradiction is that expressed in the confrontation between the oppressed peoples and nations and imperialism, in particular the two superpowers. For the sake of the strategic perspective, our Parties develop their activity basing themselves on the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, an antagonistic contradiction which arises from the very moment in which the capitalist mode of production comes into being, and which governs the development of the class struggle until the very moment of the disappearance of classes with the establishment of communist society.

At present, the main target of the struggle which our Parties must organize, drive forward, and lead, uniting various social sectors behind the leadership of the proletariat, are the ruling circles of both superpowers: North American imperialism, and Soviet social-imperialism. No consideration about the faster development or expansion of one or the other superpower, nor subjective speculations such as the Chinese revisionists make on the more aggressive nature of one of these and the weakness of the other, can make us forget the objective fact that both are the greatest exploiters and oppressors of the peoples of the world today. The most powerful bastion of the international monopolist bourgeoisie has been concentrated in their ruling circles. Any alliance with or tolerance of one or the other superpower, under the excuse of taking advantage of the contradictions between them, would lead us, in fact, to support and consolidate the exploitation which that superpower exercises over vast sectors of the world. It would be, therefore, an alliance against the immediate and long range interests of the peoples, and for that reason it is unacceptable from a Marxist-Leninist point of view.

Without it meaning abandoning the struggle against both imperialist superpowers on a world scale, in Latin America we must aim our struggle against North American imperialism, which is the dominant superpower of our continent. This, without putting aside the mobilization of our peoples against Soviet social-imperialist penetration, against the oppression and exploitation to which it subjects its own Soviet people, as well as the peoples of other countries through the Warsaw Pact, COMECON, and other means, and in general against its hegemonistic and bellicose tendencies on a world level. The struggle against the superpowers on our continent, in particular against the one which dominates it today, is inseparable from the struggle against the local reactionary sectors on whom it bases itself to maintain and extend its domination over our peoples.

A sustained general crisis affects the entire capitalist world, including the countries in which the revisionists have restored capitalism. In this situation, despite the conciliatory efforts of the reformist and revisionist ideologues, the class struggle of the oppressed peoples and nations of the world is developing momentum and is intensifying everywhere. Even though the contention between the two imperialist superpowers for a new redivision of the world threatens a new world war, the fundamental tendency in our epoch is revolution, and the peoples advance toward it resolutely.

Faced with this, the revisionists and other opportunist forces rival each other in pledging to put the brakes on the struggle of the proletariat and the people and to hold back revolution. Some revisionist parties have even gone so far as to abandon their Marxist-Leninist mask, openly renouncing proletarian revolutionary theory, class struggle, proletarian internationalism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, etc., as has been the case with the so-called "Euro-revisionists." In the face of these attacks against Marxism-Leninism and the wave of capitalist restoration in countries which previously were socialist after World War 2, there is a swarm of anti-Marxist theories which hold that scientific socialism has failed. However, none of these maneuvers can save capitalism, imperialism or revisionism from its agony and final death. Each day the proletariat and the peoples resist and fight more intensely to change their condition of being exploited and oppressed, and the bourgeoisie can no longer maintain this situation except through intensifying its violence against the people, whether it be in the form of open or camouflaged dictatorship as in Latin America, or by resorting to increasing fascistization through bourgeois legal measures as is happening in Europe and other capitalist countries. The bourgeoisie, as one of its last resorts, is carrying to the extreme its propaganda methods meant to confuse and trick the people, and to discredit Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory. It un-

derstands that Marxism-Leninism is the flame which, sooner or later, will light the powder keg on which they are sitting.

Faced with this situation, our Parties, the Communist Parties faithful to Marxism-Leninism, have a historic mission to accomplish: to fuse Marxism-Leninism with the gigantic tide of struggle of the proletariat and peoples, to carry revolution forward; to accomplish this fundamental task, to stand up to modern revisionism under all its forms, as well as social chauvinism, to defend the socialist system, it is indispensable to fortify the practice of proletarian internationalism, in accord with Lenin's correct definition: "There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working whole-heartedly in the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle, in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this, and only this, line in every country without exception." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24, p. 75.)

For the sake of proletarian internationalism, it is indispensable to strengthen the unity and cooperation between the Marxist-Leninist Parties, on a principled basis, whether through bilateral contacts, or multilateral meetings, so as to intensify mutual consultation, the exchange of experiences, solidarity, principled and practical agreements, so as to thus forge a powerful Marxist-Leninist International Communist Movement, powerful, united, and capable in the future of responding collectively to the needs of the revolutionary struggle, through a correct General Line formulated in light of principles and current events on the international level.

On this level, the meeting in Tirana of the Latin American Parties [November 1976] and the Joint Declaration which was elaborated there and afterwards made public, constitutes an important advance in the unity which communists must always aspire to: unity around Marxist-Leninist principles, in opposition to formal "unity" at the expense of principles and the uncompromising defense of principles. We consider this new meeting of Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America, as well as this Joint Declaration itself, as one more contribution to principled unity and unity of action and to the struggle against new manifestations of revisionism, which are inescapable tasks of genuine Marxist-Leninist parties.

Thus we also greet and warmly support the meeting carried out by five European Marxist-Leninist Parties [October 1977] and the Joint Declaration which they have made public as a result of that meeting. All this shows that genuine Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties reclaim and reaffirm the internationalist road which has

been seriously weakened by the Chinese revisionists who intended to "divide and conquer us" in hopes of thus being able to impose their reactionary anti-Marxist "three worlds" theory. It is by this road of principled unity and cooperation that we strengthen the Marxist-Leninist International Communist Movement, and we will temper it, transforming it into a powerful revolutionary weapon of the proletariat; instead of sabotaging its contacts and agreements, opposing its meetings and joint acts, or by promoting and bribing opportunist groups in order to encourage their tailism, complacency or neutrality toward opportunist formulations such as the so-called "three worlds" theory, as has been the practice of the Titoite and Khrushchevite revisionists, and now the revisionist leadership in China.

Along with defending the principles of proletarian internationalism, we oppose the Chinese revisionists' maneuver of pretending that in one country there can be more than one proletarian Marxist-Leninist vanguard. While we recognize that objectively different levels of development and experience exist among our Parties, we reject the concept invented by Khrushchev, and also put into practice by the revisionists who have seized power in China, of the existence of a "father party" which gives out Marxist-Leninist franchises, and decides for others the correctness or incorrectness of the positions which they adopt.

Our Parties consider that, at present, the fight to expose and defeat modern revisionism is a task of first importance. Modern-day revisionism, led especially by the social-imperialist clique, which supports the revisionist parties all over the world, continues being the main obstacle to the development of revolutionary struggle, for liberation and socialism. But along with our opposition to pro-Soviet revisionism, it is important to fight the other variants of opportunism as well, such as Titoism, "Euro-revisionism," Trotskyism, and in Latin America in particular, Castroism and other petit-bourgeois "vanguardist" derivations.

As a consequence of the counter-revolutionary coup which destroyed the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, bringing into power the reactionary clique of Teng Hsiao-ping and Hua Kuo-feng, a new wave of opportunism has been unleashed, a variant of modern day revisionism, systematized in the so-called "three worlds" theory. Our Parties feel that fighting against this new variant of modern revisionism also constitutes a task of primary importance, to defend Marxism-Leninism, to defend the teachings of the Chinese revolution, to rescue Comrade Mao Tsetung's contributions to Marxism-Leninism, and to make world revolution advance along the road to victory.

The opportunist "three worlds" theory simply reduces the four

fundamental contradictions of our time into just one: the one among the various imperialist states and monopoly groups. In effect, although it claims to present the countries of the so-called "third world" as "the motive force of history," they are really referring not to the peoples of those countries, who are the fundamental subject of the contradiction with imperialism, but rather to the governments, which are generally made up of reactionary class sectors at the service of one or the other imperialist superpower. This is how, through the "three worlds" theory, they have sought to establish a strategy for the International Communist Movement, negating the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, and reducing the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and nations with imperialism (and especially the one which exploits them) into an aberrant front in which the peoples must subordinate themselves to their government, to the reactionary sectors, and even to North American imperialism to exclusively oppose Soviet social-imperialism. By erasing the fundamental content of this contradiction—the opposition of the oppressed peoples and nations of the world to the imperialism which exploits them, and against internal reactionaries on whom it relies for its domination—it absolutely cuts out the content of this contradiction. In reality, they reduce it to the contradiction between the two superpowers and their respective military and economic blocs, subordinating the proletariat and the people to this inter-imperialist contradiction.

Further, to cement its anti-Marxist conclusions, the theory of "the three worlds" intentionally denies the role of the class struggle as the motive force of history. It divides the world in a mechanical and one-sided way and with an economist criterion, into: "first world", where you would find the superpowers, but only Soviet social-imperialism is effectively recognized as the enemy to fight against; "second world", which includes the exploiters and exploited of the advanced capitalist countries, often imperialist themselves; and "third world", where they only take into consideration the dominant sectors, be they monarchist, fascist or semi-feudal, in the dependent and backward countries, and which includes China itself.

The absurd and reactionary theory of "the three worlds" does not recognize that socialism, where the proletariat exercises its dictatorship, is essentially different from any exploiting regime. It ignores that what it classifies as the "first world" is not a homogeneous reality, but that exploited classes exist there, like the proletariat which fights against the dominant sectors. In the "second world," it claims that the proletariat should abandon its revolutionary mission of seizing power from the monopoly bourgeoisie (allied with North American imperialism), and ally

with it, reinforcing its military and economic bloc with Yankee imperialism, and support its imperialist domination over these peoples and nations. All this for the sake of confronting the Soviet social-imperialist threat. Finally, in the so-called "third world" it does away with the leading role of the proletariat in the struggle for liberation and advises the people to give in to exploitation and the leadership of the most reactionary sectors, as well as Yankee imperialism, for the sake of the contradictions that these sectors have with Soviet social-imperialism.

Consequently, the theory of "the three worlds," while hiding and in fact fleeing from the Marxist-Leninist class analysis necessary for the formulation of a strategy which seeks to isolate and struggle against the two superpowers and or their allies in each country, tends to do away with proletarian leadership on a world scale, which is indispensable for a successful struggle against the principal bastion of the international bourgeoisie: the two imperialist superpowers. Furthermore, it tries to curb proletarian leadership in each country; with that, it endangers the future socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, where it is the order of the day, and the future of the Peoples Democratic Revolution and its socialist future, in the dependent and backward countries. More, while centering the struggle one-sidedly against the hegemonic intentions of the Soviet social-imperialists, it aids North American imperialism and other imperialist bourgeoisies, helping them reinforce their instruments of domination that they use against the people of their own country, as well as against the people of the oppressed nations that they exploit.

It is only possible to understand the theory of "the three worlds" as an effort by the revisionist leaders who have seized power in China to take advantage of the contradiction between North American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, seek allies around the globe, and make a place for themselves in a possible new redivision of the world. Their alliance with the bourgeois forces linked to North American imperialism is meant to contend for hegemony with Soviet social-imperialism and occupy their place as a new superpower in the international sphere. For the sake of these hegemonic aspirations, the Chinese revisionists openly foster the growing armaments of North American imperialism and its allies, they applaud its armed interventions in Africa and other places, they urge them to maintain their military bases in the world and to strengthen their military blocs, while they themselves strengthen their own military. In this way, they openly foster a war they call "inevitable" and "imminent" in their own propaganda. Since, on the other hand, they oppose, as we have seen, the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat and the peoples, it is clear that while fomenting war and openly opposing

revolution, they only seek a war in which the people will be cannon fodder for the imperialists, and in which there will be a new redivision of the world that will permit them to acquire zones of influence and domination. In this manner, the revisionist leadership of China not only abandons the struggle for peace, which is a duty of Marxist-Leninists, but also, invoking an imminent war and taking sides with North American imperialism, abandons the central mission of Marxist-Leninists of making revolution on a world scale, to prevent war: or else, if it's not possible to prevent it, take advantage of it for revolution and not for a new redivision of the world.

The theory of "the three worlds" has been firmly combatted by the Party of Labor of Albania, with comrade Enver Hoxha at its head. It is in opposition to the international line formulated by Comrade Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Marxist-Leninists in their public polemics against Soviet revisionism, and it has been denounced and repudiated by all the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties of the world, since it departs completely from Marxism-Leninism, the interests of the peoples and revolution.

Our Parties recognize and value enormously the uncompromising struggle of the PLA in defense of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and world revolution.

The uninterrupted development of socialist construction in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is the most valuable contribution to world revolution of the PLA with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head. Today, Albania is the only example of genuine socialist construction in the world. The defense of socialist Albania is, then, not only a task of principle for genuine revolutionaries, but it is also a touchstone to distinguish genuine from false Marxist-Leninists. From the practical point of view, in relation to the perspective of our peoples' revolutionary struggles, socialist Albania constitutes a clear example of what a people can accomplish, if it struggles for the correct revolutionary road, if it counts on correct Marxist-Leninist leadership and if it relies on its own efforts.

Our Parties, inspired by a clear spirit of proletarian internationalism, warmly greet and resolutely support the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the only country in the world where socialism is being built and consolidated, a bulwark of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the midst of the confusion that has been produced among the peoples by the capitalist restoration in countries where the proletariat had once taken power, which to continue deceiving the masses utilizes the signboard of "socialism," and now even more, when China has also begun a retrogressive process towards capitalism, after the revisionists launched a counter-revolutionary coup, Albania's authentically socialist example is decisive.

The unbreakable decision by the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Party of Labor of Albania of not giving in to any extortion, of maintaining unharmed their defense of socialist construction based on their own efforts, of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, constitutes a powerful contribution in the interest of the revolutionary struggle worldwide. Our Parties firmly repudiate the great nation chauvinist attitude of the Chinese revisionists towards socialist Albania. By suddenly and unilaterally breaking off economic and military aid to Albania, while on the other hand embracing Tito and giving credits to countries where revisionists, fascists and all types of reactionaries are in power, the revisionist clique now ruling China has unmasked itself completely. It's clear that the revisionist group ruling China, inspired by sinister figures like Teng Hsiao-ping, just like Khrushchev in the past, has utilized the method of pressure and economic and military blackmail to try to bend a socialist country and a Marxist-Leninist Party and drag it over to its opportunist positions, with the aim of developing itself as a social-imperialist superpower. The new Chinese revisionists have not only done this with Albania and the Party of Labor of Albania but with all the Parties that have firmly upheld Marxism-Leninism's stand. A clear example of this is the pressure that was put on the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America that signed the Joint Declaration in Tirana, whose publication they tried to boycott by all means.

Our Parties value the fact that socialist Albania, a small country surrounded by the military forces of North American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, continuing to develop in the heart of the blockade and constant threats from imperialism and world reaction, continues unwavering and firm on the road of socialism, at the side of the proletariat and peoples of the world, supporting, on the basis of proletarian internationalism, the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties, and fighting resolutely for world revolution. This same thoroughgoing revolutionary attitude has won Albania the admiration, the respect and the support of the masses of people and progressive sectors of the world. Obviously the proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist Parties are at the head of this struggle to defend socialist Albania and they will stand in solidarity with the fraternal Party of Labor of Albania.

In the face of the Chinese revisionists' utilization of the work and prestige of Comrade Mao Tsetung to gut his revolutionary legacy and try to cover up their advancing restoration of capitalism in China, as well as to fool the masses of people with their reactionary theory of "the three worlds," our Parties consider it an unescapable and necessary duty to unmask the counter-revolutionary actions of these new opportunists and defend the

great Marxist-Leninist teachings that Mao Tsetung left the proletariat and peoples. At the head of the Chinese Communist Party, he knew how to lead the people of a giant country, one-fourth of the world's people, out of a colonial, semi-colonial and feudal regime, transforming it first into a people's democracy and later into a socialist country. In the ideological works of Mao Tsetung, in the great battles that he led against China's internal and external enemies, in the struggle that he undertook against the revisionist tide that swept almost all the Communist Parties of the post-war world and which led to the restoration of capitalism in the overwhelming number of countries that were socialist, in his last battles to defeat revisionism in China, to oppose the restoration of capitalism there and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, among many other actions, there are valuable teachings for the Marxist-Leninist International Communist Movement. Despite the present outcome of the struggles led by Comrade Mao Tsetung against the different revisionist factions that are found infiltrated in the Party, the Army and in the organs of power, the valuable lessons they provided on how to continue the class struggle after socialism has been fundamentally established, on the role of the all-around dictatorship of the proletariat in every field, constitute objective contributions that our Parties value. It is these contributions of the Chinese revolution, of Chinese Marxist-Leninists and of Mao Tsetung that have to be appreciated and defended at this time when the Chinese revisionists are trying to hide and deform them.

Our Parties express confidence that the proletariat of the revisionist countries will once again take the revolutionary road, defeating their enemies and reestablishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. The capitalist restoration in the once-socialist countries and the temporary defeat of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China show that the revolution is not a straight-line process, but rather a process of advances and retreats, retreats that are not inevitable. Socialist Albania is a clear example that capitalist restoration is not inevitable, that it is possible to continue marching uninterrupted towards the building of communism, overcoming all kinds of pressures. Whatever the difficulties that the proletariat may face in its struggle for the establishment of communism, in the final analysis it will accomplish its historic objective. Marxism-Leninism, the proletariat and the revolutionary peoples of the world will unite in their struggles. Proletarian revolution will triumph worldwide.

Conclusions

1. Our Parties consider that the fundamental enemies of our peoples are North American imperialism, the pro-imperialist

bourgeoisie and the landlords. The internal reactionary sectors constitute the social base for imperialist domination.

2. Our Parties consider that the predatory, oppressive and belligerent essence of North American imperialism has not changed. Nevertheless, they agree in understanding that North American imperialism, in the face of the increasing consciousness and struggle of our peoples, utilizes new methods to conceal and make more cunning its domination, plunder and exploitation, as well as to stop the struggle of the peoples. These new methods must be taken into account in formulating our tactics in the struggle against it.

3. Our Parties reaffirm, once again, the road of people's war led by the proletariat, through its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, as the only possible and correct road to the seizure of power, genuine liberation and independence for our peoples, people's democracy and socialism.

4. Our Parties agree on the necessity of developing a policy of the United Front led by the proletariat, that unites and mobilizes all possible sectors that can be united, according to the conditions of each country, around a common anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic program, and on the basis of the unity of the workers and peasants.

5. Our Parties agree that at this time the two superpowers constitute the main enemy of the peoples of the world. In Latin America, our Parties consider that the main enemy continues to be North American imperialism, against which we must strengthen our struggle until its total defeat. At the same time, we must oppose and struggle against the penetration that Soviet social-imperialism has begun in our continent, and to keep it from carrying out its plans, with the aid of domestic revisionism, for replacing North American imperialism as the dominant power.

6. Our Parties consider that we must make efforts to prevent the intervention of other forces, under the pretext of "helping" our struggle for national independence against North American imperialism, for the purpose of occupying its place on the continent. While making use of inter-imperialist contradictions for the benefit of our struggle, we must make sure to never compromise the independence and interests of the proletariat and the people with any foreign power.

7. Our Parties take up the valuable experiences of the anti-imperialist struggle of the proletariat and the peoples of Latin America, drawing upon its positive aspects. We consider it a task of first importance to promote the development of the anti-imperialist consciousness of the peoples, providing them with a

correct leadership that will permit the revolution to advance on a victorious course.

8. Our Parties oppose and denounce the maneuvers by the imperialists and the ruling classes to stir up border and territorial conflicts, with the aim of dividing, concealing, facilitating and intensifying their exploitation of our peoples. We believe that these problems will be finally resolved only when the proletariat and the people have taken power in our countries. For the time being, we believe that this problem should be dealt with through the method of talks and negotiations.

9. Our Parties reiterate once more the importance of applying the Leninist thesis that teaches us that it is possible to wage a thoroughgoing struggle against imperialism and the reactionaries only by struggling at the same time against revisionism. Today, when revisionism continues to be the main danger to the revolutionary movement, and in the face of the various different opportunist currents, different in form but identical in essence, this thesis acquires major importance for the defense of Marxism-Leninism and the advance and future of revolution.

10. Our Parties reaffirm the need to denounce the phoney revisionist "peaceful road," as a simple tactic to demobilize the proletariat and the masses of people, to keep them from taking up arms against their enemies and ultimately to stop the revolution. All this with the aim of carrying out their plans to replace the existing exploiting regime with another one, state capitalism, similar to the regimes where the revisionists are in power. With this tactic of demobilizing the proletariat and the masses of people, the revisionists make it easier for the imperialists and the reactionaries to unleash repression and fascism. This is one of the lessons drawn from the revisionist experience in Chile during the UP [Popular Unity] government. Nevertheless, we cannot neglect the possibility that, under certain conditions, they will use the tactic of creating armed groups to impose whatever most suits their revisionist and pro-social-imperialist politics.

11. Our Parties resolutely condemn the theory of "the three worlds" promoted by the Chinese revisionists. This "theory" is nothing new, it's simply another attempt by the bourgeoisie to prolong its days as a dying class, condemned to extinction by the irrepressible advance of the worldwide proletarian socialist revolution.

12. Our Parties consider the defense of the Marxist-Leninist theory as a necessary and urgent task and a matter of principle, in order to be able to advance the revolution on a world scale. Consistent with this, we must build the active unity and solidarity of the genuine Communist Parties on the basis of proletarian internationalist principles. As we have already expressed, the defense of

Marxism-Leninism is inseparable from the struggle against modern revisionism in all its forms.

13. Our Parties consider that at this time it is decisive and a matter of principle to defend socialist construction in Albania. At the same time our Parties support the Government of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania and the Party of Labor of Albania in their struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism, the construction of socialism in their country, the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the unity of the Marxist-Leninist International Communist Movement, and ultimately the development of world revolution.

14. Our Parties resolutely support the government and the Party of Labor of Albania in the face of the brutal decision by the Chinese revisionists to suspend their military and economic aid agreements with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Likewise, we condemn the new Chinese revisionists for this act that unmasks them in their intentions to transform themselves into a new social-imperialist superpower, with hegemonistic intentions all over the world.

15. Our Parties consider that, in the face of the Chinese revisionists' use of the work and prestige of Mao Tsetung to cover up their plans for capitalist restoration in China, to establish themselves as a new social-imperialist superpower and deceive the proletariat and peoples of the world with their sinister theory of "the three worlds," it is an inescapable duty to safeguard his revolutionary Marxist-Leninist teachings. Our Parties value enormously Comrade Mao Tsetung's contributions to world revolution.

16. Our Parties reaffirm once more that the central task for each one of us is to organize, build and lead the revolution in each country, at the head of the proletariat and the masses of people, for the seizure of power and the total liquidation of the enemies that exploit and oppress our peoples. In this way, in accordance with the conditions in each country, to advance towards people's democracy and socialism. This will be our most important concrete contribution to the cause of socialism and world revolution.

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Communist Party of Colombia
(Marxist-Leninist)
Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile
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Red Flag Party of Venezuela

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