

The Internationale Shall Be the Human Race

Over a hundred and fifty years ago Marx and Engels issued the *Communist Manifesto* with their thunderous declaration of war against the bourgeoisie: "A spectre is haunting Europe — the spectre of Communism." Since that time, the revolutionary successors of Marx have carried his battlecry to every nook and cranny of the globe, and they have done so as representatives of the world proletariat, the class that can only finally liberate itself by liberating all mankind. From Marx's time forward, the representatives of the international proletariat have come together at an international level to organise and carry out their combat at a global level.

Marx and Engels guided the work of the First International, till its break-up after the defeat of the Paris Commune. After Marx's death, Engels went on to play a key role in the founding and early years of the Second International. Lenin led the Bolsheviks first as part of the Second International and later, as its leaders sided with their own imperialist governments during World War 1, he did everything he could to expose and defeat it and so give rise to a revolutionary Third (or Communist) International, which exploded into being with the Bolshevik Revolution. Stalin carried on Lenin's work in the Third International, the Comintern, during the period of socialist construction in the USSR, of rising wars of national liberation as that led by Mao Tsetung in China, and in the face of a growing threat of a new world war, imperialist attacks on the Soviet Union and the coming to power of fascism in Germany.

With the revisionist coup in the USSR in 1956, the international communist movement was dealt a serious blow and was cast into disarray. Mao Tsetung led the battalions of the Chinese masses into the breach; they picked up the red flag and swept higher and further than had ever been done before, in the great epoch-making battles of the Cultural Revolution, which gave birth to a new generation of revolutionaries guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement proudly declared in its *Declaration* that, "Today, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, together with other Maoist forces, are the inheritors of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, and they must firmly base themselves on this heritage." The following section illustrates some of the important moments in the internationalist battles of the proletariat.



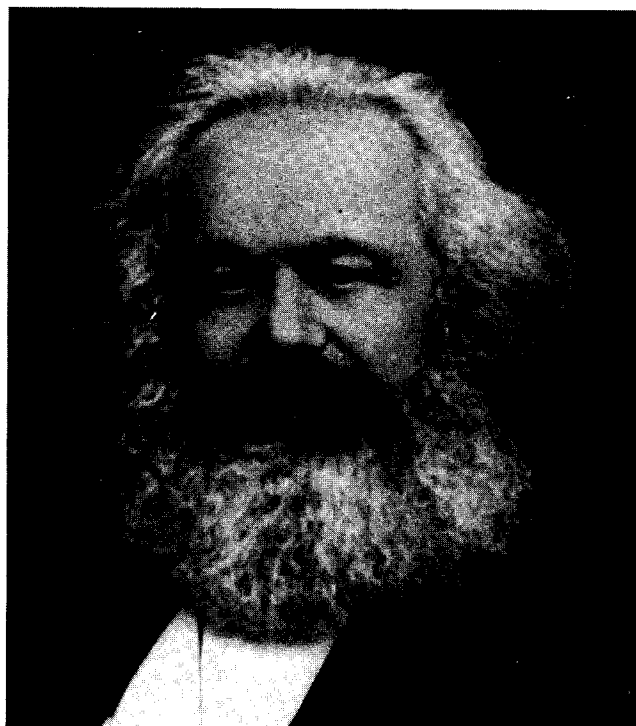
Drawing by Käthe Kollwitz,
a revolutionary German artist 1867-1945



Frederick Engels played a leading role, including militarily, in the German revolution of 1848.

The International Workingmen's Association (IWA), or the First International, was founded in 1864 in London and spread the revolutionary movement throughout Europe, America and even to Australia. Marx's ideas had to contend with the anarchism of Bakunin and Proudhon, who finally succeeded in wrecking the IWA in 1872. But as Engels remarked, "For ten years, the International channeled European history in one direction — the direction of the future — and it can look back proudly on its achievement." Below: a drawing of the founding of the IWA.





Karl Marx, the founder of communism. He carried out his unprecedented theoretical work and practical leadership of the First International while being hounded by the bourgeoisie throughout Europe.

The English working class stretch the hand of fellowship to the French and German working people. They feel deeply convinced that whatever turn the impending horrid war may take, the alliance of the working classes of all countries will ultimately kill war. The very fact that while official France and Germany are rushing into a fratricidal feud, the workmen of France and Germany send each other messages of peace and goodwill; this great fact, unparalleled in the history of the past, opens the vista of a brighter future. It proves that in contrast to old society, with its economical miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up, whose International rule will be *Peace* because its national ruler will be everywhere the same — *Labour!* The Pioneer of that new society is the International Workingmen's Association.

Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*



The first edition of the *Communist Manifesto*.

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

— Karl Marx and Frederick Engels,
The Communist Manifesto

The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black skins, signaled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production.

— Karl Marx, *Capital*

Labor in the white skin cannot be free as long as in the black skin it is branded.

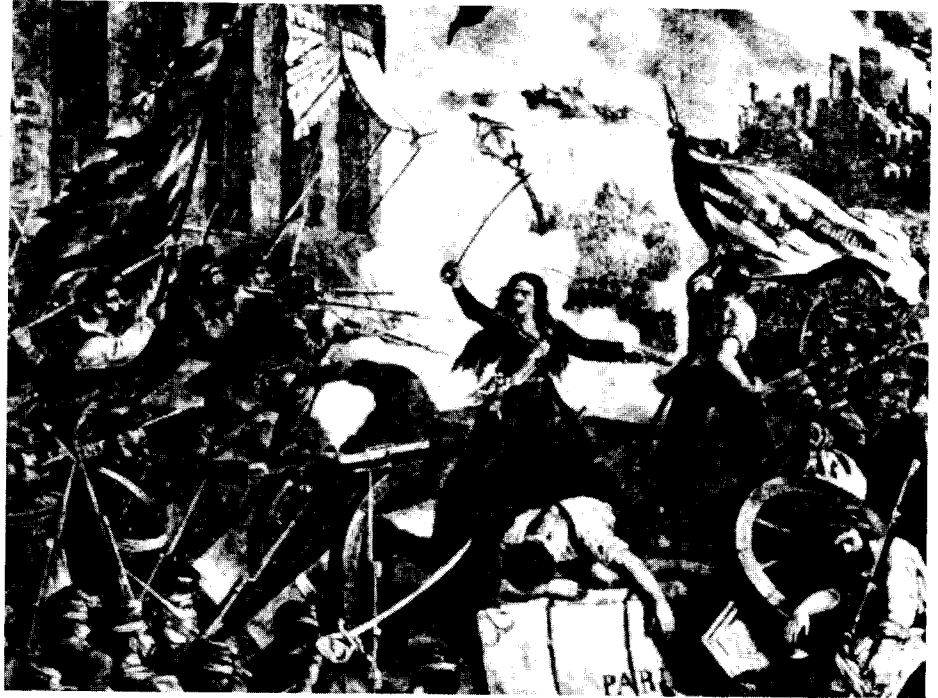
— Karl Marx

We say to workers, you will have to go through fifteen, twenty, fifty years of civil wars and international wars, not only in order to change existing conditions but also in order to change yourselves and fit yourselves for the exercise of political power.

— Karl Marx, "Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne"

The Paris Communards held out for over three months, fighting heroically despite the fact that the French bourgeoisie, who had been at war with Germany, turned around and enlisted the German ruling class' aid to suppress their common enemy — the insurrectionary proletariat.





The last battles of the communards; women played a significant role in organisation and defence of the Paris Commune. This was the first seizure of political power by the proletariat. As Engels said, if you want to know what the dictatorship of the proletariat is, look at the Paris Commune.



"Our country" — a word, an error! "Humanity" — a fact, a truth! Invented by priests and kings, like the myth God "the country" has only been used to confine human animals in exact limits, where they can be shaved and bled for their masters' benefit, under their eyes and in the name of their unclean fetish.

Birth here or there, a mere accident, changes our nationality and makes us friends or enemies. Let us reject this silly lottery — a farce in which we have always been the butts.

Let "country" become an empty word — a valueless administrative division — our country is wherever life is free and work is done.

Peoples, workers, light is arising: let our blindness end. Down with tyrants and despots!

France is dead, long live Humanity!

— Written by communard Jules Nostag in *La Révolution Politique et Social*.

The Commune was... a working men's Government, as the bold champion of the emancipation of labour, emphatically international. Within sight of the Prussian army, that had annexed to Germany two French provinces, the Commune annexed to France the working people all over the world...

The Commune admitted all foreigners to the honour of dying for an immortal cause. Between the foreign war lost by their treason, and the civil war fomented by their conspiracy with the foreign invader, the bourgeoisie had found the time to display their patriotism by organising police-hunts upon the Germans in France. The Commune made a German working man its Ministry of Labour. Thiers, the bourgeoisie, the Second Empire, had continually deluded Poland by loud professions of sympathy, while in reality betraying her to, and doing the dirty work of, Russia. The Commune honoured the heroic sons of Poland by placing them at the head of the defenders of Paris. And, to broadly mark the new era of history it was conscious of initiating, under the eyes of the conquering Prussians, on the one side, and of the Bonapartist army, led by Bonapartist generals, on the other, the Commune pulled down that colossal symbol of martial glory, the Vendôme column.

— Karl Marx, *The Civil War in France*

THE INTERNATIONALE

Eugene Pottier in the wake of the Paris Commune and its bloody defeat composed the words of the *Internationale*. As Lenin remarks, "The Commune was crushed — but Pottier's *Internationale* spread its ideas throughout the world, and it is now more alive than ever." The *Internationale* was adopted as the anthem of the international proletariat by a congress of the Second International. Over the years many different translations of the *Internationale* have appeared in dozens of languages. Some of these translations have lost some of the revolutionary spirit and content of the original French version. Below, the original French text and a translation of the first two verses.

Music score of the *Internationale*.

1. A-rise, ye pris-ners of star-va-tion! A-rise, ye wret-ched of the earth,
2. We want no con-descend-ing sav-i-ors, To rule us from a judg-ment hall.

For jus-tice thun-ders con-dem-na-tion, A bet-ter world's in birth.
We work-ers ask not for their fa-vors; Let us con-sult for all.

No more tra-di-tion's chain shall bind us, A-rise, ye slaves! no more in thrall!
To make the thief dis-gorge his boot-y, To free the spir-it from its cell.

The earth shall rise on new founda-tions, We have been naught, we shall be all
We must our-selves de-cide our du-ty, We must de-cide and do it well.

REFRAIN.

'Tis the fi-nal con-flict, Let each stand in his place.

The in-ter-na-tion-ale Shall be the hu-man race.

'Tis the fi-nal con-flict, Let each stand in his place.

The in-ter-na-tion-ale Shall be the hu-man race.

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth.
For justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
Arise ye slaves! no more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations.
We have been naught, we shall be all.

(Chorus)

'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place.
The internationale
Shall be the human race.

We want no condescending saviours,
To rule us from a judgment hall.
We workers ask not for their favours;
Let us consult for all.
To make the thief disgorge his booty,
To free the spirit from its cell,
We must ourselves decide our duty,
We must decide and do it well.

(Chorus)

'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place.
The internationale
Shall be the human race.

C'est la lutte finale:
Groupons-nous, et demain,
L'Internationale
Sera le genre humain.

Debout! les damnés de la terre!
Debout! les forçats de la faim!
La raison tonne en son cratère,
C'est l'irruption de la fin.
Du passé faisons table rase,
Foule esclave, debout! debout!
Le monde va changer de base:
Nous ne sommes rien, soyons tout!

Il n'est pas de sauveurs suprêmes:
Ni Dieu, ni César, ni tribun,
Producteurs, sauvons-nous nous-mêmes!
Décrétons le salut commun!
Pour que le voleur rende gorge,
Pour tirer l'esprit du cachot,
Soufflons nous-mêmes notre forge,
Battons le fer quand il est chaud!

L'Etat comprime et la loi triche;
L'Impôt saigne le malheureux;
Nul devoir ne s'impose au riche;
Le droit du pauvre est un mot creux,
C'est assez languir en tutelle,
L'Egalité veut d'autres lois,
"Pas de droits sans devoirs, dit-elle,
"Egaux, pas de devoirs sans droits!"

Hideux dans leur apothéose,
Les rois de la mine et du rail
Ont-ils jamais fait autre chose
Que dévaliser le travail?
Dans les coffres-forts de la bande
Ce qu'il a créé s'est fondu.
En décrétant qu'on le lui rende
Le peuple ne veut que son dû.

Les Rois nous soulaient de fumées,
Paix entre nous, guerre aux tyrans!
Appliquons la grève aux armées,
Crosse en l'air et rompons les rangs!
S'ils s'obstinent, ces cannibales,
A faire de nous des héros,
Ils sauront bientôt que nos balles
Sont pour nos propres généraux.

Ouvriers, paysons, nous sommes
Le grand parti des travailleurs;
La terre n'appartient qu'aux hommes,
L'oisif ira loger ailleurs.
Combien de nos chairs se repaissent!
Mais, si les corbeaux, les vautours,
Un de ces matins, disparaissent,
Le soleil brillera toujours!

C'est la lutte finale;
Groupons-nous, et demain,
L'Internationale
Sera le genre humain.



The International itself lived only nine years. But ... the eternal union of the proletarians of all countries created by it is still alive and lives stronger than ever....

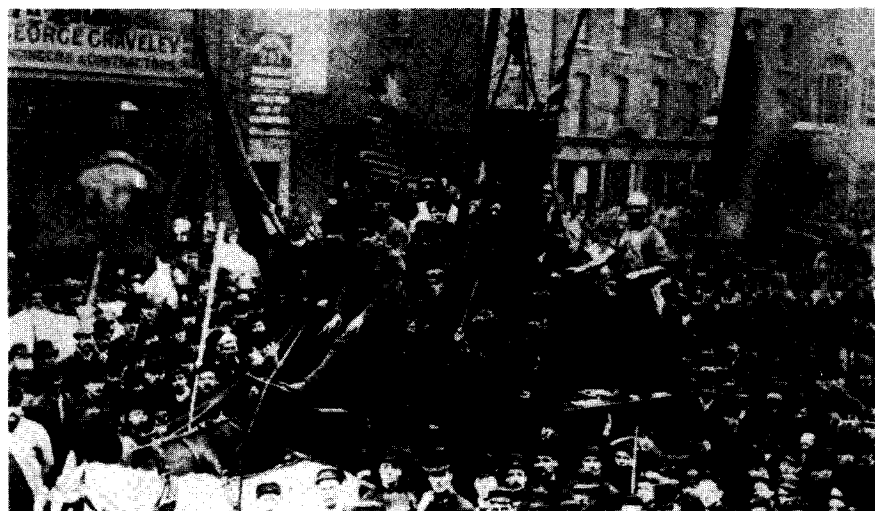
— Frederick Engels, Preface to the *Communist Manifesto*

What is the cardinal idea underlying our theses? It is the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations.... The characteristic feature of imperialism consists in the whole world, as we now see, being divided into a large number of oppressed nations and an insignificant number of oppressor nations, the latter possessing colossal wealth and powerful armed forces.

— V.I. Lenin, To the 2nd Congress of the Communist International



Frederick Engels, August Bebel, Clara Zetkin among others during Congress of the Second International, Zurich, August 1893.



1889 dockworkers strike in Britain. The Second International spurred on the rapid growth of organisation of proletarians in many countries.

Lenin in the 2nd Congress of the 3rd Communist International.



Proletarian internationalism demands, first, that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a world-wide scale, and, second, that a nation which is achieving victory over the bourgeoisie should be able and willing to make the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capital.

— V.I. Lenin, *Theses for the 2nd Congress of the Comintern*

There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is — working whole-heartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own* country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this, *and only this*, line, in *every* country without exception.

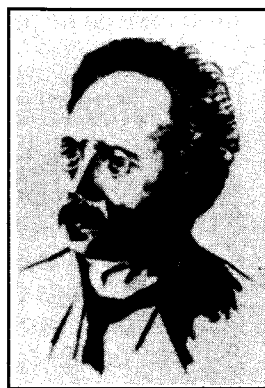
— V.I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution"

The socialist, the revolutionary proletarian, the internationalist, argues differently. He says, "The character of the war (whether it is reactionary or revolutionary) does not depend on who the attacker was, or in whose country the "enemy" is stationed; it depends on *what class* is waging the war, and on what politics this war is a continuation of. If the war is a reactionary, imperialist war, that is, if it is being waged by two world groups of the imperialist, rapacious, predatory, reactionary bourgeoisie, then every bourgeoisie (even of the smallest country) becomes a participant in the plunder, and my duty as a representative of the revolutionary proletariat is to prepare for the *world proletarian revolution* as the *only* escape from the horrors of a world slaughter. I must argue, not from the point of view of "my" country (for that is the argument of a wretched, stupid, petit-bourgeois nationalist who does not realise that he is only a plaything in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie), but from the point of view of *my share* in the preparation, in the propaganda, and in the acceleration of the world proletarian revolution.

— V.I. Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*

Opportunism means sacrificing the fundamental interests of the masses to the temporary interests of an insignificant minority of the workers or, in other words, an alliance between a section of the workers and the bourgeoisie, directed against the masses of the proletariat. The war has made such an alliance particularly conspicuous and inescapable. Opportunism was engendered in the course of decades by the special features in the period of the development of capitalism when the comparatively peaceful and cultured life of a stratum of privileged workingmen "bourgeoisified" them, gave them crumbs from the table of their national capitalisms, and isolated them from the suffering, misery and revolutionary temper of the impoverished and ruined masses. The imperialist war is the direct continuation and culmination of this state of affairs, because this is a war for the *privileges* of the Great-Power nations, for the repartition of colonies and domination over other nations.

— V.I. Lenin, *The Collapse of the 2nd International*



Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, internationalist leaders of the German workers' revolt of 1919, murdered by the German social-democratic government.

Karl Liebknecht is a most celebrated representative of ... the *new* and genuine, proletarian International.

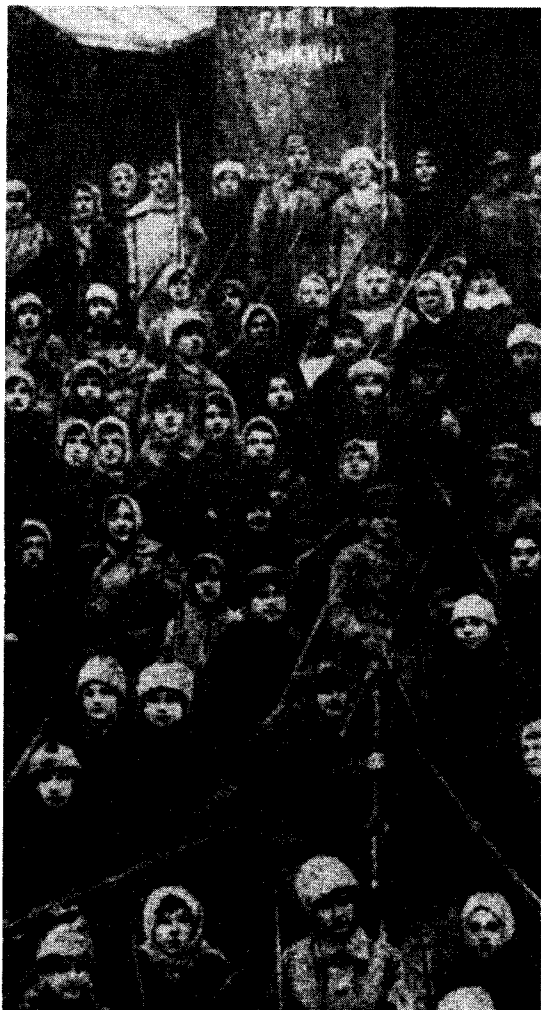
Karl Liebknecht called upon the workers and soliders of Germany to *turn their guns* against *their own* government.... He was arrested and sentenced to *hard labour*. He is now serving his term in a German convict prison, like *hundreds*, if not thousands, of other *true* German socialists who have been imprisoned for their anti-war activities....

Liebknecht *alone* represents socialism, the proletarian cause, the proletarian revolution. *All* the rest of German Social-Democracy, to quote the apt words of Rosa Luxemburg, ... is a "*stinking corpse*."

— Lenin, *The Tasks of the Proletariat in our Revolution*, 1917

An International does not mean sitting at the same table and having hypocritical and pettifogging resolutions written by people who think that genuine internationalism consists in German socialists justifying the German bourgeoisie's call to shoot down French workers, and in French socialists justifying the French bourgeoisie's call to shoot down German workers in the name of the "defence of the fatherland"! The International consists in the coming together (first ideologically, then in due time organisationally as well) of people who, in these grave days, are capable of defending socialist internationalism in deed, ie, of mustering their forces and "being the next to shoot" at the governments and ruling classes of their *own respective* "fatherlands". This is no easy task; it calls for much preparation and great sacrifices and will be accompanied by reverses. However for the very reason that it is no easy task, it must be accomplished only together with those who *wish* to perform it and are not afraid of a complete break with the chauvinists and with the defenders of social-chauvinism.

— V.I. Lenin, "Dead Chauvinism and Living Socialism"



A detachment of working women from the Vasilyevsky Island district of Petrograd right before their departure for the front in the revolutionary civil war.



Ideologically, politically and organisationally the Bolshevik-Menshevik split prepared the way for the victory of the October Revolution. And without the Bolsheviks' struggle against the Mensheviks and the revisionism of the Second International, the October Revolution could never have triumphed.

— Mao Tsetung, *Critique of Soviet Economics*



One of the International Battalions of the Red Army.

At a conference of prisoners captured in WWI, organising to fight in the Bolshevik Revolution a Hungarian worker asked: "Here in the vast expanse of Russia is now being decided the fate of the workers of the world. Is it possible to stay away? Is it possible not to act?!" It was announced to thunderous applause that a group of Hungarians, Germans and Czechs had already gone to the Eastern front to fight the advancing army; it was a stunning moment, for up to that point the imperialist war had seen Hungarian, German, Austrian and Czech against Russians, Englishmen and French — now was developing not only a revolutionary civil war within Russia, but elements of a revolutionary civil war internationally. The slogan went out from the Congress to the POW camps: "All into the Ranks of the Red International Army" — for so it was conceived and built.

The ranks of the Legions swelled. There were cases of a Chinese commander leading Hungarians and Czechs who all tried to speak German; of Germans leading Croats, Serbs, Slovenians; of Turks, Greeks and Bulgarians, and many others. As their ranks further grew, the Karl Liebknecht Brigade from Germany, a revolutionary regiment of Poles, and other units formed. In the spring of 1918, just as the Red Army began to mobilize, between 40,000 and 90,000 soldiers, making up 30-40% of the Red Army, came from outside Russia.



Poster depicting the Russian revolution as the beginning of breaking the chains of wage-slavery worldwide.

We are told that Russia will disintegrate and split up into separate republics but we have no reason to fear this. We have nothing to fear, whatever the number of independent republics. The important thing for us is not where the state border runs, but whether or not the working people of all nations remain allied in their struggle against the bourgeoisie, irrespective of their nationality.

— V.I. Lenin, Speech at the First All-Russia Congress of the Navy, December 1917

The salvos of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism. The October Revolution helped progressives in China, as throughout the world, adopt the proletarian world outlook.

— Mao Tsetung, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship"

In the same way as mankind can arrive at the abolition of classes only through a transition period of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, it can arrive at the inevitable integration of nations only through a transition period of the complete emancipation of all oppressed nations, ie, their freedom to secede.

— V.I. Lenin, "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination"



1.



2.



1. French marines, sent to fight as part of the imperialists' intervention against the Bolshevik revolution, mutinied.

2. A Russian and Austrian soldier fraternise in the trenches. Lenin demanded concrete organisation of fraternisation between the warring soldiers to break down the chauvinist animosity fueled by the bourgeoisies and accelerate preparations for revolutionary civil war in all the belligerent countries.

3. During WWI the leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party — with the exception of Liebknecht, Luxemburg and a few others, called on the German masses to support their rulers' war effort. Shortly after the war, with Germany defeated and in deep crisis and with Russia in the flames of Bolshevik-led revolution, the Spartacus group, led by Liebknecht and Luxemburg, led an armed-uprising (pictured here). The German Social-Democrats succeeded in crushing it and executing its leaders.

3.

Much is given to the Russian proletariat; nowhere in the world has the working class yet succeeded in developing so much revolutionary energy as in Russia. But to whom much is given, of him much is required....

It is we who must found, and right now, without delay, a *new*, revolutionary, proletarian International.... This is the International of those "internationalists in deed" whom I precisely listed above. They and they alone are representatives of the revolutionary, internationalist mass, and not their corrupters. And if socialists of *that type* are few, let every Russian worker ask himself whether there were many really class-conscious revolutionaries in Russia *on the eve* of the February-March revolution of 1917.

It is not a question of numbers, but of giving correct expression to the ideas and policies of the truly revolutionary proletariat. The thing is not to "proclaim" internationalism, but to be able to be an internationalist in deed, even when times are most trying.

Our Party must not "wait", but must immediately *found* a Third International.

— V.I. Lenin, "Tasks of Proletariat in Our Revolution"



Bolshevik poster — Long live the 3rd Communist International.

Me and our corner grocer,
 we're both mightily unknown in America.
 Nevertheless,
 from China to Spain, from the Cape of Good Hope
 to Alaska,
 in every nautical mile, in every kilometre, I have
 friends
 and enemies.
 Such friends that we haven't met even once
 yet we can die for the same bread, the same free-
 dom, the same
 dream.
 And such enemies that they thirst for my blood —
 I thirst for theirs.
 My strength
 is that I'm not alone in this big world.
 The world and its people are no secret in my heart,
 no mystery in my science.
 Calmly and openly
 I took my place
 in the great struggle.

By Nazim Hikmet, a revolutionary poet from Turkey.



Delegates to a Congress of the Third International, held in Moscow



Lenin at the Second Congress of the Third International, seated, centre, with international delegates.

The October Revolution has shaken imperialism not only in the centres of its domination, not only in the "mother countries." It has also struck blows at the rear of imperialism, its periphery, having undermined the rule of imperialism in the colonial and dependent countries....

The October Revolution has ushered in a new era, the era of *colonial* revolutions which are being conducted *in the oppressed countries* of the world *in alliance* with the proletariat and under the *leadership* of the proletariat....

While shaking imperialism, the October Revolution has at the same time created — in the first proletarian dictatorship — a powerful and open *base* for the world revolutionary movement, a base such as the world revolutionary movement *never possessed* before and on which it now can rely. It has created a powerful and open *centre* of the world revolutionary movement, such as the world revolutionary movement *never possessed* before and around which it now can rally and organise a *united revolutionary front of the proletarians and of the oppressed nations of all countries against imperialism*.

— Joseph Stalin, "The International Character of the October Revolution"

The Russian revolution is not the private cause of the Russians; on the contrary, it is the cause of the working class of the whole world, the cause of the world proletarian revolution.

— Joseph Stalin, "Concerning the History of the Bolsheviks"

1 Even as early as the last century the development of capitalism betrayed a tendency to internationalise the means of production and exchange, to eliminate national aloofness, bringing peoples into closer economic relations, and gradually to merge ... territories into a single connected whole.... Inasmuch as this process was a reflection of a colossal development of productive forces, it was and is a progressive process, for it is creating the material conditions for a future world socialist economic system.

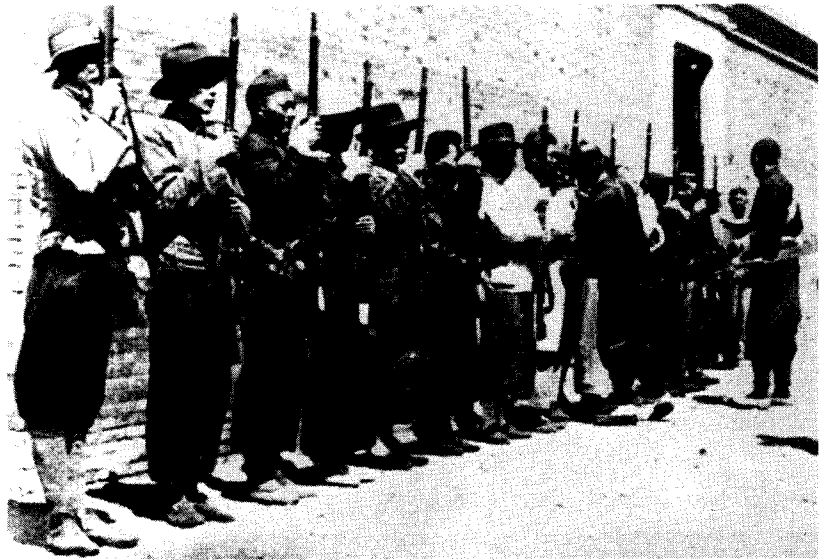
2. But this tendency developed in specific forms which were completely at variance with its intrinsic historical significance. The interdependence of peoples and the economic amalgamation of territories arose in

the course of development of capitalism not as a result of the collaboration of peoples enjoying equal status, but by means of the subjugation of certain peoples by others, by means of the oppression and exploitation of less developed peoples by more developed peoples. Colonial plunder and annexations, national oppression and inequality, imperialist violence and arbitrary rule, colonial slavery and national inequality, and finally, the struggle between the "civilised" nations for mastery over the "uncivilised" peoples — such were the forms in which the process of economic amalgamation of peoples took place. For this reason we find that side by side with the tendency to amalgamation there grew up a tendency to destroy the violent forms assumed by this amalgamation, a struggle for the emancipation of the oppressed colonies and dependent nationalities from the imperialist yoke. Inasmuch as the latter tendency implied a revolt of the oppressed masses against imperialist forms of amalgamation, inasmuch as it demanded the amalgamation of peoples on the basis of collaboration and voluntary union, it was and is a progressive tendency, for it is creating the psychological condition for the future world socialist economic system.

— Joseph Stalin, "National Factors in Party and State Development"



On the walls of a Spanish village during the Civil War: "Long Live Russia"



Shanghai communist militia, 1927. Due to a wrong line prevailing in the CCP, the communists were disarmed and suffered serious setbacks. It was Mao who summed up the experience and charted the path to the Chinese Revolution, leading the Party to victory.



German revolutionaries who came to fight with the International Brigades during the Spanish Civil War



Women undergoing weapons training during the Spanish Civil War

A member of the International Brigades in the Spanish Civil War relates: "Now the line was decimated, there was nothing between us and the fascists but disorganised groups of weary war-wrecked men.. I saw another IRA comrade, Jock Cunningham, assembling a small crowd, we hurried up, joined forces.... The crowd behind us was marching silently.... I remembered a trick of the old days when we were holding banned demonstrations in Ireland. I jerked my head back, "Sing up ye sons of guns!" Quavering at first, then more lustily, the song arose from the ranks — the *Internationale* boomed out over the ruined countryside.

"On we marched nearer the front; stragglers in retreat stopped in amazement, then turned around and joined us, cheered, the song continued. I looked back; behind the forest of upraised fists, what an unkempt band! 'Manuel, what's the Spanish word for forward?' 'Adelante!' he yells back. 'Adelante!' we shout in a half-dozen foreign accents."

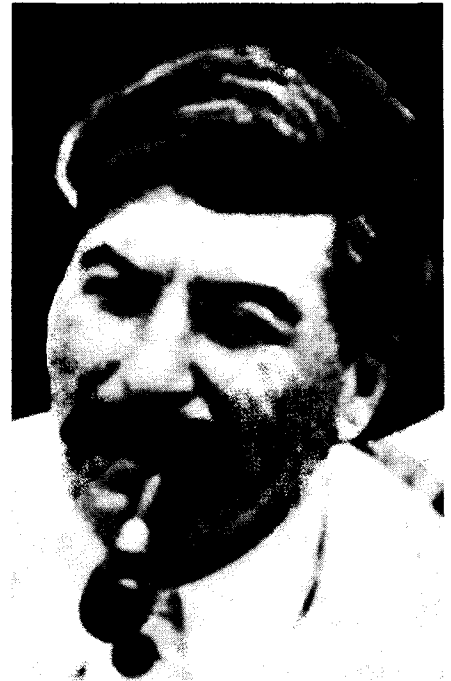


The Third International was active in many sharp battles of workers during the 1930s. Above, striking truckdrivers fight police in Minneapolis, USA in 1934.



The inhabitants of Moscow dig trenches in preparation for the German attack in 1941. Under Stalin's leadership, the workers and peasants of the USSR overcame overwhelming odds, stopped and finally crushed the German Army and saved the world's first socialist state.

The Eighth Route Army, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Mao Tsetung, enter Canton in 1945.



Our [Soviet] republic is the cherished child of the world proletariat. There can be no doubt that had our working class not been supported by the working class in the capitalist countries it would not have been able to retain power; it would not have secured the conditions for Socialist construction, and, hence, would not have achieved the successes that it has achieved. International ties between the working class of the USSR and the workers of the capitalist countries; the fraternal alliance between the workers of the USSR and the workers of all countries — this is one of the cornerstones of the strength and might of the Republic of Soviets. The workers in the West say that the working class of the USSR is the shock brigade of the world proletariat. This is very good. It shows that the world proletariat is prepared to continue rendering all the support it can to the working class of the USSR. But this imposes a very serious duty upon us. This means that we must prove by our work that we deserve the honourable title of shock brigade of the proletarians of all countries.

— Joseph Stalin, "Report to the 17th Congress of the CPSU(B)"

The warriors of the Red Army at Stalingrad have performed prodigies of heroism which will affect the destiny of mankind. They are the sons and daughters of the October Revolution. The banner of the October Revolution is invincible, and all the forces of fascism are doomed to extinction.

— Mao Tsetung, "In Celebration of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the October Revolution," November 1942

World War II cannot be considered a mere repetition of World War I, for, even if the same murderous logic of the capitalist system was responsible for it, it was a complex combination of contradictions. At its beginning in 1939 it was, as Mao then pointed out "unjust, predatory and imperialist in character." But a major change with global implications took place when Hitler's Germany turned his troops on the Soviet Union. This just war on the part of the Soviet Union drew the support and sympathy of the working class and oppressed peoples the world over who were greatly inspired by the heroic resistance of the Red Army and the Soviet working class and people. This was no mere sympathy for a victim of aggression but the profound conviction that the defence of the Soviet Union was also the defence of the socialist base area of the world revolution.

— Declaration of the RIM

Revolutionary partisans hang Mussolini and 16 other fascists in the Piazza Loreto in Milan.



The hammer-and-sickle flies over Berlin as the city falls to the Soviet Red Army on May First, 1945.





"The Chinese people have stood up" — Mao Tsetung

In the fight for complete liberation, the oppressed people rely first of all on their own struggle and then, and only then, on international assistance. The people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help those still struggling for liberation. This is our internationalist duty.

— Mao Tsetung, Talk with African friends (Aug 8, 1963)

As for the relations between the imperialist countries and ourselves, "they are among us and we are among them". We support the people's revolution in their countries and they conduct subversive activities in ours. We have our men in their midst, that is, the communists, the revolutionary workers, farmers and intellectuals, and the progressives in their countries. They have their men in our midst, and in China for instance, they have among us many people from the bourgeoisie and the democratic parties and also the landlord class.

— Mao Tsetung, "Talks at the Conference of Party Committee secretaries"

Women students at Yanan base area



What kind of spirit is this that makes a foreigner selflessly adopt the cause of the Chinese people's liberation as his own? It is the spirit of internationalism, the spirit of communism, from which every Chinese Communist must learn.... We must unite with the proletariat of all the capitalist countries, with the proletariat of Japan, Britain, the United States, Germany, Italy and all other capitalist countries, before it is possible to overthrow imperialism, to liberate our nation and people, and to liberate the other nations and peoples of the world. This is our internationalism, the internationalism with which we oppose both narrow nationalism and narrow patriotism.

— Mao Tsetung, "In Memory of Norman Bethune"

The Chinese and Korean comrades should unite as closely as brothers, go through thick and thin together, stick together in life and death and fight to the end to defeat their common enemy. The Chinese comrades must consider Korea's cause as their own and the commanders and fighters must be instructed to cherish every hill, every river, every tree and every blade of grass in Korea and take not a needle or a single thread from the Korean people, just the way we feel about our own country and treat our own people. This is the political basis for winning victory. So long as we act this way, final victory will be assured.

— Mao Tsetung, Vol. 5

Nanking, 1949. Celebration of entrance of Chinese revolutionary army.



Chinese volunteers going to fight U.S. imperialism in Korea. Ten times more Chinese volunteered than could be sent, as the Chinese masses mobilised to support Korea, as they would again, later, to support Vietnam in the midst of the Cultural Revolution.





Joseph Stalin and Mao Tsetung, at a meeting in Moscow in 1950

I would like to say a few words about the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. I think there are two "swords": one is Lenin and the other Stalin. The sword of Stalin has now been discarded by the Russians. Gomulka and some people in Hungary have picked it up to stab at the Soviet Union and oppose so-called Stalinism. The Communist Parties of many European countries are also criticising the Soviet Union, and their leader is Togliatti. The imperialists also use this sword to slay people with. Dulles, for instance, has brandished it for some time. This sword has not been lent out, it has been thrown out. We Chinese have not thrown it away. First, we protect Stalin, and, second, we at the same time criticize his mistakes, and we have written the article "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." Unlike some people who have tried to defame and destroy Stalin, we are acting in accordance with objective reality.

As for the sword of Lenin, hasn't it too been discarded to a certain extent by some Soviet leaders? In my view, it has been discarded to a considerable extent. Is the October Revolution still valid? Can it still serve as the example for all countries? Khrushchev's report at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union says it is possible to seize state power by the parliamentary road, that is to say, it is no longer necessary for all countries to learn from the October Revolution. Once this gate is opened, by and large Leninism is thrown away.

— Mao Tsetung, "Speech at the Second Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China"

According to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, every socialist country which has achieved victory in its revolution must actively support and assist the liberation struggles of the oppressed nations. The socialist countries must become base areas for supporting and developing the revolution of the oppressed nations and peoples throughout the world, form the closest alliance with them and carry the proletarian world revolution through to completion. But the leaders of the CPSU virtually regard the victory of socialism in one country or several countries as the end of the proletarian world revolution. They want to subordinate the national liberation revolution to their general line of peaceful coexistence and to the national interests of their own country.

— Central Committee of Chinese Communist Party, Apologists of Neo-Colonialism



8 February 1967: there were two weeks of fierce demonstrations in front of the Soviet Embassy in Peking

A PROPOSAL CONCERNING
THE GENERAL LINE
OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

THE LETTER OF
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA
IN REPLY TO THE LETTER OF
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION
OF MARCH 24, 1963

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING

"In 1963 the publication of *A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement* (the 25-point letter) was an all-round and public condemnation of revisionism and a call to the genuine Marxist-Leninists of all countries. The contemporary Marxist-Leninist movement has as its origin this historic appeal and the polemics that accompanied it....

"Through these polemics Mao and the Chinese Communist Party encouraged the Marxist-Leninists to split from the revisionists and form new proletarian revolutionary parties. The polemics represented a radical rupture with modern revisionism and a sufficient basis for the Marxist-Leninists to go forward into battle."

— from the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*

坚决支持非洲人民反对殖民主义和种族歧视的斗争

Resolutely Support the Struggle of the African People Against Colonialism and Racial Discrimination
Soutenez résolument les peuples d'Afrique dans leur lutte contre le colonialisme et la discrimination raciale!



Chinese poster of a sculpture from the Cultural Revolution expressing international solidarity with African liberation struggles. The writing says: Resolutely Support the Struggle of the African People Against Colonialism and Racial Discrimination!

People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and their running dogs! People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed.

— Mao Tsetung, "Statement Supporting the People of the Congo (L.) Against U.S. Aggression," 1964

U.S. imperialism invaded China's territory of Taiwan and has occupied it for the past nine years. A short while ago it sent its armed forces to invade and occupy Lebanon. The United States has set up hundreds of military bases in many countries all over the world. China's territory of Taiwan, Lebanon and all military bases of the United States on foreign soil are so many nooses around the neck of U.S. imperialism. The nooses have been fashioned by the Americans themselves and by nobody else, and it is they themselves who have put these nooses round their own necks, handing the ends of the ropes to the Chinese people, the peoples of the Arab countries, and all the peoples of the world who love peace and oppose aggression. The longer the U.S. aggressors remain in those places, the tighter the nooses round their necks will become.

— Mao Tsetung



Mao with Latin American visitors.

During the Cultural Revolution, the masses rose up to seize power back from the capitalist roaders in those areas where they had entrenched themselves and to advance the revolution in China as part of the world revolution. Demonstrations were numerous in solidarity with the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America and with rebellions within the imperialist countries.



We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts.

— Mao Tsetung, quoted in 9th Congress Party Report

Capitalism and the capitalist system “are in the sunset, breathing their last, and may die at any moment.” On the other hand, Communism and the Communist social system are spreading to the whole world like overwhelming waves and thunders and are in their wonderful prime of life.

— Mao Tsetung, cited in Report to the Central Study Class, by Wang Hung-wen, 1974

The future is bright, the road is torturous.

— Mao Tsetung

If China’s leadership is usurped by revisionists in the future, the Marxist-Leninists of all countries should resolutely expose and fight them and help the working class and masses of China to combat such revisionism.

— Mao Tsetung, 1965

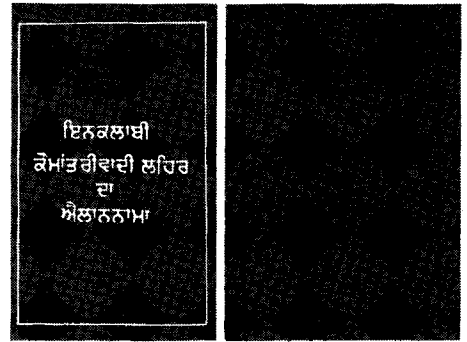


Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chao, leaders of the Cultural Revolution and the foremost representatives in China of Mao's line after his death. They were arrested by the revisionists in 1976, and heroically upheld the banner of Mao Tsetung and the Cultural Revolution. At their trial, Chiang Ching contemptuously told the revisionists, "It is not I, but your small gang which is on trial in the court of history."

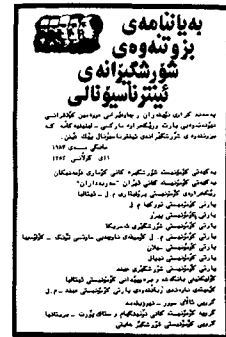
As the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations celebrates its victorious conclusion, it is correct and necessary that we send the greetings of the Conference to the proletarian revolutionaries in China and their foremost representatives, Comrade Chiang Ching and Comrade Chang Chun-chiao, who are holding aloft the red banner of proletarian revolution and communism in the face of bitter defeat. "Comrades, the heroic struggle that you waged under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, can never be obliterated.... Those blustering reactionaries who believe they have permanently buried proletarian revolution await a surprise.

Our comrades in China are an integral part of the genuine international communist movement today and we are confident that when an International of a new type is formed based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, they will be occupying a place of honour. The words of Mao Tsetung continue to ring true today: "The future is bright, the road is tortuous".

- Message of the Second International Conference, 1984



1. 2.



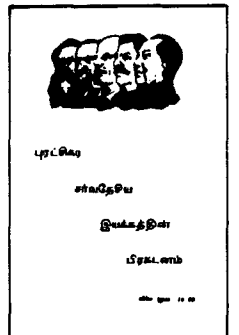
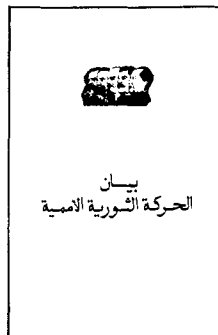
21.

- 1. Punjabi
- 2. Italian
- 3. Farsi
- 4. Hindi
- 5. French
- 6. Chinese
- 7. Malayalam
- 8. Bengali
- 9. Créole
- 10. German
- 11. English (U.S. edition)
- 12. English (Indian)
- 13. Spanish (Spain)
- 14. Spanish (U.S.)
- 15. Spanish (Peru)
- 16. Spanish (Colombia)
- 17. Turkish
- 18. Tamil
- 19. Arabic
- 20. Danish
- 21. Kurdish



20.

19. 18.





3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

Central Reorganisation Committee,
Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)*

Ceylon Communist Party

Communist Collective of Agit/Prop [Italy]

Communist Committee of Trento [Italy]

Communist Party of Bangladesh (Marxist-Leninist) [BSD-(M-L)]

Communist Party of Colombia (Marxist-Leninist),

Mao Tsetung Regional Committee

Communist Party of Peru

Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist

Haitian Revolutionary Internationalist Group

Nepal Communist Party [Mashal]

New Zealand Red Flag Group

Organisation of Marxist-Leninists of Tunisia**

Revolutionary Internationalist Contingent [Britain]

Proletarian Communist Organisation, Marxist-Leninist [Italy]

Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (PBSP) [Bangladesh]

Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

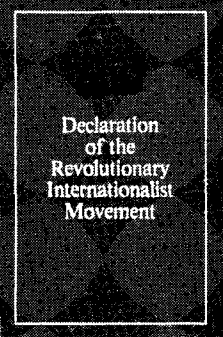
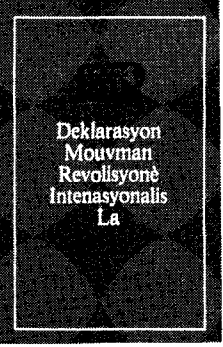
Revolutionary Communist Union [Dominican Republic]

Union of Iranian Communists (Sarbedaran)

9.

10.

11.



The Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has been printed in over 20 languages. Not shown here: Gujarati, Nepalese, Japanese and Kannada

* The Information Bureau of the RIM has announced the merger of the Leading Committee, RCPI with the CRC, CPI (M-L) in 1987.

** The Information Bureau of the RIM has announced that the Organisation of Marxist-Leninists of Tunisia has been accepted as a signatory of the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and as a participating organisation of the RIM.

17.

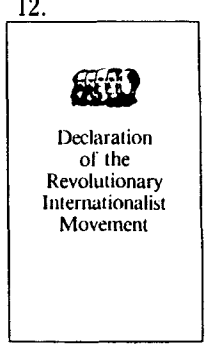
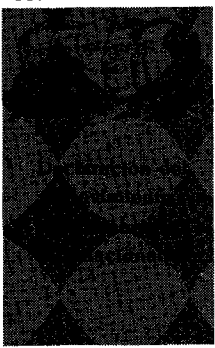
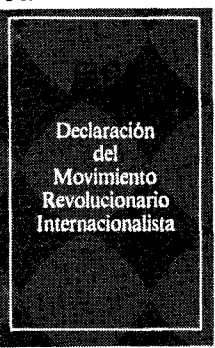
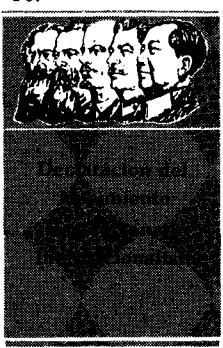
16.

15.

14.

13.

12.





Poster done by revolutionary prisoners in Peru. Writing says: Long live the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!

The advance of the struggle in Peru today is of great importance in the context of today's situation in the international communist movement and the revolutionary movement in general...

The Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations calls on the participants in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, on all genuine communist forces, to actively take up support for the New Democratic Revolution in Peru under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru and its Chairman, Comrade Gonzalo.

— Message of the 2nd International Conference to the Communist Party of Peru, March 1984

Forward Along the Path Charted by Mao Tsetung



Poster issued by the Committee of the RIM as part of its international campaign to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Cultural Revolution and mark ten years since the death of Mao Tsetung and the on-going fight against the revisionists who seized power immediately thereafter.



Press conference, London, 12 March 1984. Representatives of the Ceylon Communist Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and the Turkish Communist Party, M-L sit in front of bright red banner of 2nd International Conference bearing portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and the slogan "The proletariat has nothing to lose but their chains, they have a world to win!" written in different languages. The representatives gave presentations and presented resolutions of the Second International Conference and held a question and answer period.

L. to r: Dalal Kamaci of TKP/ML, N. Sanmugathasan, founding member of CCP and now general secretary, Carl Dix, RCP, USA.

The communist movement is, and can only be, an international movement. Indeed the very launching of scientific socialism, the *Communist Manifesto*, declared "Workers of all countries, unite!" With the success of the October Revolution, the formation of the Communist International and the subsequent spreading of Marxism-Leninism to every corner of the globe, the international unity of the working class took on an even more profound meaning.

Today, in the midst of profound crisis in the ranks of Marxist-Leninists, the need for international unity and the need for a new international organisation are urgently felt.

In building up its own organisation on a global level, the international proletariat has accumulated both positive and negative experience. The concept of world party and the resultant overcentralisation of the Comintern should be evaluated so that appropriate lessons from the period can be drawn as well as from the positive achievements of the First, Second and Third Internationals. It also is necessary to evaluate the overreaction of the Communist Party of China to the negative aspects of the Comintern that led them to refuse to play the necessary leading role in building up the organisational unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces at the international level.

At the present juncture of world history, the international proletariat has to take up the challenge of forming its own organisation, an International of a new type based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, assimilating the valuable experience of the past. And this goal must be boldly proclaimed before the international proletariat and the oppressed of the world with the same revolutionary daring of our predecessors from the Communards of Paris to the proletarian rebels of Shanghai who dared to storm heaven and resolved to do the "impossible" — build a communist world.

— Declaration of the RIM

The constitution of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, based on the higher level of ideological and political unity of Marxist-Leninists achieved through principled struggle, represents an extremely important step for the international communist movement. But the need to race to catch up with the objective developments in the world is still apparent. The revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people in all countries is crying out for genuine revolutionary leadership. The genuine Marxist-Leninist forces, in individual countries and on a world scale,

have the responsibility to provide such leadership even as they continue to struggle to solidify and raise the level of their unity. In this way the correct ideological and political line will bring forward new soldiers and will become an ever more powerful material force in the world. The words of the *Communist Manifesto* ring out all the more clearly today: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

— Declaration of the RIM