

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

JOÃO AMAZONAS

**THE THREE
WORLDS THEORY**

**An Opportunist Version
of the Class Struggle of
the Proletariat**

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

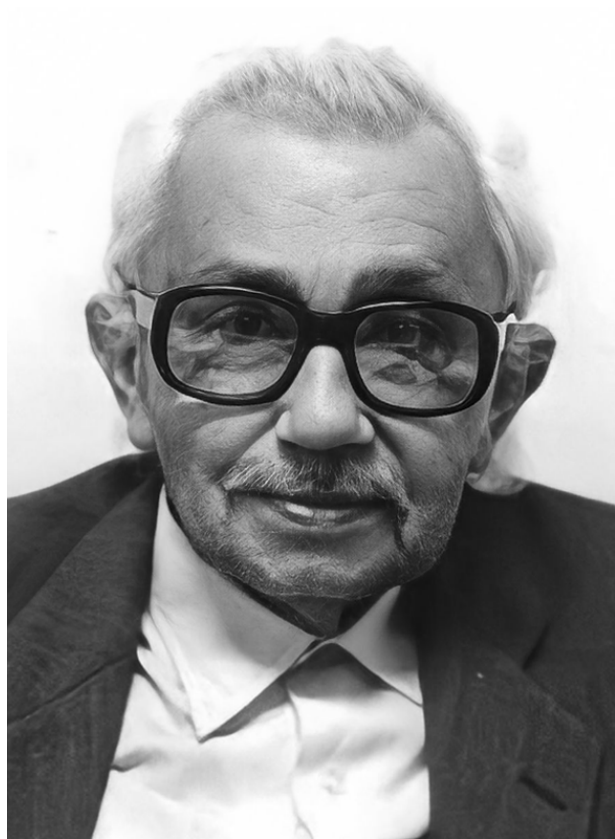
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I

At the end of last year, an official press organ of the creators of the three worlds theory published a lengthy article aiming to substantiate this opportunist, revisionist theory, which has been met with rejection from proletarian revolutionaries everywhere.

Widely circulated, the article not only intends to present the ideas of its authors more broadly but also seeks to challenge the opinions expressed by numerous Marxist-Leninist parties. The Communist Party of Brazil is among those organizations that have taken a clear and public stance against the three worlds theorist orientation. In defence of its viewpoints, it feels obliged to respond to the arguments put forth in that article, with the aim of enlightening and providing Marxist-Leninist education to its members.

The work spread by the three worlds theorist press is a heap of inconsistencies, sophisms and distortions aiming to divert the workers and popular masses from the revolutionary path and subject them to the warmongering and hegemonic plans of the major powers.

A NEW OPPORTUNIST THEORY OF THE REVOLUTION

In the first chapter, its authors delve into explaining the reason behind dividing the world into three parts and justifying the emer-

gence of this new and strange theory. Avoiding the analysis of essential issues of the current era, they resort to out-of-context quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, cunningly attributing the origin of the monstrosity they have created to them. To confuse the reader, they distort the fundamental problem by elaborating another, anti-Leninist, theory of the revolution, presenting it as a mere approach to the world situation under current conditions of the class struggle. They try to make it seem as if the acceptance or rejection of the principle of the mutability of the situation, and the examination of objective reality, is at stake.

Marxists-Leninists have never regarded reality as something that does not change. Precisely because it is in constant flux, tactics vary according to the circumstances. This mutation is a result of the aggravation of society's fundamental contradictions. At every moment, the examination of reality leads us to see more clearly the disposition of forces in the international and national arenas, and consequently to determine, if necessary, readjustments in our tactics. In Brazil, at present, we say that three currents stand out in the struggle against dictatorship: popular forces, conciliatory forces, and reactionary and fascist forces. However, our political orientation does not start from this fact but from the situation created in the country with the implementation of an anti-popular and anti-national regime, the

state of mind of the working class and the popular masses.

Therefore, it is not a matter of accepting or rejecting changes in the global framework or the examination of the reality of each moment, even though this examination may take different forms depending on the conception of the one conducting it. The focal point is the emergence of another supposedly scientific theory of revolutionary struggle.

Marx and Engels, in their time, had elaborated a theory of proletarian revolution that corresponded to the era of non-monopoly capitalism, to the period in which the revolution was fundamentally a problem of the more industrially developed countries. To achieve victory and sustain itself, the revolution had to take place simultaneously in several countries.

Later, defending the same principles in a different historical situation, Lenin elaborated a comprehensive and well-founded theory of revolution linked to the era of imperialism and the domination of monopolies. This theory emerged from the analysis of the fundamental contradictions of society engendered by capitalism in its final phase. Demonstrating that the contradictions between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat in developed countries, between the imperialist system and the oppressed peoples of colonies and dependent nations, and among different imperialist groups vying for control over sources of raw materials, markets and spheres of influence —

continuously intensified and demanded a solution, Lenin concluded that “imperialism is the eve of the proletarian revolution.” With this profound and dialectical interpretation of reality, he indicated a new way of approaching revolution.

Revolution could no longer be examined based on the economic conditions of specific developed countries in isolation, the presence or absence of objective conditions in a given advanced country, or the isolated development of a particular nation. The revolution became a global problem, concerning all countries as a whole, as the objective conditions for revolution existed within the framework of the imperialist economy, being a consequence of the development of inherent contradictions in the world system of imperialism. It emerges where the front of imperialism is weakest, whether in a developed or backward country. Lenin’s theory united the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in the metropolises with the national-revolutionary movement in the colonies and dependent nations into a coherent whole. Strictly scientific and proven by life, it opened up broad horizons for workers and exploited peoples worldwide. Supported by this theory, communists devised their strategies and tactics, analysed the concrete situation, the course of the revolutionary process, and the class struggle on both the international and national stages. As long as the historical epoch remains unchanged, this theory will continue to be fully

valid.

However, opportunists have always attempted, under various pretexts, to marginalize and replace Lenin's theory of revolution. Khrushchev, at the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956, presented a "new" theory of revolution. Alleging a new and favourable correlation of forces on the world stage, he charted a path opposed to Leninism, in which the proletariat would attain power through peaceful means, and socialism would triumph as a result of peaceful competition between the two social systems. Events would unfold within the framework of peaceful coexistence in a world without war or armies. It was a revisionist, bourgeois and counter-revolutionary theory.

Now, the three worlds theorists are recreating a "new" doctrine of revolution. Like Khrushchev, they claim that there is a favourable correlation of international forces — "the strength of the peoples of different countries grows day by day, the factors of revolution continue to increase" — although in other parts of the cited article, they appear pessimistic — "the socialist camp no longer exists,... Soviet betrayal caused a split and created temporary difficulties within the workers' movement and in the ranks of the world revolutionary struggle against imperialism." Their theory replaces Lenin's scientific postulates with a jumble of illogical formulas and a typically revisionist "solution."

According to this theory, the proletariat is

no longer at the centre of the current era; class struggle is not the engine of social development; the so-called third world constitutes the driving force of history. The revolution is no longer, as Lenin pointed out, the product of the maturation of objective conditions within the imperialist system as a whole, but rather the result of national struggle, seen as a movement that encompasses the reactionary forces of backward countries and is directed by them. The national question, thus distorted, would be now “the key problem of the class struggle,” “an important **prerequisite** (emphasis added) for the proletariat’s victory.” It is no longer a consequence of the combative action of the working class and the popular masses on a global scale, but the clashes between different states. It does not occur, as Lenin stated, in the form of an era where “the civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in advanced countries is combined with a whole series of democratic and revolutionary movements, including the movement for national liberation in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations.”

In short, the revolution would arise as a fruit of the unprincipled alliance between the “third” and “second” worlds, along with half of the “first” world (the United States) against social-imperialism. Such a theory is not directed against the imperialist system but against a specific imperialist country. Its aim is not the destruction of imperialism and the vic-

tory of socialism but solely the liquidation of what its authors call the main enemy. It does not lead to the liberation of oppressed or dependent nations but rather reinforces imperialist domination and the reactionary ruling classes of those nations.

It is essential to note that this theory does not arise by chance. For a long time, its creators defended the thesis that we were living in a different era. Although later they formally acknowledged that the current era remains as defined by Lenin, in practice, they persist in the old conception. They oppose attributing a revolutionary character to the workers' movement and distort the truth to prevent this movement from orienting itself towards the struggle against the foundations of capitalism.

Accepting or denying Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution is the essential issue. From there, the entire reasoning about how to approach the political landscape, its development, and the direction to be given to the workers and the people, follows.

THE DISTORTION OF THE CLASSICS

Advocating a new theory, the writers of the official three worlds theory press digress on the problem of the distribution of political forces and the main enemy, extensively citing the classics of Marxism-Leninism. In this matter, they grossly distort the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. They disfigure the

thoughts of the proletarian masters, applying them to situations different from those they correspond to and to issues distinct from the ones at hand.

“The division into three worlds,” they claim, “perfectly agrees with the classification of political forces in Europe established by Marx and Engels in the second half of the 19th century,... with Lenin’s division of the world after World War I... and with Stalin’s classification of countries before World War II.” This is false.

What does it actually agree with? What does the classification of political forces in a specific historical period have to do with that of other periods, or with the current situation?

When Marx and Engels assessed the balance of forces on the old continent, it was in the last century. At that time, imperialism did not exist yet. The national unification of many European countries had just been completed. The Marxist workers’ movement was only taking its first steps. In various countries, the workers were still fighting against the enemies of their enemies. The Russian absolutist empire represented the most aggressive remnants of feudalism in Europe. Is there anything comparable to today’s situation? When examining the political landscape back then, Marx and Engels focussed on fundamental issues, keeping in mind the revolution, the independent development of the workers’ movement, and the genuinely democratic aspects of the ongoing

political process. It was a different historical era.

When Lenin analyzed the distribution of political forces after the war, it was in the early years of this century's second decade. The Soviet Republic had just been born; imperialism had forcefully re-divided the globe, benefiting the winners of the terrible conflagration; the Treaty of Versailles subjected a highly developed country like Germany to fierce exploitation and oppression; discontent within the proletariat and the popular masses, betrayed by the social democrats, spread across Europe and the Orient. Years after that assessment, Russia, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, had become a great socialist power. The Germany of the Treaty of Versailles had risen again, but then succumbed to Hitlerism and the catastrophe of World War II. After the war, China, Albania and other countries underwent revolutions, breaking free from imperialist and reactionary domination, and the colonial system started to disintegrate. Eventually, the Soviet Union renounced the proletarian cause. What do the political situations after World War I and in subsequent periods have in common with today's global landscape concerning the distribution of forces?

However, the authors of the article in question seem to be unaware of the changes that have taken place. Foolishly, they exclaim at the end of what they consider to be the panorama described by Lenin in 1922: "It would seem

that he had the current reality in mind with the distribution of political forces in the world!” Historical parallels are always inadequate replicas. Mechanical transpositions of past situations to the present can only lead to serious misunderstandings and generally reveal a poverty of theoretical thought and a departure from reality.

But the error is not merely in the transposition; it also lies in the distortion of Lenin’s thinking regarding the analysis he made at the Second Congress of the Communist International. The scribes of the official three worlds theorist press took a fragment of Lenin’s intervention, completely mutilating his view of the events, and based their entire feeble argumentation on it. Anyone who reads the statement of the leader of the Bolshevik Party at the Second Congress of the Comintern immediately notes the complex and comprehensive assessment he made of the political situation at that time. He analysed not the division of the world into three parts — as the neo-revisionists pretend — but the entire picture that emerged after the First World War, starting from the “economic relations of imperialism, of monopoly.” He showed how the contradictions of capitalism had sharpened: “The war,” he said, “has greatly intensified all capitalist contradictions, and this is the origin of profound revolutionary ferment.” He examined the contradiction between oppressed peoples and nations, on one hand, and imperialism on the other,

concluding: "Such is the world picture after the war: at least one and a quarter billion people are subjected to colonial oppression, to the exploitation of bestial capitalism." He also highlighted the inter-imperialist contradictions between the United States, which gained more from the war than others, and the other capitalist powers; between the victorious nations and Germany, "one of the most advanced, cultured, and highly developed countries in terms of modern progress"; he also underscored the antagonisms that arose from the partitioning of Turkey, Persia, Mesopotamia and China "leading to fierce disputes between Japan, Britain, America and France." He similarly analysed the contradiction between capital and labour. He referred to the brutal increase in food prices in the United States, Britain, France and Japan "which created an intolerable situation for the workers." He said that "the profits of banks (in England) amount to 40 to 50%, and the rise in share prices reaches 400%, the wealth of a tiny handful of men increases incredibly, an unknown luxury surpasses all limits, while the misery of the working class continues to worsen." And in passing, he also highlighted the emerging contradiction between socialism and capitalism: "Weak, ruined, downtrodden Russia, the most backward country, is fighting against all nations, against the alliance of rich, powerful states that dominate the world, and it emerges victorious from this struggle."

In summary, this is the comprehensive analysis that Lenin made at the Second Congress of the Comintern. How can one reduce this complex assessment, rich in teachings and tactical indications, to an isolated sentence, foolishly asserting that Lenin did nothing more than divide the world into three parts? Furthermore, he did not merely review the global panorama. He drew the appropriate conclusions, which are unfortunate for the neo-revisionists, as they were not about uniting the “third” with the “second” world and half of the “first” against the other half. No. As an authentic revolutionary, he arrived at the only correct conclusion: “We are facing,” he said, “the maturation of the two conditions of the world revolution (the unbearable living conditions of the masses, demonstrating their unwillingness to live as before, and the intensification of disputes among the exploiters and oppressors, leading to their weakening).” Lenin then delves deeply and comprehensively into the ongoing revolutionary crisis, “the basis of our revolutionary action,” indicating the tasks of the vanguard fighters. “Now,” he asserted, “the revolutionary parties must demonstrate through practical action that they possess sufficient consciousness, organization, ties with the exploited masses, decisiveness and ability to exploit this crisis in favour of a victorious revolution.” And to prepare for this demonstration, he emphasized, “we are gathered at this Congress of the Comintern.” What re-

markable revolutionary insight Lenin had after the war!

It is simply stupid to say that the leader of the greatest revolution in history included Russia — as the three worlds theorists claim about China — among colonial countries. “He,” write the editors of the cited official press, “places socialist Russia in the same category as oppressed nations and countries.” Lenin, referring to the economic situation of the post-war world, compared the situation in Russia with that of the colonies, a comparison that also extended to war debts (which, it must be said, he considered as worthless as the pieces of paper they were written on). Could Russia, which had liberated itself from imperialism and Tsarism and had established the dictatorship of the proletariat, be in the same political and social category as the colonies? Lenin regarded the situation of this country distinctly. In his letter to American workers in August 1918, he wrote: “We have broken the chains of imperialism and its vile treaties; we have won our freedom at the cost of the heaviest sacrifices; we, the martyred socialist republic devastated by the imperialists, have emerged from the imperialist war and raised the banner of peace, the banner of socialism before the whole world.” And in the report presented to the organizations of the peoples of the East in November 1919, he pointed out: “Our Soviet Republic must now rally around it all the peoples of the East who are rising up in

order to fight alongside them against international imperialism.” In other words, Lenin placed Russia in its vanguard condition, as a socialist country that must rally the revolutionary movements of the peoples around itself. Very different is the position of the neo-revisionists who include socialist countries and the revolutionary movement of backward countries in the same bag as the reactionary forces of the so-called third world.

These are Lenin’s positions that the authors of the mentioned article distort, reducing them to a sentence detached from the context of his intervention at the Second Congress of the Comintern. Clearly, Lenin’s orientation at this Congress does not serve or support the biased and opportunistic argumentation of the three worlds theorists.

Neither do the quotes from Stalin align with their desires. After the socialist revolution in Russia, he stated, as Lenin had done before, that the world was irreversibly divided into two camps. This division did not reflect temporary phenomena but permanent ones and pertained to the antagonism between two different social systems — capitalist and socialist — a division that initiates the general crisis of capitalism. Stalin never made other classifications, obscuring this fundamental question. Because one thing is the evaluation of the different forces in conflict, constantly changing in the world sphere or within the capitalist system, which influences the proletariat’s tactics,

and another thing is the existence of two diametrically opposed worlds, which guides the strategic positions of the working class.

They invoke his statement from 1942 about the emergence of two opposing camps — the Italo-German and the Anglo-Soviet-North American — and thereby seek support for the thesis of a common **front** of the peoples, the reaction and imperialism against social-imperialism. However, the situations are different, this parallelism is not relevant. Stalin, at that time, was assessing a conjunctural phenomenon that favoured the struggle of the proletariat and the masses. He stated that “**in the course of the war** (emphasis added) imposed on the peoples by Hitler’s Germany, there emerged a radical delimitation of forces.” This delimitation had not been artificially created; it appeared concretely, expressing a contradictory reality in which the working class and socialism occupied a prominent place. Here, the leading role of the USSR (which bore the main burden of the war) did not disappear, nor did the world revolutionary movement subordinate itself to the interests of the bourgeoisie. It was not an inter-imperialist conflict, as it would be between the United States and other monopolistic countries against Russian social-imperialism.

Distorting Stalin’s thought even further, the authors of the mentioned article attribute to him the idea that the national movement “should encompass all forces that are against

imperialist aggression, without distinction of classes and political views.” Their audacity is evident. First, in the cited material (*The Foundations of Leninism*), Stalin does not specifically speak of **aggression** but of imperialist oppression; second, Stalin stated that the proletariat would not support **every** national movement — “it is a matter of supporting those national movements that tend to weaken, overthrow imperialism, not maintain and consolidate it”; third, Stalin considered that the character of the national movement could not be assessed based on the social position of those who participate in it but by its revolutionary nature, by its undeniably anti-imperialist character. That is why Stalin criticized the Trotskyites for denying the usefulness of supporting “**the revolutionary wars** (emphasis added) of the colonial countries against imperialism.” By distorting Stalin’s ideas on the national question, the three worlds theorists attempt to impose the erroneous conception that the reformist movements of the bourgeoisie in backward countries are consistently revolutionary and anti-imperialist, that the position of the dominant classes and reactionary governments in these countries is progressive, classes and governments that are aligned with imperialist orientation, serving as its support points, including in repressing the liberating struggle led by the proletariat and the masses.

As for the quote from “Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR,” written by

Stalin shortly before his death, it is not clear what the three worlds theorists want to prove with it. In that context, Stalin was talking about war, inter-imperialist contradictions, and how to put an end to the war. It appears that those who twist his thoughts wish to show that the contradiction between capitalism and socialism, despite being fundamental, can be set aside; revolutionaries should solely focus on inter-imperialist contradictions in their activities. However, Stalin implicitly relates these two issues by stating that war was inevitable under the conditions of imperialism and that to end the war, imperialism needed to be eliminated. That is why he indicated that peace could be maintained “if the peoples took this task into their hands and carried it through to the end.”

Thus, the citations from the classics presented at the beginning of the article, distorted and taken out of context, aim to confuse those who read it inattentively. They are nothing but subterfuges, presented as explanations, of the illusory division of the world.

THE DECEPTIVE FOUNDATIONS OF THE THREE WORLDS THEORY

The elements presented as the foundation of the inconsistent three worlds theory are extremely simplistic and lack any solid basis. They rely on a superficial and schematic assessment of the international political land-

scape, detached from reality and subjectively constructed, leading to a classification of forces unrelated to the class struggle of the proletariat.

The alleged premises that would justify this supposed theory are as follows, according to the article: In today's world, two types of contradictions stand out — the inter-imperialist contradiction and the one between imperialism and colonized and dependent nations, resulting in three conflicting forces: the most powerful countries, second-tier imperialists, and the oppressed nations. The socialist camp no longer exists, and there is no need to rebuild it; nor does the imperialist camp exist anymore, as its components no longer obey American command. The vast majority of colonial and semi-colonial peoples have declared their independence. Serious divisions have occurred in the labour movement. U.S. imperialism is no longer enemy number one since the Soviet Union transformed into a social-imperialist superpower. The world's political forces have gone through major upheavals, significant divisions (which ones?) and large regroupings (which ones?). And that's it.

These premises are false. The ongoing contradictions and the political forces in struggle are much broader and more complex than indicated, and it is a serious mistake to claim that the socialist camp no longer exists. It has existed since the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, as pointed out by Lenin and Sta-

lin. After the Second World War, it was reinforced with the emergence of a whole **camp of socialist countries**. While many of these countries later renounced the revolution, as long as there is a single socialist country, the socialist camp will continue to exist. Additionally, the imperialist camp, as a system opposed to socialism, continues to exist regardless of who leads it. The struggle between these two camps is ongoing and relates to the question of which will prevail over the other, capitalism or socialism, the period of transition to socialism, and the general crisis of the capitalist regime. Denying the existence of these two camps means disregarding one of the determining factors in analysing the global situation and the course of history.

It is also unacceptable to insinuate that U.S. imperialism was only the primary enemy of the people for a certain period, as it continues to be so. Alongside the revisionist Soviet Union, the United States represents the main adversary of progressive humanity. To relegate the U.S. to a secondary position under the pretext that the USSR has become more dangerous is to disregard the evidence and underestimate the increasingly aggressive and exploitative nature of the American monopolists. Undoubtedly, a significant number of colonial and semi-colonial countries have declared their independence, but this is only part of the truth. Most of them continue to suffer oppression and exploitation by imperialism, with the

colonial form of oppression being replaced by neo-colonialism. While there have been schisms in the labour movement due to the betrayal of the revisionists, it cannot be inferred that this movement holds little significance when we know that it possesses an immense reserve of revolutionary potential and is the driving force behind the historical development. Similar schisms occurred with the bankruptcy of the Second International, which did not prevent the proletariat, led by the Bolshevik Party and guided by Marxism-Leninism, from carrying out a revolution that reshaped the world's landscape.

From those premises, the essential elements of the political situation disappear. Where is the examination of the four fundamental contradictions that inform the entire process of the international situation? Where is the deepening of the general crisis of the capitalist system? Where is the role of socialist countries? Where is the intensification of exploitation of the proletariat and the vast majority of peoples by gigantic monopolies? Where is the fierce competition for markets and sources of raw materials unfolding not only between the USSR and the United States but also among the entire pack of imperialist wolves? Where are the struggles of the working class, the revolutionary actions in colonial and dependent countries? Where is the counter-revolutionary and even fascist position of the ruling classes in most backward countries? Where are

the manipulations of different forms of revisionism and the dedicated struggle of Marxist-Leninists to guide workers and peoples towards revolution?

A truly scientific orientation cannot ignore all these aspects of the world situation, synthesizing their revolutionary content. But for the three worlds theorists, a few affirmations and denials, along with a few untimely quotations, are enough to define the course of international struggle and determine the political forces they consider in line with the present situation.

Moreover, the way they explain the emergence of their theory is telling. After painting an idealistic and distorted picture of what they believe to be the global panorama, the authors of the debated article, like wanderers on confused paths, ask themselves: "Where is the way out?" The answer they provide is that the "solution is to proceed with a new redistribution of the world's political forces... in order to establish a new global strategy of the international proletariat and oppressed peoples." The finished product of this redistribution is the three worlds theory! The first world would consist of the two superpowers, the second of the less powerful imperialist countries "that exploit oppressed nations and are victims of control and vexation by the superpowers," and the third of the remaining nations. This redistribution, in turn, involves new divisions and subdivisions. The "third" world would unite

with the “second” to combat the hegemonism of the USSR and the United States. Of the two superpowers, one would be more dangerous, allowing the union of the “second” and “third” worlds with a portion of the “first.”

They speak of political forces, but the distribution that appears is of nations and groups of countries, which hides the class antagonisms of society and debases the role of revolutionary forces.

These are misleading and even ridiculous foundations. Such a theory, as seen, is not the result of a scientific examination of the dialectical process of social development, nor a generalization of revolutionary experience. It arises, as its authors say, from the need to proceed with a new redistribution of forces to fit the strategy of the international proletariat. It is a voluntarist conclusion, a completely arbitrary classification. Why three worlds and not four, five, ten worlds? In this division, the socialist world does not appear; the so-called third world includes both revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces, anti-imperialist and pro-imperialist; in the “second” world, the proletariat, imperialist and colonialist bourgeoisie, and countries subjugated by the Soviet Union are all bundled together. In truth, it is an artificial division to support a scheme of struggle centred around the national interests of a certain country and not those of revolution and socialism — a scheme that helps sustain the capitalist regime. Can it possibly serve as

the basis for the strategy of the revolutionary proletariat? Definitely not.

ALLIANCES WITHOUT PRINCIPLES

Mixing strategic and tactical issues, permanent and temporary factors, revolutionary principles and opportunist concepts, while distorting and spewing sophistry, the proponents of the three worlds theory accuse their Marxist-Leninist opponents of sectarianism, Trotskyism, “closed-doorism,” to be people who see nothing more than the struggle between capitalism and socialism, individuals who reject any alliances of the proletariat with other currents. At the same time, they pose as supporters of a broad utilization of possibilities to unite all forces “susceptible of being united.”

However, it is well known that Marxist-Leninists, while considering that the basic, fundamental struggle developing in the world is between capitalism and socialism, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie — as we live in a revolutionary transitional period from capitalism to socialism — have never reasoned in schematic terms. They have always advocated, strategically and tactically, various forms of alliances and compromises suitable for different situations. They have always known how to take advantage, as indirect reserves of the revolution, of the contradictions and conflicts between non-proletarian classes in each country and in the world, the clashes and wars that

erupt between bourgeois states. They are convinced that to succeed, the proletariat, in the course of the struggle against the bourgeoisie, must secure allies who can mobilize masses, even if they are wavering and inconsistent. But they never lose sight of the fact that there are alliances and "alliances," compromises and "compromises." Valid are only those alliances that help strengthen the positions of the proletariat and contribute to weakening those of their enemies. Admissible are only compromises that facilitate the decomposition of the adversary, that favour the manoeuvring room of the working class.

Marxist-Leninists have never had doubts about marching with democratic and progressive currents everywhere to isolate and defeat reactionary and fascist tendencies. They have not feared agreements with liberals and reformists as long as they serve to awaken and elevate the revolutionary consciousness of the masses. They have not refused, when appropriate, understandings with other forces to ensure greater freedom of action and organization for the revolutionary currents. They have joined and continue to join with all those who have truly fought and are fighting against imperialism and reaction, imperialist war, arms race and the burdens of the crisis placed on the shoulders of the proletariat.

The union of the revolutionary workers' movement in developed countries with the revolutionary movement in colonial and depend-

ent countries is a Leninist principle. However, Lenin rejected collaboration or alliance with the reactionary and pro-imperialist forces of backward countries at the expense of the emancipatory struggle. At the Second Congress of the Comintern, he emphasized the formula: “the union of the revolutionary proletarians of the advanced capitalist countries with the revolutionary masses of countries where there is little or no proletariat, with the oppressed masses of the colonies.” And he underscored: “World imperialism will collapse when the revolutionary offensive of the exploited and oppressed workers within each country... joins forces with the revolutionary offensive of hundreds of millions of people who until now were outside of history.”

Those who are against these principles, against the types of alliances and compromises advocated by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, are the apologists of the three worlds theory. The so-called union of forces susceptible to being grouped hides the opportunist and criminal orientation of trying to unite imperialists and anti-imperialists, socialists and capitalists, exploited and exploiters, warmongers and anti-war activists, oppressors and oppressed — a union whose ultimate goal is to decompose the revolutionary movement and ensure the survival of capitalism.

The three worlds theory is an opportunist version of the class struggle of the proletariat, a calculated deception that the neo-revisionists

— using sophistry and distortions — seek to instil in the revolutionary ranks. It comes to the aid of capitalism, which is sinking in a deep crisis of structure and superstructure. Its authors behave like the most fervent defenders of imperialist and reactionary policies. As Lenin said, “the militants of the workers’ movement who belong to the opportunist tendency are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself.” They, the proponents of the three worlds theory, go further in certain crucial issues than the monopolists. They advocate what representatives of imperialism, for fear of fully exposing themselves, dare not proclaim loudly. They are further to the right than the old foxes of social democracy, in the same muddy and blood-soaked trench as Carter, European and Asian imperialists, the kings of Spain and Iran, the sheiks of Saudi Arabia, Pinochet, Geisel, Videla, Sadat, Mobutu, Suharto and company.

Their end, however, will be no less ignominious than that of the renegades of the Second International, nor more infamous than that of the betrayers of socialism like Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Suslov and their ilk. History does not forgive those who betray the noble ideals of their time.

II

The proponents of the three worlds theory try to gather the most disparate arguments to justify concentrating forces solely against social-imperialism and establishing a system of alliances that stretches from the proletariat to the North American superpower, with the so-called third world as the main force in contemporary liberation struggles, according to them. And, as always, they resort to sophistry and rely on false interpretations of the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

THE THESIS OF THE MORE DANGEROUS AND THE LESS DANGEROUS

In presenting their views on the two superpowers, the authors of the aforementioned article seem to direct their attacks indiscriminately against the United States and the Soviet Union, which compete for world hegemony. They cite facts, enumerate data about the warlike and exploitative nature of these two imperialist countries. With this, they aim to induce the reader to believe that they portray reality and oppose the main enemies of the people. Soon after, they reveal their bias.

The core of their argument revolves around defining which of the two superpowers is more or less dangerous. Adopting criteria of double standards, they conclude that the USSR is the

worst, even though the United States is a prominent plunderer and warmonger. “One cannot,” they affirm, “put both superpowers on the same level,” it would “create confusion about the main target of the struggle against hegemonism.” Thus, they expose themselves as pretend opponents of Yankee imperialism.

In comparing it to the social-imperialist USSR, they embellish the United States. While they say that the Soviet Union, in its offensive, is “the most aggressive and adventurous,” they assert that the United States is limited only to “protecting acquired interests” (when it is known that this country not only protects them but also seeks to expand them); while they claim that the Soviet Union spends 12 to 15% of GDP on war expenses, they highlight that the United States spends only 6% (even though the dollar amount is much higher than the 12% of the Kremlin’s potentates); while they indicate that the state-monopoly economy of the Soviet Union reaches a high degree of concentration, they proclaim that the United States does not go that far; while they declare that Moscow’s policy of expansion and aggression is still recent and deceptive, they point out that the United States, being older and better-known, does not cause greater harm. In short, Yankee imperialism, one of the most ferocious enemies of progressive humanity, aggressive and plundering like social-imperialism, should not be considered at the forefront...

The neo-revisionists do not even consider

the fact that the criterion they adopted in such a comparison can also be used in the opposite sense. The Soviet side could easily pile up just as many data and facts to prove that the worst superpower is the United States. In fact, that is what they systematically do to deceive the masses.

From the one-sided argumentation of the three worlds theorists, glaring inconsistencies arise. If the United States is currently only “protecting acquired interests,” then it is false to say that they are vying for world hegemony. They would be in a position of contentment with what they have, and the conquest of hegemony would be solely the problem of their competitor. If the American imperialists are on the defensive, then one cannot speak of active preparations for war or furious drivers of the arms race. They would simply be defending themselves. Unfortunately, this is how the three worlds theorists think. The inconsistency pointed out here is their own consistency as supporters of an alliance with Yankee monopolists against the other superpower. That’s why they defend NATO and the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan, in which the United States constitutes the essential element. That is also why they vehemently oppose the assertion contained in the Declaration of Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America that peoples should not rely on one superpower to fight against the other.

The method of seeking, in inter-imperialist conflicts, which one is more dangerous or less dangerous in order to align oneself with one of the contenders does not correspond to the interests of the proletariat and the people; it is completely alien to Marxism-Leninism. Due to the uneven development of capitalism, there will always be one imperialist that stands out more than the others. Woe to the exploited and oppressed if they had to determine their political conduct based on such a method! They would perpetually find themselves trapped in the vise of capitalist war, becoming cannon fodder in the conflicts to decide which holder of finance capital should reign over the world. This would inevitably lead to chauvinism. This method was used by the traitors of the Second International, who, despite the internationalist decisions of Basel in 1912, engaged in defining which of the two warring factions was more harmful. The result was that the communist parties of the time, with the exception of the Bolsheviks, adopted the viewpoint of their own bourgeoisie, and thus workers on both sides of the trenches killed each other for four years to serve the objectives of their oppressors. From a conflict of this nature, the proletariat and the people can only expect greater suffering. In the dispute between two bandits who want to plunder us, there is nothing to choose. Both are the worst, and as such, we must take advantage of the contradictions between them to definitively defeat them.

Both superpowers are on the same level; there are no essential differences between them regarding their aims for conquest. The Soviet Union, without a doubt, arms itself to achieve world domination. In all aspects, it acts as an exploitative and counter-revolutionary force. The United States is no different. There are very few places in the world where its claws are not firmly planted. Both superpowers pursue world hegemony. They are the primary enemies of the people and the fundamental target of their struggles.

When determining its orientation in the face of the possibility of war, the proletariat does not focus on questions like which contender is more dangerous or less dangerous, more aggressive or less aggressive, older or younger. As Lenin taught, the proletariat must first and foremost deeply examine the character of the war that is brewing. This essential question is overlooked by the authors of the three worlds theory, who maintain positions identical to those of the renegades of the Second International. In this regard, history repeats itself, even in their distorted quotations of Marx and Engels intended to justify chauvinism.

A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE

What position should be taken regarding the likely war that is being prepared? What character will this war have? The correct an-

swer to this matter of principle determines the conduct of the proletariat.

War always results from the policies that the belligerents have been implementing day by day. Depending on whether this policy is progressive and liberating or imperialistic and oppressive, the nature of the conflict will be determined. If both parties in the struggle are imperialists, oppressors and plunderers of the people, then the war, as a projection of this attitude, will have a reactionary, imperialistic character. This is the type of war that the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as their allies, are preparing for.

However, the three worlds theorists argue that the war being prepared is also a national and progressive war. They state, "In today's Europe, a large-scale national war against aggression, subjugation and massacre by a superpower is not only possible and probable but also inevitable, progressive and revolutionary." They thus label as revolutionary a war led by European monopoly capital — neo-colonialist, exploitative and oppressive towards the workers — under the pretext that the homeland has been attacked! A war that will have the direct and undisputed support and participation of the United States.

They reason as if we were living in the era when the bourgeoisie was an advanced class, representing the main driving force of progress, when the objective content of the historical process in Europe was the bourgeois

movements of national liberation. Their arguments are the same as those of social-chauvinists like Kautsky. In the article under discussion, the neo-revisionists cite Engels and Lenin in support of their absurd thesis. They claim that Engels, in 1891, advised “defending the homeland,” and that Lenin also supported this idea and considered the wars in Europe during the imperialist era to be progressive. It is evident that these individuals either have not read Lenin or deliberately distort his thoughts. In July/August 1915, in his work “Socialism and War,” V.I. Lenin strongly contested this false reference to Engels, responding to the opportunists of that time. He wrote, “The German social-chauvinists invoke Engels’ statements from 1891 about the need for German socialists to defend the homeland in the event of a war against Russia and France together; the social-chauvinists of the Kautsky type, eager to compromise with international chauvinism and legitimize it, invoke the fact that Marx and Engels, even while condemning wars, nevertheless sided with one or the other belligerent state in 1854-55, 1870-71 and 1876-77, once and despite everything, when the conflict broke out.” Lenin emphatically retorted, “All these references grossly distort the conceptions of Marx and Engels, showing condescension to the bourgeoisie and opportunists.” And further: “Those who today (1914-15) invoke Marx’s attitude towards wars in the era of **progressive** and reactionary bourgeoisie, forget-

ting Marx's words — the workers have no homeland — words that precisely refer to the era of the reactionary and decayed bourgeoisie, the era of socialist revolution, cynically distort Marx's thoughts and replace the socialist point of view with the bourgeois one." This is exactly what the three worlds theorists are doing today.

Wars take on different characters depending on the historical era in which they occur. Wars fought in Europe against feudalism, against absolutism, during a period when capitalism was progressive, had a national character. On the other hand, wars that emerged when capitalism became a retrogressive, imperialistic force, and when the proletariat, not the bourgeoisie, became the driving force of the historical process, had no national character and were unjust. It is monstrous to attribute to the classics of Marxism-Leninism, as the neo-revisionists do, the idea that "whether it is a developed or underdeveloped country," as long as it is a "victim" of aggression, the war is justified, takes on a national character, and that the proletariat should support it. This is the viewpoint of social-chauvinists who, instead of examining the character of the war and its underlying politics, are swayed by the superficial aspects of the conflict, often inseparable from the class interests of the bourgeoisie in each country. In doing so, they abandon the path of revolution and turn the class struggle of the proletariat into collaboration with their

oppressors.

The war, when viewed from a broader perspective, does not have a national meaning; it is imperialistic. This applies to both the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as to the countries involved from the so-called second world. NATO and the Warsaw Pact are examples of aggressive instruments created under the auspices of either the United States or the Soviet Union, with the participation of numerous European countries. The Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan is another military commitment aimed at a global conflict with the objective of crushing the revolutionary movement, dividing the world into spheres of influence among the victors and extending the domination of imperialist or social-imperialist bourgeoisie over people worldwide.

The argumentation put forth by the authors of the discussed article regarding the alleged alliance of the proletariat and oppressed peoples with the countries of the so-called second world is a deception of the worst kind. To justify it, they try to downplay the imperialistic nature of these countries and camouflage their rapacious and oppressive designs under the excuse that they too are threatened by social-imperialism. It is known that Great Britain, France, Germany and Japan are oppressive nations actively engaged in neo-colonialist activities. The financial capital of Europe and Japan is continuously expanding and, in some under-

developed countries, is even surpassing that of the United States. The volume of their super-profits, earned all over the world, is considerably higher than in previous periods. Some of these oppressive nations engage in direct or indirect wars to support reactionary regimes in underdeveloped countries and secure their imperialist positions.

However, the three worlds theorists do not hesitate to claim that the major capitalist powers in Europe and Asia “can no longer become the main force capable of controlling and oppressing the third world”... and that they “make concessions”... and observe “neutrality in the struggle against hegemonism.” They even applaud France’s intervention, alongside Mobutu, in a civil war in Zaire. While they oppose the arms race in the Soviet Union, they defend it in Europe and Japan. By arguing that the security of the old continent is threatened, they consider it natural for “countries of Western Europe to be obliged to strengthen their defence, harmonize their relations, and maintain and tighten their economic, political and even defensive union,” which all have distinctly imperialistic implications. The same is said about Japan, Australia and Canada. In essence, such a position is not much different from that of the Eurocommunists and Japanese revisionists, who serve the bourgeoisie of their respective countries.

Undoubtedly, the United States and the Soviet Union are currently the main imperial-

ist countries, just as in the 1920s, with due proportion, England and the United States held that position. However, this does not mean that during that time or presently, other imperialist countries have become harmless, allies of the working class, or lost their aggressiveness and rapacity. As imperialist countries, they do not give up on expanding their areas of influence and dominance. They are not exactly “victims” of the two superpowers. The contradictions within them have an inter-imperialist character, whether they arise between them and the USSR and the United States or between European countries or between them and Japan, and so on.

It would be criminal for the workers from the East and the West, the North and the South, to take sides with one or the other of the imperialist belligerents. The proletariat, as the advanced social force of the current era, cannot help but decisively oppose such a war and, in the event of its outbreak, transform it into a war of liberation to the triumph of the ideas of socialism.

**THE ALLEGED MAIN FORCE —
LEADERSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT
OR LEADERSHIP OF THE
BOURGEOISIE?**

Due to the struggle against one of the superpowers and the possibility of a new world war, the authors of the article in focus address

the issue of the so-called third world. They present blatantly opportunistic views on the national liberation movement, denying the leading role of the proletariat in the current situation.

“Do the countries of the third world constitute the main force in the fight against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism?” the writers of this article inquire. Around this question, they weave a complicated web of deception. They line up a series of facts — mixing victorious revolutions with truncated ones, simple democratic movements, and even actions of dubious anti-imperialist content — to claim that these supposed successes of the third world “represent the powerful **driving force** (emphasis added) that has changed(!) the course of the world revolution.” Based on this reasoning, they try to explain how this force **emerged**. However, in this explanation, they simply omit the present era — the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions — as well as the significant achievements of the working class during and after the Second World War, which deepened the general crisis of the capitalist system and largely determined the rise of the national liberation movement. They do not see this movement as an integral part of the world proletarian revolution but as something independent that developed on its own and created “an unprecedented situation in the history of humanity.”

So, what is this third world after all? In the

view of the neo-revisionists, it is the ruling classes of underdeveloped countries that hold state power and lead the alleged anti-imperialist struggle. They include socialist countries as a mere appendix. Despite talking about developing countries and peoples, their focus is not on the struggles of the people brutally repressed by these ruling classes, but rather on their bourgeois governments, connected in one way or another to international finance capital.

It is widely known that after World War II, the colonial system suffered severe blows and dismantled in its old form. The majority of colonial and semi-colonial countries proclaimed their independence and established nation-states. However, what happened in those territories? It happened that in a large part of these countries, state power fell into the hands of internal reactionary forces, the landlords and the bourgeoisie, just as it had happened more than a century and a half ago in Latin America. Imperialism, feeling the impact of the formidable successes of the proletariat in the post-war period, which had a serious impact on the national liberation movement, tried in many cases to negotiate national independence with backward forces to drain the revolutionary pressure. It maneuvered as much as possible to avoid revolution, especially a revolution led by the most consistent social forces. The independence thus achieved did not abolish imperialist exploitation nor resolve the issue of land for the peasants. In many places, the yoke of

oppression became heavier than before — a double yoke, foreign and that of the local ruling classes, which ruthlessly combat the revolutionary movement of the popular masses. Lenin, at the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1922, had already pointed out that “a certain rapprochement is taking place between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and that of the colonial countries, so that commonly, and perhaps even in the majority of cases, the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries, supporting the national movements, is at the same time in agreement with the imperialist bourgeoisie, that is, it fights alongside it against the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary classes.” He proposed, therefore, to make a clear distinction between these and the movements of the bourgeoisie in the colonies and dependent countries.

One cannot mix, without committing a serious error, the bourgeois movement for independence of colonies and semi-colonies with the truly anti-imperialist revolutionary movement of the popular masses in these countries. One aims at agreement with the oppressors; the other at a radical rupture with the old system. To include both in the same category is an obvious absurdity. And even more absurd is to say that the reactionary forces of these countries (since the “third world” is fundamentally constituted by them) are the main forces in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. What do the Shah of Iran, the

Sheikh of Saudi Arabia, the King of Morocco, the leaders of India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Egypt, Nigeria, Zaire and the military dictators of Latin America have to do with the authentic anti-imperialist struggle?

The authors of the aforementioned article, trying to appear objective, assert that in those countries “there are revolutionary, progressive forces, various intermediary elements, as well as a minority of reactionaries and even agents of imperialism and social-imperialism.” However, they conceal the most important aspect, which is, which of these forces is in the dominant position. In most cases, it is precisely the minority of reactionaries and agents of imperialism. Justifying this domination, the neo-revisionists say that as long as classes exist, it will be this way, but this fact does not obscure the role of the so-called third world “as the main force in the anti-imperialist struggle.”

They distort, thus, the real meaning of the great emancipatory struggle of our days. The main force in the fight against imperialism is the international proletariat, with the socialist countries at the forefront, allied with the revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist movement of colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries. This is the only true and consistent worldwide movement in the struggle against imperialism. Only this force, properly guided, can fulfil the historic mission of confronting and defeating the power of finance capital, its war plans and its quest for

world domination. And this defeat of imperialism implies the overthrow of the reactionary ruling classes in underdeveloped countries, which constitute the strongholds of counter-revolution and support for the great capitalist powers in their fight against socialism and human progress.

The thesis of the **main force** fundamentally conceals the crucial problem of the revolution and the present era — the problem of the proletariat's leadership. While the **main mass** of fighters in underdeveloped countries is composed of the popular strata, the leadership of the anti-imperialist struggle, both at the global level and within each underdeveloped country, falls to the proletariat, the class with the ultimate interest in the liquidation of imperialism. It is worth noting that the three worlds theorists, when they speak of the proletariat, limit themselves to the imperialist countries, as if there were no working class in oppressed nations. However, the truth is that the proletariat in contemporary times represents a large and combative contingent in those nations. In Brazil, if we consider it together with their families, it already constitutes more than a third of the population; in Chile, it is the majority of its inhabitants; in Argentina, Mexico and generally in Latin America, its numbers are considerable. And the same goes for India, Indonesia, Iran, Tunisia, Egypt and, in general, the former colonial and dependent world. This proletariat has already organized its com-

unist parties or is in the process of doing so, possesses significant experience in struggle, develops the labour movement, reaches out to the peasants and other sections of the petty bourgeoisie, and aims to advance the true democratic movement of national liberation.

By obscuring the role of the proletariat, the neo-revisionists, in practice, advocate for the leadership of the bourgeoisie and even more backward sectors. They claim that the working class and the revolutionary masses in developed capitalist countries, despite achieving victories and dealing blows to imperialism and social-imperialism, are not currently in a position to be the leading force. "Due to the betrayal of the ruling clique in the USSR, the overflow of revisionist ideology and the division within the working class," they write, "the revolutionary workers' movement in developed capitalist countries is, for now, generally in the stage of reorganizing their ranks and accumulating strength." And they add: "In such conditions, the more the countries and peoples of the third world actively play their role as the main force in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism, the more significant is the support and impetus they provide to the workers' movement in developed countries." This is a counter-revolutionary argument.

Temporary defeats do not affect the leading role of the working class. This role is an historical necessity. Those who betrayed socialism and the revolution on different occa-

sions sought to sideline the proletariat as the leading force in the revolutionary struggle. However, they have always been mistaken. No matter how hard the blows they suffered, the working class found ways to maintain its vanguard position and fulfil its mission. This was evident, for example, in 1917 with the October Revolution and shortly after with the reconstruction of the Communist International, which dealt a final blow to the treacherous plans of the leaders of the Second International. The same is true in the workers' and communist movement after the treason of Khrushchev, Brezhnev and others. The banner of socialism and Marxism-Leninism was not lowered, nor did the proletariat give up its leading role. This is because it is the revolutionary force par excellence of the current era and tends to establish itself even more as the irreplaceable leader of the revolution, regardless of the obstacles to overcome.

According to the neo-revisionists, the role of the proletariat today is to "thoroughly study and disseminate Marxism-Leninism, act as the vanguard(!) and a model in this struggle, fulfil its internationalist duty, and support all peoples of the world in their fight against imperialism and hegemonism." Undoubtedly, studying and disseminating Marxism-Leninism, especially in the fight against opportunism, and supporting the struggles of peoples are crucial tasks in the present moment. However, the proletariat studies while fighting its enemies

and supports the peoples with concrete actions against the common enemy on an international scale. Under no circumstances can it renounce its fundamental task, which is to prepare for world revolution, guide and lead the struggles against imperialism, and challenge the foundations of capitalism.

Displaying either ignorance or malicious intent, the neo-revisionists confuse the leadership of the proletariat with a “formation of some unknown command centre” that would supposedly “give orders to the people in their revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggle.” The level of cynicism among those who flatter the bourgeoisie knows no bounds! The leadership of the proletariat is exercised through the correct application of Marxist-Leninist policies, its vanguard role, and constant effort to forge and develop the worker-peasant alliance, rallying broad sections of the people around progressive and revolutionary causes. It hinges on the existence and strengthening of communist parties and does not exclude the creation, at the right time, of a common centre for Marxist-Leninist vanguards, similar to the Third International. This centre would not seek to **give orders** to the peoples — that would be a calumny — but rather aim to guide and coordinate revolutionary actions on an international level in pursuit of socialism’s victory.

Advocates of bourgeois leadership, the authors of the three worlds theory claim that the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America

that have gained independence will be “over a **relatively long historical period** (emphasis added) the main force in the struggle against imperialism.” By saying so, they reveal their complete abandonment of the perspective of proletarian revolution. These countries are not socialist; thus, this **long historical period** would be one of bourgeois domination. And it is the bourgeoisie’s demands, the most shameless reformism, that they advocate in the mentioned article. This starts with their own concept of the disappearance of imperialism. According to them, since imperialism needs to plunder and exploit the colonial and dependent countries to survive, it would be enough to deprive it of this source of subsistence to liquidate it. “The liberating struggle of the colonies’ peoples — they claim — has shaken and will ultimately destroy these bases that allow imperialism to maintain its existence.” This is the same thesis that Stalin had already refuted, which emerged in the early 1950s when certain rightists wanted to promote the idea that, since imperialism could not exist without wars, the struggle for peace and efforts to prevent its outbreak would be sufficient to end imperialism. Clearly, the imperialist system will not be destroyed through the struggle for peace or an illusory “deprivation” of its colonial plunder. “Finance capital,” as Lenin said, “is such a powerful and decisive factor in all economic and international relations that it effectively subordinates even states that enjoy complete

political independence" (*Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*). As long as it exists, there will be oppressive and oppressed nations, strong and weak, exploitative and exploited. To destroy it, a revolution is necessary. However, the neo-revisionists do not point the "third world" countries towards revolution; instead, they advocate policies to "secure their independence, existence and development," and a struggle "against the expansion and aggression of imperialism." In their reformist daydreams, they even proclaim that "the third world's struggle to establish relations of **equality and mutual benefit** (emphasis added) with the second world will be long and arduous." As if it were possible, without liquidating imperialism in the "second world," to achieve over a long process relations of equality and mutual benefit with it, relations incompatible with the monopolistic nature of finance capital.

Reformism is also a tool of imperialist domination. Currently, it is worth noting that there is significant activity by West Germany, hand in hand with the Social Democratic International and with the approval of the United States, to promote the development of reformist parties in underdeveloped countries, especially those where the revolutionary struggle has gained momentum. Their representatives establish contact with leaders who have stood out in popular and democratic actions in oppressed nations, even those who have taken

radical positions, in order to draw them into the field of reformism. They also intervene in countries experiencing revolutionary crises, attempting to tip the political balance in favour of the reformists. In the fight against the peoples, imperialism seeks to combine brutal repression with deceptive and diversionary activities in favour of reforms that do not alter the essence of reactionary regimes. In this way, it combats the maturing revolution, striving to prevent the proletariat from gaining political leadership and achieving hegemony in liberating struggles.

* * *

The ideas presented by the three worlds theorists, in the part of the article currently under focus, clearly define their political and ideological orientation — an opportunistic and anti-Leninist orientation. Instead of exposing the imperialist character of the impending war, they advocate chauvinism and the participation of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples alongside their oppressors in the inter-imperialist conflict. Instead of the leadership of the working class, they promote the leadership of the bourgeoisie, and contrary to revolutionary struggle, they defend reformist struggle. Thus, the issues are laid bare. Their viewpoints reveal how far they are from Marxism-Leninism and how close they come to the opportunist conceptions of both old and new types. They consciously or unconsciously aid the en-

emies of the proletariat, contributing to disorienting the working masses and diverting them from the path of revolution. However, these ideas will not prevail; they are condemned by history, by the entire revolutionary history of the proletariat, and by the inevitable, upward march of social struggle, despite temporary setbacks. Marxism-Leninism is invincible, and the revolution will ultimately triumph everywhere.

III

The final part of the article by the three worlds theorists focusses on the formulation of tasks assigned to the proletariat and the peoples. These tasks are determined in relation to a future war and are closely linked to the aggressive plans of imperialism.

CHAUVINIST AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY DIRECTIVES

Guided by a false assessment of the world situation and viewing it through a reactionary prism, the authors of the neo-revisionist article adopt chauvinistic and counter-revolutionary positions. They recommend focussing all work among the masses with the possibility of an imminent and large-scale conflict, although they also suggest that its outbreak could be delayed. They thereby limit the workers' activity to this conflict in preparation.

There are three tasks outlined. The first aims to "make the people aware of the danger of war," convincing them of its inevitability. The second task is to "strive to delay the onset of war," buying time to "strengthen defence forces" and be "better prepared and positioned when it breaks out." The third objective is to "intensify the struggle against appeasement policies," all with the aim of forming an alleged "broadest international united front against hegemonism."

Such are the tasks and directives. None of them have any relation to the revolutionary movement or the class interests of the proletariat.

The world is pregnant with revolution, even if at the moment there is no general upsurge in the consistent struggle of the peoples. In front of the proletariat and the popular masses, striking contrasts stand out: rapid technological development, scientific progress that could allow a gigantic increase in production and improvement of society's living conditions — and yet factory closures, massive unemployment and a prolonged economic crisis persist; the steadily growing wealth in the hands of a handful of magnates, owners of multinational corporations and financial capital — while the vast majority of the working masses suffer relative and absolute impoverishment, with a sharp decline in their standard of living; hundreds of billions of dollars and rubles spent annually on armaments and the preparation of imperialist war — while lacking the resources to meet the most basic needs of working populations and promote progress in vast regions; the strengthening of oppressive powers of the capitalist state, continued disappearance of democratic achievements — while the longing for freedom, culture, social justice, peace and true national independence persists. These contrasts are the products of decomposing capitalism, the exacerbation of the fundamental contradictions of the contemporary world, and

there is no way to avoid, bypass or suppress them. Only the proletarian revolution can definitively overcome them.

However, the three worlds theorists only see, in the global arena, the rivalry between the two superpowers, the war preparations that subordinate the vital interests of the masses. To them, it means nothing that millions of people succumb to hunger (with 500,000 people currently dying of starvation in India every year), that exploitation and oppression extend on an unprecedented scale, that workers' strikes become more frequent involving huge contingents of the proletariat, that peasants in many places revolt against misery and neglect, that the masses rise, even taking up arms, to shake off the yoke of reaction and imperialism, and that combative acts against repressive violence and prevailing arbitrariness multiply in almost every part of the world. They cling to one aspect of the world situation — the threat of war — absolutize it and view it through a bourgeois prism. Consequently, they cannot think in terms of revolution.

Certainly, the danger of war should not be underestimated. All imperialist countries, especially the United States and the Soviet Union, tend toward a world conflict. Each one poses as a pacifist, a supporter of arms reduction, and raises demagogic banners to deceive the masses and cover up their hegemonic intentions. While Brezhnev strives to create a "liberating" image of his oppressive regime,

Carter dons the mask of defending “human rights.” But what they really do is fuel the arms race and secure strategic positions.

Revolutionaries tirelessly denounce these preparations and expose the tricks of the aggressive factions. However, they do not get entangled in the web of warmongering. They use this denunciation primarily to rally the people against the imperialist and social-imperialist systems that generate war, to increase their indignation at the regime of oppression and exploitation, and to help workers organize vigorous actions for their rights and demands. They never deviate from the path of class struggle, educating the masses to solve their basic problems.

Nevertheless, the neo-revisionists point in another direction. They strive to deceive the workers about the nature of war, spreading the opinion that the conflict is inevitable, and nothing can be done to avoid it. They advocate the integration of the masses into the war effort.

In the fight against war, it would be criminal to instil in the proletariat and the people — as the neo-revisionists desire — the idea that war will be unavoidable and **not dependent on the will of men**. Imperialism has its own laws, and war is a regularity in this system. However, while it is impossible to change, create or alter the objective laws, the same does not apply to the conditions that give rise to these laws. Conditions are perfectly changeable, **depending on**

the will of men. And if they change (by overthrowing imperialism), then those laws no longer apply. In 1921, Lenin pointed out that a new war would be inevitable IF (emphasis on “if”) the capitalist system were maintained (“On the Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution”). With this caveat, he wanted to show the proletariat the path to avoid war and draw their attention to the relationship between war and capitalism. It is said that either revolution prevents war, or war will provoke the revolution. This thesis is correct. However, the neo-revisionists do not rely on it, even though they say in their article that “the only way to eliminate world wars is to overthrow the imperialist system through revolution.” This has no connection with the orientation they defend. It is an empty phrase because they do not believe in revolution, at least as a achievable prospect. Revolution, to them, is something that will never happen. They reason like this: “since the revolution has not yet occurred”... and “since the rivalry between the two superpowers is becoming more intense, with Soviet social-imperialism, in particular, being on the offensive within this rivalry”... the only way is to succumb to fatalism, accept the inevitability of the conflict and tell the people that they have no other choice but to involve themselves in it on the side of one of the warring groups. A strange syllogism! From such premises, a true vanguard fighter would draw a different conclusion: “since the revolution

has not yet occurred” and “since the rivalry between the superpowers tends to intensify,” what is necessary is to drive the revolutionary movement, enlighten the masses about the nature of the impending war, organize them to prepare for overthrowing imperialism and reaction, if not now, then during the war. Those who fight for revolution cannot passively accept the inevitability of war and, even less, advise the people to support the inter-imperialist dispute.

The chauvinistic position of the three worlds theorists becomes quite clear when they put forward the slogan of “fighting to postpone the war.” They claim that by postponing it, “the people of each country, within the framework of the struggle to postpone the war, can strengthen their own defence forces.” However, it is not the peoples of Europe, Japan, Asia, Africa and Latin America who take care of or decide on so-called national defence or the increase in “defence forces.” It is the governments and the high commands of the reactionary armed forces. In other words, the peoples would be encouraging these reactionary governments and armies to multiply their armaments and military personnel, better prepare for the inter-imperialist conflict! Moreover, the three worlds theorists do not even take into account that the burden of this preparation falls on the masses and that it entails the containment and repression of workers’ and popular struggles. This postponement of war

would also aim to use the time to instil courage and determination in the peoples, so that they go to war as if it were their own, as if it were just. “The peoples of the third and second worlds,” write the neo-revisionists, “facing the threat of the two superpowers (in reality, one of the superpowers), must first of all arm themselves with courage, become convinced that every superpower, no matter how arrogant, can be defeated,” adding that in the context of this struggle, they “must safeguard their independence, interests and security.” Thus, instead of instilling courage and selflessness in the exploited and oppressed (dare to fight, dare to win!) to fight against their exploiters and warmongers, they seek to psychologically prepare the populations dominated by the imperialists and reactionaries to carry out their criminal plans. They deceive the masses by spreading the mistaken opinion that their interests security, and true national independence can be defended through imperialist carnage. To postpone the war to prepare for an unjust war — such is the directive of the neo-revisionists. With such an orientation, one does not fight against, but in favour of world conflagration. And it abandons the revolutionary task of preparing the masses to turn it into a struggle for liberation, if it cannot be avoided.

The same purpose is pursued by the slogan “fighting against the policy of appeasement.” What advantage do the peoples gain in this struggle? Are they interested in demanding

firmness from one of the belligerent sides towards the other? Would this decrease or increase the danger of war? In truth, the sole purpose of this slogan is to demand that the United States and its allies in Europe and Asia be tough and unyielding towards their Soviet rivals. However, appeasement, whether false or true, is one aspect of the policy of the superpowers. The United States and the Soviet Union will make agreements and compromises in the short and medium term if it suits them. They will be tough or flexible depending on the circumstances. These compromises, in certain cases, aim to buy time to overcome temporary delays in their war-like activities or to deceive the vigilance of the peoples. But they do not change their hegemonic plans. It is not the role of the workers to incite the warmongers to be firm against each other, but to unmask the content of their agreements and compromises, to point them out as enemies of humanity.

Within the tasks outlined by the three worlds theorists, there is the struggle against hegemonism. Here, we encounter a gross deceit. In reality, they seek to hide the defence of imperialism, the **status quo**, by simulating a fight against imperialism. Hegemonism is merely an expression of imperialist policy; it is an effect, not a cause. As long as this system exists, hegemonism is inevitable. However, the three worlds theorists pretend to ignore this truth and propose the creation of a broad international front against hegemonism, dis-

guised as anti-imperialist. As allies of the United States and other monopolistic countries, they are not willing to mobilize the masses against imperialism. Their orientation is not genuinely anti-imperialist. At most, they fight against the expansion of major powers, not necessarily for the abolition of that system. They limit themselves to combatting some of its most repulsive manifestations and demanding concessions from it for less developed nations. Hence, the united front they propose is false, as it does not correspond to the demands of the present nor to the interests and aspirations of the peoples. The worldwide front that needs to be forged is not merely directed against **hegemonism** and the **policy** of war, but against imperialism, social-imperialism and the impending war. Hegemonism and the policy of war are fought solely as a means to educate the masses and help them understand the cause of this phenomenon: the existence of the imperialist system, which must be destroyed for the peoples to enjoy lasting peace and true independence.

Such is the orientation presented by the neo-revisionists to the proletariat and the peoples. If the masses were to adopt the tasks formulated by them, they would find themselves ensnared in the war plans of the superpowers and their allies, submitting to their oppressors, suffering the terrible consequences of an unprecedented massacre, only to determine which imperialist faction would extend its

dominance over the globe. There is not a single proposition among the three worlds theorists that has an emancipatory, revolutionary or anti-capitalist sense. It takes a great deal of cynicism to claim that by implementing this policy, “a gigantic revolutionary army can be put into motion, concentrating its attacks against the main enemies (the social-imperialists) and achieving the triumph of the revolution.” Yes, if the people allowed themselves to be deceived by the phraseology of the reactionaries and revisionists, old and new, perhaps a gigantic army would be set in motion, not to make the revolution victorious, but to aid the monopolists and exploiters in achieving their intentions of world domination and strengthening the bourgeoisie’s counter-revolutionary positions.

No. These cannot be the tasks of the proletariat and the peoples in the current situation. When determining its tasks in the present and the future, the proletariat views the objective reality from a class perspective. It analyses the overall world situation and the interests at stake. It examines the mood of the masses, their tendencies and aspirations with a view to finding revolutionary solutions.

To achieve their goals, the workers, represented by their vanguard organizations, develop a strategy and tactics based on Marxism-Leninism, which illuminates the path to liberation and is grounded in the intensification of the fundamental contradictions of our era.

They are aware that the masses want to fight for their rights, against the regime of exploitation and oppression. Their mortal enemies are imperialism, social-imperialism and reaction, especially the two superpowers. Their great banner of struggle is the revolution. They fight against war without ever separating this struggle from the class struggle and understanding it as an indivisible part of their overall action to overthrow the bourgeoisie. They pay attention to the shifts in the political course and seek in their daily activity the means to approach their greater objectives, to find appropriate solutions to problems posed by life, and to facilitate their independent movement and the elevation of their revolutionary consciousness. They never cease to expose the sophistry and bombastic phrases of the bourgeoisie and its lackeys, which aim to justify imperialist war because the only justifiable wars are those fought by the exploited and oppressed for their emancipation or in defence of a victorious revolution.

THEORY OF BETRAYAL TO THE REVOLUTION AND SOCIALISM

The article by the three worlds theorists has a positive side: it helps the reader to better understand the meaning of this theory. By attempting to justify it, they revealed the bourgeois essence of their thinking, the deviousness of their reasoning to deceive the masses,

the complete absence of a scientific approach in dealing with issues concerning the development of society. Inadvertently, they exposed the true content of the doctrine they advocate. It is an anti-Leninist, revisionist, capitulationist, bourgeois and anti-worker theory — ultimately, counter-revolutionary.

It is undoubtedly anti-Leninist. It has nothing in common with Lenin's theory of revolution. By renouncing it, the "three worlds" proponents have developed another theory that stands out for its bourgeois class character and its mistaken understanding of the current era. Lenin places the proletariat at the centre of the present era, while the three worlds apologists place the bourgeoisie there. Lenin points towards socialism, whereas the proponents of the three worlds advocate maintaining the **status quo**. Lenin's starting point is the fundamental contradictions of society, while the neo-revisionists focus on current problems. The current conjunctural situations are different from the moment when Russia overthrew capitalism; new phenomena have occurred, related to the increasing decomposition of the capitalist regime and the advancing revolutionary consciousness of the masses. However, the theory of revolution cannot be based on conjunctural phenomena, but rather on those that constitute the essence of an entire historical period. The epoch defined by the leader of the Bolshevik Party endures, and so do the postulates he defended. Those who deny Lenin's

theory, proven by life, even if they claim to be Leninists, place themselves outside the great doctrine of working-class emancipation and rely, in fact, on non-proletarian conceptions.

The three worlds theory has a revisionist character. Revisionism is an attempt to “correct” the foundations of the revolutionary doctrine developed by Marx and Engels, enriched by Lenin and other prominent vanguard fighters. This revision has been attempted several times, from Bernstein and Kautsky, and the result is well known: a mere adaptation of Marxism to capitalism, abandoning the ultimate goal under the pretext that “the movement is everything.” Lenin precisely enunciated the policy of revisionism — “defining conduct according to circumstances, adapting to the events of the day-to-day, the versatility of political details, forgetting the vital interests of the proletariat and the essential traits of the capitalist regime and all capitalist evolution, sacrificing those vital interests in the name of real or alleged advantages of the moment.” This is precisely the orientation on which the three worlds theory is based: renouncing revolution, giving priority to issues of the moment, detached from the fundamental interests of the working class. In form, this theory may appear distinct from other revisionist versions, but its content has the same significance. The proponents of the three worlds theory do not say, for example, as the Soviets did, that the path to revolution is peaceful. On the contrary, in

words, they contest this Khrushchevite thesis. However, the path they indicate is not that of revolutionary struggle by the masses against their oppressors; it is the path of class collaboration, under the pretext of concentrating fire on the main enemy, the path of unprincipled alliances with reactionaries and imperialists. Neither do they affirm, as the Soviets did, that socialism will triumph through peaceful competition leading to a world without wars, weapons and armies. On the contrary, they believe in the inevitability of war, advocate the militarization of reactionary and imperialist states, and want socialist countries and the revolutionary movement to join the so-called third and second world countries (and even half of the first) to participate in the inter-imperialist conflict. They thus lower the banner of revolution and socialism and raise the standard of peaceful coexistence between revolution and counter-revolution, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. They also do not say, as the Soviets did, that backward nations, without becoming socialist, can follow a path of non-capitalist development. Regarding these nations, they advocate development based on the dominance of the bourgeoisie and landlords for a long historical period, in a situation where all the contradictions of the capitalist world are intensifying. Clearly, there are no essential differences between one type of revisionism and another. Whether they like it or not, the three worlds theory is an open and

clear revision of Marxism-Leninism in all its aspects.

The three worlds theory is capitulationist. Despite presenting themselves as adversaries of the two superpowers and proponents of a united front against hegemonism and colonialism, their theory is one of complete capitulation in the face of the class enemies of the proletariat. They do not believe in or trust the potential of the revolutionary movement, nor do they see any possibility of the revolution rising to the forefront of the global picture. They have lost confidence in the working class and the perspective of socialism. Terrified by the might of social-imperialism, which appears overwhelming to them, with its plans for world domination, the three worlds theorists shamefully capitulate to American imperialism, European and Asian imperialism and the reactionaries of underdeveloped nations. They now admit that only these forces, to which the socialist countries should also join, have the conditions in the present situation to successfully oppose and defeat the military power of the USSR. They fail to see that social-imperialism is strong in appearance and in the measure that it deceives the masses, but weak in reality because its regime is contrary to proletarian socialism, revolution and the most heartfelt aspirations of the people. Although younger than the other imperialists, the Soviet Union is undermined by contradictions it cannot overcome. Its regime will be defeated by the revo-

lutionary struggle of the masses. Therefore, the fight against the USSR must be waged not only on the political and state levels but also, and fundamentally, on the ideological and principled level to win over the Soviet masses and help them rise against the treacherous cliques. If we, who live in other countries, have come to understand the betrayal of Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their gang, why wouldn't the millions of workers and peasants who made the revolution and fought for the construction of socialism understand it too? If they have not awakened yet, let us help them. This fight, whose success cannot be doubted, the three worlds theorists can never wage supported by an opportunistic theory. It is not by capitulating to the United States and its partners that the social-imperialists will be defeated. The more they ally themselves with the American, European and Asian monopolists, the more they march arm in arm with the reactionaries, the more arguments the neo-revisionists provide to the Kremlin potentates to deceive the Soviet masses and pose as socialists. Capitulation is a renunciation of Marxism-Leninism, of socialism, an indefinite postponement of the revolution — defeat even before engaging in the decisive battle.

The three worlds theory is bourgeois and anti-worker. Despite its authors' claims that it responds to the need to "establish the new world strategy of the international proletariat and oppressed peoples," it actually pursues

other goals. It is known that Leninist strategy and tactics constitute the science of directing the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. However, the three worlds theory does not view the proletariat as the class currently propelling the process of historical development. All its directives and indications clash with the vital interests of the working class, leading to its subordination to the plans and policies of the bourgeoisie.

One example of the bourgeois nature of this theory is its position regarding the transformation of the bourgeois revolution into the proletarian revolution, which represents one of the cornerstones of Leninism. The three worlds theorist orientation not only hinders revolutionary changes but also objectively opposes the progress of the revolution — where it has occurred — from its transition from the first to the second stage. In the countries of the so-called third world, it is content with achieving national independence and intends to maintain the domination of the bourgeoisie and landlords there for a long historical period. In most of these countries, the first stage of the revolution has not even been completed, and in others, it has stagnated at this stage. The three worlds theorists openly object to mobilizing the masses for the revolutionary overthrow of the reactionary ruling classes in underdeveloped nations. These classes are considered their main allies.

Critiquing such opportunistic views, Stalin

emphasized: “The heroes of the Second International affirm that between the bourgeois democratic revolution, on the one hand, and the proletarian revolution, on the other, there is an abyss, or in any case, a Great Wall of China, which separates one from the other by a more or less prolonged interval of time, during which the bourgeoisie in power develops capitalism while the proletariat accumulates forces and prepares for the ‘final struggle’ against capitalism.” He added: “This ‘theory’... is nothing but a means to camouflage, to conceal the counter-revolutionary pretensions of the bourgeoisie” (*The Foundations of Leninism*).

It is no coincidence that the three worlds theorists propagate the idea that the proletariat today should only study and disseminate Marxism, reorganize its ranks and accumulate strength — in other words, prepare for the long-term final struggle that will never come if they depend on them. The bourgeois character of this theory is also present in the key issue of hegemony. The orientation it advocates inevitably leads to the hegemony of the bourgeoisie in the ongoing political process, to the detriment of the proletariat and the oppressed masses, whose function would be reduced to mere auxiliary forces.

The hegemony of the working class can only be achieved by fighting against the landlords to secure the support of the peasantry, combatting the anti-revolutionary positions of

the bourgeoisie, and countering the wavering of the petty bourgeoisie. One cannot serve god and the devil at the same time, says an old proverb. Either one fights for the hegemony of the proletariat or for the hegemony of the bourgeoisie. There is no middle ground.

Being anti-Leninist, revisionist, capitulationist, bourgeois and anti-worker, the three worlds theory is inherently counter-revolutionary. It provides support for the aggressive and expansionist plans of imperialism. It fosters chauvinism and narrow nationalism at the expense of proletarian internationalism. It tends to weaken and divide the global workers' and communist movement. It is in direct opposition to the proletarian revolution, an urgent demand of the current era we live in.

* * *

To what other conclusion could one come? The conclusion that it is essential to consistently combat, from its very origins, the pernicious three worlds theory, which is meant to safeguard the rotten capitalist system. Alongside the struggle against other revisionist versions, it is necessary not to give any quarter to the three worlds theorists, who serve the bourgeoisie and reactionaries of various kinds. This is the way to raise the revolutionary consciousness of the exploited and oppressed, to forge the instruments of their national and social emancipation, and to advance triumphantly, worldwide, towards socialism.

**This is what the Communist Party of Brazil
thinks and defends.**



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