

**"BOURGEOIS AND  
PROLETARIANS OF  
THE WORLD, UNITE...  
... TO STRUGGLE FOR  
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**

**POLITICAL STATEMENT**  
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REVOLUTIONARY  
COMMUNIST PARTY  
(M-L) OF CHILE, ON  
THE "THEORY OF  
THE THREE WORLDS"

'BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIANS OF THE WORLD UNITE ...  
... TO STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT' !!!

A Refutation of the reactionary fallacy of the 'THREE WORLDS'

This document is a contribution of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile (Marxist-Leninist) (RCPML) to the world revolutionary proletarian movement, to the working class and toilers of all parts of the world, to the international Marxist-Leninist movement, to the oppressed and exploited peoples and nations, to all those who continue to struggle relentlessly against imperialism, social imperialism, the international monopolist bourgeoisie and its allies, and against modern revisionism of both old and new varieties.

This document is part of our efforts to continue to render more profound the critique and the unmasking of modern revisionism and of the new opportunist and revisionist trends which today - entering into a new stage and donning 'new guises'. Aims to liquidate the militant and resolute struggle of the international proletariat. And to hitch up the proletarian revolutionaries to the bandwagon of the various bourgeoisies, and even to that of imperialism, in order to hold back the conquest of political power by the working class, the overthrow of the system of capitalist exploitation and the building of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our Party considers that the present situation of the world proletariat and the international Marxist-Leninist movement is excellent and reflects the great strength of its content, its up-to-date nature and its enormous vitality. Bearing this excellent situation in mind, we here refute the programmatic formulation of the so-called 'theory of the three worlds' as set out by Teng Hsiao Ping on 10-4-74 in the Extraordinary Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organizations, which session met to study the problems of raw materials and development.

The Chilean RCPML is setting out in this document, in a clear, resolute and categorical manner, its principled position in the face of this reactionary, bourgeois, formulation. We hail, moreover, the important ideological struggle that the international Marxist-Leninist movement and the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, movements and organisations are carrying out in defence of the principles of the proletarian cause. Without a doubt, we have arrived at a new stage in its historical development and strengthening. This is of great value of the proletarian cause.

In this, our analysis of the reactionary 'theory of the three worlds' we base ourselves on the point of view of the interests of the international proletariat - this being the only point of view which is acceptable to Marxist-Leninist -

and on the correct and scientific Leninist formulation regarding our epoch. We are living in the epoch of imperialism and of proletarian revolutions for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the building of socialism. The Chilean Revolution, led by our working class, is an integral part of the World Revolution and today more than ever before must proletarian internationalist duties be strongly and firmly observed and upheld.

We are setting out our position with a profound sense of self-criticism because in the face of the serious ills regarding which we are today raising our voices we for a very long time kept silent. We believe that to say nothing in the face of questions of principle implies a serious opportunist error and that to justify a pseudo-revolutionary policy like the 'three worlds' formula is to fall into a dangerous tailism, which rejects one's own scientific analysis of the international situation in favour of the distortions and falsifications of others who are more interested in class collaboration than in the development of the proletarian revolutionary forces and the peoples' struggles for their complete emancipation.

Our silence regarding these phenomena meant that we made ourselves the accomplices of the bourgeois opportunists who plot against the interests of the proletariat and its allies and of the international revolutionary movement. Our silence revealed a narrow appreciation of our inescapable proletarian internationalist duties and a lack of resolve in maintaining and upholding the principles of Marxist-Leninism.

The reactionary offensive, the violence and terror unleashed by imperialism, the international monopolist bourgeoisie and all their reactionary allies against the persistent and active struggle of the proletariat and the peoples against capital, demand a resolute and powerful response from the revolutionary forces all over the world and from their political vanguards namely, the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations.

Our Party seeks the unity of the international Marxist-Leninist movement and works towards this aim. We think that the unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties in accordance with the fundamental principles of proletarian science militant unity of action in the face of both old and new attempts on the part of the international bourgeoisie and of imperialism, their resolute unity in combatting revisionism and the new opportunistic trends in our midst, and the need to create a powerful and mighty Marxist-Leninist movement to unite and co-ordinate the struggles of the international proletariat and its allies, are challenges of historical significance for the proletarian revolutionaries all over the world.

In this context we consider it necessary to spend some time analysing the "theory of three worlds". The formulation of this theory and its application DO NOT REFLECT THE INTERESTS OF THE PROLETARIAT BUT ONLY THOSE OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND OF IMPERIALISM. Those who put forward and defend this theory represent a new opportunist trend disguised as 'anti-revisionist'



and 'Marxist-Leninist', which hopes to pass off as 'revolutionary and scientific' a thesis which in practice annihilates the Leninist formulation of the fundamental characteristics of our epoch and which is opposed to socialism and to every proletarian revolution. Our Party maintains that this reactionary trickster 'thesis' has a profoundly counter-revolutionary content and is antagonistic and totally opposed to the teachings of Comrade Lenin and to the historical experiences of the struggles of the international proletariat. It is a trend hostile to Marxism in the bosom of Marxism.

The theory of the three worlds' is obviously reactionary because it abandons the Marxist-Leninist method of class analysis in defining the present international situation. In order to fill the void created by this abandonment, this 'theory' has recourse to presenting the differences of economic development between different groups of countries as being the essence of the question. This 'theory' denies class struggle, it denies the four actual contradictions which exist in the world and which determine the actual movement of the World Revolution, it denies the existence of the socialist camp. It creates a subjectiv- and anti-scientific division between the so-called 'first', 'second' and 'third' world, using such vague and formalistic concepts as 'developing countries', 'unaligned countries', etc., with the obvious and open intention of tricking the peoples of the world and of upsetting the course of proletarian revolutions.

This bourgeois 'theory' confines itself to ONLY mentioning the INTER-BOURGEOIS contradictions, which exist between the imperialist bourgeoisies (USA and USSR), the developed capitalist bourgeoisies (Western Europe, Japan, Canada, etc.,) and the bourgeoisies who are dominant in the dependent colonial countries (the so-called 'developing countries', or the 'third world'). More than this: this bourgeois formulation takes inter-bourgeois contradictions - which do in fact exist - and SETS THEM UP as 'the motive force of the revolution', forgetting completely class struggle and the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

THIS IS WHAT TENG HSIAO PING SAYS:

"The numerous developing countries cover vast territories, encompass a large population and abound in natural resources. They constitute a revolutionary motive force peopelling the wheel of world history and are the main force combating colonialism, imperialism, and particularly the super-powers". (1)

The following points must be noted: It is 'countries' which are being spoken of, ie., united entities where apparently there is no class struggle. The positive conditions of these countries are listed: they are very large, very populated, very rich in natural resources. Our question is:

populated by whom? of bourgeois? of proletarians? of what? THEN IT IS STATED THAT THOSE 'COUNTRIES' ARE 'THE MOTIVE REVOLUTIONARY FORCE', 'THE PRINCIPAL FORCE'.

IT HAPPENS, Mr. TENG HSIAO PING, THAT THE ABC OF MARXISM-Leninism TEACHES US THAT THE WORLD PROLETARIAT, THE ONLY CLASS WHICH IS IN A POSITION TO LIBERATE ITSELF AND AT THE SAME TIME THE WHOLE OF HUMANITY WHICH IS EXPLOITED AT DIFFERENT LEVELS BY THE BOURGEOIS, IS THE MOTIVE REVOLUTIONARY FORCE AGAINST THE EXPLOITERS AND OPPRESSORS. Or, put another way, if the proletariat does not lead the revolution in any given country, then that country will not be able to liberate itself from the exploitation by the capitalist and imperialist system. To sum up, in the words of Lenin: "THE EPOCH OF IMPERIALISM IS THE EPOCH OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION"; on the other hand, Teng Hsiao Ping tells us that the epoch of imperialism is the epoch of national revolutions LED BY THE BOURGEOISIE, because there is no other way of understanding the "motive force" of the revolution and "the principal force" business.

This highly counter-revolutionary aspect of the 'theory of the three worlds' is made even clearer in two other statements of its spokesman, Teng:

(A) "As a result of the emergence of social-imperialism, the socialist camp which existed for a time after World War II is no longer in existence" (2)

(B) "China is a socialist country, and a developing country as well. China belongs to the Third World" (3)

Insofar as this statement refers to the Chinese Government and is made by its own spokesman Teng - it is a confession which relieves need of all proof. On the other hand, if (A) is correct, then it would follow that if just ONE SOCIALIST COUNTRY becomes social-imperialist then SOCIALISM COMES TO AN END IN ALL OTHER COUNTRIES. This thesis would be the obverse face of Trotskyism. The counter-revolutionary Trotskyist trend postulates that socialism is only possible if it exists in all countries of the world at the same time. Mr. Teng Hsiao Ping maintains that Socialism collapses in all the countries of the world at the same time.

Point (B) is really a sort of peak in bourgeois idealist ideology. Let us see: how does Marxist-Leninist science define a developing country? By stating that it is a country in which the proletariat is subjected to the domination of a bourgeoisie which is dependent on the imperialist bourgeoisie and that this domination renders possible the looting and exploiting of this country, thereby causing its low level of development. From this we conclude that ONLY THE REVOLUTION LED BY THE PROLETARIAT in this country will be able to cut the strings of dependence of the national bourgeoisie on the imperialist bourgeoisie. Further, how does the science of Marxism-Leninism define a socialist country? We define it as a country where the proletariat as a class, through its vanguard party, exercises its class dictatorship OVER THE

BOURGEOISIE, THE LANDLORDS AND ALL OTHER EXPLOITERS AND OPPRESSORS, IN ORDER TO ELIMINATE EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN IN ALL ITS MANIFESTATIONS AND IN ORDER TO ADVANCE TOWARDS COMMUNIST SOCIETY. If these definitions are correct, Mr. Teng Hsiao Ping, how then can China be at the same time a socialist and a 'developing' country? How can it be at the same time a bourgeois dictatorship and a proletarian dictatorship?.

(10) 2

We might say in support of Mr. Teng's thesis that what he meant was that China was at the same time socialist and poor. But the very words used by Mr. Teng Hsiao Ping condemn him. He meant to say 'developing', and this is clearly demonstrated by his definition of proletarian internationalism:

"A socialist country that is true to its name ought to follow the principle of internationalism, sincerely render support and assistance to oppressed countries and nations and help them develop their national economy"  
(4)

EXTREMELY CLEAR.....

In the name of tens of thousands of comrades, of companeros proletarian fighters, of our self-sacrificing peasants, of our heroic women, of our youth and our revolutionary intellectuals, of the anti-fascist patriots who are today being brutally suppressed, persecuted, imprisoned, tortured and murdered by Pinochet's fascist dictatorship, we are supposed to be grateful to Mr. Teng Hsiao Ping for his 'internationalism' in helping 'the country of Chile' to 'develop its natural economy' under the most brutal and sanguinary fascist dictatorship ever known to the Latin American peoples. We ought to be grateful for the granting of the \$62 million long-term credit, given interest free to a government which murders our people and which has been condemned repeatedly by the whole world. We ought to be grateful, moreover, the impending approval of another credit of \$50 million, which will even involve the arrival in Chile of Chinese technical experts, if necessary, to assist in the installation of the projects envisaged by the negotiations now taking place. (Official sources of Pinochet's fascist dictatorship, 'El Mercurio' of Santiago, Chile, 10-4-77 quoting the Chilean government's Official Diary on the question of the \$62 million credit and announcing the negotiations for the loan of \$50 million).

Mr. Teng Hsiao Ping: THE FLAG OF THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN SANTIAGO HAS FOR THE CHILEAN PEOPLE THE SAME SIGNIFICANCE THAT TWO YEARS AGO THE FLAG OF THE SOVIET UNION HAD IN PHNOM PENH FOR THE HEROIC CAMBODIAN PEOPLE. TODAY SANTIAGO, LIKE PHNOM PENH YESTERDAY, ARE WITNESSING GRAVE AFFRONTS TO THEIR PEOPLE AND TOMORROW THE WORKING CLASS AND THE CHILEAN PEOPLE WILL KNOW, AS DID YESTERDAY THE GLORIOUS CAMBODIAN PEOPLE, HOW TO RESPOND TO THESE ACTIONS.

But let us analysis further this flow of opportunism and revisionism that Teng Hsiao Ping regales us with:



"Imperialism is the greatest obstacle to the liberation of the developing countries and to their progress. It is entirely right and proper for developing countries to terminate imperialist economic monopoly and plunder" (5)

Yet again 'countries' !!!!! .... Yet again ideal entities, without classes ... without proletarians or bourgeois, and worse still, ideal entities in which those who rule, as in the case of Chile, Iran, Morocco, Brazil, Spain, Zaire, Argentine, and so on, are blessed in the words of Mr. Teng with the appellation of 'motive force of revolution', and principle force in the struggle against colonialism. And as though his ideas and statements weren't already clear enough, he adds;

"The developing countries have great potential for developing their economy independently. As long as a country makes unremitting efforts in the light of its own specific features and conditions and advances along the road of independence and self-reliance, it is fully possible for it to attain gradually a high level of development never reached by previous generations in the modernization of its industry and agriculture" (6)

And with a view to burying indefinitely all vestige of the presence of classes and of struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the world, another general thesis of Teng Hsiao Ping's is:

"The imperialists, and particularly the superpowers, are taking advantage of temporary differences among us developing countries to sow dissension and disrupt unity so as to continue their manipulation, control and plunder." (7)

The difference between Pinochet and Teng Hsiao Ping ARE ONLY TEMPORARY!! Is Mr. Teng suggesting that "the temporary differences that exist among us" are a sort of contradiction among the people? It is non-antagonistic contradictions which exist between the present Chinese government and the regimes of Argentina, Brazil, Iran, Zaire, Spain, the governments of Western Europe, Japan, etc? What kind of unity is Mr. Teng referring to when he speaks of "our unity"? Unity and temporary differences between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat? THIS IS WHAT IS CALLED REVISIONISM, AND THIS MUST BE CLEARLY SAID, but let us look at other statements:

"In many Asian, African and Latin American countries that have won political independence". (8)

Yet again "countries". But what we would like to know is what social class has conquered political independence. (MR. TENG HSIAO PING:) THE BOURGEOISIE OF THE WHOLE OF LATIN AMERICA ARE ATTACHED BY THOUSANDS OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TIES TO IMPERIALISM AND TO THE MOST POWERFUL SECTORS OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONOPOLIST BOURGEOISIE !!! THE DEPENDENT BOURGEOISIE OF LATIN AMERICA ARE THE FAITHFUL SERVITORS AND UNCONDITIONAL LACKEYS OF THEIR IMPERIALIST MASTERS AND OF CAPITAL!!!! THE DOMINANT BOURGEOISIES OF ALL THE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES HAVE PLANNED ORGANISED, FINANCED AND PUT INTO EFFECT TOGETHER WITH IMPERIALISM THE MOST BRUTAL MASSACRES AND REPRESSION OF WORKERS, OF YOUTH AND REVOLUTIONARY INTELLECTUALS, OF WOMEN, OLD PEOPLE AND CHILDREN, OF INDIANS FROM ALL OUR REGIONS, OF PATRIOTS, PROGRESSIVES AND DEMOCRATS. FOR THE PURPOSE OF HALTING THEIR HEROIC STRUGGLES AND ENDEAVOURING TO SQUASH, BY MEANS OF BLOOD AND FIRE, THE REBELLION WHICH IS RISING IN OUR CONTINENT AGAINST THE DOMINATION, THE OPPRESSION AND THE EXPLOITATION OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM!!!!

This is the essence of the "theory of the three worlds" which can be covered up with high-sounding and highly "revolutionary" phrases, but it does not change. From it follows a conception, an "analysis" and a policy which in practice erases classes and even fosters and establishes an alliance with the bourgeoisies of innumerable countries including those of Western Europe and the United States..! At a price! THIS PRICE IS TO ABANDON TO ITS FATE, AND EVEN MORE, TO SABOTAGE THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT (we will just mention Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Angola, Spain, Equatorial Guinea, Western Sahara, Zaire and the countries of Western Europe).

The slogan "ALL THE ENEMIES OF MY ENEMY ARE MY FRIENDS" is mechanical, profoundly subjective and opportunist to the core. No genuine Marxist-Leninist party can argue in this way. It means throwing overboard the ABC of the most elementary principles of Marxism-Leninism, in order to attempt to put off course, to confuse and to calm down the world's revolutions, to force the Marxist-Leninist movement into an opportunist and revisionist mould, to tie it hand and foot for the exclusive benefit of imperialism, the monopolist bourgeoisies and, in the ultimate analysis, to pave the way for the superpowers.

Bourgeois are all "theories" that put forward the necessity of seeking justifications for defending national interests, abandoning and burying the interests of the world revolution!!! Bourgeois are all formulations that place the particular interests of a nation higher than the interests of the totality of the struggles of the international working class, of the oppressed and exploited peoples and nations of the world and of the national liberation movements!!! Bourgeois are all those who put forward, in theory and in practice, plans for economic development which start from the principle of "attaining higher levels than the most advanced levels of the capitalist world", and which subordinate political tasks to economic tasks and ignore socialist duties!!! Bourgeois are all those who, forgetting the principle of proletarian internationalism, put forward "new divisions of the world" which regard the particular interests of a nation as the



centre of the Universe!!!

The international Marxist-Leninist movement, of which the Revolutionary Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) of Chile forms part - has been forged and steeled in the great struggles against imperialism and social-imperialism, against the bourgeoisie and its allies, against modern revisionism and all the opportunist bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends in its midst, and it is continuing to march forward without renouncing or giving up the fundamental principles which guide us. We think it is necessary to combat resolutely today the attempts of an opportunist trend which in a "Marxist-Leninist" disguise is hoping to introduce into our ranks a 'new' bourgeois poison to paralyse and liquidate our cause. We believe that it is very necessary to bear in mind the great experience of the relentless struggle against Soviet revisionism and the historical lessons of the proletarian struggle in defence of the immortal Leninist principles.

The RCP(ML) of Chile puts out the most fervent and warm call to the proletarians of the world and their political vanguards to head the struggle to lift higher than ever the principles - which are still valid, relevant and correct - of Marxism-Leninism.

Our Party embraces and upholds the Leninist revolutionary strategy which pushes forward with renewed strength the international Marxist-Leninist movement - which means preparing the working class and the peoples for Revolution. THIS IS THE ONLY JUST AND CORRECT PATH TO ACHIEVE VICTORY.

We believe that to the internationalisation of bourgeois and reactionary repression, to their terror, threats and tricks, to counter-revolutionary violence, to the fascist danger under which many Latin American and other peoples are reeling, the international Marxist-Leninist movement should respond by building a granite unity to mobilise the world proletariat, the oppressed and exploited peoples and nations, the progressive and patriots in an interrupted and consistent struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system, for the Conquest of Political Power and for the establishment of Socialism leading to Communist society.

We are absolutely certain that the proletariat of the whole world and the oppressed peoples at whose head marches the Marxist-Leninist International movement, not only will not be weakened by this great ideological principled struggle, but on the contrary it will emerge vigorously strengthened, so long as we break with opportunism, with bourgeois tailism, so long as we dare to act and to think, as Marxist-Leninist scientists, our unity will become indestructible; we will be able to organise ourselves at a higher level and effectively advance in our great tasks and challenges of our epoch and the the vanguard of the proletariat and peoples to carry to its end the glorious cause of the world's revolutionaries.

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!!!  
 LONG LIVE THE EVER-VALID AND CORRECT  
 PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM!!!  
 LONG LIVE THE PRINCIPLES UNITY OF THE  
 INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT !!!  
 LONG LIVE THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!!!  
 LONG LIVE THE CHILEAN REVOLUTION !!!

Revolutionary Communist Party.  
 (Marxist-Leninist) of Chile.  
 P.C.P. (M.L.)

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AUGUST 1977.

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NOTES:

- (1) Speech by Chairman of the delegation of the Peoples Republic of China, Teng Hsiao-Ping, at the special session of the U.N. General Assembly, April 10th 1974 Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1964, 1. 5. (our emphasis)
- (2) IBID. p. 2.
- (3) IBID p. 20.
- (4) IBID p. 12
- (5) IBID p. 12.
- (6) IBID p. 15.
- (7) IBID p. 17.
- (8) IBID p. 10.



