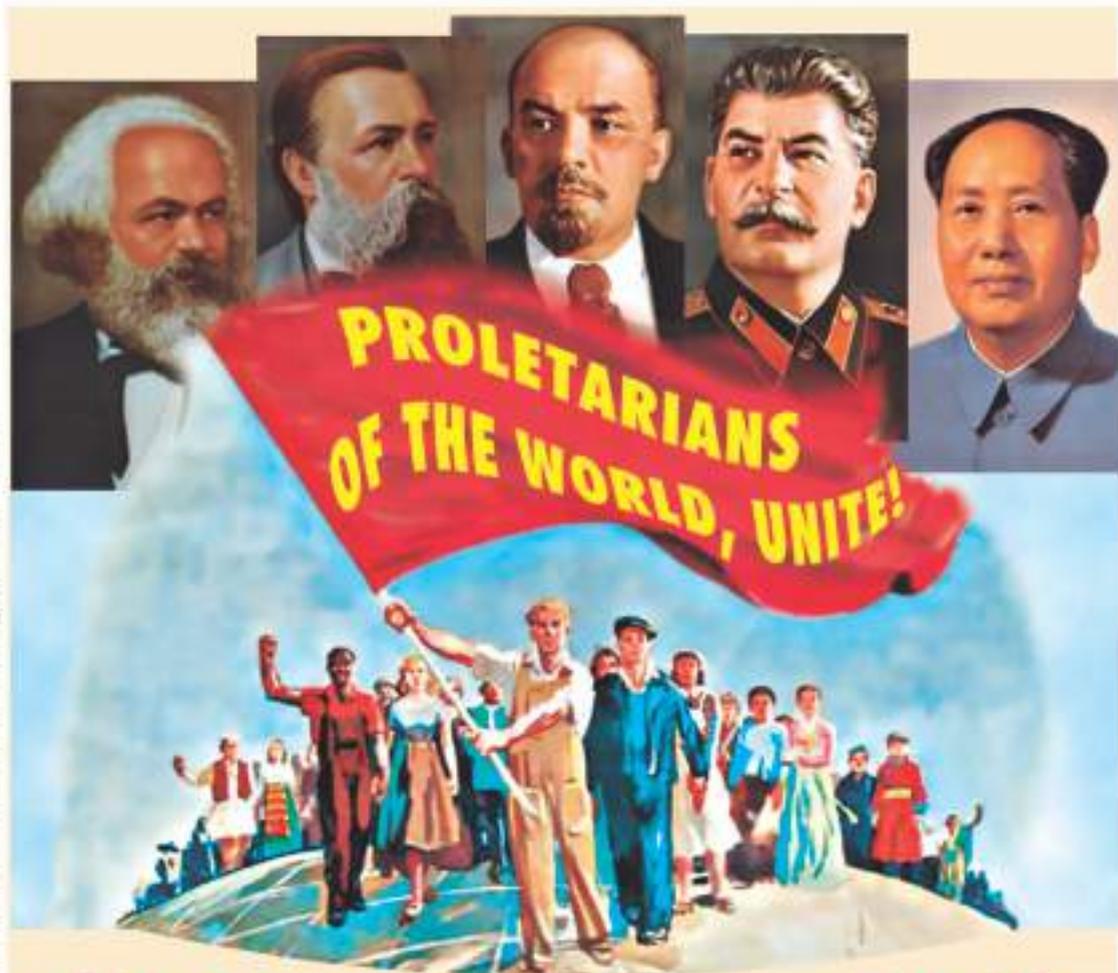


NEGACION DE LA

ÓRGANO TEÓRICO DE LA UNIÓN OBRERA COMUNISTA (MARXISTA - LENINISTA - MAOÍSTA)



**PROPOSAL FOR DEVELOPING
A GENERAL LINE FOR UNIT
OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT**

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PRESENTATION

Comrades, at number 1 of the *Negation of the Negation Magazine*, edit it 15 years ago, *Communist Worker Union (mlm)* published the *Military Line of the Proletarian Revolution at Colombia*, and in its presentation it compromised among other things, to defend Marxist Leninist Maoist, don't dive truce to opportunist enemy and to contribute a "... to build the bases of the general line about which edify a Communist International of New Type".

Then, this number of the magazine you have in your hands is justly dedicated to contribute to build the unity of International Communist Movement, now not on polemic as in the numbers previous, it dedicates to the struggle against the prachandist revisionism and the betrayal to the Nepal's revolution and the combat to centrism that a way covertly pleads for unity or conciliation with revisionism; but as proposal of formulation for unity of International Communist Movement that, we are sure, it will contribute to lay the groundwork for the unity of the Marxist Leninist Maoist of all countries in their struggle for the construction of the new Communist International, essential instrument for the victory of the World Proletarian Revolution.

This momentous task to contribute to build the largest state of the international proletariat, appears in the notebook of all Marxist Leninist Maoist parties and organization today, and can't be any other way, since the agony of imperialism capitalist requires the organization that lead the struggle of the worker class and the people of world on principles of the revolutionary communism. In this struggle, then the disappearance of III International o Communist International, was presented a intent historical constituted for Revolutionary International Movement – RIM, that played an important and commendable role to counteract the crisis of International Communist Movement, that ensued after of the defeat of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in China. However, this effort was truncated by opportunism that lead to the bankruptcy and its disappearance; a bitter truth only accepted after years, for majority of parties and in the face of facts. The predominance accomplished by revisionism in the RIM has its objective causes in the changes suffered by imperialism as world system of exploitation and oppression in its advanced stated of agony; but the principal

cause subjective of its bankruptcy find in the incorrect method of the secret discussion of the divergences and in the conciliation with opportunist tendencies; in such a way when openly arose the prachandist revisionism in Nepal and perpetrated the betrayal to the revolution, the RIM remained silent accomplice because its same Committee was eaten by avakianist revisionism.

The betrayal to the revolution in Nepal and the disappearance of RIM, deepen the crisis of International Communist Movement which main features are the great ideological confusion and the organizational dispersion. However, its forces persist in the struggle issuing joint statements, coordinating actions, as well as advancing in the discussion and in its reorganization. Discussion that is not petty but it is part of the struggle against the revisionism of the “new synthesis by Avakian” and centrism that continues sowing confusion and muddy the Marxist Leninist Maoist, torpedoing the struggle against the hell of the capitalist exploitation, denying and dismissing the inevitability of the World Proletarian Revolution and the necessity of Proletariat Dictatorship.

This struggle for a new regrouping of the communist is present between progresses of advance of the objective forces of the World Proletarian Revolution push by economic crisis of capitalism, where the People’s War in India has been a important role as it has counted with support of communist and revolutionaries of all countries, it has been promoted by Marxist Leninist Maoist parties and organization, likewise provides to regroupment of the revolutionaries and to isolation of the of the pacifist; it has facilitated the repudiation of avakianist and prachandist revisionism, and it has neutralized the international centrism; but until now has been pending the demarcation thoroughly with the eclecticism and opportunist ideas of right and ‘left’ manifest in the same heart of organizations and parties aligned with Marxism Leninism Maoism, essential split to recover a correct politic and ideological international center.

The announcement of the preparation of the new International Conference of the Marxist Leninist Maoist represents a great condition for claim the necessity of unity around to the principles and the complete break and conscious between revolutionaries Marxism and opportunism. In this way, *Communist Worker Union (mlm)* presents in this edition of its theoretical organ, ***Proposal of Formulation of a General Line for unity of International Communist Movement.***

Comrades, *Proposal* that have in your hands is product of effort and work of the *Communist Worker Union (mlm)*, was a imposed task

of the situation of confusion and dispersion of the Marxist Leninist Maoist later to the betrayal of the revolution in Nepal and bankruptcy of RIM, and which objective is contribute to the unit around of the principles of communist in all countries, to contribute to build the politic and ideological bases of the new International Conference of the Marxist Leninist Maoist, enabling the unit of organization in the new Communist International that lead the combats of worker class and the peoples all the world for their definitive liberation.

It is a document that entirely supports in the science of Marxism Leninism Maoism to contribute to exam of the evolution of imperialism and analyze the grade of exacerbation of its most important contradictions; to contribute to balance of the experience of Revolution, the construction of Socialism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat; to advance in the historic balance of the experience of International Communist Movement, and to help to determine the tasks of communist in different types of countries.

A contribute we deliver with joy for the international discussion of the communist; and what better opportunity to put this *Proposal* in the hands of the international revolutionary proletariat that **Celebration of the 50 Anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China**; we convince of what the Marxist Leninist Maoist is almighty because is truth; that the proletariat advance to their emancipation; that the imperialist capitalist is a dying system that will be buried by exploited and oppressed, lead them by new Communist International, untying the World Proletariat Revolution that advance in every corner of the globe.

Executive Committee
Communist Worker Union (mlm)
August, 2016

PREFACE

“The only Marxist line in the world labour movement is to explain to the masses the inevitability and necessity of breaking with opportunism, to educate them for revolution by waging a relentless struggle against opportunism...”

Imperialism and the split in socialism, Lenin - October 1916

Today, the future of the World Proletarian Revolution depends of a correct General Line in ideology and politics, condition essential to enable the unit of organization of the International Communist Movement.

Such General Line should reflect the general laws of historical development world—today the transition from capitalism to socialism—; the state of the World Proletarian Revolution, the main trend of the times and fundamental direction of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and peoples of the world; and global strategy and tactics to conquer his victory over the world imperialist system.

The General Line for the unity of the International Communist Movement is based on a concrete analysis of the objective situation of the world as a whole, this is, in the class analysis of world contradictions of imperialism and in the synthesis of the historical experience of the revolution, taking as a guide the universal truth of Marxism Leninism Maoism, integral science, consistent and accurate whose practical nature forces develop it in accordance to clarify the new challenges of the time in combat against opportunistic lies bourgeois and opportunist.

Both the analysis of the concrete situation and assessment of the experience, as the scientific guide to use and revolutionary tasks to transform the world have always been a source of sharp struggle of line in the communist movement and origin of demarcation between the heirs Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and the heirs of Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotsky, Khrushchev, Hoxha and Ten Siao-ping; in other words, have been field difference between Marxism Leninism Maoism and opportunism that takes the value of historical experience and the emergence of new conditions in the world, as a pretext to deny the objective laws that drive society toward communism, revert to right in wrong, thus confusing the secondary with principal and to resing the fundamental principles of revolutionary science altering them in assumptions “new and creative developments” which dent the critical edge and revolutionary of Marxist becoming impotent the political struggle of the proletariat.

Today between Marxist Leninist Maoists exits a general identity about to see in imperialism the highest and final stage of world capitalism, to recognize the validity of the World Proletarian Revolution

and to revisionism as the main danger to the unity of the International Communist Movement. Such general identity allows on the basis of revolutionary practice:

- To initiate the formulation of large collection of individual identities already conquered by the Marxist Leninist Maoist movement in the knowledge of the imperialist world, in the revolutionary practice for transforming it, in the synthesis of the historical experience in the development of the science of the proletariat and in their struggle against various forms of opportunism.
- To set the initial basis for a General Line for the International Communist Movement, essential condition necessary to give an organized way to the unity of genuine Marxists Leninists Maoists in a new International Conference that assume the role of leader center ideological and political whose guidelines are complied with internationally communist discipline and return the plan to build of a new Communist International based in Marxism Leninism Maoism, called to be Central Headquarters in the battles that will decide the victory of the World Proletarian Revolution on imperialism.
- To advance in tasks such as building and strengthening of Marxist Leninist Maoists parties in each country, the leadership of the struggle of the proletariat and peoples of the world, deepening the balance of historical experience and knowledge of new phenomena in the phase of extreme agony of world capitalism and jointly develop seriously the General Line as an integral part of the plan to continue construction of the new International;
- To treat the differences that exist between Marxists Leninists Maoists as contradictions within the people, expressing and exchanging opinions frankly, distinguishing between right and wrong and waging an active ideological struggle to consolidate the demarcation with opportunism of right and prevent against the dogmatism and opportunism of “left”.
- To wage this ideological struggle openly, public against various trends within and outside the movement, as was the normal practice and teaching of International Communist Movement since the time of Marx and Engels.
- To practice proletarian internationalism, extending and strengthening the fraternal relations between the Parties and Organizations Marxists Leninists Maoists of various countries.

In the spirit of these considerations the *Communist Workers Union (mlm)* of Colombia proposes to Communist Movement International Marxists Leninists Maoists the bases following initial for **Formulation of a General Line.**

**PROPOSAL FOR
DEVELOPING
A GENERAL LINE
FOR UNIT OF THE
INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNIST
MOVEMENT**



Chapter I

IMPERIALIST CAPITALISM

1. WHAT IS IMPERIALISM?

Introduction

With the fall of the Russian bloc social-imperialist in the late 80s in the past, imperialism and apologists of wage slavery proclaimed the death of Communism and even declared the end of history; nothing can be done. The bourgeoisie was preparing for a millennial reign and the social democrats and reformists proposed humanize so awful omen; while the opportunists joined the choir stated insufficient to Marxism as theory and guide of the revolution, dusting off the old and shabby flags of the liberal reformers of the eighteen and nineteenth centuries.

So great was the reactionary bluster and much skepticism intellectuality that even within the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat and low the pretext of developing Marxism Leninism Maoism, are born “roads”, “thoughts” and “new synthesis” questioning and reformulating the scientific foundations of socialism and communism. But this is not an unfortunate accident but the necessary product of imperialist capitalism dying, urged it the opportunist help to prolong their agony and decomposition.

Basically, the statements of some and other show the attitude of the basic classes of capitalist society front to imperialism: either you believe to the bourgeoisie and reaction apologists of imperialism theirs sermon of a lively imperialism and the best possible world against which only can resist; or recognized with the proletariat that *“Imperialism is a specific historical stage of capitalism. Its specific character is threefold: imperialism is monopoly capitalism; parasitic, or decaying capitalism; moribund capitalism”*¹. Imperialism is the prelude of socialism, moribund capitalism ready to be buried by the World Proletarian Revolution. This is the line to differentiate between Marxism and revisionism against to issue of imperialism.

Communism did not die as reactionaries dreamed and wanted; on the contrary, like the Phoenix, reborn again destroying the hopes and dreams of his bitterest enemies. There is no such millennial

1 Imperialism and the Split in Socialism, Lenin - 1916

reign of the bourgeoisie! Imperialism is capitalism in decay, whose putrefaction pollutes society; and the proletariat at the head of the world's people must bury it. Thus it proclaims again the inevitable end of capitalism and the inexorable march of society to the establishment of socialism and communism in all the earth.

This is not a willful desire but a historical law. Capitalism, like all previous modes of production, was born, it developed and is dying. The capitalist social economic system already gave everything it had to give and create the conditions to advance to socialism; survives, only, thanks to the oxygen provided by opportunism.

Capitalism

Emerging from the bowels of feudalism and death struggle against it, the capitalism generalized the exploitation of wage labor as the modern relationship between the men. The old patriarchal relations, the old classes and divisions social have been slowly cornered and destroyed, leaving more and more clearly the division of society in two main classes: the bourgeoisie owns of the means of production and the proletariat owner only of its workforce.

Against the idyllic dreams of small owners, the technical and economic superiority of large production destroys precapitalist economic forms; both the concentration and centralization of capital increasing expropriate to the direct producers *“merciless Vandalism, and under the stimulus of passions the most infamous, the most sordid, the pettiest, the most meanly odious”*¹. Capital emerged and was established dripping blood: his victory over feudalism was conducted not only through the expropriation of the direct producers but also through the enslavement and subjugation of the countryside by cities, through distribution, military usurpation and plunder of the colonies in the world by the developed countries of Europe.

Yet the bourgeoisie as any class in history had done, revolutionized the whole society constantly developed the instruments of production, broke the national isolation, created the world market and extended together around the globe, relations of wage slavery, freeing to men from servile ties and creating a universal culture.

Such economic and social power needed and found its political expression in the power of the bourgeois state, an upper domination

1 The Capital - Marx

machine of class to previous forms of State, which ensures the bourgeoisie its privileges and deprives the working class and the popular masses of revolutionary methods of struggle. A military bureaucratic apparatus, exploitation tool and machine force to crush the rebellion of the workers.

The freedom proclaimed by the bourgeoisie does not really exist for the working class and the free competition carried out by that leads to the concentration and monopoly. So, with decreasing progressively number of capitalist magnates who usurp and monopolize all the benefits of the social process of production, grows the mass of misery, of wage slavery, degradation, oppression and exploitation; but also grows the rebellion of the working class, coached, unified, organized by the mechanism of same capitalist production process. The monopoly of capital becomes a shackle the mode of production that has grown up with him and under him. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor reach a point where are now incompatible with their capitalist integument.

And if it was so clear to the revolutionary proletariat of nineteenth century in the *Communist Manifesto*, is a profound mistake of communists of twenty first century still defend an alleged vitality of the peasant economy —own feudal society— as well as reactionary is the purpose of returning the wheel of history for to make what has been done by the bourgeoisie for centuries. The mission of the proletariat is not democratize the property centralized and concentrated now by the development of same capitalism but socialized it in line with the social character of production.

Against the bourgeois utopias, petty bourgeois and opportunistic of reconcile capital and labor; against reformist pretensions to humanize capitalism, the history of capitalist development is the story of the rebellion of its productive forces against the social relations of production and property, revolt of labor against capital, rebellion of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and its domination. Rebellion originated in the deepest and most fundamental contradiction of the capitalist system: between the increasingly social production and increasing private appropriation private; rebellion that rises to the surface of society in the form of industrial and commercial crisis, crisis already no by shortage as in previous periods but by overproduction, by too much industry, too much commerce, too many livelihoods that paradoxically plunge

to society in misery, hunger and the involuntary unemployment leaving millions of workers on the street:

The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable¹.

Capitalism shows starkly that their and the bourgeoisie existence are incompatible with the existence of society.

Imperialism

The salvos of the twentieth century announced the end of splendor of bourgeois civilization giving way to the dying phase of capitalism: imperialism; phase in which, although that persist the fundamental properties of the all capitalism and remains the capitalist general atmosphere, extremely are sharpen its contradictions, reaching a limit after which begins the revolution. *The imperialist phase of capitalism is the phase of decomposition, the threshold of socialism.*

The emergence and generalization of powerful monopolistic entities and giant enterprises closely linked by the banks, was a drastic change in the entire system in the early twentieth century. *The fusion of industrial capital with bank capital gave life to financial capital, monopoly capital that dominates the production and the world market; it engendered new contradictions and exacerbated all the contradictions that push capitalism to the grave.*

The export of goods characteristic of free competition was replaced by the *export of capital*, being is the deepest core of the colonial policy of imperialism and the way to universal domination relations. The world was divided into a handful of oppressor countries and exploiters, and the vast majority of countries oppressed and exploited. Lies and sermons about the alleged equality of countries under imperialism hide the semicolonial oppressed of countries and mask its antagonistic contradiction with imperialist countries; these sermons besides being reactionary are illusions, because the economic, financial, political and military subjugation of some countries by others stir the struggle of peoples for their liberation and contributes to the collapse of imperialism.

1 The Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels – 1848

The nature itself of finance capital pushes it a frantic race for the exploitation of the oppressed nations and the *struggle for the redivision of the world*. The growing demand for source materials encourages the struggle for their sources, emphasizing the uneven development of capitalism and exacerbating conflicts between the great powers for the redivision of territories and spheres of influence.

Likewise, the rule of monopoly increases the frequency, depth and explosiveness of the *crisis*, whose abrupt manifestations of overproduction burst violently in a society where the concentration and the dominance of finance capital has amplified hundreds of times the anarchy of capitalist production. Crisis that carry to the bourgeoisie to undertake *imperialist wars*, reactionary, of rapine, which require the international proletariat a outright rejection, opposing the revolution to prevent them or transform them into revolutionary civil wars, class wars, in people's war. Songs for peace under imperialism is a deception, for achieve it the revolutionary violence of the masses is needed, the people's war to settle the private ownership of the means of production and social classes, causative of wars.

“Neo-liberalism” is a social-development formulation —shared uncritically by some communist— to make it apology for capitalism, hiding the historical place of imperialism as the final stage of the whole capitalist system, after which arrive only the proletarian revolution and socialism. In its place, the “neo-liberalism” is a simple, perverse and unfair “model” of capitalism, whose defeat not imply to finish but to preserve the capitalist system, the bourgeois dictatorship and his kingdom of global wage exploitation.

The supposed vitality of imperialism is only a false appearance projected by their organized forces, their apologists and opportunists, because capitalism did all that it could make and veered toward decadence and decay, become itself in a rotten system against which powerful revolutionary forces of the workers and working people of all countries are rising in struggle against exploitation and imperialist oppression. During a century of long agony of capitalism, the defeats of the proletariat have been temporary defeats, lessons for the oppressed and exploited, called to bury imperialism by the World Proletarian Revolution.

The World Economy

Imperialist capitalism became in a way of internationalized production. Monopolies are not only divided and disputed markets

fit production with a view to the world market, now the giant monopolistic corporations spread and dispute the same men and suitable markets towards global production, turning the imperialist capitalism in a global system that strengthens and expands the financial enslavement, oppression and colonial rapine.

Imperialism as internationalized production mode, chained to all countries—with their specific modes of production—into *a single global economy*, where the economy of each country is a link in a single chain, which obeys and serves production, the realization of surplus value, accumulation and centralization of global capital. Ignore that capitalism in each country is only *one aspect* of imperialist capitalism leads to some communists to deny its real existence in the oppressed countries, resorting to euphemism calling it “not classic”, “deformed”, “rare” or “bureaucratic”, equivalent to the petty bourgeois homesickness for an ideal capitalism, independent that is no possible. And in politics, deny the existence of capitalism in the oppressed countries, lead to safeguard the interests of the bourgeoisie against the interests of the proletariat.

The general law of capitalist accumulation, now as a global process, is carried out a way as savage and ruthless than the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the parasitic dominant minority violently contrast with the misery of the vast majority working, which a portion die of hungry between gigantic wealth produced.

This process of *concatenation, expansion and deepening* of capitalist relations in the world has brought with it not only the integration of all countries into a *single global market of capitals, merchandise and work force* but also the emergence and expansion of industry in the oppressed countries and major changes in agriculture, destroying traditional production systems and accelerating the decomposition process of the peasantry; causing both the rapid urbanization of the oppressed countries, the development of cities and increasing international migration of the proletariat.

The result of painful, brutal and violent career has been the increasing socialization of the global production process and the proletarianization of the world society. The efforts of thousands of millions of workers are socialized in a single production process, crystallized even in the smaller merchandise with the incorporation of the work force of workers from many countries. Likewise, the

great movement migrations, large displacements to cities, increase misery belts—which stand as monuments to the monstrous irrationality of imperialist capitalism—multiplied by millions the class of proletarians, the productive and social force, more powerful, the world army of the gravediggers of capitalism dying.

Imperialist capitalism has created and expanded the material basis for the construction of socialism worldwide, emphasizing the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for the overthrow of capitalist power and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie in all countries.

World Oppression and Exploitation System

The triumph of capitalism, become a *global system of oppression and exploitation*, is the cause of his inevitable defeat, for it has not only forged throughout the world the class that bury it, the class of proletarians, has further exacerbated class struggle in general, has expanded the differences between them, has accelerated proletarianization of large sections of the petty bourgeoisie; has stimulated the desire of anti-imperialist struggle in the working masses of the world, those to who download the weight of its operation and the reproach of his domain.

Financial capital—which dominates the production, distribution, political and social life throughout the planet—and monopoly associations—who profit in its exclusive private interest of all means of production, all raw materials, all territories and all human society—have led to extreme exploitation and oppression; but in their eagerness of profit, have created the conditions that once broken the chains imposed by the monopoly financial capital, social planning of production and distribution of livelihoods satisfy the needs of society.

The imposition of monopolies in the capitalist economy has led political monopolization of social life; to that the *trend to freedom*—characteristic of the dawn of capitalism—has been replaced by the *tendency to subjugation, to the intensification of oppression of countries and nations*. The tendency to democracy, typical of the bourgeois revolution old has been replaced by the trend to political reaction in every line and at all levels, pushing progressive forces to the current of the revolution. Hence, is reactionary conceive the struggle against imperialism as an exclusive fight against economic monopolies, because would be aspire to the return of the first

phase, whatever become in support the imperialist oppression; and conceived it as a struggle only in the political domain —without relation to the survival of the global capital account of the exploitation of global work— it is, besides reactionary, the worst betrayal to the working class, because means to support capitalist exploitation, when it has accumulated capital to the extent that it has *excessive*, already not only in relation to the imperialist countries, but in relation to all countries.

Imperialist capitalism is a social system that surviving from *predation* of only two sources of wealth: *workforce and nature*; their life expectancy depends to strangle society and destroy nature. Transform the relations of men with nature is possible only by the transforming of existing social relations of exploitation in social relations of collaboration. The desire to save nature untouched the power of capital, is bourgeois reformism, repudiates the natural disaster, but does not attack its main cause: the capitalist mode of production. Brake the destruction of nature is part of the proletarian socialist program that calls to finish to the cause of their destruction: imperialist capitalism.

Historical Place of Imperialism

Capitalism itself has prepared the pass of humanity to socialism, because *it has created the material conditions*: the production has become a social process at the same time the appropriation in a private process; has organized the production in huge factories worldwide at the same time that has plunge it in anarchy, thus hindering the development of the productive forces under capitalist relations of production and slowing the development of society; has concentrated wealth in the minority of the society that does not work and the misery in the vast majority of society working, pushing the limits of the antagonism between capital and labor; has created a class of dispossessed proletarians of the means of production, whose historic mission is to make that social character of production correspond to a social character of the property, *resolving through a political and social revolution the contradictions in that imperialist capitalism has embroiled the whole society*. The bourgeoisie is a class historically powerless to resolve these contradictions, but also is unable to guarantee the lives of their wage slaves; therefore, the existence of the bourgeoisie is inconsistent

with the existence of society, and its system: the imperialism is the agony of capitalism and anteroom of socialism.

The collapse of the Russian social-imperialism and expansion period of imperialist capitalism in the late last century gave birth to the “modern” reactionary theories such as “neoliberalism” and “globalization”, orchestrated from the centers of imperialist power to declare that capitalism “had reborn” into a new stage. Since that conclusion reactionary born the theory of “Empire” of the petty bourgeois Negri and Hardt; their revisionist theories are derived of “*global state of US imperialism*” of Prachanda and of Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and of the “*sole hegemonic superpower*” of Avakian and the Revolutionary Communist Party USA. All these “modern” theories are supported by kautskyite old theory of “ultra-imperialism”, according to which the imperialists could surpass themselves and resolve all contradictions in a single monopolistic center. Basically, these theories are only apology to the good health advocacy to imperialism, omnipotent and unbeatable, and against which only can resist. Arguing the supposed invincibility of imperialism and the alleged impossibility of success, was betrayed the Revolution and the People’s War in Nepal.

The political consequences of such theories are disastrous: help to prolong the agony of imperialism, disarm the proletariat and divert the target of the revolutionary struggle of the masses. In these reactionary theories obey the revisionist attack on the proletariat and its Party, and the praises to “motion for motion” of the “crowd” youth, female, LGBT, environmentalists... Here is the base substitution of the flag of revolution by sheer resistance, as did the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement —RIM— giving primacy to the impulse of the World People’s Resistance Movement —WPRM— above of the struggle for a new Communist International.

The “ultra-imperialism”, an ultra-reactionary nonsense, defeated by Lenin and the Communist International in the last century, now is used by the reaction and opportunism to prolong the horrors of capitalism’s decadence; to blur the consciousness of the workers and prevent them see that behind the apparent vitality of imperialism, hides no manifestations of consolidation but of decomposition; not reflections of a change in its historical trajectory to overcome contradictions by itself, but to its exacerbation accelerating in its decline, as openly demonstrates the economic crisis

of world capitalism in recent years, compounding its agony and emphasizing its decrepitude, to a limit after which only follows the World Proletarian Revolution and Socialism.

Against the efforts of the apologists of imperialism, all current events expose and confirm that imperialism is *capitalism in decaying, moribund, the last stage of capitalism and the eve of the world socialist revolution*; the World Proletarian Revolution is, therefore, a consequence of development conditions of imperialism. The dictatorship of finance capital must inevitably give way to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

2. GLOBAL CONTRADICTIONS OF IMPERIALISM

The Fundamental Contradiction of Capitalist System

The fundamental contradiction of capitalism between the ever more production social and ever more appropriation private marked their entire existence, is the root cause of their inevitable demise and can only be resolved by socializing the ownership of the means of production under socialism. This fundamental contradiction and anarchy of capitalist production are the material basis of economic crisis in the system of wage slavery.

Far from decreasing, the fundamental contradiction of capitalism has deepened and spread globally; global social production is appropriated by a handful of monopolists, exacerbating all ills, problems and contradictions of imperialism. *“This intensification of contradictions constitutes the most powerful driving force of the transitional period of history, which began from the time of the final victory of world finance capital”*¹. A contrary fact to false petty bourgeois program that aims to overcome the evils of capitalism battling the “globalization”, “neoliberalism” and “economic monopolization” without touching the political power of capital.

The fundamental contradiction governs the process of capitalist development in its history, in the first phase of competition, as in its current monopoly stage, along which runs in periods characterized by a main contradiction.

1 *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin - 1916

Periods Agony of Capitalist System

In the history of the international communist movement four contradictions are recognized as the most important —are not the only— of imperialism, which inevitably determine the death of capitalism: the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations, the inter-imperialist contradictions between the imperialist countries —of the imperialist countries itself— and inter-monopoly —from monopolies itself—, and the contradiction between the two systems, the socialist and imperialist latent after the dissolution of the former socialist bloc. Given that capitalism survives account predate the only two sources of wealth: *the work force and nature*, since the late twentieth century has excelled *the contradiction between society and nature* as the fifth major world contradictions of imperialism. The imperialist depredation of nature has compounded this contradiction threatening the very existence of humanity by the profit for the imperialist bourgeoisie. It is essential to eliminate the cause of the destruction of nature: imperialist capitalism.

In the correlation of such global contradictions of imperialism, it stands a major contradiction that characterizes each of the different periods of imperialist capitalism or capitalism dying out.

From 1903 to 1918 was a period characterized by *inter-imperialist principal contradiction*, in which the dominance of monopolies in a group of capitalist countries transformed them into contending imperialist in First World War of plunder for the redivision of colonial world already divided. Given the change in the capitalist world, the social democratic leaders of the Second International betrayed the world cause of the proletariat and joined in support to chauvinist bourgeoisie of their respective countries, backed by the centrist Kautsky and his theory of “ultra-imperialism” whose prayer exhorted to abandon the revolution, then the contradictions of imperialism would be solved with the union “ultra-imperialist”.

Against the imperialist world war and social-opportunism, outspoken advocates of imperialism, Leninism showed that imperialism is the highest and last stage of capitalism, the new Age of the World Proletarian Revolution, triumphantly inaugurated in 1917 with the Great October Revolution Russia, giving beginning to the era of global collapse of capitalism.

From 1918 to 1948 was a period where *the struggle between the monopolies* noted as the main contradiction of imperialism.

The profound crisis of 1929 shook the entire system and led to the Second World War imperialist, with a new division of the world already divided. After the war, the imperialist world chain broke again, this time in China with the victory of the New Democratic Revolution.

From 1948-1958, the triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat was strengthened by the progress the democratic popular revolutions in different countries, giving life to a Socialist Camp of more than one million people. It is the third period of the agony of capitalism, characterized by *the contradiction between the socialist system and the imperialist system* as global main contradiction, gave a formidable advance the world revolution, materially showing the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system obsolete.

Given the powerful advance of the socialist camp and the world revolution emerges in aid of imperialism the Khrushchevite modern revisionism with its “Three peaceful” and “Two all” to: blur the class character of the contradiction between the two systems, undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat, embellishing imperialism, denying the class struggle and revolutionary violence of the wars that resolve the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the imperialist countries and oppressed countries. During this period the Soviet Union transited to state-monopoly capitalism as result of the new revisionist bourgeoisie in power, transforming the socialist power in an imperialist power that beings contested the world with the US imperialists.

From 1958-1972, *the contradiction between the countries and nations oppressors and countries and nations oppressed took the role of global main contradiction*, manifested in wars of national liberation from the imperialist yoke. His central role in the years 60`s —influenced positively to other contradictions— was reduced by the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie to distinguish it unilaterally to obscure the class contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The fifth period of 1972-1990 marked it the *contradiction between the imperialist countries, this was the world’s principal contradiction*, this time concentrated on the inter-imperialist contradictions between the United States and the Soviet Union. In these years, capitalism experienced one of the deepest economic crises *since the Great Depression* of 1929; State monopoly capitalism introduced

by the Soviet social imperialists also entered into crisis: high inflation, external debt, low economic growth and unemployment. Both powers developed monumental armament programs, military invasions; preparations for an imminent imperialist war which not unleashed because broke the crisis of soviet social-imperialism, that crisis spread to its sphere of influence in the former socialist countries. The USSR was decomposed and collapsed product of their own internal contradictions; countries that constitute it, turned into new territories to export capital and goods, and super-exploit to the proletariat, serving —instead of war— to solve one of the last global economic crisis of imperialism.

Until that moment, the fight against imperialism was on account of contradictions that do not directly reflect the fundamental contradiction of capitalist imperialism. But since 1990, was opened the field to the *contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as the world main contradiction of imperialism* and more intently that best expresses the fundamental contradiction. The economic crisis of world capitalism that erupted in late 2007 has confirmed and consolidated this contradiction as the main, determining a period where glaringly manifested the extreme sharpening of the fundamental contradiction of the capitalist system; and this may well be the period of decline and burial of the world imperialist system, on condition of defeat to who keeps on his feet to the dying parasite: opportunism, revisionism led today by post-MLM —false Marxism Leninism Maoism—, *main hazard* for the international unity of the communists, the unity of the vanguard, unit of the Communist International, without which it takes longer victory of the World Proletarian Revolution.

The World Principal Contradiction in actuality

At present, the global main contradiction facing to the world proletariat against the world bourgeoisie, being finally the contradiction that more and intently expresses the fundamental contradiction of the system; the most decisive for being its direct manifestation in the field of class struggle, and as such, the that most revolutionary impact to exert on other global contradictions of imperialism, which further helps to advance of the revolution and the advancement of society, accelerating the transition to socialism.

The global economic crisis that began in 2008 has especially aggravated global contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, reaffirming its position as principal contradiction in the

imperialist world in extension and depth, where the vast majority of the world population lives subjugated by chain salary, accumulated misery between the wealth that it produces, and holds with its workforce a few monopolists parasites that grabs privately of world production. Both the bankruptcy of medium and small owners, as the ruin and displacement of millions of peasants by capitalism and wars, massively increases the ranks of the proletariat, whose existence increasingly threatened by unemployment, welfare cuts, massive layoffs and the reduction of real wages, unleashed their rebellion in mass demonstrations, strikes, general pickets strikes, uprisings against the crisis, against the “rescue plans”, against the global system of wage slavery, not only in the oppressed countries but also in the imperialist countries reawakens the workers movement and not only the industrial workers but all workers against a system that is not even able to support to their wage slaves, strangled by imperialist parasite that appropriates of all social product.

The extension and depth the global contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, reveal clearly that capital is a social relation in which —for first time to face in the agony of capitalism— confronts its forces in the world stage of the owners of capital and owners of labor; fact of major importance for the world proletarian revolution, but of little interest to many comrades communist revolutionary, tied to the analysis of an earlier period, which not corresponds to the current world situation and the perspective to where aims the objective tendencies of society. That is a big difference between the Marxist Leninist Maoist, about which is the principal contradiction in the world today: between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the imperialist countries and oppressed countries.

Independently of the wishes and the will, undercutting of the global contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, is a wrong position and unfocused in the politic, idealistic in the ideological, and common with the revisionism post-MLM of PCR-EU, whose underestimating the weight of the proletariat is derived from renounce to its leader paper at the World Proletarian Revolution.

3. TYPES OF COUNTRIES

Essential Distinction: Imperialist Countries and Countries Oppressed

Capitalism, formerly exclusive of the Western countries, has triumphed over feudalism; has extended its oppressive and exploitative civilization to the east, north and south, with a tendency to prevail in all countries.

Against petty-bourgeois opportunist theories that consider the great proletarian revolutions of the last century as the climax and conclusion of world historical mission of the proletariat, which minimize and deny their existence, capitalism has spread the working class across the globe, subtracting it of national insulation and organizing it in the global military of the industrial production.

Proletariat has no country, its economic emancipation is not a national problem but global and the means to conquer it is their political struggle, possible only on condition of unity, solidarity and participation theory and practice of the workers of the various branches of production in all countries. This classic General program remains the material needs most sensed of the global society; the slogan: *Workers of all countries, Unite!*, with which *Communist Manifesto* proclaimed the international character of the workers' struggle is the slogan of revolutionary communists action today.

In the nineteenth century finished the phase of splendor of bourgeois civilization and conquest of unoccupied land on the planet, giving way to the barbaric colonial policy of finance capital for new divisions of already distributed territories, for possession of markets and sources of raw materials, through the exploitation of new contingents of force of free labor, therefore, for the *worldwide export of finance capital*, converts in the decisively way of economic ties between the different parts of the world capitalist economy.

On the pressure of financial capital, of the industrial development and of trade, that level the economic conditions of the imperialist countries dominates the economic, prevails the law of *uneven development*, contrary to the wishes of opportunistic of a peaceful development of capitalism, requires to the countries imperialists to compete, clash and fight for the world domination, and constitutes the material basis of inter-imperialist contradictions and the inter-monopoly continues exacerbated for world domination of finance capital.

Against the economic and political independence deceptive of the countries under imperialism, the domination of finance capital

—decisive in all relations international economic and political of the capitalist world— subordinated to the former colonial countries and imposed other the new *semicolonial yoke* of independence formal juridical, real, economic, financial, political and military dependence. Imperialism divided the world into a handful of *imperialist countries*, than by its great power economic wealth and military are dominant, oppressors, exploiters, usurers; and an vast majority of *oppressed countries*, subjugated, dependent, exploited. This is the *essential and inevitable distinction* of countries under imperialism, diametrically opposed to the sermons of bourgeois and opportunist who mask the semi colonies financial enslavement of oppressed countries and deny their antagonistic contradiction with imperialist countries.

The *semicolonial* dependency category was formulated by Lenin and used in the program of the Third International. The Leninist theory of dependence semicolonial, export and domination of finance capital in the imperialist stage is accurate to describe the formal independence and real dependence of the countries oppressed by the imperialist countries, and clear to show the character lackey of the bourgeoisie in the oppressed countries. The *neocolonial* designation used by Marxist-Leninists in the 60s and even today by some Marxist Leninist Maoist does not reflect the general phenomenon of the domination of the imperialist countries over the oppressed countries but restricts the *new imperialist domination* to few old colonies as Malvinas, whose territories are considered part of the metropolis and directly governed by it; and about new colonies like Puerto Rico, with its own territory, but without even the formal recognition of political independence. Denominates *neocolonies* to the actually *semicolonies*, serves to the opportunistic idea of denying the Leninist theory of imperialist domination over formally independent countries through networks of financial capital, claiming the existence of a national bourgeoisie always and in all oppressed countries, to drag after it the proletariat.

The *essential distinction* Leninist between imperialist and oppressed countries —under imperialism— is diametrically opposed to the old and new social democratic and revisionist theories; all heirs to the kautskyite separation between the economic and the politic of imperialism, which reduce the difference to countries “rich and poor”, “advanced and backward”, “developed and undeveloped”, restricting only the fight against economic monopolies, without attack the semi-colonial political power of imperialism; or merely against the national oppression, avoiding the deep semi-colonial of metropolises with the social economic formation of the oppressed

countries. Deny the imperialist character of some countries on the pretext of uneven development; or intend to show them as “progressive” imperialist, as does the anti-Leninist “Theory of the Three Worlds”, hatched by the Chinese revisionists in the heat of Cultural Revolution, but fraudulently presented yesterday and today like works of Chairman Mao and fundamental part of Maoism.

All these theories have a common revisionist essence: reconcile with imperialism, preventing the union of the main forces of society against imperialism, turn off the impetus revolutionary of the workers and peasants masses in the oppressed countries, therefore, spoil the real struggle anti-imperialist, an integral part of the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries and oppressed countries, reducing it to “global resistance to imperialism”, that in the Age of the World Proletarian Revolution is harmless to the imperialist countries and demoralizing for the people of the oppressed countries.

Against this string of deceptions stands majestically the teaching of Proletarian Revolutions triumphant in the last century, breaking the chains of national oppression, giving life to a Socialist Camp of genuinely independent countries of the networks of financial capital, and showing in practice how under the control of the dictatorship of the proletariat can coexist nations and countries linked by relations of equality and cooperation. The triumph of revisionism in Russia and China transformed to the socialist countries in imperialist countries, dissolving the Socialist Camp, restoring national hatreds and the semi-colonial imperialist domination. The defeat of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is only temporary, your success is inevitable.

Imperialist Parasitism

The imperialism —monopolist capitalism— while it is obliged to constantly develop the productive forces of the world economy, imposes high monopoly’s prices that discourage the technological progress and it has unlimited the market, whereby tends to contain and renovated the inevitable progress of the productive forces, developing increasingly *imperialist parasitism*, typical phenomenon of the phase of decline and decay of capitalism.

The dominance of monopoly, the domination of finance capital, its direct division of the world, the monopolization of the sources of raw materials, the overexploitation of the world’s workforce, converts the subjugation of the vast majority of countries for a few imperialist countries in inexhaustible source of super-profits to support the parasitism of the imperialist countries on account of

the plunder and suction of work of the rest of the world; parasitism of the world bourgeoisie at the expense of the overexploitation of the world proletariat; the privileges of parasitic and corrupt *worker aristocracy* in the imperialist countries, social base of opportunism whose subservient role to the bourgeoisie is to divide and prevent the struggle of the workers movement.

The inevitable crisis of economic system incite to imperialist parasitism drains increasingly to society from all countries — imperialist and oppressed—, increasing the exploitation of work and pillage, imposing new “austerity”, “economic reorganization”, “welfare cuts” and “rescue”, all primarily intended for fatter to higher parasite known by the society in its history: the monopolistic domination of finance capital and imperialism.

Meanwhile the oppressed countries are forced into dependence and backwardness, working masses into ruin and miserable life, the proletariat suffer more intense wage exploitation and falls massively into misery of unemployment, being all economic and social conditions insupportable for forces whose work supports and develops the society, and as such, are the material basis of repudiation of imperialism and its lackeys, of growing hatred of class antagonism of world proletariat against the world bourgeoisie, resuscitation the worker movement in the imperialist countries, in which immigrant workers weighs for their number and militancy in their vanguard ranks.

The bourgeoisie and capitalism should not exist now; their historical contribution to the general progress of society ended with the phase of the free competition. Henceforth, in the the imperialist stage, while greater is the prodigious advance, incessant and accelerated of productive forces, more strangled lives the society under the global dominance of monopolies and finance capital; fastest growing antagonism of the relations of production based on the exploitation of social work and more is embroiled the development of all social relations. That is the law of the decay phase of capitalism, in which the parasitic existence of the bourgeoisie, chokes and is incompatible with the progress of society.

Capitalism in the Oppressed Countries

Imperialism, moribund stage of capitalism is a global system in which, on the whole have matured the material conditions for the victory of the proletarian revolution, only able at this time to remove the social relations of production based on the exploitation of man by man and to build new and superior socialist production

relations based on cooperation of all workers. That is the great historical teaching of the proletarian revolution in the last century, triumphant a single country and triumphant in countries with backward economic development, where the state of New Democracy was the form of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat which allowed its progresses than once to socialism.

Condition the revolution of the proletariat in the oppressed countries to an alleged capitalist development similar to that of the imperialist countries is to revive the rotten revisionist theory of the “productive forces”, opposite that the proletarian revolution buries a moribund system. This is disown that the oppressed countries, even those with elementary conditions for industrial development have been incorporated into an internationalized production mode, and that imperialism has become a world system of financial enslavement.

In the oppressed country the capitalism is a mode of production that weaves, influences, undermines and tends to dominate the modes of production survivors pre-capitalist, integrated all in the social economic formation of the country, cohesive to the world economy by the internationalization of capital.

Capitalism of an oppressed country is *an aspect* of global production mode, *an aspect* of capitalism imperialist, therefore subject to its inevitable economic crisis and carrier of fundamental peculiarity of modern capitalism “*the domination of monopolist associations of big businessmen*”. It is a *component and dependent* of a dying world system of oppression and exploitation. Monopoly capitalism that is closely related to global financial capital, only marked by the deep scars from the shackles of dependence semicolonial, of imperialist parasitism and of its trends: so stagnation, to contain violent and artificially the technical progress, the rate of growth of certain branches of production, even of the whole economy of the country oppressed; accelerating its development—the most general trend under imperialism— accentuating decomposition of peasantry, sweeping vestiges of pre-capitalist modes production or assimilating it, strengthening it in some cases, but always subjecting to the needs of the global production, realization of capital gain, accumulation and centralization of capital globe.

Denying the existence of the capitalist mode of production in the oppressed countries, claiming to be “a strange capitalism”, “not national but artificially introduced by imperialism”, “not producer

of capital goods”, “no articulated national market”, “no classic”¹... means moving away from Marxism on the road of before defeated Russian petty populist theories of the nineteenth century, unable to objectively study the laws of functioning and development of socio-economic system of the oppressed country to which is not exported the mode of capitalist production but capital, acting and influences their germs and capitalist development originated in the economic process of the old feudal society. Those considered “defects” of capitalism in the oppressed countries, are typical characteristics of semicolonial dependence and its role in the world economy; do not suppress the *essential features* of all capitalism: production of goods under a regime where the accumulated capital purchase and exploited salaried workforce of free workers.

The emergence of capitalism in the bowels of the old feudal society in the oppressed countries is an economic law recognized by Lenin, Stalin and Mao. The capitalist dominance in the social economic formation of some oppressed countries was admitted by some Marxist-Leninists in the 60s of the last century and timidly by Marxist Leninist Maoist in the 80s. Complete dominance of the capitalist mode of production over other modes of production in social economic formation of oppressed countries, eventually becoming the determinant of the capitalist character of their society, is a real phenomenon of the last and current period in the dying phase of capitalism, accelerated and highlighted by the economic crisis unleashed at the dawn of the new century. However, except in exceptional cases², this undeniable trend is still ignored by the revolutionary communists and motive of bitter struggle in their ranks.

It is not just a problem with the scientific method of investigation to the strict knowledge of reality, seeking truth from facts; it is primarily a struggle against strange theories to Marxism, since the 60s of last century have influenced the ranks of Marxists, passing directly from the social democratic economic literature to be erected in “Marxist guide” to know the reality of social economic formation of the oppressed countries.

Strange theories to Marxist political economy, that serves to the reactionary conjugation between material interests —economic— of small owners, and political commitment opportunistic helper of

1 Common arguments defended by some Parties and Organizations who were members of RIM, including the Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia.

2 To see Declaration of the Third Congress of the Maoist Communist Party of Turkey - Northern Kurdistan (December 25, 2013)

imperialism in its deathbed. Those are theories of fear to recognize the proletarian revolution the sign of the current times, and to proletariat the gravedigger of imperialism. It is own theories of the petty bourgeois tendency of “look back”, not only denying the existence of capitalism in the oppressed countries but the same historic victory of capitalism over feudalism, on which is based the maximum global program of proletariat proclaimed in the *Communist Manifesto*.

Yearn for the return or the existence of an “independent national capitalism without monopolies” under imperialism is absurd opposed to the reality of integration to the global economy of all old national economies isolated, and adverse to recognize in the imperialism the highest and last stage of capitalism, after which just keeps socialism of the World Proletarian Revolution.

Denying capitalist development in the oppressed countries, arguing its dependent character, unequal, unbalanced and no classic development is to ignore the nature of imperialism and the essence of its semicolonies domination: dependence real economic and political, to exclusive service of the increasing accumulation and world imperialist centralization of capital, and adverse to masses and the progress of society the oppressed countries, whose development disjointed and unbalanced is a pinion articulated in the *great chain* of the global economy, of production and imperialist world market.

Limiting the development of capitalism on peasant revolutionary path —of bourgeois revolution— ignoring the way reactionary landowner, slow and painful for the peasantry, but the most common under imperialism is “forgets” the ABC of Marxism on the agrarian question, “oblivion” that leads to a fantastic award “evolution of feudalism or semi-feudalism” both the unbalanced decomposition of peasants in the oppressed countries —almost always accelerated blood and fire— as the unbalanced concentration of population and poverty in big cities, ignoring the great divide between city and country a necessary condition for the development of the capitalist mode of production, a great typical inequalities of capitalism that only socialism can create the conditions to suppress.

To refer to the special characteristics of capitalism in the oppressed countries have formulated the theory of “bureaucratic capitalism” that some Marxist Leninist Maoist erected in “cornerstone of Maoism” and awarded its authorship to Chairman Mao, who called with those words to exact phenomenon of existence of capitalism in China, that without being the main mode of production within

his social economic formation, in its most part was composed of monopoly capital of State associated with imperialism and feudalism.

In reality, by its content, the current theory of “bureaucratic capitalism” is an old theory, contrary to Marxist political economy. It has its earliest roots in reactionary socialism, denounced in the *Communist Manifesto* as *echoes of the past and the future threats*, unable to comprehend modern bourgeois society. It has a modern development on the theories of “integral bureaucratic capitalism” and “late capitalism” of confessed anti-Marxist theorists, neo-Marxists and trotskyists of 60s, renegades of “aged” determinist Marxism.

It is not a materialist theory; its idealism resides in not be based in the actual state of the social struggle for production, the specific conditions of the material life of society and the real demands imposed by its development, or the objective class structure of country oppressed and its relationships with imperialism, but rather fanciful wishes of petty bourgeois revolutionarism and dogmas about the evolution of feudalism, semi-feudalism and mechanical identity between it and the semi-colonialism, confusing these two different processes: relations between modes of production of a certain social economic formation and relations between the imperialist countries and the oppressed.

Such theory of “bureaucratic capitalism” does not serve the proletarian revolution because it hides the real targets in the oppressed countries, ignores and underestimates its strength of class in these countries; lose sight the real forces to overthrow the power of the landlords, bourgeoisie and imperialism, and “forgetting” that

*They have no ready-made utopias to introduce **par décret du peuple***. They know that in order to work out their own emancipation, and along with it that higher form to which present society is irresistably tending by its own economical agencies, they will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historic processes, transforming circumstances and men. They have no ideals to realize, but to set free the elements of the new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant. In the full consciousness of their historic mission, and with the heroic resolve to act up to it, the working class can afford to smile at the coarse invective of the gentlemen's gentlemen with pen and inkhorn, and at the didactic patronage of well-wishing bourgeois-doctrinaires, pouring forth their ignorant platitudes and sectarian crotchets in the oracular tone of scientific infallibility¹.*

[*] By decree of the people

1 The Civil War in France, Marx - 1871

Chapter II

THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

1. REVOLUTION FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF MARXISM

“What is the revolution from the point of view of Marxism? The violent rupture of the outdated political superstructure, which contradicts with the new relations of production, has caused its collapse at some point. “

Lenin.

Revolution, Need for Social Development

Not are ideas the determinants of material activity of men, but the social being that determines the social consciousness. The origin of the ideals of men is not in their minds, but in the historical development of the productive forces, in the objective laws that governing the social relationships established throughout the history of material production.

The revolution is not a willful act and arbitrary of men or an ideal neither dream away material conditions. Revolution is a general law of society, determined by the contradiction between the development of their material productive forces and the expiration of its social relations of production that constrain and hinder its development. With capitalism, the social process of production has reached its ultimate form of antagonism between an increasingly social production and an appropriation increasingly private; in the field of social classes manifest in the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

The revolution against capitalism for the first time in the history of society is the conscious act of majority to overthrow the ruling minority. That most of the great masses of the people, actors in previous revolutions in the service of the new minority that loomed with the victory, must now be the conscious majority of its revolutionary act, not done on whim, but because requires it the development economic of society, where *“the outbreak and the victory of revolution depend not only on the existence of a revolutionary situation but also on the preparations and efforts made by the subjective revolutionary forces”*¹.

1 The proletarian revolution and revisionism of Khrushchev - Review of the editors of Renmin Ribao and Hongqi Magazine Writing 1964

Some communists under a biased interpretation of *Introduction* made by Engels in 1895 to his book, *The Class Struggles in France from 1848 to 1850*, intended to find a self criticism to his materialist conception of history. In the *Introduction* Engels reaffirmed the need of *conscious* revolution and the materialist method of finding the *ultimate causes* of political events, of struggles of social classes, on the economic development, as a few years before had forcefully exposed it:

*According to the materialist conception of history, the **ultimately** determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. Other than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the **only** determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure —political forms of the class struggle and its results, to wit: constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms, and even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants, political, juristic, philosophical theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogmas— also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their **form**. There is an interaction of all these elements in which, amid all the endless host of accidents (that is, of things and events whose inner interconnection is so remote or so impossible of proof that we can regard it as non-existent, as negligible), the economic movement finally asserts itself as necessary¹.*

The Revolution of Proletariat

The socialist revolution of proletariat, immediate objective of communists, consist on raising to the proletariat to the status of conscious class, overthrow to the bourgeoisie, landlords and imperialism, conquest the political power and give it a new organization of society through clearance class differences. In the words of Lenin: “*Revolution consists in the proletariat destroying the “administrative apparatus” and whole state machine, replacing it by a new one, made up of the armed workers*”².

To emancipate it and to emancipate to humanity, sublime act of this revolution, means for proletariat to suppress to the means of production its status as capital and gives full freedom to his social nature, transformed by means of revolution to its new owners in

1 Letter to Joseph Bloch, Engels - September 21, 1890

2 State and Revolution, Lenin - 1917

freemen: owners their own social existence, masters of nature and owners of themselves.

The proletariat, if doesn't want to be betrayed acting as an appendage of bourgeoisie is forced to make its own political activity—the means for make the revolution, the supreme act of politics—as an independent political party, conscious of Program —character, objectives and tasks of the revolution— that guides the Party's policy in relation to economic development and class relations in a determined society.

Against Revisionist Theory “Productive Forces”

That the antagonism between the incessant development of productive forces and social relations that obstruct, is the material basis of socialist transition from capitalism to communism, It does not mean that by itself conducted without the need for the class struggle and revolution, as proclaims the revisionist theory “productive forces”; theory of prostration to spontaneity, which denies that under certain conditions the revolution determines the production, social relations of production plays the principal and decisive role of the productive forces. Only after of the complete victory of the proletariat in all countries and the consolidation of its global political power, it will come the time of intense building of the world socialist economy.

The revisionist theory to await the development of capitalist productive forces in backward countries, can raise the question of the proletarian revolution, ignores the historical fact of the transformation of progressive capitalist system in a reactionary, imperialist, that:

It has developed the forces of production to such a degree that mankind is faced with the alternative of going over to Socialism or of suffering years and even decades of armed struggle between the “great powers for the artificial preservation of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges and national oppression of every kind”¹.

Revisionists “forget” that to develop the capitalist productive forces in backward countries are needed precisely the World Proletarian Revolution, since the whole system has matured for revolution. The World Proletarian Revolution is the main historical trend in the imperialist stage of capitalism.

1 Socialism and War, Lenin – 1915

2. NEW ERA OF REVOLUTION WORLD PROLETARIAN

In the imperialist stage of capitalism expired bourgeois revolution

In the imperialist phase, the bourgeoisie became in the main obstacle to social development, the Bourgeois Revolution inevitably expired into the quagmire created by imperialism and imperialist wars, of which the World Proletarian Revolution is the only force objectively able of taking to the society and move it forward. In this new age of the World Proletarian Revolution, revolution led by the bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie, has been and will be inevitably led to an impasse.

New Age of the World Proletarian Revolution

The transition from capitalism to its final stage, imperialism, and the triumph in Russia of the Great October Revolution is the inaugural event of the new era of global collapse of capitalism, ***the Age of the World Proletarian Revolution***, not only in the imperialist countries, but rather in capitalist countries oppressed and oppressed feudal and semi-feudal countries.

Where the New Democratic Revolution —anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution of the great masses, bourgeois democratic for its social economic content— should be led by the proletariat in the direction of socialism and as part of the World Proletarian Revolution.

Two Great Currents of the World Proletarian Revolution

In the imperialist phase, the division of countries into oppressors and oppressed, led to the two great historical currents of the World Proletarian Revolution: **Proletarian Socialist Revolution and the Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Movement**.

Two great currents, which initially were called *Proletarian Revolution of Europe* and *Revolution Colonial of Orient*¹; then, *International Socialist Revolutionary Movement* and *National Democratic Revolutionary Movement*²; then, *Proletarian Socialist Revolution in the capitalist-imperialist and anti-imperialist Democratic Revolution* in colonial countries (even in the neo-colonial) and dependent countries³; and *Proletarian Socialist Revolution* in the capitalist countries and *Revolution of New Democracy* in semi-feudal country,

1 Foundations of Leninism, Stalin - 1924

2 Proposition About the General Line of the International Communist Movement, Communist Party of China Central Committee - June 14, 1963

3 Essential for the unity of the Marxist-Leninist principles, PCR de Chile and RCP,US - 1980

colonial, semi (or neo) colonial countries¹. Such designations reflect a struggle of Leninist content of the respective currents —anticapitalistic and anticolonial, class struggle and national struggle— and compression movement, change and development of the economic system of many oppressed countries.

The Call “Waves” of the World Proletarian Revolution

The path set in motion the World Proletarian Revolution is upward, through ups and downs, where the defeats in Russia and China have been temporary defeats a cause whose ultimate triumph do the laws of social development inevitable however such defeats have given the concept of field “Waves of the World Proletarian Revolution” taxation without argument or fight in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement —RIM— extinct, apparently to symbolize the dialectical movement of the process, but in the background to “re substantiate” in a veiled way, the correct and clear Leninist theory on the Age of the World Proletarian Revolution, using cover to slide the social democratic ideological contraband declares “expires” the historical mission of the proletariat, who supposedly already “closed a historic window” —in the “first wave” of World Proletarian Revolution— giving he that could give. Such a concept borrowed uncritically by some parties, serves to call into question whether or not the era of global collapse of capitalism, cast doubt on the validity of the historical role of the proletariat. It is a coherent concept with fake “closing the October loop”, and historical revisionism avakianist vision, self-declared “new synthesis” for the “next great wave.”

Imperialism: White World Proletarian Revolution

Proletarian Socialist Revolution and Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Movement, are the two great streams of one world front of the proletarian revolution against imperialist global front; two great currents that converge without merging point and towards the same target global proletarian revolution: imperialism.

The need for mutual support among the internationalist proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries and the anti-imperialist movement in oppressed countries; the need for the alliance between the proletariat oppressed countries —fighter par excellence against all forms of oppression and exploitation— and other oppressed classes by imperialism; capitalist development in the oppressed countries, especially those where at becoming dominant,

1 Autumn Statement 1980

about socialist revolution and anti-imperialist movement; are all objective conditions that strengthen the tendency to approach the two great currents of the World Proletarian Revolution. In contrast, the contradiction between monopoly and inter-imperialist wars inevitable makes of prey groups, the increasing of the class struggle in the imperialist countries sharpening, rebellions, wars and people's anticolonial movements in the oppressed countries, are all objective conditions that weaken the world imperialist front. The prospect of Revolution is bright, the imperialism, tombstone.

3. CLASS STRUGGLE AND NATIONAL FIGHT

The Revolution and the World Economy

In the Age of the world proletarian revolution, imperialism — the stage of decomposition of the capitalist system and global system of oppression and exploitation— chained economies of each country in a single world economy, in a single cohesive production process for the internationalization of capital and created the objective conditions for revolution throughout the whole system. The triumphant development of the revolution in a particular country does not depends solely of its advanced industrial and economic development, nor of its contradictions and objective conditions taken as isolated phenomena but as part of the global economy, of the objective conditions in all countries, correlation and intensification of world contradictions of imperialism, which together enable the revolutionary forces break the world imperialist in that particular country. The study of the nature of society in a particular country It must be addressed from a global perspective; the definition of tactical and strategic tasks and corresponding revolutionary political activity should be raised as part of the World Proletarian Revolution, against the imperialist world system which are simply links the different fronts of national capital.

Imperialism is a mode of production internationalized that has broken autonomy modes of production in different countries, including feudal and semi oppressed, making it parts of the world imperialist capitalism, including it, influencing it, transforming it, wearing it, running out in a global process of capitalist production, accumulation, concentration and extraction capital gain by the world bourgeoisie to world proletariat.

Imperialism is an internationalized mode of production that enslaves world social work to the domination of finance capital and

the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in benefit of the exploiters; but it has already created the material prerequisites for socialism, for the government of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat precede to the emancipation of social work for the benefit of all society.

The National Problem of Phase Imperialist Capitalism

In the upward phase of capitalism, the national question, the independence, freedom, self-determination, the right to form their own state of *“stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture”*¹, imposed the tendency to fight against national oppression, separation of nations and the creation of national States. In the decadent phase of capitalism, imperialism become global system of oppression and exploitation, giving way to a trend opposed: tear down national barriers, strengthen links of all kinds between nations, facilitating the union of the proletariat of the various nations, and international class struggle against the bourgeoisie of all nations.

Imperialist competition for the export of capital, the monopolization of the sources of raw materials and the annexation of territory, necessarily leads to monopolize the colonial and semi-colonial domination of countries and nations, undermining the ancient foundations of the nation and its independence. Imperialism remove the of national problem old as an internal matter of States, it merged with the new imperialist colonial problem in the international problem of world oppression imperialist of the colonies and semi-colonies, and as such, it was part of the general problem of the proletarian revolution, the international struggle of labor against capital, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Socialism, as the only way to remove the oppression of some countries and nations over others, to appease the national struggle sapping differences and provide a new and superior material basis for national equality, the full freedom of separation or union of nations, and the freedom of nations to exist as independent states.

The national problem of the imperialist stage of capitalism can only be resolved on condition overthrow the bourgeoisie. Expired former national movement founded in the struggle of national bourgeois classes among themselves. This is the time of

1 Marxism and the National Question, Stalin - 1913

the new anti-imperialist revolutionary movement, as part of the World Proletarian Revolution that in the oppressed countries and semi-feudal solves the national problem of the whole and in relation to the anti-feudal revolution, that is, as part the Revolution of New Democracy led by the proletariat; oppressed in capitalist countries solves whole and in relation to the anti-capitalist revolution of the proletariat, as part of the Socialist Revolution.

Against Opportunistic approach of National Problem

Overthrow to the bourgeoisie to resolve the national question in the epoch of imperialism is a condition “forgotten”, evaded and silenced by opportunism and reformism against-imperialism small bourgeois, in its vain attempt to solve the national question of imperialism in accordance with the bourgeoisie and untouched its power. The bourgeoisie can not solve the national problem of imperialism, because is itself an oppressive class of people, nations, and countries; because its policy to unite the nations is the policy of imperialism, exploitation, oppression, annexations, military conquest, preservation of private property.

To call to the proletariat to “defend the national production and national market” as flags of “anti-imperialist struggle” means dusting aged bourgeois demands of the first phase of capitalism; it is an opportunistic nonsense that diverts to the proletariat from its true objective: to overthrow capital.

Pretending to solve the national problem of imperialism separately and without annihilating the power of capital or before of annihilate it, before of the victory Revolution of the New Democracy in the oppressed countries and semi-feudal, before the triumph of the Socialist Revolution in the countries capitalists oppressed is opportunist political genuine, falsification of Marxism in the national problem, exchange it for the democratic bourgeoisie policy of petty bourgeois designed to fight imperialism without exceeding the limits of capitalism.

The National Self-Determination in the Age of Imperialism

Similarly, the old bourgeois vindication of the right to national to self-determination — “*only the nation itself has the right to determine its destiny, that no one has the right **forcibly** to interfere in the life of the nation, **to destroy** its schools and other institutions, **to violate** its habits and customs, **to repress** its language, or **curtail***

*its rights*¹— for Marxism, is a basic point of the national problem in imperialism not as part of the bourgeois revolution, general democratic movement but of the world proletarian revolution, expanding the right of the oppressed peoples of the dependent countries and colonies to complete separation, and the right of nations to exist as independent states.

Against Opportunism in the Question of Self-Determination

To curtail the Marxist content, reducing the right to national self-determination to the bourgeois democratic framework of simple economic autonomy, political and cultural even only cultural autonomy, to proclaim the juridical “national equality” of bourgeois democracy were all opportunistic ravages of social-chauvinism of Second International, that despite they have been defeated by Leninism Internationalist, again are re-edited by the revisionism of the twenty first century. In a crude falsification of Marxism Leninism Maoism the revisionism of twenty first century trusts the equal rights of nations to bourgeois constitutional democracy hiding to the masses its amputated character, incomplete and misleading; invokes the “restructuring” of the reactionary State old in the bourgeois Constitutional Assembly, to make equality of nations a reform implemented by the bourgeoisie, without undermining their domination but bolstering it; it is basically the old kautskyite deception of “*peaceful union of equal nations under imperialism*” renouncing to subordinate the struggle for democratic demands to the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

The Relationship between Class Struggle and National Struggle

The emancipation of the working class is not a national problem but a social, whose common material interests —the abolition of private property and class differences— are above nationalities, religions, races, cultures and customs. Solely by its form the struggle of the working class is firstly a national struggle; its content is international, a world revolution which is part the victory of the proletariat in each country.

The outlook of world of proletarian party in relation to the national question is the internationalism; not nationalism. The interests of the proletariat and the interests of the nation are of a different character. The first are the interests of a particular class;

1 Marxism and the National Question, Stalin - 1913

second, the interests of the various classes of a nation. One and other are the material basis of two struggles of different nature that are close, reinforce, join forces converge but do not dissolve or replace each other. The experience of the proletarian revolution in continuous combat to the nationalist tendency of opportunism has highlighted the difference and relationship between class interests and the interests of the nation, the unity of opposites between civil war and national war, the struggle between class and national struggle between the proletarian revolution and anti-imperialist revolutionary movement.

Unity of opposites whose identity resides: of being the two historical currents of the World Proletarian Revolution; at its confluence towards the same target, imperialism, whose global exploitative and oppressive nature objectively decreases the tinge exclusively nationalist of struggle of oppressed peoples; in have in the proletariat the only class that by its position and outlook is consequently anti-imperialist and fighter for joint the revolutionary movement anti-imperialist to their class struggle against the power of capital, the real triumph condition for the national struggle.

But the proletariat can never dissolve their party program in the program of class imperialist front since the correct direction of the struggle against imperialism lies in the ideological, political and organizational independence of the working class. Independence Program, party and class struggle assumes defend internationalism, namely combating the national separation of the working class. To consolidate and expand the united front is necessary that the proletarian party to keep its independence and firmly maintain its hegemony in the revolution.

The proletariat does not support the national movement for the mere fact of being anti-imperialist, supports it and allies with this on the condition that it is a truly revolutionary anti-imperialist movement, which does not oppose the workers' struggle against capital, not impede their struggle and independent organization nor restricts the agitation and propaganda of its Program in education and revolutionary organization of the masses, especially of the peasants to establish with them a strong alliance of class.

Against Opportunistic Theory of Fusion of Class Struggle in the National Struggle

The small bourgeois nationalism breaks or dissolves the unity of opposites between the anti-imperialist struggle and the class

struggle. His most dangerous form is disguised of socialist, in the reality social-chauvinist that in the name of Marxism tries to give internationalist nuance to nationalism. Serves imperialist policy because creates distrust between workers of different nationalities, divides them and facing by nations, undermines their class independence and prevents their leader role in the struggle against imperialism. This opportunistic theory social-chauvinist drove to the criminal alliance of the Second International with imperialism against the workers movement in World War I imperialism. Still, its theoretical refutation, struggle and political denunciation by Leninism are words and deeds now “forgotten” by revisionism emerged in the late Revolutionary Internationalist Movement — RIM— where over name of Marxism Leninism Maoism, retreat conception old of kautskyism —of reduced to the national struggle and give up to the class struggle— in the “new” theory “merge” the proletarian revolution and national liberation movement “concentrating the attention” in the this latter¹.

“To merge the class struggle in the national struggle”, theory in vogue of the current revisionism is a rejuvenated version of the old opportunism about the national problem in the imperialist phase. The acme of opportunistic shamelessness is allot such a theoretical monstrosity to Lenin, who —from his *Teachings of the Commune* until his *Thesis on the National and Colonial Problems*, approved unanimously by the Second Congress of the Communist International— always denounced that *fusion* as a fatal error for the proletarian revolution.

The theory of “to merge the class struggle in the national struggle” is an opportunist theory that takes up the reformist approach of the Second International on the national question, as an isolated problem, independently, without any relation to the general question of the power of capital, of the overthrow of imperialism and proletarian revolution. It is a counterrevolutionary line because breaks and distorts the unity of opposites between the two currents of the World Proletarian Revolution. Highlighting unilaterally the national struggle, dilute, dim, mute, belittles and defers the class struggle of the proletariat against capitalism, that is the same social-chauvinism line of European social democracy of early of twentieth century, the same revisionist line of the Communist Party —CPUS— Soviet Union in the 60s, the same revisionist line current of the “new synthesis” of the Revolutionary Communist Party EU —RCP,EU— against the mentioned by itself “reification of the proletariat.”

1 The great leap forward: an inevitable historical necessity, Prachanda Document adopted by the Second National Conference of CPN (M) - February 2001

Even under the conditions of a national war against imperialist aggression, the class struggle is subordinated to the national struggle, but not fused or dissolved in it; the proletariat can never renounce to their independence class, program and initiative within the united front. *Any theory that tries to deny the existence of the class struggle is completely wrong*¹.

The Question of the National Bourgeoisie

The end of autonomy and isolation of the economies of each country, their union as part of a world economy in the imperialist stage of capitalism and the utopia of a return to an independent capitalism in the oppressed countries make up the material basis of the trend of bourgeois in the oppressed countries become increasingly nationalist and pro-imperialist, since their class interest in the profit, forces it to be faithful lackey and partner of imperialism. That was the experience in the twentieth century of bourgeois factions and personalities who took power in some countries of Asia and Africa under the anti-imperialist democratic flags, and then became tyrants serving imperialism. That is the actual experience of bourgeois and petty bourgeois sectors oppressed governing in some countries of Latin America, whose anti-imperialist discourse is only apparent, of fight against a anti-imperialism and commitment with another to oppress and exploit the people.

The expiration of the old role of bourgeoisie —progressive in the economic and revolutionary in political—, and its general trend in the oppressed countries to be a lackey class of imperialism, does not deny that in some feudal and semi-feudal oppressed countries sectors of the bourgeoisie in the interests of political power and animated by their patriotic and nationalist sentiments, refuse them the imperialist yoke, and could be incorporated into the united front of the Revolution of New Democracy, according to the concrete analysis of the concrete situation, where the Party Proletariat must continue the policy of alliance with the bourgeoisie as it is progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, while fighting against the reactionary tendencies of the bourgeoisie to compromise and collusion with imperialism and the forces of feudalism. In all cases, it is wrong always and without analysis of the class structure, to presuppose the existence of a national bourgeoisie in the oppressed countries.

1 The role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War, Mao - 1938

4. HISTORIC EXPERIENCE OF WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

Assessment of Historical Experience

Also of the concrete analysis of the objective situation of the world as a whole and the analysis of class of the main world contradictions of imperialism is obligation of the communists study the historical experience of the proletarian revolution, learn its lessons in the great victories and especially in defeats; vigorously defend the right and daring to criticize the mistakes. Scientifically assess the historical experience required to be done from the position, viewpoint and method of Marxism Leninism Maoism, taking into account the historical conditions in which the predecessor communists acted and previous balances made by the International Communist Movement.

Opportunism for its part found in the assessment of historical experience and the emergence of new conditions in the world an excuse to: deny the objective laws that drive society toward communism; changing the right in wrong, the secondary in primary; abandon the fundamental principles of revolutionary science, declaring its “inadequate” to understand the world and transform it under current conditions, and even “outdated” for alleged “new developments” and “new synthesis”, which in reality are neither new nor are revolutionary; are old reformist theories that dulls the critical edge and revolutionary of Marxism and become in impotent the political struggle of the proletariat.

The analysis of the concrete situation and assessment of the experience, as the scientific theory itself and the revolutionary tasks to transform the world, have always been land of sharp struggle of lines within the communist movement, and motives, not only of irreconcilable struggle between Marxism and opportunism — among the heirs of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, and the successors of Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotsky, Khrushchev, Hoxha and Ten Hsiao-ping — but also of the difference and division between Marxist Leninist Maoist, which international unity requires a common assessment of the historical experience of the proletarian revolution, making it in scientific theory to guide the way of the future *takes of heaven by assault*.

The Paris Commune

Even with the historical limitations that encircled Paris Commune (1871) — little development of productive forces, yet not in the Age

of the World Proletarian Revolution and development embryonic of the proletariat as a political party— it showed the strength of the common interests of the working class above their sects, running measurements of a clear type proletarian socialist: replacement of the standing army by the armed people, separation of Church and State, abolition of state subsidies to worship, suppression of nocturnal work of bakers, abolition of fines from capitalists to workers, delivery of factories and workshops of the workers' cooperatives, remuneration of administrative officials and the State with wage of laborer.

It was essentially a working class government, the product of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of labor¹.

The Commune was defeated a few 72 days of its promulgation but its real triumph was to teach the world proletariat how to build the new state that must to carry out the expropriation of the appropriators. THE COMMUNE HAS DIED, LONG LIVE THE COMMUNE!

The October Revolution

The victory of the October Revolution of 1917 in Tsarist Russia, inaugurated the new Age of the World Proletarian Revolution; the Age of the worldwide defeat of imperialism. With the breakdown in Russia of world imperialist front begins to crack the world capitalist system.

In the clash of the I World War imperialist and using the indirect reserve to the contradictions between the enemies, the working class acted as an independent political party, ahead of the armed insurrection of the people who destroyed the old State and established the new Dictatorship of the Proletariat State, following the teaching of Paris Commune:

Headed by the Bolshevik Party, the working class, in alliance with the poor peasants, and with the support of the soldiers and sailors, overthrew the power of the bourgeoisie, established the power of the Soviets, set up a new type of state—a Socialist Soviet state—abolished the landlords' ownership of land, turned over the land to the peasants for their use, nationalized all the land in the country, expropriated the capitalists, achieved the withdrawal of Russia from the war and obtained peace, that is, obtained a much-needed respite, and thus created the conditions for the development of Socialist construction².

1 The Civil War in France, Marx – 1871

2 History of the PC (b) of the USSR

The October Revolution created the material conditions for building the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics —USSR—, linking the struggle of the new anti-imperialist revolutionary movement against all national oppression, with the struggle of the working class against the power of capital; solving through the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat the national problem of a multinational State on the basis of equality of nations previously subject by the tsarist empire of Russians, to its full freedom of union or separation with right to exist as independent States.

The October Revolution spread Marxism-Leninism by the countries of the world; gave an enormous boost to world organization of the proletariat, the Communist International, enliven and supporting ideologically and materially the construction of Communist Parties in various countries.

The October Revolution became by their actions, in a bridge between the two historical currents of the World Proletarian Revolution in its advanced and support base, the pioneer of the construction of the new socialist society, demonstrating how the defeat of the bourgeoisie and imperialism requires and presupposes the defeat of international opportunism for which is acceptable only Marxism and revolution, if are deleted the theory and practice of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Forget or disparage the historical experience of the October Revolution, on the pretext to see an antagonism between the proletarian revolution and prolonged people's war, is to abandon Marxism as the military theory of the proletariat. Give up that experience with the argument of consider the October Revolution as part of a stage expire of World Proletarian Revolution is abjuring Leninism —the Marxism of the era of imperialism— to embrace the social democratic bourgeois theory of “historical windows” according to the proletariat has its historic opportunity to transform the world and failed.

The New Democracy Revolution in China

The victory of the New Democracy Revolution in China, October 1, 1949, showed that in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country if the proletariat is organized as a political party, as conscious class with ideological independence, political and organizational, it can lead the broad masses in a bourgeois democratic revolution of new type, in which converge the agrarian revolution against feudalism —not against capitalism— and national war against imperialism, strength and encouragement from the Chinese landlords.

China, in the course of the imperialist World War II, became in the weak echelon in the imperialist chain. The New Democracy Revolution as part of the World Proletarian Revolution, broke the imperialist front in China—a backward country—, founded the People's Republic of China and advanced to the second stage, the socialist revolution, without going through a capitalist society of bourgeois dictatorship which tend toward by their class interests the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie of city and countryside, encouraged by the strength of the habit of the old society.

The existence of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the USSR, the rise of peasant agrarian revolution, the great revolutionary activity of the proletariat and the political impotence of the Chinese bourgeoisie for their umbilical dependence on imperialism, these were conditions that allowed the proletariat to fulfill its leadership role the New Democracy Revolution and lead victorious towards socialism.

The New Democracy Revolution in China, became universal guide to defeat imperialism and semi-feudalism in feudal and semi-feudal oppressed countries, and build a new State popular and democratic—form of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—, the only power capable of carry the society of backward countries directly to socialism, in sharp struggle against the capitalist road and nationalistic tendencies of the allies.

The need for in some countries, including to the front of class sectors of the exploiting classes, the proletariat demands of their party and the new State, a profound and profuse mass education in the superiority of socialism and communism in the same course of its wide and direct mobilization against bourgeois currents opposing to socialism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China

The great historical merit of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China consisted in have taught, in theory and in practice, how to consolidate the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration in socialist countries: **CONTINUE THE REVOLUTION UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!**

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China represented the greatest advance of the proletariat in the charted path by Paris Commune. It was a great political revolution that mobilized to the masses widely, in the learning of firsthand the domain of the laws that governing the development of the new socialist society to use

them in support for their ultimate cause: communism; on the mission know and attack the root causes economic and social of inequalities and class privileges that are preserved under socialism and give place to a new bourgeoisie, that by their class interests and supported by the existence of a social base small bourgeois becomes a social force advocate for the restoration of capitalism, and political force expressed in the new State and the party, in the revisionist line that justifies and defends the interests of the followers of the way capitalist.

Consolidate the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, defeat to revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism were the main objectives of the Cultural Revolution, targets that represent itself a quantum leap of proletarian as conscious class in the understanding of the laws of the new society during its transition to communism.

The overthrow of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat by the new bourgeoisie was the consequence immediate and direct of the defeat of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. A great defeat that away of tarnishing the transcendental importance of which historical experience, it teaches to proletarian the way to consolidate their dictatorship of class, under the condition that the International Communist Movement completely understands the contradiction or main cause of the defeat, as an inescapable question for the unity of Marxist Leninist Maoists in a new International.

The Triumph of the Revolution in a Single Country in the Age of Imperialism

Denying the historical experience of Socialist Revolution under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia and China is a typical theory of trotskyism which seeks to deny the truth of the historical facts to justify also the artificial theory of the impossibility of the triumph of the Revolution Proletariat in a single country. Erroneous theory inherited from the old belief social democratic in the nineteenth century, of to condition the triumph of the revolution in a single country to the together action of the workers of all or most of the advanced countries; the same status of “expect the overall outcome” claimed by post-MLM revisionism of the early of twenty first century to justify capitulation in Nepal to US imperialism considered hegemonic and unbeatable, and sow distrust, defeatism, depression and demoralization in the ranks global of the revolution.

The economic and political uneven development and breaks of the countries —law immutable of capitalism—, highlighted in the era

of imperialism in which the objective conditions have matured for revolution in all countries, being possible to victory and construction socialism in any country, even in the oppressed countries of limited capitalist development where Revolution of New Democracy is the stage that leads directly to the Socialist Revolution. The revolution explodes in countries that for its world contradictions of imperialism and by the action of the communists become in weak echelon in the chain. The victory of the proletariat in one or another country is not only possible but a victory demonstrated by the practice of millions of workers and peasants, and also necessary to widen the base of the world revolution, as indeed was the socialist camp.

The criminal revisionist betrayal in Nepal ravaged beyond of its borders, as in the present conditions of decomposition of global capitalism, the triumph of the revolution in that small country, was really an international victory of the proletariat, that would have extended the spark of revolution to other countries in Asia and created better conditions to accelerate and deepen the development of the world revolution.

5. REVOLUTION IN OPPRESSED COUNTRIES

Revolution in semi-feudal Oppressed Countries

Against Bernstein's revisionist theory of "wait for the development of the productive forces" in the backward countries to pose the question of the revolution, and against the Menshevik tactics of grant the leadership to the bourgeoisie, to reject the path of armed insurrection and destruction of the old State; Leninism, since the days of the Russian Revolution of 1905, outlined the theory of a new type of bourgeois revolution led by the proletariat and linked to the socialist revolution, as two stages of same process:

The proletariat must carry to completion the democratic revolution, by allying to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and to paralyze the instability of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revolution, by allying to itself the mass of the semi proletarian elements of the population in order to crush by force the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to paralyze the instability of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie¹.

This was the basis of the theory of Revolution of New Democracy developed and formulated by Chairman Mao, universally applicable

1 Two tactics of social-democracy in the democratic revolution, Lenin - 1905

to concrete analysis of the concrete situation in the semi-feudal countries, colonial and semi-colonial, to resolve in them the question of the bourgeois democratic revolution in the imperialist stage of capitalism. A bourgeois democratic revolution of a new type, it is no part of the old bourgeois revolution but of the new age of the World Proletarian Revolution. A revolution directed not against capitalism in general and the bourgeoisie in general but against imperialism, feudalism and the lackey bourgeoisie pro-imperialist and ally to power of feudal landlords. A new type of bourgeois revolution, objectively, opens the way to capitalism and also limits their development so what does not dominate the livelihood of the people, creating the material prerequisites for socialism; it is the beginning of an open struggle between two paths: the socialist or capitalist. This anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism revolution of the masses under the leadership of the proletariat allows transit in the backward countries, directly from feudalism and semi-feudalism to socialism without requiring a stage of capitalist development under bourgeois dictatorship. Revolution of New Democracy and the Socialist Revolution are two stages qualitatively different of the same process in which the first is the *necessary preparation* for the second and this is the *inevitable direction* of the first.

State of New Democracy, joint dictatorship of several revolutionary classes is not a form of bourgeois dictatorship, nor a third type of state but a form of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, whose direction, —with a Program and Party independents— guarantees at this stage to create the material prerequisites for socialism, socialized ownership of the means of production in the hands of the reactionary classes, becoming the socialist state sector in leader of the economy, promoting collective ownership and developing the political struggle for the socialist transformation of society.

Demarcation with opportunism in the Question of the Revolution in the Oppressed Countries

The historical experience of the revolution in Russia and China, respect to the question of revolution in the oppressed countries, showed how to define a base of unit of Marxist Leninist Maoist and demarcation with opportunism. Base unit of new attempts of struggle and organization after the defeat of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in China, expressed in the Declaration of Foundation of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement —RIM—: in the imperialist phase, the revolution in an oppressed country

irrespective of the particular character of its society is part of the World Proletarian Revolution, not of the bourgeois revolution; for the triumph of the revolution in an oppressed country, it must be led by the proletariat and the Communist Party, not the bourgeoisie; New Democratic Revolution is the highest universal development of Marxism Leninism Maoism to resolve the question of the revolution in semi-feudal, semi-colonial and/or colonial countries; the general tendency undeniable of capitalist development in the oppressed countries transforms to some in oppressed countries predominantly capitalists, in which imperialism remains as a target of the revolution.

Base unit to advance in the delimitation of principles with longing of the opportunist reformist petty bourgeois of an obsolete bourgeois revolution, as in the conquest of a new and higher level of unity on the question of revolution in the oppressed countries, through research and theoretical struggle between Marxist Leninist Maoist then, *“Dialectics calls for a many-sided investigation into a given social phenomenon in its development, and for the external and the seeming to be reduced to the fundamental motive forces, to the development of the productive forces and to the class struggle”*¹, in opposition to the characteristic idea of opportunism “leftist” of sidestep this requirement, despise the scientific investigation of reality, replacing the concrete analysis of the concrete situation by mechanical copy of the experience of other countries and evade the discussion over problems of knowledge of reality paying off any disagreement with rants, labels and appellations.

The idea of reducing the revolution in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country a willful act and arbitrary of men who once “build” the socialism — proper of trotskyist ideology— or “jump directly” to communism—proper of anarchist ideology—, is equivalent to the old conception of socialism and communism utopian, already criticized and denied by scientific socialism; is an opposite concept to revolution for stage —New Democracy and Socialist— this last is girded to the analysis of the material conditions of the existing society in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries.

The old form of the anti-Maoist revisionism rewrites old theory of “productive forces”, invoking more capitalist development in the oppressed countries as a condition for propose the issue of revolution. The way post-MLM of current revisionism —avakianism— renounces to recognition of the objective laws that govern and determine the

1 Socialism and War, Lenin - 1915

movement of society, thereby abandoning dialectical materialism in the problem of revolution, reduced to a mere ideological mobile and indeterminate of humanity.

The prachandism, brief variety of the current revisionism pseudo-MLM, defended in Nepal the New Democratic Revolution as part of the World Proletarian Revolution, but betrayed it in 2006 to hoist the outdated bourgeois revolution of old type, justifying the need for a “multiparty republic” —of bourgeois dictatorship— “before and under transition” to the Revolution of New Democracy. The split supposedly “anti prachandism” calling itself “new” Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) —CPN(M)—¹, formally return the defense of the New Democracy Revolution, but in quality of a empty theory of revolutionary content, then it kept the essence of revisionist prachandism to resign to destruction violent of the state machine old, on the pretense of taking it and placing it at the service of the goals of the proletariat: peaceful transition in the words of the anti-Maoist revisionism old.

Trotskyism and hoxhaism are forms of opportunism that overlook the objective fact of material conditions that impede go immediately to socialism in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries, denying the revolution by stages in these countries, they condition the triumph of the revolution in a backward country to the outbreak of revolution in the imperialist countries, so the “immediate” socialist revolution of their program, proves to be the bourgeois democratic revolution of the old type, directed by the petty bourgeoisie or even the bourgeoisie, whose experiments in the twentieth century —Cuba and Nicaragua for example—, showed that away from transforming society, prevent its free development and consolidate the bourgeois dictatorship; only by the direction of proletariat can lead the democratic revolution to its upper stage: the socialist revolution.

All these are different forms of opportunism that deny, renege and abandon the theory of the New Democracy Revolution as part of the World Proletarian Revolution and whose essence is the violent destruction of the old state and the establishment of a new type of state of joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes, led by the proletariat as *a form* of its class Dictatorship.

Meanwhile, the social-democrat bourgeois reformism obscures class differences and its struggle in society; deletes of chop block suppresses the importance of the proletariat and its historical role;

1 Under this name was proclaimed the faction led by Kiran in National Convention from 16 to 18 June of 2012 of the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) prachandist.

it opposes to the need for revolution in backward countries since against the Leninist distinction between oppressed and oppressor countries, link the formal independence of the semi-colonial countries, paint the oppression and capitalist exploitation in the colors of a benevolent help and cooperation of countries “advanced”.

The revolution in the oppressed countries “Predominantly” Capitalists

There oppressed countries where capitalism has become in the dominant mode, even dominant, and primary, transforming the nature of their society, in semi-feudal semi-colonial to capitalist semi-colonial. In them, the obstacle that prevents the free development of society is not feudalism or semi-feudalism in alliance with imperialism but same dependent capitalism of the imperialism, linked to its semi-colonial domination over society of oppressed country, closely linked to financial capital so its bourgeoisie to the imperialist bourgeoisie. Solving the problem of revolution in such countries requires knowledge among other characteristics, the nature of their socio-economic formation, for example, know the particularity from development of its mode of capitalist production and of its entanglement with the pre-capitalist modes of production; particularity from its dependent relationship of imperialism; the particular location and disposition of class forces and the specific social weight of the proletariat.

In those capitalist oppressed or predominantly capitalist countries, the edge of the revolution goes against capitalism and imperialist domination. All the bourgeoisie, including the agrarian bourgeoisie; all capitalist landlords and too semi-feudal; all imperialist that keep the yoke economic and political over society; all are targets of the revolution, this by its economic and social content, cannot be democratic but inevitably socialist, of proletarian character; knowing that *“to separate them by anything else than the degree of preparedness of the proletariat and the degree of its unity with the poor peasants, means monstrously to distort Marxism, to vulgarize it, to replace it by liberalism”*¹, the fundamental partnership remains the worker-peasant alliance but with the medium and poor peasantry, not the peasantry in general.

To sweep the semi-feudal backlogs —proper of development of capitalism in an oppressed country by the landlord way, reactionary—, and its reflection in the social superstructure, is not

1 The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, Lenin - 1918

the primary objective of the socialist revolution but a derivative phenomenon from its motion and development; not imply a prior stage to the socialist revolution.

The Socialist Revolution and the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Movement in the Capitalist Countries Oppressed

The unity of opposites between the anti-capitalist revolution of the proletariat and the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement is manifests with extraordinary clarity in the oppressed capitalist countries. In them see clear and direct how in the Age of the World Proletarian Revolution, the semi-colonial problem is part of the problem of the proletarian revolution, it's part of the problem of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Is not the national struggle which prints the character of the revolution but it characterizes the national struggle. "*...that the national question does not always have one and the same character (...), that the character and tasks of the national movement vary with the different periods in the development of the revolution*"¹. Is not the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement which characterizes itself the revolution; is the character of the socialist revolution derived from the nature of society, which determines the scope and depth socialist of the anti-imperialist movement. The anti-imperialist revolutionary movement in oppressed capitalist countries can no longer keep its old bourgeois democratic nature of liberation because in these countries is not part of the democratic revolution but of the socialist revolution that gives it a socialist character, as a movement of the mass workers and peasants, of the working masses against semi-colonial imperialist domination sustained by the power of capital in the country.

The idea of an anti-imperialist revolutionary movement of type democratic in capitalist countries oppressed, that instead of undermine national base of power of the capital to contribute to its development, is a petty bourgeois prejudice that ignores the existing material relationship in these countries, between imperialist semi-colonial domination and the power of capital. In oppressed capitalist countries, breaking political and economic dependence on imperialism involves defeating the national base of capital; in them, nationalization of imperialist capital is part of the socialization of all capital; and defeat the power of capital required to defeat the imperialism that supports it, it develops it and needs it for its parasitic survival. Even after the victory of the Socialist

1 The National Question and Leninism, Stalin - 1929

Revolution, while exists the imperialism, it will stand the danger of capitalist restoration in socialist countries, a danger that can only liquidated by defeating the power of capital in all countries, burying to world imperialism.

The special relationships, deep connections between anti capitalistic revolution and anti-imperialist movement, can only be known and studied in detail through the concrete analysis of each particular society, according to the country concerned. Therein the peculiarity consists of the Program, on which the communists based the Party unity.

The Confluence of the Two Great Currents of the World Proletarian Revolution in the Capitalist Countries Oppressed

The socialist revolution and anti-imperialist revolutionary movement are processes of different nature, that without dissolving, without merging are reinforced on the basis that both have a common target in the imperialism, both attack the power of capital. These are the two great streams of the World Proletarian Revolution, whose global trend to approach is particularly materializes in the oppressed capitalist countries where obstacles to social progress are capitalism and semi-colonial imperialist domination.

In these countries, the anticapitalistic revolution and anti-imperialist movement are the main components required and reciprocally necessary of the Socialist Revolution, that is not the sum of the two processes, nor the replacement of one by another, nor to merge one in the other but the resultant revolution of the confluence of two distinct processes, since anti-capitalist revolution not will obtain success if not is allied with the revolutionary movement anti-imperialist that settle the semi-colonial imperialist domination; neither could win this movement without join with the revolution of the working class against the power of capital. In oppressed capitalist countries is not only possible Dictatorship of the Proletariat but inevitable to the only solution to the mire created in them by the imperialist capitalism.

Erroneous Conceptions about the Revolution in the Oppressed Countries

The revolutionary communism must find in each country the specific and deep connections to the contradiction between semi-colonial imperialist domination and class contradictions in the society of the respective country; between imperialist capital

and economic and social structure and of class; this is the concrete and profound relationship between the semi-colonial and colonial problem and the class struggle against the power of capital.

Is incorrect the position that tackle the semi-colonial problem in a oppressed capitalist country or predominantly capitalist, irrespective of the nature of its socio-economic formation nor the class struggle in its society. That is the origin of the wrong direction of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement —RIM— in 1984, *“it is still necessary, in general, for the revolution to pass through a democratic, anti-imperialist stage before the socialist revolution can be begun”*. It is the ideological basis of its equally wrong policy of making the anti-imperialist struggle in the center and bound of revolutionary work, get round the fundamental importance of class struggle; renouncing to the proletarian revolution against imperialism, following the humbug “struggle of anti-imperialist resistance”; concentrating efforts on a inconsequential “movement of global popular resistance” while leaving the task of building a new Communist International.

Suchlike concept is essentially the same opportunistic conception of Kautsky: separation of politics and economics of imperialism! It is a consistent line with theory prachandist “merges the class struggle in the national struggle”, and with the avakianist denial of the historical role of the proletariat, to which he considers “reified” by Marxism and since Marx.

It is not surprising such a policy leads to support to name of Marxism Leninism Maoism, the false bourgeois “anti-imperialism” of European social-democracy or the Latin American bolivarianism; to justify the supporting to dictators who recognized themselves “anti-imperialist” but in reality are not more than puppets of inter-imperialist struggle for strategic control of the Middle East and North Africa; to social-chauvinist impudence of to promote in the worker movement the support to certain imperialist countries to confront others, which means submit and support to imperialism.

Support an imperialism to fight another is an opportunistic interpretation of indirect reserves of the proletarian revolution, and very contrary to the Marxist of take advantage of enemy weaknesses to strengthen the unity of the ranks of the revolution, not the unit with the bourgeoisie.

To conceive the anti-imperialist struggle in the oppressed capitalist countries as a separate stage of the socialist revolution, an “anti-imperialist democratic stage” comes both petty bourgeois

prejudice of considerate that the struggle against imperialism has, in all countries and in all times, inevitably a bourgeois democratic content; as the tendency of the petty bourgeoisie to overshadow, reduce, dissolve the class struggle of the proletariat in the common struggle of several classes of the oppressed country against imperialism.

To isolate the struggle against imperialism of the struggle of the workers against capital is raw nationalism, which blurs the thinking of the proletariat, infringe its class independence and promotes the ideological and political domain of the bourgeoisie. Such separation means dissimulate, attenuate and cover up the deep contradictions of the imperialist phase by which the revolution is inevitable. It is bourgeois reformism instead of Marxism. The Marxist position on this question was diaphanous and clearly exposed by José Carlos Mariátegui¹:

For us, anti-imperialism does not and cannot constitute, by itself a political program for a mass movement capable of conquering state power” [...] “In conclusion, we are anti-imperialists because we are Marxists, because we are revolutionaries, because we oppose capitalism with socialism, an antagonistic system called upon to transcend it, and because in our struggle against foreign imperialism we are fulfilling our duty of solidarity with the revolutionary masses” of world².

6. REVOLUTION IN THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES

The Need of the Proletarian Revolution in the Imperialist Countries

Contrary to the bourgeois apology of the “economy of capitalist market” —understood as super salaried exploitation— as the best of all worlds, the reality in the imperialist countries manifests all its splendor in extreme exacerbation of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism *between production each more social and increasingly private appropriate*, and its consequent absolute law of the system of wage exploitation: accumulation of wealth in a few monopolists and misery on the rest of society.

The October Revolution, to inaugurating the new Age of the World Proletarian Revolution, taught universal way for to do the revolution in the imperialist phase, with the strength of the armed masses

1 Peruvian Communist intellectual knows for his defense of Marxism against their twisters and by its creator application to the concrete analysis of Peruvian society in the third decade of the twentieth century.

2 In an article in the magazine A World To Win issue 2 p.51

under the leadership of the party of the proletariat, demolishing the old State, building new one from Dictatorship of the Proletariat, only power able to expropriate to the expropriators and open the way for the construction of socialism. Resolving the contradictions of class in the imperialist countries, corresponds directly and immediately to the Socialist Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This truth of the general program does not exempt to the communists of the concrete analysis of the concrete situation of the socioeconomic structure and class structure in each country, to develop the program, strategy and specific tactics that correspond to the specific form of the revolution in each country, furthermore if one considers the inescapable law of uneven development of the imperialist countries.

Split of the worker Movement

If the socialist revolution has not succeeded in the imperialist countries —despite their own parasitism of a decadent system and in decomposition, which it has already given all that it had to give, and it has become in a colossal deadweight for developing society— is not due to the frightening power of the imperialist bourgeoisie, nor a supposed “restructuring” of imperialism that makes unnecessary the revolution. The main reason for the delay of the revolutionary triumph in the imperialist countries is in the position of prostration of the worker movement for nearly of a century, divided by imperialism, relegated to a place without social importance by Social Democracy, cheated and wear away in the parliamentary struggle deformed for a distorted revolution in bourgeois democratic movement against the “excesses” of monopoly capital, beaten and gagged by the betrayal and opportunist degeneration of the their parties in each country, for the weight that took between the communists the wrong line of condition the triumph of revolution in the imperialist countries to victory in the oppressed countries.

The labor aristocracy, a sector of the proletariat in the imperialist countries, bought and corrupted by the imperialist bourgeoisie on account of overexploitation and pillage in countries oppressed, constitutes the social base of the social democratic ideological trend. Of the worker aristocracy come the cadres of social democracy and the yellow labor unions, the heads of the workers’ parties, socialist and labors converted into political detachments of the bourgeoisie, the ministers who removed of fire the chestnuts to the bourgeoisie, all as transmitters direct of the influence of the bourgeoisie in the worker movement and fifth columns of the capitalist system of wage

slavery. To win to the masses ideologically influenced by social democracy, is the priority task of the communists in the imperialist countries to open the way to the revolution.

Regime of Government in the Imperialist Countries

In some imperialist countries the government is characterized as fascist, a way open, terrorist, without veils or subterfuge of bourgeois dictatorship, consistent to the political reaction under imperialism. The analysis of Communists must take into account the particular form of bourgeois dictatorship in each country, avoiding to fall in the generalization of consider fascist any state under bourgeois dictatorship, which firstly, quarrels with the Marxist theory of the state, who considers the bourgeois democracy the characteristic way of the class dictatorship in the bourgeois state and fascism a special form of bourgeois dictatorship —“*Comrades, fascism in power was correctly described by the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International as the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital*”¹—; and secondly, it can be accompanied with the tendency to divert the revolution, postponing the fight to overthrow the bourgeoisie and destroy their reactionary state, in the interest of lay claim the struggle for bourgeois democracy, or the alliance with a section of the imperialist bourgeoisie, and even, to make of the fight against fascism, a separate and previous stage of the socialist revolution.

*In general, political democracy is merely one of the possible forms of superstructure above capitalism (although it is theoretically the normal one for “pure” capitalism). The facts show that both capitalism and imperialism develop within the framework of any political form and subordinate them all*².

Crises, War and Revolution

Economic crisis characteristic of the capitalist mode of production, are inevitably caused by the fundamental contradiction of the system between the social character of production and the private character of the appropriation, contradiction exacerbated in the imperialist phase by monopolistic domination of the society economic life, concentration and dominance of finance capital. Imperialism has increased the frequency, depth and explosiveness of economic crises as sharp manifestations of anarchy relative

1 Fascism and the working class, J. Dimitrov - 1937

2 The Discussion On Self-Determination Summed Up, Lenin - 1916

overproduction in a social economic system obsolete, decadent, obstacle to the progress of society. *“Every crisis discards the conventionalities, tears away the outer wrappings, **sweeps** away the obsolete and reveals the underlying springs and forces”¹.*

After *The Great Depression* of 1929 in the imperialist countries of Europe and North America, the limits of other deep crisis, to one group of countries or certain branches of production —such as the oil crisis in the 70s that affected mainly America and its sphere of influence, or the crisis of end of the century originated in Asia with implications in Western countries— have been broken by the great economic crisis of the United States since 2008 and turned into the first crisis truly global, by its depth and breadth to all continent, by its tendency to be long and of slight recoveries, for its onslaught against all the giant economies of the imperialist and capitalist countries, for the exacerbation that has caused to the global contradictions of imperialism, for the serious social crisis that has already sparked not only in oppressed countries but also in the imperialist countries.

To attenuate the crisis, raffle the inter-imperialist contradictions and inter-monopolists, do inevitable likewise the imperialist reactionary wars, of which two have reached a global character of imperialist plunder and massacre. Imperialist bourgeois, desperate and helpless facing the crises and laws that drive society towards socialism, pretends to counter it, burning the means of production, killing millions of soldiers of the industrial reserve army and kneading windfall with the military industry into a new world war, on the exploitative irrepressible appetite to divide the world already divided, danger against which the world proletariat must maintain strong internationalist line: *Or revolution stop the war or war breaks Revolution!*; as experience has taught it in the two world wars, to transform a new imperialist world war into a civil war against the entire bourgeoisie and for the global triumph of the Proletarian Dictatorship. Communists, while rejecting the imperialist wars, fight against all forms of national chauvinism which would compromise the proletariat with the defense of the interests of the bourgeoisie of their country or of any imperialist country.

The crisis that began in 2008 has led to an extreme intensification of social contradictions, has unveiled the world’s evils of capitalism, has revealed the bourgeois parasites, has shown the

1 Ibid

expiration of a system converted in the cause of the worst sufferings of humanity, has confirmed that beyond of imperialism just follow the proletarian revolution! In the face of imperialism, the disasters caused by the crisis and the danger of a world war, is not enough to resist! The world needs the revolution! Only the World Proletarian Revolution can save to the mankind from imperialist quagmire.

The Spontaneous Movement of Mass Against Capitalism

The powerful popular mobilization in the imperialist countries in the years that has elapsed the new century, on the form of rebellions, strikes and protest, give an account of spontaneous resistance from workers to capitalist exploitation, and particularly against the consequences of that leaves the economic crisis of world capitalism. Basically it expresses the need of the global productive forces, of to break the social relations of wage exploitation that constrict, suffocate and destroy it. But is not sufficient the simple struggle of resistance; is essential and necessary the political struggle of the masses that their own hand and through revolutionary violence, led by a vanguard party of the proletariat, overthrow the political power of the reactionary state, instrument and safeguard of the relations of exploitation. In all the imperialist countries, the construction and/or consolidation of the Communist Party of vanguard of the proletariat, is the main and decisive task to lead the revolution.

Don't combat the apolitical and non-partisan mistake, of the opportunism, anarchism and social democratic reformism, who have in common the tendency to focus the attention of the mass movement in respectful requests to the governors to legislate against the "excesses" of monopolies or wait that the spontaneous force of the masses to overthrow the political power of the exploiters, it is worship to the spontaneity, it is opportunism of right. As is opportunism of "left" ignore that the objective strength of the mass movement against the capitalist system, against the dominance of monopolies and finance capital, in fact, is an incipient trend towards the conscience of the need to defeat and bury to the imperialism, the worst enemy of society and the greatest danger of the nature. The responsibility of to carry the awareness to the spontaneous movement, of to assemble the heads and arms of the masses, is exclusive and mandatorily of the communists.

To wait for the revolution in the imperialist countries, is a "pure" proletarian revolution without riots and outrages of the

oppressed minorities, without the explosive participation of the petty bourgeoisie with all their prejudices, without the disorder and the assaults of the backward workers and disorganized, “*think so—said Lenin— mean abjure of the social revolution*”. Such forces

Objectively they will attack capital, and the class-conscious vanguard of the revolution, the advanced proletariat, expressing this objective truth of a variegated and discordant, motley and outwardly fragmented, mass struggle, will be able to unite and direct it, capture power, seize the banks, expropriate the trusts which all hate (though for difficult reasons!), and introduce other dictatorial measures which in their totality will amount to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the victory of socialism, which, however, will by no means immediately “purge” itself of petty-bourgeois slag¹.

Proletarian Internationalism

Imperialism has tangled the society in a series of such economic contradictions, that does necessary a complete revolution in the mode of production, and the only social force that by its situation in the social economy can surpass these contradictions, through political and social revolution is the world proletariat.

The emancipation of the working class is not a local or national problem but social. Requires the participation of the selfsame working class, whose material interests common all over the world are the abolition of private property and class differences, and are above of nationalities, religions, races, cultures and customs. For its way, the struggle of the working class is firstly a national struggle; for its content the communist revolution is not purely national but a world revolution, of which is part the victory of the proletariat in each country.

The international character of the worker movement demands the Internationalism: To work without rest for carry forward the revolution in the own country; subordinate the interests of the working class of each country to the interests of the global struggle of the proletariat; when the revolution defeat to the bourgeoisie in one country, to make the great sacrifices for the good of the defeat of world capitalism, converting the country in support base of the world proletarian revolution.

The essential content of proletarian Internationalism is the commitment, support and fight for the victory of the World Proletarian Revolution on imperialism and reaction, in the necessary historical address of the global triumph of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

1 The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up, Lenin – 1916. (Highlighted in original).

The defeat of capital in imperialist countries implies blow up in pieces its yoke upon the oppressed countries; and finally liberate to the oppressed countries requires to defeat the power of capital in the imperialist countries. In these two conditions resides the objective necessity of mutual internationalist support among the workers in the imperialist countries and the workers of the oppressed nations, between the revolution in both types of countries, between workers revolution for socialism and anti-imperialist revolutionary movement.

Workers of the world, unite! and *Workers and Oppressed Peoples and Nations of the World, Unite!* continue to be the slogans of the true proletarian Internationalism.

Against falsification of internationalism

Nor nationalism neither patriotic chauvinism, nor national sovereignty are flags of the worker movement. They are, however, old and frayed flags of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie.

However, has always existed a tendency to defend bourgeois nationalism with label of proletarian Internationalism, and this trend is carried to the ranks of the working class, especially by the petty bourgeoisie, induced therefore for not distinguish between national form and content of class struggle of the proletariat, as for the fact that one of the major contradictions of the epoch of imperialism is between the oppressor and oppressed nations, where to face the national problem necessarily generates nationalism, that sometimes is interpose on internationalism of the work movement, even arriving to the opportunistic pretension of to pass off as Marxist the “fusion” of two contradictions of different nature: the class struggle and national struggle, leading to evade the problem of class struggle, dissolving the class struggle in the national struggle.

Since it is a fundamental principle of Leninism, that *“the struggle against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the struggle against opportunism”*, all reconciliation with opportunism distorts and undermines the true proletarian Internationalism.

Proletarian Internationalism is not considered that the proletariat of one country provides “external support” proletarian another country, knowing that is about the same class and the same struggle.

It is not proletarian Internationalism avoid the fighting against the narrowness in communist of the oppressed countries, of not

look beyond of the national borders, of to despise the relationship of the revolution in “their nation” with the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries.

It is not proletarian Internationalism allow the indifference of the communists in the imperialist countries forward the revolution in the oppressed countries, dismissing the need for mutual defeat of capital in “their country” and the defeat of imperialism in the colonies and semi-colonies.

It is not proletarian internationalism forget that at this time of imperialist capitalism, the old national problem became part of the new colonial problem of imperialism; and therefore part of the general problem great of Revolution Proletarian: Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

7. THE REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE AND HISTORIC MISSION OF PROLETARIAT

“The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win”.

Communist Manifesto

Violence

In the history of the society have not been —as believed Dühring— the political struggles between men the determinants of their economic situation, but as I said Engels: *“Private property by no means makes its appearance in history as the result of robbery or force”*¹. Social production and production relations among men correspondent to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces are provides it the material means of political power, and ultimately, because of the contradictions of proper-movement economic, the men are pushed to the subversion, as a natural need of social development. *Politics is the concentrated expression of economics.*

All dominant classes use violence to maintain their domination. The State itself is a violent force, is organized violence, the machine

1 The Antidühring, Engels - 1878

domination of some classes by other. But violence cannot prevent the continued development of the productive forces, by contrast, is the midwife of its progress, the midwife of history. Exploiters appeal to the violence and political power to prevent the collapse of the old social economic system; the exploited make of violence a necessary tool, not to adapt the economy to politics but to destroy the rigid, dead, reactionary policies of the decrepit previous order, and create new forms of political power that open way to the economic development free of society.

The Violent Revolution, a Universal Law of the Proletarian Revolution

Violent revolution is inevitable in the development to jumps of the social movement; it is a universal law of proletarian revolution, destined to eradicate all the exploiter classes and all exploitation systems; It is the midwife of socialist society, transition in which the proletariat, through armed struggle, breaks the old bourgeois state machine and introduces the new State of its class dictatorship, being such substitution impossible through the extinction of old State or peaceful transition, *“The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution”*¹.

To recognize or not the need systematically of educate to the masses on the idea of violent revolution, to recognize or not in the violent revolution a universal law of proletarian revolution, to recognize or not the need of to destroy the old State and replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat, to recognize or not the need of to continue the revolution under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, is the dividing line between Marxism and all kinds of opportunism, between Marxism Leninism Maoism and revisionism. In this cardinal question of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, trotskyism, in spite of its “leftist” mask is essentially a variety of revisionism.

Old and “New” Theories of Peaceful Transition and “End” of to conquer power

To pretend to radically transform the bourgeois order without a violent revolution, without exceeding the limits of bourgeois democracy is historical idealism, is abide by word the proletarian revolution but in fact away and deny it.

1 Problems of war and strategy, Mao - 1938

To herald the peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism, in opposition to violent revolution, to the destruction and replacement of the old State by the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, is the concentrated expression of all varieties of revisionism.

The revisionist betrayal of Bernstein, Kautsky and Khrushchev to Marxism was to proclaim the parliamentary path to transit from capitalism to socialism, to declare violent revolution unnecessary, the destruction of the bourgeois State and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat; replacing the class struggle and revolution by voting under the power of the bourgeoisie.

Theories of “State Transition to the New Democracy and Socialism”, the “democratic restructuring of the State”, of the “multi-party State”, the “full democracy” and the “critical thinking and dissent”, proclaimed it in this century pleading to be development and overcoming of Marxism Leninism Maoism, are not more than a crude falsification of Marxism, genuine devotee revisionist of the line of Kautsky: *“The aim of our political struggle remains, as in the past, the conquest of state power by winning a majority in parliament and by raising parliament to the ranks of master of the government”*, and diametrically opposed to the line of Marx: *“Working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes”*.

Therefore the violent revolution, opportunism of “left” is the obverse side of revisionism. To counterpose the armed struggle, to the path of peaceful transition, is not enough to be a Marxist in the question of the proletarian revolution; for Marxism the violent revolution is not simply associated with the armed struggle, which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. For Marxism the violent revolution, supreme act of political struggle involves the people’s war, insurrection, armed struggle of the masses, *as a means* for the destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus, and the construction of the new State of Dictatorship of the Proletariat, *necessary direction* of the class struggle, question always eluded, evaded and “forgotten” by opportunism. Without these conditions, both the radical proclamation of armed struggle, as the preaching of the parliamentary road is two different forms to give up to the proletarian revolution because:

The point is not at all whether the “ministries” will remain, or whether “committees of specialists” or some other bodies will be set up; that is quite immaterial. The point is whether the old state machine (bound

by thousands of threads to the bourgeoisie and permeated through and through with routine and inertia) shall remain, or be destroyed and replaced by a new one. Revolution consists not in the new class commanding, governing with the aid of the old state machine, but in this class smashing this machine and commanding, governing with the aid of a new machine. Kautsky slurs over this basic idea of Marxism, or he does not understand it at all¹.

*The fundamental problem of revolution is the question of power, but to erect the conquest of power in the supreme goal of the political struggle of the worker movement, without to destroy the machine of state, in the limit and range of the revolution without to build a new State that be *the means* to carry out the economic emancipation of the proletariat, it is simple petty bourgeois revolutionarism admitted for opportunism and tolerable it for the bourgeoisie.*

Forms of Struggle and Its Opportunistic Deformation

The party does not invent the forms of struggle, they are objective and historical. It is common among some communists forget this and slide to ground of opportunism. The exacerbation of the economic and political contradictions leads to deepening social crisis, forcing to the masses to devise various methods of defense and attack:

*Marxism, therefore, positively does not reject any form of struggle. Under no circumstances does Marxism confine itself to the forms of struggle possible and in existence at the given moment only, recognising as it does that new forms of struggle, unknown to the participants of the given period, **inevitably** arise as the given social situation, changes. In this respect Marxism **learns**, if we may so express it, from mass practice, and makes no claim what ever **to teach** the masses forms of struggle invented by “systematisers” in the seclusion of their studies... In the second place, Marxism demands an absolutely **historical** examination of the question of the forms of struggle. To treat this question apart from the concrete historical situation betrays a failure to understand the rudiments of dialectical materialism. [...] To attempt to answer yes or no to the question whether any particular means of struggle should be used, without making a detailed examination of the concrete situation of the given movement at the given stage of its development, means completely to abandon the Marxist position².*

To lead to the proletariat and the worker broad masses in the revolution requires to the Communist Party masters all forms of struggle, to know to guide —to raise the consciousness of the masses— their combination and quick replacement of one by

1 The State and Revolution, Lenin - 1917

2 Guerrilla Warfare, Lenin - 1906. (Highlighted in original).

another, on the basis of concrete analysis of the situation according to change the conditions of flux or reflux of the revolution. In struggle against the revisionist line of the CPSU, of the peaceful transition and the parliamentary cretinism, the Chinese Communists raised the problem thereby:

The vanguard of the proletariat will remain unconquerable in all circumstances only if it masters all forms of struggle, peaceful and armed, open and secret, legal and illegal, parliamentary struggle and mass struggle, etc. It is wrong to refuse to use parliamentary and other legal forms of struggle when they can and should be used¹.

In the imperialist countries, where it reaches the maximum development of bourgeois democratic republic, the possibility of using the parliamentary tribune to the way as did the Bolsheviks: to denounce the class nature of the State and shake the need for its destruction, increasingly contrasts more with the tendency of imperialism to political reaction in all the line, where the parliamentary institution is, day by day, more remote and away to the political interest of the majority of people. This tendency of imperialism does not absolve to the communist of concrete analysis of the concrete situation to resolve in the tactical the forms of combat to use and performance in each electoral farce of the bourgeois State.

In order of to combine the forms of struggle, the opportunism of right —or revisionism— renounces to the violent revolution, to destroy the bourgeois state and to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, to undergo to follow after the spontaneous movement of the masses. They renounce of revolutionary violence, to the path of armed struggle, to do of parliamentary struggle the only and main form of struggle at all times and in every historical situation. Right opportunism does not use the parliamentary platform to denounce the class character of the State and shake the need for its destruction, but as a tribune for the defense of the bourgeois democracy, in collaboration with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, in fact contributing to exercise it on the people, in the governments and ministries of the old State. Revisionism appeals to the “combination of the forms of struggle” to justify their parliamentary cretinism, to accommodate to the bourgeois laws and to limit the political activities of the party and the struggle of the masses, the framework allowed by the reactionary State. Furthermore, it is not even possible to “combine at all times all forms of struggle” as poses the revisionists, since at all times is does necessary a main form that moves to the rest, where some may be contraries and exclusive.

1 A Proposition Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement, Communist Party of China Central Committee - June 14, 1963

With the imposition in the Party of a revisionist line in so far as to forms of struggle, this renounces to the strategy of revolution and revolutionary tactic; to sacrifice the ultimate goals of the movement for the immediate and temporary advantages of bourgeois democracy; is transformed into a reformist party, submissive and advocate of the power of capital and the bourgeois dictatorship; forgetting that the art of properly use the forms of struggle and organization guarantees that at any given time the revolutionary process get the greatest advance toward the strategic goal, the socialism.

The history of the communist movement teaches that the revisionists, to be unmasked counter attack the revolutionary line, calling it “adventurism”, “trotskyism”, “extreme leftism”, “Dogmatic revisionism”; as are more than rampage to distract and cover up its resignation of proletarian revolution, and its corrupt confidence in the bourgeois legality.

Opportunism “left” in so far as the forms of struggle, is in really the obverse of revisionism. With the animus of enforce the path of armed struggle for resolve the question of power, opportunism of “left” renounces to any struggle of resistance considering it “economist”; renounces to the struggle for reforms with the revolutionary methods of movement workers, necessary and valid always that serves to undermine the power of the bourgeoisie; renounces not only to master and combine the forms of struggle, but also to all forms of struggle that are not armed, thereby condemn to the party to be isolated from the masses, marching ahead and separate of them and become in a sect. So, the opportunism of “left” spoils the role of the communists: to learn the forms of struggle and organization that correspond to a given period of development of the revolution, making it conscious among the masses, guide it and generalize it.

To pose the armed struggle as the main form of struggle forever, without to attend to the concrete and historical analysis of the masse’s struggle, nor to state of their consciousness and organization, is apparently a very revolutionary position, but in really is a deviation and abandonment of Marxist tactics. Its basis is the distrust of the masses and in their role as makers of history; it is reflects in rows of Marxist the Guevara’s theory about the “heroes” ahead of the masses considered clumsy and ignorant; is the unilateral view of international experience, forgetting that:

The victory of the Chinese revolution was precisely the result of the skilful and thorough mastery of all forms of struggle —in keeping with the specific characteristics of the Chinese revolution— by the Communists

of China who learned from the historical experience of international proletarian struggle. Armed struggle was the chief form in the Chinese revolution, but the revolution could not have been victorious without the use of other forms of struggle¹.

The ideological basis of both revisionism as of opportunism of “left” in terms of the forms of struggle is the historical idealism; both are unknown of the purpose of the class struggle character and are refuse to concrete analysis of the concrete situation, Marxist condition for any political activity. In different ways, both impede the advance of the revolution and nullify the role that must do the Communist Party, conscious and organized vanguard of the worker movement.

Accumulation of Forces

Once the capitalist system gave all that it could give to the progress of society, it entered in its phase of decomposition, the imperialism, where the proletarian revolution passed to be the immediate historical necessity of world society. This does not mean that exits a revolutionary crisis in all countries and at all times, then thought in general the economic and political crises under imperialism lead to more and worse social crisis, its transformation into revolutionary crisis, in weak echelon in the imperialist global chain depends both on the *objective element* —concentration and explosiveness of global contradictions of imperialism, objective revolutionary situation—, as the *subjective element* —preparation and organization of conscious forces to dare and can lead the revolution in a state of revolutionary crisis. Lenin called philistinism to the fact of passively prostrate to objective element, against which, the revolutionary Marxist prepares for the revolution to the proletariat and all the working and exploited masses. On the other hand, ignoring the objective element is idealism that makes to depend the revolution exclusively of the subjective element, condemn it to the adventure and to failure.

Revisionism has become the *accumulation of forces*, in a form of renouncing to the proletarian revolution, of to limit the activity policy to the permitted by bourgeois law, converting the work among the masses in pure and perpetual politicking for their tricks with the bourgeoisie in the parliamentary pigsty. Opportunism “left” to underestimate the spontaneous movement of the masses, judge every struggle and every activity of the masses that is not armed, as a simple parliamentary accumulation of forces. Both revisionism

1 The Proletarian Revolution and Khrushchov’s Revisionism, Comment on the open letter of the CPSU (VIII) - March 31, 1964

and opportunism “left” distort and leave the *accumulation of forces*, inevitable necessity of tactics and strategy Marxist.

For Marxism the *accumulation of forces* means win communist influence in the mass movement, to carry the ideas of socialism, to raise their conscience to level of program of vanguard, organize and direct their immediate struggles of resistance linking them to long reach combat for the revolution, organize and direct all forms of political struggle against the power of the exploiters, forges their combativeness and beliefs by own experience, educate and prepare them the in the necessity of violent revolution, the destruction of the bourgeois State and the establishment of the new State of Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

“The essential principle for all revolutionary party is that must perform a revolutionary work where there are concentrated masses”¹. There it is the fund of why the party must learn to master and combine all forms of struggle: to it moves in the masses like fish in water, lean on them, direct them and mobilize them. Without effort so, of *accumulation of forces*, to think in leading a revolution will be a chimera, or call to frontal attack against the enemy fortress, it will scratch in the petty bourgeois adventurism. Both the revisionist conception of to limit the mass movement of resistance against the capital as the “leftist” concept of to estimate the mass movement only if is armed, it coincides in the contempt to objective element of the revolution, to the force that provides the element objective of the class struggle, both conceptions lead to cede the address to the reactionary policy, and prevent the real preparation for win the victory in a revolutionary crisis. Since all problems are reduce in policy to how to organize and mobilize to the masses, their political mobilization for war are constitute in a *problem of primordial importance*.

The War

“War is not merely a political act, but also a real political instrument, a continuation of political commerce, a carrying out of the same by other means”

Clausewitz

War is the continuation of political struggle by other means, given that the different position of men over the means of production

1 VI Congress of the Comintern - 1929

of material life of society is unceasing source of class struggle that inevitably takes the form of struggle politics by the power of the State to defend the general interests of each class. The war, armed conflict between classes by State power, is the continuation of the political struggle for the means of the violence. *“It can therefore be said that politics is war without bloodshed while war is politics with bloodshed”*¹.

War is the highest form of political struggle, it is a means to reach the political goals; is not an end in itself but a means to submit others to the own designs. But war *has its peculiar characteristics*, not replace nor is equal to the policy in generally. *“When politics develops to a certain stage beyond which it cannot proceed by the usual means, war breaks out to sweep the obstacles from the way”*². To say that the “war is absolute” is deeply wrong because it means replace the ends of politics by their *means*, to reduce the politics to war, to wrong the form upper with the main form of the class struggle in each period, to ignore the stages of objective process of development of the contradictions between the classes, and consequently, to renounces to the other forms of political struggle necessary depending on the specific situation and given historical circumstances, as means to organize and mobilize to the masses. It is a very revolutionary idea in appearance but in essence remote to the Marxist dialectical materialism.

The laws or general principles of war are the result of a long experience of humanity and the reflection of the movement objective of the war in the minds of men. As such, it is unfailingly comply in all cases:

- **The objective of war is to preserve the own forces and annihilate the forces of enemy**, understanding that is not about physically remove all its troops, but disarm it, deprive it of its ability to fight and subdue it.
- **In every war is necessary to occupy and dominate the enemy’s territory**, to prevent its regrouping, undermine its resistance or hostility and break its will to fight.
- **All War is decided in combat body to body**, defeating to the enemy on the battlefield, where the concept of confrontation melee

1 On the protracted war, Mao - 1938

2 Ibidem

has a historical sense and are correspond with the development of technique. The idea that the modern technology has changed this law is a sophism, as evidenced, for example, the failure of successive reactionary wars of social-imperialist and imperialist against the people of Afghanistan.

The People's War

The People's War is the continuation of the revolutionary politics of working class by other means, only it can be performed mobilizing to the masses and supporting on them. The military line of the proletarian revolution is the People's War, the insurrection of the men workers and poor peasants, armed revolution of the masses, applicable depending on specific conditions, both in the oppressed countries as in the imperialist countries. As such, the People's War demands to be the aware activity of the vanguard that directs it and of the masses that star it, not to forget that *"Our chief method is to learn warfare through warfare"*¹.

The People's War is the war of the working masses, modern warfare in the age of the World Proletarian Revolution, higher to the current war limited to confrontation between two regular armies. It is based on the general arming of the people and in its organization for the war. It's inevitable, just and has guaranteed the victory because it is the war of the vast majority of the oppressed and exploited working masses against a parasitic minority oppressive and exploitative.

The People's War is invincible because its main strength resides in the masses —force impregnable in war— against which the forces any army, no matter that powerful to be, it will succumb. Its leader force is the working class and its vanguard is the Communist Party, whose address is the only that for the common strategic objective can aptly combined the armed struggle of the regular army with various irregular detachments as militias and guerrilla groups, in addition to the insurrection of mass.

The People's War can't be led by the reactionary classes, is incompatible with the economic, political and direction of the reactionary classes, since the interests and objectives of the People's War are those of the revolutionary classes led by the proletariat with the objective of to overthrow to the oppressors and to expropriate to

1 Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War, Mao - 1936

exploiters, destroy the old state and replace it with the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which form in New Democracy Revolution is the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes under the hegemonic leadership of the proletariat.

The People's War can only be led by the proletariat through his Party, since its materialistic conception of world, its dialectical method, its scientific point of class, and its express recognition of the leading role of the masses in history, to guarantee a correct direction in the strategic vision of to destroy the reactionary state and build the new state of dictatorship of the proletariat. *“Our principle is that the Party commands the gun and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party”*¹.

The People's War can take different forms as war of the masses, depending on the contradictions that pretends to solve. Thus has been the history: the popular Insurrection that gave power to the proletariat in the revolution of 1917 in Russia; the subsequent People's War in defense of Soviet power against imperialist white armies; Protracted People's War which established the Democratic People's Republic of China in 1949; People's War defensive of International defense led by the Soviet proletariat, who snatched it to imperialism the half of Europe in the same course of imperialism World War II.

*Engels was perfectly right when, in his letter to Kautsky of September 12, 1882, he clearly stated that it was possible for **already victorious** socialism to wage “defensive wars”. What he had in mind was defense of the victorious proletariat against the bourgeoisie of other countries*².

The Particular Laws of the People's War

The particular line and the laws of the People's War in each country is not determine by the whim of the communists or by mechanical transposition of the experience of other countries, but as required the Marxism: basing on the concrete analysis of the concrete situation, of character of society and the character of necessary revolution to transform it, from enemies and the forces of the revolution, of the trend of the objective development of the class struggle, of the state of correlation between global contradictions of imperialism, of the concentration and disposal of the economic, political and military power of the enemy, of the concentration and disposal of the social forces of the revolution, of its

1 Problems of war and strategy, Mao - 1938

2 The Program Military of Proletarian Revolution, Lenin - 1916

history and experience in the armed struggle, of the characteristics of the territory...

Even if the general trend is that the People's War takes the form of Prolonged Popular War for encircle the cities from the countryside in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries, and the form of insurrection in capitalist and imperialist countries, the Party must solve at each country the specific form of the work of preparing of the masses for war both in the countryside and the city, to prevent the armed intervention of imperialism, and even the need to face an international war.

What must guide the party basically, what it must consistently apply is the principle of compromise in armed struggle, under its direction to the wide masses, mobilize them and lean on them, and the fact that the Revolutionary War must truly be a war of the masses themselves, in the course of which are prepared to exercise the political power under all these issues once it has been won by their armed struggle¹.

The disposal of social forces of the revolution and its character; the particular way of construct the three instruments: Party, Army and Front; the determining of the strategic stages: defensive, equilibrium and offensive; build the support bases in its general form in areas with weak presence of the enemy and great participation and organization of the armed and unarmed masses, and in particular form of liberated areas where the state power of the enemy is destroyed and its ruins begin to build new organs of power; the correlation between fieldwork and work in the city; the combination of armed struggle with other forms of struggle; the conjugation of the insurrection in cities with uprisings and armed struggle in the countryside; the need and preparation of insurrections as part of the People's War or as the form of its final victory over the old State... all are issues that can't be assumed as Decalogue of dogmas apart of the specific conditions and historical circumstances. Resolving such issues are the essence of the Particular Law of the People's War in each country, whose discovery, comprehension and application in the tactics and strategy is the leader duty of the Communist Party, is the oppressed or imperialist country; feudal, semi-feudal or capitalist.

In all cases, the party must give great importance to the revolutionary work in the field, to prepare the armed struggle in the

1 Essential for the unity of the Marxist-Leninist principles, PCR de Chile and RCP,US - 1980

countryside, even if conditions require revolutionary activity centered in cities. In all cases, the party must develop its political activity among the masses towards the strategic necessity of armed struggle of the masses as the main form of struggle, of the Revolutionary War as a war of the masses, in the course of learn it to fight and exercise the political power by their own hands.

Party, Army and Front

The Communist Party is the detachment of vanguard of the proletariat, the leading force of the new democratic revolution and socialist. The Party *centralizes all the strategic and tactical direction* of People's War, and *guarantee* that the direction of all organizations of the masses, in especially the Army and the Front, has the path of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the socialism and communism. Such a guarantee is in the correct ideological and political line of the Party, in the revolutionary character of the Program, of Strategy and Tactics delineate for the Party; in the ideological, political and organizational independence of the Party; in the Party's ability to raise to the proletariat to the level of its program and to the masses to the level of the interests of the proletariat. Being the highest form of organization of the proletariat, its clarified vanguard and center of direction of the entire revolutionary struggle, the *building of Party is essential and priority* over other forms of necessary organization for the triumph of the Revolution. If the party does not direct the Army and the Front, the vanguard and direction of the proletariat in the revolution, will be a mere formality.

The People's War requires of the creation of a new **Army** led by the Party **to ensure** the conquest of political power, *hold* the victory and *prevent* the imperialist invasion once gained the power. This new Army should be part of the people in arms, not a professional army with the monopoly of weapons. Weapons will be of the people, of the workers and peasants, before and after of conquest the power of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, but always organized in the Committees of the new power, in People's Army, in the militia, in guerrilla detachments, etc., depending on the conditions of the struggle class national and international. The new Army is popular, not only for its composition as in the bourgeois armies, but because it is part of the armed forces of a new State where the class dictatorship is exercised by the majority of society, and in this regard, in the new Army must have military, political and economic

democracy; the new Army not is a parasite of society, but a higher form of organization of the masses, a detachment highly disciplined that combat, produce, does propaganda and help to organize to the masses.

The People's War requires the construction of a broad **Front** of masses, led by the proletariat through its Party, that group to all revolutionary classes and all the social layers, susceptible of be united against the main enemies of the revolution in each country. A broad Front of mass based on the worker-peasant alliance in countries where capitalism has not been developed by way of a peasant revolution, in which the peasantry to be or not the main force, it is the ally more sure of the proletariat. Although the People's War will take various forms and will pass through different stages, depending on the conditions in each country, in all cases is necessary the participation and mobilization of the wide masses on a united front under the leadership of the proletariat and its party.

Against Opportunistic Deformation of the People's War

Product for over a century of experimentation with the People's War, Chairman Mao Tse-tung developed a theoretical arsenal, scientific, consistent, invincible and obliged guide of the proletarian parties, not only in oppressed countries but also in countries imperialists. This arsenal has been field of lines struggle of Marxism against the Right and "Left" opportunism, and against its ideological base, the subjectivism. *"Without combating and thoroughly overcoming these harmful tendencies which damage the revolution and the revolutionary war, it would be impossible to establish a correct line and win victory in this war"*¹.

Denial of People's War

The theory of "peaceful transition" is the revisionist denial of the path of people's war to achieve the triumph of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and with it, the triumph of socialism and communism, but this does not mean that all revisionism is synonymous of repudiation of armed struggle; the form of armed revisionism, defends in its revolutionary verbiage the armed struggle, but both it discards the historical role of the masses and prevents its conscious action in the war, repudiates the leading role of the proletariat and its Party, which in practice to perverts the armed struggle in a way of dispute the power in the reactionary State, it does of armed struggle a useless way to the goals of the proletarian revolution.

1 Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War, Mao - 1936

The Hoxhist denial of the People's War, to which it considers "a war without prospects and without the hegemonic leadership of the proletariat", in the theory ignores the historical experience of the people's war in the proletarian revolution; in practice coexist with revisionism in the swamp of the parliamentary struggle.

Denial of Role of Party or Viewpoint Purely Military

Against the "leftist" idea of military action of the vanguard as the driving of mass actions in the war, Marxism gives to the purely military factor a subordinate role to the revolutionary impulse of the masses and to the political line of the Party.

The powerful revolutionary impulse of the masses must be constitute the social base, the political and social background on which must organize the dare military actions, bold and decisive of the advanced detachments of the revolutionary proletariat, determined to break the machine bourgeois government¹.

The Party —political organization— directs to the Army —military organization—; try to convert to the Party directly into a military organization, or dissolve it in a military political organization, is a "leftist" position opposite to the role of political vanguard of the party of the proletariat; policy is subordinate to purely military viewpoint.

Denial of Role of the Masses in the People's War

The "leftist" unknown in fact the starring role of the masses in the People's War, when it is denied them the awareness about the purpose of war and the participation in its preparation and development; when it does of the guerrilla warfare the procedure unique and main of fight; when this procedure is not exalt with the an educator and the organizer influence of the ideas of socialism, without which the proletariat is absorbed by the influence bourgeois of classes and layers non-proletarian. The idea of guerri-llatism wandering, of to perform only skirmishes and to give enemy casualties without consider their annihilation and forgetting the political tasks and linking with the masses, is diametrically opposed to Marxist content of the People's War.

Terrorism

The defense of individual and systematic terror as a means to "excite" and give it a "strong impetus" to the worker movement, and

1 The Armed Insurrection, Collection - 1928

to “intimidate” to the enemy, it is own theory of revolutionarism and petty desperation, diametrically opposed to the education of masses and their active and conscious role in the People’s War. It is a useless theory to the proletarian revolution and alien to Marxism theory that recognizes only valid terror exercised by the mass movement as part of the People’s War, but subjects it to the organization and service of the proletarian revolution. “*The bomb has ceased to be the weapon of ‘firecrackist’ single and it has come to be **the necessary part of the arming of the people***”¹.

Dogmatism and the Mechanicism in People’s War

Both changes in the oppressed countries—whose social economic formation is characterized by the dominance of the capitalist mode of production, where the main force of the revolution and the people’s war are concentrated in the big cities— as the specific conditions of the society in the imperialist countries, it is required to analyze specific situations to solve the particular laws of the People’s War in such countries. To consider without important such conditions, and reduce the problem to transpose the experience of the October Revolution or the Prolonged Popular War in China is contrary to the dialectical materialist method of guided by the theory — indirectly experience— in the research, knowledge and transformation of the objective world. Suchlike cult to the dogmatism and mechanism, on policy it results in continuous failures for the start of the People’s War, if not, in simple adventures “of the focus”. The general principles of the People’s War can’t be applied mechanically but creatively and in agreement to the specific conditions of each country. Dogmatism and mechanism leads to opportunism and to defeat.

Confusion about People’s War and Insurrection

To counterpose and separated with a “Chinese wall” the People’s War and Insurrection consider it “two models strategically opposite” and blunder the insurrection as “insurrectionism” —single act of a few putschist, without preparation or training of popular mass—is ignore the Marxist position on the insurrection, ignoring the historical experience of the proletarian revolution and show a crass misunderstanding of the revolutionary violence of the masses, as

1 From defense to attack, Lenin - in Proletari, 26 (13) September 1905

common feature of the Proletarian Revolution, the People's War and Insurrection.

The insurrection in mass, the revolutionary war, guerrilla detachments: these are the only methods with the help of which a small people can defeat a big one; just so a weaker army can face another stronger and better organized¹.

The Insurrection is a form of armed struggle of the masses, a form of warfare of the masses, a form of People's War, as evidenced by the history of the proletarian revolution. The artificial opposition between the People's War and Insurrection has its ideological basis in subjective idealism that refuses to recognize the objective reality as it is, in the contrary dogmatism to the Marxist materialist criterion of accept the truth of the doctrine strictly for its accordance with the objective process as was accepted in 1984:

The relative weight of the cities in relation to the countryside, both politically and militarily, is an extremely important question that is posed by the increased capitalist development of some oppressed countries. In some of these countries it is correct to begin the armed struggle by launching insurrections in the city and not to follow the model of surrounding the cities by the countryside. Moreover, even in countries where the path of revolution is that of surrounding the city by the countryside, situations in which a mass upheaval leads to uprisings and insurrections in the cities can occur and the party should be prepared to utilise such situations within its overall strategy².

To proclaim the "*fusion of protracted people's war and armed insurrection*" —as it has done the prachandist pseudo-MLM revisionism— it is in the ideological, a perversion of the proper relationship between the People's War and Insurrection, and in the politic a opportunistic ruse to give up the People's War that surely, if had not been, it had achieved the victory, triggering a big insurrection in Kathmandu. Wordiness of Kiran & Co., about "popular uprising", "popular revolt", the "armed struggle", it passed to be but a hollow phrase, a threat submissive: "The party take up the arms if the power of the State can't guarantee the people's rights", read: if the bourgeoisie prevents the parliamentary road to the peaceful transition³.

1 The war in Italy, Marx and Engels - 1849

2 RIM Declaration 1984

3 "The agreement of 12-point and general agreement of peace t has failed. We must develop a new agreement under the new situation", words of Mohan Baidya, chairman "new" CPN (M) after the conclusion of the 7th Congress.

That Insurrection is party and a form of the People's War, does not deny that in addition to the general principles common to the People's War, the experience of the worker movement and the proletarian revolution has understand its own laws:

Firstly, never play with insurrection unless you are fully prepared to face the consequences of your play. [...] Secondly, the insurrectionary career once entered upon, act with the greatest determination, and on the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed rising; it is lost before it measures itself with its enemies¹;

And special conditions to ensure success:

*To be successful, insurrection must rely not upon conspiracy and not upon a party, but upon the advanced class. That is the first point. Insurrection must rely upon a **revolutionary upsurge of the people**. That is the second point. Insurrection must rely upon that **turning-point** in the history of the growing revolution when the activity of the advanced ranks of the people is at its height, and when the vacillations in the ranks of the enemy and **in the ranks of the weak, half-hearted and irresolute friends of the revolution** are strongest. That is the third point².*

1 Revolution and Counter Revolution in Germany, Engels - 1852

2 Marxism and Insurrection, Lenin - 1917

Chapter III

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

1. THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The class struggle has been the motor of social development since the society was divided into antagonistic classes. Slaveholders and slaves, feudal lords and peasant servants, exploiters and exploited have faced throughout the historical process, advancing society to the present day where bourgeois and proletarian is face. This class struggle inevitably leads to the conquest of political power by the proletariat, to the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist state apparatus (army, police, bureaucracy, courts, parliament, etc.) to replace it by organs of power of the new State of Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The conquest of power by the proletariat is not a “peaceful” conquest, facilitated by the bourgeois state machine through gaining of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeoisie uses all means of violence and terror to maintain and consolidate their ownership and their political domination—as on another the feudal nobility—, can’t transfer to a new class the historic site it occupies without a bitter and hopeless struggle; because bourgeois organized violence as state power, can only be destroyed by the revolutionary violence of the proletariat and the masses.

Against bourgeois, social democrat and opportunistic ado in defense of “democracy in general”, the historical experience of the class struggle has shown that every democracy have a class character. The development and improvement of State—emerged as a society need to buffer the confrontation between classes, but especially to ensure the privileges of the exploiters and procedures and limit the revolutionary struggle of the exploited—it has changed of proslavery absolutism with democracy for the slaveholder, feudal autocracy to democracy for the feudal lords, then to the bourgeois dictatorship with democracy for the capitalists, and from there to

the Dictatorship of the Proletariat with democracy for the people, being this last a form of domination it is no longer really a State, since it only need to exercise the domination over the previously privileged minority, and its functions is concentrated increasingly in the planning and administration of the new society.

Contrary to the bourgeois and revisionist trumpets, all experience of the world worker movement has shown that the bourgeois State can't be taken by the proletariat in order to use it for their own purposes; but must be destroyed with the revolutionary violence of the masses, and only on the ruins of the bourgeois State, the worker movement can build its new State of Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the last form of state necessary for the transition to the abolition of all classes toward a classless society, to the extinction of all forms of state. As Marx said:

Between capitalist and communist society there lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat¹.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is necessary point of transit for:

The abolition of class distinctions generally, To the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations².

As domination of the working class in society, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a new type of State and simultaneously the latest, necessary to eliminate the social classes, finished the exploitation of man by man and direct the transit of humanity towards Communism: the new classless society. From here that the problem of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is the deepest essence of the Marxist theory of the state, the *fundamental question* in the Proletarian Revolution and the touchstone for distinguishing between Marxism and opportunism.

Given the uneven development of economic and political developments in the era of imperialism, the world proletarian revolution can't be considered as a one act; therefore, the transition of the world dictatorship

1 Critique of the Gotha Program, Marx - 1875

2 The Class Struggle in France from 1848-1850, Marx - 1850

of imperialism to the world dictatorship of the proletariat comprises a prolonged period of struggle, defeats and victories of the proletariat¹.

The transition from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, is a period of wars and insurgencies, both in the oppressors countries as the oppressed countries; a period that comprises the simultaneous existence in the world economy of socioeconomic systems: capitalist and socialist, “peaceful” relations and armed struggle between them; a period of founding of unions of socialist states, wars against the latter by the imperialist states and increasingly close ties between peoples.

The defeats of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia and China, the temporary disappearance of socialism camp for the restoration of capitalism in socialist countries, it does not demonstrate the failure of communism, as reactionary and its acolytes trumpets, but the confirmation of what a new social system can only be definitively imposed through a prolonged struggle, as taught it the historical experience of humanity. It shall only be given after the complete victory of the proletariat in all countries and the strengthening of its global power, a time of building the socialist global economy and of approach to the communist society.

2. NEW TYPE OF STATE OF DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT (form and content)

The essence of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, as a new type of State, consists in:

[The] source of power proceeds from the direct initiative of the masses from below; in the substitution of the police and army —institutions until now separated of the masses and counter posed to them— for the general arming of the people; in replacing of bureaucracy for removable functionaries and eligible by the masses, and remunerate it with salaries of workers².

This new type of State is an instrument of domination over the exploiters; exerted by the people in arms, which organized base is constitutes by worker and peasant militias, and the army of workers and peasants.

But the essence of Proletarian Dictatorship is not in force alone, or even mainly in force. Its chief feature is the organization and discipline of the advanced contingent of the working people, of their vanguard; of their sole leader, the proletariat³.

1 Programme of the Communist International, VI Congress - 1929

2 Program Revolution in Colombia, UOC (mlm) - 4th Edition, 2014

3 Greetings to the Hungarian Workers, Lenin - May 27, 1919

Unlike the bourgeois democracy, the proletarian democracy does not have its center of gravity in the formal proclamation of the rights and liberties of the people, but in the real participation of the working masses in the State administration. Proletarian democracy has nothing to do with bourgeois parliamentarism —subject and mercy of the magnates of capital and stock market— neither of the electoral farce of capitalists to which are convened the workers occasionally, to give it democratic appearance to the dictatorship of the exploiters.

In socialism the freedom consists in that the workers are freed from their oppressors and exploiters traditional: landowners, bourgeois and imperialist. The proclaimed rights of expression and reunion of “democracy in general” cease to be a farce, when it is expropriated to the exploiters all paper stocks and entire publishing infrastructure of print, spoken and visual, well as the best buildings and institutions, and it is placed at the service of the working people to express themselves, meet and hold their congress, to educate those who brutalized the capitalism and plunged in ignorance; that is proletarian democracy, which also ensures the masses of workers and peasants the real possibility of to go releasing of the religious prejudices, to make really accessible to all workers, the progress of science, culture and civilization.

Equality for the proletariat consists in to eliminate the class differences, abolishing the same classes. Therefore, while there are classes, democracy means inequality, and when the proletariat achieves the equality in fact —without classes—, equality of all members of society face to the ownership of the means of production, then will be extinct the democracy.

In the search of freedom and equality, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat deprived of political rights to exploiters and their representatives, preventing them to participate in decisions of society. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat consists, in this respect, that the parasitic classes and their intellectual and political representatives —formerly privileged— not enjoy any privilege, will not have right to organize political parties, nor may participate in the direction of the State and the exercise of power; may not use the means of communication and will not have at least “right to dissent” as required it the new revisionists, defenders of bourgeois freedom and its privileges. Proletarian democracy is open dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, landlords and imperialists; is the violent domination of the working majority over the exploiting minority and real democracy for the working masses without distinction of sex, race, religion or

nationality; making real the equality that under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is fiction and deception.

Even in semi-feudal oppressed countries, where the New Democracy Revolution destroys violently the old state machine and builds the new State led by the proletariat, the power does not pass into the hands of the bourgeoisie, or keep the old State apparatus. This new type of State is not a form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie but *a form of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*. In such countries, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is not only possible, but inevitable and necessary for that society can move from semi-feudalism to socialism, without to have that transit through a stage of capitalist development with bourgeois dictatorship. Similarly, in the semi-feudal oppressed countries, it is necessary that the same course of the people's war is destroy the old and construction starts of the new State, establish a revolutionary regime in the Support Bases, before conquering the power to scale national; the masses should become familiar with the exercise of power and the government in these regions, which is required to support in them and mobilize them, because they are the fundamental force of revolutionary power. This will help to create the bases for the continuation of the struggle in the economic field after the victory of the first stage of the revolution in the whole country, and to bring the victory of the socialist sector over capitalist. The *essential factor* here is that state power is in the hands of the masses led by the proletariat and its party.

Yet in different countries the new State apparatus will be of different forms, it is necessary that is supported in the armed forces of the workers and peasants, force that should not be separated of people, as it is in the old permanent army, since linked to the masses in the narrowest way, because *"from the military standpoint, this force is incomparably more powerful than previous forces; from the revolutionary standpoint, it cannot be replaced by anything else"*¹.

Such a State is thousands of times more democratic than previous because *"this apparatus provides a bond with the masses, with the majority of the people, so intimate, so indissoluble, so readily controllable and renewable, by virtue of the fact that its personnel is elected and subject to recall at the will of the people without any bureaucratic formalities"*².

As a representative of the immense working majority, the State of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat provides a strong bond with

1 The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution, Lenin - September 1916

2 Ibidem

the most diverse sectors of the people, thus facilitating —not bureaucracy— the most different and deeper reforms and transformations. As an expression of the fundamental alliance led by the proletariat, the State

*It provides a form of organization of the vanguard, i.e., of the most politically conscious, most energetic and most progressive section of the **oppressed** classes, the workers and peasants, and thus constitutes an apparatus by means of which the vanguard of the oppressed classes can elevate, train, educate, and lead **the entire vast mass** of these classes, which has hitherto stood quite remote from political life, from history¹.*

As executor of the will of the armed people, the State

It makes it possible to combine the advantages of parliamentarism with the advantages of immediate and direct democracy, i.e., to unite in the persons of the elected representatives of the people both legislative and executive functions. Compared with bourgeois parliamentarism, this represents an advance in the development of democracy which is of world-wide historic significance².

The right of election of delegates and to withdraw them the mandate, the union of the executive and legislative powers, elections according to the principle of production —the factories, workshops, cooperatives, etc.— and not according to the territorial principle, it guarantees to working class and to the masses —who marches under the hegemony of it— the systematic, continuous and active participation in the economic, political, military and cultural life, and, therefore, provides an essential difference between the bourgeois parliamentary republic and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The main historical mission of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is to advance in the total abolition of the need State, for which: first, each member of a Soviet, council, commune or Assembly

You must perform, faultless, certain work of state administration; second, this work should vary continuously, in such a way that covers all the activities of government, all its branches; and third, through a series of gradual steps, carefully chosen, but implemented faultlessly, the entire working population without exception must be attracted to participate with their own initiative in the state administration³.

1 Ibidem

2 Ibidem

3 Draft of Program Project of PC (B) of Russia, Lenin - February 23, 1919

The proletariat can only achieve its ultimate emancipation freeing all humanity. Therefore, the historical task of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat comprises two aspects: internal task and external task, international.

The internal task consists mainly of completely abolishing all the exploiting classes, developing socialist economy to the maximum, enhancing the communist consciousness of the masses, abolishing the differences between ownership by the whole people and collective ownership, between workers and peasants, between town and country and between mental and manual labourers, eliminating any possibility of the re-emergence of classes and the restoration of capitalism and providing conditions for the realization of a communist society with its principle, “from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

The international task consists mainly of preventing attacks by international imperialism (including armed intervention and disintegration by peaceful means) and of giving support to the world revolution until the peoples of all countries finally abolish imperialism, capitalism and the system of exploitation. Before the fulfilment of both tasks and before the advent of a full communist society¹.

3. THE LAWS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN SOCIALISM

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a persistent struggle —bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative— against the forces and traditions of the old society, against external capitalist enemies, against the remains of the exploiting classes inside of the country, against the germs of a new bourgeoisie emerged on the basis of mercantile production that can't be removed in one stroke, against State officials that tend to degenerate and become the new bureaucratic bourgeoisie².

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a fight against overthrown exploiters that will always try, and in a thousand ways to recover the “paradise” that has been snatch from them. It is a struggle against petty-bourgeois atmosphere, where constant and spontaneously generates new capitalist elements. It is also a struggle against bourgeois influence internally and externally that promotes the emergence of degenerate elements, or new bourgeoisie, in the ranks of the working class, within functionaries of the state institutions and within the party of the proletariat itself.

1 Commentary on the Open Letter of the CPSU Central Committee, Socialist Society and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Editors of Renmin Ribao - 1964

2 Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder, Lenin - April May 1920

In socialist society, the differences between workers and peasants, between town and country, and between manual and mental labourers still remain, bourgeois rights are not yet completely abolished, it is not possible “at once to eliminate the other injustice, which consists in the distribution of articles of consumption ‘according to the amount of labour performed’ (and not according to needs)”, and therefore differences in wealth still exist. The disappearance of these differences, phenomena and bourgeois rights can only be gradual and long drawn-out. As Marx said, only after these differences have vanished and bourgeois rights have completely disappeared will it be possible to realize full communism with its principle, “from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs”¹.

The establishment of the new State of workers and peasants is only the beginning of the revolution, not its crowning. The need to bring to the end of socialist revolution in the economic, political and ideological fronts requires *continuing the revolution under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat through cultural revolutions.*

The experience of building of socialism in the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries shows that socialist society covers a very long historical period, and that in this is develop from the beginning and the end of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and proletariat; there is the problem of “*who will beat whom*”: the capitalist road or socialist; exits the danger of restoration of capitalism: “*Until this epoch is over, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this **hope** turns into **attempts** at restoration*”².

In this regard, the experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China represents an unprecedented revolutionary movement under socialism, which objective was carry the building of socialism to the end, to prevent the conquest of power by the revisionists and capitalist restoration.

The Great Cultural Revolution represents

The most advance experience of the Proletarian Dictatorship and the revolutionising of society. For the first time the workers and other revolutionary elements were armed with a clear understanding of the nature of the class struggle under socialism; of the necessity to rise up and overthrow the capitalist roaders who would inevitably emerge from within the socialist society and which are especially concentrated in

1 Commentary on the Open Letter of the CPSU Central Committee, Socialist Society and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Editors of Renmin Ribao - 1964

2 The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, Lenin - October November 1918

the leadership of the party itself and to struggle to further advance the socialist transformation and thus dig away at the soil which engenders these capitalist elements¹.

During the Cultural Revolution was criticized the mechanistic idea that prevailed among the Russian Communists under which enough to advance in the relations of property and socialist production to ensure socialist character of the society, refuting that thesis with the combat shout *grasp revolution, promote production!*. Such understanding enabled it to Communist Party of China unleash the revolutionary force of millions of workers and peasants, not only in sphere politics but also in the same process of production and socialist construction, winning great battles which prevented, for a decade, that revisionists would restore capitalism in China.

Furthermore,

The Cultural Revolution was waged as part of the international struggle of the proletariat and was a training ground in proletarian internationalism, manifested not only by the support given to revolutionary struggles throughout the world but also by the real sacrifices made by the Chinese people to render this support².

4. THE DEFEATS OF THE NEW STATE OF DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT (the historical experience)

The historical experience of the defeat of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia and China, taught to the world proletariat and the International Communist Movement:

The key of issue of whether or not you triumph over bourgeoisie, whether forward or allow the restoration of capitalism lies in whether it can or cannot persist in exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all spheres and at all stages of development of the revolution³.

The critical analysis of experience of the proletariat in power, it should seek the deeper cause of its temporary defeat, in the question of the *political form* of the new type of State to exercise all-round dictatorship over the new bourgeoisie in the socialism. Marx had already pointed out its importance: *“The Commune was essentially a working class government, the product of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class, the political form at last discovered under which to work out the economical emancipation of labor”⁴.*

1 RIM Declaration 1984

2 Ibidem

3 On exercising All-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, Chang Chun-Chiao

4 The Civil War in France, Marx - 1871

And that *essential political form* of the new State is not other than: the armed people and functionaries eligible and removable by the masses at any time, a new power which has its source in the direct initiative of the masses from below, suppresses parasitism old State —permanent police and army with monopoly of weapons, and army of bureaucrats functionaries— and is incompatible with any power higher to this.

Measures respect to *form* of new State, discovered by The Paris Commune, it were carried out by the Soviets in Russia and implemented during the Great Cultural Revolution in China, particularly in Shanghai Commune: ***eligible and removable functionaries by the masses directly and with equal wages of a common worker; state power that rests and relies on the armed organizations workers and peasants, executive and legislative at the same time.*** To pretend exercise Dictatorship of the Proletarian, the democracy of the workers and peasants without they are armed, without the general arming of the people, it is an illusion. Such is the meaning of the simple but profoundly wise statement of Chairman Mao: *Political power grows out of the fusil!*

The historical experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat represents a class struggle to the death, where the communists fought to lead to the masses in the construction of a new state of Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia and China with the political form taught by The Paris Commune, against the right opportunism supporter of perfects or renovates the old state —"State of the whole people"—, against opportunism "left" defender of the dictatorship of the party over the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It was a class struggle in which the proletariat and its communist vanguard were subjected to the vicissitudes of inexperience in the exercise of power and the construction of socialism; to the obligation of repels the imperialist wars or instigation by the imperialists against the power of the workers and peasants; to face the powerful force of habit in society; and mainly, to clash against the internal enemy, the most dangerous: the ringleader revisionism of capitalist restoration. In the end, it was defeated the way taught by The Paris Commune, and in practice the concept of Kautsky, Khrushchev and Teng Hsiao-ping was imposed, the common essence is to separate the people from power, maintaining the State as if it was a power above society, preserving its administration in the hands of bureaucrats functionaries and weapons monopolized by professional and permanent forces.

In the course of the that class struggle was abandoning the path of The Paris Commune, as a society need to continue advancing

in the abolition of all the differences that cause the division of society into classes and the struggle between them; was imposed perfecting the old State with its bureaucracy and permanent army as proposed the renegade Kautsky, whose ideas about democracy in general are revived today by the new revisionists on name of “multiparty democracy” and the “right to dissent” wielded by both the “Prachanda Path” as the “new synthesis” of Avakian.

The parasitic institutions that protect the capital and gnaw bourgeois society were shore up: *the state bureaucracy and the permanent army*, bourgeois state form opposed to the socialist content of the social relations of production and necessary for the restoration of capitalism.

To try to explain the defeats of the proletariat in Russia and China attribution it to the palace coups of the new bourgeoisie or that “Maoism did not work”, is get round the critical kautskianism, that having been defeated theoretically was imposed in practice; it evades the fact that the bourgeois state *form* ultimately prevailed in these countries, and it was a matter of time, that the military bureaucracy reproduced itself, acting as an objective force of capital and capitalism that still existed and was spontaneously generated in socialist society.

The causes of the defeat of the proletariat in the socialist countries are not coincidences, nor can be explained by the hand strikes of the bourgeoisie or the inability of the Communists. That this *form of bureaucratic-military*, with privileged functionaries — many appointed by the Party and protected by the army professionally— influenced determinedly in the march of socialist society forward reverse their social relations of production in capitalist, and socialist property in private property, was just the result that functionaries are corrupted and become in the same materialization of the new bourgeoisie in front of a State, whose political form was not proletarian but bourgeois. It took a few years for that form of government was revealed as a machine for the oppression of a privileged minority over the vast majority working.

5. MASS ORGANIZATIONS IN THE SYSTEM OF DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

The social and political basis of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is the worker-peasant alliance, because this is the social force to break the power of capital, successfully linking agriculture and industry in the socialist economy, and create the conditions that

allow finish the exploitation of the countryside by the cities; hence under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat the objectives and functions of the mass organizations suffer a radical change, starting with the worker organizations.

Labor unions, which under capitalism constitute the main weapon in the resistance struggle against wage exploitation, abuse of the bourgeoisie and its state, schools of socialism and of preparation of the great mass of workers for the revolution under Dictatorship of the Proletariat is become in the lever most significant for attract to great proletarian masses to direction of socialist production: organizations closely linked to the state apparatus, to influence in all areas of activity, safeguard the interests of the class and fighting against bureaucratic aberrations of bodies of new state power. As stated the Program of the Communist International:

Thus, in so far as they promote from their ranks leaders in the work of construction, drawn into this work of construction broad sections of the proletariat and aim at combatting bureaucracy, which inevitably arises as a result of the operation of class influences alien to the proletariat and of the inadequate cultural development of the masses, the trade unions become the backbone of the proletarian economic and State organisation as a whole¹.

Cooperative organizations of the working class, which under capitalism are doomed to play a relatively modest role in the resistance struggle against capitalist exploitation and in the education of workers in the ideas of socialism, under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat can and should build the main part and constituent of the apparatus of distribution; these, together with agricultural cooperatives and semi-proletarians and peasants —trade, credit and production—, can and should become at one of the fundamental forms of organization to narrow the union between the workers and peasants, between city and countryside.

Provided the class struggle is systematically conducted against the capitalist elements outside as well as inside the co-operative organisations, and provided socialist industry exercises its guidance over it, agricultural co-operation will become one of the principal levers for the socialist transformation and collectivisation of the countryside².

And so union and cooperative organizations play a key role in the organization of production, distribution and socialist construction,

1 Programme of the Communist International, VI Congress - 1929

2 Ibidem

the supporting of the new system of Government resides that the masses are organized also in assemblies, committees, associations, community councils, etc. Thus ensures an advantageous situation to the industrial proletariat, who is responsible of leading role because of their better organization, greater concentration and political development. This prevailing situation of the industrial proletariat must be deployed to boot from the influence of the agrarian bourgeoisie and landowners to the dispossessed masses of peasant of petty bourgeoisie, winning them to participate organized way in the socialist construction.

Only to the measure that the proletariat raises to its vanguard sectors toward “leadership positions” in socialist construction and in the culture; only to the measure that these sectors go being more nourished, increasingly incorporating to new members of the class to the process revolutionary and cultural transformation, gradually removing the internal division of the class into “advanced” and “backward” sectors, it creates at the same time the warranty of successful construction of socialism and the warranty against bureaucratic corruption and degeneration of the class.

6. CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

Against the ado of the imperialists and social democrats on the supposed failure of socialism, the experience of building socialism in Russia and China rises unabated, showing that during the period of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat —before the usurpation of power by the new bourgeoisie— the society in each of these countries advanced in all areas: economic, political and social.

The superiority of socialism was demonstrated in the strong growth of the economy and the continued development of the productive forces that freed of private property, was used and leaded under a single plan for the benefit of all society. Economic planning replaced the anarchy of capitalist production eradicating the crises of overproduction and ensuring work for all people.

The republics socialists of Soviet Union and of China ceased to be backward countries, hit by famine and natural calamities, and achieving to finish with hunger, eradicate illiteracy and electrify the countryside; raising the standard of living of the masses, especially peasants, subjugated, marginalized and brutalized of the progress of civilization in capitalism.

These socialist countries were pioneers in preventive medicine, achieving to eradicate considered diseases as endemic, marching to ahead in the campaign to wipe out the smallpox in the world, to ensure free and universal public health, increase life expectancy and reduce infant mortality.

The woman convicted under capitalism the oppression and exploitation double, acquired under socialism the same rights that men. The socialization of housework and parenting gave her, not the bourgeois formal equality but the real equality in access to education and work, equal of wage and equal of participation in social and political life.

Likewise, the experience of building of socialism proved that not enough with the socialization of the means of production and economic planning; that is not enough with take the agriculture as the base and industry as the leading factor in this planning; that is not enough to develop the productive forces; that is not enough that the workers and peasants replace scientists, academics and bourgeois experts... to liberate to workers from the alienation and alienation is necessary to bring the revolution to the production itself, linking to the masses consciously to unified plan, to the direction of the production process, to the verification of its implementation, as well as control of distribution of goods produced. After all, *“Communism begins when the masses to stop working for their family members and put to work consciously to do move the whole society and reach the ultimate goal of a communist world”*¹.

7. THE PARTY AND DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

During the historical period of socialist construction, the *Party of the Proletariat is indispensable*; without such a party, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is unable to carry out the struggle against the bourgeoisie and reaction, re-educate to the peasants and other small producers, to consolidate constantly the ranks of proletariat and perform the transition to communism.

The Party of the Proletariat is the *one capable of leading all workers* because it represents the interests of the proletariat and embodies its ideas and its will, because only the proletariat can free itself emancipating to all the humanity; because, by its definition of class, the Party of the Proletariat known to focus the problems from this point of view and in function of terms of its present and future

1 Lenin quote in Essential Principles for the unity of the Marxist-Leninist and for the line of ICM, PCR de Chile and RCP,US - 1980

interest; because it is unfailingly loyal to the people and is imbued with the spirit of self-sacrifice, and because, thanks to this, it can be established inside the democratic centralism and strict discipline, not based on the force of arms but in consciousness. Without a Party like this is impossible to maintain the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and lead society to communism.

The Party must win the leadership of the mass struggle and of the revolution in practice, properly applying the mass line; continuously strengthen its leading role doing that the working class and the masses constantly raise their political and organizational level and consciously they are commit increasingly in the tasks of the revolution; this way, the party will create the conditions for the termination of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the final extinction of the Party, with the extinction of the classes in Communism.

The historical experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the last century makes clear that the International Communist Movement must restore the *Party's mission*: to bring the awareness of the socialist to worker movement, organizing its class struggle and lead it toward socialism and communism, global goal and final objective.

The Party is not the savior of the working class but its vanguard, its part most conscious, who must organize it and mobilize it for it is releases itself. The mission of the Party of the working class in the socialism does not change in essential, only it develops with other forms and by other means, therefore, *is not the Party who exercises the dictatorship but the class*; is not the Party that decides who governs but the armed masses, their assemblies, councils, or soviets communes; are the masses who decide which people and functionaries need.

The Party does not impose its political decisions but mobilizes to the masses for that they understand, in the course of the movement, their slogans and goals. The Party does not replace the masses controlling what does or does not do the State, as trumpet the post-MLM revisionists; its mission is to defend the interests of the workers and formulate their tasks, both immediate as future.

Inasmuch as the class struggle in socialist society is inevitably reflects within of the Communist Party, the bourgeoisie and imperialism understood that for make degenerate a socialist country to into a capitalist country is necessary to degenerate first to Communist Party in revisionist party. In that sense, it is the

duty of Communists to fight resolutely to safeguard and strengthen the revolutionary proletarian character and the role of vanguard of party, they must also act according to objective law in socialist society, according in the Party is concentrates the struggle between the two lines, Marxism and opportunism; the struggle between the two pathways, socialism and capitalism; and many times, the struggle between the “mayor states” proletarian and bourgeoisie that formed within the Party.

To block the attempts of the reactionary forces, concentrated in the upper echelons of the party and the social base that they mobilize, it is necessary constantly revolutionize the party itself, as part of revolutionizing all of society. This should do triggering the conscious activity of the masses, organizing and mobilizing them for ideological and political struggle in all aspects of society, directing the center of the struggle against the revisionist leaders in positions of leadership.

Not enough to admit that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is the touchstone to differentiate between Marxism and opportunism, it is also necessary to recognize the *need for continuing the revolution under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat* in socialism through the cultural revolutions, and reaffirm the need to replace the old bureaucratic military machine of privileged functionaries and permanent army, for eligible and removable functionaries at any time by the armed people: *the power of the masses on which there is no any power*, not even of the same Communist Party Proletariat.

Chapter IV

MARXISM AND OPPORTUNISTIC CURRENTS

1. OPPORTUNISM

Opportunism, for its content, represents the sacrifice in the long term of interests of the working class for the advantage of immediate and temporary; this means abandoning the principles of Marxism, to pervert it, denting its revolutionary edge, molds it to the small bourgeois revolutionism, harmless for the power of the bourgeoisie and useless for the emancipation of the proletariat.

Opportunism rejects the dialectical materialist method, disparage the role of revolutionary theory as guide of revolutionary practice, and this as the basis of all knowledge and theory; it denies the crisis of capitalism and its decadence, or, if you recognize it, does not see in them the face of the decomposition of the capitalist system; it denies that imperialism is the highest and last stage of capitalism, its phase of decline, decay and agony, the antechamber of socialism. Against the theory of the class struggle, opportunism preaches the collaboration or conciliation or consultation between antagonistic classes, it overestimates the bourgeois legality and reduces the worker movement and the class struggle to the “realistic” struggle for small and gradual reforms possible under such legality —whipping viciously any idea that would exceed the limit allowed by the bourgeois democracy—; or underestimates the bourgeois legality renouncing to all resistance struggle against capitalist exploitation.

In opposition to the revolution, opportunism proclaims the peaceful transition to socialism by way of bourgeois parliamentarism, it denies the necessity of revolutionary violence of the masses —of its armed struggle—, or replaced it by isolated struggle of voluntarist armed conspirators, erected in “saviors” of the masses, idealizing the armed struggle as the main form of struggle at all times, without that matter the objective characteristics of the class struggle, and the material conditions of the flow and reflow of movement.

Opportunism renounces to the ideological, political and organizational independence of the proletariat; discarding and disowning

the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution, it gives priority to quantity over quality, adding multiclass movements —as spontaneously trusts and defends the bourgeois state and its institutions—, and multi-party without ideological or political distinctions.

Against socialist property and great centralized production, opportunism championing the preservation of small property and small production, concentrating its attack on the **Dictatorship of the Proletariat**¹ —fundamental question of Marxism— being exposed the subservient role of opportunism to imperialism and all exploiters. Opportunism twists, distorts and perverts Marxism; undermines, weakens and becomes ephemeral the unity of the communists.

When the various tendencies of national opportunist became in part or expression of the same trend international opportunist, opportunism became in the fifth column, in lieutenant, in the political detachment of the bourgeoisie within the worker movement. Opportunism is the right hand of imperialism and reaction, to discourage, divide, divert, handcuff and disarm the revolutionary force of the mass movement of the workers and peasants, whose alliance is a fundamental part of the social base of the World Proletarian Revolution, only force capable of buries the imperialism. Opportunism fulfills that role either battleship in its most common and recurrent form: right opportunism or revisionism, that leads to party to march behind the mass movement; or under its contrary form, generally expiatory of sins of its side right, opportunism “left”, which separates to the vanguard, isolating of the mass movement. Revisionism has been and is in general the main danger to the unity of the International Communist Movement.

2. IMPERIALISM AND OPPORTUNISM

Imperialism is agonizing phase of capitalism, the phase of extreme exacerbation of its contradictions, the deepening phase to

1 A classic stream petty bourgeois has been the anarchism that from the outside and openly against Marxism, aims its theory against all forms of state, dreaming with a society that overnight, without necessity of a State, abolishes the class domination and acquires aware of its role in history. Meanwhile, the opportunism, on name of Marxism, recognizes the State, but denies its class character, its essence as class dictatorship; shirks the difference between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois dictatorship, admitting only the “dictatorship in general” and “democracy in general”, and today is outline among the supporters of the “new synthesis”, the defense of the “right to dissent” is a underground attack against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and a disown of its historical experience. (See positions of Avakian about: “Dictatorship and Democracy, and the Socialist Transition to Communism” speaks published in Revolutionary Worker current Revolution in 2004).

higher top on its fundamental contradiction between the production increasingly social and appropriation increasing private. To the history of imperialism, goes umbilically link the transmutation of opportunism, which retains its essential content —reconcile the antagonism of contradictions that determine the end of the capitalist system— but it changes of form in response to the needs of imperialism, to changes in the objective movement in the society in its historical trend toward socialism and communism. Opportunism is the nurse of imperialism in its deathbed.

In the period of emergence of imperialism¹, when the monopolies become in dominant in the capitalist economy, opportunism takes the form Bernsteinian or *classic revisionism*, that suade the development of the material prerequisites for socialism, it considered unnecessary the proletarian revolution; it declares ineffectual the revolutionary principles of Marxism as to the materialist conception of history, class struggle and especially the Dictatorship of the Proletariat; it denies the dialectical conception of social movement, it preaches the peaceful evolution, denying the crisis of capitalism and its passage to the phase of decline and decay; the slogan “*the ultimate goal is nothing, the movement is everything*” concentrates the policy of renounce to the revolution on account the passing advantages of parliamentarism, in that peaceful period of development of the class struggle, and enthrones the legal ways as main forms of struggle at all times, reducing the scope of the proletarian revolution to the limit allowed by the bourgeois institutionality².

The change in the objective situation, characterized by inter imperialist contradiction that happens to play the role of principal contradiction³, and whose exacerbation led to the outbreak of the first imperialist world war, gave maturity to opportunism in the form of *social-chauvinism* or open defense of the interests of the national bourgeoisie into an international war. The slogan “*homeland defense*”, it corresponds with the imperialist necessity of war.

So alignment shameless of opportunism with the bourgeoisie, urges other form of opportunism: the conciliator *kautskijite centrism* between Marxism and social-chauvinism, even more

1 It refers to the period 1873 to 1903 when at the end of an economic crisis of capitalism, Lenin says: Capitalism has been transformed into imperialism.

2 Although the German Social Democratic Party in the Congress in Stuttgart (1898), Hannover (1899) and Lubeck (1901), rejected the theoretical requirements of Bernstein and recombined it, it not decided on the need to refute the revisionist theories, question that then it assumed of deep way and forceful the Leninism.

3 From 1903 to 1918: initial period of the decomposition of the capitalist system.

dangerous for the international unity of the communists, because invoked Marxism to justify the tolerance with social-chauvinism and support it theoretically. Kautskyism considers that the change in the objective situation, by the strong development of monopolies and imperialist countries, would lead to the merger into a single world monopoly¹, which would end the competition, and would do unnecessary the wars and would eliminate by themselves the contradictions of imperialism; this is the theory of *ultra-imperialism*, to which the proletarian revolution would not be required, nor the class independence of the proletariat, much less their new State of class dictatorship. The kautskyite centrism renounced to independence of the proletariat, it broke its international unity in support for nationalist to bourgeoisie, it accepted to the proletariat to sacrifice and to make it cannon fodder of a global war for interests reactionary and purely imperialist, and openly renounced to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. In essence, the kautskyite centrism is so subservient to the imperialist bourgeoisie, as the frank social-chauvinism.

Against the kautskyite and social-chauvinist opportunism, it got up the Bolshevik Communist Party —with the direction the great teacher of the proletariat Lenin—, to head in the International Communist Movement the defense of Marxism and of internationalism. Leninism destroyed the revisionist theories of Bernstein and Kautsky, imposed in the Second International; it gave ideological foundation to the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia, the new world organization of the proletariat in the Third International or international Communist; and it developed the revolutionary Marxism under the conditions of imperialist or new phase of the World Proletarian Revolution, raising it to a new and higher stage: *Marxism-Leninism*.

Kautskyism was defeated theoretically, but it gave a great service to imperialism: it caused the first great split of the International Communist Movement; it leaves without communist vanguard to the European proletariat preventing so that the Proletarian Revolution would spread to the continent, and contaminated to the Communists with alien ideas to the Marxist theory of the State, that then are imposed by force of habit in Russia and China,

1 In this century, at Nepal, from CPN (M) emerged this same idea in a new form: “globalized state of US imperialism”, where was extracted the conclusion that the revolution could not succeed in Nepal and was needed a “Global Agreement of Peace” that sealed the revisionist betrayal of the revolution.

undermining the essence of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat taught by The Paris Commune¹.

In the following period² of the imperialist phase characterized by inter-monopoly contradiction as the principal contradiction that led to World War II imperialist, the struggle against opportunism was concentrated in the new world Party of the proletariat: the Communist International, permanent battle field against the right opportunism, of “left” and of trotskyist center, all useful forms, which *Trojans Horse*, to the imperialist military purpose of erase of map to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The Comintern correctly traced the tactic of *United Front Antifascist*, which led to victory —headed by the Red Army and the heroic people of the USSR— over fascist Nazi reaction; also in China, where it was applied consequently, it led to the victory of the New Democracy Revolution. However, the tactic of the *United Front Antifascist* was distorted by a new form of opportunism: Browderism that emerged in the Communist Party of the USA, before the change of the situation shown in the objective fact of a bloc of imperialist countries confronted to fascism and Nazism; a change interpreted as progressive division of imperialism, such as cessation of the antagonistic contradiction between the proletariat and the antifascist bourgeoisie, which made unnecessary the proletarian revolution in imperialist countries like the United States. The *Browderist* opportunism, which deformed the correct line of the United Front of the International in an opportunistic line of conciliation with US imperialism, was welcomed by some Communist parties and opposed by others, as a prelude to the great and inevitable struggle between Marxism-Leninism and khrushchovite revisionism.

The victorious Revolution of New Democracy in China strengthened and extended the existing socialism in the USSR and together other anti imperialist countries of democracies regimes gave existence to the Socialist Camp, contrary to the imperialist

1 The Commune was a New Type of State in essence consisted of:

- Derive the source of power from the direct initiative of the masses from below and not by decree.
- Replace by the armed people, to permanent army, an institution apart from the masses.
- Suppress the bureaucracy, replacing it by functionaries elected democratically, removable and salaried.

2 From 1918-1948: a period of deepening and extension of capitalist development in the world.

camp; that was a new correlation of world forces in a short period¹, characterized by the contradiction between the two systems turned into the main world contradiction, and as such, in material cause and objective conditions for the rises of a new and elaborate form of opportunism: *khrushchovite revisionism or modern revisionism*.

Khrushchevism trumpeted the reconciliation between the two systems: the socialist and imperialist, between the two states: proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois dictatorship, between the two antagonistic classes: the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie; it attacked the achievements of socialism in the USSR and muddied the role of the teacher of the proletariat Stalin, under the pretext of “*combating the cult to personality*”²; subsistent declared to Marxist Leninist theories on imperialism, the class struggle, the proletarian revolution, the Party and the State, arguing that the new global correlation of forces allowed “*peaceful transition*” from capitalism to socialism, “*peaceful coexistence*” with imperialism, the advance of socialism by single “*peaceful emulation*”, “*a State of all the people*” instead of the State of Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and “*a party of all the people*” instead of the Communist Party of the proletariat³.

While the Conference of Communist Parties realized in Moscow in 1957 and 1960 reaffirmed Marxism-Leninism diametrically opposed to the new theories of khrushchevite revisionism, was the Communist Party of China —CPC⁴, under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, who consistently continued and ahead the international struggle in defense of Marxism and Leninism against khrushchevite modern revisionism; struggle that delimited fields

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- 1 From 1948 to 1958: a period of expansion and strengthening of the socialist system in the world.
 - 2 The attacks on Stalin, characteristic of trotskyism and sanctioned by the khrushchevism at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) in 1956, were refuted by Marxist-Leninists in the great controversy against modern revisionism, with a historical balance about the role of Comrade Stalin: “Stalin’s merits and mistakes are matters of historical, objective reality. A comparison of the two shows that his merits outweighed his faults. He was primarily correct, and his faults were secondary. In summing up Stalin’s thinking and his work in their totality, surely every honest Communist with a respect for history will first observe what was primary in Stalin. Therefore, when Stalin’s errors are being correctly appraised, criticized and overcome, it is necessary to safeguard what was primary in Stalin’s life, to safeguard Marxism-Leninism, which he defended and developed”. Currently, several parties or Maoist organizations, without criticize this balance, in fact reverse it pretending to distort the history, giving more weight to Stalin’s mistakes than their successes, and also extend the same method for judges the Third International. As the Declaration of RIM in 1984 say: this is “to take advantage of real errors to draw reactionary conclusions”.
 - 3 In the twenty first century, the theories of modern revisionism in the central question of the State Dictatorship of Proletariat have been reissued by revisionist parties, pseudo Maoist on the new forms of “multi-party” and the “right to dissent”, from CPN (M) and RCP, respectively.
 - 4 The Party of Work of Albania with the direction of Enver Hoxha, contributed to the refutation of khrushchevism revisionism, later, also led by Enver Hoxha, became an anti-Maoist headquarters, to attack and discredit the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China.

between a general line Marxist Leninist¹ opposed to the revisionist of the general line of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union —CPSU. Again, a great struggle against opportunism allowed the development of revolutionary Marxism to a new and higher stage: *Marxism Leninism Maoism*. Maoist defend of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the historical experience of the proletarian revolution, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, of the construction of socialism and the role of Stalin, it girds to the Leninist line in terms of international experience: take it critically and check it for itself.

Maoism reaffirmed the correct line and the performance of Marxist-Leninists criticized their mistakes and deficiencies in the struggle to transform the world, being this knowledge of great help to the theory and practice of greater scope of the Proletarian Revolution: the Great Revolution Proletarian Cultural in China, guided by Marxism Leninism Maoism gave continuity to previous historical experience, with a better understanding of the laws of socialist society and its class struggle, of communist methods in the work of the Party and its struggle of lines, the need to mobilize the broadest masses *to continue the revolution under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*. Khrushchevite revisionism, vanquisher in the Party and the state of the USSR, was defeated theoretically, but still provided a great service to imperialism, it caused the second major division of the International Communist Movement and it dissolved the Socialist Camp; it transformed the USSR of socialist potency into social-imperialists, oxygenating the imperialist camp with the market and the exploitation of the proletariat and the masses in this vast area of the planet.

From the time of the first Russian revolution, there is a variant of revisionism that has been refuted by Marxism in strong, deep and protracted struggle: *trotskyism*, a form of centrist opportunism with general appearance; centrist between bolsheviks and mensheviks, but in fact, allied to the latter in August bloc that seeks to liquidate the Party; centrist between internationalists and social-chauvinist, but in fact joint with Martov, acolyte and tolerant of centrism of Kautsky. Centrist between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, but in practice trotskyism intrigued and instigated attacks on the latter, torpedoing —together with mensheviks, social revolutionaries and “left communists”— the peace of Brest-Litovsk; it opposed to the alliance with the peasants for *agricultural co-operation*, as part of the construction of socialism;

1 General Linea summed up in the document *Proposition about the General Line of the International Communist Movement of 1963*, better known as *The Charter of 25 points*.

it armed the “military opposition” against the creation of the Red Army, while it admires to the professional soldiers old of tsarist army; it spoke of the importance of trade unions in the USSR, but attacked it since was schools of governance, economic management and socialism; trotskyism is a form of opportunism which denies the possibility of building socialism in one country.

Marxism’s struggle against trotskyism has been permanent since 1905. While Lenin had denounced that trotskyism *raises flags of unit to attack the flags of unity*, and Stalin had fought the trotskyist theory of “freedom of factions” in the Party as a antiparty theory, antagonistic to democratic centralism and conscious discipline of the proletariat, was in the XV Congress of the Bolshevik Communist Party in 1927, which condemned to trotskyism as *anti-Bolshevik and anti-Soviet ideology*, so Trotsky was expelled of the Party, of the USSR and the Communist International.

Although trotskyism is assimilated to “leftism” in their “workerist” position of rejection and contempt for the worker-peasant alliance, not for this stop being essentially a variant of right opportunism, from revisionism. Trotskyism gave explicit and public support for the “secret report” that Khrushchev weave in 1956 against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, against Socialism and against Comrade Stalin¹; trotskyism was a bitter enemy and detractor of the Communist International, fought the Chinese Revolution in its stages of New Democracy and Socialist, and with particular cruelty, made common cause with the khrushchevites and hoxhists against the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Under the doctrine of “permanent revolution”, trotskyism denies the revolution by stages in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries, trumpeting the only Socialist Revolution, but making on this a caricature² that does not go beyond the reforms, the nationalization and beautification the State of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Trotskyism is a form of opportunism anti Marxist-Leninist-Maoist.

In the following period of the imperialist phase³, when the contradiction between imperialist countries and oppressed countries became in the world main contradiction, it gave ground to trend

1 The trotskyist denial of the historical experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, whose States in Russia and China do not deserve them more than the name of “workers’ states degenerates and bureaucratized”, becomes opportunistic affinity with the assessment that this experience makes revisionism pseudo-MLM of the twenty first century.

2 Since the 70s, the trotskyists were known for their slogan “socialist revolution or a caricature of revolution”; today they are known for defending a caricature of the Socialist Revolution.

3 From 1958-1972: a period of expansion of the wars of national liberation.

of highlight the national liberation movement and obscures the class struggle of the proletariat, again opportunism was expressed showing its other face: the “leftism”. The “leftism”, a form of opportunism at the international level that, in radical opposition to the old parties pacifist revisionist and parliamentarians, leaves the Marxist conception of tactics, becoming the armed struggle in the “unique” form of struggle to use; abandons the materialist conception of the role of the masses, to embrace the theory of heroes, trumpeted by the petty-bourgeois Guevarism; abandons the Leninist theory of the Party as a political vanguard of the proletariat, to make it a detachment of conspirators separated of class and the masses, if not is the political-military hybrid organizations. The “left” tendency was reinforced by the inertia of the great struggle immediately previous against opportunism of peace right.

The “left” opportunism served to imperialism in this and in the following period: led to the settlement of many important Marxist-Leninist parties; isolated to the proletariat of its vanguard, overshadowed its role internationally, it underestimated its class independence, leaves in second place its historical mission and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and so the petty bourgeoisie was owner of the vanguard. In several European countries degraded the people’s war to simple urban terrorism; in the oppressed countries, it took the direction of several anti-imperialist armed struggles perverting the revolutionary heroic role of the masses whose movement, or was led to defeat, or was reduced to take the old state for its own purposes—a matter resolved by Marxism from the workers’ uprisings in Europe in the mid-nineteenth century—or, simply completed the cycle of identity with opportunism of right, sacrificing the armed revolution at the altar of reconciliation and peace agreements with imperialism and its lackeys¹.

But the fight against “leftism” is old times. Marxism in the nineteenth century fought against Blanquism and anarchism and external trends. Marxism Leninism fought against the “left” opportunist emerged, to early twentieth century—once finished the imperialist world distribution first—, in the communist parties and within the Third International itself; in that period the “leftist” opportunism appeared as atonement of rightism of the Second International, and expressed as: renunciation to the work in the

1 That was the top of period of wars of national liberation and, at the same time, that was the sad story of the revolutions led by the petty bourgeoisie in Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Algeria ... Later, in another period, betrayal becomes on scenario, this time at the hands of Prachanda revisionism in the People’s War in Nepal, only that more serious: consummate it in the name of the proletariat, Marxism Leninism Maoism and Communism.

unions or reformist mass organizations, the contempt for the legal fight and overestimation of the clandestine struggle, the rejection of the role of chiefs —arguing to fight the “dictatorship of the party”—; the imposition as a general rule of the slogans “no compromise”, “no agreement” and the defense of the “theory of the offensive” without the necessary resistance struggle for immediate improvements¹. Marxism Leninism Maoism fought, in the Communist Party of China, the opportunistic lines “left” in the protracted people’s war, and against linpiaoism during Proletarian Cultural Revolution; in Marxist Leninist parties of the oppressed countries fought against pro - Guevarists trends, terrorists and focust.

In the following period of the imperialist phase², determined by the world main contradiction starring the struggle between the two superpowers USA and Russia, the struggle of Marxism against opportunism is concentrated in the vanguard of the World Proletarian Revolution, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. The great international polemic against khrushchevism, new “socialist” form of revisionism, armed to the Chinese Communists to face the forms “socialists” of follower opportunism of capitalist path and prone to mediate in the imperialist struggle between the two superpowers.

On theoretical grounds, Marxism-Leninism confronted the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Teng Hsiao-pin —followers Bernstein, Kautsky and Khrushchev— defenders of theories “of the productive forces”, “the three worlds “and” four modernizations “. Marxism Leninism also fought the “left” line of Lin Piao in appearance ultra-Maoist —exaltation of the personality cult of Chairman Mao and mechanical transposition to the world as a whole, of the conditions under which the People’s War was

1 At the time, Lenin published a book that was presented to the delegates of the Second Congress of the Comintern entitled [*Left-Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder*](#), sitting the bases of the action of party between the reformist unions and the utilization of legality bourgeois. Currently, in the ICM there is a “leftist” variant which limits the judgment of the right, to the criterion of whether or not develop armed struggle at the moment; some organizations even repudiate the work between unions and mass organizations for it considers reformist or economist because of its direction; or focus its attention on building a party without mass support, but with weapons. In the revisionist awnings, [*Left-Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder*](#), it unilaterally conforms to justify its parliamentary cretinism in opposition and renounce to the armed struggle or revolutionary violence of the masses.

2 1972-1990: when collapses the communist mask of Soviet social-imperialist, because since 1956 had been defeated the State of Dictatorship of the Proletarian.

fought in China— but essentially, one and the same denounced “socialist” revisionism, that sought to overthrow the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, restore capitalism and reverse the critical to khrushchevite revisionism¹.

On the political front, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution gave continuation to the revolution under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and for more than a decade prevented the restoration of capitalism in China; but the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was defeated, not by ignorance or inexperience in combating the revisionist forms under socialism, but by force of habit in the tasks of the state, abandoning the practice of line Commune². Revisionism “on behalf and in defense” of Maoism, took control of the Communist Party and the degenerated the State into a new dictatorship of the bourgeoisie “communist”, whose power restored capitalism in China making it in an imperialist, oppressor and exploiter country of Chinese people and other peoples. Revisionism again demonstrated its historical role of directly serve to imperialism, assistant to outdated and dying capitalist system, give it full potential, progress and advancement of China’s socialist economy, and especially ensures the imperialist parasitism with wage enslavement of more than a thousand million workers.

But it was not only the Chinese revisionists who raised red flags against the Red Flags of Marxism Leninism Maoism, also from outside, did it the leadership of the Party of Work of Albania, former Marxist Leninist and contrary to khrushchevite revisionism. Against Maoism, the Party of Work of Albania raised *hoxhaism* but ended up renouncing of Marxism-Leninism and welcoming the classic positions of revisionism and trotskyism. The hoxhaism

1 Respect to the “leftist” line of Lin Piao, there are organizations that claim it in an open defense of “leftism”, as others do it with the “three worlds theory” and it called itself Third Worldist, or other defended swashbuckling the line of Ten Hsiao-ping. What is special now, is that as part of the great confusion in the ICM, there Maoist Marxist Leninist organizations who declare in favor of reversing the criticism of PCRC of Lin Piao, arguing new Chinese and Western versions of the events. The decision of the CCP in life of Chairman Mao, the massive criticism of the GPCRC and communication of the CCP on the circumstances of the death of Lin Piao, remain the most authoritative and credible source for the communists on this issue.

2 On a new base of knowledge, experience and struggle, the bitter lesson of the USSR was repeated: PLA held the monopoly of arms; the bureaucratism gnawed the bodies of State power; in the direction of the Party and the state they raised the barracks powerful of the followers of capitalist path; masses, especially proletarian, they remained unarmed and separated of direct exercise of state power, that finished being newly a special force “to service of masses” and separate of them

denigrated of People's War making it as a war "without end and without prospects," it denied the line struggle in the Party; it ignored the Great Cultural Revolution in China as the largest historic development of the proletarian revolution, and defended plainly the Stalin's mistakes. To attack Maoism, hoxhism endorsed it the revisionist theory of "three worlds", ignoring the Leninist essential distinction between imperialist and oppressed countries; the tendency to reconcile with the Russian social-imperialism and ignore its true imperialist character, led to hoxhism to underestimate the global conflict between the two superpowers. The hoxhism, even though of word does not negate the revolution by stages in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries, underestimates the concrete analysis of the concrete situation to resolve the revolution in each country —whereby accepting the trotskyist line of "socialist permanent revolution" which, in practice, is a kind of revolution that does not exceed the limits of bourgeois democracy¹. The hoxhism made common cause with the CPSU —head of world modern revisionism— against Marxism Leninism Maoism, against Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Socialism; the hoxhism showed its opportunist character in its own practice: led to the restoration of capitalism and the power of the bourgeoisie with all its national hatreds in Albania itself.

The triumph of the new revisionist bourgeoisie in China began the deeper, long and serious crisis in the International Communist Movement, characterized by political impotence, the ideological confusion and organizational dispersion. Since then, the Marxist Leninist Maoist struggle to unite and reorganize their ranks, based on the deep demarcation with opportunism, a profound assimilation of historical experience and a deep understanding of the current situation of moribund capitalism, in the midst of battle which does born, fight and die the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement —RIM.

1 Tend of de hoxhist current in the International Communist Movement has been to divide and open definition in ideology, program and tactic, inside the two great lines in which confrontation had its rise: the revisionist line and Marxist Leninist Maoist line. The facts give testimony: Parties M-L submerged in the parliamentary mud (even in ministries and presidencies) joint with revisionist and trotskist; Parties M-L in halfway, flirting tactically with bourgeois democracy and strategy with destruction of the reactionary state; and parties that renounces the hoxhist heritage and receives newly and firmly the Marxist Leninist Maoist.

Taking advantage of the defeat in China, the imperialist bourgeoisie has orchestrated, with the international social-democracy, a frantic onslaught against socialism and communism; today, it joins the attack of all the opportunists with the common objective of distorting history, discard the experience of proletarian revolution¹, renounce to the principles of Marxism, socialism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, with a peculiar feature in the current period: it set up a new form of opportunism, presented itself as “Marxist Leninist Maoist”.

3. THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN MARXISM AND OPPORTUNISM TODAY

The domination of capital in the world economy, deepening of imperialist semi-colonial domination the; the global expansion of capitalist production relations, cohabiting the semi-feudal countries with backward modes of production, cracking the subsistence economies, destroying the feudal relations or simply adapting it to the needs of global capital, it is made more important in the this period of the imperialist stage; period beginning in 1990, when the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie — whose revolutionary role was announced for *The Manifest*— starts to establish itself as the world principal contradiction and the one that best expresses in the class struggle, the fundamental contradiction of capitalism between the production increasingly social and appropriation increasing private. These changes in the objective situation of imperialism are the breeding ground for the new form of opportunism, which distorts the revolutionary Marxism on name or as “overcoming” of Marxism Leninism Maoism.

Opportunism, as a social product and necessity of imperialism, has achieved to stop, divert and dismantle revolutionary processes for more than a century. This bitter experience leaves demonstrated the indispensability of Lenin’s condition: “*The most dangerous of all in this respect are those who do not wish to understand that the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism*”².

1 Basanta, one of the leaders of the Nepalese revolution betrayed raised on “*The international dimension of the way Prachanda*” that find in The Worker No 10: “*Our Party, under the leadership of Comrade Prachanda president, considers that the analysis by Lenin and Mao on imperialism in the twentieth century, doesn’t serve scientifically to direct to Maoist revolutionaries of the century XXI*”.

2 *Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism*, Lenin - 1916

Along of the phase of agony of capitalism, opportunism has changed or reissued old positions defeated by the International Communist Movement, taking new forms, while maintaining its old content. Prachandism of the Parties “Maoists” of Nepal and avakianism of the RCP-US are essentially identical variants of right opportunism, which reinforce it and complement; are a new form presented itself contrary to the old revisionism, but really incarnating the umpteenth revision and abandonment of the revolutionary theory of Marxism and its fundamental principles, on the pretext of develop it over conditions of the twenty first century, and not against Maoism, but in the name of Marxism Leninism Maoism. Prachandism and avakianism are a new form of opportunism that could not arise more that inside of best effort of Marxist Leninist Maoists to face the crisis of communism unleashed by the defeat of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China: in the now extinct Revolutionary Internationalist Movement —RIM; this new pseudo-Maoist revisionism not only led to the debacle at RIM, but became the current **main danger** to the unity of the *International Communist Movement*.

The revisionism of the so named “*Prachanda Path*” with the theory of “*merging*”¹ the class struggle in the national struggle² — affine to social-chauvinist opportunism—, the claudicate theory of “*globalized state of US imperialism*” and “*the impossibility of victory in Nepal*”, they are similar to the theories of Kautsky, on the *ultra-imperialism*, and Trotsky, about *the impossibility of the victory of the revolution in one country*; “*tactical theory for the revolution in the twenty first century*”³ and “*multiparty state*” in the new State, are also similar to the “*peaceful transition*” and “*the state of the whole people*” of the khrushchevite revisionism. Hence the “*Prachanda Path*” led to the betrayal of the revolution of New Democracy and the People’s War in Nepal.

1 On the merger, a thesis presented in the documents of the NCP (M), but old discussion on the ICM, as it expresses in the previous chapter of this proposal.

2 Accepted it uncritically by the RIM, where had already won ground to consider as revolutionary the only anti-imperialist struggle, away from the class struggle and the struggle against the power of capital, leading to consider ally in principle to whoever fights against the foreign invader, no matter whether that is pieces of other imperialism, and its purpose is to strengthen the reactionary dictatorship over the people.

3 The ceasefire and negotiations, that in fact was a blatant betrayal in Nepal, was tolerated in the RIM, as one, though “risky” new and legitimate revolutionary tactic to the conditions of the twenty first century.

The revisionism of the so-called “*New Synthesis*” to resign to the Marxist conception of the direction of movement¹ governed by the *dialectical law of the Negation of the Negation*, complete *renouncing* to recognition Marxist of determinism in the motion of matter and making an *defeatist assessment and anti-worker* of historical experience in the twentieth century: the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the building of socialism, the role of Stalin and the Communist international, getting conclusions identical essentially to those of trotskysm and khrushchevism. The avakianist theory against the “*reification of the proletariat*” actually means to repudiate its vanguard role in the revolution and renounce to its omnipotent Dictatorship in socialism, calling it “*totalitarianism*” and against which proclaims the defense of bourgeois right to *dissent* under new State², identical to the claims Trotsky & Co. in the USSR, Liu Shao-chi and Ten Hsiao-pin in China.

Both variants of pseudo Maoist revisionism have declare null the historic necessity of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and insufficient the theory of Marxism Leninism Maoism to understand and transform the imperialist world in the twenty first century, here is the profound identity with the content of the old and classic opportunism: low the label of alleged “new and revolutionary theories”, falsification of Marxism, mutilation of its revolutionary content, barter of its principles by eclectic theories, confuses and acceptable to the bourgeoisie.

If the struggle of revolutionary Marxists against opportunism is inevitable, it is also inevitable the organizational split and the depuration of the opportunistic from ranks of political party of the working class. The parties that have managed to successfully guide the proletarian revolution have separate from who with different theories have served as a vehicle for to cede to bourgeoisie the ideological and political leadership of the struggle of the proletariat. The unity of the Marxists in the party is incompatible with the unity of the trends in the same organization, it is impossible in coexistence with opportunism. The unity of the Marxists in the party demands to recognize the split with opportunism and is incompatible with the existence of factions within it.

1 Public renounce shared and widespread of the Maoist parties of right, of center and ‘right’, in a test of singing of until where it has turned the confusion grade at ICM.

2 So the avakianismo transports to the communist ranks and with “Marxist” letterhead, the much worked anti-labor theories of bourgeois literature, by Tony Negri, of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia “post-Marxist” ... all, all for the express purpose of fight the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and socialism under its government.

The revisionism —danger main— has been favored by the *centrist* positions of parties that were also members of RIM¹, manifest positions in its silent tolerance for years to revisionism emerged in this movement, in its lack of self-criticism to the support and salute to the “tactical theory “of the Peace Agreement in 2006 at Nepal —to read theory of betrayal—; in its persistent reconciliation with the leaders of the “new” NCP (M) liberally evading the conviction to its leading responsibility in the betrayal and tolerating its distracter game of threaten “newly to take the arms in an uprising” when it is well known that the “new” NCP (M) inherited the ideological and political line of prachandist revisionism in defense of “full implementation with the Global Peace Agreement”, only that presented under a new garb: denouncing the “betrayal”² of Prachanda and Bhattarai and repudiation supposed to the “new synthesis by Avakian”. The unit of trends that advocated the centrism dent and make harmless the political struggle of the working class and it is useless for the success of its program.

Theories and felonies of the current pseudo Maoist revisionism and reconciliation and hesitation of opportunism centrist have been denounced and confronted by Marxist Leninist Maoist in various countries — rarely the efforts have been joint, generally it have given separately—; and while this struggle has achieved a general fairly repudiation to avakianism and prevented to the “new” revisionist theories introduced as general line of the International Communist Movement, should be strengthened the conscious of unity of the Communists on the exacerbation of crisis caused by revisionist attack, which has plunged to the International Communist Movement in a state of great confusion, great dispersion and tremendous political impotence for organizing and leading the spontaneous movement of the masses, which stands impetuous against imperialism and its reactionary braked in all countries.

Under these conditions the International Communist Movement, the triumph of Marxism on opportunism must be in all the general line: **the theoretical foundations of Marxism Leninism Maoism,**

1 They have been swing from one place to another: initially we defend the survival of RIM of the revisionist attack; then proposed to resurrect it but without its former Committee, later they accepted the collapse of RIM and they launched the proposal to organize a new communist center MLM, more like the organizational sum of forces that call themselves Marxist Leninist Maoists, that as a result of a deep demarcation with opportunism. At the same time, they took the initiative to organize the international support for the People’s War in India, perhaps with the illusion that the proletariat and the Communists forget the experience of the conciliator centrism with the betrayal of the People’s War in Nepal.

2 So they called, not the real betrayal in the Peace Agreement, but its subsequent parliamentary perversion and open submission to imperialism, to Indian expansionism, to the bourgeoisie and the landowners.

in the judgment on the historical experience of the World Proletarian Revolution —the Revolution, the Dictatorship the Proletariat, building Socialism, the role of the Third International—; in the understanding of the economic, political and social phenomena of the current period of agony of imperialism, and therefore the tasks of the revolution and of the communist worldwide and in each one of the different types of countries.

Defeat to imperialism is the throbbing need for global society, it is demand of the same contradictions of the dying system. The defeat of imperialism requires beating the main danger of the international unity of the communists, making sure to throw the rightism by the front door, not get into “leftism” by the backyard.

Equality is natural that this great struggle against right opportunism, was accompanied by a trend in the movement towards the “leftism”, the “new” theories —in current conditions of great confusion in the Communist International Movement— take the form of a defense of “ultra-Maoist Maoism” and are presented on behalf of the “Thought Gonzalo” and “universal development” of Marxism Leninism Maoism, claim that in practice distorts and obscures the real and important contribution made by Chairman Gonzalo to fight against revisionism in Peru, to Maoist Marxist-Leninist line of the Communist Party of Peru —CPP— and its role as the vanguard of the proletariat in the initiation and development of People’s War in that country.

The Marxist Leninist Maoist recognition about role of President Gonzalo is throw to the thrash when it is deified as “Thought Gonzalo” circumscribing the unit no longer to his ideas but to his personality, to the point that his leadership is claimed by both opportunism “left” as opportunism right, known as ROL (right opportunist line); and is sentenced to death by a variant of right opportunism in the form of armed revisionism that some sectors from the CPP, strangely is called LOL (“left” opportunist line). In fact, they are ideological expressions of fractionation of the CPP in where to Marxist Leninist Maoist assists with the responsibility of overcoming the bend in fighting against the right and “left” opportunism.

The “new” theories of the “Thought Gonzalo” actually represent differences with Marxism Leninism Maoism, not from the position of right opportunism —avakianist revisionism— but from the opportunism of the “left”: its theories of “*guiding thought*” and

“*principally Maoism*” become the creative application of Marxist theory to the problems of the revolution in each country in a denial of the basis of unity achieved by RIM in late 1993:

In the course of the Chinese revolution Mao had developed Marxism-Leninism in many important fields. But it was in the crucible of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that our ideology took a leap and the third great milestone, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, fully emerged. From the higher plane of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism the revolutionary communists could grasp the teachings of the previous great leaders even more profoundly and indeed even Mao Tsetung’s earlier contributions took on deeper significance. Today, without Maoism there can be no Marxism-Leninism. Indeed, to negate Maoism is to negate Marxism-Leninism itself.

The “new” theories of the “Thought Gonzalo” on “*bureaucratic capitalism or the evolution of semi-feudalism*” and “*contradiction as the only law of dialectics*” diverge from the materialist outlook about the world and the dialectical laws of motion; its maxim of “*people’s war as the main form of struggle at all times and until communism*” denies the objectivity and the tactical nature of the forms of struggle and organization, being a kindred conception to open “*defense linpiaoism*” encourages by some Maoists; its “*indisputable cult to chiefs*”, it deviates from the Leninist theory on the relationship between mass, classes, parties and leaders; and its theory of “*militarized party*” is alien to the Leninist theory of the political Party of the proletariat, and instead it binds with theory by Guevara of political-military organization.

On the political ground, the differences with defenders comrades of the “Thought Gonzalo” resides in the materialist recognition of the principal contradiction in the world; in the characterization of society, of the capitalism and revolution in oppressed capitalist countries; in the relationship between the people’s war and insurrection; on the different peculiarity of the people’s war in the oppressed countries and the imperialist countries. There are also differences in the balance of some historical issues such as: the correct policy of Popular Fronts guided by the Communist international, described contemptuously by some Communists as “populism front”.

Since today revisionism is the main danger for the unity of the International Communist Movement, the contradiction with “leftist” positions opposite to the revisionism is now a contradiction among

1 *Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!*, RIM Declaration - 1993

the people, a contradiction between communists, treatable by the method of discussion, the ideological struggle, persuasion, criticism and self-criticism.

4. SOCIAL BASE OF OPPORTUNISM

Opportunism proclaims the defense of the unity, of the democracy, of to continue the path traced by Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and, in the best traditions of the International Communist Movement. But its conception, viewpoint and method for resolving contradictions with the enemy is not the proletariat revolutionary way but the conservatives of the petty bourgeoisie, which to lead to reconciliation and defense of the interests of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the worker movement; it sows doubts and discord in the ranks of the revolutionaries, leaving them behind the mass movement or separated from them in reckless adventures of conspirators.

However opportunism is not a moral issue; opportunism is a necessity of imperialism to prolong the agony of the capitalist system and resist to be buried by the world proletarian revolution; opportunism to restrain and deter the forces of revolution — movement of the broad popular masses— attacks, infringes and weakens directly the vanguard of the revolution: class independence of the party and the general arming of the people, power base in the new State of Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Opportunism finds its strength, power and support, on the material conditions of capitalist society. The material basis of bourgeois ideas within the worker movement, in favor of continuing the exploitation, resides in the fact that capitalism constantly throws to the proletariat's rank the ruined sections of the petty bourgeoisie in the social neighborhood of the proletariat with the petty bourgeoisie, and mainly on the existence of a privileged stratum of the proletariat in the imperialist countries, called labor aristocracy: a minority of corrupted and gentrified workers with and crumbs, both of plus valor that imperialism obtained from the global exploitation of the proletariat as by plunder of the oppressed countries. The labor aristocracy through imperialist trade Union Confederations and Nongovernmental Organizations NGOs, assists financially to their counterparts in the trade union movement of the oppressed countries: a layer of officials, consultants, trainers, that without to have the privileges and economic position of the labor aristocracy of the imperialist countries, for their high salaries and social privileges, they have become parasites of the labor movement, and also thicken the social base of opportunism. Throughout the

imperialist phase, the labor aristocracy has been the main social support of the imperialist policy on the world working class, support that weaken for cuts in the economic crisis favors the historical mission of the international proletariat: bury to imperialism, dying system that even kept liven by opportunism and socially by the labor aristocracy.

The being social determines the social consciousness. Wherein the labor aristocracy exists as a parasitic layer that does not unfold among workers but not among capitalists in the imperialist countries, in the same way that the layer of parasites of the trade union movement —"companions travelers" of the proletariat—in the oppressed countries have dual interests of exploiters and exploited, they are the social being that determines their social consciousness: ideas in defense of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, traffic with the interests of the working class and support to theories of perpetuation of the current capitalist mode of production, to the distortion of history and judgments on the experience of the worker movement with a point view demoralizing and submissive to imperialism.

The social base of opportunism is the labor aristocracy, the corrupt union officials and the weight of the petty bourgeoisie on society as in the revolutionary movement and as intellectual within the same Party of the workers.

The best way to limit the influence of opportunists and counterevolutionary ideas in the worker movement and in the ranks of the Communists is to practicing the call of the Communist International to link to the masses at all times, think about their interests and fight untiringly against enemies of the people. In the fight against social-chauvinist opportunism, Lenin underlined this orientation that valid to combat all forms of opportunism:

*And it is therefore our duty, if we wish to remain socialists to go down **lower and deeper**, to the real masses; this is the whole meaning and the whole purport of the struggle against opportunism. By exposing the fact that the opportunists and social-chauvinists are in reality betraying and selling the interests of the masses, that they are defending the temporary privileges of a minority of the workers, that they are the vehicles of bourgeois ideas and influences, that they are really allies and agents of the bourgeoisie, we teach the masses to appreciate their true political*

interests, to fight for socialism and for the revolution through all the long and painful vicissitudes of imperialist wars and imperialist armistices¹.

5. OPPORTUNISM IN PHILOSOPHY

Opportunism attacks on all fronts of the class struggle of the proletariat and Marxist philosophy is no exception, so one of the most frequent discussions with opportunism in the International Communist Movement, it has occurred in the main field about outlook and the general laws of motion.

Currently, the avakianist revisionism with the argument that the dialectical materialist method has errors, discards it and decrees obsolete, concluding that requires a “cosmovision” — read conception of the world— that “breaks with the concept, the previous method and experiences,” that amend the “failure” of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat.

As part of that “new cosmovision” or “new synthesis” is wield the Anti-marxist theory of “*Contradiction as the only law of dialectics*” which discard fully the *law of Negation of the Negation* after point it as an error of Engels, and it distorts Lenin and Mao who conceived the Law of Contradiction as “*the core of dialectics*” and the Law “*most fundamental of dialectic*”. The theory of Contradiction as “one law of dialectics”², it was proclaimed long ago by the revisionists³, is not an original invention of post-MLM revisionism that has been taken directly from the bourgeois sophistry on *indeterminacy* and petty-bourgeois attacks against *Marxist determinism*.

Given the coexistence with opportunistic tendencies that prevailed in the extinct Revolutionary Internationalist Movement — cot of new pseudo Maoist revisionism— the “new” avakianist theory about Law of Contradiction, was accepted without question by both parties followers of the “Prachanda Path” such as defenders parties “Gonzalo Thought”.

Similarly, as happened without a fight or discussion, the avakianist misrepresentation of the role of contradictions, putting

1 *Imperialism and the Split in Socialism*, Lenin - 1916

2 In Colombia has been discussed the matter, where the Revolutionary Communist Group avakianista —RCG— has been one of its staunchest defenders.

3 Also in the 60s of twenty century, Marxist-Leninists refuted the same artifice of pretending overrule Engels with Mao, in terms of the dialectical law of the negation of negation. Cfr. *Mao Zedong's Contribution to Marxism-Leninism* - N. Sanmugathasan. Liberation Vol. 1, No. 2 [Dec. 1967, published by the Communist Party of India (ML)]

upside down the self-movement of the phenomena, coming to the awkwardness of explaining the development of the revolution by external contradictions and not by the internal, it is evident in the case of the Nepalese revolution, when the People's War having besieged the capital Kathmandu, and yet the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) conclude that wasn't possible the victory of the revolution as international conditions and power imperialism was the main problem¹.

The movement is the state of matter, exists objectively and are innumerable the laws or elements of dialectics that govern it, explain and determine, but are three its general most laws: the law of *Unity and Struggle of Contraries*, the law of *Quantitative Changes in Qualitative Changes and Vice versa* and the law of the *Negation of the Negation*, which explains the sense or direction of movement of a phenomenon: ascent, progress, advance, replace the old with the new. Denies the existence of this law is equivalent to suggest that although one thing is developed, it is unclear to where such development tends; is refurbish the fundamental theory of classical revisionism: "*the movement is everything and the ultimate goal is nothing*". Without the law of *the Negation of Negation* can't explain the connection of the different stages of the movement.

The objective cause of the attack on the law of *the Negation of the Negation*, as a law of materialist dialectics, is in the defeat of the revolutions in the USSR and the People's Republic of China, events that to be misinterpreted have sown the conviction that exists unpredictable things, or that the social movement has no direction or trends of development and therefore a part of the dialectical conception of Marxism, precisely more that explains the direction of movement is invalid.

The avakianist opportunism considers the law of *the Negation of the Negation*, as a reductionist trend, simplistic, of a "closed system" to the "inevitable", pretending to derive the study on the nature by Engels was wrong; and to see this law in society, it is to reduce the tendency of its development to predetermined schemes or a pre-established solutions: open renunciation of the deterministic character of Marxism. That is the philosophical basis of its "theory of synthesis" and of barter of Unit-Struggle-Unit method — struggle starting on a unit basis to reach an upper base of unit— by

1 The Revolutionary Communist Group, in Colombia argues that the main contradiction of society lies in its semi-colonial character, not in its capitalist character as argued by the Communist Workers Union (mlm). See controversy *Worker Revolution* Issue No. 50 *As in a sea of clouds* (4).

“unity-struggle-transformation” where the unit of communists will always be something indeterminate, chaotic, to nowhere, no program, no cause, only movement without ultimate goal. That is the philosophical basis of understanding the development of Marxism as “synthesis”, without continuity or consistency historical and in the struggle against opportunism. That is the philosophical basis of both the “new synthesis” of the right, as of the “principally Maoism” of “leftism”, concepts alien to Marxism Leninism Maoism science in development, integrated, consistent and accurate.

The “New Synthesis”, like the “synthesis” of the various “Roads” and “Thoughts Guides,” need to eliminate the law of the Negation of the Negation, as it proclaims builders of “new foundation more chord to the needs of twenty first century”. For over 30 years, within RCP,US¹ comes plowing the land with arguments rigged, with apocryphal chicanery on the inexistence of this law calling to their supporters with the boomerang appellative “dogmatic-revisionist”, “forgetting” that as Leninism: *“Cannot exist dogmatism where the supreme and unique criterion of the doctrine is in conformity with the actual process of social economic development”*. In addition they foist to the Marxists on “quasi-religious addiction” to the past; in the background, the opportunists uses the very old slogan of Russian economists: *“against orthodoxy”*.

In ideology, deny the Dialectical Law of the Negation of the Negation leads to the impossibility of objective knowledge of the world and its movement, falling into the swamp of idealism — agnosticism— and positivism. In politics, discard the Dialectical Law of the Negation of the Negation leads to abandonment of the tactical-plan of a determinate class by the tactical process of a “movement for revolution” and to renounce to Marxist program —*definition of principles to guide the policy party, in relation to economic development and class relations in society or what is the same, the theoretical expression (conscious) of the economic development of a society, of the social and political contradictions that generate—* to transform the world; to lose of sight the need for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the “forgotten” classic opportunism, and touchstone to distinguish between revolutionary Marxism and opportunism. In organization, ignoring the Dialectical Law of the Negation of the Negation induces to see unnecessary the building of a political party of class for the revolutionary struggle, dedicating better to multi-class movements as was the ephemeral

1 Cfr. Revolucionary Worker No. 95 1981. Whose echo in Colombia transmitted it RCG in Dawn Communist No. 5, April – 1983.

“World People’s Resistance Movement” promoted by the RIM. Reject the Dialectic Law of Negation of Negation it is renounce Marxism Leninism Maoism that conceive to imperialism as the antechamber of socialism and not as a knot intricate; to proletariat as the gravedigger of the capitalist system and not an outdated historical subject; and the class struggle as a movement without end goal, but as a process with a *determined* direction, where:

*(1) that the **existence of classes** is only bound up with **particular historical phases in the development of production** (*historische Entwicklungsphasen der Production*), (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the **dictatorship of the proletariat**, (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the **abolition of all classes** and to a **classless society**...*¹

¹ *Letter to Joseph Weydemeyer, Marx - March 5, 1852.*

Chapter V

THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS

1. ABOUT THE HISTORICAL BALANCE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

In the current struggle for the construction of an international organization, essential headquarters of the World Proletarian Revolution, it is inescapable critical balance of accumulated great experience of Labor Movement and the Communist Movement; historical experience, being marked by the incessant fighting opportunism, makes his assessment of acute land line struggle.

The international character of the labor movement requires its communist organization is international. **The International Workers' Association¹ or First International** had two objectives: to deny socialist or semi-socialist sects, with a real organization of the working class to fight for the emancipation of the workers, and assemble in a single huge army the whole militant working class Europe and North America. All development of the First International was, on the one hand, the complete victory of Marxism in the labor movement and the slope of sectarianism; and secondly, learning the world proletariat of Marxist tactics in their forms of struggle and organization, based on their own experience, the instruction of the Congress and the guidance of General Council, a body of centralized management of entire International exercised in front Bakunin's anarchism combat, special form of sectarianism that tried to break and enforced within the Association.

The defeat of The Paris Commune, the international persecution of the leaders of the International and the intrigues of the bakuninist led to its dissolution. Having fulfilled its mission to create the conditions for the labor movement entered a new period of political struggle for its class dictatorship, learning that *without their own political party, the working class is powerless in the class struggle* was the main reason which made its existence unnecessary. The International Workers' Association paved the way and set the

1 It was founded in 1864 on an internationalist fertile ground for the work of its predecessor: The League of Communists, which since 1848 had published *The Communist Manifesto*, written by Marx and Engels.

foundation of the International organization necessary to lead the proletariat in its historic mission: to bury capitalism.

The extension of the labor movement, in the form of socialist workers' parties in various countries, necessitated the Socialist International or Second International —new instrument for action of the proletariat, which Lenin said "*necessitated International has done useful work organization proletarian masses long peaceful period of the worst capitalist slavery, during the last third of the nineteenth century and early twenty*"— and yet, it was a condition for the emergence of the trend of federal organization and fault tolerance opportunistic apparently very "typical" of each country, two manifestations of bourgeois nationalism within the labor movement, not corrected in a timely and dire consequences for the World Proletarian Revolution. Similarly, the struggle for reforms and parliamentary struggle, which played an important role in the peaceful period of the revolution, led to parliamentarism and pacifism as an opportunist trend in socialist parties, not being correct and vigorously combated, is imposed corroding all international labor movement, making the Second International into a useless instrument for the moment the sharpening contradictions of capitalism in its imperialist stage, created the conditions for the revolutionary victory of the proletariat.

The start of the first imperialist world war revealed the full extent of the betrayal of the leaders of the Second International: nationalist confrontation of the workers in defense of the "homeland", renouncing the proletarian internationalism; helps working imperialist slaughter, instead of transforming the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war; social peace, to disown the class struggle; helps the bourgeoisie, instead of destroying their reactionary state and implement the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This forced Lenin declared: "*The Second International is dead, overcome by opportunism. Down with opportunism and long live the Third International, freed from the renegades and opportunism*".

The Comintern or Third International was the first world party of proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism, historical successor to the best traditions of the First and Second International; leader of the revolutionary action of the masses, their revolutions and major struggles throughout the world, under the banner of *Workers of All Countries Unite!* In the words of Lenin: "*The Third International has gathered the fruits of labor of the Second*

*International, has severed the corrupt opportunist, social-hand, bourgeois and petty bourgeois and **has begun to implement the Dictatorship of the Proletariat***".

Since its founding until its dissolution, the role of the Communist International was denied the opportunist errors of the Second International and take on a new basis the goals of "*creating a body combat, coordinate and direct the movement of the International Communist and perform the subordination of the interests of movements in different countries to the interests of the international revolution*", essentially, the same objectives of the International Workers' Association. The Communist International was formed in theoretical and practical leader of world proletariat, analyzing the economic situation and international political and characterizing the various periods, denouncing the imperialist bourgeoisie of the offensive against the labor movement, promoting the formation of new Communist Parties; supporting proletarian struggles in different countries, revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies; guiding the work of the Communists in their struggle against imperialism, particularly against fascism during World War II imperialist; supporting the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the USSR and directing his defense as a basis for the World Proletarian Revolution.

The First Congress of the Third International examined critical issues for the global labor movement: the bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the various socialist currents, and the international situation. He traced the specific tasks of the International: generalize the revolutionary experience of the working class; debug the movement of impure mixtures of opportunism and social-patriotism; unite the forces of all truly revolutionary parties of the world proletariat; facilitate and accelerate the victory of the communist revolution in the world. And raised in a new way the struggle of the working class in the colonies: "*From now on, in more developed colonies struggle is no longer committed only under the banner of national liberation; immediately takes a more or less clearly defined social character*".

The Second Congress in resolutions delimited fields with opportunism, acknowledged the split in the labor movement caused by the labor aristocracy, and built a new unit for the performance of the revolutionary communists of all countries regarding: the role of the party, the Communists in the unions —against yellowing international association—, participation in elections, the 21

conditions for admission to the International. It also reaffirmed the principled position of the First International: *“The emancipation of the workers is not, in any way, a local or national task; is a social and international task”* and the need for centralization of the labor movement worldwide: *“The Communist International is aware, in any way, that to achieve victory, the International Workers’ Association, which fights for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of communism, must have a strongly centralized organization”*. And in his final manifesto, said: *“The Communist International is the party of the insurrection of the world revolutionary proletariat”*.

The Third Congress drew tactics for a further period of reflux to the revolutionary defeats bourgeois social democratic governments in the hands of opportunists, social-traitors. It was a tactic to consolidate positions gained in an orderly withdrawal of the international labor movement, focusing on issues such as the Red Trade Union International, work in the labor unions, the International Youth, the Women’s Movement, the question of East; getting with it, grow to 60 sections, three million members and 700 newspapers.

In its resolutions, the Fourth Congress said the class content of the slogans “Front only Proletarian” and “Anti-Imperialist Front only”; analyzed the cycles of crisis and expansion of capitalism *“that [...] Until his death will be prey to these cyclical fluctuations. Only the seizure of power by the proletariat and the socialist world revolution can save humanity from this ongoing catastrophe caused by the persistence of modern capitalism”*; and reaffirmed the form of *World Party* of the International, in line with the international nature of the labor and communist movement, governed in its functioning by democratic centralism and assimilating the experience: the benefit of the *World Party* which largely was the First International, and damaging of the Second International, based federation of national parties. Only a Party of the world proletariat will realize the deepest need of internationalism: not only the revolution in each country is at the service of the world revolution, but conditional their interests to the interests and needs of the world proletarian revolution.

The Fifth Congress directed bolshevisation of communist parties—the Communist Party of China was such, in practice, constant and successful rectification campaigns—, debugging living with trends and opportunist elements in the communist parties, the organization democratic centralism; its construction, not for bourgeois parliamentarism but to direct the workers in the revolution to

liquidate capitalism and conquer power, so the communist parties must be built based on the workmen, in the factory mainly and other workplaces.

The Sixth Congress —conducted on the rise of fascism and the growing danger of a second world war— adopted the “*International Campaign against imperialist war and the defense of the Soviet Union*”, setting in the Program:

The international proletariat in Russia has its only homeland, the bastion of his conquests and the essential factor of its international release, should contribute to the successful building of socialism in the USSR and defend it with all means of attacks by the powers capitalists.

It was this a communist program completely revolutionary, higher expression of the historical experience of the proletariat, which in the first line shows the fighting for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Socialism and world Communism.

The Seventh and last Congress of the Communist International —faithful to the correct policy of the United Front and the guidelines for the formation of Popular Fronts, keeping the class independence of the workers’ movement— oriented policy of the United Front anti-fascist, a policy that led to the heroic Soviet victory over fascism and nazism; was practiced victoriously in the New Democracy Revolution in China but not in Spain, whose civil war, although he formed a Popular Front, class independence in their direction was lost, leaving it in the hands of bourgeois republicanism, which was established in one of the causes of defeat. The line of the Seventh Congress was formed within front divergence between Marxist-Leninists and international trotskyism and currently divides and the subject of discussion between Marxist Leninists Maoist.

About the policy of the United Front and Popular Fronts, and there were hesitations and the germ of a division within the Third International: on one side was a line from right to interpret these formulations as giving in to the anti-fascist bourgeoisie, implementation of reformism and reconciliation of classes; other side was the Marxist Leninist line striving to secure the immediate objectives of the labor movement —the defeat of fascism— without sacrificing the vital interests of the movement and past. Such line struggle was veiled in the Seventh Congress not expressly condemned the tendency to give up the independence of class in the front; not clearly demarcated borders between Marxism and opportunism in this

matter, tolerating eclecticism that ultimately favored an opportunist line application of the International by many communist parties, and that degenerated frankly towards browderist conception, according to which the fight against fascism suppressed the class struggle in each country —give up the fight against fascist bourgeoisie— and considers the fascist imperialism as progressive, hiding the reactionary nature and rapacious all imperialism —whether or not a fascist— diverting the labor movement towards social-democrat class conciliation and the renunciation of the anti-imperialist struggle. Two diametrically opposed interpretations of the United Front and the Popular Front, where the Communists had formal unity in orientation, but real division in their understanding and practical application.

The call of the Third International in defense of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics —USSR— to the imperialist aggression was correct:

“This was no mere sympathy for a victim of aggression but the profound conviction that the defense of the Soviet Union was also the defense of the socialist base area of the world revolution”¹.

The Executive Committee not cleared deeply in the movement, the nature of the commitments of the USSR with the United States, Britain and France, explaining that “Such commitments do not require that the peoples of the capitalist countries do the same commitments in their respective countries”².

For its part, the hypocritical imperialist policy of “non-intervention” in the Spanish Civil War, was really a bulkhead to convert these Civil War in the preamble to the imperialist World War II; such a policy was not apprehended in that dimension by the Executive Committee of the Third International, therefore, the great campaign of the International —denouncing violations imperialist “neutrality”; against to the supply of arms to the fascists; for solidarity and support to Republicans with food, medicine and weapons mainly from the USSR; of mobilization and training of anti-fascist volunteers organized in the International Brigades with 35,000 fighters from 54 countries—, was extremely weak militarily before the intervention of an army of 300,000 soldiers and officers fascists from Italy and Germany.

In a general balance, the 1984 Declaration RIM correctly identified three deviations that occurred within the Third International:

1 *RIM Declaration 1984*

2 Words of Chairman Mao in 1946, it cited in the Declaration of RIM – 1984

First the distinction between fascism and bourgeois democracy in the imperialist countries...was treated in a way that tended to make an absolute of the difference between these two forms of bourgeois dictatorship and also to make a strategic stage of the struggle against fascism. Secondly, a thesis was developed, which held that the growing immiseration of the proletariat would create in the advanced countries the material basis for healing the split in the working class... Thirdly, when fascism was defined as the regime of the most reactionary section of the monopoly bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries, this left the door open to the dangerous, reformist and pacifist tendency to see a section of the monopoly bourgeoisie as progressive [...]

It was also correct its overall assessment:

While it is necessary to sum up these errors and to learn from them it is just as necessary to recognize the Communist International, including in this period, as part of the heritage of the revolutionary struggle for communism and to beat back liquidationist and trotskyite attempts to seize upon real errors to draw reactionary conclusions¹.

On May 22, 1943, by Resolution of the Presidium of the Executive Committee —not by imposition of Stalin as opportunist trotskyism affirmed— the Third International was dissolved in a circumstantial measured by the new conditions created by the war, to facilitate a common front against fascism and defending the Socialist Fatherland. However, the Third International was already divided into struggle between Marxist-Leninist line and an opportunistic trend of right.

The objective cause of hesitations, of the tendency to reconcile with the bourgeoisie and imperialism —manifests from the Seventh Congress— was in the world situation at the time: the war that prepared the imperialists was “an unjust war, reactionary, imperialist”, but also, as Stalin said:

The Second World War against Axis States, as opposed to the first, took from initiation the character of an anti-fascist and liberating war, one of whose aims was the restoration of democratic freedoms. The entrance of the Soviet Union in the war against the Axis powers could only reinforce, and indeed strengthened, the anti-fascist and liberating character of the Second World War.

This duality of the character of the war was the material base for the rise of rightist opportunism, in its extreme version, reaching to browderism.

1 RIM Declaration 1984

The cause main subjective of the persistence and subsequent consolidation of right opportunism and its evolution towards revisionism, was in the misunderstanding of the dialectic about line struggle within the International Communist Movement. At the Seventh Congress formally defeated the right trends in the organizational field, but not in the ideological field. The resolution of dissolution, by the circumstances of the Second World War, where many communist parties were decimated by the reaction, did not had favorable conditions to carry the struggle of two lines to the bottom, to the exact delimitation of borders between opportunistic right — nationalist supporters of the complete liquidation of the International— and internationalists, for whom a temporary solution was acceptable but not a liquidation of this vital instrument of struggle that materialized proletarian internationalism.

As for opportunism was untenable a world party of the proletariat under a Marxist leadership¹, it was imposed the International Communist Movement, in terms of organizational form of its international unit, bourgeois nationalism, this is confirmed by the decision of the Presidium of the Executive Committee:

The organic form of association of workers, chosen by the First Congress of the Communist International, which corresponded to the needs of the initial period of rebirth of the worker movement has been increasingly expiring, as this movement grows and complicate its tasks in different countries, to become in obstacle to a further consolidation of the workers parties.

The dissolution of the Third International was in appearance as a product only of hard circumstances; the argument of facilitate the unit of antifascist forces in the facts, it not facilitated such a unit but weakened the international unity of the proletariat. The alliance of anti-fascist forces was not wrong, was wrong to do it at the expense of losing the independence of the workers movement, liquidating definitely its international organization. The form to

1 In the defunct RIM manifests the opposition to the character of World Party it must has an International that really marches to the vanguard of the World Proletarian Revolution. The Communist Party of India (ML) Naxalbari —before unite with the Communist Party of India (Maoist) — expressed so clearly, and in the process revealed that the denomination referred to the International as “new type” is eclectic. It reads: “*The committee [RIM] was conceived as an embryonic political center. This adjusted to the declared objective to work toward the formation of a new international of new type. The term “new type” was built precisely to distance this future International of conception of Comintern of being “the party of the world proletariat”.* Appendix 2 of the Magazine Naxalbari Issue 4 “*On the current situation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and the challenge of regroup the Maoist parties internationally*” - August 2010. <http://thenaxalbari.blogspot.com/2013/07/naxalbari-issue-no-4.html>

dissolve the Third International was imposed, unexpected and incorrect; the right thing had been temporarily dissolve by force of the conditions imposed by the war, or permanently by the inability to live together in the same organization with the nationalist opportunism or that the revolutionary internationalists withdraw—as did the Bolsheviks in the Second International when it went bankrupt by the prevalence of social-chauvinist opportunism— but without sacrificing the need international organization of Worker Movement and Communist Movement, as indeed happened since then, and worse, accepting the “autonomy” of parties *against centralized direction* with arguments like:

The national ascent and mobilization of the masses for the purpose of quick victory over the enemy can be made better and more fruitful with the efforts of the vanguard of the worker movement in each country within the framework of their own State¹.

Arguments that, years later were more openly develop for leaders International:

The growth of communist parties, the necessity of quick and operatively resolve the specific problems of anti-fascist activity and height of the role of communists in the struggle for the interests of the whole nation, demanded much more than before the parties were autonomous and dynamic , renounce forms of address from a single center, since it turned in an obstacle to its development².

The successes of the Communist International heavier than mistakes and Marxist Leninist Maoist—so as did their predecessors in the 60s and 80s of twenty century— recognize its history and its undeniable contributions to the advancement of the World Proletarian Revolution. The experience of the Third International is an invaluable heritage of the Worker Movement and the Communist International and therefore the Marxist Leninist Maoists reject any attempt to exploit its mistakes, to deny and renege openly and covertly of the Communist International.

1 Magazine *Communist International*- 1943, Issues 5 and 6.

2 This reads the in *Compendium of history of the Comintern* prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSU Central Committee, with the participation and support of leaders of the IC or collaborators of its institutions and press organs: WALTER ULBRICHT, DOLORES IBARRURI, JACQUES DUCLOS, TIM BUCK, HALED BAGDACHE, VICTORIO CODOVILLA, GEORGES COGNIOT, INKERI LEHTINEN BORIS PONOMAREV, PALME DUTT, DEZSO NEMES FRIEDL FÜRNBURG, EMILIO SERENI, RUBEN AVRAMOV, ANDREW ROTHSTEIN, and published, apparently, in the years 60 by Moscow Progress Publishers, which is necessary to express reservation about the veracity of this source, given the revisionist leadership of the Publisher.

The Communist Party of China¹ complied its internationalist duties highlighting the great fight that it leads against revisionism khrushchevist, really the continuation and development of two-line struggle that had blunt in the twilight of the Third International; two-line struggle developed successfully and crowned with the *Proposition About the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, better known as *The Charter of 25 Points*, but although that it was preceded of voted Statements in the Moscow Conference from 1957 1960, The Charter of 25 points is supported exclusively by the Communist Party of China, and not leaded immediately to an international regroupment of Marxist Leninist Parties. It had penetrated deep on idea of giving priority to the “autonomy” of the Parties on international centralization. The judge by RIM in its statement also denotes the two-line struggle against the problem of centralization, on the one hand claims correctly:

While the CPC gave a great attention to the development of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties in opposition to the revisionists, it not found the necessary forms or ways to develop the international unity of the communists. Although contributions to the ideological and political unity, this was not reflected in efforts to build the organizational unit globally.

Furthermore, in the following text of that statement:

The CPC had an exaggerated conception of the negative aspects of the Comintern, especially those that were caused by excessive centralization, which leaded to crush the initiative and independence of constituent communist parties. Although the CPC correctly criticized the concept of party father, pointing out the harmful influence that had given in international communist movement and emphasizing the principles of fraternal relations between parties, the lack of an organized forum to discuss views and reach a common understanding not helped to solve this problem but exacerbated it.

The RIM wrongly endorsed the contrary opportunistic idea to the full and maximum centralization of the communist international organization, which form should be a world party of the proletariat and not a World Federation of proletarian parties.

1 The history of the *Compendium of the Communist International*, says that given the support of the parties to the proposed dissolution of the CI, the only exception was a statement of the CC of the Communist Party of China, in a note citing the magazine *The Communist International* - 1943, Issues 5 and 6 p. 23.

2. ROLE, MERIT AND COLLAPSE OF REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Forty years after the formal dissolution of the Third International, was founded the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement —RIM— as embryonic ideological and political center for the construction of a new Communist International based on Marxism Leninism Maoism.

The RIM played an important and worthy role to counterattack the crisis of the International Communist Movement, which came after the defeat of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in China; promoted the formation of new Communist Parties Marxist Leninist Maoist; it promoted and directed by its parties, people's wars in various countries; made a correct line in its Statements of 1984 and 1993; fought opportunist lines of right by parties emerged in countries like India, Peru and the Philippines. However, opportunism that led to the division of the Communist Party of Peru —PCP— on people's war, that prevailed as revisionist line in important Parties as the Revolutionary Communist Party EU —founder of RIM— and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), leader of the people's war in that country, finally buried to RIM.

The objective cause of the emergence and dominance of revisionism in the RIM have it based on occurred changes in the imperialist system by its full globalization as a system of oppression and exploitation, leading to an extreme sharpening of the fundamental contradiction of the whole capitalist system —among a world production increasingly social and an world appropriate increasingly private— and manifest as changes in the correlation between global contradictions of imperialism, where the contradiction between the world proletariat and the world bourgeoisie assumed the role of principal contradiction global. The main subjective cause was the incorrect method of secret discussion of differences, tolerance with opportunistic tendencies given the excessive cult of personality and thinking of leaders that long ago had taken flight in the movement; concessions to opportunism that handcuffed to the parties when revisionism openly arose in the ranks of the RIM, and they condemned to their Committee —gnaw it by cancer revisionist avakianism— to silent before revisionist betrayal vile of the revolution in Nepal, to the proletariat, to Marxism Leninism Maoism and to the own statements of RIM, all of which led to its bankruptcy.

The reconciliation with opportunism truncated the purpose of this great historical attempt for rebuild the international unity of the communists, resolving vital issues of the balance of the historical experience of socialism, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, of the Third International, the Great Revolution Proletarian Cultural in China and, most importantly, proposing a General Line for the unity of the International Communist Movement.

3. TOWARDS A NEW INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST, PRINCIPAL INSTRUMENT OF WORLD REVOLUTION PROLETARIAN

A new International Communist, not a Global Front against imperialism, is the current palpitating need for the World Proletarian Revolution, whose objective forces are manifest not only in oppressed countries but in all countries, but whose construction depends mainly on communists.

The unit in the new International that general movement demands to communists not is the exclusive unity unprincipled —ephemeral and of itself useless to take the victory to the revolution—, or unity with the opportunists but unity ideological, political and organizational of Marxist Leninists Maoist.

Against that condition for unity crosses the centrism —conciliator of Marxism and revisionism—, which avoids the deep demarcation with revisionism breaking with some but reconciling with others¹.

The international unit of Communists requires the defeat of revisionism and centrism, clear demarcation of areas with all kinds of opportunism and recognition of the inevitable split between Marxists and opportunists; that is the essential condition for go forward to great regrouping of communists, whose ideological and political unity expresses in a single General Line, which is solid base of unit for pursue the innumerable discussions and inevitable on in the struggle to transform the world.

The future depends in that now can be conquered a correct General Line, and doesn't exit other way to do that on the basis of

1 This is the case of members Maoist Parties of the defunct RIM, denouncing revisionism of “new synthesis” of the RCP, US and the UCPN (M) but silent, defend or make common cause with the false Maoism “new” PCN (M), whose line and program require full compliance with the Peace Agreement of 2006. The betrayal they don't see it in the peace agreement but on the later politicking by Prachanda and Bhattarai in the reactionary state. They have not broken deeply with the revisionist line of “Prachanda Path” or they afraid to admit were wrong.

revolutionary practice, keep active the ideological struggle, breaking with right and “left” opportunism. A General Line that collects the historical experience of the Proletarian Revolution, that defends the principles of Marxism Leninism Maoism examining its light the specific situation of the world contradictions of imperialism and that to provide clear guidance facing to the critical current problems of World Proletarian Revolution.

4. THE PARTY

The Party and the International

The new Communist International based on Marxism Leninism Maoism is a necessity; that to direct to the parties to the front of the struggles of the proletariat and the masses, from the economic resistance to rebellions, people’s war and armed insurrections. A world Party of the proletariat is the necessary condition for organizational struggle as a single world class against imperialist capitalism. To the worker movement has not caused it any harm the existence of a world Party—as was a large extent the role of the First International, and further, the of the Third International—on the contrary, federalism, the oblivion of ties common among the workers of all countries has led to the common defeat of their isolated efforts; the new Communist International can’t be a world federation of communist parties, but a centralized world party, where everyone of its member parties is a national section of the International.

Similarly, the construction of revolutionary communist parties in each country presupposes a nearby relationship with the struggle for the Communist International, under the principle of proletarian internationalism true that subordinates the interests of the struggle in each country to the interests of the World Proletarian Revolution. The idea of some Marxist Leninist Maoist that “*the best way to be an internationalist is to make revolution in each country*” is unilateral and in fact denies the subordination of national interests to the world interests of the proletariat. The Communist Party of each country must be a contingent of the International Communist Movement, a section of the International and its struggle, part of the world struggle for communism.

Inheriting one of the best traditions of the Third International, all affiliated parties of the new International, should be named Communist Party (of a particular country) (section of the Communist International).

The Party and the Revolution

The Party is the organized detachment of vanguard and the political leader of the working class. Must be a unique system of organizations, led by committees at all levels and governed its operation by democratic centralism. With the experience necessary, correct line and authority to lead the working class and the masses. Its guide is Marxism Leninism Maoism. It should carry clear ideas about the armed struggle of the masses as the highest form of political struggle, in which the principle of communists is loud and clear: the Party commands the gun and never allow the gun to command the Party, hence the revolutionary people's army must be led by the Party and observe its directives to victory.

Party discipline is only the consequence of its rail unit, nearby discipline in the military but conscious, the same for all members, based on their application to the differences between comrades: a greater awareness of leaders, more and greater iron discipline.

The mission of the Party is to carry the socialist consciousness to the worker movement, to lead to the proletariat in front of the working masses, to the conquest of political power and building on the ruins of the old reactionary State, the new State of Dictatorship of the Proletariat, last form State progress of society towards Communism. The Party must clearly identify the true objectives of their struggle: to abolish private property and with it all forms of exploitation and oppression on earth.

This Marxist Leninist Maoist conception of Party is diametrically opposed to the theory of militarized party, affined to guevarism and "leftism", very radical in appearance but is actually a theory that undermines the role of the Party and breaks the conscious discipline, feature not only of Party members, but also the actuation of the broad masses in the era of capitalism, for the first time in history they exercise its quality role as protagonists of the revolution.

Open Work and Clandestine

The art of direct the struggle of the proletariat and the masses consist in to be firm on the principles and flexible in the tactics, this requires the most perfect adaptation to the changing conditions of the class struggle and always ensures a strong link with the masses.

The Party must be attentive to alternation of periods of awakening and lethargy of the class struggle, must be organized in such a way that can quickly adapt to changing conditions. It is a mistake that the Communist Parties doesn't take seriously the preparation of the revolutionary uprising, armed combat, that it doesn't quickly pass to illegal activity; also there are errors in not use the possibilities of the open action, organize the party in a way that is in direct contact with the revolutionary masses in extreme persecution by the reaction.

The Party must use various forms of open work according to the conditions; *"Move Like a fish in water"* means understanding that the policy of the Communists is public, but the character of the organization is always clandestine. Overestimate the power of the dictatorship of the reactionary classes leads to otzovism, to the "leftism", to go more than one step forward from the masses; underestimates it lead to legalism, to liquidate the Party of combat, to march behind the spontaneous movement constraining the policy activity to limit allowed by the reactionaries.

The Party and the Struggle of Lines

The line struggle is the engine of development of Party, its purpose not is other than bring closer the unit for combat. This is one of the laws governing of the construction of the Party and is a reflection of the class struggle of society within it; required to develop successfully to maintain and raise the conscious unity of the Party members. In the words of Mao:

Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end¹.

Through criticism and self-criticism, Marxist education and the research has developed ideological struggle constantly; other times through re-education campaigns, rectification or Bolshevisation as part of Marxist style must characterize to the Party.

The triumph of the Marxist Leninist Maoist line on the bourgeois line, in whatever of its form, is the guarantee to preserve the proletarian character of the Party, and so it doesn't change of color.

1 On Contradiction, Mao - 1937

In the International Communist Movement there are currently two incorrect positions on the struggle of lines, positions that must be combated. The first position is the Hoxhaite, which denies the existence of the line struggle because assumed it as the direct reflection of the class struggle that exists in society, that is, as a compromise with the bourgeoisie within the Party. The second position recognizes the existence of line struggle but only formally, because in fact denies it cataloging the ideas, theories and lines that arise within the Party as humbug and plots of the police and imperialism, and therefore, without danger to the revolution; shut up and avoids the ideological and theoretical combat to the arguments of the opportunist line, allowing that their ideas to move freely in the ranks of the Party; just enough it with to denounce to the advocates of this or that opportunist line as agents of imperialism and reaction and concluded matter; this position not is more than infantilism of "left" vacuous verbiage, who believes eliminate to the opportunistic thoughts physically liquidating to their carriers.

To deny any form and argument, the line struggle within the Party does not contribute to delimit fields, to delineate boundaries between proletarian and bourgeois positions, favors to opportunism, does hurt to the revolution.

The Party and Syndicates

The struggle for economic resistance to capitalist exploitation is part of the general struggle of the Worker Movement, its concentric development in a single beam with the fight in the political arena and in the theoretical, makes invincible the struggle of the working class.

The struggle of economic resistance is a form of struggle *necessary and inevitable* for the working class continues existing and is able to fight politically to suppress the deep causes of their situation. To despise the struggle economic strength or, its obverse, to reduce entire class struggle of the proletariat to the union struggle, it is wrong political attitudes that sink into impotence to the working class, set aside them and disable to fulfill their historic mission to emancipate themselves and emancipate humanity. To despise the struggle economic resistance means move away from the large working masses and deliver it to the direction of the bourgeoisie. To reduces whole struggle of the working class to a union struggle not

exceeding the limits of capitalism, is to condemn the proletariat to wage slavery.

The communists refuse the anarchy syndicalism that word throws thunderbolts and scintilla against the policy in the unions arguing its apoliticalism but in really makes strong opposition to the proletarian politics in unions or, at the inability to build the political party of the working class, make unions in the party or dissolve in it.

The union movement, for that serve to the general struggle of the proletariat must have complete independence ideological, political and organizational regarding to imperialism, the dominant classes, their parties, to the employers and the State. Unions must go hand in hand with the Party and directed by this, as it is organizations for the resistance struggle, schools of socialism and transmission belts between the Party leadership and the broad working masses. The Party can't lead to the working class and lead it to victory if not hand attention to the resistance struggle of the working class.

Communists must work with energy, perseverance and determination to conquer the vast majority of syndicates and in any case should discourage by the reactionary and reformist tendencies that exist. They must fight to conquer a revolutionary leadership in the unions, through agitation and propaganda —majorly among the bases— they must raise their class consciousness and, where appropriate, to call to action. Communists must never restrict their work to the limits set by the unions, and less molds its policy in order to make it acceptable to the opportunist leaders in the union. In the words of the Communist International:

Before the conquest of power, unions truly proletarian organize to the workers mainly in the economic order for the conquest of possible improvements to the complete overthrow of capitalism, but in a first plane of all its activities include the organization of the struggle the proletarian masses against capitalism in view of the proletarian revolution¹.

In the days of the proletarian revolution, the really revolutionary syndicates organizes, together with the party, the masses for the assault on the strengths of the capital and are responsible for the early work of organization of socialist production. Under socialism, syndicates play a very important role for that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat can fulfill the planned production, they are the main

1 *The Communist International and the Red Union International, Congress III Comintern - 1921*

belt between the Party and the whole class to educate, organize and mobilize in the construction of socialism.

The Party and the Press

It is impossible to sustain the political struggle against the exploiters without the whole Communist Party expresses its views on all political matters, and for that it must have its own press. Without this weapon can't: give to the masses a true picture of class relations that exist in society, do that understand why the proletarian revolution is necessary and unavoidable and why have a crucial role to perform this historical transformation.

The Party's newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and agitator, but also a collective organizer; it is an instrument to direct, unify and organize the work of the Communists; it should be at the level of the advanced workers to raise their class consciousness; must be newspapers alive, clear, full of fighting spirit that really teach the truth.

This has been forgotten in the International Communist Movement, where the crisis started in the late 70s of the twentieth century, has been a breeding ground of the contempt of ideas, and despite the efforts of the Marxist Leninist Maoists in the 80s in defense of the role of the Communist press, and of the resulting practice of various parties of the defunct RIM, has prevailed nuances of "leftism" that antagonize this work with the preparation of the People's War, which undergo the political to the weapons, that despise ideological work and political work among the masses forging their class conscience about role of the armed people and revolutionary objectives of their arm struggle.

To develop a revolutionary mass movement the Party has the decisive weapon in the press, without it can't provide to the masses with a true picture of class relations that exist in society; nor fully demonstrates the antagonism between the interests of the two main classes: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; or reveal the enslaving essence of modern society: the class dictatorship of the exploiters; or show concretely what are the laws of motion of the imperialist system and its prospects; or do understand perfectly to the masses that the Proletarian Revolution is necessary and unavoidable, and themselves have a decisive role that to play in this historical transformation.

It need to work for the Daily Press of Party in each country, using the most modern digital communication media—which are needed every day more—to spread the ideas and guidelines of the Party with

speed and extraordinary breadth among the masses, to make the political denounces in live and in real time, to use in the benefit of the education of the workers and peasants, the incessant development and popularization of countless instruments and visual-visual aids, of course that safeguarding the severe conspiratorial discretion and protection of the clandestine organization of communists. And according to the conditions and politic needs of the movement in each country, also to work for the print press hopefully daily, that arrives physically into the hands of the workers, peasants and revolutionaries, to contribute to direct contact between the Party and the masses.

5. THE ROLE OF LEADERS IN RELATION TO THE PARTY, THE CLASS AND THE MASSES

No class in history achieved the power without highlighting to their political leaders. According to revolutionary Marxism, the masses are divided into classes, classes are usually led by political parties and these are directed, usually by a group more or less stable of the people most authoritative, influential, experienced and chosen, people calls leader. This latter directed to Party through committees, to prevent that imposes personal directions. There will not be right direction if there not is collective leadership, just so it can use all the intelligences and increase the capacity of Party's reasoning.

Committees and not individuals direct the Party at all scales. Without leaders can't triumph the proletarian revolution, but they are historical products that materialize the application of Marxism Leninism Maoism to the study of reality and transforming the world, in a program, tactics and an organization, not as ideas fallen from heaven in the heads of great and all-powerful leaders.

The cult of personality is a serious deviation within the Party, promotes idealism against materialism; the cult of personality was criticized directly by the Masters of the world proletariat: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, who clearly expressed their rejection of all that contributed to the superstitious prostration before the authority. The communist critique of the cult of personality is and should be totally different of the revisionist Khrushchev, should be in the interest of strengthening of the Party and not its destruction.

The Marxist Leninist Maoist theory about leaders is diametrically opposed to the cult of personality called "guide thought", "ways" and

“synthesis” keyed in the RIM; this anti-Marxist conception of leaders in the same experience of the RIM checked to lead to revisionism, to the disaster of communist organization and defeat, renunciation or delivery of the revolution. Of those anti-Marxist theories derives the pilgrim prophecy that the party of the proletariat can’t be built, it can’t successfully lead the revolution in one country, but has a great leader that gives shape and national content to Marxism Leninism Maoism.

The opportunists always have been advocates and promoters of the cult of personality: Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, in socialist China; Arce Borja, in the Communist Party of Peru; Avakian, in the RCP, US and in RIM. On behalf of the fight against the cult of personality of Stalin, the revisionists that promoted slavishly this cult during his life ended with the achievements of socialist construction in Russia; on behalf of thought Mao Tse-Tung, the new bourgeoisie usurps the power in China.

The current struggle against revisionism pseudo-Maoist has forced to airing this discussion about the glorification of leaders again¹. The comrades of the Communist Party of India (Maoist), posed as follows:

“Fight against dogmatism” has become a fashionable phrase among many Maoist revolutionaries. They talk of discarding “outdated” principles of Lenin and Mao and to develop MLM in the “new conditions” that are said to have emerged in the world of the 21st century. Some of them describe their endeavour to “enrich and develop” MLM as a new path or thought, and though this is initially described as something confined to revolution in their concerned country, it inexorably assumes a “universal character” or “universal significance” in no time. And in this exercise individual leaders are glorified and even deified to the extent that they appear infallible. Such glorification does not help in collective functioning of Party committees and the Party as a whole and questions on line are hardly ever raised as they stem from an infallible individual leader. In such a situation it is extremely difficult on the part of the CC, not to speak of the cadres, to fight against a serious deviation in the ideological-political line, or in the basic strategy and tactics even when it is quite clear that it goes against the interests of revolution. The “cult of the individual” promoted in the name of path and thought provides a certain degree of immunity to the deviation in line if it emanates from that individual leader².

1 In Colombia, in June 1991, the hoax of Arce Borja with “Gonzalo Thought” is denounced. Article: *One unfortunate exaggeration*, Contradiction Magazine Issue 6.

2 *Open letter to the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) from Communist Party of India (Maoist)*, Central Committee - July 20, 2009

Stalin, Leader of the Proletarian Revolution and Teacher of the World Proletariat

Against the renovated hatred against Comrade Stalin, Marxist Leninist Maoist affirms the judgment made by the Communist Party of China in 1963, *“as first item we defend Stalin and as a second, we criticize his mistakes”*.

Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist, a proletarian revolutionary experienced and a relentless fighter against opportunism; why is deeply estimated by the workers and Communists of world and hated to death by reactionary, imperialist bourgeoisie and opportunists. Leader of the Bolshevik Party and the Socialist Revolution of October, he guided the industrialization and agricultural collectivization in the USSR and was head of the Red Army and vanquisher of fascism and Nazism in Second World War imperialist.

Against Comrade Stalin revived an opportunistic attack in their own Maoist ranks, awarding him errors in all the line, an attack that surreptitiously denies the historical balance made by Chairman Mao, the Communist Party of China and the Marxist Leninist against the treachery of the jruschovist revisionist, allies to international trotskysm. This attack reinforces the bourgeois black propaganda against the proletarian revolution, against socialism and the International. Mao said there are two swords: one is Lenin and the other Stalin; and when abandons Stalin’s sword, Leninism has been practically abandoned; and indeed those in the RIM abandoned and disowned Marxism Leninism Maoism, the proletariat and its historical experience in the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the construction of socialism ... are effectively the same as today leave the sword of Stalin.

6. GENERAL TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS

1. In all countries and nations, Marxist Leninist Maoist must work to hurry the development of the World Proletarian Revolution, preparing to overthrow with the revolutionary violence the reactionary State in each one of their countries and internationally make greater efforts and sacrifices for concentrating the revolutionary force in the weak links of the global chain of imperialism and reaction, destroying, defeating and suppressing its class dictatorship with the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, exercises and sustains by the general arming of the people, where the construction of socialism will be just a transitional stage towards society without exploitation of man by man: global communist

society. *“First and foremost communists must remember and act in accordance with their reason for being, otherwise they are of no use to the revolution, and worse, degenerate into obstacles in its path”*¹.

2. Fight for the unity of the Marxist Leninist Maoist in a single Party in each country and a new Communist International based on Marxism Leninism Maoism, united in a correct General Line and Political Program, and as organizations closely linked to broad masses. There where the Party does not exists or exist but not fulfills these conditions, the central task of revolutionary communists is to build and strengthen it.
3. Work to finalize the new Communist International, task that does necessary to clarify in the ideologically to unite politically and build the organization. The union of Marxist Leninist Maoist in the Program for the World Proletarian Revolution, for Socialism and Communism, is not possible without the intransigent struggle and of principled against opportunism, without narrow ties between the communist organizations in different countries, agreeing joint political campaigns internationally, materially contributing to the tasks, organizing meetings or conferences where expands and debates issues of historical experience, the current political situation and the General Line, practicing the method of start from a base unit to fight for conquer a greater degree of unity.
4. Linking to the masses working for the leadership of the struggle of the spontaneous movement of the masses in resistance and rebellion in various countries against the current “order” imperialist world, expression of the mainstream of society towards revolution. Ignoring such a struggle, underestimate or overestimate the revolutionary tasks of Marxist Leninist Maoist leads to their separation from the masses, either by “leftism” or economicism, spoils the progress of the revolution and inevitably leads to opportunism.
5. Link up to worker movement fighting for the leadership of the union movement since its transmitter role of socialist ideas of the Party to the masses of the worker movement transcends beyond of the triumph of the revolution. The union movement is essential for that Party can lead and mobilize to the class towards the establishment of the State of Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and in the same course of continuing the revolution under socialism.

1 *RIM Declaration 1984*

6. Work on the preparation and development of People's War taking the specific conditions of each country, a task which both requires the construction of the Front's revolutionary Classes¹ and the revolutionary people's Army as part of the armed people and governed by the principle: the Party commands the gun and never allow the gun to command the Party.
7. Dispute the leadership of the struggle against the destruction of nature, matter for Marxist Leninist Maoist because it is part of the revolution of the proletariat against imperialist capitalism, founder of destruction for to be an ancient system of production, anarchic and based on the gain. Not enough to denounce the consequences, nor environmentalist's patches, it is necessary to suppress the evil root, giving way to new socialist relations of production, material base to reorganize man's relationship with nature.
8. Lead the fight against the oppression of women, as part of the proletarian revolution against all forms of oppression and exploitation. Requires to Marxist Leninist Maoist facilitate the linking of women to the revolutionary tasks, foment her initiative and communist consciousness, promote her to the positions of direction in the Party and in the future new State, because without the participation of women in the revolution it can't settle the great inequalities of capitalism: between city and countryside, manual and intellectual work, man and woman.
9. Fight uncompromisingly against all forms of opportunism, right and "left", knowing that the touchstone for distinguishing between revolutionary Marxism and opportunism is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, at the same time, fundamental question of the Proletarian Revolution World, decisive question to achieve the maximum goals socialist and communist in the worker movement.
10. Practice proletariat Internationalism that, given the international existence of the working class, requires not only the proletarian solidarity and support to the struggles of other peoples against all reactionary and imperialist, but to unite their struggle with the proletariat of all countries, since is the struggle of one class with common enemies and the same interests and goals.

1 Essential content of the politics in various countries have taken denominations as the United Front, Unique Front and Popular Front.

Particular Tasks of Communists in the Imperialist Countries

1. For the Party as part of the new International and directed by it, for which immigrant workers from the oppressed nations and countries for their weight in the whole proletariat of the imperialist countries, by its position on the means of production, their living conditions very similar to the workers of the oppressed nations work, their fighting in the vanguard ranks of the workers struggles, constitute the most important sector of the social base of the Party in the imperialist countries, priority for the work of communists creating forts there, in open struggle against those who deny the existence of the proletariat or minimize its leading role in the revolution.
2. Against opportunism, in uncompromising struggle against their theories and continuous denunciation of their harmful role, knowing that to their social base in these countries, the labor aristocracy, the economic crisis of world capitalism has reduced it the privileges, creating a better condition to isolate it from the direction in unions and other mass organizations.
3. For the leadership of the struggle for economic resistance of the masses, especially and primarily the struggle of the union movement as part of the class struggle of the workers' movement, fighting against opportunistic ideas in its inside, building unions where none exist.
- 4 The victory of the Socialist Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the imperialist countries implies necessarily defeat its domination over other peoples, nations and oppressed countries, supporting their anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles, even if not yet directed by Marxist Leninists Maoist, because it cannot defeat the capital in the imperialist countries if its yoke upon the oppressed countries is not defeat, and can't release ultimately the oppressed countries, if capital is not defeat in the oppressors countries.

Particular Tasks of Communists in the Oppressed Countries

- 1 Work for a Party of the proletariat, where its construction and consolidation is indispensable task in all oppressed countries to fulfill the role of communists in front of the revolution, built as part and under the centralized direction of the new International.

- 2 Investigate the reality in each country to meet its particular laws of social economic formation and derive the programmatic tasks for revolutionary transformation in open struggle against dogmatic opposition to seeking the truth from facts.
- 3 Work by the New Democracy Revolutionary in semi-feudal oppressed countries and the Socialist Revolution in capitalist countries oppressed resolving—according to the concrete analysis of concrete reality, on the light of Marxism Leninism Maoism—the particular programmatic form of the unity and struggle between national task against colonialism, neo-colonialism and semi-colonialism, and the tasks of the class struggle against feudalism, semi-feudalism and capitalism.
- 4 Build the worker-peasant alliance, alliance fundamental class in oppressed countries and main social base of the forces of revolution to organize in Front of classes and the Army masses led by the Party, they will be chunk the power exploiters in the prolonged people’s war and insurrection according to country.
- 5 Combat to opportunism, whose social base is the petty bourgeoisie in the oppressed nations and the layer of functionaries, adviser and instructors whose social and economic privileges have become in parasites of the worker movement.
- 6 Work for class independence of the union movement and the direction of their struggle in the field of economic resistance to capitalist exploitation, and as part of the strategic general struggle of the worker movement.
- 7 Practice consequently Internationalism, being of special importance solidarity and support to the struggle for Socialist Revolution in the imperialist countries.

Once the masses decide to unite, organize and fight under the leadership of the Party of the proletariat, the defeat of imperialism and the dominant classes is a matter of time. Even the delay of this conscious process, does not prevent the march of imperialism towards the total decrepitude, determined by its own contradictions, only that the necessity for their defeat by the new social forces and more revolutionary will made its way in a process more painful, time consuming and expensive for society. There is no doubt that the imperialist capitalism is not eternal; will perish and communism will triumph over all the earth. It will be definitely abolished the exploitation of man by man. The emancipation of the proletariat will be identical to the emancipation of humanity. That is the inexorable perspective of the tasks that the Communists assumed at the time.

