Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile

Some Experiences in the Struggle against Revisionism

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Transcription, Editing and Markup: Paul Saba and Sam Richards.

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"Practice Marxism, not Revisionism; work in unity, not in split; to show frankness of righteousness not plotting neither intrigues nor plots » Mao Zedong



Every day, Lenin's thesis that a consistent revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggle is impossible without fighting the influence of opportunism among the masses appears more vividly and truthfully.

The most misleading and reactionary form of opportunism today is false Marxism, in other words revisionism.

Attributed to DAVID BENQUIS, "Camarada Velásquez"

As in Lenin's time, revisionism is an international problem, with the aggravating circumstance that in our time it is at the service of the expansionist interests of Russian social-imperialism.

The Brezhnev doctrine on the "limited sovereignty" of nations is the most concentrated expression of this expansionist policy, which was expressed in practice in the brutal military invasion of Czechoslovakia. For their part, the revisionist leaders in the capitalist countries are not only outright opportunists, but agents of the bureaucratic social-imperialist bourgeoisie of Russia and its expansionist plans.

The bourgeois opportunist line, revisionist, of Marxism, is applied openly in Latin America and in the capitalist countries of the other continents, by the leaders of the parties who call themselves "communists" and who faithfully follow the directives of the successors of Khrushchev.

In the fight against opportunism, these leaders of the false "communist" parties constitute the main enemy. The anti-imperialist struggles, for the Popular Democratic Revolution, and for socialism, inevitably demand that these opportunists be unmasked, fought and crushed, so that their influence within the exploited masses is unearthed.

The main struggle against opportunism takes place outside the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties. It must focus fire against the ideology and politics of the leaders of the false "communist" parties and internationally, against its inspirers and bosses: the ruling clique of the Russian social-imperialist.

However, it is also of the utmost importance that the influence and infiltration of revisionism be fought inside the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties (mlm).

Without fighting the influences and infiltrations of revisionism inside mlm parties, without destroying them in their various manifestations, it will be impossible to build authentic communist parties.

It is vital, under this aspect, to take into account the thesis of comrade Mao Zedong:

"Without destruction, no construction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation, it means revolution. For that, you have to reason, and reasoning is construction. Destruction comes first, and in its course it involves construction."

It is necessary to criticize and combat the various subterfuges that revisionism uses to remove the mlm parties from Marxism. From this struggle emerge the reasoning and the lessons to be drawn on the construction of our parties, both from the organizational, political and ideological point of view, so that they become capable of correctly applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The penetration of bourgeois ideology into the mlm parties of the capitalist world does not only come from the fact that they lead the fight within bourgeois society and receive its influence.

It is established that the contemporary revisionists, in the service today of Russian social-imperialism, make frantic efforts to infiltrate into the authentic communist parties, to take them from the inside and to liquidate their character and their proletarian line, or destroy them.

Varied tactics

The methods used by the revisionist bourgeois agents to fight the real communist parties from within vary according to the circumstances and the character of these parties. They are not the same for a mlm party in power as for one which is not; in a mlm party of an advanced capitalist country than in a party which operates in a colony or a dependent country; in a fascist country than in another where a bourgeois democracy reigns.

However, their policy of bribing or destroying mlm parties has, in all these circumstances, common features which allow us to learn from all these experiences.

Without claiming to exhaust the theme nor to establish definitive conclusions on this subject, we will try to systematize some of these experiences. This systematization basically concerns the procedures of the revisionists in their efforts to corrupt or destroy the mlm parties of countries dependent on imperialism like ours and where revisionism is relatively strong.

The revisionist fractions

When it comes to mlm groups or parties, weak ideologically, politically and organizationally, new and inexperienced, revisionism mobilizes its undercover agents in its ranks so that they prepare, using fractional work, the conditions to put forward a bourgeois line, in an open and direct way.

This bourgeois line generally has an "ultra-leftist" content: terrorism, "foquism" and other variants all tending to detach these organizations from the masses.

The fact that they generally promote (not always) "ultra-leftist" deviations is normal, since it is not easy to lead towards the deviations of the right those who have generally separated from revisionism unhappy with its reformist and conciliatory politics.

When they fail to impose an "ultra-leftist" line in these organizations, the revisionists try, at least through their fractional work, to break them from top to bottom.

In so doing, they reduce those who persevere in Marxism to the state of extremely weak fractions or groups and who for this reason cease for a time to be a danger to their politics.

Without counting all the militants who demoralize themselves before this division and put themselves on the fringes of political activity.

If they manage to draw the majority of the militants of these organizations to "ultra-leftist" positions, they facilitate their separation from the masses and their rapid destruction by the bourgeois repressive apparatus.

This is what has happened in most of the terrorist groups and "guerrilla homes" in Latin America.

On this subject, it is not a mystery for anyone that the leaders of the false "communist" parties played in Latin America a hypocritical double game with the groups of "the ultra-left".

Outwardly, they claim to fight them, but in fact, they have supported and promoted them. Cuban leaders played a leading role as the most assertive promoters of this revisionist manoeuvre.

By doing so, the revisionists obtained a fourfold benefit:

a) they grouped around an erroneous line the dissatisfied elements of their conciliatory line;

b) they prevented the disturbances which these elements could have caused in their parties;

c) they channelled them on a bourgeois "ultra-left" line, moving them away from the correct Marxist-Leninist-Maoist positions;

and d) for the future, they would take advantage of the failure of an incorrect armed line of struggle to then be able to campaign against any armed path to power in general, and for their so-called "peaceful and electoral path" towards the power.

The revisionists went to the end of audacity and Machiavellianism in this policy, they did not hesitate to promote the existence of fractions in their own parties.

Noting the presence of activists worried and dissatisfied with their reformist and conciliatory policies, they pushed them in a veiled way, to break with the revisionist party.

Naturally, to constitute a group of "ultra-left" or false parties "Marxist-Leninist-Maoist", sufficiently infiltrated and controlled from birth by their agents.

In this way, they "relieve" themselves of an internal problem and move it out of the party, while maintaining control over this group. There are serious precedents for these manoeuvres in Argentina, Italy, France and other countries.

In addition, the proliferation of many fake "Marxist-Leninist-Maoist" parties, to add to the confusion among the masses and to make a smokescreen hiding the real party, is a tactic in which the KGB (secret service) are experts that the CIA (Yankee spy service) and the two stimulate and promote it.

The revisionist plots

In the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties which have consolidated more ideologically, politically and organizationally, the revisionists generally apply different procedures than the simple fraction described above.

In these parties, openly promoting a bourgeois line under the name of "Marxism" is ineffective.

Whenever the thing is attempted, it is fought firmly, the party quickly purifies itself of the opportunists and undercover revisionist agents and comes out of it strengthened thanks to the experiences gained in this struggle.

In the more solid parties, they are forced to act in a much more careful, subtle and hidden way. They must promote their bourgeois deformations gradually and under the guise of a "Marxist" phraseology.

In these parties, the fractional work must be carried out in the long term, in a more devious and planned way, that is to say as a secret plot, tending to take sides legally from the inside, in order to be able to impose later and openly their bourgeois line, from above.

The revisionist conspiracy inside the mlm parties mounts a secret "machine" which aims to gradually take over key positions in the party, it is only this form of conspiracy or secret conspiracy that can be adopted.

It is about moving honest and revolutionary executives from whom they think they can never get anything out; it is a question of "promoting" decisive, ambitious, mercenary, individualist elements, to decisive positions who can certainly count on undercover revisionist agents.

To "promote" their fans, to pass the bladders for lanterns, revisionism uses mutual praise, self-congratulation, bragging, flattery, bribing, deception and all the immoral remedies they have on hand.

Likewise, to displace honest executives, they use slander, intrigue, lies and in general all means without any scruples.

On the other hand, to be able to hatch the plot more easily, they must practice fractional work, oppose the Leninist structure and democratic centralism, foment indiscipline and liberalism and violate the legality of the party.

It is normal that for these reasons, they cannot carry out their anti-party criminal work openly, or count on it to have the support of the militants in general and the revolutionary leaders who join the party.

They would repudiate all those who do so, even if they ignore their plans and future goals. They therefore have no other choice but the secret plot to boost their sinister and reactionary plans.

Hypocrisy and duplicity, their activity carried out in secret from the eyes of the bases and the revolutionary leaders of the party constitute the "trademark" of the revisionists who have infiltrated the mlm parties.

The purpose of the plot is, in addition to slowly distorting the Leninist structure of the party, to step by step grab its governing bodies from the top.

Thus they propose to deceive and oppress the bases of the party, to alter its decisions and to impose as "representatives" of the bases their own unconditional ones.

In this way, they hypocritically and slyly prepare to carry out a "majority coup" at a Congress or important meeting, and continue to take command in the higher bodies of the party leadership.

They thus think that they are assuming parturacy of the usurpation which they secretly hatch to take control of the party and twist its proletarian line, making this scam a "decision" of the bases.

Liquidationism in the field of organization

The first external manifestations of the advance of a revisionist plot are in general the development of liquidationist tendencies on the organizational level in the mlm party.

This takes place especially when the political conditions of relative bourgeois legality allow it.

Lenin describes liquidationism as the tendency to

"Liquidate, that is to say dissolve, destroy, cancel, abolish the existing organization of the party to replace it by an informed association, maintained at all costs within the framework of legality (that is to say of legal "public" existence), even if this comes at the cost of a clear and clean abandonment of the program, tactics and traditions, that is to say the experience of the party.

The liquidators - he adds - driven by the wave of bourgeois desertion, have denied the revolution. They have given up on the Underground Party, seeking only legal ground in a so-called "constitutional" regime.

The essence of his policy was the "open workers' party". "

By means of liquidationism on the organizational level, the revisionists plan, in a party where it is not easy to impose a bourgeois line openly, to gradually create the conditions to do so.

It is a question of softening organically the mlm party to undermine it as a weapon for the defense of the independent interests of the proletariat.

In other words, to undermine its Leninist structure in such a way that it is later obliged to submit to the joint pressures of the bourgeoisie and its revisionist agents.

What is liquidated, therefore, is the proletarian character of the party, especially on the organizational level, so that the same fate can be done later and openly on the political and ideological levels.

The compartmentalized Leninist structure of the party, proletarian discipline, democratic centralism and its essentially clandestine character, are not only intended to protect and make effective the revolutionary work of the party against bourgeois repression and corruption.

By protecting it from bourgeois repression, by allowing it to continue effectively applying its revolutionary policy - despite the repression and the corrupting influence of the bourgeoisie - we guarantee the independent line of the proletariat, which the party embodies.

If the party adopts organic forms similar to those of bourgeois parties, it makes itself vulnerable to repressive pressures and the corrupting work of the bourgeoisie and its revisionist agents.

It therefore ceases to be an effective weapon for the defense of the independent interests of the proletariat and places itself in the wake of the bourgeoisie. Even if such a party continues to exist, it has liquidated its proletarian character.

The Leninist structure tends to give the party of the proletariat maximum efficiency and protection in its revolutionary action and solid links with the masses.

An mlm party is the opposite of bourgeois parties, with their sterile and academic discussions, their little leaders, their currents and tendencies, their inert assemblies and sympathizers reduced to the state of "crowd", their bureaucratic machinery, their indiscipline, their indiscriminate activism and their liberalism.

What are the revisionists doing to organically soften the mlm party and liquidate its proletarian character?

They destroy, under one pretext or another, its compartmentalized [cellular] structure, to transform it into a party of assemblies and "crowds".

They destroy the democratic centralism of the party by promoting indiscipline, ultra-democratism, liberalism and fractionism.

They replace criticism and self-criticism in regular party organizations with attacks, slander and innuendo, on the fringes of regular organizations.

They sharpen the contradictions, the appearance of which is normal in revolutionary work, transforming them into antagonisms, instead of resolving them correctly, like contradictions among the people.

They destroy the party's underground, to transform it into a completely open party, with its assemblies, its party premises, its parallel contacts and its activists who have been kept to the last.

They promote - under the pretext of rapid growth - an all-out recruiting, which has nothing to do with revolutionary struggle and vigilance, and promote the development of the party without the purge of the opportunists.

They foster bureaucratic and mercenary tendencies, supporting the construction of the party on the basis of numerous civil servants.

All these organic anti-Leninist and liquidationist tendencies determine the flawed structure of the party, but also determine the characteristics of the militants who are recruited for this party and who are educated within it. A party which will be filled with militants thus made: liberal, unruly, without firm ideology, selfish, pushy, mercenaries, etc.

Thus, the revisionists, sabotaging the Leninist structure, encourage the construction of a party permeable to the development of their plot and to the influence of the bourgeois line, which they want to impose openly later.

A party unable to resist the combined action of opportunist corruption and bourgeois repression, which add up to force it to abandon its revolutionary line.

A party whose Leninist organization has been destroyed by liquidationism, even if it formally maintains a revolutionary line, will be disintegrated under the pressure of bourgeois repression. On the other hand, the undercover revisionists take advantage of the opportunity offered by the "necessity" to avoid this disintegration and to prevent the departure of militants who lack revolutionary training to openly promote the abandonment of the revolutionary line.

Liquidationism consolidated on the organizational level is then transformed into clearly political and ideological liquidationism. All carried out under the pretext of obtaining that the bourgeoisie does not repress and dismantle the party. In this way, through their liquidationist organizational policy, the revisionists seek to make a party "feet and fists tied", and then force it to surrender to the bourgeoisie.

As we have said, in a relatively strong mlm party, the revisionists cannot openly instigate political deviations, as they do in a new and inexperienced mlm party, or in those they lead and control. They must deeply camouflage their bourgeois line, with a "Marxist" phraseology.

This revisionist line is essentially characterized in the mlm parties of countries like ours, by the negation of the political contributions of Maoism to Marxism-Leninism.

In the same way that the revisionists of the past tried to pit Lenin against Marx and Engels, denying the development of Marxism brought by him in the era of imperialism, the contemporary revisionists deny Maoism. They want to freeze Marxism at its Leninist stage, of course completely distorting it.

They deny the development of Marxism-Leninism in our age where socialimperialism exists and in which the most acute global contradiction is that which opposes imperialism to the peoples it oppresses and exploits.

Not only do they deny Maoism as a development of Marxism, but they now try in vain to disqualify it and to show it as "opposed" to Marxism-Leninism.

This negation of Maoism allows them to stimulate, in particular in countries like ours, subject to imperialism, deviations from "left" as from right, dressed under the names of "Marxism" and "Leninism".

As in the relatively solid mlm parties, they cannot put forward as gross deviations as the "peaceful way" towards power as they do in the parties they command, in these mlm parties they pretend to accept the line of seizure of power by the armed channel.

But, to smuggle, they try to pit Lenin against Mao by rejecting the latter's ideas on how the armed struggle for power should take place in colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries. They pretend to support a line of "Leninist" armed struggle, an insurrectionary line, that is to say the seizure of power during a rapid civil war, which is mainly played in the big cities and in which the peasantry plays a secondary role.

In short, in a dogmatic way, they seek to copy in countries like ours a model of revolution, distorted by their care, by which Lenin and the Bolsheviks took power in Russia at the beginning of the century.

"Leftist" Strategy and Right-Handed Tactics This Leninist model of armed conquest of power consists, as Mao Zedong points out, of "educating workers and accumulating forces by means of a long-lasting legal struggle, and thus preparing to ultimately overthrow capitalism. "

He adds :

"There, it is a matter of supporting a long legal struggle, using the parliamentary platform, resorting to economic and political strikes, organizing unions and educating workers.

There, the forms of organization are legal, the forms of the struggle not bloody (no recourse to war). He does not want any other war than the civil war for which he is preparing.

But as long as the bourgeoisie is not really reduced to impotence, as long as the proletariat in its great majority is not resolved to undertake the armed insurrection and the civil war, as long as the peasant masses are not come to help the proletariat voluntarily, this insurrection and this war must not be launched.

And when they are, you have to start by occupying the cities and then tackling the countryside, not the other way around. "

In short, the revisionists, thus posing the insurrection, turn their backs on the fact that in colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries of imperialism, the fundamental form of the struggle and the accumulation of forces will be the People's War protracted, and deny the importance of the role that the peasantry is called to play, with the countryside as a theatre of operations.

These revisionists in the mlm parties, sheltered behind the shield of a pseudo-Leninism, by laying down the strategy of the civil war, of the rapid-decision insurgency, by denying the vital role of the peasantry of these countries in the struggle for the power which will play there, by opposing the prolonged popular war, draw a strategic perspective "leftist".

In fact, although they hide it or deny it, they thus deny the democratic-popular character of the revolution by posing - just like the Trotskyists - immediately the socialist stage of the revolution.

However, the most serious is that by distorting Leninism and using it as a barrier to pass their "leftist" strategy into countries subject to imperialism, they are simultaneously promoting a tactic and a style of 'accumulation of forces liquidationist and openly right-handed.

On liquidationism in the organic construction of the party, which we have described, there is in fact a whole opportunist policy and it too is liquidationist with regard to the accumulation of forces. A policy that completely disavows Lenin's teachings about the conditions essential for the success of the armed insurrection.

Indeed, they push the parties to focus on the economic struggle, to despise the peasantry and its struggles; to compete with other bourgeois parties, mainly in union and electoral tournaments; to practice a liberal policy totally opposed to clandestinity; to "develop" a single front on the sole basis of concessions and without fighting; to compete with bourgeois parties in terms of votes, officials, party premises, commercial style propaganda, etc.

In short, they push the mlm parties to follow-up behind bourgeois politics. This is the surest way of tactically guaranteeing the most complete failure of the insurrectionary adventure which they pose as a strategic objective.

_People's war or insurrection?

The need to take the path of protracted people's war, indicated by Comrade Mao, in countries like ours, does not come from a whim.

It is a path imposed by the objective conditions which exist in these countries - colonial, semi-colonial and dependent - and in which we fight for power. Nor is it a question of artificially "prolonging" the people's war.

It is important to bear in mind that it will necessarily be prolonged, given the power of the enemy and the conditions in which it is conducted. It must be understood that only the adversary and his revisionist agents like to see us fall into the illusion that we can defeat him easily and quickly, in two or three "decisive" battles.

The domination of imperialism is a fundamental fact in the need to take the path of protracted people's war.

This imperialist domination means that the seizure of power will not be resolved exclusively by civil war or insurrection. The advance of the revolutionary forces will have to face imperialism in a war of national character and of liberation.

On the other hand, the power of imperialism (in particular Yankee) on the international level and inside these countries; the weakness of their economic development dependent on imperialism; as well as the complicity of the reactionary governments of these countries with the Yankee imperialism to which they are subjected, explain why the armed struggle for power is prolonged.

This economic backwardness and this power of imperialism and of the internal monopoly sectors determines the need to kill first the fundamental enemies, by carrying out in a first stage a Democratic-Popular Revolution, which will open the way to Socialism.

To conceive of the conquest of power as a civil war or a rapid insurrection is to start from the absurd view that Yankee imperialism will peacefully tolerate the loss of its economic, political and military interests in the countries subject to its domination.

To conceive on the other hand, the accumulation of forces as passing only and fundamentally through democratic freedoms, is not to realize that in these countries, imperialism erases them with a single stroke of the pen if they are not suitable more to his interests. The fact that in Chile there existed some bourgeois democratic freedoms (in comparison with other countries), is mainly the consequence of the guarantee that the revisionist parties offered to imperialism, as an obstacle to the revolutionary struggle of the people .

If the masses shed this influence and the class struggle begins to sharpen, then Yankee imperialism and the most reactionary internal sectors will sweep away the precarious freedoms still existing and install fascism.

What is more, if the fascist regime is not enough to curb the popular revolutionary struggle, imperialism will intervene militarily to defend its interests.

Sowing illusions among the people about the possibility of a rapid triumph, by a legal accumulation of forces, is nothing other than a revisionist deception, as much or more dangerous than the lie of a "peaceful way" towards the power.

Logically, Yankee imperialism intervenes militarily only as a last resort. In general, he does not need to do it either to face insurgent attempts, or to "guerrilla homes" detached from the masses.

To crush them, it generally suffices to support and assist the repressive bourgeois armed forces of each country. Imperialism is preparing to face the real danger: the development of a people's war in these countries, similar to the one that made it bite the dust in its defeat in Vietnam.

As much the pseudo "peaceful way" towards power, as the insurrectionary way (united to a liquidationist tactic of the accumulation of forces) and that the "foquism", which put forward by the revisionists, have as results in these countries that the alternation of fascism and bourgeois democracy, repression and deception, carrot and stick, without ever leading to a real seizure of power by the people.

Only people's war makes it possible to confront and defeat imperialism and the reactionaries, to carry out the People's Democratic Revolution and thus advance towards Socialism.

When the mlm parties act in a country where fascist repression reigns, the revisionists infiltrated within it also contribute, not to the fact that the policies of

these parties focus on the development of people's war, but in what it leads a "struggle" - at the tail of the bourgeoisie - "to recover democratic freedoms. "

It is obvious that in such conditions, obtaining "democratic freedoms", which are not imposed essentially by popular armed struggle, can only take place by compromises or concessions with the bourgeoisie.

Finally, it should be added that the fact of applying the teachings of Maoism through the people's war does not at all imply that this war will have in our country the same form as in China.

Nothing would be more contrary to Maoism, which is deeply anti-dogmatic and which is materialist and dialectical, than a rigid and mechanical copy in other countries of the experience of the Chinese revolution.

The path of the people's war in Chile, for example, will have to take into account particularities specific to our country and which did not exist in China, as much as similar (but not identical) features between the two countries.

It will have to take into consideration our comparatively more advanced industrial development; the existence of a proletariat proportionally much more numerous; the preponderance of the urban population over the rural and many other factors that must be taken into account in determining what the laws of revolutionary people's war will be in Chile, as required by the Maoist analysis. Considering these and other factors, it is necessary to firmly refute the false strategy and tactics with which the revisionists try to divert our people from the just path of people's war for power.

While correctly establishing the character of the revolution and the fundamental path of protracted people's war, it is necessary to specify how the process of accumulation of forces must be conducted in order to advance towards it, to trigger it and to develop it.

The rejection of the opportunist and liquidationist methods, which the revisionists infiltrated in the mlm parties try to promote on this subject, does not mean that in Chile, in determined circumstances, one should not use trade unions, economic and political strikes, certain elections, as well as the use of bourgeois-democratic liberties or bourgeois laws, provided that this is done in the service of the preparation, the outbreak and the future development of the people's war.

All this must be done by firmly maintaining the Leninist character of the party and by fighting the organizational and political forms of revisionist liquidationism.

Ideological deviations

Logically, all the political smuggling that the revisionists are trying to introduce into mlm parties forces them to completely distort Marxist ideology too.

They are based on idealism and metaphysics, with all the consequences of subjectivism, unilaterality, dogmatism and revisionism. On this anti-materialist and anti-dialectical path, they very quickly come up against Marxism itself.

They resume, under the pretext of being "anti-dogmatic" and of being guided by a "creative Marxism", the most ancient and rotten revisionism: the theories of Kautsky and Bernstein, around the "peaceful way", "Electoral" and reformist towards power, in the parties they openly lead.

At the same time, they lay the charge of "dogmatism" against those who defend the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism.

In mlm parties where they cannot impose such gross distortions of Marxism, they view Marxism in an anti-dialectical manner and try to freeze it at the Leninist stage, denying Maoism.

To this end, they are forced to diffuse metaphysics and idealism to hide reality: the existence of Russian social-imperialism, the main contradiction of our time between imperialism and the countries oppressed and exploited by it, and others peculiarities of our time which justified the development of Marxism-Leninism at its Maoist stage.

On the other hand, it is the very arrangement of the secret plot inside the mlm party which obliges them to apply and disseminate anti-materialist and anti-dialectical principles.

They oppose the materialist theory of knowledge: to sabotage the line of the masses and democratic centralism in the making of the plot; to sow slander and intrigue, sharpen the contradictions instead of resolving them correctly; to promote the unconditional and decomposed elements and foment their entire liquidationist line.

They must do so because a correct materialist and dialectical ideology would more quickly reveal their intrigues, slanders, lies and in general the twisted methods which are theirs in their anti-party work.

_Revolutionary morality

Among the ideological deviations promoted by the revisionists, both in the mlm parties and in those they control, we find their opposition to the systematization and development led by comrade Mao on the subject of revolutionary morals, in the field of principles .

It is true that before Maoism there existed a series of moral principles which characterized the activity of the Communists, such as: courage, the spirit of sacrifice, initiative, the scientific spirit in the face of problems, and of others, but they had not been systematized in a coherent and rational manner.

Above all, these moral principles and the very concept of revolution had not been clearly fixed to the key principle which is: SERVING THE PEOPLE OF ALL HEART.

Often, all of these revolutionary virtues were inspired more by party discipline and loyalty to it than by the clear purpose of "serving the people wholeheartedly".

As a result, these revolutionary virtues frequently tended to lead more to an effective technique of the conquest of power than to a clear awareness of why power had to be taken.

This insufficient development and this lack of centralization of revolutionary morals around the principle of "serving the people wholeheartedly" was one of the important causes of the predominance of a revisionist current in a series of countries where the proletariat had conquered power, led by communist parties.

Furthermore, even before the seizure of power, the idea that the supreme principle is "to serve the party", and not "to serve the people" above everything, generated sectarian tendencies which detached the communists from the masses , harming their revolutionary work and the prospect of revolution.

The dialectical truth according to which those who participate in this process and especially the leaders must transform themselves in order to transform society in

a revolutionary way, is a key to the success of the revolution and in particular to its future moving towards socialism and communism.

Comrade Mao, from the start of the revolutionary process in China, attributed a great role to revolutionary morality and in particular to its center: the principle of "serving the people with all their heart." "

Currently, this problem of revolutionary morality has acquired an even greater significance. The return to capitalism and in the case of the Soviet Union to social-imperialism, of countries where the proletariat had conquered power, has to do directly with the problems affecting revolutionary morals.

If the proletariat and its avant-garde party at its head, by conquering political and economic power, do not transform themselves or contribute to the transformation of the people in general, we will inevitably return to capitalism. The struggle for the ideological and moral transformation of human beings who are part of socialist society once power is taken, is a decisive contradiction to be resolved.

If selfishness, individualism (as much personal individualism as individualism as a nation or chauvinism), the mercenary spirit of gain, bureaucratism, etc. are not fought, a counter-current of return to capitalism will inevitably be generated.

In fact, this counter-current has taken power in various countries where the proletariat has wrested it from the hands of the bourgeoisie. In these countries, bureaucratic state capitalism and in the USSR social-imperialism, have taken the place of socialism.

In these countries, the means of production are basically in the hands of the state, but the state is in the hands of a new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which far from serving the people wholeheartedly, exploits and oppresses the people.

This division, which occurred in what was once the socialist camp and in the former International Communist Movement, today determines the existence of different conditions for the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world.

It is not only a question of the consolidation and open promotion of a world revisionist line, driven mainly by the Soviet revisionists and fought with firmness by the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists. It is about the existence today of a false socialism and a true socialism. The existence of a false and a true socialism does not only concern the countries where these facts take place, because it also has a decisive influence in the antiimperialist struggle, for People's Democracy, and for Socialism in the capitalist countries.

The models of a false socialism, like the nations of Eastern Europe and the USSR, and of an authentic socialism, like that which is being built in China and Albania, are not indifferent to the people's struggle of the world against exploitation and oppression.

It is logical that the exploited masses do not wish to fight to liquidate the bourgeoisie, conquer power and put an end to traditional capitalism, if the result is a new form of capitalism. Finally exploited and oppressed by a new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which manipulates power and state-owned companies to its advantage.

It is legitimate that the proletariat and the people, still in the capitalist world, demand TODAY a clear definition of true and false socialism on the part of the communist parties which direct their struggle for power.

It is natural and just that they demand now, before assuming power, a NEW MORAL on the part of the parties to which they will entrust the leadership of this power struggle.

It is not enough for the masses that these parties only bring them a science and a technique of taking power, they also demand a revolutionary morality which guarantees that this power will really be at the service of the people and under their control.

That is to say, they demand a party made up of militants capable of fighting today individualism, selfishness, bureaucratism, the mercenary spirit and capable in general of transforming themselves in the warmth of the revolutionary struggle, with a view to serving the people selflessly.

It is legitimate, finally, that they claim from their avant-garde party a close unity with those who are advancing correctly on the path from socialism to communism, and a consequent struggle against those who govern socialism in words and impose in fact state capitalism. It is the international situation itself, therefore, that has brought Maoism's contributions to the systematization of revolutionary morality to the fore. Recognizing or denying contributions constitutes a line of demarcation between Marxist-Leninists-Maoists and contemporary revisionists.

The revisionist conspirators inside mlm parties brutally attack all the principles of revolutionary morality and foment corruption to set up their "machine" of unconditional people. This is another aspect which makes it possible to detect them, to unmask them in time and to combat them.

_Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

There is no doubt that the revisionists, even if they count today on the state apparatus of the countries they control, will be overthrown. To accelerate their defeat, it is very important that the authentic communist parties systematize and exchange their experiences of fighting against revisionism in general and against revisionist fractions and conspiracies within their own ranks.

More importantly, it is of the utmost importance to continue to systematize the knowledge of revisionism, in its ideological, political and organizational aspects, and to thoroughly flush out its historical origins and roots.

This systematization is important not only to totally destroy revisionism, but also to clarify the very laws of the construction of the real communist parties of our time. "No construction without destruction," said Comrade Mao Zedong about this.

Finally, the systematization, in the course of the fight against revisionism, of its nature and its historical origins as well as of the laws of the construction of communist parties in our time, is vital to advance in the ideological, political and organizational principles which will serve as a basis for advancing towards the UNIFICATION of the new International Communist Movement.

The acceptance of Maoism as the third stage of Marxism and its consequent application to the revolutionary struggle will undoubtedly constitute a central point for drawing a line of demarcation between authentic Marxists and contemporary revisionists, as well as for the deep unification of the Communists internationally in our time.

Maoism will approach victory over revisionism and all reactionaries. These will inevitably be routed.

"Provocation of troubles, failure, new provocation, new failure, and that to their ruin - such is the logic of the imperialists and all the reactionaries of the world with regard to the cause of the people - Comrade Mao - and they will never go against this logic "

... and he adds:

"Struggle, failure, new struggle, new failure, new struggle again, and that until victory - that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. "

The more vile, reactionary and disgusting the modern revisionists manoeuvre to serve the bourgeoisie first and then transform themselves into the exploiting bourgeoisie, the more they run into resounding failure.

They will fail in their work as opportunists and agents of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, in their role as bureaucratic bourgeoisies and social-imperialists in the false socialist countries they control, as well as in their role as conspirators infiltrated into the real communist parties.

The conscious and resolute struggle of the Marxists-Leninists-Maoists against them will be a decisive factor in their flat defeat.

We must have full strategic confidence in the success of this fight, and at the same time take them very seriously tactically.

LET'S TACKLE CONTEMPORARY REVISIONISM ON ALL PLANS!

MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM IS INVINCIBLE!

Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile

January 1, 1972