CHAIRMAN MAO'S THEORY
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M ORE than a year has elapsed since the passing of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung. He is no longer with us, but he has bequeathed us a very rich and precious legacy. Invincible Mao Tsetung Thought will always illuminate the road of our struggle as we continue the revolution.

In his life as a great revolutionary, Chairman Mao inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism both in theory and in practice. His contributions to the Chinese revolution and the world revolution are immortal.

Under Chairman Mao's leadership the Chinese people triumphed in the revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, founded the socialist People's Republic of China and brought about a radical change in the situation in the East and throughout the world. In guiding the Chinese revolution through its various stages, he correctly solved such fundamental problems as the seizure of state power through waging armed struggle to encircle the cities from the countryside. the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat through winning nation-wide victory in the newdemocratic revolution and the switch over to the socialist revolution, and the development of socialism and the prevention of capitalist restoration through continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In a new period and under new circumstances, he accumulated and summed up a rich store of experience in revolution and construction and greatly developed Marxist-Leninist theory. This is a valuable asset not only to the Chinese people but also to the international proletariat and revolutionary people of the world.

Consistently upholding proletarian internationalism, Chairman Mao formulated China's line, principles and policies in foreign affairs and guided their implementation. He taught us to strengthen our unity with the socialist countries and with the proletariat and oppressed people and nations throughout the world and firmly support the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries; he taught us to follow the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in developing relations with all countries, to persist in combating the imperialist and social-imperialist policies of aggression and war and superpower hegemonism, to fight any manifestation of greatnation chauvinism in our relations with other countries and never to seek hegemony. Over a long period of time, Comrade Chou En-lai, his close comrade-in-arms, implemented his revolutionary line in foreign affairs with firmness and great distinction. We Chinese people will follow our respected and beloved Premier Chou's example and will always faithfully carry out these behests of Chairman Mao's.

By integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the world revolution, Chairman Mao scientifically analysed the international situation in different periods and drew illuminating conclusions, thus greatly promoting the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and the liberation of the oppressed nations all over the world.

With the boldness and vision of a proletarian revolutionary, Chairman Mao initiated a momentous struggle

in the international communist movement to repudiate modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre, and rallied the international proletariat to push on under the militant banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Chairman Mao put forward the theory of the differentiation of the three worlds at a time when the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, became locked in a cut-throat struggle for world hegemony and were actively preparing for a new war. This theory provides the international proletariat, the socialist countries and the oppressed nations with a powerful ideological weapon for forging unity and building the broadest united front against the two hegemonist powers and their war policies and for pushing the world revolution forward.

Chairman Mao was the greatest Marxist of our time. Like Lenin, he was the great teacher of the international proletariat and the oppressed people and nations. He has made an inestimable contribution to the progress of mankind.

In this article we propose to explain at some length his theory of the three worlds and its far-reaching significance for the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries.

The Differentiation of the Three Worlds Is a Scientific Marxist Assessment of Present-Day World Realities

Chairman Mao's theory of the three worlds scientifically epitomizes the objective realities of class struggle on the world arena today. In this theory he inherited, defended and developed basic Marxist-Leninist principles.

In his talk with the leader of a third world country in February 1974, Chairman Mao said, "In my view, the United States and the Soviet Union form the first world. Japan, Europe and Canada, the middle section, belong to the second world. We are the third world." "The third world has a huge population. With the exception of Japan, Asia belongs to the third world. The whole of Africa belongs to the third world, and Latin America too."

This differentiation is a scientific conclusion which is based on the analysis of the development of the fundamental contradictions of the contemporary world and the changes in them in accordance with Lenin's theses that our era is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, that the development of imperialist countries is uneven and the imperialist powers inevitably try to redivide the world by means of war, and that, as imperialism has brought about the division of the whole world into oppressor and oppressed nations, the international proletariat must fight together with the oppressed nations.

In order to have a correct understanding of Chairman Mao's thesis of the differentiation of the three worlds, we must apply dialectical materialism to appraising present-day international political phenomena and start from reality and not from abstractions, as Lenin and Stalin did when they discussed the connections between national and international problems, saying that these must "not be considered in isolation but on . . . a world

Congress of the Communist International in 1920, Lenin said, "The characteristic feature of imperialism consists in the whole world . . . 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."7 When Stalin dealt with the national question in The Foundations of Leninism in 1924, he too said that " . . . the world is divided into two camps: the camp of a handful of civilized nations, which possess finance capital and exploit the vast majority of the population of the globe; and the camp of the oppressed and exploited peoples in the colonies and dependent countries, which constitute that majority."8 In fact, these conclusions reflected the existence of another kind of fundamental contradiction in the world. The differentiations drawn by Lenin and Stalin are undoubtedly both correct, the only difference lying in what they emphasized. When they had to make a comprehensive and concrete differentiation of the world's political forces in a given period, they started with an over-all investigation of the many fundamental contradictions existing in the world.

The transition from the capitalist to the socialist system on a global scale is a very long and tortuous process, full of complicated struggles, and it is inevitable that in the process there will be different alignments of the world's political forces in different periods. The objective realities of world class struggle determine the proletariat's differentiation of the world's political forces

⁷V. I. Lenin, "Report of the Commission on the National and the Colonial Questions," delivered at the Second Congress of the Communist International, Collected Works, Vol. 31.

⁸ J. V. Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism," Works, Vol. 6.

gard to this struggle is intricate and volatile. The international bourgeoisie has never been a monolithic whole, nor can it ever be. The international working-class movement has also experienced one split after another, subject as it is to the influence of alien classes. In waging the struggle on the international arena, the proletariat must unite with all those who can be united in the light of what is imperative and feasible in different historical periods, so as to develop the progressive forces, win over the middle forces and isolate the diehards. Therefore, we can never lay down any hard and fast formula for differentiating the world's political forces (i.e., differentiating ourselves, our friends and our enemies in the international class struggle).

Following the emergence of the first socialist country, Lenin, referring to the two kinds of diplomacy, the bourgeois and the proletarian, said in 1921 that "there are now two worlds: the old world of capitalism, . . . and the rising new world. . . ." Stalin said in 1919, "The world has definitely and irrevocably split into two camps: the camp of imperialism and the camp of socialism." Of course, this conclusion reflected the new fundamental contradiction in the world following the October Revolution. But Lenin and Stalin never denied that other fundamental contradictions existed in the world or that there were other ways to differentiate the world's political forces. For instance, in his report on the national and colonial questions at the Second

⁴ Mao Tsetung, "Current Problems of Tactics in the Anti-Japanese United Front," Selected Works of Mao Tsetung, Vol. II.

⁵V. I. Lenin, "The Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets," Collected Works, Vol. 33.

⁶ J. V. Stalin, "Two Camps," Works, Vol. 4.

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and the consequent strategy and tactics to be adopted in the struggle. Here it will be helpful to our understanding of the theory of the three worlds if we briefly review certain historical instances in which Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao differentiated world political forces.

While mainly carrying out their revolutionary activities in Western Europe, Marx and Engels invariably had in mind the general situation in Europe and the world as a whole when they surveyed the class struggle in different countries. For the first time in history they sent out the great call "Workers of all countries, unite!" and again for the first time they pointed out that the cause of the international proletariat was inseparably linked with the struggle of the oppressed nations for liberation. Engels said, "A nation cannot become free and at the same time continue to oppress other nations. The liberation of Germany cannot therefore take place without the liberation of Poland from German oppression."9 Marx said, "After occupying myself with the Irish question for many years I have come to the conclusion that the decisive blow against the English ruling classes (and it will be decisive for the workers' movement all over the world) cannot be delivered in England but only in Ireland."10 Both of them attached great importance not only to the struggle for independence by European nations such as Poland and Ireland but also to that waged in China and India, countries remote from Europe. The sum total of the international proletariat's

⁹ K. Marx and F. Engels, "On Poland," Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Vol. 4.

^{10 &}quot;Marx to S. Meyer and A. Vogt, April 9, 1870," Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels.

interests was always the starting point from which they examined specific national movements and political forces. As Lenin once pointed out, "Marx is known to have favoured Polish independence in the interests of European democracy in its struggle against the power and influence - or, it might be said, against the omnipotence and predominating reactionary influence of tsarism."11 Engels said of Marx that one of his contributions was that he was the first to make the point in 1848 - and he subsequently stressed it time and again - that "the Western European labour parties must of necessity wage an implacable war against Russian tsarism,"12 because the Russian tsarist empire was the biggest fortress of European reaction and because it always had expansionist ambitions with respect to Europe and aimed at making the liberation of the European proletariat impossible. To the end of their days Marx and Engels made frequent reference to resolute opposition to the Russian tsarist empire's policy of aggression as the criterion by which to differentiate Europe's political forces and to determine to which national movement in Europe the international proletariat should give its support. It is clear that in so doing Marx and Engels were by no means oblivious of the international class struggle. On the contrary, they had the proletariat's fundamental interests in the international class struggle very much in mind. What should we learn from Marx and Engels in this respect? We should at least learn the following: First, like Marx and

¹¹ V. I. Lenin, "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up," Collected Works, Vol. 22.

¹² F. Engels, "The Foreign Policy of Russian Tsarism," Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Vol. 22.

Engels, we should acclaim the great national revolutionary movement that has embraced all oppressed nations and shaken the world, and should regard it as an important pre-condition and a sure guarantee for the triumph of the international proletariat. Second, we should pay constant attention to the contradictions between the capitalist countries and identify the arch enemies of the international working-class movement as Marx and Engels did, and wage an unrelenting struggle against the biggest fortresses of world reaction today, namely, Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism.

Lenin was the first to point out that the world had already entered the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and also the first to found a socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He was the first to regard the struggle of the oppressed nations against imperialism as a component part of the socialist movement of the world proletariat and set forth the strategic policy, "Workers of all countries and oppressed nations, unite!" In his article "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx" written in 1913, Lenin said, "But the opportunists have scarcely congratulated themselves on the inauguration of 'social peace,' and on the fact that storms were needless under 'democracy,' when a new source of great world storms opened up in Asia. The Russian Revolution was followed by the Turkish, the Persian and the Chinese revolutions. It is in this era of storms and their 'repercussions' in Europe that we are now living."13 Concerning the relationship between the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat

¹³ V. I. Lenin, "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx," Collected Works, Vol. 18.

and that of the oppressed nations, Lenin wrote in 1916: "The social revolution cannot come about except in the form of an epoch of proletarian civil war against the bourgeoisie in the advanced countries combined with a whole series of democratic and revolutionary movements, including movements for national liberation, in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations." These views of Lenin's remain valid today.

After the October Revolution and World War I Lenin made a "Report on the International Situation and the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International" at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920 in which he explicitly divided the countries of the world, whose total population was then 1,750 million, into three categories and made this division the basic point of departure for determining the strategy and tactics of the international proletariat. He said: "Thus we get the main outlines of the picture of the world as it appeared after the imperialist war. A billion and a quarter oppressed in the colonies — countries which are being cut up alive, like Persia, Turkey and China; and countries which have been vanquished and flung into the position of colonies (Here Lenin meant such countries as Austro-Hungary, Germany and Bulgaria as well as Soviet Russia which was likewise thrown back by the war "to what is equivalent to a colonial position" -Ed.). Not more than a quarter of a billion inhabit countries which have retained their old positions, but have fallen into economic dependence upon America, and all of them, during the war, were in a state of military

¹⁴ V. I. Lenin. "A Caricature of Marxism and 'Imperialist Economism,'" Collected Works, Vol. 23.

dependence, for the war affected the whole world and did not permit a single state to remain really neutral. And finally, we have not more than a quarter of a billion inhabitants of countries in which only the upper stratum, of course, only the capitalists, benefited by the partition of the world (Here Lenin meant countries such as the United States, Japan and Britain — Ed.). . . . I would like you to memorize this picture of the world, for all the fundamental contradictions of capitalism, of imperialism, which are leading to revolution, all the fundamental contradictions in the working-class movement which have led to the furious struggle against the Second International . . . are all connected with this division of the population of the world." 15

How well Lenin put it! With respect to the question of differentiating the world's political forces, it sounds as though he had the actual struggles of today in mind. Attaching the greatest importance to the contradiction between oppressed and oppressor nations and the contradiction between imperialist countries, Lenin divided the countries of the world into three categories and linked this division closely to all the fundamental contradictions in the imperialist world and in the international working-class movement. This proposition of his is diametrically opposed to the opportunism, or "bourgeois socialism" of the Second International which always looked down upon the struggle of the oppressed nations. In his report, instead of simply dividing the

¹⁵ V. I. Lenin, "Report on the International Situation and the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International," delivered at the Second Congress of the Communist International, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31.

¹⁶ Ibid.

countries of the world into two categories, capitalist and socialist, Lenin put different countries of the capitalist world into three categories - the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial countries and vanguished countries, countries which retained their old positions, and countries which had won the war and benefited by the partition of the world; he placed socialist Russia and the oppressed nations and countries in the same category. Lenin took full account of the great role the 1,250 million people played in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism on the world arena, saying, "There are 1,250 million people who find it impossible to live in the conditions of servitude which 'advanced' and civilized capitalism wishes to impose on them: after all, these represent 70 per cent of the world's population."17 Speaking shortly before his death of the inevitability of the final victory of socialism throughout the world, Lenin continued to maintain: "In the last analysis, the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia. India, China, etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And it is precisely this majority that, during the past few years, has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured."18 Obviously, except for the Soviet social-imperialists who have completely betrayed his cause, no one will say that

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ V. I. Lenin, "Better Fewer, But Better," Collected Works, Vol. 33.