

Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile

Forward in the development of revolutionary struggle and the unity of Marxists-Leninists on a world scale

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by the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, December 1979

Editors's note: This article is in fact the introduction written by the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile (PCR) for the Spanish edition of For the political and organizational unity of the international communist movement, the Appeal issued by the Third Congress of IN STRUGGLE!. At our request, the PCR of Chile wrote the introduction, which upholds the Appeal but which also demarcates on certain points.

The PCR of Chile is one of the organizations that has openly taken up the defence of the thought and work of Mao Tse-tung. Apart from commenting on the Appeal, this introduction criticizes certain events that have occurred in the international communist movement in the past year or two and puts forward this party's point of view on various aspects of the struggle against revisionism and for the unity of the international communist movement. The translation is by IN STRUGGLE!.

The Canadian Marxist-Leninist Organization IN STRUGGLE! has written and published this Appeal for the Political and Organizational Unity of the International Communist Movement and asked us to write the introduction to the Spanish edition.

Since we are basically in agreement with the points of view expressed in this appeal, we gladly accepted this request. There are, however, differences of opinion on certain aspects and others which we believe must be further developed. But we wanted to contribute to the distribution of this work, with the understanding that comradely discussion and polemics and the exchange of opinions, ideas and experiences between Marxist-Leninists on a world scale is positive and helps to strengthen unity.

At the same time, we wanted to point out that we consider the initiatives being taken by the Canadian

Marxist-Leninist Organization IN STRUGGLE! and other really Marxist-Leninist organizations with regard to the unity of the communist revolutionaries on an international scale to be very positive. For its part, our Party will continue making all the necessary efforts to contribute to this task.

We want to take advantage of this occasion to briefly put forward some opinions on the unity of the international communist movement.

Our Party, both in its writings and its practice, has defined itself as a firm believer in the unity of the international communist movement. We believe that we would not serve this cause if we made no efforts to achieve it. However, we would not serve it either if we let ourselves be carried away by our wish for an international communist organization without duly demarcating from the present variants of revisionism, not



only from those which are being openly fought, but also from others that must yet be unmasked.

Organizational unity will only be achieved as a result of political and ideological unity. The latter can only be reached by deepening the struggle against the different bourgeois and revisionist conceptions.

In other words, to really unite we must put politics in command, make ideological struggle the centre of political work and, without ignoring, shelving or being spontaneous about organizational questions, make them serve the political ones. To consider organizational questions as basic, leaving ideological and political ones in second place, to quickly build organizations without going through the indispensable process of reaching political and

ideological unity, would have the clear advantage of being a spectacular victory, in the desire for unity, but it would be more a superficial victory than a real and lasting one.

Although it would have some effect in stimulating the struggles in our countries it could easily be transformed into discouragement and frustration as a result of the inevitable political and ideological contradictions that had been set aside.

It seems to us that ideological and political unity, which is the key problem, as well as organizational unity, are the fruits of a process in which common actions and discussions are carried to a higher level. It is at this point that the first organizational links are formed.

It is in this sense that lately we have had a few positive experiences at the same time as we have had negative ones: on the one hand the boycott of the Chinese revisionists at multilateral meetings, and on the other hand the imposition of this decision by some parties that call themselves Marxist-Leninists. We also consider as negative the manipulation of Marxist-Leninists' correct desire for unity for the exclusive purpose of propaganda, or agitation or solely to serve immediate goals. This has happened in some Joint Declarations and demonstrations organized by several parties which played such an important role in isolating the Chinese revisionists when they took complete power in the People's Republic of China. These could have been the starting point for unity, but it quickly became evident that they did not correspond to a real spirit of advancing in practice in the process of unity around Marxist-Leninist principles, and that some considered unity as slavish adherence to certain incorrect positions which they were not even willing to discuss. For

example the last joint declaration proposed to us was supposedly in defence of Stalin. But its objective was evident: it endeavoured to obtain a collective condemnation, which it did not dare to propose openly, of the thought and work of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. (Our Party is ready to discuss a Marxist-Leninist evaluation of Mao Tse-tung, because it considers that these are some of the fundamental questions linked to the principle problems that the international communist movement faces and will continue to face. However, such a discussion has always been avoided and instead, there have been hasty publications of declarations — largely unsubstantiated — against comrade Mao Tse-tung.

This fear of discussion has reached such a point that the Chilean delegation was assaulted and expelled from the Third International Meeting of Anti-imperialist and Anti-fascist Youth held in Saler, Spain in August, 1979 because it was distributing its point of view and that of other parties on the work and thought of Mao Tse-tung, in terms that did not imply any attack whatsoever on the parties present at this gathering. These parties, however, felt free to reply with the worst epithets to those of us who defend the very important legacy of comrade Mao Tse-tung.

What unity can be built on such a basis? Does the replacement of ideological and political discussion by other "methods" promote or damage unity?

Since it is very important to adopt a certain number of political and organizational agreements, we believe it is of crucial importance for the unity of Marxist-Leninists to make a thorough and collective analysis of the history of the international communist movement, its In-

ternationals, the origins of revisionism in the different stages, as manifested in each of our countries and in the U.S.S.R. and China, and of the efforts to formulate a general line opposed to revisionism, etc.

The reasons for this analysis of the origins of revisionism is to prevent and fight it effectively, to demarcate from it on all levels and to demonstrate to the masses that despite what has happened in the U.S.S.R., the other East European countries and in China, Marxism-Leninism is still the most precious weapon for liberation from all exploitation and oppression.

If we leave this process of clarification until later, if we proceed to study an international programme for communists for instance, or to set up certain organizations before we have made progress in this clarification, we will inevitably come face to face with the problems of the history of the international communist movement during the discussion, and be prevented from advancing in theory or practice.

We believe that the development of world Marxist-Leninist forces must not be seen as linked solely to the need to amass and co-ordinate our forces but as also linked to a qualitative leap forward in the comprehension and application of Marxism-Leninism, especially in its merger with the mass movement in each country. We therefore see unity not only as unity between limited groups of the vanguard, but as the fighting unity of our proletariat and people against their common enemy.

We think that the present weakness of the international communist movement is basically due to the fact that in many of our new parties there are still important aspects of revisionist and bourgeois attitudes and conceptions which have not

been sufficiently unmasked and combatted on a daily basis on all levels. It is clear that these influences will remain as long as social classes exist, but our struggle to have Marxist-Leninist principles prevail will make the dividing line between these principles and revisionism more clear-cut.

We believe that all agreements and joint declarations, and in general all agitation, propaganda and discussion on the unity we will be striving to achieve, must stress the generalization and deepening of the process of demarcation with revisionism, not only on the level of certain leading groups, but also on the broad level of revolutionary communist militants and the broadest progressive sectors of each country. We must stimulate thinking among honest elements, be very convincing in order to win all those likely to be won over and be unafraid of self-criticism of errors and deficiencies, and try to have an attitude of looking for the truth in facts, in our own experience and in the history of the international communist movement.

We must clearly differentiate our style and propaganda from that of revisionists and opportunists, be they defeatists, incurable optimists,

arrogant, sectarian, mechanical, superficial, dogmatic or sloganeering, whether they have recourse to insults in order to avoid any scientific analysis or whether they attempt to put a stop to debate or dialogue in order to obscure the roots of the problem.

Ideological and political unity must be thought of dialectically; that is, it should be sought through the struggle against common enemies on the national and world levels and in the midst of discussions among the people and Marxist-Leninists. It is fully possible to reach a consensus around certain points during a more or less prolonged period, but history has proven that it is not possible to reach unity on all points once and for all.

The important thing is to use the same criteria for the most important problems at each stage (always referring to the unity of revolutionary communists, where there is agreement on questions of principle). As there will always be areas of disagreement, it is of fundamental importance right from the beginning to set up collective and democratic methods to discuss and resolve secondary aspects on which there is no agreement so that they do not later become points of principled disagreement.

It is also important to consider the negative experience of those parties which yesterday struggled correctly to impose the criteria of reaching collective agreement by unanimous votes and after previous mutual consultation; who fought for the recognition of the principle to have the viewpoints of parties heard, whether they be small or big, in power or not; but who today try, as the revisionists do, to impose their positions as the general line of the international communist movement, using bad methods or shielding themselves from discussion.

In order to advance in the process of ideological, political and organizational unity, we must concentrate our efforts on an exchange of opinions on what we judge to be the most important aspects for the unity of revolutionary communists at the present stage of the revolutionary struggle. At the same time, we must proceed in the heat of the struggle against our common enemies to carry our discussion to higher levels on those points which are not of prime importance at this time and on which we have no precise opinion or where disagreement exists.

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