

# LA VOIE MAOÏSTE - LA VIA MAOISTA MAOIST ROAD

**1**  
English  
edition

International Marxist-Leninist-Maoist review

**People  
want  
revolution**



**Proletarians  
want the Party  
for revolution**



**Comunists want  
internationalism  
and a new  
international  
organization**





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**People want revolution!**

**Proletarians want the Party for revolution!**

**Comunists want internationalism and a new international organization!**

This year's May Day comes at a time of unprecedented protests and uprisings all around the world. In the Arab world and Persian Gulf, the youth, the proletarians and the broad masses took to the streets and toppled or tried to topple, one after the other, the dictatorial regimes subservient to imperialism.

In the heart of the imperialist countries, working class struggles, general strikes, rebellions of students and youth are opposing the policy of reactionary governments and the development of a modern fascism aimed at shifting the burden of the crisis on to the backs of the masses, bringing layoffs, job insecurity, intensification of exploitation and attacks on education, health care and basic social services.

Struggles and rebellions are ranging from China to the USA, from Russia to Latin America.

Particularly in Afghanistan and Iraq, imperialism, mainly U.S. imperialism, is suffering blows that prevent it from realizing its plans of occupation, invasion and geo-strategic control on important areas of the world. Its plans to sanctify Zionist occupation in Palestine through sell-out leaders have been checked.

People's wars are the strategic reference for the proletarians and peoples of the world.

The people's war in India successfully withstands unprecedented attacks by the enemy and is able to expand and advance. The people's war in Peru persists and recuperates. The people's war in the Philippines advances. In Turkey, revolutionary struggles led by the Maoists advance along the people's war strategy. In other countries of South Asia it is being prepared, for initiations and new advances.

In Nepal, 10 years of people's war have created the conditions for the advancement of Nepali revolution. This revolution is now at a complex crossroads and must be supported against the counter-revolution waged by internal and external enemies as well as against the reformists who try to undermine it from within.

The protracted people's war is necessary to defeat the enemy both in countries oppressed by imperialism and the imperialist countries themselves, according to their own specificities.

It represents a new and sharpening phase of the class struggle that expresses the revolutionary aspirations of the proletariat and the world peoples.

All this indicates that the main contradiction at the world level is that between imperialism and oppressed people, while the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and as well as of inter-imperialist contradictions are sharpening. In the context of the spreading crisis, the revolution emerges more and more clearly as being the main trend in the current world.

The economic crisis of imperialism, far from being resolved, widens and deepens according to the laws of uneven development and as a result of the contention on the world market and the tendency towards a maximal extortion of surplus value. The "financialization" of the economy—the main immediate cause of the crisis—tends to reject any control. The use of surpluses from China's, India's and Brazil's economies can't ensure more than a temporary recovery, which opens the door to new and even more distressing crisis.

The struggling and uprising proletarians and popular masses demand the building of revolutionary parties at the height of the current clash of classes; and that process of organization is developing.

We need communist parties based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism able to lead the class struggle in all fields and aimed at seizing the political power without which it is not possible for the proletarians to overthrow the capitalist and imperialist system.

Maoist Communists strive to answer this need for a scientific and decided leadership for the proletarian class struggle, by fighting all kinds of revisionist, reformist and dogmatist deviations. Our class can rely on the huge amount of experience through 140 years of struggles and revolutions, from the birth of the Glorious Paris Commune through the peaks of the October Revolution, the Chinese revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We must learn from both our victories and defeats, as well as from our mistakes.

Within that wave of struggles, uprisings and people's wars, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communists should put proletarian internationalism into practice in order to unite proletarian struggles and those of the oppressed peoples against imperialism in crisis and remain firmly united with masse, as they make history.

Communists must achieve a new unity of the international communist movement based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and build the international organization that we need today.

**Imperialism has no future!**

**The future belongs to communism!**

**Communist Party of India (maoist); maoist Communist Party; Italy, maoist Communist Party, France; Maoist Communist Party, Turkey and North Kurdistan; Revolutionary Communist Party, Canada; Communist Party of India (ML) Naxalbari; Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist); Communist Party of Bhutan (MLM); Committee of People's Struggle "Manolo Bello", Galiza, Spain; Maoist Communist Movement in Tunisia**

## **Support the People's War in India April 2-9 International week of support**

In India the people's war is intensifying day by day. Led by Communist Party of India (Maoist), it involves and has the support of millions of poor farmers, women, masses of untouchables, and now controls about ten States of the Confederation of India.

That's a people's war against poverty, feudal capitalistic exploitation, in the regions where most acute are the contradictions produced by the turbulent development of plundering resources, caste oppression and exploitation, by the Indian capital linked to imperialism.

With the help and support of the imperialists and especially the American imperialists, the Indian reactionary ruling classes are trying to suffocate the revolutionary movement, carrying out huge atrocities, whose barbarism there is no precedent.

The Indian government on behalf of imperialism describes the People's War as the greatest threat to internal security, and launched against it across the country an unprecedented offensive, under the name of "Operation Green Hunt" with a large deployment of ultra-armed troops, Police and paramilitary forces, trying to sow terror and genocide on the peoples of India, through raids, indiscriminate destruction, rapes and mass murders, arrests and disappearances, trying to assassinate the leaders, as occurred with Comrade Azad, a top Maoist leaders of the CPI(M). All this with the illusion of drowning in blood the struggle of a people for liberation.

But the Indian popular masses unite in the People's War, giving rise to large protests and strikes against rising prices, corruption and state terrorism.

The imperialist governments, the United States, Europe, Russia, and their mass media support the criminal action of the Indian government; but in these countries also grows complaint and solidarity.

The Indian masses, led by the Communist Party of India (Maoist), are writing an historical page in the class struggle in the current world.

The development of people's war in India confirms that the revolution today is the main trend in the world and that Maoism plays the role of command and leadership in the new wave of world revolution against the imperialism in crisis.

The proletariat of the whole world realizes that the advancement of people's war in India calls into question not only the balance of power in the south Asian region but also in the disposition of the imperialist world system.

The International Committee in support of the People's War launches a great international campaign, to be conducted in all forms, in most number of countries as possible, through a week of action, from 2nd to 9th April 2011.

This campaign is and must be the expression of proletarian internationalism and advancement of the unity of the international proletariat, of revolutionaries, democratic forces and the oppressed nations and peoples around the world.

**International Committee in support of People's War in India**  
**csgpindia@gmail.com**

## The International Week of Mobilization

The international week in support of the people's war in India was a major success, as it reached the countries of Europe, Asia, America, Latin America, with many initiatives. It made the international support a worldwide phenomenon, and confirmed the success of the decision and line to form up the International Committee.

This was also understood by the press of Indian government and imperialism, and this encourages us to proceed along the road we opened.

Let's build committees of support the people's war in India in as many as possible countries in the world.

Let's realize in the coming months an international conference in support that will collect the largest number of Maoist, revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces.

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### Italy

The campaign in Italy was carried out in a spirit of unity, with the objective of helping the communist and revolutionary forces, including youth and women, better understand its importance, both nationally and internationally.

"We are like drops in the sea but the sea is made of many drops:" that was the spirit of our work in Italy.

Each advance of the revolutions in other countries is a drop in this sea; when transformed into the sea of armed masses, it can really change the face of the world.

Daily information was circulated, including distribution and posting of the international call. A slide show and a video were produced. No central activity was held but local and regional initiatives reached a significant number of workers, unemployed, precarious workers, students, women and migrants.

Meetings of workers and migrants took place in Venezia Marghera, Taranto, Palermo and Turin; street actions happened in popular neighbourhoods in Milan; meetings were held at the University of Palermo. A resolution of support was widely circulated as a leaflet and gained support from factory workers in Taranto, Bergamo and Palermo.

**The resolution signed by workers and unemployed:** "India, the country where 'workers burn the bosses'. We, workers, temporary workers and unemployed people, hail the struggle of the popular masses against the reactionary regime of India and the imperialist powers that support it.

In India, the masses are fighting against the bosses, who sack and exploit them, against high prices, corruption and state terrorism. They are waging big demonstrations and strikes, factory occupations and other kinds of actions against the bosses.

In India, the government is well-decided to sell the natural and human resources to Western imperialist multinationals, to the new monopolies that own the big steel and automobile industries like Tata, Essar, Jindal, Mittal, etc., which extract profits from the fierce exploitation of workers—often women and children; profits that allow them to become purchasers and share-holders of the great international monopolies in those sectors, in alliance with the Italian bosses...

...The struggle for the rights of working people, for jobs, wages, better living conditions; the fight for freedom, for democracy; the struggle to overthrow the power of the bosses and put the power in the hands of the workers and the broad masses: those struggles have an international character and they unite us all over the world.

For those reasons, we express our outmost solidarity to the Indian masses and the party that leads them; we congratulate them for fighting against the enemy's attacks and advancing towards victory."

**The women of the Revolutionary Proletarian Feminist Movement** joined the campaign with a message in which they hailed and embraced the masses of Indian women and those who participate in and support the People's War and the Communist Party of India (Maoist).

They wrote: "...The international press noted that women are at the forefront in driving the revolution in India. A recent survey showed that among 290 Maoists operating in the guerrilla zones in Maharashtra, 74 are women, including some who are members of the Division Committees. Many of them are acting as commanders, to the point they now overcome their male comrades. Women are the targets of the repressive attacks of the State.

The state and its forces of repression are particularly vicious toward women; they don't hesitate to use rape as a war tool. At the same time, the nature of class and sex oppression of women is profoundly linked with the basics of the system. For that reason, the protracted people's war is attracting the participation of many oppressed women...

This makes the people's war in India an integral part of the international struggle for the liberation of women. By waging a "revolution in the revolution"—that is to fight on two fronts, the class struggle and the gender struggle—the women masses are imposing their road and are bringing a general vision that will contribute to transforming the revolutionary struggle..."

**The Maoisti youth of Red Block** also played a role in Palermo and wrote: "...With genuine internationalist spirit, we support the People's War in India as it is decisive for the advancement of the world revolution. For us young Maoist revolutionaries struggling in imperialist citadels and metropolises, the People's War in India is a source of inspiration and encouragement..."

### Other adherents

Associazione Solidarietà Proletaria, Partito dei Carc, the Partito comunista dei lavoratori di Massa, the Coordinamento Immigrati Toscana nord and '32' democratic magazine also joined the campaign.

They wrote: "...The struggle of the people of India against exploitation, war, plunder of natural resources and environmental devastation is the same struggle that the masses of our country and of the whole world are fighting; our enemy is the same. This is why we join the week of support and will organize an activity on April 30 in Carrara..."

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### Spanish State

In Spain, the campaign has been very important and helped improved unity between comrades from Cantabria, Catalonia and Galicia, who created a section of the International Committee to Support the People's War in India for the Spanish State.

A book entitled "People's War in India" was published with the help of a Basque publisher. It is the first book in Spanish on the revolutionary process currently going on in India; it aims to break the "information encirclement" of the bourgeois press and foster support and solidarity.

During the week, a radio program was produced; leaflets and posters were distributed and banners were exposed in several towns.

Other organizations such as **Communist Youth of Zamora** and **Communist Reconstruction** joined the campaign.

Meetings will now be organized to present the book, with the objective of having it circulated widely throughout the Spanish State.

The **Odio de Clase Collective** played an important role in circulating information. They notably wrote: "... The week of support primarily reflects internationalism in its broad sense, i.e. solidarity of workers wherever they are exploited and more importantly, wherever they rebel against exploitation... Since the Indian government defines the Communist Party of India (Maoist) as the 'biggest threat' it currently faces, the people's war in India is a great hope for us, not only for people in India but for all the peoples in the world..."

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### Colombia

**The comrades of the Communist Workers Union (MLM)** waged a broad campaign that included numerous activities.

A leaflet addressed to all Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, organized or not, as well as other revolutionaries, has been circulated among the masses. It called for supporting the people's war and the revolution in India, as part of the world proletarian revolution.

Internationalist meetings took place simultaneously in several cities across the country, including public conferences with video. Those meetings were held both in universities, workplaces and mass organizations.

After this week of activities, they plan to convene all the comrades and revolutionaries available to form a Support Committee.

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### France

**The Committee of Support the Revolution in India** called for a wide circulation of the leaflet of the International Committee in neighbourhoods, towns, schools, universities and factories.

It participated in the anti-imperialist study days at the University of Nanterre and a radio program. The Committee also relayed information on actions that took place elsewhere during the week.

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### Germany

In Hamburg, leaflets were distributed in the districts of Altona Barmbek and St. Pauli. Dazibaos were posted at the university campus.

On April 9, a rally was held at the Sternschanze - St. Pauli metro station, with the participation of 40 activists.

The campaign was organized by the League Against Imperialist Aggression and was joined by Peruvian Maoists, Colombian and Palestinian activists and German anti-imperialists, among others.

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### Sweden

A group of supporters of the new democratic revolution of India gathered outside the Indian embassy in Stockholm. Slogans were shouted:

People's victory, yes!

Operation green hunt, down!

Hundreds of leaflets were distributed and a comrade held a speech. Some Indians passed by and were glad to see the activists: "Aha you are supporting us".

The staff of the embassy came out and asked questions and a couple of guys acted security sitting angrily in a car nearby. Hopfully a new organization of support will be constituted soon.

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### Austria

**Revolutionär-Kommunistischer Jugendverband (RKJV)** was part of the international campaign in support of the people's war in India. Austria is a country, where the revolutionary movement is, as well as the whole "left" very weak. In front of this background, the campaign was a success that surprised.

Very important was two public events which was organized in two of the biggest cities in Austria (Vienna and Linz, a city in upper Austria with a big part of proletarian inhabitants and big steel factories). On this events a comrade held the main speech about the history and actual developments of the people's war in India, the Operation Green Hunt and the CPI(Maoist). After these speeches (also published in the newspaper "Red Dawn") there was a short speech by a comrade from Nepal...

The two events mobilized young people very well and the talks that we gave inspired them to ask many questions. Especially the question what a single person in Austria could do to support the people's war and the struggle against the Operation Green Hunt was asked very often. In the discussions linked with that question, we was able to give answers on a proletarian internationalist way.

After these two public events, a successful rally in front of the Indian embassy was organized together with the **IC\*RCP (Initiative for the Construction of a Revolutionary-Communist Party)**. Also on the First of May the work for support the people's war in India did not stop. Together with the **Democratic Youth Movement in Europe (ADGH)** a Declaration on the necessity of unity among the Maoist forces in Austria was spread ...

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### Switzerland

On April 8, supporters of the Maoist revolutionary movement in India have placed a banner at the General Consulate of India in Zurich, as an act of solidarity, part of the international week of support for the people's war in India.

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### Mexico

**The Classist Youth League of Messico** called to join the international week of support, spreading information on the heroic struggle going on in India.

Documents were made and a photo exhibition was prepared to make known and understand this revolution in progress.0

#### Panama

**The Committee of Support of the People's Struggle of Panama** took part in the international week, arguing that this campaign was an expression of proletarian internationalism and a way to improve unity of the international proletariat, the revolutionary and democratic forces and the oppressed peoples around the world.

#### Ecuador

In that country, the campaign has been extensive and carried independently by different forces.

**The Frente de Lucha Popular** supported the campaign with actions aimed at raising awareness about the people's war among students in schools and universities.

**The Communist Party of Ecuador-Sol Rojo** made a number of paints in support of the people's war in India; they distributed leaflets and put up banners. They stated that the best contribution the party can give to the comrades in India is to reaffirm its principles and continue building the Party for the seizure of the power, serving the world proletarian revolution.

**The movement Vientos del pueblo** joined the campaign by saying the revolution in India is the most important and highest hope for the workers and peasants of the world right now. It represents the will of millions of workers to end the domination of imperialist capitalism.

#### Bolivia

**The Revolutionary People's Front** took part in the campaign saying that to support the revolution in India is a duty of all revolutionaries in the world and that the most effective form of support is to work for the revolution in their respective country.

#### Canada

An initiative was held at the "Maison Norman Bethune" bookstore with the presentation of the documentary "Blazing Trail: A Journey of the Indian Revolution," which tells the story of the events and revolutionary developments in that country, starting from the historic rebellion of Naxalbari in 1967 until the revival of the Maoist movement.

The film presents the story of a heroic struggle that confronts a vicious enemy that presents itself as "the greatest democracy in the world" and the new democracy in construction.

#### Nepal

Of extraordinary importance is the participation of Nepal in this campaign by the recently formed "Revolutionary Intellectual-Cultural Forum, Nepal." The Forum condemned the state terror on the oppressed masses by the reactionary government of India. It supported the people's war in India and expressed strong solidarity with the international campaign and the committee that organized it.

### Imperialism and Indian Regime worry about the international campaign:

**"Support for Maoists goes global"**

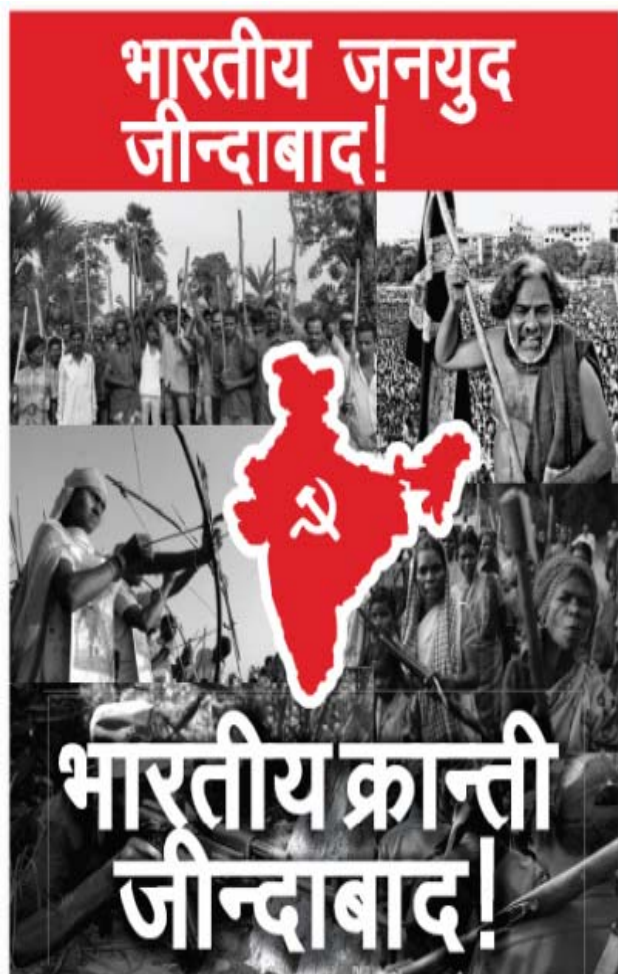
*from the South Asian Terrorism Portal website*

According to a Times of India report, the Communist Party of India-Maoist (CPI-Maoist) seems to be garnering international support, thanks to a solidarity initiative launched by Maoist parties and groups across the world.

Their slogan is "Let's sustain the people's war in India". According to a statement made by "International Committee to Support the People's War in India," a week-long international campaign to "sustain" the people's war in the country will be held from April 2 to 9, 2011 across nations.

Posters have been made in various languages - like French and Spanish -showcasing the CPI-Maoist cadres and their slogans in Hindi.

"International Committee in support of the people's war launches a great international campaign, to be conducted in all forms, in the most number of countries as possible, through a week of action," states an official release. It, however, does not specify what "all forms" refer to.





## **New campaign!**

# **Condemn the arrests of CC members of CPI (Maoist) !**



MAOIST ROAD

Condemn the arrests of CC members of CPI (Maoist) Comrades V. Subramanyam (Vimal/Shrikant), Vijay Kumar Arya (Jaspal ji), Punendu Shekhar Mukherjee (Saheb da) and others by central intelligence agencies and APSIB!

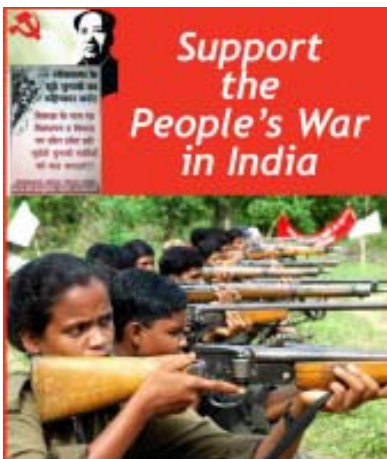
Demand to produce all arrested comrades before the court immediately!

The central intelligence agencies and the notorious APSIB goons arrested our three CC comrades—V. Subramanyam, Vijay Kumar Arya, Punendu Shekhar Mukherjee along with some other comrades and sympathizers in Katihar district of Bihar on precise information. In fact, comrade Subramanyam has been under surveillance by APSIB since so many months. They had even planned to assassinate him. But because of exposure of their conspiracy before the people, they couldn't kill him. The licensed killers of APSIB and other Indian intelligence wings trained by CIA and Mossad have been targeting the leaders of Indian Revolution as part of their 'War on People' for a long time. Beloved leaders of Indian people like Azad, Patel Sudhakar, Shakhmuri Apparao, Prasad and BK were killed by these killers by the orders of Sonia-Manmohan-Chidambaram ruling clique, hand in glove with their imperialist masters. Some other leaders and activists were arrested and put in dungeons of various jails.

The Indian ruling classes on the one hand have been selling out the nation to MNCs and Big Business signing hundreds of MoUs with them, on the other hand they have been trying to crush the revolutionary movement so as to make sure that no resistance is put up against their anti-people and pro-imperialist policies. As our Party is in the forefront of mass struggles against this corrupt, oppressive and exploitative system, Indian ruling classes are using every repressive tool at their disposal so as to leave Indian masses leaderless.

CC, CPI(Maoist) condemns the illegal arrests and mental and physical torture subjected to these comrades. We call upon the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and all oppressed sections of our country to condemn the unjust war of ruling classes against people and come forward to advance the Indian New Democratic Revolution wiping out feudalism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and imperialism.

(Abhay) Spokesperson, Central Committee, CPI (Maoist)



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towards the  
International Conference  
to support people's war in India

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2 July 2011 organizational meeting of the International  
Committee [csgpindia@gmail.com](mailto:csgpindia@gmail.com)

## Communist Party of India (Maoist), Press Release 30 August, 2010

### **Hail the Historic 6th Anniversary of the Party Formation Day! Defeat the fascist Operation Green Hunt!! Come together for a united struggle against the loot of our country!!!**

*Call of the Polit Bureau of CPI (Maoist) on the occasion of the 6th anniversary of the party to be celebrated with revolutionary enthusiasm and great fervor from September 21 to 27, 2010*

#### **Our beloved comrades and people!**

On the 6th anniversary of our party formation day on September 21, 2010, our PB extends hearty revolutionary greetings to the Party, PLGA, Revolutionary people's committees and comrades of all mass organizations and to the revolutionary people who are advancing the people's war by fearlessly fighting back Operation Green Hunt, the countrywide massive counter-revolutionary military offensive of the enemy, who is bent upon annihilating our party. On this fervent occasion our PB also congratulates the comrades in the jails who are bravely facing the enemy.

Our PB humbly pays homage to the more than 10,000 great martyrs, 1500 of them after the unified party was formed in 2004, and 300 in one year, who sacrificed their invaluable lives for the success of the New Democratic Revolution in India and for the achievement of the greatest cause of human kind, i.e. socialism and communism. The fact that a majority of these martyrs are common people, revolutionary mass organizations' members and militia member shows how the vast masses of India are thronging into the revolution.

Since we celebrated our party formation day last year, the war between revolution and counter-revolution in our country has intensified further. There have been many significant changes of strategic importance in this period which would affect the Indian revolution for a long time to come. It is necessary to look into our strengths and weaknesses, the favourable and unfavourable conditions for the revolution on this occasion and place before the people and the ranks of the party.

**Firstly** - starting from May 2009 to July 2010, eight top-most comrades including PBM and beloved leader Azad and ten state level comrades had either been caught and killed by the enemy or had been put behind bars. Many leadership comrades from district level to lower ranks were either arrested or killed. These losses had all affected our party and movement seriously. Particularly, losing comrade Azad who had been fulfilling key responsibilities in the highest committee and had been rendering multi-faceted services most efficiently in many fields is a great loss.

The formation of the new party in 2004 placed before the people of our country enriched political, organizational, military lines, a strong party, a strong leadership, a people's army, the PLGA and a vast mass base and struggle areas. This created very favourable conditions for the advancement of the revolution. Fearing all these favorable conditions, the enemy sought to crush our party and all the losses in 2005 and 2006 occurred due to this conspiracy. Yet, the Unity Congress - 9th congress had strengthened the unity of the party and the party leadership

and laid down a thorough plan for the advancement of the revolution. Though Andhra Pradesh movement and North Chhattisgarh movement suffered setback and though we suffered heavy losses in North Odisha, the successes won filled the revolutionary camp with self-confidence.

The successful completion of the Unity Congress and the later successes worried the enemy camp to no end and so the enemy had intensified war on people at an unprecedented level to annihilate the party leadership. These losses which occurred since 2009 May are larger in number and more serious in nature than before. However, serious they may be, in the past 45 years, revolutionary movement had been giving birth to new leadership constantly and it will do so again. As long as masses need a revolution, they give birth to its leaders too.

**Secondly** - UPA-2 had launched the fascist 'Operation Green Hunt' (OGH) as a concrete form of the multi-pronged offensive strategy. Of all the offensive strategies formulated by the Indian ruling classes to crush the revolutionary movement in India, the one which started from mid-2009 (and continuing) is unprecedented, country-wide, most severe, deceptive, centralized and protracted one till date. The military suppression campaign is concentrated on our strong rural areas and guerilla zones, especially Dandakaranya, Jharkhand-Bihar, Lalgadh and bordering areas of Jharkhand-Odisha, Andhra-Odisha and Telangana-Chhattisgarh. This 'War on People' has intensified social contradictions. No other suppression campaign had earned the wrath and resistance of people as much as the OGH in the past 45 areas.

**Thirdly** - after UPA came to power for second time, there was a qualitative change in implementing the counter-insurgency theories which are restructuring or influencing the state machinery, Indian constitution, judiciary, legislating bodies, administrative bodies, politics, economy, culture, media and so on. This is inspired and led by the 'War on Terror' waged by the imperialists under the leadership of US imperialists. This will lead our country to a disastrous situation. The more they try to wage this brutal war, the more protest and resistance they would encounter from the vast masses. Such resistance is clearly seen all over the country.

**Due to the struggles waged by us in all the fields and due to the immense sacrifices of our most revered and beloved three hundred martyrs in the past one year we have won significant successes. They are:**

1. The successful attacks in Singanamadugu, Mukaram (Tadimetla) and Kongera of Chhattisgarh; Laheri in Maharashtra; Sankrel and Silda in Bengal; Gumla, Vishnupur and Latehar in Jharkhand; Sono, government toll plaza (Gaya) and Tandwa bazaar in Bihar; Potakal and Baipharguda in Odisha, particularly the historical Mukram (Tadimetla) attack had broken down the initiative of the enemy and increased that of the guerilla forces. These attacks had armed the PLGA

with more weapons and new experiences in guerilla war. Tadimetla experience is of the highest level of all these. If not for this active resistance of our forces and people, the enemy would have found more ground to obliterate our movement. These great experiences would definitely help us in fighting back the enemy forces employed for a bigger attack. It was nothing else but the active support of the people which served as the foundation for all these successes.

2. The struggles of Kalinganagar, Singur and Nandigram shook the ruling classes and later Lalgah and Narayanpatna struggles had burst forth on an extensive and higher scale than these struggles. These were led by our party against revisionism or right opportunism and were waged against the enemy classes, imperialists and the state. We had not seen a deluge of such vast, militant, long drawn mass uprisings in the past 25 years. The lessons of these revolutionary mass uprisings for the development of people's war in our country are invaluable.
3. Lalgah armed peasant movement which had erupted, spread and consolidated in a period when the enemy had deployed forces on a large scale and was attempting to crush the peasant uprising, is very significant and earned a special place in the annals of Indian armed agrarian revolutionary struggle history.
4. Vast masses under our party's leadership have successfully thwarted the attempts of the MNCs and CBB corporations to loot the natural resources in Eastern and Central India. Our PB sends revolutionary greetings to all the people, revolutionary, democratic, progressive and patriotic organizations and individuals who stood firmly in these struggles and promises that our party would stand in the forefront in these struggles.
5. Our party had conducted ideological and political propaganda war against the enemy's psychological war, under the leadership of Comrade Azad. If our entire party had not fought along with Com. Azad at various levels, the people's war would not have won this much credit. His services in this field are most significant and paramount. Let us continue the struggle in this field with Com. Azad's inspiration.

Along with these five main successes, in some states, we had expanded to new areas, consolidated party, PLGA, politically and militarily, consolidated the existing Revolutionary People's Committees/Janatana Sarkars and expanded them in newer areas. All these successes had won us the support of many revolutionary forces, intellectuals, democrats, progressive and patriotic forces.

#### Comrades!

Our losses had been very severe. Unless each committee from the CC to the lower committees and the entire party strives very hard to build up new forces in a planned manner on a wide scale and continues the rectification campaign effectively we will not be able to fulfill the losses

incurred, particularly that of Com. Azad and other leadership comrades at central and state level.

Only when we understand the real reasons behind the losses, we can prevent them and only then we can strengthen the party as an impregnable fort to the enemy. To identify the real reasons we have to take lessons from the experiences of our party and Maoist parties of other countries.

We have to expand and intensify the self-defensive war waged under the party's leadership by PLGA, people and by uniting with all struggling forces of our country and other countries. If we firmly rely on the masses and make use of our PLGA properly in the war, we would definitely be able to defeat Green Hunt.

Let us prepare ourselves to wage people's war with utmost courage and determination. Celebrate the 6th anniversary of our party formation day with brimming revolutionary enthusiasm and zeal. Let us propagate widely the successes won even amidst severe repression in the past one year.

#### Our beloved comrades and people of India!

The CPI (Maoist) is issuing a call to all the people of our country to unify under the leadership of the party and rise against the feudal and comprador rulers who are selling our country to the imperialists. We cannot liberate our country from the clutches of these predators without a revolutionary party. The party calls upon all the resistance struggles against the loot of our country to come together which would lead to a broad united front. The fight for land to the tiller, democratic power to the people and basic needs and against SEZs, displacement, corporate mining, plunder of our natural resources, price rise, corruption and all such burning problems have to be carried out in an united manner. We can win only through our unified strength. As our fight intensifies, the state onslaught on all the democratic and revolutionary struggles would also intensify. Let us prepare ourselves for this. Jan Jagrans, Salwa Judums, Sendras and Green Hunts can never break a determined people or their revolutionary party. Final Victory belongs to the people.

- **Let us consolidate our party as an impregnable fortress and avoid huge losses to leadership and ranks !**
- **Hail and follow the exemplary model battle of Tadimetla to defeat 'Operation Green Hunt' !**
- **Let us unite with and bring together all resistance movements paving the way for a countrywide strong United Front !**
- **Let us hail and follow the exemplary model of Comrade Azad in effectively fighting back the enemy's psychological warfare !**  
**Let us extend to vast areas to fulfill the multi-faceted tasks of People's War!**

For Polit Bureau,  
Abhay  
Spokesperson, Central Committee, CPI (Maoist)

**Communist Party of India (M-L) Naxalbari****On the Present Situation of the RIM and the Challenge of Regrouping Maoist Parties at the International Level**

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) is now defunct for all practical purposes. The only remaining sign of its presence is the 'A World to Win News Service'. Even this is reduced to mere tokenism, incapable of providing direction and at times misused as a mouthpiece of sectarian views. This situation is both grievous and challenging.

The RIM used to present itself as the 'embryonic centre of the world's Maoist forces'. Its formational process and practice justified this. Foremost among these is its initiation from a worldwide rebellion that emerged from among Maoist parties and organisations against the capitalist coup and restoration in China. Though a tiny minority and mostly isolated, these Maoist forces dared to swim against the revisionist, centrist tide. Most of them could be part of an international process of regrouping that ultimately lead to the formation of the RIM in 1984. Since then this movement had been instrumental in promoting the proletarian revolutionary cause with ideological consistency. It could draw immense energy and greater clarity from the presence in its ranks of parties leading the two glorious people's wars initiated in the later part of the last century. It could bring out the authentic and united voice of Maoism on major world developments. It initiated and led several internationalist campaigns of solidarity and resistance. The journal 'A World to Win' inspired by the RIM acquired a prestigious position. Most important of all, it advanced to the height of adopting Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and playing a key role in gaining wider adherence to this ideological position within the international Maoist movement.

It is therefore extremely grievous that the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples have been deprived of this international weapon right at this time of global imperialist crisis. The Maoist forces are once again faced with the challenging task of seeking out principled, ideologically consistent, unity amongst themselves and regrouping at the international level. This broadly presents two options - reorganise the RIM or build a new international organisation. In either case, a summation of the RIM experience, even if initial, is necessary. This should not be limited to participatory parties of the RIM. It must strive to draw upon and incorporate inputs from the greatest number of existing Maoist parties.

Whatever maybe the limitations or even errors of the RIM, it is an indisputable fact that it was the most advanced one among the various international initiatives of Marxist-Leninist forces. This is particularly true in the matter of ideology. Therefore, regardless of whether one opts for reorganising the RIM or prefers to build anew, its experience must be struggled over and synthesised. In view of the advanced position achieved by the RIM we hold that it is appropriate to reorganise the RIM, rather than striving to build something new. But such reorganisation must go beyond an organisational regrouping of the participatory parties and organisations of the RIM. We cannot simply

reactivate the RIM and continue as before, even with a new CoRim. There are two reasons. First of all, the present predicament of the RIM stems, in some measure at least, from its very constitutive concepts and methods of functioning. They must be addressed and a resolution attempted to achieve meaningful reorganisation. Apart from this, a number of Maoist parties, some leading people's wars, are outside the RIM. Reorganisation will be incomplete without pooling their views and experiences.

No single party can arrogate to itself the task of summing up the RIM. It must be done collectively. Yet a beginning must be made, to initiate debate and struggle. The following positions are being advanced in this spirit. They are preliminary in nature and open to revision. We focus on the drawbacks, since the positive features are broadly known and already mentioned in brief. Besides, the pressing need is to identify and resolve those negative factors which have brought the RIM to the present stalemate.

The capacity of the RIM to function as a cohesive body was grounded in its insistence on ideological unity. This made it possible to proceed beyond a co-ordination and achieve the formation of a committee to lead it and its centralised functioning. The committee was conceived as an embryonic political centre. This conformed to the stated aim of working towards the formation of an International of a new type. The qualification 'new type' was incorporated precisely to distance this future International from the Comintern conception of being the 'world party of the world proletariat'. Hence the centralised functioning of the committee, the CoRIM, was to be guided by the recognition, explicitly mentioned in the Declaration of the RIM, that the formation of a new International demanded an appropriate form of democratic centralism, apart from a new General Line. The CoRim was given the responsibility of carrying out various ideological, political and organisational tasks. It was to take guidance for this from the general positions collectively adopted by the participatory parties and organisations. Furthermore, it was allowed an active role in the process of generalising and synthesising the experiences of the individual parties by bringing these to the attention of all the participants, through its circulars and reports. Thus the ideological unity, lying at the foundation of the Movement, was sought to be transformed into a material force by manifesting it in an appropriate organisational form and method of functioning. This was the distinctive feature of the RIM. The positive gains achieved by the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples through this Movement are closely bound up with this feature. Yet, the present situation of stagnation too is located precisely in this, in the paralysis of the CoRim.

This paralysis is related to sharp ideological and political differences among the parties in the CoRim on the Nepal issue. No doubt these differences are widely present within the Movement itself. But we highlight those in the CoRim because it is primarily responsible for the present

stalemate. However, the problem of the present situation is not rooted in such differences as much as it is in the methods adopted to deal with it and arrive at a resolution. This is not the first time that sharp differences have come up. The RIM and its Committee have been marked by 'wranglingism' from the very beginning. But, in the past, this was overall handled in a manner ensuring collective participation. This allowed the RIM to identify points of unity and advance on that basis, without papering over differences. When deviations from this correct method took place, ideological struggle tended to get diverted into secondary issues and unprincipled methods. It needed the collective intervention of the Movement to check this. The sharp differences on the Peru issue, the problems of handling associated with this and the achievement of a level of unity in 2000, through collective struggle, may be recollected. But in the present instance the CoRIM failed to discharge its responsibility of consulting and involving the whole Movement. The reasons for this must be sought in the current outlook of the concerned parties, not just on the specific issue of difference, Nepal, but on the whole range of ideological, political and organisational positions. An analysis of these matters is beyond the scope of this note. What is to be noted is that the present paralysis of the CoRIM leading to the RIM becoming defunct is not an 'inevitable' consequence of its structure that granted the role of an embryonic political centre to the CoRIM. It is the unavoidable product of deviations from the points of unity in the understanding that led to the formation of the RIM.

Yet this does not absolve the embryonic centre concept from all blame. A tendency of promoting the central role of the CoRIM at the cost of bilateral relations among parties, even to the extent of discouraging such direct ties, existed within the CoRIM and the Movement from the very beginning. This tendency emerged from the failure to rethink the issue of international organisation in the light of the initial criticism made of the 'world party' concept made in the Declaration. It was squarely rooted in visualising a new International more or less in the pattern of the Comintern. More and more, political exchanges and contacts became routed through the CoRIM. This led to a situation where bilateral contacts among the participating parties were weakened, and often abandoned. As a result we have the present predicament where the freezing up of the CoRIM has caused immobility of the whole Movement. This is more than an organisational, structural, problem. Let us recollect that the initial contacting of the late 1970's and early '80s was actualised through various initiatives of individual parties, in circumstances far more adverse than those existing today. The present stagnation is mainly an ideological problem, one of outlook. The extent to which this stems from the 'embryonic political centre' concept remains to be assessed, but its role is undeniable.

The tendency of 'absolutising' the central role of the committee was opposed and criticised by some parties pre-

cisely on the grounds that it was tending to go beyond the points of unity leading to the formation of the RIM and the CoRIM. It was even pointed out that this reflects an outlook of recreating the centralisation seen during the Comintern period, in one or another manner. At each instance these parties demanded that bilateral ties must be promoted and that the tendency within the CoRIM that opposed this must be rectified. But this was not taken up with the importance it really demanded. And it did not get due recognition. Quite often such matters were posed and dealt with as issues solely concerning the style of functioning of the CoRIM or deviations from the Maoist methods of leadership. Given the differences on the vision of a new International, it was inevitable that the very concept of 'embryonic political centre' would be a site of unity and struggle from the very beginning. Yet this was not explicitly recognised and dealt with as such.

This is an important lesson that should be taken and applied in the present initiative. We must therefore review the position on 'embryonic political centre' and deal with the structural form of leadership accordingly. The Declaration of the RIM has correctly observed, "The concept of world party and the resultant over-centralisation of the Comintern should be evaluated so that appropriate lessons from that 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." Both these aspects must be addressed in any attempt to build an international organisation of the proletariat, even in its preliminary forms or stages.

Since the adoption of the Declaration, the thinking and practice of Maoist parties, within and outside the RIM, has changed significantly. New parties have been founded. In this situation, the Declaration, though still correct and relevant in many aspects, can no longer be the basis, even for a reorganisation of the RIM. It is therefore necessary to initiate a process of debate on various ideological, political and organisational issues. This must necessarily be broad enough, in the topics selected as well as participation, so that the present reality of the international Maoist movement is properly represented. Through this process the points of unity and differences can be identified and a relatively advanced platform can be arrived at, to become the basis of reorganisation. We once again clarify: such reorganisation must go beyond an organisational regrouping of the participatory parties and organisations of the RIM. We cannot simply reactivate the RIM and continue as before, even with a new CoRim. In this sense it will be a new initiative. But this new initiative must build off from the advanced positions attained by the RIM, taking lessons from its experiences, both positive and negative.

## International Conference in Hamburg

### Intervention of the maoist Communist Party - Italy

Comrades, first, we are glad to meet the parties and organizations attending this important International Conference.

The work of our party with the PCP and the MPP is long term, it is a common way to serve the revolution, the establishing of Maoism and the construction of a new Communist International, and this conference is an opportunity and a step in that direction.

We bring you the salute of the workers building the maoist Communist Party of Italy (PCm). As Maoists, in this moment we are engaged in class struggle in our country, from where good news come.

On 16 October, the workers staged a large demonstration in Rome demanding a general strike against the owners and the government. On this occasion the proletarian communists of the PCm Italy took up the call of workers and challenged the reformist leadership of the major Italian unions.

In recent weeks in Italy we assisted a real explosion of the struggle of students and youth. The Parliament was besieged, the gate of the Senate attacked by a large mass of students, there were blocks of the train stations and highways, occupations of universities and schools. A wind of rebellion demands the withdrawal of the reactionary reform of the education as well as the anti-worker, anti-popular, modern fascist Berlusconi's government.

The young people of Red Block, generated organization of the PCm Italy, are at the forefront of this movement in Palermo and send their warm greetings to all comrades who attend this international Conference. (Applause)

This advance of the mass movement created good opportunities for the Maoists to go forward winning advanced workers and rebel youth, so they actively participate in the construction of the maoist Communist Party of Italy, for a new beginning of people's war.

The focus of this conference is urgent, arduous and complex, and difficult to implement. The RIM, embryonic centre of a relevant part of the MLM parties and organizations within the ICM, amongst them in the front line the parties and organizations leading the People's War in Peru, Nepal Turkey – in India the RIM member organization is unified in the CPI (M), which now leads the people's War in that country - and the contingents struggling to build MLM communist parties in the world, is experiencing a deep crisis. Stagnation has become a position of liquidating the RIM, nobody claimed the liquidation, but for years the RIM has not come out of the crisis.

The whole ICM has suffered with this very serious recession, because the RIM is not a forum for discussion, not a vehicle of mere coordination of parties, but an embryonic centre to unite the genuine Maoists and communists and a step towards a genuine Communist International. This step can not be or should be liquidated. Today we need a further step that should draw on the positive and negative lessons of our Movement. The history of RIM has lasted many years. After the fall of the Cultural Revolution and the death of Chairman Mao, the work of RCP US to bring together all parties and organizations refusing to liquidate the communist movement inspired by Mao Tse

Tung was very important. The RCP US has the merit of this successful work, which led in 1984 to the International Conference that founded the RIM on the basis of its *Declaration*.

The Conference was the result of an agreement between the three main participating parties, from US, Turkey and India. The Conference established a common basis of RIM – the *Declaration* – and made the decision to form a Committee of the RIM (Corim), not as the leading centre of the world revolution, but to allow all the parties to join, take part, make advance the struggle and internal discussion also through an international journal - A World to Win (AWTW) - and to organize international campaigns.

Unfortunately, a few months after the Conference, the organization from India left the Corim and then dissolved. The participation at the RIM and the support of the Declaration by the party of Turkey was oscillating and finally it was not able to go on with the work of Corim. This allowed and created the conditions for which the RCP US had a kind of monopoly in the Corim. This monopoly had serious effects on relationships between the parties members of the RIM and negatively affected the internal functioning; it did not allow the full participation and debate that could turn the provisional unity provided by the *Declaration* into a steel unity.

However, thanks the decisive role of the PCP and the People's War in Peru, under the powerful leadership of the Gonzalo thought and chairman Gonzalo, in the RIM the understanding of Maoism advanced. The strength of Maoism prevailed through the advance of people's war in Peru. The declaration "*Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!*" is the result of this situation.

In the years following the declaration "*Long Live MLM*", RCP US developed in the Corim and generally in the RIM, along with a hegemonic attitude, an understanding of Maoism that is not revolutionary, a line that in practice undermines Maoism.

In this context, the struggle within the RIM became very sharp, but the method of this struggle was not correct, it was not informed by an open and transparent two lines struggle.

The relationships between the Corim and the parties and organizations of our Movement became difficult, trends were formed which were not based on the two lines struggle, but aimed to build "friend parties" and paper parties and organizations. Against this, the consequent Maoist parties and organizations found difficulties in advancing their positions.

The capture of Chairman Gonzalo became a crucial step for the RCP US in reversing the course of Corim. With the line of "investigation", the ROL was given support and a contribution was given to the attack on the People's War in Peru and the PCP, in the phase of bend on the road.

In our movement there were rebellion and struggle against this position and the various parties developed different understanding. However, with the initiation and development of people's war in Nepal, the advance of Maoism and People's War did not stop.

These two factors created conditions for the Enlarged

Meeting of Corim, where the left, the red fraction represented at this meeting by the PCP and the newborn, in the same year, PCm Italy, developed a sharp struggle. This meeting brought about a political setback for the right of the RIM, represented by the RCP US, and a new document: “*For a century of people’s wars...*”.

At the same time, the creative application of the People’s War in Nepal brought further advances and useful lessons for our Movement. No people’s war may be the same as another. Principles are similar but the application must be consistent with the reality of each country, it must be a dynamic application in theory, politics and action.

But even the people’s war in Nepal was not good for the Corim, particularly for the RCP US. They opened fire against the people’s war in Nepal, stabbed in the back that people’s war, as at the time of the detention of Chairman Gonzalo and the bend on the road they had stabbed in the back the people’s war in Peru led by the PCP.

Therefore there was a phase of maximum difficulty and confusion in our movement, up to the complete emergence in the recent years of the opportunistic, revisionist and, in some features, even reactionary approach of Bob Avakian, now called “New Synthesis”, to which is added objectively the develop of revisionist positions in the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

All this has resulted in the current collapse of the RIM. We cannot resume with the reconstruction of the RIM, for a second step forward, without a summing up and a radical criticism of the current revisionist tendencies, different in their nature but identical in effects, represented by the New Synthesis of the RCP US and the revisionist positions in the leadership of the UCPN(M) in Nepal.

Maoists in the RIM should raise the red flag and advance in a very difficult process of reconstruction, because it requires that the Maoist forces within RIM and also those MLM forces out of the RIM reach a basis of agreement for a new International Conference.

An International Conference is not only a call from a party to all other parties and organizations. It requires an agreement, a compromise based on the assertion of Maoism and the need to build a centre of unity of the MLM forces today. It demands the unity of parties and organizations that are in the RIM with MLM organizations and parties that, for different reasons, are outside.

This work is now at the beginning rather than conclusion. There are no conditions for convening a conference of this type. New parties play an important role in the current situation, in particular the Communist Party of India (Maoist) with the People’s War in India. A new international conference, a new step can not be thought without the effort for the CPI (M) taking part.

Therefore, for us the work is more complex than the PCP and conferences held by MPP pose. It is not a criticism of the action and positions of PCP, or the work of MPP, but the considering that the problem can not be solved that way. In the path toward the International Conference we need that each party fulfils its task and makes its contribution.

To establish Maoism, the ongoing people’s war and promote new people’s wars, to mark and clearly delimitate the current revisionism in our movement are two important

bases to move in that direction. But we need also to discuss through bilateral meetings, seminars to deepen these issues, in order to reach an agreement on the need of organizing this new International Conference.

The International Conference which gave birth to RIM was the result a years-long work. That Conference lasted many days in 1984, days of struggle. No one had a common position on many points. The Italian Maoist group that took part - of which we are the followers - did not agree with the positions of other parties in the Conference on points of strategic relevance. It was a difficult work of mediation and synthesis that led to realize the historically determined mixture that allowed the step forward represented by the foundation of the RIM. Our work today requires a process of the same type, adapted to current conditions and past lessons.

The other important problem in this road is to establish the universality of the people’s war, that today means to establish the people’s war in the imperialist countries.

Currently in the RIM only the PCm Italy and the PCP endorse the line of the people’s war in the imperialist countries. Out of the RIM, the RCP Canada and mCP France support this line. Other MLM parties and organizations within and out of the RIM do not agree with this line.

We believe that there is no chance to advance if it does not advance also the flag of the universality of People’s War, if it does not advance also the organizing parties for the people’s war in the imperialist countries and the new beginning of the People’s War in some of them.

Our party can not wait for the Conference that will establish in the general line of ICM, the ideology, theory, politics, practice and organization of people’s war.

That is why our party has already begun working on our country and internationally, with comrades from France, Spain, Canada, to advance in the line of the People’s War in the imperialist countries. It is in this context that we promoted the international meetings held in Paris on the uprising in the banlieues, on the nature of modern fascist imperialist governments in countries like France and Italy, on the summing up of the experience of the Maoists in the imperialist countries, the French May and the Gauche Proletarienne in France. Through this work we make our contribution to establish the Maoism in the imperialist countries, to reach an International Conference, along with and in accordance with the PCP and all parties and organizations seeking to establish Maoism and the way of people’s war as universal, to reconstruct the RIM as a second step towards a new Communist International.

This work today has a new journal - Maoist Road - that we realize together with parties and organizations that share this need.

This work includes the support for the people’s war in India, as a Maoist flag, with an international campaign that is part of the battle to establish the Maoism.

We believe that through this work, complex and structured, we will contribute to the tasks specified in the appeal of PCP.

**For a new International Conference,  
let’s work all together!  
Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!  
Long live proletarian internationalism!  
People’s War until communism!**

## Communist Party of Peru

**To the Communists, to the international proletariat and the oppressed masses of the world**

*"...while the universal validity of Marxism-Leninism has been recognized, Maoism is not fully recognized as the third stage; because while some simply deny its condition as such, others only accept it as "Mao Tsetung thought". And in essence, in both cases – with all the differences they have between them, they deny the general development of Marxism made by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. To not recognize its character of "ism", as Maoism, is to deny its universal validity and in consequence its condition as third, new and higher stage of the ideology of the international proletariat: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, which we uphold, defend and apply"*

*"...The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is, in historical perspective, the most significant part of Chairman Mao's development of Marxism-Leninism; it is the solution of the great pending question of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; "it represents a new stage, even deeper and wider, in the development of the socialist revolution in our country.."*

*"...The Communist Party of Peru, through the fraction led by Chairman Gonzalo who impelled the reconstitution, took up Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the year 1966; in '79 the slogan was "uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought!" In '81: "Towards Maoism! And in '82, Maoism as an integral part and higher development of the ideology of the international proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism..."*

Fundamental Documents of the PCP

We direct our communist greetings to each one of you, members of the Communist Parties and revolutionary organizations that fight against imperialism and revisionism.

The objective of the present event is to serve in making the leap that the world revolution demands. The PCP puts forward the realization of an expanded Conference of the RIM with the participation of all the members, in order to address, from our position, the following points:

1. Evaluation of the application of Maoism. The fundamental point in Maoism, and the Great Cultural Revolution.
2. The Experience of the international proletariat, principally of those who develop people's war.
3. The struggle against today's revisionism.

This is our firm and resolute position as a fraction within the international communist movement.

It is necessary for the communists of the world to systematize the application of Maoism. We consider that it should be done starting from the victory of the Chinese revolution, keeping in mind the position of the PCP, that defined Maoism as the new, third and higher stage of Marxism, and that to be a Marxist today is to be a Maoist.

Comrades, it has been four decades of hard struggle to impose Maoism. A task that must serve to enthrone, to firmly embody Maoism, and that it be materialized in more initiations of people's wars led by Communist Parties. The CoRIM cannot be exempted from their responsibility. There have been milestones since the victory of the revolu-

tion, that the proletariat must assimilate in order to then apply them. There are also problems in the ideological and political line that the RIM has not been able to put forward correctly, and it did not take position at the right moment in the struggle against today's revisionism. There is lack of understanding and in some cases even opposition against the question of the power.

The fundamental point of Maoism is the power; the power under the leadership of the proletariat, in the democratic revolution; the power for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist and cultural revolutions; and the power based on an armed force led by the Communist Party, conquered and defended through the people's war. To us this is of vital importance and setting it aside has led to reaching the point of people's war without building – and that is not a Maoist people's war; and the revolution cannot advance, see the situation in Nepal. This is a principal problem that must be addressed extensively in the RIM, and having a firm position.

The Great Cultural Revolution implies a milestone in the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat towards the consolidation of the proletariat in power, the masterful handling of the two-line struggle by Chairman Mao, in the GPR, and of how to face the struggle between restoration and counterrestoration, the role of the militias (the armed sea of masses), this arms us ideologically and politically to confront the new problems of the world revolution and here in Peru. Of how to build a Communist Party to lead the war, militarized, and once initiated develop the war until communism with the armed sea of masses – in this way the revolution is not led off its course – and how to combat these new revisionists, see their essence, their perspective and their collusion with their new masters.

Concerning our Party experience: the PCP, applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism; applying the principles of concentric construction of the three instruments of the revolution, the militarization of the Party, the application of the principle of Great Leadership and Great leaders of the revolution, that the revolution is not led from the prisons; being firmly rooted in and starting from principles allows us to continue on the course laid down by the Party and the Congress, we have warded off the takeover of the regional committees by the ROL, that have tried to take them by assault, answering these miserable ones in a forceful way and as the capitulators they are; their role is to be swept away. It has not worked out for them at all, setting up false peace letters (written by Merino Bartel), videos directed and edited by Montesinos personally and TV-channels, transfers and inspections in the prisons to control, coordinated with Morote, Cox, María Pantoja, Miriam; the so-called self-criticisms, with scripts by the SIN, from Nancy, Roldan, Julio, etc. **We are forged in that the war is not stopped even for a minute, it is that simple, not to lower the banner of the revolution under any circumstance; the point is to continue applying the principles.** The Great Leadership is isolated since his arrest, and until today there has not been any public and direct presentation, only letters, videos, books, centering in the pronouncements of capitulators.



Today the reaction, with the advice of yankee imperialism, is implementing a new repentance law; they say the previous law fulfilled its role, now we must update it; they have employed an Israeli advisor. The CIA was not enough; the MOSSAD says: you need night helicopters with more firepower for the countersubversive struggle. They ask Congress for more funds, and have changed the functions of the prosecutors in the emergency zone, now the police will do it. Now they have a new law – the so-called immunity – so that the police is authorized to shoot without questions asked; now they say they are fighting against narco-terrorism (like in Afghanistan with the opium and in Colombia and Peru with the cocaine).

About the people's war: centering in the construction of the new power, around the fluidity of the people's war, exercise joint dictatorship in the People's Committees, this has let us successfully confront the inflection in spite of the arrest of the Great leadership and a large part of the leaders. Applying the principle that the communists that are left have the duty to continue and maintain the course of the revolution, the principle that the Party commands the rifle, integrating the militia inside the army, this has allowed us to regroup and all-embracingly lead the army and avoid it being used by the ROL. We consider that, in the revolution in Nepal, it is unacceptable that the revolutionary army be demobilized and that the weapons are handed over "under the leadership" of the UN. The Party must be inside the army and this supports the new power – without it the people would have nothing and the revolution in Nepal will end in genocide.

#### Struggle against present-day revisionism

The experiences of the international proletariat show that revisionism and the counterrevolutionary coups appear inside the Central Committee. See CPSU, CPC, PCP, CPN. In moments when the revolution is about to make leaps or retreats, before the loss or arrest of Great Leaderships, see CPSU, CPC, PCP. First by revising the ideological and political line, then denying everything openly, hoisting the red banners of communism with pictures of Chairman Mao, and Chairman Gonzalo in our case, in order to repress and seize the left, in order to thus restrain the revolution.

Revisionism, appealing to new circumstances, say: "...the PCP made the strategic turn with the arrest of Chairman Gonzalo and the Historical Central Leadership, and had to develop the New Strategy, new General Political Line, new tactic, new construction work, new mass work etc., a new line that had to be imposed in struggle to defeat the previous line..." We ask: when did they do that? They coordinated with the puppet Fujimori and presented it to the world. That was how it was; he put forward the distribution of leaflets from helicopters in Ayacucho, Huallaga, universities, etc. Was it perhaps a Regional Committee or a generated organization? Which one? It was the armed forces led by the SIN-CIA. Now, in order to recycle themselves, they have put forward the participation in the presidential elections of 2011. And the ROL of Nepal? The same; what has the CoRIM said before the capitulation, before these new "electoral" revisionists? The only thing they manage to do is INVESTIGATE! Enough! In spite of the arrest of our Great leadership and a large part of the leadership, and the infiltration of the reaction in our Party, the

struggle against the ROL supported by the CIA gives us a great lesson in taking on new challenges, making the evaluation of the application of Maoism for it to serve the initiation of more people's wars.

The call of the Central Committee and the whole Party is to demand the public presentation, in person and direct, of Chairman Gonzalo. This is a demand of the communists, and it is clear to us that the miserable ones involved in the isolation of the Great leadership will take on the measures already established for them by the Party. From Fujimori, Garcia, Gampetri, to the lawyers who since '93 said that "...the Chairman does not want us to defend him...", "he says it goes against his request for peace accords...", accomplices who now call themselves paladins, their defenders, "candidates in elections" – we do not forget it. We say this to remind them of what they said. Sooner or later.

**LONG LIVE MAOISM!  
UPHOLD, DEFEND AND APPLY MARXISM-  
LENINISM-MAOISM, PRINCIPALLY MAOISM!  
LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN GONZALO, GREAT  
LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND THE REVOLU-  
TION!  
LONG LIVE THE MARXIST-LENINIST-MAOIST,  
GONZALO THOUGHT COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
PERU!**

April 2010, PCP-Central Committee



## Intervención Central del Movimiento Popular Perú a la Conferencia Internacional de Hamburgo *[available only in original language]*

El Movimiento Popular Perú expresa sus más calurosos saludos revolucionarios a todos los Partidos y organizaciones comunistas que asisten a esta Conferencia Internacional, a todos los camaradas y compañeros que han bregado en poder asistir y a todos los Partidos y Organizaciones que no han podido materializar su presencia en persona pero que están aquí presente entre nosotros a través de su documentación y sus mensajes. Reafirmamos nuestro compromiso de pugnar con iniciativa y energía a raudales para que el Movimiento Comunista Internacional haga el salto que la revolución proletaria mundial demanda y esperamos que lo presente sea una pequeña contribución en tal sentido. Por ello, queremos profundizar algunos aspectos de los tres puntos establecidos por el Comité Central del Partido Comunista del Perú para esta serie de Conferencias que hoy estamos concluyendo.

### **Rechazar la posición revisionista “que dos se unifican en uno”**

El llamamiento del CC del PCP a que avancemos en el balance de la aplicación del maoísmo, es una demanda que cualquiera, que seriamente se pone la tarea de servir a la cohesión del MCI, tiene que tomar como punto de partida para llevar adelante su misión. Algunos camaradas ya tomaron algunos pasos y sentaron posición, esperamos, en el transcurso de esta conferencia, poder ver que otros también están por llevar adelante este proceso. Necesariamente tiene que ser un proceso que se da dentro de la lucha de dos líneas. Hacer un balance para nosotros es algo más que ver los problemas o puntos positivos de cada uno. Fundamentalmente se trata de sacar la ley, es decir coger bien el porque de todo y a donde lleva. Parece banal, pero algunos camaradas simplemente no quieren verlo así. Incluso hay partidos que piensan que se puede construir una fortaleza simplemente haciendo raja tabla con el pasado, aplicando el concepto que “dos se unifican en uno”. Así no se construye una fortaleza de verdad, así a lo mejor se construye un castillo de arena que no puede resistir la tempestad que viene. Así solamente se establece la base de la futura fragmentación del partido o su liquidación por medio de la capitulación. En otras palabras, se sacrifica el futuro por poder avanzar algo en lo inmediato. Esto es una posición del oportunismo de derecha en el plano de la construcción. No necesitamos de ver más atrás en la historia del MCI, que lo que todos hemos visto de lo que pasó en Nepal, para tener una prueba irrefutable de a donde lleva esta posición. Entonces camaradas, como comunistas en formación, no podemos sustentar este tipo de barbaridades. Los comunistas son los que tienen las mentes más abiertas: ¿Por qué entonces hay tantas cabezas duras entre nosotros? Tanta terquedad en errar, tanta resistencia a dar el salto. La esencia de la Gran Revolución Cultural Proletaria fue cambiar el alma. Si estamos por el marxismo-leninismo-maoísmo, principalmente el maoísmo, tenemos que coger ello. Implica luchar contra el revisionismo y aplicar lo avanzado hasta ahora para desarrollarlo. Si vemos el proceso del Movimiento Revolucionario Internacionalista (MRI), fue en los momentos cuando la izquierda se puso más fuerte que el Movimiento avanzó y se pudo dar saltos. Así fue y es el proceso de cada Partido u organización. No se puede establecer fundamentos sólidos, ni dar el salto que la revolución proletaria mundial demanda sin tomar firme posición por imponer el marxismo-leninismo-maoísmo, principalmente el maoísmo y rechazar el revisionismo. Por ello es indispensable que, los que estamos por el avance del MCI, rechacemos contundentemente esta posición revisionista “que dos se unifican en uno”.

La presente crisis mundial es parte de la crisis general del imperialismo, es expresión palmaria de su agonía. En todo el mundo las masas gritan por organizar la rebelión, los pueblos

quieren la revolución. Los imperialistas están en pánico ante el incesante crecimiento de la lucha popular. En los mismos países imperialistas, el proletariado ha comenzado a despertarse de su estado letárgico, y eso es importante. Pero no hay que engañarnos, todavía falta mucho para que podamos hablar de un poderoso movimiento de lucha popular con sentido revolucionario. Lo que falta es el papel de los partidos comunistas que cumplan su función. ¿Entonces que hacen los “partidos comunistas” – hablamos de los que reclaman ser adherentes al Presidente Mao – en esta situación? Desarrollan sus actividades guiados por un feroz cretinismo parlamentario, incluso los que pretenden haber roto con tal cretinismo hablan sobre “guerra popular” sin nuevo Poder, “los aportes de Nepal” etc. Será bueno si estudiaran como ejemplo negativo lo que ha pasado con el PCR de los EE.UU. Han terminado por insistir en este tipo de posiciones – por ejemplo el de no chocar con los que llaman a votar por el partido Demócrata, “guerra popular” sin nuevo Poder, “el camino de la insurrección” – a un rincón sin salida, sin ligación alguna con las masas hondas y profundas de su país y lo único que le ha quedado a su dirección es transformarse en algo que más parece a una secta vulgar de charlatanes que a un partido comunista.

Además, es necesario señalar que mucho se habla de los países imperialistas o de “la situación en Europa”, donde en la gran mayoría de los casos se refiere a la situación en Europa Occidental. Lo que no debemos olvidarnos es que la base de la revolución proletaria mundial constituye los pueblos oprimidos del tercer mundo, es allí donde la situación revolucionaria es más acentuada. Es allí donde la guerra popular en algunos países es una fuerza actuante, es allí donde hay partidos comunistas que están realmente llevando a cabo la revolución. Es allí donde están nuestras fuerzas de choque. Quien no considera esto, en concebir el proceso de reconstitución del MCI, el que no considera el papel que le corresponde a los partidos que dirigen guerra popular; está, en el mejor de los casos, confundiendo las cosas. La vanguardia tiene que asumir su papel de dirección, desde la retaguardia no se puede dirigir correctamente. Eso sabe cualquiera que es marxista-leninista-maoísta, y también ha sido confirmado por la experiencia que tenemos con el MRI. Una cosa es servir para la coordinación, otra es ser dirección.

### **Los “acuerdos de paz” son plan del imperialismo**

Los “acuerdos de paz” apuntan precisamente a descabezar la revolución proletaria mundial, liquidar a los partidos comunistas que dirigen guerra popular. Es plan del imperialismo, por la cual usa a sus agentes revisionistas. Nuestro Partido estableció en el I Congreso: “la inmensa región estratégica de Asia, región de gran concentración de masas por ejemplo India que si tuvieran Partidos Comunistas suficientemente desarrollados servirían poderosamente al avance de la revolución” (Línea Internacional). Hoy vemos que los Partidos de Asia y en particular de la India, ha dado unos saltos importantísimos en su desarrollo, y han comenzado a asumir su papel en la revolución mundial, eso es una cosa muy buena, de tremenda importancia estratégica para nuestro campo. Por ello no es para sorprenderse que allí el imperialismo esta trabajando intensamente para fomentar su plan, de llevar los partidos a “negociaciones”, “conversaciones” o lo que sea, para desviar la revolución. En Nepal tuvieron éxito. Los comunistas del mundo debemos sacar lección, tenemos dos formas que resaltan como los partidos maoístas en guerra popular han enfrentado este plan del imperialismo, uno es el caso nuestro, el del Perú, y el otro, el de Nepal.

En nuestro caso, el Partido Comunista del Perú, partido militarizado marxista-leninista-maoísta, pensamiento Gonzalo, prin-

principalmente pensamiento Gonzalo, rechazó el plan del imperialismo, rechazó el “acuerdo de paz”. Por ello, hoy tenemos un Partido que dirige la guerra popular mantenido el rumbo de ella, a la Conquista del Poder en todo el país, para llevar la revolución democrática a su culminación, y una vez establecido la Republica Popular del Perú, continuar sin interrupción alguna con la revolución socialista para marchar con sucesivas revoluciones culturales hasta que entremos toda la humanidad al Comunismo. Tenemos un Ejército Popular de Liberación probado y forjado en los largos años de la guerra popular, que vez tras vez ha demostrado que es capaz de cumplir las tareas encomendadas por el Partido, derrotando las hordas genocidas de la reacción peruana así como las Fuerzas Elites del imperialismo yanqui. Tenemos un Nuevo Poder, con comités populares abiertos y Bases de Apoyo, que brillan ante el sol como una prueba irrefutable de la validez universal del marxismo-leninismo-maoísmo y un Frente que cada vez más se desarrolla en dirección de ser un verdadero Frente de Liberación Nacional. Eso es lo que tiene el proletariado internacional y los pueblos del mundo en el Perú.

En Nepal hay un partido domesticado, inmerso en el corral de chanchos que es el parlamento burgués, un partido que ni siquiera tiene reparo en tener relaciones bilaterales con el partido social-fascista de China, con los usurpadores revisionistas que asesinaron a los que defendieron al Presidente Mao Tsetung y el socialismo. Un Ejército revolucionario desarmado y puesto bajo el control de los aparatos del imperialismo, combatientes encerrados en las miras de los fusiles del ejército reaccionario. Bases de apoyo entregadas, masas desarmadas convocadas a ser parte del sistema del viejo Estado. Eso es lo que nos ha dado Prachanda et consortes, porque ellos aceptaron este plan del imperialismo de los acuerdos de paz.

Así, tenemos dos alternativas diametralmente opuestas, dos experiencias ante los ojos del proletariado internacional. Experiencias alcanzadas a costa de las vidas de miles de comunistas, revolucionarios y masas. En el primer caso no se ha traicionado a los que entregaron su preciosa sangre, quienes siguen combatiendo en nosotros. En el segundo, se ha traicionado todo por los afanes de caudillejos. Estas dos experiencias son algo muy diferente a las elaboraciones fantásticas de gente acomodada en los países imperialistas.

Los que sean capaces de hacerlo que saquen lección. ¿Quiéren que se repita lo mismo en otros lugares que en Nepal? Si ese es el caso, que sigan conciliándose, que sigan con tratar de conciliar el marxismo y el revisionismo, que sigan con esto de que “dos se unifican en uno”; pero esto les llevará a meterse en el pantano vecino de pies a cabeza – marcharemos adelante sin ellos. Si quieren que la revolución avance en el mundo, si están por el triunfo de las guerras populares que se desarrollan pujantemente, si están verdaderamente por guerra popular hasta el comunismo; tienen que deslindar con el nuevo revisionismo y tomar firme posición por la izquierda, rechazar los “acuerdos de paz” y cada matiz de cretinismo parlamentario. Es incluso la única forma de apoyar a los comunistas en el mismo Nepal de reconstituir su partido y retomar el camino de la guerra popular, pasando sobre las cabezas de los traidores revisionistas.

### **¡Unirse bajo el Maoísmo!**

Tirar barro en los ojos de los comunistas es parte de como el imperialismo combate a la revolución mundial, con una masiva campaña de desinformación, patrañas e intrigas. Todo con apoyo de los reaccionarios y revisionistas de todo pelaje. Una ofensiva contrarrevolucionaria general encabezada por el imperialismo yanqui. Objetivo central en ella durante los últimos años ha sido de pretender quitar al Presidente Gonzalo de las mentes de los comunistas en el mundo, de difundir la idea de la “derrota de la guerra popular en el Perú”. Esta burda patraña contrarrevolucio-

naria, que ninguno que sabe un mínimo de la realidad del Perú puede creer, obviamente ha sido difundida, tanto solapada como abiertamente, por los pretendidos liquidadores del MRI. Eso de “investigar” era parte fundamental de ello. Los que niegan el papel de Presidente Gonzalo y el PCP sostienen un artificioso análisis carente de realidad y, sobre todo, huérfano de una sólida posición de clase, remotamente alejado de la realidad y de la aplicación del marxismo – para citar unas formulaciones de nuestra jefatura.

Lo real y concreto es que si no fuera por la jefatura del Presidente Gonzalo, si no fuera por el marxismo-leninismo-maoísmo, pensamiento Gonzalo, principalmente el pensamiento Gonzalo, y su aplicación para resolver problemas nuevos en medio de la guerra popular por el Comité Central de nuestro Partido, la guerra popular habría sido aplastada en el infernal genocidio ejecutado por las fuerzas armadas de la reacción y del imperialismo yanqui. Si no fuera por la sujeción a la jefatura y a nuestra Base de Unidad Partidaria por parte del Comité Central, el partido se hubiera volado y la línea oportunista de derecha, revisionista y capitulacionista, hubiera cumplido su tarea que la CIA yanqui le encargó a estas ratas. Esa es la realidad del PCP, esa es la realidad de la guerra popular, esa es la realidad como existe objetivamente. Si otros piensan diferente, será su problema – se darán cuenta que están equivocados cuando la realidad les reviente en su cara. Nosotros vamos a seguir explicando las cosas para todos que tienen el interés de saber. A los que se callan, a los que no están para que la rica experiencia de la guerra popular y los aportes del Presidente Gonzalo y el PCP lleguen al proletariado internacional, les preguntamos: Si realmente están por el avance de la revolución proletaria mundial, ¿por qué convergen con la ofensiva contrarrevolucionaria general?

El Partido Comunista del Perú es el heroico combatiente que garantiza el rumbo de la guerra popular – hoy estamos pugnando para que se pueda llevar acabo el Nuevo Congreso del Partido. Un Nuevo Congreso que se desarrollará sobre la base del I Congreso y no para negarlo, con Base de Unidad Partidaria ya establecida y cuyo objetivos están bien definidos en tomar decisiones orgánicas y aprobar planes pendientes. Será un gran impulso para la guerra popular, y un aporte más a la experiencia del proletariado internacional.

A nivel internacional estamos en momentos de nueva definición. A un lado estamos los que mantenemos muy en alto la consigna: ¡Unirse bajo el Maoísmo! Al otro lado están los que siguen el criterio que “dos se unifican en uno”, que igual como en el infame ejemplo de los gatos de Teng no les importa la diferencia entre el marxismo y el revisionismo. Esta lucha no es nueva, lleva igual de años como la existencia del MCI. Pero hoy, cuando una banda, que jugaba un papel clave, prácticamente ha tirado la toalla, se entra en una nueva fase. Es necesario que cada Partido se defina en esta situación. Por nuestra parte, seguiremos yendo contra el corriente. Esperamos que todos los que están por el Comunismo harán lo mismo.

Proponemos que se tomen pasos concretos en avanzar en la coordinación de los Partidos maoístas, estamos por luchar codo a codo con todos los que están contra los “acuerdos de paz” y el cretinismo parlamentario. Queremos que lleguemos a resoluciones comunes que se cumplan.

**¡IMPONER EL MAOÍSMO!  
¡APLASTAR EL REVISIONISMO!  
¡CONTRA EL CRETINISMO PARLAMENTARIO!  
¡GUERRA POPULAR HASTA EL COMUNISMO!**

Movimiento Popular Perú  
Diciembre 2010

## Revolutionary Communist Party [Canada]

### On the International Unity of Maoists

Although the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) is no longer working, it is necessary to undertake a serious discussion on the issue of international unity of Maoist forces.

From the outset, we must admit that it is the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (RCP,USA), who headed RIM's Committee (CoRIM), who bears the main responsibility for its demise.

Since a few years, the RCP,USA contends that the "new synthesis" produced by its leader Bob Avakian is a development of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that all Maoist forces should uphold. The RCP,USA has come to consider that there cannot be a viable international revolutionary action without recognition of this so-called synthesis.

Meanwhile, developments of the revolution in Nepal have put into light a number of difficulties, which the international Maoist movement has been unable to face. The Nepalese comrades had hoped that there would have been a debate on the concepts they developed, especially their vision of the revolution in the 21st century. They wanted the movement to be more creative in order to clarify the path of the revolution internationally.

The tactics applied by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (now the Unified Communist Party of Nepal [Maoist]) certainly had an impact on the ideological and political struggle in other countries, especially in the Indian subcontinent. But unlike the RCP,USA, the Nepalese comrades never sought to impose their views on the international communist movement.

It is in practice that the correctness of a concept is validated. If it appears that their conceptions do not suit the needs of the revolution, revolutionaries of any country must correct their line. If they don't do so, they will prove to be non-revolutionaries. What is important if we want to achieve international unity of Maoists is the universal aspect of its basis.

In the history of the international communist movement, various parties often had to live with decisions taken in other countries. By itself, a decision, even if it appears disconcerting, does not mean the party that upholds it has joined the bourgeois side. We must make a thorough analysis of the general line of a given party for assessing what line prevails—the proletarian or the bourgeois one. If most decisions taken by a party reflect a bourgeois line, then we can say it has become revisionist. However, before saying that a party has joined the other side, one must be cautious.

Where it gets trickier is when a communist organization in a given country adopts a position that could have an impact on the internal politics of another party. The alignments of the socialist USSR in regards to China in the 1930s could have posed a problem for Mao and the Communist Party of China, particularly regarding the question of the Kuomintang. Even if the USSR as a country could have had an interest in developing good relationships with the Kuomintang, it never meant that the Communist Party of China should have submitted itself to this bourgeois party. The decisions of a party or even a Communist International should not be understood as serving the interests of one country or one party, but as a general guide to local action. Such action must be undertaken by each party ac-

ording to the needs of the revolution in their respective countries. Of course, it was necessary to defend the USSR as a socialist homeland at that time, but it should not have implied that the line of all parties must be in accordance with the needs of that state alone.

Similarly, in the 1930s, the Popular Front policy against fascism did not require communists to halt their independent political activity. After 1935, communist-inspired trade unions and popular movements in Canada and the United States had been completely liquidated, although never had the Communist International asked for it. Opportunism in local communist parties did not necessarily have something to do with a desire from Moscow to impose their own viewpoints. Because they chose to retreat into bourgeois legality and to abandon the revolutionary line, those parties, after the war, had completely ceased to act in a communist manner. This was not the case of the Communist Party of China, which had kept its independence from the Kuomintang and maintained a revolutionary line.

An international organization is necessary to promote the development of Maoist parties in each country. Such parties must make an thorough analysis of the internal situation of their given country, particularly with regard to class relations and the revolutionary strategy that is required to attain socialism and communism (these two elements being the core of a communist program), and they should then implement this strategy. On its part, the international organization will coordinate the relationships between each national organization, wage joint campaigns and help resolve conflicts that may arise between some parties. In doing so, it will develop its capacity to act as a central leading body, not only at the ideological level, but at the political level too; and it will win its recognition as such.

The experience of more than 20 years of the RIM requires that we make an analysis, even if brief, of its basis of unity, trying to identify its strengths and weaknesses. A basis of unity can be specific about certain details, without being specific on what is essential and universal. Unity may appear on several pages, while passing by what is most important. Conversely, a seemingly simple programmatic basis may be sufficient to unify the movement. At least, there must be some pretty strong proposals—strong enough to create a solid basis of unity.

We must also seriously think about our capacity to apply in practice the various elements that form our basis of unity. The capacity for an international body to apply decisions depends of course on the resources of member organizations, but also on who will take the leadership. We can assume that some parties have a better understanding of the basis of unity (because they have a better experience in the concrete class struggle) and that logically, they should assume a leadership role. But this leadership must be enough strong to take into account the various national contexts and respect the independence of each party. An international organization should not be the playground of a single or a few parties.

#### RIM's initial basis of unity

In its 1984 founding Declaration, the RIM presented itself as the center of world revolution and gave itself the task of developing new communist parties where there was

none. The signatories of the Declaration had taken six commitments: 1) establishing an international journal; 2) training new Marxist-Leninist parties and strengthening existing ones; 3) undertaking joint and coordinated campaigns; 4) implementing policies and measures adopted by international conferences; 5) to the extent of their abilities, applying and helping financing the tasks related to the improving of communists' unity; 6) constituting an embryonic political center to provide leadership within the overall process of building the ideological, political and organizational unity of communists.

What has worked best among those commitments was certainly the launching of the *A World to Win* magazine. Regarding the other commitments, there were some victories, but no more. The RIM played an active role in the establishment of Maoist parties in the Indian subcontinent, including Nepal. In India, the RIM helped to resolve the fratricidal conflict between the Maoist Communist Centre and the CPI(ML) People's War. In this regard, the role played by RIM parties and other parties within the CCOM-POSA (the Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organizations of South Asia) has been beneficial. That being said, the merger between the two formerly rival organizations (the MCC and the People's War group) did not benefit the RIM because the new party thus created—the Communist Party of India (Maoist)—never joined the international organization.

The last major campaign led by the RIM to have positive results was that for the release of Chairman Gonzalo of the Communist Party of Peru in the 1990s. This campaign had an impact in Nepal, where important events for saving the life of Abimael Guzmán were organized. While a significant democratic movement had begun to challenge the monarchist regime, there was a need for the genuine Maoist forces to organize in order to lead that movement to a higher level. The Nepalese comrades thus benefited from this international campaign to strengthen themselves. Subsequently, as we know, the CPN (Maoist) launched a powerful people's war, which had a significant impact on the internal political situation and ended the monarchy.

For us, a center of world revolution, even in an embryonic form, should aim to exercise an ideological and, especially, political leadership on the movement. Through international campaigns, by promoting unity of the revolutionaries in each country, by helping the various Maoist forces to coordinate themselves, by resolving conflicts, etc., an international organization must come to exert such leadership; otherwise it is doomed to atrophy.

An international journal must be a collective organizer. The line that appears in it must be linked with the political activity of the international organization. If this link is tenuous, the journal won't be fully useful, even if its ideological line may seem correct. Similarly, if the international organization focuses solely on the journal and forgets its other political duties, it will only become a single ideological center. We believe that this was one of the biggest problems facing the RIM.

The coverage of the people's wars led by parties participating in the RIM in Peru, Turkey and Nepal by the *A World to Win* magazine concretely helped to popularize these revolutions. But generally speaking, RIM was often seen as being only an ideological center, which was not conducive to the emergence of Maoist parties in each country. This gave the impression that this organization was not playing an effective political role.

It is clear that within the RIM, there were forces whose political experiences were different. Between a party leading a people's war and another one whose main activity was to condemn George W. Bush and "Christian fascism" with the objective of "creating public opinion" for revolution, there were necessarily different approaches as to what the RIM should do. Waging people's war obliges a party to link ideological and political struggle. This is not necessarily the case with a merely ideological condemnation of Christian fascism.

To know what organizations will exercise effective leadership on an international grouping, including one in an embryonic stage, is of paramount importance. Logically, organizations that lead people's war should exercise the leadership role. But this did not happen in the RIM. The most active organizations in its initial building had no experience of people's war. After Mao's death, the Communist Party of China upheld a completely revisionist line, including drawing counter-revolutionary conclusions of the already controversial Three World Theory. The RCP,USA then stepped in as a defender of Mao's revolutionary legacy, rightly criticizing the Albanian line, which camouflaged a form of revisionism in spite of its bombast and high professions of Marxist-Leninist faith. Thanks to Bob Avakian and the RCP,USA, Mao's revolutionary legacy was still on the agenda to guide the revolutionary forces. The people's wars waged by Maoist parties in Peru, India, Nepal, Turkey and the Philippines showed the powerfulness of Maoism.

The RCP,USA acquired a high credit in the international Maoist movement. It had played a central role in gathering the revolutionary forces who claimed to still be inspired by Mao, but also in defending the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the revolutionary leadership of the so-called "Gang of Four." The presence of the RCP,USA in RIM's leadership was therefore justified.

Although it eventually joined it, the Communist Party of Peru (Partido Comunista del Perú, PCP) played a less active role in building the RIM. Yet, the people's war in Peru was attracting the eyes of the world. It helped the RIM improve its credibility. But for various reasons, the PCP never held a leadership position within the RIM.

The PCP was one of the first organizations to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the science of revolution. After Marxism, Marxism-Leninism had played a crucial theoretical and practical role in the progression of the proletarian revolution. But here, we came to a point where Marxism-Leninism revealed its insufficiency. Some organizations that claimed to follow Marxism-Leninism were not at all revolutionaries; some were even practicing the worst forms of parliamentary cretinism. Marxism-Leninism was the official ideology of political regimes that called themselves communists, but were in fact building state capitalism.

In 1993, through the struggle waged by the PCP, the RIM finally recognized Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In Canada, the late "Action Socialiste" group (forerunner of the current Revolutionary Communist Party) came to this conclusion one year later. The fact the PCP was leading a people's war had led the group to analyze the theoretical basis of this party, which served to guide its revolutionary activity. Those who link practice with theory always acquire more credibility.

After the events following the capture of Chairman Gonzalo and its negative impact on the RIM, the people's war in Nepal and the involvement of its leading party at the

international level played an important role in the development of the RIM. The CPN (Maoist) had made a thorough analysis of the experience of the PCP and it succeeded in creatively applying MLM to the reality of Nepal, where social relationships were still heavily imbued with feudalism.

The domestic political necessities in Nepal have brought the party to stop people's war. Clearly, it was this people's war that made the Maoists an unavoidable political force in that country.

How could the people's war be deepened and carried until the conquest of power? How to build the new people's power not only among the peasantry but also in urban areas? After the suspension of people's war, Maoist forces in Nepal have undoubtedly developed their influence in the cities where as of 2006, implementation was delaying compared to what was happening in rural areas. The party's youth wing has also developed considerably. Reactionary currents now accuse the latter of continuing the people's war by other means.

It is a fact that at the international level, the stance of the Nepalese comrades could be seen as problematic, especially for those organizations that were being impressed by the military aspect of that revolution—a kind of romantic vision of the revolution probably reflecting the weaknesses of their own political line: the armed struggle in a poor country is always “sexy”, you know. However, displaying a cavalier attitude should be avoided when criticizing a party like that of Nepal, which has managed to bring the revolution to a step not seen since the defeat of socialism in China.

After the Maoists had signed a peace agreement with the major bourgeois parties, the revisionists in India have argued that by “rallying the parliamentary system,” the Nepalese Maoists had “finally understood”—a not-so-subtle way of telling Indian Maoists they should do the same. But the Communist Party of India (Maoist) is strong enough and has not been fooled by this call from the revisionists. If it had depended on external positions (from another party or an international organization), it could have been a problem for them; but that was not the case.

As for the RIM, which has not been able to rally the CPI (Maoist) after the merger between the MCC and the People's War group, the internal stance from the comrades in Nepal seemed to be a problem. The Nepalese people's war served as a beacon for the RIM. The most revolutionary forces within it relied on the people's war in Nepal and perhaps they were counting on the political weight of the CPN (Maoist) to advance their position.

The public criticism the Communist Party of India (Maoist) has made towards the CPN (Maoist) can certainly be understood, given the impact the actions of one can have on those of the other. The criticisms of other Maoist organizations, whose practice don't show they are actually leading revolutionary action on the ground, seem rather distressing. How have these organizations used the example of the Nepalese people's war to build up forces to then unleash a true people's war in their respective countries? If there had been tangible progress by revolutionaries elsewhere, the people's war in Nepal would have been less isolated and the possibilities of conquering power by the revolutionary masses better. When fires are lit everywhere, chances of success are greater.

The party that played the leading role in the RIM—the RCP,USA—has never really considered the possibility of

waging people's war on its own territory. To a certain extent—and this remains to be showed—this could be explained by specific reasons linked to the reality of the United States. However, the RCP,USA has never seriously thought about what meant, in practice, the recognition of people's war universality.

Until recently, the RCP,USA has been one of the most important ideological pole within the international Maoist movement. It recognized the need of cultural revolutions under socialism and still identifies itself—at least officially—with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The tasks that were undertaken by the RIM's member organizations appeared quite valid. At the same time, it has suffered from a lack of will to bring about real political leadership to the movement. We believe this weakness is related to a faulty understanding of the principle of universality of people's war and its practical application.

### What basis of unity?

The basis of unity of any group should be as specific as possible. Yet, at the international level, it is clear that national realities are very different. Some countries are still heavily steeped in pre-capitalist relations of production, with a large peasantry. There are imperialist countries where national issues were not resolved. Countries spread over large areas, others not. Some have strong revolutionary traditions, others not. And so on.

This had consequences at the organizational level. The failure of the Third International was partly the result of the notion that it was for the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries and that of the “socialist homeland” to lead the world revolution. This notion was not convincing, especially in the colonized nations, where what was happening in Europe didn't suit the situation. Of course, the main leaders of the International tried to take these differences into account. But the fact remains that notions that may be valid in Europe were not necessarily valid in India and China.

The stance of the Communist Party of China, who would not initiate the establishment of a new international grouping after the split with Moscow in 1963, can be attributed to mistrust in relation to a kind of global party that is supposedly clairvoyant in everything. Still, the example of a “revolutionary model” and bilateral relations are not always enough to create cohesion between revolutionary forces at the international level.

The RIM has never really set on what would be the optimal organizational form of a new international grouping. In its 1984 Declaration, it raised the question: “The concept of world party and the resultant over-centralisation of the Comintern should be evaluated so that appropriate lessons from that 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 organizational unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces at the international level.”

The organizational basis of unity depends on the ideological and political one. That basis must be universal both in principle and in practice. Within the RIM, there have been advances in the recognition of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the science of revolution. In assessing the experience of Socialist China, the Marxist-Leninist movement

understood that class struggle was continuing under the proletarian dictatorship, requiring the unleashing of numerous cultural revolutions.

The Communist Party of Peru said: “What is fundamental in Maoism? Power is fundamental in Maoism. Power for the proletariat, power for the dictatorship of the proletariat, power based on the armed force led by the Communist Party. More explicitly, this is 1) power under the leadership of the proletariat in the democratic revolution, 2) power for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist and cultural revolutions, 3) power based on the armed force led by the Communist Party, conquered and defended through people’s war.” (On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, First Congress of the Communist Party of Peru)

RIM’s 1993 Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism statement meanwhile stated: “Lenin said, ‘Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.’ In the light of the invaluable lessons and advances achieved through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution led by Mao Tsetung, this dividing line has been further sharpened. Now it can be stated that only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the recognition of the objective existence of classes, of antagonistic class contradictions, of the bourgeoisie in the Party and of the continuation of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the whole period of socialism until communism. As Mao so powerfully stated, ‘Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism.’”

It is clear to us that as a science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is universal. This is not the case with “Gonzalo-Thought” or “Prachanda Path,” let alone Bob Avakian so-called “New synthesis.” If Gonzalo-Thought and Prachanda Path succeeded in supporting the initiation and progression of protracted people’s war in Peru and Nepal, they have not showed conclusive on the question of conquering power, nor of establishing and building socialism. There is a need for concretely analyzing the situation in light of MLM and to define the revolutionary strategy that applies in every country of the world.

People’s War has a universal character and is part of Mao’s immortal contributions. The RIM officially recognized this. That being said, there remained a lot of disagreements on its practical application. For some, the protracted people’s war would apply as such only in countries dominated by imperialism, and as long as the people’s war will not win there, it will be difficult to make a revolution in any imperialist country. This is a mechanical application of Mao’s idea.

For us, the people’s war can only be protracted. And it necessarily has to be waged in a given national situation. It is the duty of each Maoist party to prepare and initiate people’s war on its own territory. It would be unacceptable to ride on the success of people’s war in other countries, while avoiding taking any risk in ones’ own country.

Will all parties eventually succeed in initiating and waging people’s war? That we do not know. But working to prepare the initiation of a people’s war will ensure that all parties are working to gather forces for waging armed struggle. It is understandable that Trotskyist sects or revisionist parties that only go by legal activity, selling newspapers or making entryism in unions or reformist parties, will never mobilize or gather forces for the revolution. If a party

takes part in militant mass actions; if it inspires itself from revolutionary action of a new type; and if it does not confined itself to simple radical critique of all other currents but acts specifically towards the revolution, then it will accumulate strength.

Several parties claim to uphold the October 1917 model. If this was really true, then they would have prepared for unleashing an uprising. But they believed that to make the insurrection happen, they had to engage in a long and painstaking legal work. By merely concentrating in legal activity, did they prepare people for the revolutionary struggle? Others agreed with the necessity of doing illegal or “secret” work, though separated from their legal activity. Marx and Engels explained in the Manifesto that communists do not hide their opinions. If you recruit people only from a legal perspective and they are taught only a few days before the insurrection that they will have to take part, many will be inclined to delay the insurgency in order to prepare more perfectly, consequently frustrating those who were engaged in illegal activity.

The party must be clear: its purpose is to lead the people’s war. Of course, in the imperialist countries, this will take a quite different form than what has been done in China, Vietnam, Peru, and Nepal and now in the Philippines and India. There have been experiences of armed struggle in imperialist countries. Some were limited to armed propaganda. Think of what happened in Belgium with the “Cellules Communistes Combattantes” or in Germany with the Red Army Faction. Others more akin to what one defines as people’s war. Here, one can think of the anti-fascist resistance in Italy and France during World War II. Italian experience of the 1970s, although we can’t say it was people’s war, must also be learnt from. In each country, there are different contradictions, and only an MLM analysis will define the contours and direction the protracted people’s war will take.

Being clear on a common strategic perspective —People’s War— can only increase the cohesion of a new international organization. There may be differences in how it will be waged in each country. But a minimal agreement on the fact that we must engage in armed struggle and that such struggle is linked with the destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of a new power is essential for cementing an international grouping. The fact that all parties are committed to at least try to launch a people’s war creates a serious basis for discussion between them. To proclaim themselves as the greatest revolutionaries in the world and in the same time sharply criticizing those who have led or are leading the people’s war (while never themselves putting their hands in the dough) does not create a real basis for debate.

To summarize, the basis of unity of a new international grouping should recognize: 1) MLM as the science of revolution, 2) the continuation of class struggle under socialism, which necessitates the waging of cultural revolutions, and 3) the universality of protracted people’s war, not only in principle but also in practice. To support these three points, it would be useful to agree on a new analysis of the current international situation that may provide a minimal programmatic basis.

### **The application of this basis of unity**

At this stage, the idea of a centralized world party seems premature. With the development of revolutionary struggles in various countries, discussions will take place

on the possibility or the need to establish an international organization similar to the Comintern. Meanwhile, it is the duty of all parties that lead a people's war to help establishing an international framework that could support the emergence of new people's war in other countries. If the international activity of those parties only consists of trying to win some support at the democratic or diplomatic level, this will be detrimental for proletarian internationalism and for their own revolution too. The attitude from other parties who refrain from engaging in people's war while surfing on what is going on in other countries also runs counter to their internationalist duty.

Of course, there are countries where conditions are more favourable for revolution. Yes, there are weakest links within the world imperialist system. Without going into a detailed analysis, it is understandable that in a large country like India, where part of the bourgeoisie plays an imperialist role and where there are many democratic issues unresolved and various internal contradictions, conditions are better for waging people's war.

Supporting people's war currently going on can help to develop a revolutionary party in a given country. We already referred to the role the campaign to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo played in building the revolutionary movement in Nepal. The great uprising of May 1968 in France was preceded and certainly prepared by the important movement in support to the Vietnamese people that spread for a few years in that country. Without this movement, there may have been some radical protests but only in schools and universities.

It is legitimate for parties leading people's war to engage in democratic work with mass organizations, even with reformist parties in imperialist countries. That's understandable when the avowed aim of a movement is to establish a New Democracy, which by definition does not exclude the national bourgeoisie and seeks the abolition of pre-capitalist social relations. This can also be explained by the need to use inter-imperialist contradictions in favour of the revolutionary movement. But this is not contradictory with joining an international grouping that would bring the various parties to recognize the universality of people's war. Not to aim for the development of people's war elsewhere in the world would lead to a narrow nationalist line harmful to the revolution.

There is of course a difference between "exporting revolution" and supporting the organization of revolutionary forces in other countries. It belongs to the oppressed masses of each country to define what will be the course of the people's war. Asking the oppressed masses of a country to carry out alone the weight of the world revolution and to sacrifice themselves for others is unacceptable. Deciding that the masses of another country must or must not engage in people's war only to serve the interests of the movement of one's own country is equally unacceptable. By contrast, helping the vanguard nucleus of a given country to organize people's war on its territory is an internationalist duty.

Beyond a discussion between the highly centralized or decentralized character of an international grouping, what matters most is the political line. Upholding proletarian internationalism and recognizing the fact that it is up to the masses of each country to lead their movement should be basic principles. Also, given the fact that Maoist basis of unity focuses on developing people's war in each country, it would be inappropriate for a few organizations to use the

international movement for their own goals at the expense of the pursuit of protracted people's war.

It is therefore necessary to consider establishing a new genuinely internationalist grouping that will leave room for parties and organizations that lead people's war or are really interested in developing it. The know-it-all will not have significant weight in such organization. The Communist Party of the Philippines and the Communist Party of India (Maoist) both have the duty to take part in such new grouping and ensure their invaluable contribution will serve the development of the world revolution. As for the RCP,USA, if it wants to still play a role at the international level, it should recognize the universality of people's war in principle and in practice. Based on our reading of Bob Avakian's "New Synthesis," we think they are moving away from Maoism and people's war.

The sometimes-chauvinistic attitude of the RCP,USA has greatly hindered the development of the RIM. The RCP,USA used the RIM to promote itself instead of focusing on the development of new parties in other countries. Apparently, it did not want to see new parties that could question its political line and its "great leadership." The parties that led people's wars have not played the leadership role they deserved within the RIM, perhaps because they regarded the RIM as the creature of the RCP,USA, or they simply did not have sufficient resources to do so.

### To conclude

The basis of unity we suggest revives the meaning of proletarian internationalism. The masses of each country are called upon to develop people's war. There must be an equal relationship between each organization. The parties that are the most advanced, those who lead or aspire to lead people's war, will exert leadership on the international grouping. Discussions should take place within the organization with frankness and camaraderie. The grouping must wage joint campaigns; it must have its own propaganda tools and aim to develop new organizations where there are none.

The six commitments of the RIM initial basis of unity remain valid for an international grouping of Maoist forces. The establishment of an international magazine such as Maoist Road, which could serve as a forum for exchange and discussion between Maoist parties and organizations, is a step in the right direction. On the flip side, we must think about a basis of unity enough strong to maintain cohesion among the various parties and develop new parties where none exist, while leaving flexibility to parties whose national realities are specific.

In short, we believe that in addition to unity towards MLM as a science of revolution and the need for recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and cultural revolutions under socialism, the question of the universality of people's war must be considered as a basis of unity for a new international grouping.

### The Revolutionary Communist Party (Canada)



## maoist Communist Party, France

# The Communists' Unity on a World Wide Scale Is Achieved Through Ideological Struggle

### Why?

There is no unity without struggle. According to the revisionists, unity is achieved through consensus. For them, "two fuse into one", and not "one divides into two". What predominates in their opinion is unity based on no principles, unity without any solid foundations. The struggle of opposites within the same unit belongs to the law of motion, the sole producer of material of organic, social, economic and political life.

Political unity is achieved through a slow, progressive ideological ruthless struggle. Such struggle must be first an internal struggle which allows the party to progress and develop through ideological two-line struggle. Such struggle is inescapable! Denying it means denying reality. When the struggle cannot be fought inside the party either because there is no party yet, this struggle must be led on the basis of Maoism and the principles in the different and dispersed organisations, without reversing the order of priorities.

The first is the building of the party and its generated organs on the basis of preparing conditions for People's War or through it when People's War has already been activated..

The point is, through such struggle to reinforce the communists' unity in each separate country, to strengthen the unity in the communist movement, by reviving the RIM with new forces in each country and all over the world and conduct the communist movement to lead a more and more massive offensive against capitalism.

Ideological struggle is not a battle led by all against all, in fact the two lines struggle is the struggle against the conciliators, gravediggers of communism and revolution.

### Marxism-Leninism Maoism is the criterion of the unity of the communists

Before the death of Comrade Mao Zedong, the communists regarded Mao Zedong as a communist who had applied Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of China. Consequently, they used Mao Zedong thought as a reference when Mao took up the struggle against Khrushchev's modern revisionism. The former RIM (Internationalist Revolutionary Movement) had been virtually liquidated after the death of Mao Zedong. The Maoists formed the RIM (Revolutionary Internationalist Movement) on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The Communist Party of Peru, a member of the RIM, who had started the People's War in 1984, defined Maoism as the third milestone of Marxism.

### THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF MAOISM

#### Military theory : People's War

People's War is the military theory of the proletariat. It has become a theory comprising the whole theoretical and practical experience gained through the struggles led by the proletariat (military actions, guerrilla warfare, military actions and wars waged by the proletariat, peasants' war, national liberation wars and resistance led by the proleta-

riat). In the oppressed countries, in China where Chairman Mao has synthesized it as a repetition of the peasant war, the war is led by the proletariat with a strategy of seizing power.

President Mao defined the People's War as the universal means of our time, the only way to gain power. While Maoism was recognized by the RIM and those who claim of Maoism, the question of the universality of the People's War was not yet universally adopted. Another argument which is not unanimously accepted in our movement is modern fascism.

### Marxist Philosophy

The law of contradiction is the unique and fundamental law of dialectical materialism. Dialectical materialism has been brilliantly synthesized by Mao in "On Contradiction", that must be studied jointly with "On Practice". Mao also explained that in the class struggle, the **contradictions among the people must be dealt with differently from those with the enemy.**

### Marxist Political Economy

poiché la politica è l'espressione concentrata dell'economia essa deve essere "al posto di comando", il potere politico può allora sviluppare le forze produttive su una nuova base. Le forze produttive inglobano i mezzi di produzione (miniere, terre, foreste, fabbriche, uffici, ecc.) e la forza lavoro manuale e intellettuale. Il progresso materiale ottenuto con la volontà politica è legato alla trasformazione dei rapporti complessi in seno alla forza lavoro che si trasforma attraverso la lotta di classe, attraverso l'elevazione cosciente. Il contributo essenziale di Mao porta sul fatto dello sviluppo del socialismo: "prendere l'agricoltura come base e l'industria come fattore dominante". Il ruolo centrale tocca all'industria pesante (in particolare il settore delle macchine utensili, senza dimenticare l'industria leggera e l'agricoltura. Lo sviluppo dei tre settori deve essere equilibrato. È in questo senso che devono essere analizzati il Grande Balzo in Avanti e la costruzione della Comune Popolare.

### Scientific Socialism

*The continuation of class struggle under socialism*

The process of the restoration of capitalism in modern revisionism has confirmed Lenin's thesis that during the dictatorship of the proletariat, class struggle continues just as fiercely. The remnants from the ancient classes or petty production are not the only ones to be blamed. At all levels of the party and the State new bourgeois elements arise who dream and work for capitalist restoration. They spin new networks in all the fields of material and intellectual production and lead a sabotage work in the economical, political and ideological fields.; they even spin webs in the armed forces. Taking advantage of errors in the Great Leap Forward, they attack the essence of the People's Communes in order to dismantle or reduce their structure and scope. Here we find the reason why the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was launched, revolution led by the

proletariat against the Headquarters of counter-revolution. *“Though it has been overthrown the bourgeoisie tries to corrupt the masses and conquer their hearts through ancient ways of thinking, ancient manners and customs in order to restore capitalism...we aim at fighting and crushing the officials involved in the capitalist road, criticizing the reactionary bourgeois academic “authorities” and all other exploiting classes and reforming the educative system, literature, art and all other branches of the superstructure that do not correspond to the economic base of socialism, this is to help consolidate and develop the socialist system”* (Communist Party of China, Decision on the great cultural proletarian revolution, 1966)

The Great Proletarian Revolution is a first step in the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the strengthening of its state power embodied in the revolutionary committees.

The restoration of capitalism shows the predictive accuracy of Mao who explained that it would take several cultural revolutions to definitely consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and create conditions for transition to communism.

### **New democracy and dictatorship of proletariat**

In the era of imperialism, there are two types of countries : the imperialist countries (Europe, North America, Japan) and the oppressed countries.

In the imperialist countries, there will be no need for the joint dictatorship of the working class and peasantry or the national bourgeoisie.

In the second, the joint dictatorship of several classes under the leadership of the proletariat and its party is the first step starting in the base areas, the liberated areas and extends to the whole country throughout the protracted People’s War. It passes in a continuous movement to socialist revolution.

The joint dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary because in the oppressed countries there exists a comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie linked to imperialism and another oppressed by it and imperialism. There are some remnants of several forms of semi-feudal exploitation of the peasantry who constitute the majority or a strong minority of the population, an important part of the population reduced to a sort of lumpen-proletariat condition, with a very low standard of development and living. Then, even though the proletariat must lead the revolutionary process, the class interests of the peasantry and national bourgeoisie must be taken into account (opposed to imperialism and its lackeys) until this step becomes obsolete and the building of socialism can move onward.

## **RHE THREE INSTRUMENTS OF THE REVOLUTION**

### **The Party**

The Party is necessary to make the revolution. The Party is built through the fight of two lines between the proletarian line and the non-proletarian line. The objective of the Party is to take power and defend it. Such objective cannot be achieved without people’s war. The Party once established grows and develops through different steps. Ideological struggle is the engine of the party that allows

adjustments of the line and tactics. It leads to campaigns to rectify and make adjustments of the system of organizations generated by the party, that are also useful for the settling of the power of the proletariat in the process of protracted people’s war.

### **The revolutionary army**

An army is necessary to perform the tasks established by the political party to serve the interests of the proletariat. The revolutionary armed struggle is productive in order not to be a parasite load and mobilize the masses. The revolutionary army is the army of the people who participate extensively. The party commands the gun in this army of a new type; it must lead to the arming of the people and a mass army.

### **The United Front**

All the proletariat, the peasantry, all progressive people are not in the party nor in the revolutionary army. So, we need a front based upon the workers- peasants alliance involving all sections of the people under the leadership of the proletariat. The composition of the united front is different at each stage of the revolution in a specific country, same thing on the world level.

## **CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE RIM AND THE MOVEMENT THAT CLAIMS TO BE MAOIST**

Today, parties, organisations, groups and even individual claiming to be Marxist-Leninist Maoists are dispersed and divided in each country and internationally. We must be aware of such situation to lead the struggle for unity in each country. It is even more important to revive the communists’ unity on the basis of what exists really.

It must be acknowledged that there are deep contradictions between the parties and organisations that are part of the RIM.

### **On People’s War**

Some members of parties and organisations do recognize the universality of Maoism but deny the universal nature of people’s war because it has not been defined by Mao. They stick to the thesis that:

- People’s wars can take only place in countries where the oppressed peasantry is important, where vast areas are not accessible because the means of communication are few and insufficiently developed etc.
- In the imperialist countries such conditions do not exist. For these comrades, although they recognize the universality of Maoism, they ignore one part of it and choose the Leninist theory of insurrection without allowing for the enrichment provided by Maoism. They truncate Marxism and an essential element of the military theory supplemented by Mao.

Other parties members of the RIM recognize the universality of the people’s war. Among the parties (including the PCMF), some organisations or groups or individuals (no RIM members) recognize the universality of the people’s war, others oppose it.

Conclusion : on this issue and others there is no unity. The struggle of two lines on this issue, goes through

the RIM and therefore through the whole movement and beyond. It is part of the ideological struggle to revive the RIM on one hand, and prepare for the gathering of Maoists all over the world on the other hand, what will be a leap forward in the development of the Internationalist Communist Movement and encouragement in the formation of Maoist communist parties in each country.

### **On the Issue of Democracy in the Twenty-first Century**

This thesis after the communist party of Nepal (Maoist) is erroneous, revisionist for most parties and organisations inside or outside the RIM. Those who take this approach actually seem to sink into a bottomless quagmire. This practice has put this theory to the test of reality.

It was already dangerous, without any concrete achievements, to decree a theory as universal, without a shred of evidence of its effectiveness, whereas all the past practice of the communist movement has shown the hollowness of such thesis.

Within and outside the RIM, though all political parties and organisations today have agreed on the above estimate of this thesis, the practical attitude towards it is not the same for all parties and organisations.

Some have immediately denounced the violation of principles, the cessation of armed struggle, the containment of weapons in depots supervised by the UNO, the alliance with the seven parties, the use of elections (almost 40% of votes for Maoists), Prachanda's election as prime minister, the anaesthesia of the People's Communes in the liberated areas, and the establishment of democratic town councils, the decision by the President of the Republic to maintain the Commander in chief in his office. The resignation of Prachanda, the mobilisation of masses in waves to "prepare" an insurgency seem to recede whereas the reaction is preparing things just in case of a one year extension of the constitution which was initially scheduled at the end of may. All this comfort those who have criticized and denounced such an unprecedented approach. Was it right to try? It may appear, in case of failure of the process that such approach was just impossible.

Other people have also denounced the claim to universality of this approach when there is no evidence of its practical achievement. They have pointed the dangerous nature of a process which had already failed several times in history to the great misfortune of the people. But they have never abandoned their critical and sceptical support to the CPN(m) though warning them against the real dangers.

Ultimately, on this issue, it seems that the thesis on democracy in the twenty-first century has been unanimously denounced as a revisionist thesis.

On the question of its "experimental", dangerous and risky application, opinions are divided as to whether it could be argued with great care and reserve that such an attempt was worthwhile to be made. The problem to be discussed and deepened on this kind of issue is how tactics and strategy must be linked together.

### **On Modern Fascism**

"Everything changes" "nothing is immutable". Such reality can be observed in everything. But there are always two different ways of understanding things and phenomena. One way is to consider things as rigid and unmovable and the other to consider them in their mobility and transformation according to a given context. Some of them, on the issue of fascism, stick to Dimitrov's report at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International Movement. Such report was elaborated in a specific situation that has nothing to do with the current situation. We will not say more on the subject since another comrade is due to report on it.

Our purpose is, once again, just to enforce the point that there are two lines within and outside the RIM. The ancient line and the present one.

Mao tse Dong's line took some time to win, just before taking power in 1947, when the Seventh CPC National Congress decided that the basis was Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong's Thought. In the 50s, Mao Zedong's thought was adopted by the CCP and the Marxist-Leninists of the world. It was the PCP who said that Maoism was a step above Marxism and that the ideology that should now guide the communist international movement was Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The PCP agreed with this after the initiation of the People's War in Peru in 1980. In 1984, the creation of the RIM, a step forward on the way to the reconstruction of the Communist International, its platform still referred to Mao Zedong thought. It was the internal line struggle that led, ten years later, to adopt Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a universal ideology.

Time is short because imperialism goes through a deep crisis. The bourgeoisie has increasing needs for police states, for a new form of fascism, in anticipation of massive revolts that will inevitably grow and extend. But when there is no party, no revolutionary ideology, no revolutionary perspectives, they will inevitably be repressed and even crushed in blood. Oppressed peoples will go on being plundered, even more so than before by the imperialist countries joined by the emerging countries (Social-fascist China, expansionist India and Brazil), the competition for new markets may lead to a Third World War. Dictatorships get reinforced and, in the very heart of imperialist countries, we are witnesses of the birth of neo-fascist and neo-nazi movements.

The RIM is in crisis. The fight must be waged by the Maoist parties members of the RIM. Meanwhile, parties, groups and organisations claiming Maoism but not members of the RIM, must lead the struggle for the reconstruction of Maoist parties in all countries and thus contribute to reinforce unity within the RIM and the International Communist Movement. This is increasingly necessary because the masses who have been plunged into confusion by the revisionists, the Trotskyites, the opportunists and liquidators of all kinds need real communist parties and a stronger and stronger Communist Movement.

Comité de Loita Popular Manolo Bello

**Defendamos firmemente la vigencia del MRI!*****[available only in original language]***

Últimamente se reiteran desde diversas posiciones llamados a construir un nuevo centro internacional de los comunistas revolucionarios. Esto no es nuevo, ya en el pasado se han manifestado llamados en el mismo sentido. Llamados que coinciden con diversas crisis en el movimiento comunista internacional desde los años ochenta.

La formación del Movimiento Revolucionario Internacionalista en marzo del 1984, fruto de los trabajos de la II Conferencia Internacional de Partidos y Organizaciones M-L, tuvo sobre todo una característica básica; la defensa del legado revolucionario de Mao Tse-Tung, que por entonces era fuertemente atacado tanto por la burguesía y el revisionismo soviético como por los dogmato-revisionistas albaneses.

Su creación permitió realizar una contra-ofensiva coordinada y victoriosa contra las patrañas lanzadas por Enver Hoxha y sus seguidores a la vez que se deslindaba claramente con los revisionistas chinos y sus venenosas tesis.

Su Declaración fue un paso decisivo para la construcción de un centro maoísta internacional y aunque en la misma aun se hablaba de “pensamiento Mao Tse-Tung” la presencia en el MRI de partidos que ya se definían como maoístas como el PCP habrió el debate sobre el carácter de tercera y superior etapa del Marxismo-Leninismo del Maoísmo.

El avance en la definición del Maoísmo como tercera y superior etapa del M-L, no se dio sin una importante lucha pues había organizaciones y camaradas que no lo consideraban necesario modificar e incluso afirmaban que era utilizar un termino despectivo usado por la burguesía o los revisionistas para calificar a las organizaciones comunistas revolucionarias, cuando lo que de verdad ocultaba era la incompreensión del salto que representaba para la ideología proletaria el Maoísmo.

La firme defensa del Maoísmo como tercera y superior etapa realizada por el Partido Comunista del Perú, bajo la dirección del Pdte. Gonzalo, constituida en fracción roja dentro del MRI, fue secundada por el PCR-USA que a partir del 1988 asumió la definición M-L-M. (1)

En 1992 el documento “Viva el Marxismo-Leninismo-Maoísmo” entroniza el mismo como guía de todos los partidos miembros del agrupamiento.

Forman parte de esta lucha de líneas, en el seno del Movimiento, la lucha contra las manifestaciones oportunistas y revisionistas que negaban el carácter universal de la Guerra Popular como el caso del CRC del PCI (ml) y las posiciones oportunistas de K. Venu o las del Partido Comunista de Nepal (Mashal). La crítica a los cambios de línea en el PC de Philipinas que suponían un serio peligro para la revolución o la crucial crítica a la LOD capituladora surgida en el Partido Comunista del Perú tras la detención del Pdte. del Partido y la mayoría del Comité Central.

Muchos de estos importantes debates fueron recogidos por la revista UMQG, publicación impulsada por el Movimiento, permitiendo que miles de comunistas los siguiéramos y participáramos de los mismos.

Creemos que es necesario tomar posición en publico para deslindar con aquellas posiciones “izquierdistas” o eclécticas que basándose en otros agrupamientos existen-

tes pretenden una “gran alianza anti-imperialista o un nuevo centro revolucionario”

Evidentemente hay grandes coincidencias con aquellas fuerzas que, aunque no han asumido la tercera etapa del marxismo, mantienen en alto las banderas de la revolución y de la lucha armada, ahora bien, establecer un nuevo centro internacional rebajando los avances conseguidos en torno al Maoísmo por el MRI/RIM es inadmisibles y representa un claro ataque del oportunismo y del revisionismo, coludido con la reacción, para lograr la desaparición del único centro internacional claramente maoísta.

**La línea oportunista en el PCN-U (m)**

Hay camaradas que consideran que los serios problemas que plantea la aparición de una línea oportunista en el seno de una de las organizaciones actualmente centrales del MRI, nos referimos, claro esta, al PCN-U (m), implica “la bancarrota” del Movimiento.

No estamos de acuerdo con esta visión, que consideramos simplista y poco meditada, que parte de supuestos anti-dialécticos que niegan el “uno se divide en dos.” Ven de forma unilateral los conflictos, los sitúan al margen de las masas y del desarrollo de la luchas a nivel internacional.

Es cierto que el desarrollo de una línea oportunista en el PCN-U(m) representa un serio contratiempo para la revolución en Nepal y para la RPM pero lejos de ser una solución la disolución del MRI lo que hace falta, mas que nunca, es potenciarlo para que este asuma el protagonismo en la dirección de la RPM y en la crítica al oportunismo en Nepal o en cualquier otro país.

Es necesario señalar que el partido nepalí ha jugado un papel importante en los años de la Guerra Popular tanto en su país como en el desarrollo de organizaciones maoístas en Asia y en el mundo. Los serios problemas de dirección que hoy enfrenta no son causados por una línea errada en el MRI, como pretenden sus críticos, sino por el abandono de las tesis revolucionarias por una parte de la dirección del partido en Nepal.

Nosotros, tras un amplio debate con los camaradas de la UOC-mlm de Colombia (2) y el análisis de los documentos públicos de crítica de otras organizaciones, tomamos una posición de lucha abierta contra el oportunismo en Nepal. Críticas que entendemos deben de servir para recuperar la dirección revolucionaria en Nepal y no para anatemizar a los camaradas nepalies que permanecen fieles a la línea revolucionaria maoísta.

Por todo ello rechazamos las posiciones que con lenguaje de “izquierdas” hablan desde el unilateralismo cuando claman por disolver el MRI para construir un nuevo agrupamiento. Críticas que parecen ignorar deliberadamente en que condiciones (clandestinas) se desarrolla el movimiento. Como si este fuera una ONG burguesa con sedes, oficinas y personal permanente.

La mayoría de las organizaciones del MRI han criticado de forma individual las posiciones “pactistas” en el PCN-U (m) que apuntan a renunciar a la revolución. Los camaradas de Irán, Afganistán, India, Perú o de EE.UU. han manifestado sus posiciones en esta crucial lucha de líneas.

También lo han hecho organizaciones fuera de este agrupamiento maoísta y en ellas encontramos los mayores, y a nuestro entender injustificados, ataques al MRI. Estamos de acuerdo que se trata de un serio problema que afecta a todos y no solo a los miembros del MRI, pero camaradas; estamos hablando de disolver el único agrupamiento cuyas organizaciones han lanzado guerras populares revolucionarias y que se han enfrentado a graves dificultades en el curso de las mismas.

¡Es como plantear la disolución del Partido Comunista por que ha cometido errores o de abandonar el ideal comunista por que han aparecido a lo largo de su historia graves desviaciones !

¡ Eso se llama simple y claramente, liquidacionismo, camaradas !

Nosotros que desde hace años apoyamos al MRI, hemos criticado lo que consideramos sus errores o sus silencios pero lo seguimos calificando como el probado centro de las fuerzas revolucionarias a nivel internacional.

Es cierto que hay otros agrupamientos como la LIPL/ILPS que tienen en sus filas a destacamentos gloriosos como el PC de Filipinas, pero a nuestro entender, no han superado el desarrollo e impulso ideológico y político que ha alcanzado el MRI.

Su Declaración fundacional o el documento ¡ Viva el M-L-M! han sido y son fuente de inspiración e instrumento de lucha para millones de comunistas en el mundo.

### Sobre el “problema” del PCR-USA.

Desde los años ochenta se han manifestado diversas críticas al PCR, críticas que parecen mas cuchicheo de comadres que de comunistas. El PCR dirigido por el camarada Bob Avakian es un destacamento revolucionario que ha trabajado en defensa del maoísmo desde los años 70. Es particularmente importante su contribución a la denuncia de los dogmato-revisionistas albaneses y cuando otros se ponían a cubierto, los camaradas del PCR se enfrentaron contra-corriente a los que querían liquidar el legado del Maoísmo e impulsaron la creación del MRI. (3)

A lo largo de estos años el PCR-USA tomo una serie de iniciativas importantes que han creado, a veces en medio de la polémica, serios estudios sobre la economía, la ciencia, la religión o sobre la ideología proletaria.

Sus detractores, muchos desaparecidos a lo largo de estos años(4), lo han acusado de manipular el MRI y su Comité así como ser los responsables de las líneas capituladoras que han surgido en el Movimiento. De apoyar las patrañas del imperialismo en Perú, de culto a la personalidad o de ser cómplices del oportunismo en Nepal.

No es nuestra intención centrar el debate sobre el MRI en los errores que puede haber cometido el PCR a lo largo de estos años (podrían ser objeto, si así se considera, de una sesión de la Conferencia ampliada del MRI que proponemos) Pensamos que estos tendrían que ser descritos por sus detractores y no en “cotilleos de comadres” o en simples acusaciones sin mas fundamento que las palabras del autor.

Creemos que es necesario acabar de una vez por todas con el nefasto estilo de “todos contra todos” en nuestro movimiento y hacer críticas políticas serias como nos enseña el Pdte. Mao y no emponzoñar el ambiente con chismes o murmuraciones que solo benefician al enemigo.

¡Pensamos que se necesitan menos críticas y mas auto-críticas, camaradas !

Sobre la crítica y la auto-crítica.-

Hay camaradas que practican una especie de afán bizantino por el debate que los lleva a criticar y a condenar cualquier texto u opinión que no sea calco y copia de los clásicos del Marxismo. No son capaces de desembarazarse de su dogmatismo escolástico y de su miedo al error. No se equivoca el que no hace nada tendría que ser su máxima.

El Pdte. Mao ya nos advirtió sobre este nocivo estilo que impide el derecho de expresión en el Partido y que ha generado, en el pasado, comunistas disciplinados pero sin la capacidad de ir contracorriente, de detectar el revisionismo o las desviaciones oportunistas.

Al igual que entre las masas, como señalo el Pdte. Mao, entre los comunistas hay diferentes niveles de comprensión y compromiso (avanzados, medios y atrasados). Cualquier crítica tiene que contemplar esta cuestión pues los errores tendrán diferente carácter. Ignorar esto y actuar sin tenerlo en cuenta es un error metafísico, no aplicar la dialéctica, es actuar de forma unilateral.

Para formular críticas, y mucho mas para colgar etiquetas (balances definitivos), hay que estudiar las contradicciones y debatir mucho las líneas en juego, viendo todos sus aspectos y condiciones. No podemos actuar como charlatanes de café. ¡ Somos Comunistas, somos vanguardia !

De la misma manera tenemos que analizar nuestros actos para que en todo momento sirvan a los intereses de la Revolución. Si nos equivocamos, hay que actuar con rapidez para corregir los errores siguiendo las directrices del Pdte. Mao sobre esta crucial cuestión, sin temer a equivocarnos pues solo la practica revolucionaria transformara nuestras mentes.

Sobre la cuestión de las negociaciones.

Permitanos camaradas una cita del camarada Stalin en su libro “Cuestiones del Leninismo” (Editorial Progreso 1941 pag. 81) donde habla de la posición de los comunistas en la cuestión de las negociaciones o acuerdos con el enemigo:

“Algunos creen que el Leninismo está en absoluto en contra de las reformas, de los compromisos y de los acuerdos. Esto es completamente falso. Los bolcheviques saben también como cualquiera que, en cierto sentido, del lobo, un pelo; es decir que en ciertas condiciones las reformas en general y los compromisos o acuerdos en particular son necesarios y utiles...”

De lo que se trata no es, evidentemente, de las reformas o de los acuerdos de por sí, sino del uso que se hace de ellos.

Para el reformista, las reformas son el todo; a él la labor revolucionaria solo sirve para charlar para desorientar. Por eso, con la táctica reformista, bajo las condiciones de existencia del Poder burgués, las reformas se convierten inevitablemente en instrumento de consolidación de este Poder, en instrumento de descomposición de la revolución.

Para el revolucionario, por el contrario, lo principal es la labor revolucionaria y no las reformas; para él las reformas son un producto accesorio de la revolución. Por eso, con la táctica revolucionaria, bajo las condiciones de existencia del Poder burgués, las reformas se transforman, naturalmente, en instrumentos de descomposición de este Poder, en instrumento de fortalecimiento de la revolución, en punto de apoyo para el desarrollo ulterior del movimiento revolucionario.”

Hoy hay camaradas que de forma dogmática rechazan cualquier compromiso, se consideran así mas revolucionarios y lo que ocurre es que tratan de combatir al revisioni-

smo con sus armas, la metafísica de bueno/malo algo parecido a Hoxha y no aplican la dialéctica y el estudio de las contradicciones. “Como la leche puede estar agria, no tomo leche” parece su consigna.

Es cierto que los acuerdos de paz en casos ocultan líneas reformistas y capituladoras mas como señala el camarada Stalin si son los revolucionarios, los bolcheviques, quienes dirigen el proceso, esos compromisos pueden servir para hacer avanzar la revolución. El Pdte. Mao fue siempre un fiel leninista y nunca afirmo que negociar fuera un disparate en general. Debemos de reflexionar sobre esta cuestión.

Por un gran salto adelante, por una Conferencia ampliada del MRI.

Frente a las criticas que hablan de disolver el Movimiento nosotros proponemos, modestamente, como modestas son nuestras fuerzas, el que se celebre una nueva Conferencia del MRI que renueve sus organos de dirección y coordinación permanentes así como debata profundamente las tareas de la Revolución Proletaria Mundial y los problemas surgidos en Nepal y en otras partes, fortaleciendo a los destacamentos revolucionarios maoístas en el mundo e incorporando nuevas organizaciones al Movimiento.

Sobre la justa base de unidad de su Declaración y de “Viva el M-L-M” trabajar por un “nuevo salto adelante” del movimiento revolucionario.

Cuando el sistema imperialista esta en plena crisis, tenemos que lograr una mayor y superior unidad en torno al Maoísmo y a la necesidad de Revolución para acabar con siglos de explotación.

Hablamos de unidad y lucha, hablamos por tanto desde la dialéctica, pero poniendo el énfasis en ampliar nuestra influencia en las masas necesitadas de revolución.

Esta tarea gloriosa, no puede acometerse sin reforzar nuestro Movimiento, sin dotarlo del máximo de armas para el combate en todos los frentes y siendo conscientes, asumiendo en los hechos, que la aplicación concreta de la verdad universal del M-L-M tiene que encarnarse en condiciones muy diversas y adquirir sus propias y específicas características.

Tenemos que trabajar por una organización internacional en que todos sus militantes sean líderes comunistas unidos firmemente a las masas. Que donde quiera que este, el mas sencillo de los militantes, sea un cuadro comunista capaz de servir a las masas y a la Revolución Proletaria Mundial.

## Conclusiones

Consideramos al Movimiento Revolucionario Internacionalista el probado centro de los maoístas a nivel internacional y valoramos que son mas importantes sus éxitos que sus fracasos o errores en la actualidad.

Que en la actual situación el MRI y su Comité deben dar un gran salto adelante y convocar una Conferencia (ampliada) que permita debatir y estudiar los diversos proble-

mas de la RPM en el presente siglo y reforzar sus estructuras para estar a la altura de los nuevos retos.

Que las llamadas a un nuevo centro internacional son en su mayoría fruto del eclecticismo y de la negación del Maoísmo como tercera y superior etapa de la ideología proletaria y por tanto deben de ser rechazadas.

Que debemos de estar atentos no solo a combatir el revisionismo o el oportunismo vestido de falsos “desarrollos” sino también al dogmatismo que pretende hacer de nuestra ideología letra muerta.

Que debemos trabajar por una gran unidad de las fuerzas revolucionarias pero bajo ningún concepto transar con los principios del M-L-M tomando siempre el Maoísmo como principal.

## Galiza, septiembre del 2009 Comité de Loita Popular “Manolo Bello” Correo Vermello.

### Anexo

Desde la formulación de nuestras posiciones en defensa del legado histórico del MRI/RIM, su Comité de dirección, a pesar de la evidente paralización del mismo, no ha convocado conferencia alguna.

Con motivo del Seminario Internacional realizado el pasado agosto del 2010, en Italia, en la que han participado los camaradas de Proletari Comunisti – Pcm-Italia, miembro fundador del mismo, hemos planteado que asuma junto a otras organizaciones (1) miembros del mismo la convocatoria de la conferencia ampliada. Es evidente que la dirección del CoRIM en manos del PCR-EE.UU. es inoperante e incluso sigue una línea liquidacionista en el Movimiento.

¡ Esto no se puede tolerar mas tiempo !

La base del MRI son sus organizaciones y no el Comité y por tanto las mismas poseen toda la legitimidad para convocar esta necesaria Conferencia (ampliada) que dote de nuevos organos de dirección al mismo e incorpore a nuevos destacamentos revolucionarios.

En la misma consideramos necesario que participen todas aquellas organizaciones comunistas que esten por la defensa del Maoísmo y el sendero de la Revolución Proletaria Mundial. En particular consideramos necesario la presencia de los camaradas del PCR-Canadá, de los camaradas del CR del PC. Ecuador (m-l-m), de los camaradas de la Liga Operaria do Brasil(2) o de los camaradas de la UOC-m-l-m de Colombia, así como los camaradas de Marruecos.

Nos reiteramos en la necesidad de deslindar con los errores y la línea liquidacionista del movimiento que lleva acabo el PCR-EE.UU. Profundizando en los mismos con una critica en toda regla a sus posiciones y comportamientos. Esta conferencia creemos que se podría organizar para los primeros meses del 2011 después de los eventos en apoyo del pueblo hindú.

Galiza, Setembro do 2010

(1) Según fuentes del PCR-USA en 1988 este adoptó la denominación M-L-M Ver prefacio de la obra “Las contribuciones inmortales de Mao Tse-tung”. RPC Publications 1979

(2) Se pueden ver la mayoría de los textos del debate en el blog Dazibao Rojo o en la revista La Negación de la Negación, de la UOC-m-l-m de Colombia.

(3) Es particularmente importante el artículo de Bob Avakian “Rechazar el ataque Dogmato-Revisionista contra el Pensamiento Mao Ste-tung” para Revolution N° 4 de julio/agosto de 1979 Contundente denuncia contra el dogmatismo hoxista o la defensa que hizo el PCR de la camarada Chiang Ching y del camarada Chang Chun chiao sometidos a una farsa de juicio por los revisionistas chinos.

(4) A lo largo de estos años diversas organizaciones existentes en los 80 han ido desapareciendo como el PCR de Chile, la Unión de Lucha Marxista- Leninista (España) o el CRC del PC de la India (ml).

## The Internationalist Seminar of Maoist Road

### Introduction

This is not a formal meeting or a conference, but a workshop in which we discuss on how to carry forward the magazine and our work in general. We need to debate the question of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), including the position put forward by the document sent by Indian comrades. Canadian comrades propose to debate also the people's war in the imperialist countries. Finally, since there are organizations active in imperialist countries, we will have also brief reports on the various national situations.

### On the RIM

#### PCm Italy

Here we briefly review the history of the process of RIM, since it is clear that today we need to continue that thread in order to advance in our work.

We are one of the founding parties of RIM. The constitution of RIM was the result of the RCP US pulse. That party played a positive role in achieving this milestone in the reconstruction of the international communist movement (ICM) after the death of Mao and the end of the GCPR. It was the result of an agreement between various influential forces in ICM. It was not simply a grouping, but an agreement between those forces that could take on and carry out that task. The agreement included the parties of the US, India and Turkey.

The Conference proceeded with a protracted debate, an unprecedented 15 days-long discussion, with a perfect organization. The method used to realize the conference was very important, just and correct. Without that, it would not be possible to organize that event and get the result. It was required a strong practical commitment to participate, adequate to the purpose. At that time ours was a local group but we had a strong international outlook. Two other organizations were invited along with us from Italy, but they did not accept either that method or that commitment. Today we can see that, also thanks that outlook and as a result of that success, we are still here, the others are gone.

It was a great conference, not only for the deep debate and no holds barred, but especially for the climate, that let us understand the nature of the task we had to perform. When there was a difference, we worked 24 per day, until resolution. During this discussion there was also expelled. Time has shown that forces that had been expelled neither were or have been Maoist anymore.

The conclusion of the conference was almost tragic for us. At the end there were two irreducible differences: on the national question in the imperialist countries and on the struggles of 70s in those countries. On these points we were not in agreement with the *Declaration*.

About the first point, we thought that in the imperialist countries we can never speak about a national question, even in case of invasion of the country within a world war, which at that time existed as much stronger trend than today. As regards the assesment of the struggles in the 70s, we felt liquidationist the statement of the *Declaration*. So at the end of the Conference we did not sign the *Declaration*. All were pressing us to accept these positions: somebody called us Trotskyists, some other petty

bourgeois revolutionaries who wanted to play at the revolution, they all looked at us as those who were trying to sabotage the unifying of ICM. Among the participants at the Conference, only two parties did not sign the *Declaration*: we, because of these differences, and the PCP, that participated as observers but actually contributed very effectively to the debate on all points. Well, two weeks later, a comrade pays visit to us, who tells that the wording on the national question had been amended but, on the other point, there could be no changes. Then we signed the *Declaration*. While maintaining the divergence on the liquidation of groups of the 70s, we felt that it had been made an exceptional effort. Moreover, in the meantime, also the PCP had signed the *Declaration*.

We told this to make the climate, the sense of the foundation of RIM. Nothing could be further from a forum for mere coordination or permanent discussion, but rather sharp struggle to the end, for the unity. The impressive developments which followed the Conference, showed that such constitution was helping the construction. An excellent result, fruit of an excellent work of comrades who had traveled four continents to find and promote Maoist organizations.

It was decided to form a center, the Corim. Who was to be part of it? Of course, not all members could participate the centre nor it could be elected. It had to represent a synthesis of the agreement. Thus the parties that had most contributed to achieve the conference were chosen. But soon Indian comrades opposed the decision to form a center, fully upholding the position of Mao on the Comintern. In the Turkish party, the leadership who had made possible the Conference was outvoted by a Hoxhaist line, despising the Maoist organizations as petty bourgeois. Thus the Party withdrew from Corim and rejected the *Declaration*. At this point, the Americans found themselves alone. At the very beginning, Peruvians had been asked to be part of Corim, but, to be free do carry out within RIM the struggle to establish Maoism, they refused. A wrong decision, with serious consequences.

Since then things change. Americans are those who choose who was to be integrated into the Corim and they choose the faithful. They formed up the staff and, since then, the staff, not the leaders, are those who manage the relationships within the movement. The Corim becomes a filter of communications, what the Americans approve is widespread, what they do not accept, does not pass. This situation was changed by struggle of the PCP. On the one hand, the struggle of the PCP led the RIM to advance, adopting Maoism, as sanctioned by the document "*Long live the MLM!*", on the other hand, the RIM made the People's War in Peru a matter of global attention. It is the role of RIM, the hundreds of meetings all around the world, that have made it a worldwide phenomenon.

Meanwhile, the Indian party - Mass Line - was dissolved in dozens of parties and organizations, saying they have to make dozens of new democratic revolution (a phenomenon similar to the dissolution of the Union de Lucha in Spain). The only heir of Mass Line existing today, is the CPI (ML) Naxalbari. At that time, the organizations that have formed up CPI (Maoist) were very weak. The struggle to adopt Maoism deeply affected the Turkish Party, brin-

ging another change of leadership and the decision to join again the RIM. So, there were the conditions for which the document "*Long live the MLM*" could be the basis for a Corim made not only by Americans. A lost opportunity. The Corim did not change. This situation reaches the climax with the detention of Chairman Gonzalo. The RIM organized the largest political campaign in recent history, after that for Mumia Abu Jamal. But, later, the emergence of rightist opportunist line (ROL) and the unfortunate position of "investigation" taken by the Corim dealt a hard blow to the People's War and the RIM itself.

The beginning and development of people's war in Nepal was a new opportunity for developing the RIM. We can say that this people's war is the result of three factors: 1) People's War in Peru; 2) the leadership of Prachanda, and 3) the role of RIM. But then CoRim raised the people's war in Nepal to take and use it against people's war in Peru and chairman Gonzalo. This transformed the two-lines struggle in the MRI into a struggle of factions.

In 2000 the Enlarged Meeting of Corim was realized almost with the same method as the Conference of '84, the RIM method. Two external factors fostered the attention and the role played by this meeting: the persistence of the people's war in Peru and the new people's war in Nepal. In this meeting RCP US is attacked. It had organized its forces, but the CPN(M) did not agree its methods of leadership. There was a sharp struggle between RCP US and its allied and the PCP, with the mediation of the CPN(M). We sided with the PCP. At the end, Americans had to accept the new statement: "*For a century of people's wars ...*"

It was the last good document of MRI, that rectified the position on President Gonzalo. Although it was not the same position of PCP. It was proposed that the CoRim was to be formed by the parties leading people's wars. Americans and their allies opposed this decision. The struggle over this point lasted several days. Three weaknesses prevent the victory of this line: 1) the unifying spirit of the CPN (M), which aims to keep the old members of Corim, and add the parties leading people's war 2) the Turks, who make unrealistic proposals, and 3) the Peruvians, who still repeat the same position: the document is a step forward but it is not enough, then the struggle must continue and we can not be a part of Corim. Finally we were the only ones who oppose the resolution on the Corim. This prevented a victory that could have changed things.

Right after that "*For a century ...*" is issued, RCP US took position against the new document, and this opened the fight. Since then the activity of RCP US is an open boycott. Then the liquidationist tendency of RIM begun.

In the meantime, the Corim had focused its activities in South Asia. The CCOMPOSA was born. Under its leadership, all the supporters of RIM in the region are brought together, including all parties. This allows the RIM to work in excellent way in Asia, while in Europe it disappears. We proposed the same kind of Regional RIM for Europe, but Americans were against.

In India, both CPI(ML) PW and MCCI were advancing and finally come to fight each other. The RIM of Asia played a decisive role for the unity. The parties agreed to halt hostilities, meet each other and "love broke out". The result is the birth of the strongest communist party in the world since the CP of China. The MCCI was member of RIM, while PW was against the very idea of a center, and rejected most of the parties of MRI as a petty bourgeois opponents of armed struggle. So the CPI (M) decided not

to join RIM. At the same time, in the Corim, the RCP US considered the unification a bad thing, an anti-RIM decision.

The development of people's war in Nepal brought further changes. The CPN(M) were convinced that we need to unite the parties and that RCP US had become an obstacle to unification. Nepalese decide to sharpen the contradiction: they convene the Corim, open the confrontation and propose to call a RIM conference for the resolution of the contradiction. But this plan did not go on consistently. They opened the clash but the conclusion was different. The concern for the unity and the fear that a conference would become a war of all against all prevailed. But, without a conference, RIM exists no longer.

Today RCP US thinks that MRI should be cleared and rebuilt on the basis of Bob Avakian's New Synthesis. The CPN(M) still speaks about unity of the international communist movement but, when they say international communist movement, they do not mean Maoists. That is why now they are very popular among the anti-Maoists all around the world, attracted by their electoral victory. Therefore, a Conference of the MRI is no longer possible. The RCP US do not want to call, they already decreed the death of RIM 3 years ago, and the CPN(M) have gone to another tangent.

The international seminar of 2006 was the last occasion on which it was possible to bring together almost all the parties. RCP US did not participate officially. During that seminar Nepalese comrades accepted the wording proposed by the Italian comrades, "a second step". They said us: we need a second step and we will do. Six months later they said something different. An example: at the seminar we decided to publish the speeches, to stimulate a new conference. So far, the only speeches that have been published are our informal verbalization. The CPN(M) deviated from that line, at the same pace of the revisionist deviation of the leadership. The result is the dissolution of the RIM, that is an objective fact, not a decision made by someone.

We should now take a new path, this is our proposal, not because it is our will, but because it is an objective step indeed.

## RCP Canada

As organization outside of the MRI we have embarked on a path for the membership, we met the Corim in 2007 but the process has stopped. It was not our decision, Corim did not contact us anymore. The last communication was a message to our Congress. It was a criticism of our document, arguing that we runs on the same economic line of the organizations of the '30s. Why? To speak about economics does not mean to be economic. However, our congress took stand for membership, but today it is difficult even to find out who is the RIM, to which we should address this request.

We was told to contact the RCP US, we tried but we could not. It was depressing for us, Corim behaved as an imperialist organization that imposes diktats.

We may talk about what the RIM could be. The two initial purpose for the existence of the RIM are to lead the world revolution with a center and to organize and promote organizations in each country.

The best action of the RIM was in India, when it helped the unity, but indeed the Asian members of the RIM reali-



zed that. But then it disappeared as a ideological center.

For us, the RIM must be a political and ideological centre but it also must unite theory and practice. If the RIM has acted primarily as ideological center, it depends on the RCP US. Everybody knows the RCP US ability to focus on the ideological struggle and not on the practical struggles.

Our view is that there are 4 types of propaganda: the class press, the militant propaganda, the practice of revolutionary mass action. For example in the demos we create "red points" with flags and banners highly visible and realize mass actions carried out by the Maoists themselves, also the style is an action of propaganda and the masses learn through this. The ultimate form of propaganda is the people's war.

According the RCP U.S. there is only the extensive ideological struggle. We believe that this kind of ideological struggle is far backward compared to past experience, for instance that of the Black Panther Party, and it does not reach the masses.

We started from the definition of a base of unity with the RIM, I remember the main points: the first is the MLM, not only as an ideology but as the science of revolution, and the universality of protracted people's war. It is important to specify protracted, because on this we had a discussion with the Corim, that recognized the universality of the people's war but included in this concept also the line of the RCP US.

The only text of the RCP US that speaks about people's war is "Can we really win?", in which they imagine the revolution as a last minute mass uprising, otherwise, it is said, the repression would stop us immediately, therefore what we need is a concentrated process, a ridiculous concept, because it is only by waging the war that you learn to make war, so you need a protracted process.

Another point is to recognize the continuation of class struggle under socialism, which includes the contributions of the GPCR. The exact wording is that the proletarian dictatorship must include the GPCR, the continuation of class struggle under socialism, to advance toward communism. It means that the Party must always pursue the class struggle, it must not settle. It is also a critical aspect regarding today's Nepal.

Another point is the updated analysis of the international situation, we need to review all the classics, from the letter in 25 points on, of the international communist movement and we think that a document of this type would have an impact like the foundation of the RIM.

As regards the document of Naxalbari, I would stress particularly the issue of centralization. The comrades write that there was an excess of centralization by the RIM, but the most important is the line that has been developed. I think it is important, also as organizational principle, the respect for the other parties, without coercion. You can also criticize the mistakes of the parties but always respectfully.

As regards the main obstacle to the Maoists now, I do not think it is the CPN(maoist). This party has been leading a people's war for 10 years, although the situation now requires further consideration, so far no one can say that it is a revisionist party. There are some disturbing elements in its path. These 10 years allowed to play a massive role in the cities, among young people who are now accused by the bourgeoisie to continue people's war. We can debate on how they make the class struggle at this time, you may

be concerned that by not making the right thing at the right time they would fall into revisionism, but so far it can not be said.

The RCP US criticism versus the tactics the CPN(M) is abstract, based on an abstract ideas of the revolutionary process that neglect the reality, it is a Trotskyist-style criticism.

We feel that at the base of the collapse of the RIM there are two questions: the democracy in the 21st century and the new synthesis of Bob Avakian In the last meeting with us, Corim raised these issues. We do not know exactly what is the new synthesis of Avakian Above all we do not understand how we can take the new synthesis as guide of the struggle when the RCP USA, beyond its merits in the struggle against Hoxhite revisionism and the formation of RIM, has done nothing, thus you can not put the New Synthesis at the level of the classics. This is why the New Synthesis is unacceptable.

The path proposed by the Nepalese comrades is questionable but it comes from a party that made the revolution and therefore deserves to be considered. It should be considered also the actual risk of military intervention, because this determines the context, it does not justify everything but helps to understand.

We see the RCP US and the attempts to impose the new synthesis as the main obstacle.

### PCm Italy

The position of the CPI (M) is currently the most in contradiction with the construction of an international organization. This position is clearly expressed in various texts and the speeches at the the international seminar of 2006 in Nepal.

The party leaders argue this position based on their inability to leave the country or give a direct contribution to an international organization. This question is a very relevant part of the problem. As mentioned above, although the role played by the RCP US was crucial for the formation of RIM, without other influential and strong parties, Turkish and Indian, there would not be that result.

We Should now understand that the position of Indian comrades must be changed to solve the problem of an international organization.

It is true that the front of those who try to impose the New Synthesis as the basis is now the obstacle, if only for the simple fact that these forces are those that support the liquidation of the RIM.

As you know, in recent years several groups have come out with an offensive against the line of the CPN(M), pointing to the struggle to "Prachandism" as the basis for a new grouping in the international communist movement. They are gathered around to comrades of UOC of Colombia, proposing an international conference based on this dividing line.

As regards the other parties, they stand in this range of positions. Around the New Synthesis there are the CP of Iran MLM, the RCG of Colombia, a party of Bangla Desh, a part of MKP (former Maoist Party Center).

This should make us understand, comrades, how difficult the situation. The solution is not simply to write a document, gather around it to parties, and establish a new organization. This is idealistic, it has nothing to do with the history of concrete construction of the RIM.

We need a thorough analysis of the global situation, of forces. The deep differences between the founders of the

RIM did not prevent them from playing the important role that we recognize. We have to start from the advanced experiences of advanced detachments of the proletariat and the people of the world. We do not need to unite the parties on a document but to create an international center that will be a material force. The question is how to run an international center. For that we need an agreement.

At the seminar of 2006 the CPI(M) said that seminars are useful, the embryonic centre is not. A very strange statement, as the organizing center is but a permanent seminar, that carries forward the debate in an agent, not abstract, way, serving and helping the parties and their struggles to advance.

Whatever your views on "revisionism" of Prachanda, now you can not create an international organization without the UCPN (M). The process of constructing a center is not a merely ideological fact. It is ideological, political, theoretical and practical. Ideology and practice are the main. On theory and policy, differences, important also, can continue existing.

As regards the ideology, we can not go back from the ideological base of the RIM. It is clear that the base must be Maoism, but it is pure idealism to think that this should mean the same application, same implementation!

Regarding politics, it is not true that the RIM had a general line. It is not the time of general lines. We need a revolution for that. What we need now is to establish a method by which to draw a summing up. This means practice. It is not empiricism, but the taking up a materialist criterion of existence of a party. We have the example of RCP US, whose revolutionary practice does not exist. The factors that made RIM a real attempt for an international center are the MLM ideology and the practice of the PW, that is the mix we need.

The French comrades say that we should take as base the universality of the PW. This unity does not exist today. Indian comrades, Filipinos, Turks do not agree. Nepalese speak about "fusion". Thus, how can you think that the assertion of the universality of PW can solve today the unity of ICM, while not even all Maoists agree?

In the general context of fragmentation of the RIM, we need to struggle against the liquidationism. Externally, it is mostly represented by the UOC of Colombia, but we have to focus on liquidationism from within the RIM. Of course our work for a second step forward can not be made with a liquidationist view of our movement.

First, the struggle against liquidationism is not only a political struggle but also practical, you can not rebuild without aggregation. The work of Maoist Road goes in this direction. We do not call to make a clean sweep of the RIM and start over. On this point the position of the comrades from Galicia is still correct.

Our debate must advance not only in theory and politics but also in practical steps forward. This way we have already achieved to widen the signatures of the joint Declaration of May Day 2010 and the editorial staff of Maoist Road. In this it is very important for us the participation of the RCP Canada, because for us, struggling in the imperialist countries, the PW in the imperialist countries is not just a matter of abstract strategy to be applied.

All of us are far behind on the PW in the imperialist countries, not only in practice. But, without practical progress, those forces that still deny PW in imperialist country will not change their positions. We can not convince them only with good arguments.

## On the Maoist Road

### PCm Italy

Maoist Road has to become a mean to go ahead with this debate. We do not need another magazine to put forward the position of our party, we need a vehicle to spread the voice of united parties throughout the world.

50 million copies of our statement of 1 May 2010 were printed in India. That is the point: to make visible how this trend is advancing.

We have records of various discussions on the RIM. We would like to publish them on *Maoist Road*. Although it is unlikely that comrades agree the publishing, because they say it may give rise to repressive attacks. But we believe that the debate should be public. We believe that excessive secrecy has been one of the matters of degeneration of the RIM. Over time the debate on Maoism became a secret, the very life of the movement became a secret and this played a role in its collapse, because reflected the image of a monolithic organization, hegemonized by the line of RCP US, while indeed there was a hard inner struggle, with many positive points, which we should take today, but which have been kept secret to everyone except, perhaps, the enemy.

We also began writing a criticism to the UOC of Colombia. A lot of work has still to be done, because these comrades have written a lot and on everything. It is true that the Internet allows groups of few people to appear and have worldwide impact, it is true that those who are always engaged in class struggle, do not have time to respond to everyone, but we must also take into account that not all groups are equal and especially assess the influence that they have. We do not know exactly the size of this group, but it certainly has an influence on so many groups in Chile, Brazil, generally in Latin America and also in Spain. On the other hand, our organizations are not much larger. So to go ahead with our work we need to criticize these comrades. It is important also for the particular method they use. They defined Prachanda as the main enemy and do not bother to prove it. Then, based on struggle against Prachanda, they continued by dividing the ICM in right, left and center. It would be easy to make the same, by giving primacy to the struggle against the New Synthesis, or the PW in the imperialist countries. On both the cases, the geography of the ICM would change completely.

### PCm France

It would be useful a brief pamphlet on the history of MRI. We propose also a concise document in points as a basis for unity. It could allow us to assess exactly the level of existing unity in the meetings with the various forces. At certain degree, in the same way we attract others at the meetings or campaigns we organize.

We would also begin a measured critical work, which gradually deepens the arguments, without launching attacks from the start.

## On the Protracted People's War in the Imperialist Countries

### RCP Canada

We believe it is very important to discuss the protracted people's war. It is also important to specify protracted, otherwise we would talk about anything. It is long time that our organization reflects on this question. The theory of PPW

is not only military but involves also new economy, new power, new politics. The experiences of armed struggle in the imperialist countries often included experiences of political and economic struggle. The Revolutionary Army, as showed in Peru, has not only military tasks, but also of power, and as a means of educating the masses.

In the imperialist countries, there are no semi-feudal relationships. In the oppressed countries is easier than in the imperialist countries speak about liberated areas, new economy, new power. For us the question of people's war is how to link the revolutionary struggle to the construction of a new economy and new power, on this there are many experiences in the imperialist countries.

In Italy in the 70s there were experiences of "new kind of economy", the members were paid by the political-military organization and not by the masses. But the masses are those who must make the revolution, on the masses, within a revolutionary project, the people's war should rely also in an imperialist country. In this role of the masses is the possibility of carry forward a revolutionary project.

The development of the role of the masses allows to out fit a new power in which people feel themselves able to make a new society, to look farther. Historically, ICM has the concept of the one-day insurrection. This view lacks the understanding of learning how to make revolution by making revolution. You learn how to make war making war. But war can not be separated from political struggle. We see the people's war as a process of this kind. Without the involvement of the masses it is not possible to develop a new economy nor a revolutionary struggle.

The RAF admitted that they ended to be isolated from the masses and focused only on the military. The CCC recognized that their problem was that they could not organize the participation of the people. That kind of actions have depressing effects because expose to repression. In Ireland, the fight was more related to the masses. Within the neighborhoods, the masses played an active role, not just passive.

In the case of Canada, the people's war can begin only with the participation of the natives, who live partly in the reserves. The natives do not have access to property rights and are dependent on the State, it is a national issue that, in an imperialist country, has democratic implications. In Quebec the situation is different. According to the Lenin's criteria, we can speak about an imperialist bourgeoisie. Here we already saw experiences of armed struggle by the natives. Our party proposes a kind of new democracy. Quebecers say that natives should be given the right of self-determination. You can not equate the struggle of the natives with that of euro-Canadians. For us all the concrete conditions can be used to initiate the People's War. Once it begun, the situation would be full of contradictions and there is the possibility of an intervention of US. The possibility of U.S. intervention can not stop the people's war, the aim is precisely to provoke reactions.

We do not know in details the situation in other countries, but we think that anywhere we have to work for the people's war, it is an internationalist duty. The processes that we will begin will be unequal but each of those will have consequences on others, it is a necessary process. Necessarily, it is a process to be carried forward internationally, we can wage PW in our country, but it is to be carried out internationally.

The point is not only to have success immediately, the beginning is mainly training. In our documents all this is

written with more details. It is useful to distinguish what is militant propaganda and what is people's war. Currently it is not possible to launch the people's war immediately, but you can make some actions, more or less militant, of propaganda. We see every day that anarchist groups do, why can we not? We were told: if you begin, you have to be careful to repression. We think that there is no reason to call ourselves revolutionaries if we do not make revolution, who said so had opportunistic positions. Today you can begin making actions that give examples of new power and prepare the initiation. There are the political conditions to begin that, after the start, will become political-military.

The link between communism and revolutionary action went lost. This makes bigger and bigger the need and impact of actions compared to the common propaganda. We need to know how to claim the actions to minimize the risk of repression, but giving up because of repression means giving up the revolutionary struggle.

There are risks, but also a worker who works 25 m high risks, also those who fought in the Resistance risked, why do not we risk today?

### PCm France

We start talking about people's war. Unfortunately we do not have any kind of experience. In France during the Commune, the anti-Fascist Resistance and the French May, there have been experiences of armed struggle related to the masses, and then we see them as harbingers of people's war. Today there are struggles of the masses that begin to take on forms of resistance, as in the banlieues. But the Maoists are few and many are opportunists, which are counter-revolutionaries.

Starting on their own would do as the BR or the CCC. The party must support the actions of the masses, develop them into revolutionary action, convey the idea that weapons are not enough, the question is also to building struggle committees and power committees based on the masses that get separated from reformism and organized in the party. This way a dynamic movement develops preparing the spark of people's war. To begin immediately would take time away for organization. We have to proceed step by step, do not do as was done in Italy.

The experience of Gauche Proletarienne is that the masses had sympathy for their actions, but did not participate in, looked on. In 1905, Lenin said: yesterday the petty bourgeois groups were alone in the fight against the power, now that the masses are on the barricades, the Communists have to go to lead them.

Today we participate in the actions of the masses, in the struggle against the bourgeois state and its armed forces. In the mass demonstrations, among the masses, we are at the frontline, to indicate how the Maoists are able to lead them. Everywhere masses struggle, we should be at frontline to show the road and go farther. This should be done to show that it is possible. We need to unite the two aspects, masses and leadership; actions and propaganda, as support for the struggles of the masses. Otherwise the risk is the spontaneism of Proletarienne Gauche, which has failed. It was the best organization, but it failed, it made mistakes, we have to tell it.

### PCm Italy

A brief comment. The explanation of the comrade is very encouraging. We strongly welcome and support it, because

se we think that the Maoists in the imperialist countries have to realize a new beginning of the revolution, the beginning of PW in the imperialist countries.

The PW is revolutionary struggle. No confusion on this point. The Maoists in the imperialist countries begin existing when they start a process of mass revolutionary action led by the party along the strategy of the protracted PW. That is why in the imperialist countries Maoists need experiences of new beginning, and a Party forged for this purpose, otherwise the rest of our activity is useless.

When we signed the Declaration of the RIM, we were against the liquidation of the experience of groups of the '70s. This position was a large majority. The PCP only opposed, beside us. Now it is true that the battle for the reconstruction passes through the assertion in the practice of the universality of the PW in the imperialist countries. In the Conference in Palermo in 2003, we positively assessed the position taken by RCP Canada. Since then, we think that the parties in the imperialist countries must find a connection point to share experiences on this field. But we are ourselves are a proof of how difficult this path is.

The first obstacle came from the CoRIM. In the EM in 2000, we explained our good wills, but all the participant were against us, except the PCP. The CPNM listened interested but at the end said they did not understand what we were going to do. Others said that the PW was not correct generally and, particularly, could not have begun at that time. The attitude of the Corim was the same described by the comrade. A painful fact, because for PW the good intentions are not enough, it needs support, encouragement and experience-sharing. For us, the constitution of the Party would be completed only with the new beginning.

In Genoa in 2000, at the first major national demonstration in which our Party took part, we had a very correct position and a very bad practice. Our organizations had generally an opportunist attitude. However, the newspapers of Berlusconi, pointed us, along with the TKP ml, among the possible inspirators of the battle. It was then necessary to address the problem with an acute ideological struggle, send away a few comrades, change partially the leadership, build a new youth organization.

For 3-4 years we have had to continue the ideological struggle, study and deepen, for a sum up of that period, fairly rich in lessons. Particularly, the experiences of the mass organizations in the South, which for a while we thought can be engaged in activities for the new beginning. It was something new in our approach. Until then we paid attention mainly to draw lessons from the Resistance and the experiences of the groups of the 70s. Not everyone knows that there were many groups - not just one - and many experiences in Italy in the 70s, and the very first experiences of those organizations are an example of how to link workers struggles, clandestinity etc. PW has to be a synthesis of all these aspects.

A fairly rich period but also full of problems and acute ideological struggle, partial replacement of cadres, organizational weakening. On the other hand the idea to integrate in the new beginning the vanguards of southern mass struggle proved to be not entirely correct. So, now, 10 years after the birth of the party, we are still to complete the process to affirm its existence.

In imperialist countries PW is actually tied to the party leadership of the mass struggles. If the Communists are preparing for the PW, then they lead mass struggles, otherwise they do not. In the imperialist countries those who

do not prepare for the PW do not even take part in the mass struggle. A mass struggle as class war, as training to fight against the state, is essential for the benning of PW, above all because PW is a war waged primarily by the masses.

We have prepared a document analyzing the concept of new beginning and puts it as a part of an overall strategic vision. Because, while you can not do long-term plans on this issue, you can not even begin without a strategic vision, that allows you to understand what to do at the first reaction, how to resist, and so on. A party that begins the PW maintains its features, does not change overnight. Hence the importance of having a clear vision. We can not predict exactly the results, but we need a vision of the development of the entire PW.

The new beginning in the imperialist countries is very difficult, almost impossible, but the crisis of imperialism and the bourgeoisie, give us reasons to be optimistic about development and victory of the PW, but it is difficult to start.

### **Committee of People's Struggle, Galicia**

A small contribution. According to the *Union de lucha*, the people's war should have begun in Galicia because there in 1969 existed a guerrilla organization of anti-Franco resistance. Guerrilla in the classical sense, Peru style, to be clear. But now, seeing the operating of militant organizations, we believe that it is difficult to begin the PW without specific training. We must struggle among the masses but also train them politically and practically. Considering that NATO today in two hours can intervene anywhere in Europe with great force and in coordination with all the European the armies, we must apply the slogan of Mao: the revolutionary violence is carried out for the advancement of the masses.

### **On the National Situations**

#### **PCm France**

In general the situation of the working class and people, as in all imperialist countries, is quite serious. There are relocations, sackings and the conciliatory attitude fosters a new form of fascism, embodied in the preparation of new repressions towards the masses and those who resist and rebel. There is a resurgence of attacks on young people, migrant workers, when they rebel. They use sophisticated means of control and repression. Not only the state apparatus but also non-state bodies, trade union committees, etc., seeking to channel the rebellion within the system.

There is a massive ideological campaign to accept as normal the implementation of repressive measures, control, restrictions of democracy, reduction of wages. An ideological propaganda to accept as normal the political, ideological measures adopted by the government and thereby gain a mass base among the population to make the modern fascism pass. This involves traditional fascist organizations like the National Front.

More or less accurate surveys are spread showing that security measures against young people are popular, that more than 60% approve these measures. The Government adopts the same view of Le Pen on the struggle against immigration and for "security", looking at immigration as a threat to public order. We are witnessing the proposals by the Socialist Party and the revisionist Left requiring enfor-

cement measures, there is active collaboration between revisionist and right-wing forces to implement these measures.

The situation becomes even worse when you consider that the reformist left, which had set up a movement on pensions, finally accepted that law. The forces of revisionist and social democratic left in words do not agree the measures on pensions but they say that there is indeed a problem of age of population. This way their statements bring a revival of Malthusian theories, that see a link between productivity, environment and natural resources, theories of overpopulation, according to which we should curb the use of resources (pensions) and drive out immigrants. The corollary of these positions is that the State should not help the poor workers, the result is that more and more low-wage workers are at the margins of society.

In politics it means into a racist, segregationist, policy, for example the Roms hunting. This way they endorse racist ideological phenomena that converge with the positions of the National Front. The campaign against the Roms has also led to reactions from people, politicians and trade unions, the left and the right.

The danger is that if this fascist line is developed, on one hand it will strengthen the fascist front and, on the other, the republican front, who unites right and left to "save the Republic". These will be the slogans for the 2012 elections, namely the building of a modern fascism in attenuated forms to make it pass among the people. An attenuated form in words that in deeds applies repression, social control, security policies against the people who resist and rebel, thus creating a fascist social mix, although there are still some assistance measures, service social subsidies etc.

Another important factor is the persistence of a modern form colonialism, the interventions of French State to support loyal regimes in different countries of the world through political, military, economic support, in defense of French interests to compete with imperialistic interests of US, China, ecc. It is important for us Maoists to reach a common understanding of this process which is common in all the imperialist countries, albeit more or less advanced.

We have to build step by step a common path to oppose. As for us Europeans, since the measures are taken in coordination with Europe, it is important to reach an adequate level of coordination at the ideological, political and propaganda level. We know that there are problems, but it is desirable. Our commitment must be to build the Maoist parties, make them advance, develop contacts in all European countries with forces existing to coordinate at least at the level of propaganda.

Finally, consider that the objective situation has never been so favorable, because there is a growing proletarianization, growth of the attack, and the development of means, technology provides the conditions for a revolution. This puts the task of building parties in all countries and develop a revolutionary process everywhere.

### PCm Italy

In Italy the construction of a modern fascist regime proceeds forced in stages. We should not let the current contradictions in the Berlusconi government mislead us. The government line is solid and also the internal opposition to it will soon be swept away. All those, primarily the left parties, which are under the illusion that the government is weakening, will not make much headway. This government

remains the government needed today for the Italian imperialist bourgeoisie.

At the same time, bosses carry out first hand what we call "bosses fascism". The story of Fiat and Marchionne, well known throughout the world, shows this clearly. The diktat imposed at the Fiat factory in Pomigliano (Naples) is not only an attack on working conditions and wages of workers. It is much more. It is an "agreement" that has questioned the contracts, the existing laws, the Statute of Workers, even the constitutional requirements. Today both the Fiat and Confindustria, both the government and its ministers say the same thing: no more struggle between workers and bosses, no more class struggle! They want to establish a new Fascist corporatism, apparently a class collaboration, but in deeds a new form of slavery to serve the interests of the owners.

The modern fascist essence consists not only of the content of the agreement but also of the way they want to impose. They want to hit on the one hand any form of opposition, coming both by the base unions or the Fiom, and, secondly, they want a consensus forced, compulsory, dictatorial, prevails among the mass of workers. They do not want just to win but win big, not only impose slavery but expect that the workers say yes, we want to be slaves.

This attack is accompanied by that on pensions, first those of women. In addition to attacking the living conditions, they seek to promote an overall ideology that justifies it. The modern fascism is also revealed in the elimination of all forms of opposition, even just democratic, and this is seen in attempts to silence any critical voice in the media, with a system of absolute monopoly. Any little rebellion or opposition is treated as an enemy, the Communists and not only, even the young football fans, all that does not conform is being repressed.

Two aspects in particular should be mentioned as examples of degeneration: first episodes of killing young women and suicides in prisons, the other is the repression in Naples of the great struggles of the unemployed that the crisis can only grow. A form of total militarization, of attack and prohibition of what first was permitted, in the name of that "0 tolerance" already invoked against crime.

In addition to this modern fascist atmosphere, the open racism against immigrants. In recent months we witnessed immigrants hunts, French style, in the centres of identification and expulsion, and practice of annihilating people in the same centres. All this is aimed to create a reactionary, racist, humus which revives several reactionary ideologies, including sexism and not by chance we see a rise in killings of women in families and out of them.

But, at the same time, by doing all this, the bourgeoisie, the state, the government are digging the grave beneath their feet. The crisis increased the urgency for struggles and the reaction of the State and government, politicizes them. Our party, also through the generated and mass organization, particularly the cobas, operates and leads these struggles, and here we see today that among the workers, the youth, the unemployed, it is easier to talk about revolutionary politics.

There is a new awakening of the labor movement, in all factories where there are attacks on the job, there are struggles that put more distance between the workers opposition and the official trade unions, particularly from the regime trade unions, CISL and UIL, and rightist ones, but even within the CGIL there is a grotesque situation, where the leadership of the CGIL union disavows his own me-

talworkers federation, forced to oppose.

What is the situation of the party and its work? In this situation, the party fights all forms of modern fascism, is a party that increasingly unites the propaganda and agitation to the actual practice of leading the masses and struggles, there where it operates. Particularly in the South, we lead large struggles that take form of uprising of unemployed and precarious workers. This year we had a qualitative leap in the unity of struggles and their organizations. In particular, we were able to unite the nationally most important movements of the unemployed, in Naples and Taranto. We intervene with avant-garde slogans and activity in the major factories of the country in the South as the North.

Even among young people this work is visible, in Palermo Red Block carries forward battles on the anti-fascist front and in students movement.

Among women our rich activity led the generated organization, the Revolutionary Proletarian Feninist Movement, to realize intense and nationally visible demonstrations against sexual violence and in defence of migrant women.

At the same time the work for the education of new struggle vanguards, workers and women, progresses. A work that allows these comrades to be autonomous and become leaders of the struggles, a training for the political struggle. One of the texts we studied and used as the basis of training is the Manifesto of Marx and Engels, to take up autonomous tools of understanding and action in the crisis, to make marxist our struggle vanguards. Furthermore we grasped what Lenin pointed out about the party as vanguard detachment, the communists playing a political vanguard role on everything. We set up a blog, that is different from the many others that exist, since it daily operates as a communist political newspaper to form the vanguards organized with us or which follow our leadership.

The blog is involved in the fight against modern fascism, talks about the concrete struggles, fights the opportunist tendencies among the masses, etc.. In the perspective of a newspaper of the PW and taking advantage of the crisis of forces and newspaper of the official "left", that are falling apart.

Finally let's talk about the important developments we achieved in the field of the unity of communists. One year ago began a process of unity with comrades splitted from CARC. This way we are responding to the growing demand of party coming from the bankrupt and crises of many communist organizations and groups, to show that the Maoist party is the only possible and winning answer. It was primarily a process of struggle and had a positive result: along with this comrades, active in several cities where our party is weak, have been defined 10 points of unity for the party, but the end of the trail is the new beginning.

### RCP Canada

Speaking with comrades emerged a situation of relative wealth of Canada, but the crisis has changed this situation, the real average wage has declined significantly in recent years, a trend that has been going on for 25 years. There is a general impoverishment of the working class that can not but deepen, because of the ongoing crisis. A process in which also sectors of labor aristocracy lose their positions, particularly in interior districts, starting from car industry,

Over the years there have been attacks like those in

France and Italy. Apparently in recent years Canada has been quiet, but the reality is that most of these attacks have been suffered by the working class in the 90s. These were the years in which the central and local governments have imposed a balanced budget that led to a policy of accelerated restriction of the debt, an adjustment of the budget paid for by the loss of jobs among teachers and employees of public social services. Social security benefits, like the dole, were reduced and the cost of services increased.

This restructuring met the consent of trade unions, particularly in Quebec where the government has purposely summoned the official trade unions, who gave the consent to all plans. We can say that one or two years before the large demonstrations in France in 1995, the unions had already made all the concessions they could. Against this background, the unions are weaker. Generally, they are present in the upper layers of workers. This weakening of trade unions is one of the most relevant elements of the current situation.

MLM movement was very active in the labor movement in the '70s, when unions were more militant. A feature they lost and now the unions are very weak. The large concentrations of workers have disappeared, in Quebec there are at most three factories over 1000 workers, and thus the intervention leads more dispersion of energy than before, when five comrades were enough to get results. These are the concrete conditions in Canada.

Our work in recent years has been among the youth, in part among students, in part in society in general. Another work is the defense of the unemployed, while the work among immigrants is marginal. Our typical form of work is the intervention in the demonstrations with a contingent of 150/200 comrades with large banners, flags, covered and ready for confrontation. The intention is to use the most offensive forms is possible.

Beside these intervention we promoted demos, eg. May 1. Our idea is to repeat situations like Kreuzberg in Berlin, but we have good relations with the anarchists. About 2000 people participated, with a leading role of our red contingent.

With the same style we participated in Toronto to protests against the G20 to disrupt the summit, together with the anarchists. There was a divergence with the anarchists. Someone said, since you can not attack directly, we hit everything we find around. We instead concentrated on the main entrance to the forbidden zone, while on the way they attacked places which were not the ultimate symbol of capitalism. Although the police had put enormous barriers, anyway we have tried to attack. Our goal had become to attack these barriers.

Toronto is not used to clashes with police, as Montreal, police in Montreal is more prepared. This played in our favor, because we faced a less trained police. The fact that we have decided to attack it is still a political result. The police were deployed in strength, with dogs, etc.. Then he unleashed repression. In the afternoon, the police has taken revenge by attacking and arresting 1100 people.

### Committee of People's Struggle, Galicia

Galicia is one of the poorest region of the Spanish State, but also the richest people in Europe live there, beside millions of layoffs and poor pensioners. In this context, our work as committee of struggle is in part as a trade

union but we carry out also the ideological and political work in solidarity with the PW.

For several months we have been discussing the construction of the Maoist party. From September we will start contacts and a training communist school to advance in the construction. On the other hand, we are organizing the first meeting of unemployed people after years, that will have much resonance, given the general situation. In the Spanish State, unemployment is 20%, in Andalusia it reaches 40% .

In Spain, our idea is to have a meeting with several Spanish groups, both to promote the campaign for PW in India and for analysis of the national situation.

An interesting debate is ongoing in the Basque nationalist movement, where ETA will give up arms by October but the Maoists are opposed to this decision, since it means seeing only the independence and negotiation with the bourgeois state. It can be a good time for the comrades, who can take advantage of the situation.

In Catalonia is happening another interesting process, though not revolutionary. In Galicia we keep the debate on this critical issue, the revolutionary struggle and class struggle, with the national question which may be a goal but not an end.

### Conclusions

It is useful to see again briefly the general framework. We need a Maoist work to reconstruct ICM, since internationally it suffers from serious difficulties after the collapse of the MRI. A summing up of this collapse is important to proceed in this direction. It takes a lot of work, discussions, writings. Our responsibility is to give our contribution in terms of both analysis and writing, as well as a practical work of reconstruction. For us it is a work to do in the fire of class struggle and in close connection with the mass movement.

It is clear that it should not be a ideologicistic summing up, we have to re-enact the process, assessing also the

practical steps of the struggles that brought this collapse. The plan of international reconstruction and the advancement of the class struggle must march together.

I think our meeting was positive because the debate has been conducted according to this approach. Also the latest reports encourage this path, it is evident that Maoists, at different levels in their respective countries, go forward. It is the same work that led us to send our young comrades in Paris and then to organize to meetings and help to make the formation of mCP in France a real and known fact within the Maoist movement.

This work was not affected by the condition of the RIM, it was not the RIM that could solve the problem of building the parties, but the opposite.

The embryonic centre was supposed to help the formation of political parties, but this has been done just for a period, through a very contradictory process, often proposing process an unprincipled unity, without two-line struggle, based on the mere fact of recognizing the leadership of Corim, regardless of the ideological and political line, the theory and practice of the organizations.

We saw it up close in our country. In the other phase Corim supported groups not to help the construction of the party in every country but to bring the RIM in each country. In this sense, the collapse of the RIM is not only a bad thing. The Corim is not responsible for the emergence of problems in the PW in Peru (although the question of the chairman Gonzalo is not resolved) or the "Prachanda Path", but in the imperialist countries the permanence of the RIM had become an obstacle.

So the watchword today is not just rebuilding, reconstruction, but also destruction, we need to destroy, combining to this a construction.

So I think our meeting was good, a good work.

We talked about what we do, but we have still a lot to be done.

For this we I thank you for your participation.

**Long live the Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**

## Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan

# Our position on the Revolutionary Communist Party's new line in its Manifesto and Constitution

Comrades!

One of the issues under discussion in the fourth plenum of the central committee of the Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan was the discussion concerning the political line of the Revolutionary Communist Party's (RCP) new manifesto and constitution, especially in the context of the general discussion about the current state of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM). The plenum following the previous internal discussions about the RCP's current position in its new constitution and in its new manifesto re-emphasized that this issue is an important matter that concerns the RIM, and the international communist movement as a whole, and reached the following conclusions:

1.

In text of the RCP's new constitution—and also in its Manifesto that constantly refers to "Bob Avakian's new synthesis"—there is no mention of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Nor is there any mention of Lenin and Mao in the constitution itself. Furthermore, Marx and Engels are referred to only once, while Avakian's name appears continuously. Lenin and Mao are mentioned only in the appendix.

In the entire text, there is no explanation for this disregard. The only apparent reason for this dismissal is that Marx and Engels—along with Lenin, Mao and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in general—are considered part of a past that is no longer relevant.

In this specific situation, despite the fact that there are claims in the text regarding the continuation and the evolution of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to a higher stage, Bob Avakian's synthesis, rather than being the development and evolution of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to a higher stage, is a rupture from it all.

2.

The RCP's new constitution and Manifesto divides the entire history of the international communist movement, the history of the proletarian revolutions, and the science and ideology of the revolutionary proletariat into two stages. According to this division the first stage starts with the publication of the Manifesto of the Communist Party in 1848 and continues until the defeat of the revolution in China in 1976, and the second and contemporary stage begins with "Bob Avakian's new synthesis". Furthermore, the new constitution and manifesto state plainly that first stage belongs to the past.

This division into two stages is not compatible with the different phases of the evolution of capitalism: the two phases of free competition capitalism during the time of Marx and Engels and the imperialist stage of capitalism described by Lenin and which continues until now. Nor is it compatible with the different phases of the evolution of the science and ideology of the revolutionary proletariat, the phases of Marxism, Marxism-Leninism, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, as well as the need for the possible evolution and beginning of a fourth phase. The only criteria

given for this division is Bob Avakian's new synthesis and its outcome, the publication of RCP's new manifesto, as the second manifesto after the Manifesto written by the Marx and Engels in 1848.

3.

In the RCP's new constitution, a final general insurrection that would lead to the overthrow of the ruling imperialist power and the establishment of the new revolutionary proletarian power is not explicitly expressed as a general armed insurrection. The title chosen for this subject in the RCP's new constitution is unclear and ambiguous: "To seize power, the revolutionary people must meet and defeat the enemy." The text following this title vaguely discusses the "... for the revolutionary struggle to succeed, it will need to meet and defeat that violent repressive force of the old exploitative and oppressive order." without specifically and concretely examining the need for the initiation and continuation of general armed insurrection. Moreover, while the United Front under the leadership of the proletariat is separately mentioned as a strategy for the initiation and continuation of revolution, there is no discussion of the other weapon of revolution from the three weapons of revolution—that of the revolutionary armed forces. In the same section the RCP writes: "... the ruling class and the reactionary armed forces (and other reactionaries) it is able to marshal, on the one side, and the revolutionary movement of millions, and tens of millions, on the other—will face off. Society will then become more or less "compressed" around one or the other of the contending "poles." The concept of the armed insurrection and the role of the revolutionary armed forces under the leadership of revolutionary proletarian party are also unclear.

4.

The RCP's new constitution and manifesto ignore the entire existence of RIM and its positive and negative experience of struggle, including the experiences of peoples' wars in Peru and in Nepal. The entire 25 years of RIM is only mentioned in passing in a section about the divisions in the international communist movement following the defeat of Chinese revolution; even this mention, in the final analysis, is dismissed as an experience of defeat. Given the fact that the RCP has been the most effective party in the formation of RIM and in its leadership, due to it having the most effective role in the Committee of RIM, this kind of unprincipled and seriously irresponsible behavior can have—and to a certain extent already has had—a more negative impact on the existence, continuation and evolution of the efforts of RIM than the deviation in the revolutions of Peru and Nepal. This kind of unprincipled and irresponsible conduct in regards to RIM will negatively affect the RCP, which to a large extent has already happened. RIM declared the formation of a communist international as its prime objective; now, with the RCP's complete disregard of the existence and efforts of RIM in its manifesto and constitution, the struggle for the formation of a communist international has been dropped from the



list of urgent, or even trivial, objectives of the RCP. In such a situation the efforts for the propagation of the RCP's new manifesto and constitution, particularly "Bob Avakian's Synthesis", can only be the illustration of a narrow nationalistic and supremacist vision under the pretext of proletarian internationalism and the need for the international communist movement.

5.

There is no doubt that the ultimate goal of communists is a communist world without exploitation and oppression and the total emancipation of humanity with a corresponding political and cultural superstructure. Until achieving a classless communist society, however, in the long history of class societies, including in socialist societies, it is the revolutionary class struggle that is the locomotive of the historical evolution of human society not a "humanism" above and beyond class struggle. We can speak of a communist humanism, but not as a principle superior to class struggle at the expense of diluting class struggles. The principle for communists in class societies, even during socialism, should and must be the continuation of class struggle. This principle was asserted by Marx and Engels in their Manifesto and we communists should firmly uphold it. The crude humanism that is posited in the RCP's new constitution and manifesto (beside other aspects of the line put forward in these documents such as the lack of emphasis on the principle of the proletarian dictatorship, the lack of emphasis on the continuation of revolution under proletarian dictatorship by proposing it under the guise of "continuation of revolution under socialism," the lack of a strategy of armed insurrection for seizing political power, the disregard for RIM, and the disregard for the immediate duty of the formation of the new communist international, etc.), dilutes the class struggle in the party's new line.

These are the main points that form the overall incorrect line of the strategic orientation presented in the RCP's new manifesto and constitution. At the same time, however, there are many other tactical positions in the text that are contrary to our conclusion that exist alongside other incorrect tactical positions in the text. In our opinion, unfortunately, the correct tactical orientation in the two documents under discussion serves to justify a seriously unacceptable and flawed strategic orientation. If this problematic strategic orientation continues to affect the party's po-

litical line, then even the correct tactical orientations will gradually disappear.

Presenting our critique in this manner does not mean ignoring the previous commendable contributions of the RCP to revolution in American and the international communist movement, nor does it mean ignoring the positive aspects present in "Avakian's New Synthesis" and the overall positive aspects of the two documents. Nevertheless, the path that the RCP has travelled to reach its current line is similar to the earlier developments in the Communist Party of Peru and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) that led to "Gonzalo Thought" and "Parachanda Path", respectively. Both of these aforementioned parties, by relying on very commendable theoretical and practical contributions and integrating them with some incorrect formulations, made the unprincipled and empty claim of a qualitative ideological development to a higher level; this led the two revolutions their respective peoples' wars toward deviations and defeat. The RCP also exaggerates in evaluating its significant and commendable contributions, confusing their contributions with fundamentally wrong and incorrect formulations in order to claim that the evolution of their political line has reached a higher level. Unfortunately, however, the RCP's progress in this wrong direction is much deeper and more extensive than the Communist Party of Peru and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). Thus, the RCP has reached and adopted an incorrect post-Marxist-Leninist-Maoist path that does not develop Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to a higher stage, but is determined to erase all past developments. Thus, the main duty of the Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan regarding the erroneous line discussed above is to wage a struggle against this post-Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, pacifist, humanist, supremacist, and its non-internationalist strategic orientation.

Carrying this struggle forward requires, for our party, future engagement in a detailed discussion. We should always and keenly keep in mind the lessons learned from the experiences of the Communist Party of Peru and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). Failing to provide the proper theoretical and practical attention, and being lax in this regard, or acting with unreasonable optimism under the guise of communist internationalist camaraderie, is not only incorrect and unprincipled but is also not in our long term advantage.

**Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan****The Communist Party of Iran (MLM) has fallen into the lost road of "post MLM"****Introduction**

The document of the Communist Party of Iran (Marxist Leninist Maoist) Central Committee that has been published under the title "Call for All Iranian Communists: Two roads for Communism" is an Iranian version of the post Marxism Leninism Maoism of the new statement and the Constitution of the American Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP USA) and carries every single basic feature of that line within itself. However, on certain points, this document talks more bluntly and clearly than the new Constitution of the RCP USA and, occasionally talks more in a more mixed up fashion than that one.

The Iranian document is basically an international topic and therefore it must be presented for discussion on an international communist movement level rather than solely Call for All Iranian Communists.

For many years the CPI MLM has been one of the important members of the Revolutionary International Movement and their representatives have played key roles alongside representatives of a couple of other parties on this Movement's leading committee. Thus it would have been necessary for the CPI MLM to bring its discussion in its new document first with the RIM related parties, including ours (The Communist Party of Afghanistan – Maoist) as an internal document as opposed to a call to every Iranian communist--an unprecedented act.

The text of the document exposes who the CPI MLM means by "all Iranian Communists". They are leftover various Fedaei guerrilla groups, Worker-Communist groups, different types of pro- Russian, Chinese and Hoxhaite groups such as Komeleh, Ranjbaran, Toofan and others associated who all are self proclaimed Iranian communists.

Firstly: Given that the Central Committee of the CPI MLM calls upon all communists of Iran in regard to an international topic, therefore the group is calling all communists of the world to publicize the RCP USA's manifesto on an international level. Such an approach cannot have any meaning except unconditionally tailing the RCP USA's manifesto without any amendment or notes added to it.

Secondly: This Iranian ideological-political and organizational disbanding directed toward the Revolutionary International Movement and all of its member including our party is a regressive move to completely destroy the ideological, political and organizational body of the RIM. This is why the document considers the CPI MLM belonging to the RIM and the general MLM movement as a historical factor, saying:

"Historically ... this party belonged to the Marxist Leninist Maoist movement (actually Revolutionary Internationalist Movement-RIM)..."

Thirdly: Despite all the internationalist claims of the document, its working focus is not on advancing the international communist movement or regional communist movement. Rather, it is looking to become the banner holder of the Iranian communists in the so called "second wave of proletarian revolution." That is its reason to call upon those groups saying: "This is a historical opportunity for communists of Iran to become the banner holder of the proletarian revolution's second wave by relying upon the

suitable objective conditions."

Limited Iranian nationalism is obvious within this document. This is one of the reasons that like other members of the RIM, the Communist Party of Afghanistan (Maoist) is ignored totally, and rather a rainbow of phony Iranian communists from pro China, Russia and Enver Hoxhaite up to "Worker-Communists" are spoken to. This Iranian reductionism has another side as well. Unfortunately the major forces of the Iranian communist movement have been in the past and still are the Tudehist (pro Soviet,) Fedaei-ists (originally Che Guevara minded but later pro Soviet reformists) and other lines rather than the Maoists.

Unlike what can be seen in Afghanistan, Turkey or India, the Maoist line in Iran is not the major line within the colorful spectrum of the communism in Iran. Due to its own historical and social limits and weakness it is constantly ignored by various Fedaei groups and recently the Worker-Communists. The Central Committee of CPI MLM's recent document is a form of condescension toward this short sided spectrum. This condescension began from the third plenum of the Central Committee of this party in 2006 that was presented in a document called "Reconstruction of the Communist Movement" and now it is more theorized. Right then we told them during an internal movement discussion that the framework presented in that document would lead ideological struggle against the phony communists of Iran to a dead-end, and the CPI MLM's insistence on it would lead them gradually more and more condescend to them on a lower level.

The condescension of the CPI MLM in this document toward the phony Iranian communists will mislead the whole so called communist movement of Iran more than before and clearly will cause the short time or medium time destruction, or further poverty and weakness of the Iranian Maoists.

The matters written in "Call for All Iranian Communists: Two Roads for Communism" can be discussed from different angles. But in this current piece we limit our discussion to the two matters that in our view contains the post Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line that is all over this document. One of them is the general negation of the theory and framework of Marxism, Leninism, Maoism, and the other one is the absolutist perception of the role theory plays. Additionally in a section called What is to be Done, we present the general framework of the Communist Party of Afghanistan (Maoist)'s draft response for theoretical and practical matters of the international communist movement and the RIM in particular.

**General negation of theory and framework of Marxism, Leninism, Maoism**

The Communist Party of Afghanistan (Maoists)'s Fourth Plenum produced a document published as "Our position in regard to the new statement and constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party USA." We indicated that due to its strategic framework it is a post Marxist Leninist Maoist line. In the course of leaving the framework of Marxism, Leninism, Maoism, it is presenting a new ideological-political thinking frame, through the "new synthe-

sis" of Bob Avakian.

The Central Committee of the CPI MLM expresses this strategic exit from the framework of Marxism Leninism Maoism more bluntly than the RCP USA. Let us go over this document's text:

"The first wave of proletarian revolution has reached its objective ending. The wave that began with the publication of the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels evolved through important breaking points like the Paris Commune, October Revolution, Chinese Revolution and especially the Cultural Revolution in China, and finally it ended with the loss of socialist China.

"Hence the current crisis is the result of the grand defeat the communist movement has gone through with losing proletarian state power first in the Soviet Union and later in China after Mao's death in 1976. The communist movement's crisis escalated after the downfall of the Eastern bloc and the further development of the anti-communist struggle of the bourgeoisie on an international level. This crisis per se is the definite sign of an era's ending and, beginning of another era."

"...the first round of the movement is due to the theoretical framework Marx had presented and which was developed by Lenin and Mao. A new era needs a new framework that is based upon a critical summation of the past period. The new era we are facing is not a repeat of the previous round and hence cannot be based upon the foundations of the past."

Why do we consider the strategic framework of the new statement and constitution of the RCP USA as post Marxism-Leninism-Maoism? That is since we believe that this line presumes Bob Avakian's synthesis as a theoretical new departure from the framework, origin and foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and is trying to design a new framework, origin and foundation of a non MLM theoretical foundation. In other words this new strategy is not looking to rely upon the theoretical framework that Marx presented and was developed through Lenin and Mao. It is not looking for its further development but rather Avakian is negating this whole framework and wants to build up a new framework.

This strategy is blunt and clear in the CPI MLM's central committee statement. Let us look over it once again to see it clearly:

"The development of the first round of the movement is due to the theatrical framework Marx presented and was then developed by Lenin and Mao. The new era needs a new framework that is based upon acritical summation of the past period. The new era we are facing is not a repeat of the previous round and hence cannot be based upon past foundations."

The agenda here is to completely eliminate the theoretical framework of Marxism Leninism Maoism and replace it with newly built framework. In other words not only it is aiming to eliminate Maoism, the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Cultural Revolution in addition to the elimination of Leninism and the Soviet revolution, but also Marxism is under attack, a thing not even Mansoor Hekmat and the Worker-Communists have dared to execute.

Let's go over this one more time:

First of all, the whole idea of counting Marx, Lenin and Mao's periods of time as a single revolutionary wave (first proletarian wave) is an incorrect and unprincipled perception.

Capitalism and the class struggle in this system were the objective cause of Marxism being formed. At the time

of Marx, capitalism was free trade competition. Capitalism's turning into the level of imperialism and its consequential content and class struggle were due to the development of capitalism, building the foundation for Marxism turning into Marxism-Leninism. The proletarian revolution's expansion toward countries oppressed by imperialism, and more than that, the defeats of the Soviet revolution and the battle against return of the capitalism in revolutionary China prepared the ground for further development of Marxism Leninism into Marxism, Leninism, Maoism.

Up until now there have been three stages of development in Scientific Communism, 1 – Marxism, 2 – Marxism-Leninism and, 3 – Marxism, Leninism, Maoism.

The four key points of the proletarian revolution at the times of Marx, Lenin and Mao are: the Paris Commune ((1871), October Revolution (1917), Chinese Revolution (1949) and Chinese Cultural Revolution (mid sixties). Between the Paris Commune and October Revolution 46 years had passed, between the October Revolution and Chinese Revolution 32 years, and between the Chinese Revolution and Cultural Revolution of China almost one and a half decades. Therefore there is not an objective foundation to think that Marx, Lenin and Mao's times were a single revolutionary wave (First Proletarian Wave of Revolution).

Secondly, the wave of the proletarian revolutions neither began at the very moment of Marx's time when the Communist Manifesto was published, nor has it ended either objectively or on a theoretical and subjective level.

Despite the grand changes that have occurred, still the socio-economic order--that was challenged by the theoretical framework founded by Marx and advanced by Lenin and Mao, i.e. the capitalist order--its foundation and basis are still intact. Regardless of the changes it has gone through, basically, as a class the working class needs to become a class for itself, imperialist capitalism still exists, and we are still confronted with a post-capitalist system, or it can be called a post imperialist status within the capitalist order.

Although the waves of proletarian revolution from Marx's time to the defeat of the revolution in China have dwindled, still they have not ended completely. In the seventies the people's armed movement of Naxalbari in India, armed struggles of the communists of Philippine and Turkey, and in the early eighties people's war in Peru and nineties in Nepal have been going on. Despite their shortcomings each one managed to create proletarian revolutionary political power in broad areas of their countries at different levels of development. Each of these struggles under the leadership of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has remarkably affected the living and thoughts of the masses of people and also the world's revolutionaries and their foes, albeit Westernized perceptions see them as insignificant in contrast with the Paris Commune.

The People's War in India is expanding despite ups and downs in its theory and practice. Also in the Philippines the armed struggle of the communists is still going on. So be it! At a time when swift and widespread expansion and development of revolutionary struggle worldwide are not probable, still the existence and survival of these struggles is absolutely necessary.

Instead of giving these struggles support and propaganda, this document undermines them. Such undermining is inherently an indirect attempt to tear down these struggles of resistance and instead wants everybody to sit down and watch the spectacular fabrication of this New

Theoretical Framework. This in itself is an extremely destructive and paralyzing axis of pacifism for communists of all countries, especially communists of Iran and its surrounding countries, including the Afghan communists. It must be fought against adamantly until the end.

If we focus on the times between vital revolutionary points in the history this is the picture we can obtain:

Between the Paris Commune and the October Revolution 46 years had passed, but between the Chinese revolution's defeat in 1976 and the beginning of the people's war in Peru only four years passed, although there was not a gap between the beginning of the people's war in the Philippines and the gigantic leap in India's Naxalbari that is still progressing. In 1996 when people's war began in Nepal, the people's war in Peru was still going on a protracted level despite its perilous decline. Only four years have passed from the final defeat – or approximate final phase of victory in Nepal; and during the same period of time the People's War in India has expanded geometrically. Now where the hell do you see that the complete ending of a wave of the proletarian revolution?

The Revolutionary Communist Party of America, and now after them the Communist Party of Iran (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist), are performing an insincere requiem for the real communist movement (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) in order to – in their mind – enforce their so called new drafts under labels such as New Synthesis or New Theoretical Framework. But those who want to block the well for drinking water with stones and mud will be the ones who will firstly die from thirst. This shall be seen soon. Avakian cannot put muddy stepmarks on the graves of Marx, Lenin and Mao in order to get a reputation for himself under the title of the Marx of the New Wave of Revolutionary Communism.

Of course, the theoretical framework of Marxism, Leninism Maoism needs to explore and develop further and further. But we have to determine what we want out of this theoretical framework. This theoretical framework is not a collection of a number of theoretical works and theoretical sum ups of the practices of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung, and could not be such a thing. Additionally we have to be aware that Marxism, Leninism, Maoism is an organic whole and each level of its develop can only present its general meaning and true content. In other words, the Marxism of Marx's times is not the same thing as the Marxism of Lenin's times, and there is a qualitative difference between the two. In its first step and in general, Leninism contains a continuation of Marxism. But not mainly, as in the second step it has correct scientific discourse and it contains further scientific discoveries and proletarian ideological revolution as well.

For example, the appearance of the theory of imperialism by Lenin was the means for further scientific gain and ideological proletarian revolution in regard to the further development of capitalism into the stage of imperialism. Also due to the occurrence of uneven growth of imperialist capitalism and the appearance of weak links in the imperialist world, the theory of having simultaneous revolutions in several advanced capitalist states does not fit into the Marxism-Leninist theoretical framework.

In the same manner we can see a qualitative difference between the Marxism Leninism of the time without Maoism with Marxism, Leninism, Maoism. In Marxism Leninism the law of the negation of negation and also the law of quantitative to qualitative development are dialectical laws of Dialectical Materialism. The negation of the negation

was found unacceptable by Mao Tse-tung, and he also exposed that the law of quantitative to qualitative change is one feature of the laws of dialectics as opposed to a separate law. Thus he concluded that contradiction is the fundamental law of Dialectical Materialism. That is why the dialectical materialism of Marxism, Leninism, Maoism does not have three fundamental laws and there is not a three pole trend in it. As a matter of fact, it only has a single fundamental law.

As far as this framework's development is related to Mao Tse-tung, based on the Communist Party of China's summation during the Cultural Revolution, in the Ninth Congress of the party in 1969 it took on the name of Marxism, Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought. In regard to Mao's contributions to the science and ideology of the proletarian revolution, the Ninth Congress also contained a Lin Biao-istic segment (the age of the deterioration of imperialism) that later during the Tenth Congress of the party was eliminated.

Gathering up Mao Tse-tung's contributions to the science and ideology of the proletarian revolution under title of Maoism originated in the work of Communist Party of Peru in 1980, which was adopted in the following years by other parties and organizations as well. This process took approximately fourteen years until its ratification by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement at the end of 1993. A general comparison between Mao Tse-tung Thought and Maoism based on collected resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China and the large gathering of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in 1993 that was titled "Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism," reveals qualitative differences between these two and the more advanced condition of the latter in contrast with the former.

Our objective (we, the RIM associates), in general is expressed in the resolution that was called Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Iran (MLM)'s critique in regard to the theoretical framework of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is a departure from the theoretical framework of this resolution.

When we concretely have "Maoism" in mind, it does not contain the imperialism demise era, Lin Piaoism taking over before the leader's death, or the Hans' almost chauvinistic confrontation with the matter of self determination in China's multi-nationalities taken by the Chinese Communist Party and the state in Mao Tse-tung's time.

Since the intended parties of the document of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Iran (MLM) are the communists and the multi colored Iranian so-called communists and not the members and parties related with the Revolutionary Internationalist Movements and its associates within the theoretical framework of the Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism resolution, it is within the framework of the so called "real Maoism". This sort of approach be it intentionally or with a hidden agenda is attempting to discredit Maoism and also gives a shield to the anti-Maoists.

In another part of the CPI MLM document it says:

"Real shortcomings and mistakes in the theories and methodologies of the communist leaders from Marx to Mao were not the cause of failure in the first attempts for communist revolutions as opposed to the bourgeoisie's widespread might in international level, but these mistakes did act as helping agents."

It seems as if in this piece CPI MLM has fallen into

fumbling. Wouldn't the above text be formulated like the following?

"Real shortcomings and mistakes in the theories and methodologies of the communist leaders from Marx to Mao were not the [fundamental] cause of failure in the first attempts for communist revolutions as opposed to the bourgeoisie's widespread might at an international level, but they did act as a helping agent [and hence they are counted as one of the non-fundamental elements of these defeats]."

Constant waves of revolutionary communism have began from Marx's time and continued during Lenin and Mao's, and after that it's been going on in theoretical level which means that the theoretical framework of the Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is mainly productive and should be firmly kept in hand. But at the same time it needs further development, and the international communist movement needs to supply that in a correct manner.

Thirdly: Crisis, like every other phenomenon, is relative and conditional. Of course undoubtedly right now the international communist movement has fallen into a deep widespread crisis in contrast with the times when there was socialism in the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China. Forming the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and its up and down struggle within the last twenty five years was an attempt by the Marxist Leninist Maoist forces of the world as a response to the crisis the world communist movement went through after the Chinese revolution's defeat. This movement went into a bad condition after the recession in the struggle in Peru, but the peak of the struggle in Nepal gave it another high tide. Unfortunately though, after the Nepalese revolution got sidetracked and the complex inside struggles against this perversity became fruitless, another peak of struggle has not come around for this struggle.

But the other way around, the appearance of American post Marxism, Leninism, Maoism and now its Iranian role-playing has put the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement's struggle into a downfall deeper and wider than ever. Without having a principled, upfront and progressive struggle against this perversity that currently has taken over the RIM its success to fight against the current crisis is impossible.

Nonetheless the existence of the crisis within the international communist movement is a clear and definite problem in contrast with times when there was revolutionary China. But this crisis cannot – and should not be counted – as the definite ending of the wave of the proletarian revolutions beginning at the times of Marx and then Lenin, Mao and afterward. Waves of revolution are out there, and considering them finished brings about that famous saying of the ones who are mourning for one's death before his demise. Basically crisis in any phenomenon does not mean its ending; rather, it stands for the existence of the possibility of its destruction. For example, the widespread crisis within global imperialist capitalism ought not to be analysed by an uncertain reasoning.

If we consider the current situation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement we can see that it is in deep crisis in contrast with the times of People's War in Peru and Nepal. But this crisis ought not to be interpreted as the definite end of this movement's functioning. Still, there are lots of rounds and means for reconstruction and activating this movement once again, and of course it ought to be through being reliant upon principles to deal with shortcomings, weaknesses and deviations. Along with

other faithful groups to the line of the RIM, our party feels obligated to struggle for this cause.

The post Marxism, Leninism, Maoism that the Revolutionary Communist Party (of the United States of) America and the central committee of the Communist Party of Iran (Marxist, Leninist, Maoist) have held up their banner is the deepest and most widespread form of deviant activity the RIM has ever had manifested in its theoretical dimensions. This deviant behavior is much more hazardous than the ones that have occurred in Nepal or Peru's earlier one. That is why we believe that within the framework of struggling against deviations that occur amongst the RIM associated groups, the most vital current struggle is fighting against this post Marxism Leninism Maoism.

Fourthly the major point of our argument against the line of the Revolutionary Communist Party of America's new constitution and statement's line and now the line brought up in central committee of CPI MLM is their putting out a new theoretical framework that is something beside the theoretical framework of Marxism, Leninism, Maoism, and thorough denial of its theoretical foundation that is referred to now under the title of a "previous

unworkable foundation". Let us once again go over a quotation from this document:

"...the first round of the movement is due to the theatrical framework Marx had presented and was developed by Lenin and Mao. A new era needs a new framework that is based upon critical summation of the already achieved past. The new era we are facing is not a repeat of the previous round and hence cannot go forward based upon past foundations."

Here it is apparent that the "New theoretical framework" this document talks about is not a development within the theoretical framework of Marxism Leninism, Maoism to another level on the same pattern of evolution that this ideology has progressed within. Rather it is an absolute defiance and denial of that under titles such as "Previous base" and "New theoretical framework." Based upon this claim, the time for Marxism, Leninism and Maoism is over and it does not have usage as basis and foundation in the "new era." This matter has been presented in various manners in this document's different parts. Let us take a look at a statement taken from another part of the document:

"Based on critical summing up of the first round of the communist revolution, [1] Whatever that was incorrect and unscientific and does not match the objective reality any more must be thrown away; {2} Correct achievements and basic understandings should be kept, and all these ought to simultaneously take shape within the new framework from the beginning."

The achievements and basis of Marxist Leninist Maoist comprehension are not some set of bricks and clay from ancient ruined buildings that after pressing and pouring them down into a new block produce a brand new brick. A correct basic understanding of Marxism Leninism Maoism is the reliable foundation and base for communist revolution, and without having solid reliance on this foundation and base, further principled progression of the science of proletarian revolution is not attainable or possible.

Now let us check out another sentence of this text:

"We need a new weapon for thinking that explains the objective realities of the material world and way to change it more comprehensively, deeply and correctly. The grand and revolutionary practice for building socialism in the twentieth century has prepared a rich reference resource for doing this and its critical summation has become a hi-

historical necessity."

Here the need for a new weapon for a framework that is something different from Marxism Leninism Maoism has been brought up very clearly and bluntly, as opposed to the need to advance the existing weapons of thinking further. Also the grand and revolutionary practice for building socialism in the twentieth century is only considered as a "rich reference resource" as opposed to an undividable part of the current communist weapons that are needed now. That is exactly the way in the "Three resource and three parts of Marxism" that German philosophy, the economics-politics of England, and France's socialism employ the three mental modern weapons—that is, Marxism, which forms all three parts that are philosophy, economics-politics and scientific socialism.

The document says in another place:

"Without reliance upon the new synthesis – i.e. without getting our hands on the new theoretical framework of communist theory – finding solutions for revolution related problems in today's world and Iran are not attainable.

Here the document does not argue that current theoretical framework for solving the problems of revolution in the world today and concretely in Iran is not complete enough that needs to develop further, but instead says that it is totally useless.

Up until here we face the strategic mental insistency of the document. This very strategic insistency in the statement and new constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party of America has resulted in the elimination of Marxism, Leninism and Maoism from these very documents and other works of that party. The Communist Party of Iran (MLM)'s first step in regard to this insistency was eliminating the 3 photos (Marx, Lenin & Mao) from the first page of its paper Haghghat (Truth, such as Pravda). Then it eliminated Marxism Leninism Maoism from its new documents and published the Persian translation of the "Manifesto of the Revolutionary Communist Party of America" on its internet site and its publications. Now it has published the document that is being discussed right now by its central committee. The phrase Marxism Leninism Maoism is still being dragged along as its spare party title, a title that has lost its value and meaning. Sooner or later, this empty phrase will also get thrown away, unless once again this party stands on the line of Marxism Leninism Maoism.

But in the same ways that that the major documents of that Revolutionary Communist Party of America have mixed up their own strategic insistency upon post Marxism Leninism Maoism with taking a course based upon further developments of Marxism Leninism Maoism, so does the Central Committee document of the Communist Party of Iran (Marxism Leninism Maoism). Regarding the documents of the RCP USA we have already said that taking such a course is presented in order to soften the heavy poignancy of the strategic insistency upon post Marxism Leninism Maoism within these documents. The same applies to the Central Committee of the CPI MLM statement. Let us pay attention to the following sentences of this document:

"If the communists do not scientifically rebuild their understanding on the basis of critical summing up from the positive and negative experiences of the previous proletarian revolutionaries and further develop Marxism's theoretical framework and bring it into practice, they will not be able to lead the people on a large scale toward understanding problems of the world and their revolutionary solu-

tions."

"Real shortcomings and mistakes in theories and methodologies of the communist leaders from Marx to Mao were not the cause of failure in the first attempts for communist revolutions as opposed to the bourgeoisie's widespread might on the international level but they did act as helping agents."

"The theoretical framework Marx founded and was further developed by Lenin and Mao is not sufficient to address the Communist Movement's current crisis and lead another wave of socialist revolution to change the world."

The meaning of this sentence can be compared with phrases such as "new weapons for thinking", "previous foundations not working", etc.

"This new theoretical framework covers Marxist scientific theories continuing from Marx's time until Mao's and also cutting off from them."

The problem is not having both continuation and cutting off of the past, but it is the question of which one is imperative. If continuation becomes the major factor then the necessary theoretical framework mostly remains to be the theoretical framework founded by Marx and further developed by Lenin and Mao and not mainly a new theoretical framework.

In other parts the document says:

"Empirical elements of this theoretical development have been given to us by the two experiences of the Soviet and Chinese socialist revolutions. Without scientific dissection of this experience and through progressing communist theories in various levels and aspects such as philosophy, class struggle and economics-politics, advances are not possible. Scientific dissection means first our finding out what those experiences were as distinct from the international bourgeoisie's allegations. Second, we need to find out why they were defeated. To what degree was defeat related to the historical limits of the first steps of proletariat in changing the world, how much were they related to the bourgeoisie's power and how much related with mistakes of the communists and their wrong understandings in regard to socialist society and the world revolution."

"Not using these elements is like our wanting to rediscover the wheel. This is in fact a wheel that is already invented. No, we need to pull it out from primitive turning that cannot answer contemporary complex problems to be able to organize major movements against it."

The strategic insistency of the line of new manifesto and constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the US and now the line of the central committee of the CPI MLM of Iran is clearly apparent within this line's "new synthesis." New syntheses such as Gonzalo Thought or, a new path such as Parachanda Path or an ism such as Avakianism are not like following up and further developing Marxism Leninism Maoism. Rather it stands for a brand new post Marxism, Leninism, Maoism mental weapon and framework. This is exactly why we consider it as a line that is much more of a side-spinning deviation in contrast with what was exposed by the wrong line of the Communist Party of Peru called Gonzalo Thought and way deeper and further that the deviationist Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) called the Parachanda's Path.

Different natural, social and mental phenomena, from their occurrence until their turning into other phenomena, go through different stages of development. These different stages of changing and development can in general be divided into the two types of quantitative and qualitati-

ve levels of changing and development. The process of quantitative to qualitative changing is an example of the fundamental law of development of every phenomenon, that is, the law of contradiction. This process contains the quantity, quality and also quantitative and qualitative unity of contradictions. In the quantitative level of changing, although the quantitative changes are the major aspects of changing in the phenomenon, there are also qualitative changing of types as well. Also, in the qualitative level of changing, while the qualitative changes are the major aspect of the phenomenon changing into another phenomenon, there also are quantitative changing of types as well. This is the way in which through the process of quantitative changing, the qualitative changes are accumulated as well, and also qualitative changes get accumulated eventually. During the qualitative level of changing, a qualitative leap takes place that changes the fundamental contradiction of the phenomena and turning it into a new phenomenon.

The theoretical framework founded by Marx is also not an exception in regard to this law. Since the time of Marx and Engels, this mental weapon has passed through two levels of progressive development that were Leninism and Maoism. This is not intended to underestimate the importance of the new qualities of Leninism and Maoism. Our intention is to clarify that in Marxism Leninism, the continuation of Marxism and generality of Marxism Leninism is the essence of changing. Breaking off from original Marxism is not the major factor. Also in Marxism, Leninism, Maoism, the continuation of Marxism, Leninism in Maoism and generality of Marxism, Leninism, Maoist is the essence of changing. Breaking off from Marxism, Leninism is not the major factor. This is why the different levels of Marxism, Marxism Leninism are fundamentally different levels of development of a single ideological weapon.

We can only talk about a new ideological weapon instead of Marxism, Leninism, Maoism when this ideological weapon has reached a further level of qualitative change and development after passing through its own stages of quantitative changes. Its life is over after its final synthesizing to lead to another ideological weapon. Only in such way does the "new synthesis" finds its fundamental meaning and content.

Choosing titles such as "new synthesis", "new ideological weapon" and "new theoretical frame" presented by the RCP USA and CPI MLM are exactly expressing this theme that finally Marxism, Leninism, Maoism has reached its ultimate qualitative and quantitative stage of change and development, and with its final synthesis it opens into a new framework and ideological weapon.

### **But what is really going on?**

The "new synthesis" of Avakian that is presented as the beginning point of this changing and fundamental development of thinking" is not even up unto a level and quality to make it known as a new ism within the process of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism's development to be presented as the Marxism-Leninism-Maoism-Avakianism. So, forget about having it counted as the beginning point of the final general synthesis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the beginning of an absolutely brand new ideology and weapon of mind. In practice, this synthesis is not even challenging and does not reflect militant struggle on the international level, nor in American society per se; this unexciting passive mass line is not comparable with the excitement of Gonzalo Thought and Prachanda Path at all.

Our intention here is not to absolutely discredit these

synthesizers as if they do not contain any sort of positive and dynamic elements. Avakian's synthesis does contain positive and dynamic elements and on their own level, these very elements demonstrate the path of development of (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) Communism's frame of thinking with all its shortcomings and deficiencies. This level of development ought to be understood correctly, and through drawing definite borders and limits upon it a correct scientific evaluation of it can be obtained.

### **On the absolutism of the role of theory**

We have famous formulas about the relations between theory and practice: one says that theory guides practice; and the other one says that practice is both the source for theory and the proof of correctness. Only with having both of these formulas can we become able to define the roles of theory and practice correctly.

There is an absolutist viewpoint about theory that is seen in the document of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Iran (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist). Let us pay attention to the following sentences of their document:

"Unlike the general understanding that theory should follow the steps taken by practice, theory must take steps before practice and become its guide. This is the job that is wanted by all the communists of the world"

"The advancements of the first round were due to the theoretical framework Marx had placed in front of him, which progressed further by the hands of Lenin and Mao. The new round also requires a new theoretical frame that is founded upon critical summing up of the outcomes and shortcomings of the preceding round's theories and practices."

The correct understanding is that practice is the source before producing the theory, and that after creating theory, again practice is the indication of its right or wrongness. Only based on such an understanding is there a correct understanding that theory to theory, or to practice [to practice], ends up idealism or empiricism.

Within this Practice – Theory – Practice, theory follows practice and practice also follows theory. There is not an absolute first or last position or a single line amongst them. But when we are looking upon a practice-theory-practice cycle from the general and final resolution of that major cycle, then correct dialectical materialism relies upon the priority of practice vs. theory. But theory is also important in its own way and does play the task of guiding the practice.

If we believe that the theory must always be taking steps ahead of practice, then how could we concretely define the source of theory and what would become the measure of its fallaciousness or correctness?

The act of the matter is that the formation of the communist theoretical frame – be it at the Marxist level – or Marxist Leninist – or Marxist – Leninist – Maoist stage up until now and also in the future-- is a continuous process. It jumps from practice to theory and from theory to practice and after passing each practical spiral path it becomes more developed.

Clearly, the highest point in the progression of the communist revolution in Marx's time, the Paris Commune, was not indebted to the theoretical framework placed in it up-front by Marx. In fact Marxists did not have a clear role in initiating and leading the Paris Commune. Instead Marx's theoretical progression and in particular, the theory of proletarian dictatorship, was very much indebted to the revolutionary practice at the Paris Commune, and Marx, throu-

gh summing up this practice, developed the Dictatorship of Proletariat and built and structured it within Marxism.

The October Revolution was both built upon the theory of Leninism, but also this revolution itself played a decisive role into the elevation of Marxism into Marxism – Leninism. Also, the revolution in 1949 in China and the Chinese Cultural Revolution were from one side indebted to the Maoist theoretical structure, and on the other hand played their own decisive role in elevating Marxism – Leninism into, Marxism – Leninism – Maoism and, in guaranteeing this development.

Theoretical lethargy amongst many communist forces in the world is an undeniable fact of the matter. But even further than that, there is lethargy in practice. We, ourselves, are admitting existence of both of these diseases within our own party.

Giving primacy to theoretical lethargy and knowing that that is the major agent that causes passivity taking over practice can be correct in myriad cases. But it is also incorrect to fall into such absolutism as well. In many cases lethargy in practice develops prior to lethargy in theory.

In cases such as the Communist Party of Iran (MLM), we are facing a theoretical braggart's work. This theoretical bragging is one of the major problems of this party, such as being a very small organization, having an intense intellectual fabric, and being cut off from its social class base. It has distant relations with the fire of the movement in Iran that covers up its chronic struggle paralysis and baselessly feeds its leaders' ego that further and further expand its defects. Therefore it should be said that in the case of CPI MLM the major problem is its practical lethargy and not theoretical lethargy. This party's bragging is a form of theoretical lethargy as a tool to cover up this lethargy.

### What is to be done?

We do possess the general theoretical framework of Marxism – Leninism – Maoism and the struggle to consolidate it on an international level as opposed to Mao Tse-tung Thought, began by the Communist Party of Peru in 1980 and through the first decade of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (from the time of the early 1984 conference of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement's foundation until the grand gathering of the movement in late 1993) it went onward. Ratification of the resolution document that is called "Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism" was a clear theoretical progression for the whole Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and, Maoist movements all around the world. The RCP USA and the document of the Central Committee of the CPI MLM absolutely ignore this progression.

During this times and before and after that also, theoretical and practical progressions of other sorts have also occurred in the both the practical and theoretical frames of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism by key forces within the movement that have also been adapted by movement associated forces on one scale or another and by the movement in general as a whole.

The Manifesto of RCP USA and the Central Committee document of the CPI MLM are from one side declaring their own theoretical achievements as the absolute and, on the other hand counting practical and theoretical achievements of the other RIM associated forces on a zero level. On the other hand theoretical and practical deviations have come around that have had severe effects on RIM as a whole and even further than that the whole international

communist movement and international Maoist movement.

We believe that summing up these losses and achievements must be considered a key element in practice and also the theoretical development and progress of our movement. More than any other thing our movement is expected to perform such summing up, and if the movement does not come up with such summing up then it cannot ever produce any correct summation. This summing up is the key theoretical element in the process of progressive rebuilding the whole Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

The Manifesto of RCP USA and the Central Committee document of the CPI MLM do not consider the vital key role of this summing up and pass it up casually and with ignorance.

Based on this summing up we can – and we must – review the Chinese revolution and Mao Tse-tung, and this time not from the perspective of establishing international Maoism with paying attention only to their positive aspects – a level that already we have gone through – but from a critical perspective to look at its mistakes, shortcomings and possibly mistakes of the Chinese revolution and Mao Tse-tung himself. That is a work that never has been done before on an international level. This new review can and must contain a review of Lenin and Stalin's times based on how it was researched at Mao Tse-tung's time by him. It must also include going over Marx and Engels' time once again the way that was done by Lenin and Mao Tse-tung.

We can and we should work upon these necessary summations within existing conditions in countries and internationally, paying attention to the major tasks of struggle and reliance on the existing theoretical framework without claiming that it is complete. These summations must be combined with practical endeavors by every responsible individual in the movement and also by the movement as a whole.

The responsibilities and tasks of our main struggles in every society, state and also on the international level as a whole are determined by the objective national and global conditions, and are not based upon our own conditions. Absence from this field of struggle under any name or justification can have no other content and meaning but acting evasively in regard to our obligatory presence in the field of war.

The proletarian ideological science and ideology founded by Marx and further developed by Lenin and Mao can – and must – continue going through further developments. But this road to development is a way to go from theory to practice and practice into theory (constantly) and cannot – and must not – be gone through the Mullah Sadra fashion, that means sitting for many, many, many years inside a cave and through such procedure suddenly reach allegedly final theoretical goals.

We cannot – and must not – arrange a time table for Marxism-Leninism-Maoism's development to a higher level based on prophecy, or having that considered as the inevitable precondition for any form of progression within the international communist movement. But we can – and we must – struggle and work for this, this very development, by relying upon the above mentioned summations, digestion of global and scientific progressions in the world in correspondence with objective changes and developments in the world and different countries and, not waste our time reaching out to the theoretical delusional framework and mindset of post Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.



**Communist Party of India (M-L) Naxalbari****On the line and tactics of the Nepal Maoist movement**

The political situation in Nepal is quickly building up to a dangerous climax, dangerous for the Nepalese new democratic revolution and the international proletariat. The ruling classes, backed by the expansionist India and the US imperialists, are arrogantly pushing for a counter-revolutionary attack or, at the minimum, a reactionary consolidation. They are strident in their demands to liquidate all the gains made by the people through the great people's war. The terms set in the ceasefire agreements with the United Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) [UCPN(Maoist)], earlier Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) [CPN(Maoist)], are wilfully violated. Its ultimatums and deadlines are ignored. The aggressive manner in which the ruling classes are pursuing their agenda only shows that the initiative is well in their hands. They are increasingly confident that the UCPN(Maoist) will once again yield ground and come to a compromise. On the other side, the once powerful and united Maoist party is considerably weakened. The masses continue to support it. But parliamentary degeneration and departures from the Maoist style of work and living have severely eaten into the revolutionary quality of the party. Doubts about its revolutionary will are also growing among the people. Yet, despite the threat of a reactionary attack and the erosion of its strength and support, the UCPN(Maoist) leadership is busy with working out formulae that will take it back into government. Evidently, the new tactics visualised by the CPN(Maoist) in 2005 and its realisation in the ceasefire of 2006, have been crucial in the emergence of this situation. This is now the subject of the sharpening ideological struggle, the two line struggle, within the UCPN(Maoist) and the international communist movement. The future of the party as well as the Nepalese revolution hinges on its correct resolution.

Our party has all along paid great attention to learning from the positions and experiences of the CPN(Maoist) and mobilising support for the revolutionary war it led. It had upheld and defended the new turn adopted by the Nepali Maoists in 2006 and played an active role in building support for the new democratic revolution of Nepal in the new situation. All along, we were also critical of certain ideological positions and practices of the CPN(Maoist). The October 2006 Central Enlarged Meeting (CEM) of our party concluded that *"...the political-organisational plans of the CPN(Maoist) adhere to the tasks and orientation of new democratic revolution. Contrary to the propaganda done by the enemy and the revisionists, as well as the doubts created in the minds of some comrades, the present tactics of the CPN(Maoist) do not in any way indicate a desire to abandon the road of revolution for the sake of a share in the existing power. On the contrary, they indicate an MLM orientation and its application. Their tactics are serving the strategy of new democratic revolution. They are applying these tactics to fight and complete the new democratic revolution. The CPN(Maoist) is leading a great political struggle and it is our internationalist duty to uphold and build support for it."* The CEM also pointed out, *"... there are some positions, formulations and analysis, within the overall correct orientation, that give room for right deviationist*

*tendencies. Further, we think that some of the views expressed in the press statements and interviews of the CPN(Maoist) leadership have violated the norms of internationalist relations. In general, it has not properly taken into consideration the international fall out of its public statements."* These were raised before its leadership in bilateral discussions as well as through a letter sent in October 2006. (letter of October 2006, Appendix 1) They were also raised in joint forums like the Regional Conferences of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) and Conferences of the Co-ordination Committee of the Maoist Parties of South Asia (CCOMPOSA).

The opportunities given by the ceasefire and the interim setup were exhausted by mid-2007. The decision of the CPN(Maoist) in 2007 to come out of the Interim government and initiate mass struggles was welcomed by us. But we were also concerned over the analysis of the situation made by the party leadership and the roadmap it visualised. The plans for developing the mass struggle towards an insurrection were being hinged on the expectation that the demands it was raising could never be accepted by the enemy. We felt, correctly as proved by events, that the enemy could well accept those demands and that the party would once again lose initiative. Public statements of prominent CPN(Maoist) leaders that presented the ongoing Constituent Assembly (CA) process as a goal in itself, and the severe weakening of clandestine structures and style of working were also criticised. These views were put directly to the CPN(Maoist) leadership. We also wrote to its Central Committee (letter of September 2007, see appendix 2). The necessity to break out of the Interim setup at all costs was stressed.

But what was seen was a backtracking of the CPN(Maoist) leadership from the decisions it had taken in its 2007 Expanded Meeting. It rejoined the government. The justification now was that this was imperative for the successful conclusion of the Constituent Assembly elections. On our part, we concluded that there has been an erosion of revolutionary will and the danger of the party sliding into rightism had strengthened. The conclusion was that *"...unless the present direction taken by the party is reversed, its success in the CA elections or success in developing a mass movement in case CA elections are sabotaged, will not necessarily lead to a revolutionary outcome."*(internal circular, March 2008, Appendix 3). While continuing in the Solidarity movement, we refused the request made by the CPN(Maoist) to send observers for the CA elections. An open comment, made in our media and circulated in the internet, on the victory of the CPN(Maoist) in the CA elections, drew attention to the danger of this victory itself further strengthening rightism, even while the advantageous situation given by the electoral verdict was acknowledged.

The period following the formation of an interim government led by the CPN(Maoist) witnessed a qualitative leap in its rightist downslide. UCPN(Maoist)'s fraternal relations and exchanges with Maoist parties were, for all practical purposes, broken off. We continued to critically comment on the manifestations of rightism seen in practices of the party. Meanwhile, a line struggle emerged within the

UCPN(Maoist). This had a positive impact on fraternal relations. This opportunity was used by our party, with the assistance of the UCPN(Maoist) leadership, to have discussions with a wide range of party and mass organisation leaders as well as investigate the ground situation in the country in 2009. They strengthened our critical views which were raised with the UCPN(Maoist) leadership.

Today the most crucial task regarding the revolution in Nepal is the successful advance of the struggle against the rightism that is on the verge of derailing it. While the people's war is the most outstanding advance made by the Maoists in Nepal, it does not exhaust their contributions. In the present world, where the political realm has widened to a great extent, political intervention carried out through diverse forms of struggle has great importance. The recognition of this factor and its utilisation stands to the credit of the Maoists in Nepal. Yet this very approach is also an inseparable element of the course that led to the present situation. Therefore a proper synthesis that draws out the positive and demarcates it from rightist deviations is very crucial in the deepening of the line struggle against rightism.

### **Negotiations as a form of political intervention**

The pace at which the revolution in Nepal progressed, the varied tactics that the party adopted and the maturity and the flexibility it showed at various instances caught the attention of the progressives and the revolutionary masses all over the world. The heroic struggle of the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) and the masses were supplemented with the political interventions of the party. While the main focus was on rural work, appreciable work was done to the extent possible in urban centers too. By correctly grasping the dynamics of the war, the party advanced the people's war qualitatively and quantitatively, in a planned manner, effectively enthusing the masses and maintaining the initiative in their hands. They thus forced the enemy to act according to the agenda set by the people's war.

Unlike the period of the Chinese revolution, when the political sphere was rather limited, today the spread of means of communication and media has extended it throughout the country. There still is a lot of unevenness in this. But the extension of the political sphere is an important particularity of the contemporary Third World. A total war in which the enemy is attacked on all fronts will not be possible if this extremely dynamic sphere is ignored. This is the importance of the active political intervention of Maoists. In an oppressed country the advance of the people's war is the main factor giving weight to such political intervention. The people's war makes the political sphere even more dynamic. In its turn, political intervention that strikes at key points becomes a catalyst which increases the pace of the war (and preparations for it). But in order to carry out political intervention, particular effort and tactical approach are needed. It won't do to stay restricted to the advance of the war alone. This is a method of applying the tactics of political intervention, usually associated with the armed insurrection, in the strategy of protracted people's war. The approach of the Nepali Maoists of going into negotiation at different times was an application of this correct approach. It helped the party to spread its views more widely. It forced the enemy to remove the tag of terrorist. And it also helped the party to rest its forces and build

strength, making it all the more capable of advancing in leaps. This was once again seen in the initial period following the 2006 ceasefire. But now the revolution itself faces the danger of derailment. Obviously, the question of whether this negative situation is an inevitable consequence of the negotiation approach must be settled. Is it the case that the ceasefire of 2006 was unnecessary and the Interim setup, including the CA, could only have led to loss of initiative of the Maoists?

During the preceding period the enemy was pursuing a policy of more or less retreating from the rural areas, unable to withstand the attacks of the PLA, camping in the urban centres and foraging into the countryside from time to time. By this time the revolutionary forces had succeeded in bringing 80% of the country under people's power. Though they achieved a number of military successes they couldn't capture and retain urban centres since they didn't have the weapons needed to smash the fortifications built by the enemy with US expertise. Since the enemy had succeeded in smashing the urban organisational structures, launching a mass movement also wasn't possible. The CPN(Maoist) evaluated that if this situation, which had emerged during the strategic offensive, were to continue, it would lead to stagnation and loss of initiative. Around this period, the monarchical coup led to a partial realignment of political forces within the country and created an opportunity for uniting with the Seven Party Alliance (SPA) to launch a mass movement based on the call for Interim Government, Constituent Assembly elections and abolishment of the monarchy, slogans initially raised by the Maoists. There was an additional factor. Nepal faces a complex geophysical situation. It is landlocked between two developing ambitious expansionist military giants. In this situation, in an imperialist world dominated by the sole super power US, with no socialist country to get support from, any possibility of neutralising some of the lesser enemies and gaining support internationally was worth utilising. Any doctrinaire approach denying this would have only complicated the situation further. Hence the decision to enter negotiations leading to the Interim setup was justifiable as tactics to enter and organise in urban areas, buy time to prepare for final insurrection and prepare favourable grounds internationally. The approach outlined by the CPN(Maoist) in its August 2006 CC Resolution – "It is indispensable to have a correct coordination and balance of armed people's war, strong mass movement, peace-talks and diplomatic initiative for the success of Nepalese people's revolution..." was mainly correct.

Negotiations inevitably imply acceptance of certain compromises. They can even go to the extent of admitting the possibility of joining an interim government along with reactionary parties, and touch upon the people's army and the new political power. The negotiations done by the Communist Party of China with the Koumintang, and the compromises proposed by it, are a precedent. (see 'On Peace Negotiations with the Koumintang' and 'On the Chungking Negotiations', volume 4, Selected Works of Mao Tsetung). The tactics adopted by the CPN(Maoist) and the conditions accepted by it in the course of negotiation have been criticised within the international Maoist movement. Most of them came from a view that ruled out the necessity of negotiation or 'peace' tactics in that specific juncture. There has also been a dogmatic denial of the validity of such tactics itself, though they are accepted in words. The criticism has also been raised that serious er-

rors of line in political positions, seen well before the alliance with the SPA, have paved the way to rightism. As explained above we basically disagree with these criticisms.

At the same time, these criticisms also contained some correct aspects. Even if negotiations were necessary, one important question is whether the specific conditions accepted by the CPN(Maoist) were justified. In particular, the CPN(Maoist)'s accepting to canton the PLA under UN supervision, while allowing important armed duties to the Nepal Army, and to dissolve the new political power structures have been criticised. They have been compared with Mao Tsetung's insistence on retaining the PLA and the new power (base areas) while the CPC was negotiating with the Kuomintang. The CPN(Maoist) has pointed to its disadvantageous situation compared to that of the CPC, which enjoyed support from the USSR, to explain the concessions it made. It has also explained that most of the fighters and weapons were outside the cantonments. Local power centres led by the party continued to function, undeclared, in rural areas. It is a fact that this situation continued to exist, well after the ceasefire was formalised. The enemies were quite aware of it and often accused the CPN(Maoist) of violating the agreements. But there was nothing they could do about it. This was a strong testimony to the dual power existing in Nepal. Unfortunately, most of the criticism on the CPN(Maoist) on this issue simply avoided this real situation. This was an example of the doctrinaire approach seen in them. But there were also some positions that acknowledged the real situation and proceeded to raise criticism. It was pointed out that the CPN(Maoist) was disarming its ranks and the masses, ideologically and politically, by accepting such conditions (cantonmenting the PLA and dissolving local power centres), as they surrender revolutionary army and revolutionary power, at least verbally. This is correct. In failing to examine the issue from this angle, from the angle of the ideological significance of the concessions made by the CPN(Maoist), we too made a pragmatist error.

### The growth of rightist tendencies

Over the past 4 years the "positions, formulations and analysis" which we criticised have not only given room, as feared, for the growth of right deviationist tendencies. It has cultivated and nurtured these tendencies, bringing the party to the verge of degenerating into revisionism, even of liquidating itself. From the strong position enjoyed by the party in 2006 we see systematic and steady decline. It has been losing initiative and trailing the ruling classes in a series of compromises. Crucial opportunities for unleashing the masses revolutionary fervour in order to break out of the Interim setup and advance in revolution have been missed. When the masses were rallied, this was restricted and employed as a mere tool in parliamentary manoeuvres and compromises. Why did this happen?

In a Resolution adopted in May 2006, the CPN(Maoist), CC had made it clear that, "*In this situation, on the one hand and mainly it is necessary to raise struggle against right reformist trend that seeks to go ahead by abandoning clandestine structure, working style and revolutionary form of struggle and on the other it is necessary to be careful against the dogmato-sectarian trend that only devaluates the importance and necessity of talks, open meetings and new fronts of struggle. Hence, in the changed situation, party policy is: give priority to clandestine*

*structure of organization, working style and revolutionary form of struggle and don't abandon talks and legal front of struggles too... maximum majority of comrades from command, region and district level will have to go for organizational rectification, consolidation, expansion and mass mobilization, while a certain number of comrades only will have to push the tasks ahead by building talks-team and speakers-team without any unnecessary intermingling between these two and correct coordination with each other... In the present context, when domestic and foreign reactionary elements are conspiring against Nepalese people's aspiration of progress and peace, the whole party from top to bottom must give maximum emphasis on the question of consolidating and expanding people's liberation army and keeping them prepared to go any time into the war front..., if the party failed to consolidate and expand people's Liberation Army and keep it prepared 24 hours for war, Nepalese people will suffer a big defeat. Party can have a lot of compromises in the domain of politics and diplomacy, but will never give up the real strength, the People's Liberation Army and the arms they possess that the Nepalese people have gained with the blood of thousands of martyrs... Party will never tolerate any vacillation in this basic class and theoretical question."*

But, contrary to the directives given in this resolution, its clandestine structure was drastically weakened. While the party could make significant entry into the urban areas and organise extensively, its work in the rural areas suffered. There has been erosion in the fighting quality of the cantoned PLA. A series of ideological, political positions went into reducing the UCPN (M) to this level. The position on Prachanda Path, ambiguous formulations on 'fusion of PPW and insurrection' and views on multi-party competition are clearly and directly related to the present mess the party finds itself in. While they must be traced back to the very roots, this document will mainly examine the positions directly underlying the turn taken by the CPN(Maoist) in 2006.

The Chungwang Central Committee meeting of November 2005, which took the decision of going into negotiation defined the new tactics thus – "*Now the slogan of interim government, election of the constituent assembly and democratic republic that our party, taking into account of the international and domestic balance of power, has formulated is a tactical slogan put forward for the forward-looking political way out. Remaining clear on the principle that the tactic must serve strategy, our party has viewed the democratic republic neither as the bourgeois parliamentary republic nor directly as the new democratic one. This republic with an extensive reorganization of the state power as to resolve the problems related with class, nationality, region and sex prevailing in the country, would play a role of transitional multiparty republic. Certainly, the reactionary class and their parties will try to transform this republic into bourgeois parliamentary one, where as our party of the proletariat class will try to transform it into new democratic republic. How long will be the period of transition, is not a thing that can right now be ascertained. It is clear that it will depend upon the then national and international situation and state of power balance. As for now, this slogan has played and will play an important role to unite all the forces against the absolute monarchy dominant in the old state for it has been a common enemy for both revolutionary and parliamentary forces. Both of the under-*

*standings that the slogan of constituent assembly and democratic republic is a pure political and diplomatic manoeuvring to be never applied or as a strategic slogan to be never changed i.e. to be applied in any condition are wrong.*" (Political and Organizational Resolution, November 2005)

There are 2 serious mistakes here. a) The definition of democratic republic itself was unclear and b) It was vague on the time period. As pointed out in our October 2006 letter, *"The conception of democratic republic formed under a new constitution as a transitory form is problematic. Similarly, it is wrong to conceive that the reactionaries in a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country can form a bourgeois parliamentary republic. ... an interim government, in which the SPA also is a partner, will be neither new democratic or simply a continuation of the past. But in that case also it will have class content. It will be a dual power. It is true that the length of the period it will exist cannot be ascertained right now. But, as a general principle, dual power can exist only for a fairly short period. This is particularly true when it is coexisting within a single structure. If this is not explained as such, a rightist tendency promoting the desirability and possibility of a fairly long period of co-existence with the reactionary parties can well come up."* The state structure is meant for exploitation of one class over the other. There can be situations where, because of the balance of power, dual power exists. But how can both the antagonistic classes co-exist together for a long period? This ambiguity has in fact encouraged the rightist tendency to promote the extension of this co-existence phase, by arguing that the time to end it has not yet come. Furthermore, by conceding the possibility of a bourgeois parliamentary republic, room was given for the persistence of the rightist position on a separate sub-stage of 'bourgeois democracy'.

The handling of the 2-line struggle that emerged in 2004–05 on the same subject had left much to be desired. Comrade Baburam Bhattarai had on several occasions raised the question of "need for a sub-stage", before the complete capture of power and the formation of New Democratic Republic. On the other hand, the CPN(Maoist) was clear that no separate stage was necessary, as a matter of principle, before the final completion of new democratic revolution (NDR). This 2-line struggle was later claimed to be settled but one never got an explanation as to how it was settled. The plenum report covering this line struggle appreciated the capability of the party to avoid split and advance by transformation as a sign of maturity, unlike the negative tradition of the M-L movement of ending in splits even over slight differences. It is indeed a good thing to avoid split. But that cannot replace ideological consolidation or reduce its importance. The entire party needed to be ideologically educated and told that there was a diametrically opposite view which was defeated in the 2 line struggle, thus developing ideological clarity among the cadres and the masses. This was not done.

The understanding of Bhattarai on this matter is very old and deep-rooted. In his book 'Political- Economical Rationale of the People's War', the stress is on the backwardness of Nepal. But Bhattarai doesn't see it as Mao did – this backwardness also has its advantages, its positive aspect, the possibility it offers of unleashing the potential of the masses. The minds of the masses are not so corrupted with the blind attractions of imperialist-comprador consumerism. It is like a blank paper. This is supportive to the vital task of breaking away from the economical relations of the

world imperialist system (of which Indian expansionism is a part). Without such breaking away no oppressed country can hope of equitable, sustainable and all-round development. This is precisely why Mao Tsetung pointed out that there is no Chinese Wall between new democracy and socialism. The NDR removes the shackles of imperialism and feudalism. This inevitably leads to the growth of some local capitalism. But the aim of NDR is not the growth of capitalism. It can never be so, no matter how backward the country is. Because any attempt to develop capitalism in an oppressed country will inevitably entangle itself in the imperialist web and end up as bureaucratic capitalism, thoroughly comprador.

But instead of this Maoist approach Bhattarai talks of the need to develop productive forces in a one-sided manner and takes this as proof of the need to develop capitalism. This is expanded to insist that a sub-stage of a period of capitalist development and bourgeois democracy will be necessary before going into completion of the NDR. The presence of the monarchy was taken as a political justification for this. Whatever one may subjectively think, this inevitably means coming to terms with Indian Expansionism that controls the Nepali economy. The dream of developing entrepreneurs from among the Nepalese over a period will simply remain that ... a dream. Instead, a whole new crop of compradors will be reared. Meanwhile the class base of the party will be shifted from the working class/landless and poor peasants to middle classes. Thus the plan of completing NDR gets aborted and the party faces the prospect of turning into a mere parliamentary-bourgeois party.

Clarity on this question and drawing a firm line of separation from this rightist view was essential to educate the masses and the cadres. This was vital to distinguish the tactics of seeking a short period to carry out urban organising, polarise the middle classes and make necessary diplomatic moves in order to complete preparations for insurrection, from rightist machinations to extend this period of peace and co-existence indefinitely. The formulation of the Chungwang document faulted on both these counts. This was an instance of eclectics, of combining two into one.

### One-sided evaluation of the situation

The CPN(Maoist) had based its tactics on the evaluation of the immediate unfavourable international situation faced by the NDR. This was correct. But the strategically favourable situation existing internationally and the unfavourable situation faced by the enemies of the revolution, immediately as well as strategically, were ignored. This had serious implication for its negotiating stance as well as its tactics after the ceasefire came into force. Our letter of October 2006 noted, *"The CPN(Maoist) has correctly stated that the present tactics flow from the strong position achieved by the 10 year old people's war. This strength is evident. Along with that there is also a favourable factor in the international and national situation, in the immediate sense itself. And it is necessary to stress this. If both the favourable and unfavourable factors are not taken into account and placed as such before the party and the masses it can lead to the development of pessimistic tendencies. Mao's writings clearly show us that this was how he analysed and presented the situation that made tactics of coalition government both possible and necessary."*

The partial view of the situation was an important factor in laying the ground for making unnecessary concessions

in negotiations. It had serious consequences in the matter of tactics. Immediately after the ceasefire the party leadership had planned that they will never join the Interim government and would stay outside. It was assumed that the demands and conditions raised by the party would be unacceptable to the ruling classes. This approach was repeated in 2007 after coming out of the Interim government. It was also seen in the question of CA elections, where, right up to the very end, the expectation was that the enemy would try to sabotage it. On each occasion, the anticipated negative response of the enemy was conceived as the point to break out of the alliance with the SPA and advance the revolution. But the anticipation proved wrong, the enemy made concessions and the party lost initiative. (Some of the critics of the CPN(Maoist) tactics made similar estimations and posed them as urgent reasons for the CPN(Maoist) to break off!) Evidently, the party leadership failed to analyse the factors pressing the enemy to compromise, in other words the unfavourable situation faced by the enemy. In 2006 itself, and repeatedly thereafter, we had pointed this out. But instead of critical re-examination, the party leadership buttressed its one-sidedness with its position on a 'globalised, unipolar imperialism', 'US imperialism functioning as a globalised state' and similar views. This was wrong in principle because it denied the inevitable contention between imperialist powers. Besides, as we wrote to the CPN(Maoist) in 2006, *"This is going beyond noting the status of the US today as a sole superpower, enjoying unchallenged hegemony. It ignores the serious problems faced by the US in carrying out its strategy to achieve total domination through its so called 'War on Terrorism' due to the resistance of the world peoples and also underplays the growing contention within the imperialists camp, particularly with Russia."* The international situation clearly showed that the imperialists, especially the US, wanted a compromise, for tactical and strategic reasons. They were already feeling the effects of getting bogged down in Iraq and Afghanistan. And, politically, the advantage they gained by covering their 'War on the People' as a confrontation with obscurantist Islamic fundamentalists would be lost in a war against a people's revolution led by Maoists. The Indian expansionists too preferred avoiding direct confrontation, given the significant growth of the Maoist led NDR in India and the danger of triggering of a sub-continental upheaval in the event of Indian aggression in Nepal. Both these enemies were well aware that a resumption of the people's war would inevitably lead to their direct involvement, since the reactionary Nepal army was no match to the PLA. They still have this concern.

The repeated failure in its anticipations of the enemy's responses, from a leadership that successfully planned ahead and showed exemplary calibre in implementing those plans through a decade of practice of people's war, raises serious questions. Was this an inevitable outcome of the positions underlying the ceasefire and 'peace tactics'? Or was it the fall out of serious errors of line in the direction taken by the party, even before its unity with the SPA? A careful examination of the objective circumstances negates this. There was enough and more grounds to formulate and carry out tactical moves (mobilising masses on political, economic demands) aimed at ensuring, and justifying, breaking out of the Interim setup to advance the revolution. But if the favourable aspects of the objective situation and unfavourable factors faced by the enemy are discounted, then there won't be any urge to even think of

such tactics. Instead, the insistence will be to adopt tactics of posturing and pressurising, with the aim of getting the minimum, because that will be seen as the only plausible achievement. It remains to be examined whether tendencies of doubting the very possibility of succeeding in the NDR, in the present world situation, influenced the Chun-gwang decisions.

The evaluation of the CPN(Maoist) on the contradictions in play, before and after the ceasefire, has always been marked by an under-estimation of the comprador character of Indian ruling classes. There was (and still is) an over-estimation of the capacity of the Indian ruling classes to act on their own and of their contradictions with US imperialism in policy matters. As a result, while note is made of such contradictions and the opportunities they offer, the structural limitations within which Indian expansionism must act is ignored. Therefore the threat of Indian intervention is not evaluated in the context of the present US policy for the whole of South Asia. This threat thus tends to get exaggerated. A similar problem is seen in its assessment of China. In Nepal's geo-political conditions, the contradictions between India and China should certainly be utilised. But these contradictions and the Nepal policies of the rulers in these countries must be viewed within the frame of the imperialist system of dependence within which they exist. Besides, China's stance on the present dispensation in Nepal, with the UCPN(Maoist) in or out of government, and the attitude it would have towards a successful Maoist led revolution in Nepal, are qualitatively different matters. The Chinese revisionists will be severely threatened by a Maoist led new democratic state in Nepal. Sharpening contradictions within China will magnify this threat. Therefore, the extent to which their contradiction with the Indian ruling classes will outweigh this fear and whether they can be counted on to hold the scales against Indian intervention in that situation, are to be seen. All the trends within the UCP (Maoist) are over-estimating these factors, though with some unevenness in the weight given to them. Overall, the tendency of geo-physical calculations outweighing class outlook in the analysis of international relations, and the consequent inflated views on the potential of diplomacy is quite evident. This has always been a characteristic of rightism.

### **Making an absolute of abolishing the monarchy**

Immediately following the Palace massacre, the CPN(Maoist) shifted the focus of its political attack and made the monarchy headed by Gyanendra its main internal target. This was a correct tactical step. It promoted the split among the ruling classes and prepared grounds for uniting the ruling class parties into a broad political mass movement directed against the monarchy. But this tactics was also marked by some errors in principle and inconsistencies. Our letter of 2006 had drawn attention to this. The CPN(Maoist) documents usually characterised the monarchy as representing the feudal forces. The monarchy, as an institution of the state and as a hegemonic ideological apparatus, was indeed the main lynchpin of feudalism in Nepal, one which has a centuries old suffocating grip on Nepali society. But once Nepal came under British imperialist domination and became a semi-colony, it no longer represented feudalism alone. It became the lynchpin of all reaction. The class character of the king and court nobles itself changed. They were increasingly tied up directly with the growing bureaucrat capitalism. Distinguishing

between feudal forces and the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and targeting the monarchy in order to tactically utilise the contradiction among these two parts of the ruling classes was correct. But viewing and presenting the monarchy solely in relation to feudal forces was wrong. The monarchy was only a form of the existing Nepali state, a state which serves all the ruling classes. Lack of clarity on this promoted the danger of absolutising the struggle to end the monarchy. It aided the argument for a separate sub-stage of 'bourgeois democracy' to be achieved through abolishing the monarchy, instead of placing its abolishment within the broader task of destroying the existing state and completing the NDR. It also influenced the way in which the 'peace' tactics were understood in relation to the strategic task of NDR.

This prevented the party from anticipating a possible move by the enemy to "do away with the monarchy and set up some sham republic, even incorporating some formal rights for oppressed sections (like in South Africa)." (letter of 2006) Along with this, the opportunist tendency of avoiding ideological-political precision in formulations under the plea of tactical necessities came up in force and compounded these errors. An example was the loose formulations on 'Republic'. At various times this was said as republic, people's republic, federal republic, and peoples federal democratic national republic. It was always explained that the intended political program of the republic is new democratic, though this is not made explicit due to tactical reasons. From the very beginning we were critical of this and raised this before the CPN(Maoist) leadership. It was pointed out, "Tactical slogans should definitely be capable of linking up with the mood of the masses. Lenin's slogan of "Peace, Bread and Democracy" during the preparations for the October insurrection is an example. But a distinction must be made between such slogans and the direction given to the party through its documents. In the political situation of Nepal where the attainment of the republic is widely understood as the scrapping of the monarchy, when there already is the history of a tendency in the top leadership level arguing for a sub-stage of bourgeois democracy, when party documents themselves say that the republic conceived by the party is not immediately a new democratic one, such blurring of ideological-political clarity will definitely give room for rightist tendencies to grow." (letter of 2006)

Thus, the error seen in the CPN(Maoist)'s positions on the monarchy, as well as its varying characterisation of ruling class parties, depending on the ups and downs in its relations with them, have no doubt aided the growth of rightism. In immediate terms, the trend of conceiving and posing the ending of monarchy as almost equivalent to the completion of a stage (or at least a phase) of revolution was instrumental in promoting the view that the completion of the Constituent Assembly process was, and remains, a must. This thinking is still shared, though unevenly, by the revolutionary left.

### **Making an absolute of the Constituent Assembly process**

By early 2007 itself the party had succeeded in its plans to enter the capital city and build up its mass base and structures. But, instead of trying to create grounds for getting out of the Interim setup and launching the insurrection, the CA elections and completion of the CA process came to be seen as an unavoidably necessary step, an aim in its own right. As argued in the previous section this was

closely associated with absolutising the abolishment of the monarchy.

Given the centuries old existence of the Nepalese monarchy, its abolishment was no doubt a significant achievement of the revolutionary process led by the Maoists. It considerably weakened the institutions of the reactionary state and deepened divisions within the ruling classes. But the ending of the monarchy did not mean the abolishment of the state. Moreover, the ending of the monarchy was something that could be utilized by the enemies also. And that is what they did. They claimed that the tasks set forth by the 2006 mass movement had been mainly accomplished and that there was no further justification for the Maoists' separate agenda. This possibility was already seen during the 2007 political crisis when the Nepal Congress hastily declared in favour of a republic. The Interim constitution was even amended to allow the declaration of a republic by two third majority in the Interim assembly itself. Such developments clearly brought out the limits of the CA and Republic slogans as tactics to deepen polarisation and prepare the insurrection. But the CPN(Maoist) failed to assess this. Instead, participation in the completion of the CA process was considered absolutely necessary. It was said that this was essential to ensure that this process was not derailed by the enemy. Thus, *what started out as a tactical position for preparing insurrection became a strategic target.*

The completion of the CA elections and abolishment of the monarchy have become issues in the line struggle developing within the UCPN(Maoist). The left argues that this has ended the validity of the tactics adopted at Chungwang. It identifies the present stagnation of the party as an outcome of continuing with tactics of a completed process and demands the formulation of new tactics. On the other hand, rightist, centrist trends argue that the process initiated at Chungwang is yet to be completed. The desire of the left to advance a different set of tactics centred on completing the NDR distinguishes it from the others. But, its argument still shares common grounds with them on the CA question. By arguing that the question of new tactics came up only after the completion of the CA elections and abolishment of the monarchy, it too acknowledges that this was an essential necessity. As a result, the shifting of the tactical issue of CA and abolishment of monarchy into strategic aims and the role this has played in strengthening the grounds of 'sub-stage' and promoting the deviation from the revolutionary road is missed. New tactics had to be formulated, but premised on the reality that the Chungwang process was exhausted by mid-2007 itself. New tactics are needed; not because the CA elections are over and monarchy abolished, but because the party had made sufficient headway by 2007 in the tactical aims set by it in 2005, as part of preparing for the final assault for political power. After all, this was the declared aim of the Chungwang tactics. *If this revolutionary frame of reference is not retaken, the left will remain trapped in the frame set by rightism and centrism, whatever its subjective intentions may be.*

There is the further question of what can be achieved through the present CA. Within the CA the UCPN(Maoist) does not have the required majority to push through its constitutional provisions. But there is an even more basic issue. The principles of any constitution are only as weighty as the force that can be employed to ensure their implementation. This much is clear from the basic teachings of Marxism on the matter of the state, constitutions and

government. In the situation of Nepal, the old state is yet to be destroyed. No matter how progressive a constitution may be presented in the CA by the UCPN(Maoist), it will be a dead letter. At the most, as part of an immediate plan for organising the revolutionary seizure of power, constitution making could have been a tool for exposing the enemies and mobilising a broad mass movement. In the absence of such a plan the CA is a trap that ties down the revolutionary party. This is what is happening in Nepal.

### Leading the government and the deepening of rightism

The victory of the CPN(Maoist) in the CA elections was overwhelming and gave it a substantial advantage. But it was not a one sided verdict in its favour. The wide lead in seats was not matched in party vote shares. In fact, the significant shares of the two major ruling class parties (Nepal Congress and UML) in proportional votes actually allowed them to regain some legitimacy. In the West and Far West, the main centres of the people's war, the wins of the CPN (M) on both counts were powerful, but in many other places the fight was neck to neck. Had the ruling class parties been united then there was a fair chance that Maoists might not have emerged as the largest single party in the CA. But this hard fact, which revealed the inevitable limitations of parliamentary tactics, was not reflected in the evaluation made by the party. In place of sober assessment, triumphalism ruled the roost.

The policies and practices of the UCPN(Maoist) while in government were consistent with the rightist approach of making the formation of the CA and ending of monarchy into strategic aims. They were an irrefutable testimony to the rightist deviation from the tasks set before it while adopting the 'peace' tactics. This could already be anticipated in the positions taken by the party in 2007 after it reversed its decision to take up struggle. It was demonstrated without doubt right from the very beginning on the issue of government formation. The internal and external reactionaries refused to honour the electoral verdict and allow a government headed by Maoists. The CPN(Maoist) leadership could have made that an opportunity to unleash the revolutionary energy of the masses in a powerful upsurge, for the 3rd Mass Movement it had been talking for long. Instead, it preferred to enter in petty parliamentary bargaining and come to government through a dangerous compromise - allowing a separate centre in the newly established presidential post. After the formation of the government also, there were a number of situations when the issue could have been taken to the masses and struggle developed. That was never done. Even the issue of the Army Chief was dealt with as matter of government, despite its directly exposing the reactionary challenge raised by the Nepal Army.

Any proletarian led state will have to engage in diplomatic relations with imperialists and reactionaries. It will have to make some concessions to them. At times, it will have to be constrained in its public positions. But none of this can justify placing diplomatic compulsions above proletarian internationalism. In Nepal, the CPN(Maoist) was leading a coalition government, sitting atop a reactionary state. The political and diplomatic compulsions it faced were even more rigid. But within that space too it could have set up a different pole. Instead it chose to ingratiate itself with the imperialists and reactionaries. There was nothing that differentiated the Maoist led government, no new pole could be established. Instead the CPN(Maoist)

led government did grave harm to the international cause of Maoism. For example, in the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) meet on Terrorism orchestrated by Indian expansionism, comrade Prachanda could have presented the Maoist perspective on this question. The government headed by him could have refused to sign up. But he went ahead and obediently signed the declaration. Similarly his government could have ended Nepali participation in the US led occupation of Afghanistan, but it did not. None of this would have gone beyond the limits of legitimate diplomacy. None of these were impossible in the present world.

The handling of international fraternal relations was even worse. Relations with fraternal parties, RIM and CCOMPOSA were practically broken off. The Solidarity Committee formed in India was avoided. Not even a statement was brought out on the massacre of the Tamil national minority and fighters of LTTE in Sri Lanka. Relations were established with a number of rightist parties and organisations. In fact, totally opposite to the glorious record of the CPN(Maoist) in proletarian internationalism, a strong tendency of cynical, opportunist utilisation of relations with Maoist parties got strengthened. These relations were played up or muted as a bargaining chip in political manoeuvring. (Some change was seen after the CPN(Maoist) led government was dismissed and the 2 line struggle strengthened. But this tendency remains influential.)

The slogan to struggle from 'street-legislature-government' (sadak-sadan-sarkar) went into cold storage. Some manoeuvring was done at the level of government and parliament but the 'street' and the role of the masses was totally sidelined. The party practically vanished. No statements, no signs of existence of the party were seen. It was allowed to deteriorate and become dysfunctional at various levels. It must be said that at this point the CPN(Maoist) leadership 'outclassed' decades old revisionist parties like the CPM and CPI in India. No matter however much they integrate with the ruling classes, they maintain the primacy of the party, fully aware that this is the instrument by which they maintain their governmental prospects. The reduction of a party like the CPN(Maoist), a party that had steeled itself through the people's war, to such a sorry state in so short a time, is indeed a grave matter to be thought over by Maoists throughout the world. It demands a serious re-examination and advancement of the concepts and methods of party building, particularly in its ideological, political levels.

The suicidal nature of the deterioration of the party was surely apparent. After all, without the party what was there to ensure a return to government? But logic was operating here. It becomes clear when the deterioration of the party is seen as a simultaneous re-organisation, a reorganisation making it suitable for the rightist course embarked upon by the leadership. This was confirmed and cemented with the unity of the CPN(Maoist) with a section that came out of the revisionist CPN (Unity Center-Mashal). In the unity moves of the past, MLM based synthesis (eating up) of different streams breaking off from revisionist or reformist parties was prominent. Contrary to this, the present unity leading to the formation of the UCPN(Maoist) represented a further step in ideological, political and organisational dilution of the CPN(Maoist). It conceded significant ground to rightist liquidationism. The formulation on ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism was opportunistically changed to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism/Mao Tsetung Thought for the sake of this unity. The struggle waged earlier by the

CPN(Maoist) to insist on the term Maoism and its opposition to any view that saw the adoption of Maoism as a mere matter of words, were conveniently forgotten. If not for the resistance from the revolutionary left within the party 'Maoism' would have been dropped from the name of the unified party itself.

Ironically, through the Army Chief issue the reactionaries inadvertently rescued the UCPN(Maoist) from an ignominious fate. Otherwise, stuck in the day to day activities of government and parliament, it would have degenerated beyond repair.

### The line struggle

The left had been steadily building up during the period of the UCPN(Maoist) led government. It got a good opening in the wake of the dismissal of the government over the Army Chief issue. Through continuous struggle the left line has gained significant strength. It has been able to move the struggle away from personalities and focus on line questions. This is a welcome development. But though it is attacking and checking the growth of rightism, the task is not complete. The left still has not achieved a decisive break. It has to rupture from the roots of the right deviation in the party by deepening the ideological-political struggle and consolidating it organisationally. A correct rupture can be achieved only by a critical analysis of the party line and practice and synthesising it at a higher level. A simple rejection of the past positions, including Chungwang CC, will not do. Though insurrection may still be a possibility, it is essential to break away from any absolutist concept of insurrection that either regards it as the only possibility, ruling out re-initiation of protracted people's war (PPW), or thinks that insurrection should be attempted only with a high chance of achieving countrywide victory. It must also fight for urgent steps to prepare against the threat of a reactionary attack aimed at decimating the Maoists.

One of the main weaknesses of the revolutionary left is its continued support for going back to government and the slogan of carrying out the struggle from 'street-legislature-government' (SLG). This blurs the distinction between the right and the left and leaves the ranks and the masses confused. Within the left, there is a strong tendency to see the abandoning of the 'street' part of SLG as the main error. It urges a 'full' application of the three pronged tactics. This begs the question, struggle for what? Rightists take to the streets when out of government. They need it ... to get back into government and enjoy the crumbs of power. We in India are quite familiar with such revisionist 'street-government' tactics. Can anything different be expected in Nepal? A series of mass struggles were launched by UCPN(Maoist) in the period following its dismissal from government. But they have not led to any decisive, qualitative change. All that energy was finally pooled into pushing the ruling class parties towards a new compromise (yet to be actualised) that will allow the UCPN(Maoist) into government. The argument for continuing the SLG tactics is bound up with thinking, still influential within the left, that the CA process must be taken to its logical end. This is seen in some of the views and writings from the left. It is a continuation of the 'absolutising of the CA process', criticised earlier in this document. The influence of erroneous evaluation of the situation, exaggerating the threat from Indian expansionism and considering diplomatic ties with China as an indispensable counter-weight, also underlies this view. Struggle is essential within the left itself

to achieve clarity on ideological-political issues and the path forward to completing the revolution. The crucial need today is to regain the revolutionary road. This means line, plan, tactics and determination to break out of the existing Interim setup and advance towards completing the NDR. Nothing less than this will do.

The left has to advance its positions addressing a very complex and challenging situation. In fact it is almost similar to a new initiation. But one that is more complex and challenging. At the time of the initiation of the people's war the party did not have to deal with diplomatic or other similar relations. Everything was a new beginning. But now it must handle a lot many more aspects and pay attention to properly handling their relations, so that the maximum gain can be retained while making the new leap. *But what is decisive is the leap and gearing up the party to take it.* Because, no matter how good a job is done in handling complex relations and tasks, a restructuring of the present support base, the falling away of a substantial section particularly from among the middle classes, is inevitable. In fact this partial destruction is a necessary corollary to the leap and must be seen as such. This crucially hinges on the deepening of the line struggle and decisive rupture from rightism. Though the urgent task is to address the line and tactical questions immediately posed by the concrete situation, limiting it to these will weaken the left. The ideological struggle must be deepened and the roots of the present rightist tendencies must be identified.

In conclusion, we would like to place before the Maoists in Nepal an important lesson learnt in the course of struggle against rightism in our own context, "**If a deviation is left not rectified it will generate conditions for its growth into a wrong line.** It will do this by moulding the thinking of the leaders and cadres in its own image. ... opposition [within the CRC, CPI(ML)] not only failed, but also ended up as fuel for the wrong line itself. This happened because there were a lot of common views shared by the contending ideas. ... Despite all its eclecticism, a wrong line has its logic and dynamics. It will incessantly push the party away from Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The obvious divergence from Marxist-Leninist-Maoist positions will no longer seem to be so. Large sections within the party may not feel comfortable with such divergence. But their ideological alertness is already dulled by liberal thinking — 'well, they do have a point which must also be considered'. More ground is yielded to the wrong line. Ultimately, the struggle against the wrong line flounders within the ideological, political boundaries set up by that line itself, causing demoralisation. Finally, the most important lesson is this. **No matter how high the heap of garbage, it can always be dug away. Provided, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is firmly grasped and wielded with determination to make a total rupture.**" (from 'Repudiation of the CRC, CPI (ML)'s views on military line', Spring Thunder, 1/1998)

The Maoist movement in Nepal has a rich history of struggle against rightism. It has a powerful Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideological tradition. Political power enjoyed by vast sections of masses for the first time in the country, oppressed sections and regions of society living a life of dignity, backward Nepal being transformed into a beacon for the whole world, daring thinking and initial steps towards building up a self-reliant Nepal - these glorious achievements of the people's war, realised through the sacrifice of innumerable martyrs, has added even more might to this heritage. The Nepali Maoists will surely succeed in drawing on it and regaining the revolutionary road.



## Political resolution adopted by the 5<sup>th</sup> Conference of CCOMPOSA, March 2011

### On the Current Situation and Tasks

Since the 4th Conference of the Co-ordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organisations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA) held in 2006, there have been significant developments in the world and in South Asia. These changes have given rise to both challenges and opportunities. Guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the unity among the constituents of CCOMPOSA and their joint activities will surely strengthen the revolutionary struggles and initiatives going on in the different countries of South Asia and be a catalyst in facing up to these challenges and seizing the opportunities. This has a significance going far beyond the boundaries of South Asia.

### International Situation

Bourgeois ideologues had seen the collapse of Soviet social imperialism in the 1990s as a "landmark victory" of capitalism over socialism. But this has now been dealt a body blow through the recent global crisis. Furthermore, the claim that Marxism and socialism have failed and capitalism has triumphed is doubly exposed as hollow rhetoric by the fact that the crisis of the imperialist economy has originated from such a country, the US, which claims itself as the leader of the imperialist world order.

Following the collapse of Soviet social imperialism US imperialism had arrogantly declared its sole hegemony in a world without any rival superpower. Policies like structural adjustments, privatisation and liberalisation were imposed on oppressed countries without any let up. In the imperialist countries themselves employment was downsized and casualised on a greater scale. All of this was aimed at sustaining the imperialist economy and maximising profits by further opening the way for finance capital penetration. But the result has been just the opposite. The US, which spread the tentacles of its financial institutions more intensively and extensively, compared to other imperialist powers, has been the worst sufferer in the present economic crisis. The specific causes underlying this crisis and its particular dynamics need to be further probed. But right now we must draw attention to the horrible devastation it has caused among the masses in both oppressed countries and imperialist countries. This is on top of the sharp widening of the gap between the rich and poor within countries and intensification of unevenness among regions of the world caused by imperialist globalisation.

By pumping in trillions of dollars through deficit financing to save financial institutions the imperialists managed to stave off an all-round collapse of the global economy. Yet the crisis is far from over. The measures adopted to tackle the crisis piled up huge public debts. There is a lot of loud talk, but little action, in the matter of regulating the frenzied speculative deals of financial institutions. Meanwhile, all the burdens of deficits and deficit cutting are being loaded on the backs of the masses through soaring inflation and cut downs in public employment and welfare. This has generated wave after wave of struggles in imperialist countries. Thus the aftershocks of the global crisis still rumble on. Imperialist solutions sow the seeds for more severe crisis.

The current crisis has been a great educator. Most importantly, all talk of the greatness of free market disappear-

red as imperialist governments scrambled to save their economies by any means. All the champions of liberalisation sneakily turned to protectionism. In order to overcome the economic crisis, some of the imperialist governments were even forced to implement the 'socialist' measure of nationalisation. Bourgeois pundits had to talk about the need to retain this as one means to safeguard against future crisis. The crisis and the responses of the bourgeoisie thus further justify the validity and inevitability of Marxism and socialism ever more powerfully.

As a consequence of this crisis, not only has the contradiction between capital and labour sharpened more but the contradiction of imperialism versus the oppressed nations and people, which is the principal contradiction of the present world, has further intensified. The emergence of China as an economic force in the international arena, economic consolidation of Russia and more importantly the formation of a pole centred on both of these countries, brings out the multipolar nature of the world. The dream of the US imperialism to lead a unipolar world has turned out to be a mere pipedream. Rather, what is seen is a sharpening of inter-imperialist contradictions.

The economic crisis and consequently the intensification of the basic contradictions of the world, including the principal one, are sure to lead this world towards a political crisis in the days ahead. What it already shows is that, though in an uneven way, the objective situation all over the world, including in the imperialist countries, is developing favourably for revolution. The main trend of revolution is strengthened. We have seen the waves of militant struggles in imperialist citadels. And now the Arab countries are being shaken up one after the other in an unprecedented series of popular uprisings. Decades old dictatorial regimes were toppled in Tunisia and Egypt. In the absence of communist vision and leadership, these upsurges will ultimately fail in realising the peoples' aspiration of ending all exploitation. But this great churning up, this breach in the walls of reaction, surely creates fresh opportunities for the emergence and strengthening of the Maoist pole. It stands as powerful testimony to the great revolutionary potential existing in the world today.

In comparison to the favourably developing objective situation and its demands, the subjective strength of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties still lags. Nevertheless, greater attraction of people towards Marxism and socialism all across the world is a very positive sign. There has been a powerful strengthening of anti-imperialist sentiment, specifically directed against US imperialism. Most importantly the formation of Maoist parties, latest in an imperialist country like France, is an inspiring event. The communist revolutionaries must help accelerate this process by waging ideological and political struggle in a planned way. In doing so, emphasis must be laid on defeating revisionism, which is the main danger today, and guarding against dogmatism.

The growing people's struggles all across the world against imperialist globalisation and US occupation in Iraq and Afghanistan have created favourable grounds in which the possibility of rallying a broad section of pro-people forces against imperialism has widened. Conscious efforts on the part of Maoist revolutionaries to seize this opportu-

nity can change the scenario in favour of anti-imperialist struggles all across the world. This should be done with all force and capacity. Much hinges in this regard on the unity in understanding and common resolve on the part of communist revolutionaries.

### Situation in South Asia

Mao's assertion that Asia, Africa and Latin America are the storm centres of world proletarian revolution still holds good. Revolutionary class struggles against imperialism and its domestic puppets in South Asia have made this region very important for the world revolution. In concrete, the intense contradictions of the broad masses with feudalism and imperialism, widespread presence of revolutionary, national liberation and democratic movements all across the region and the enormous weight of the huge number of exploited and oppressed masses living in South Asia heightens this potential.

It is a fact that the masses of this region are commonly weighed down by the yoke of imperialism and Indian expansionism. The Indian state dominates not only over the broad masses in India but also the neighbouring countries. Open and arrogant intervention in the internal affairs of Nepal in recent days is a stark example. Indian ruling classes are gradually surrendering to US imperialism in the latter's plan of bringing the entire region under its strategic web to contain China, an emerging economic power of the 21st century. This is the principal aspect. But on the other hand, they also have differences. The Maoist revolutionaries must keep in mind both the collusion and differences that exist between the US, India and China when they determine their strategy and tactics in this region as part of the world revolution.

Apart from semi-feudal and semi-colonial exploitation, a broad section of the Indian masses are victims of national oppression. Untold repression upon Dalits, Adivasis and the religious minorities based on Hindu chauvinism has been the identity of the Indian ruling classes. While a handful of ruling classes subservient to imperialism, principally the US, have been fattening, a huge number of the working people are thrown into ever increasing destitution. The much touted high growth in GDP masks an inhuman reality at the ground level, with no let up in peasants' suicides, punishing price rise, and high unemployment.

However, the New Democratic Revolution aimed at uprooting semi-feudal and semi-colonial relations from the Indian soil is making newer strides in the recent days. Advances made in the people's war, particularly after the formation of the Communist Party of India (Maoist), militant masses struggles led by the Maoist and other left forces against land grabs and forcible displacement of peasants by monopolies, and other struggles has given sleepless nights to the Indian reactionary ruling classes. Instead of addressing the problems confronting the country and its people they have launched a war on the people, Operation Green Hunt. The aim is to attack and destroy the new revolutionary political power emerging through the people's war, and thus clear the way to unbridled assaults on the people and plunder of natural resources. But this has brought out an unprecedented polarisation of a broad section of left, progressive and democratic forces, of almost the entire pro-people forces, against the country-selling, anti-people ruling classes of India. Wide, determined resistance to the Indian rulers 'war on the people' is growing and strengthening. In the battle field, the People's Guerrilla Li-

beration Army and People's militia have given sharp blows to the vastly superior and huge enemy force. Despite losing hundreds of their beloved ones in the attacks of the reactionary Indian armed forces, the valiant masses of the war zones maintain a high fighting morale. In fact this solid fortress of the revolutionary masses has been crucial in the successful withstanding of the enemy offensive.

In order to safeguard their interests and ensure that their puppets don't lose power, imperialism and Indian expansionism, have now come in open to interfere in the internal affairs of Nepal. Thus people's sovereignty has now become inseparably linked with national independence. Consequently, it has widened the possibility of building a broad united front among entire patriots, republicans, lefts, progressives including the entire oppressed classes, nationalities, gender and regions under the leadership of the proletariat for the seizure of power. In this challenging and promising situation the Nepalese people continue to struggle for the fulfilment of their revolutionary aspirations led by the UCPN (Maoist).

In Bangladesh, Maoists faced some setbacks with the capture of some veteran leaders by the reactionary regime. Crushing the Maoist movement is given top priority by the state. This counter-revolutionary campaign is trained and guided by imperialism. But despite facing such harsh attacks the Maoists persist along the revolutionary road. The rising struggles of the impoverished masses give favourable opportunities. The present Hasina regime is not only determined to oppress the revolutionary movement but is kneeling down to appease the Indian expansionists opening all the venues for loot and plunder. Its appeasement went to the extent of cooperating with the Indian government in arresting most of the senior leaders of ULFA.

Pakistan has been used as a front paw by the American imperialists for its war of occupation in Afghanistan. With the total subservience to the US imperialists, Pakistan has become a ground for civil war. The strengthening of US grip over Pakistan and the establishment of US bases in Pakistan is making the whole South Asia more vulnerable to US imperialist war designs.

Despite ever increasing budgets for the war of occupation in Afghanistan and enhanced deployment of US and its allied forces, the Afghan people are showing grit and determination against the barbaric war of US imperialists. Targeted attacks on occupation forces, the massive destruction of their logistics and ever increasing body count of the allied forces is a slap on the face for Obama's "surge". South Asian regimes, like those of India and Nepal, though not sending troops, are actively supporting the puppet government and is becoming a tacit partner in the occupation war.

The victory of Rajapaksa is the victory of rabid Sinhala national chauvinist forces. After defeating the LTTE, by perpetrating the murder of thousands of Tamils, this war criminal got elected when lakhs of Tamil population were languishing in miserable conditions surrounded by the barbarous Sri Lankan Army and all opposition was suppressed by fascist means. Indian expansionism actively supported the destruction of the LTTE and was hand in glove with the Rajapaksa government in its genocidal war against the Tamils of Sri Lanka. The LTTE got defeated mainly because of its lack of ideological and political clarity, sharply manifested in its nationalist sectarianism, and secondarily in the positional warfare tactics it adopted. While the defeat of LTTE is an immense loss to the strug-



gling people of the world, it is also a sharp reminder of the need to establish, in theory and practice, the Maoist pole within the broad arena of national liberation struggles.

### Challenges and opportunities

This Conference is being held when the Indian new democratic revolution continues to confront the serious challenge of "The Operation Green Hunt" launched by Indian expansionist state. While the initial victories in beating back this 'war on the people', politically as well as militarily, grant better conditions to the revolutionaries, the gravity of the challenges they face remains. The revolution in Nepal is at the crossroads. The powerful potential of great victory exits along with the serious danger of harsh defeat. Imperialism, and Indian expansionism is openly intervening in Nepal to destroy the revolution and is directly instigating the ruling classes for this. People all over the world look up to the Maoists in Nepal to break out of all domestic and external conspiracies and advance determinedly towards the completion of new democratic revolution. Notwithstanding vigorous attempts on the part of revolutionaries, the people's wars in Bangladesh and Bhutan have not yet been able to cut through enemy repression and develop it to a higher level. Maoist revolutionaries of Afghanistan are engaged in preparation of people's war amid US occupation. In Sri Lanka the task of reorganising the Maoist party is still on the agenda. All this shows the challenges faced by the Maoists of this region in the present juncture.

In spite of challenges, the opportunities are bright. In fact, bigger the challenge brighter is the opportunity. In order to transform this potential into reality the communist revolutionaries have to

- engage in serious ideological and political struggle to defeat the wrong trends in the communist movement, principally revisionism;
- develop strong ideological and political unity and

common resolve among themselves;

- build up regional mechanism for cooperation to fight imperialism, Indian expansionist hegemony and advance revolution;
- establish the inevitability and invincibility of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism among the broad masses;
- unite the entire national and democratic movements and just struggles broadly to the extent they can go together to fight the principal enemy.
- unite with Maoist and all fighting forces throughout the world.

Seize power where it is possible, develop ongoing people's wars to higher levels, prepare and initiate people's war where parties exist and build up parties where they don't - this should be the working orientation of Maoist revolutionaries.

It is a declared fact that CCOMPOSA has been formed to unite the Maoist revolutionaries of South Asia and fight Indian expansionist hegemony and imperialism in the region. Apart from accomplishing its responsibility in this region, CCOMPOSA, as a part and parcel of the international communist movement, must discharge its internationalist duties to further the cause of world proletarian revolution.

South Asia is ripe for new democratic revolution. Let all of us strive to develop ongoing people's wars, initiate new ones, accomplish new democratic revolution in our respective countries and establish South Asia as a strong base area of the world proletarian revolution. This and only this is the way the Maoist revolutionaries in South Asia can contribute to the advance to socialism and communism and thereby fulfil their proletarian internationalist duty. This Conference calls on all Maoist forces in South Asia to join the CCOMPOSA and strengthen it and thus further advance in the common aim of making South Asia a blazing center of world revolution.

## Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

# Political and Organizational Report Presented in the Sixth Expanded Meeting (Plenum) of the Party

Dear Comrades

Our glorious party and the entire Nepali democratic revolution have arrived at a critical, complicated and challenging juncture. It is clear that this expanded meeting of the central committee, which is going to be held in such a critical period, will have far-reaching and historical significance. If the expanded meeting could unite the entire rank and file of the party adopting a correct political line, plan of action and programmes as a form of centralized expression of party's collective consciousness on the basis of democratic deliberation, it would provide the party with the glorious and historic opportunity to successfully lead the new democratic revolution in Nepal. If the present expanded meeting failed in its mission of consolidating organizational unity and leadership on the basis of ideological clarity, it is certain that Nepali new democratic revolution would suffer a great loss and disaster.

I, thus, call upon the comrades to march ahead for successfully accomplishing this special historic responsibility. Let us pay tributes to great and memorable martyrs, who sacrificed their lives in the great People's War and other movements; pay respect to all disappeared and wounded freedom fighters and express our sincere resolve to always follow and respect their sacrifices and ideals for the cause of Nepali new democratic revolution. Also extending our heartfelt condolences and revolutionary salute to kiths and kins of the great martyrs and families of all missing and injured fighters, let us get united to acknowledge the debate among communist revolutionaries as a scientific tool to find truth and demonstrate proletarian ideals shedding all types of capitalist and petty bourgeoisie deviations, biases and prejudices.

### Some thoughts on ideological clarity and lessons learnt from the international communist movements:

With the victory of capitalism against feudalism, proletarian class, which is history's most revolutionary force, emerged as an international absolute class in the world as an inevitable result of the inherent contradictions within capitalism. In accordance with the dialectical rules of history's objective necessity and accident, Karl Marx and Frederick Angeles propounded the theory of dialectical and historical materialism as the world vision of class struggle of the proletarian class. History has proved that this science of social revolution, which was established in the form of Marxism owing to the contribution and leadership of Karl Marx, was developed from the ruthless struggle against the capitalist and petty bourgeoisie deviations of the contemporary movements of the workers.

Being a science, Marxism expects perpetual struggle and development and not the static opinion. Marxism with the revolutionary essence of understanding and changing the world, developed into Leninism from the fight to finish struggle against rightist and capitalist and reformist compradors and petty bourgeoisie deviations which had crept into workers' movement in the form of Kautski and Trotsky while capitalism was in developing stage. It was named

Leninism as the developed form of science of proletarian revolution against capitalism due to the competent leadership of great Lenin.

Lenin put forth the general proposition on the great and difficult tasks of revolution in the colonized and semi-colonized countries during the early stage of capitalist development through which Lenin had said that proletarian revolutionaries in the eastern countries, on the basis of universal principles of Marxism, should and would be able to accomplish the tasks in a more creative way. On the ground of this objective necessity of history, the new people's revolution with the enormity of shaking the entire world was completed in semi-feudal and semi-colonized China with dominant population of peasants. As a true successor of Marx and Lenin, Maotse Tung and the Communist Party of China not only presented the new model of protracted people's war and new people's revolution for the world's least developed countries but, in course of worldwide struggle against modern revisionism (Khrushchevite revisionism) for the development of socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and while reaching the stage of principle of perpetual revolution, they developed Marxism into a new and advanced or third stage of Marxism as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Coming to this stage, the significance of the universal principles of Mao's ideological contribution became clear.

It becomes clear from the above general overview that Marxism expects perpetual struggle and continuous development in the ideological domain. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism emphasizes on the defence, application and development of universal principles of science against all kinds of utopian and idealistic socialism and capitalist and petty bourgeoisie deviations. What proletarian revolutionaries have to take into account is the fact that opportunism and revisionism, despite the essence being identical, are changing faces and forms to fight against the revolutionary line of the proletarian class.

After Bakunin, Lassalle, Proudhon and Duehring, who had launched direct struggle against the scientific propositions of Marx and Engels, were defeated in the ideological struggle; opportunism had appeared under the cover of Marxism. During the period of Lenin and Stalin, the struggle against Kautski, Trotsky, Bernstein and Plekhanov, who had emerged under the cover of Marxism and the struggle against modern revisionists, who had come up under the cover of Marxism-Leninism, during Mao's period have proved this fact. It is a proven fact that in the ideological struggle, the modern opportunism would come under the cover of Marxism-Leninism and Maoism. The genuine successors of the Marxism-Leninism-Maoism have to raise the ideological struggle and consciousness up to the same height and have to correctly identify and counter today's Bakunin, Kautski, Trotsky and Khrushchev.

The experiences of international communist revolutions and movements have also proved the same ideological conclusions. Paris Commune was not replicated in Russian Revolution but developed. Similarly, the Russian revolution was not replicated in the Chinese new democratic

and socialist revolution but was further developed. It is clear that the revolution of 21st century would also not be replicated but developed.

The development of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and experiences of the history have taught the lessons that for the ideological clarity in the present imperialist and proletarian revolution and for the defence of universal propositions of science, proletariats have to raise perpetual struggle against modern revisionism that seeks to turn class struggle into class coordination; against dogmatism that wants to turn Marxism into divine scripture mechanically understanding it but not taking Marxism as the guiding principle of revolution; and against the eclecticism that is effortful to turn Marxism as a doctrine to balance and coordinate between the correct and wrong policies instead of fighting against the wrong trends for the defence of correct line. Proletariats need to understand the fact that unless the proletariats gather enough courage to link the struggle for the defence and development of the universal scientific proposition with the struggle for its new application and development with emphasis on the struggle against the rightist revisionism, the defence of revolution is not possible. Against this backdrop, it is necessary to seriously acknowledge the conclusion made by us on the basis of analysis of the experiences of international communist movement and lessons to be learnt from it. It is necessary to lay special emphasis on the need for raising ideological and cultural level further high and making the democratic exercise more effective.

### Review of International Situation:

After the collapse of Soviet Union and the end of so-called Cold War, the propaganda unleashed by the western imperialism about the unipolar world and victory of capitalism over socialism was proved to be wrong within a period of a decade and their dreams were shattered. After the Wall Streets, which is regarded as the bastion of world capitalism, collapsed like a house of cards in October 2008, the capitalist world under the leadership of US imperialism got trapped into a great economic recession. This crisis continues to persist even at present. This has turned the unipolar world into multipolar ones and also has sharpened the contradictions and anger against capitalism worldwide. After the World War II, despite having made several serious efforts by the world capitalism to save itself by means of policies like war industries, liberalization, privatization and globalization of financial capital through international organizations like International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization, the attempts have not been and will not be successful.

The western capitalist economists themselves have predicted that the capitalist countries will face worst and longest recession since 1930. Now the western imperialists have attributed the present financial crisis to flexible monetary policy and huge investment in the real estate and housing as well as the absence of strict regulation. In fact, they are spreading this rumor to conceal the fact that the crisis is capitalist system itself. It is clear that capitalism thrives on profit and the bases of profit are the saving of surplus capital, investment and reinvestment. With the fiscal monopoly of capitalist class in the name of multi-national companies for maximum profit and surplus prices, the exploitation and repression on the working class has intensified. The gap between the rich and the poor has further widened and the centralization of capital has fur-

ther intensified.

Although there has been significant change in the face and form of imperialism since the World War II till the period of globalization of fiscal capital, there has not been any fundamental change in its monopolistic nature. Even today, the world, as defined by Lenin, is in the age of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Lenin's views that "the final victory of socialist revolution in a single country is really impossible" are the views of a great proletarian internationalist about the 'final victory' in the context of the world revolution. This should not be taken as a contradictory conclusion made by Lenin that revolution in a single country is possible due to the unequal development of capital and weakened position of imperialism.

In today's 21st century, proletarian class has to devise strategy based on the scientific conclusion that this is the age of imperialism and proletarian revolution and revolution is possible also in a single country. While doing so, proletarian class must take into account the situation that keeps on changing due to wars between the imperialist groups seeking division and re-division of geography for the market owing to globalization of fiscal capital, development of multi-national companies and also because of the huge military power of the United States of America. Giving consideration to this fact does not at all mean the rejection and refusal of Lenin's and Mao's fundamental propositions and it can never be so. But it is only intended to place emphasis for the modification of the proletarian strategy and tactics standing firmly on the foundation laid by Lenin and Mao and also as directed by Lenin and Mao.

Even today, there are fundamental contradictions between the capital and the labour; imperialism and oppressed countries and the people; and also within the imperialist camps in the world. All these contradictions are being sharpened. Of all the contradictions, the contradiction between the imperialism and oppressed countries and the people is the world's principle contradiction at present. Although the leadership of the revolution has been weak subjectively, the objective situation of revolution is getting favourable and revolution is the world's mainstream trend. And revolution is the mainstream trend of the world.

Asia, Africa and Latin America are the center of anti-imperialist revolution even today. The aforesaid logic can be substantiated by the barbaric imperialist attacks on Iraq and Afghanistan and resistance of the people there; crisis in the Middle East, sanction and threat against Iran and North Korea and its resistance; wave of the formation of anti-imperialist leftist governments in Latin America; and escalating national liberation and new democratic movements and their development in South Asia.

After the end of the Cold War, the United States of America has been effortful to strengthen and expand its influence in South Asia and encircle China which is growing as a world power. These logics are well validated by the US-India nuclear pact, the agreements signed between the United States and India during the recent visit of the US president Barak Obama and the US assurance to support India's bid for permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. Despite this, there are contradictions between India, China and the United States in South Asia because of their own interests. The revolutionaries, therefore, need to pay due attention to advance national liberation and democratic movements utilizing these contradictions at the optimum level. Indian expansionism is the fundamental hurdle for the liberation of the entire people in

South Asia. It is, thus, necessary for the communist revolutionaries and the forces of national liberation movements in South Asia to form a united and strong front and move ahead resolutely to achieve their goals.

In the present context where the objective international situation is getting favourable, it is necessary for the communist revolutionaries to carry ahead their conscious initiatives in a serious and planned manner to strengthen the subjective conditions. For this, it is necessary for the revolutionary communists to take international organizational initiative consolidating the relationship among the communist revolutionaries in the world.

### **Review of the Present National Situation:**

The present national situation is exceptionally at the critical juncture. The counter-revolutionary conspiracies have intensified against the political gains including the Constituent Assembly, republican set up, federalism, secularism and alike which were achieved through the 19-day popular movement launched on the foundation of the decade-long glorious People's War. The domestic and international reactionary forces that were shocked by the mandate given by the people to our party in the Constituent Assembly election have been further dismayed after our party went to streets with the banner of national independence against the national capitulation. The reactionaries, who were terrified by unprecedented support and participation of the people in the phase wise movements launched last year demanding national independence, civilian supremacy, peace, constitution and Maoist-led national government, are now hatching conspiracy to push the country into another confrontation by breaching the peace process and to impose another authoritarian exercise in the country by dissolving the Constituent Assembly.

In fact, the country is being sharply polarized into two separate classes and political lines. The pro-national independence forces like true nationalists, forces for people's supremacy like true republicans and federalist forces and pro-social justice forces like all oppressed people belonging to different classes, ethnic groups, regions and sexes are being organized under a united front while the alliance of the national capitulationists, compradors, and bureaucratic capitalists, regressive, feudal and autocratic elements is also getting strong. Obviously, the first front has got the support of the pro-peace, pro-justice and pro-development international forces and opinions while the second front is getting support, sympathy and advice from the imperialism more particularly the Indian expansionism. In fact, Indian expansionism has taken direct initiative and is involved in creating the second front.

The party made the conclusion that the abolition of monarchy and declaration of republic which had been done immediately after Constituent Assembly election had not brought about any fundamental changes in the country's semi-feudal and semi-colonized state. Instead, the comprador, bureaucratic capitalists tried to take the place of the monarchy. Taking this into account, the party emphasized the need for concentrating the struggle against the comprador-bureaucratic capitalists. The party had clearly stated the fact about the changes in the position of political contradictions in the country. The objective development of political events have made it clear that the condition concerning the principal contradiction has changed. The domestic reactionary force composed of comprador-bureaucratic capitalists and Indian expansionism have blended

together and stood in one camp and the people of Nepal have been polarized into another camp. This condition has determined the question of principal contradiction. We must understand the fact that the change in the condition of the principal contradiction is the fundamental factor behind the present political deadlock in the country. In our context, this conclusion must be linked with the neo-colonial nature being adopted by imperialism and expansionism and should be understood accordingly. Under this neo-colonial policy, the oppressed countries are colonized through the intensification of economic, political and diplomatic intervention. The above mentioned situation demands the necessity to advance the move for establishing people's federal republic keeping the broad united front intact and giving priority to the question of national independence and federal republic. It is, now, especially essential for the revolutionaries to strongly realize the fact that views and attempts to undermine and weaken the national independence movement would ultimately weaken the new democratic movement.

There are already unequal treaties, border problems, trade imbalance and transit problems. More than that the method used to control Nepali media, naked interference during the prime ministerial election and threat to our own member of the Constituent Assembly and the use of intimidation are the sufficient proofs to understand the gravity and magnitude of the problem.

In addition to that, the well-planned propaganda to link the People's Liberation Army (PLA), whose members are in the cantonment for the last few years, with Indian Maoists and Kashmiri terrorist outfit Lashkar-E-Toiba indicates the critical situation that India has been creating in its final preparation for the total interference in Nepal. The real motive behind this conspiracy and propaganda of Indian ruling class is to advance the grand strategy of Sikkimisation of Nepal misleading the Western World and the international community. It would be suicidal for our party and also for the country if we fail to acknowledge this reality in time. In this critical situation, it is necessary to unify the party by giving priority to national independence; to create a momentum for a movement by forming a broad front among all leftist, progressive, patriotic and democratic forces; and to mobilize the people for resurrection immediately and in a planned way by linking the issue of nationalism directly with new democracy. There is no revolutionary alternative other than the preparation of a national resistance war.

The following evaluation on the present situation made in the document adopted by the central committee held in May/June, 2010 is equally correct and relevant even at present. The document says, ..... "the present political struggle has become perhaps the highest and most unified class struggle of the first decade of the 21st century. In this complicated, broad and critical process of class struggle, the proletarian class faces the challenge to once again prove practically the scientific justification and supremacy of its ideology as an independent view with the right to self determination. In such a situation, it is extremely necessary to advance a resolute ideological struggle mainly against the rightist capitulation and class coordination; against the trend that is likely to intensify and deepen in the proletarian movement and also against the 'leftist adventurism' and vacillation. We can accomplish our responsibility only when we raise high the correct policy of the party that emphasizes on the coordination between the

science and art; and also on strategic determination and tactical flexibility.

### **On Political Line of the Party:**

The analysis of the aforementioned international situation in general and national context in particular makes it clear that initiative to be taken on war footing to advance the class struggle has become the primary task of the party. There is the need for consistency and uniformity in the immediate plans of action. And we have no alternative other than focusing on our task unifying the entire party through debate on some important issues.

Now there has not only been a serious counter-revolutionary conspiracy against the achievements of the great People's War. Instead, Indian expansionism and their Nepali agents are also effortful to liquidate our party and Nepali revolution and also the existence of our country through orchestrating a horrific mass assassination. We can establish this expanded meeting as the meeting with far-reaching historic importance in formulating plans for the successful completion of the Nepali new democratic revolution in a unique way. We can make the strategic offensive successful only when we were able to demonstrate unity to command the fronts (which we must do) with proper analysis of the situation, correct plans of action and their correct implementation. With this spirit, it is extremely necessary and urgent to fully unify the party leaving the issues pertaining to the political line and evaluation of the activities of the past to be decided by the national congress or national conference.

As a communist party determined to work as a true front organization of the proletarian class, its immediate political strategy is to complete the new democratic revolution against the feudalism and imperialism with the objective of liberating the country from semi-feudal and semi-colonial conditions in accordance with the scientific principles that determine the stages of revolution in course of social development on the basis of socialism and communism. The new democratic revolution is party's minimum programme based on this political strategy.

In order to complete the new democratic revolution, various forms of struggle and organizational approaches need to be adopted. But People's Liberation Army and People's War are the most fundamental forms. On the basis of the analysis of international situation and development of the Nepali people's revolution, our party has made a firm conclusion that the nature of the people's war would be a protracted revolution and has accordingly emphasized on the need for coordinating it with the tactics of mass revolt.

Within these analyses and principles, our party, making correct analysis of the correct situation, has been advancing the political and military tactics. On the basis of this, the party has made the establishment of people's federal republic as its immediate tactics. The party has adopted a clear-cut policy of mobilizing the people for the mass insurrection to establish people's federal republic or people's republic through according priority to struggle from all fronts including the front of peace and constitution and the front of the government with especial focus on the front of street struggle on the basis of four preparations and four bases. For this, the party has adopted the policy of organizing and advancing the movement raising the issues related to national independence and civilian supremacy and other issues directly related with the livelihood of the people. It is necessary for the party to formulate

correct action plans on the basis of correct political line and accordingly translate these plans into action.

### **On intra-party struggle and party's organization situation:**

Along with the development of the glorious people's war, the process of unity and polarization among the communist revolutionaries has intensified more particularly after the Constituent Assembly election. After the unification with the Nepal Communist Party (Unity Center-Massal), for which the dialogue had started around the period when the famous Silguri meeting had been held during the people's war, the name of the party changed into Unified CPN (Maoist). With this process of unification and polarization, our party has definitely been a big political organization in terms of organizational size and number. The growing attraction of the people towards the party and the intensification of unification and polarization among communist revolutionaries are definitely positive and encouraging factors. But there has been deterioration in ideological and political quality in the party, which is a front organization of all proletarian classes. This is a matter of serious concern and worries.

As the class struggle often witnesses ups and downs and continues to get complicated, we should not think that the method of resolution of intra-party struggle should be replicated in all kinds of intra-party struggles and on all occasions. The changing forms and conditions of class struggle demand that the intra-party struggles must be resolved on the basis of correct approach on ideology, culture and methods raising ourselves up to a newer height.

The present complicated situation of class and political struggle of the Nepalese society has given birth to complex situation in our party, too. Many of these complications appear either in the absence of our conscious efforts to resolve them or they have come up as the inevitable reflection of several objective situations. Whatever are the reasons and consequences, we must resolve them with serious analysis of the situation.

Viewing from this perspective, the tradition of exercising democratic centralism in our party is almost not in existence. The procedures concerning committee system, collective decision and individual responsibility and criticism and self-criticism are in the state of mess. Committees are so large that the result-oriented and effective debates in the committees appear to be almost impossible. Factionalism, anarchy, unhealthy competition and bureaucratic tendencies have grown in the party from the top to the bottom.

Separate classes of the rich and poor are being created in the party. The condition of the some limited office bearers and shrewd people right from the top to the bottom level is getting improved while a large section of the ranks and file of the party is suffering from unemployment, scarcity and oppression. This is a matter grave concern. Not only this, there is a pervasive financial anarchy in the party. The perversions like corruption, smuggling and extortion are also growing.

There is neither the system of encouragement and promotion for those who practice the proletarian culture in the party nor is there the system of punishment against those having anti-proletarian culture. This situation has turned democracy into anarchy and centralism into bureaucracy. It is now urgent for the party to initiate serious steps to end this situation.

Soon after the politburo meeting took an encouraging decision on the basis of unanimity on party's ideology, political line, plans and programmes, propaganda was unleashed by a leader of the central office stating that equation in the party changed and the principal leadership was reduced to minority status which marked the beginning of the tendency of unhealthy intra-party struggle. Soon after the principal leadership made a public expression stating that the leadership was being trapped, a new wave was created in the party that sparked off intensive debate which has now arrived at this stage. It is necessary to understand this reality in an objective manner. It is not the technical matter alone that had contributed to the development of this process but the main responsible factor is the confusion and differences in the understanding of the political line. It is, thus, necessary to emphasize on the development of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party and save it from anti-proletarian thinking and working style on the basis of debate and discussion. To achieve this goal, the following aspects should be taken into consideration for carrying out the intra-party struggle.

- Emphasis should be given for attaining fresh unity by means of unity-struggle-transformation approach to achieve ideological unity and clarity in political line. If unanimity could not be achieved on certain issues, we must move ahead taking decision of the party on the basis of the principle of "three dos and three don'ts" and 'freedom in the exercise of democratic centralism and uniformity in actions'. It must be understood that unity of our party is today's necessity of class struggle.
- If differences persist on some important issues related to ideology, arrangement should be made in accordance with party's decision for public debate. While doing so, there should not be debate in the party or in

public on the issue pertaining to implementation of the tactical decisions, which are already in the process of implementation.

- The objective situation of today demands an immediate movement against deepening conspiracies of domestic and international reactionaries. It is, therefore, necessary to formulate concrete programmes in a unified manner for the liberation movement with an agreement to launch intensive debate on some unresolved issues in appropriate forums like national conference or national congress.
- It is necessary to make committee system effective, to initiate the process of criticism and self-criticism in the committees; and ensure that criticism against any leader and cadre of the party, from top to bottom, not to be made in public except in the concerned committees. All must defend the leaders and cadres of the party against enemy's attack. This should be strictly implemented.
- Taking into account the unity, ability and necessity, the work division in all party committee needs to be made systematic and it is necessary to end the situation in which some are over-burdened and some are without responsibility. It must be taken into account that imbalance in the organizational work division also makes the intra-party struggle unhealthy. The state of impunity should be ended from top level to the lower rank initiating strict action against the leaders who breach the party discipline and system. It should be implemented strictly. But it should be ensured that anyone who follows and respect the party discipline and system honestly should not be made victim on the basis of differences in views concerning ideology or tactics.





**Some questions for ideological clarity:**

- Party should be clear that the implementation of tactics relating to Constituent Assembly and peace agreement would deepen and is also deepening the danger of right reformism in the party. But it should be realized that the party has no option at present other than being unified to complete the new democratic revolution in Nepal in an original manner through launching forceful insurrection through fighting against all kinds of dangers and also consolidating power. The revolt under the principle of peaceful transition would be nothing other than betrayal to the proletarian class and masses.
- Being the largest party in the Constituent Assembly, the immediate policy to intervene from the fronts of street, parliament and government that our party has adopted should not be taken as any model of revolution. But it should be taken as a concrete plan to prepare ground for insurrection. If it was thought to complete the new democratic revolution through legal intervention from the legal fronts like streets, parliament and the government, this would be against fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on revolution. In other words, if anyone thinks in that light, it would be tantamount to capitulation to the bourgeoisie class. The logic that advocates intervention from the front of the government giving main emphasis on street front would mean it as an immediate action plan to advance the preparation for a decisive revolution through making objective evaluation of the necessity of today's situation.
- The party also needs to be ideologically clear on the ongoing peace process and the constitution making process. Peace process and Constituent Assembly are the achievements of the protracted movement more particularly the great people's war. Much blood has been shed to achieve the tactics of Constituent Assembly. In this situation, conclusion of the peace process in the interest of the Nepali people and writing of the constitution with anti-feudalist and anti-imperialist essence would be ultimately the victory of the people and the people's war. The party, therefore, needs to seriously take initiative to conclude the peace process and write a new constitution of that type. We should not worry about the possibility of the conclusion of the peace process and writing of the new constitution. Instead, we should always be alert against the conspiracy of domestic and external reactionaries not to let the peace and constitution process succeed and be prepared to resist the conspiracy. Without justifying the sincerity and seriousness of the party to conclude the peace process and complete the writing of the people's federal republican constitution and without exposing the conspiracy of the reactionaries against peace and constitution, it would not be possible for the Nepali people to be prepared for revolt, which we must understand seriously. While doing so, if we take the policy of concluding the peace process by integrating and rehabilitating the army in whatever way possible and making one copy of constitution no matter whatever would be its contents would be ultimately suicidal for the revolution and the party, which must be taken into account seriously. Reactionaries, in the name of integration and rehabilitation, have adopted

the policy of hijacking the revolutionary gains of the Nepali people achieved through bloodshed; forcing the People's Liberation Army and our party to surrender; dissolving and completely liquidating them. If we fail to realize this reality it would be a great blunder on the part of our party. Similarly, since our party is the largest force in parliament and our party will have a greater role and say in the constitution, the reactionaries had tried and have been trying to convince our party on their agenda of fundamental principles of bourgeoisie parliamentary constitution. When they felt that the Maoists were not prepared to accept bourgeoisie parliamentary constitution, they are now busy in hatching a final conspiracy to dissolve the Constituent Assembly through the staging of a drama of political deadlock. In this situation, we can prepare and mobilize the people for a decisive revolution only if we organize the movement by totally exposing the reactionary conspiracy and standing firm in favour of peace and people's constitution in the basic interests of the people. This is the only correct dialectical and revolutionary policy in the present concrete Nepali context, on which we must be clear.

- The ideological issue that we are trying to make clear is the issue concerning the process of building four preparations and four bases. In this process, if we think of advancing only the peaceful and legal struggle without being concentrated in a planned way, this would be a spontaneous thinking which is against the sovereign principles of M-L-M on revolution and it would degenerate the revolution into extinction.
- Proletarian class is an international class and its movement is an international movement. It has been already made clear that revolutions can succeed in different countries on different occasions and at different period. But the support of international proletarian class is necessary for the success of the revolution in any country. The principle of proletarian internationalism was developed based on this objective and historical necessity. The communist movement in Nepal and people's war developed in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism soliciting and mobilizing support of the world's communist revolutionaries and the people opposed to imperialism and expansionism. Realizing that the works pertaining to international relations weakened especially after the party entered into the peace process, the politburo meeting made a correct decision to strengthen the works concerning international relations and further consolidating the principle of proletarian internationalism. Now the entire party needs to reaffirm its commitment on this subject. Now the process of strengthening the relations with fraternal parties is slowly picking up momentum and the decision to hold an international conference against imperialism in Nepal next year is definitely a matter of importance and special significance.
- Acknowledging the right to self-determination of the oppressed people like indigenous nationalities, and Madhesis for the success of the Nepali new democratic movement, we have adopted clear fundamental tactics of establishing people's federal republic with the programme of total autonomy. Hence, the party

has adopted the policy of providing compensation in the form of special privilege to the oppressed people like women, dalits and Muslims for the oppression meted out to them by the old state. We will never deviate from these policies for which the entire party is clear and should be clear.

- It is necessary to especially mention about Madhes. The party has realized the strategic role and importance of Madhes for the success of Nepali new democratic revolution owing to Nepal's geo-political location and peculiarity of the struggle against Indian expansionism.
- In connection with formation of fronts for the establishment of autonomous states with the right to self-determination, the party, even during the period of people's war, had given first and the highest priority and emphasis to creating a Madhesi Front; organize its conference; and mobilize the masses of the Madhesi community. This move created a wave in the country including Madhes in support of the party and the revolution during the period of people's war. In principle, we had and we still have made it clear that the internal struggle must be concentrated against arrogance of ruling class of hilly ethnic groups and the external struggle should be against the Indian expansionism for the liberation of Madhesi people.

It is because of the clear policy of the party on autonomous states with the right to self-determination, there had been a wave of enthusiasm among the people in both mountainous and Terai areas at the time of entering into the peace process. At this particular point, Indian expansionism and its Nepali agents started hatching dangerous conspiracies against the Maoists mainly in Madhes. All feudal-compradors both in Mahesh and mountainous regions got united to unleash unwarranted propaganda against the Maoist party that has been launching a life and death struggle for the liberation of all oppressed people including Madhes. As a climax of this conspiracy, Gaur mass assassination was staged in Rautahat in collaboration between Indian goons and their Nepali agents. Even now, the series of killing of Maoist cadres and supporters has not ceased in Madhes. Against this overall background in which the position of principal contradictions has changed, India, creating comprador groups in Mahesh and hilly areas as its agent, has been using them against Nepali new democratic revolution. It is clear that its conspiracy would further intensify in the days to come. Despite the policies taken so far by the party for the consolidation of party's organization and the movement in Mahesh being correct, we must accept that weaknesses persist in our organizational and party works in Madhes in the absence of proper attention and concentration of on our strength. The following plans need to be implemented immediately and in we should move ahead accordingly to correct these flaws.

- i. A plan should be developed to consolidate committee system of the party in Madhes along with elevating the level of the party workers through organizing special ideological and political schooling.
- ii. In addition to the elevation of ideological and political level, a plan should also be formulated and implemented to create maximum number of leaders and cadres along with providing responsibility and promotion and also ensure the organizational protection and safety of all leaders and cadres in Mahesh.

- iii. A concrete plan has to be formulated and implemented to ensure physical protection of the leaders, cadres, supporters and well-wishers of the party through effectively resisting the attack being perpetrated by reactionaries and criminal goons in Madhes.
- iv. In view of the tendency that party's resources are illegally controlled and used to elevate their class status by a limited shrewd people in the country including Madhes whereas honest workers, martyr's families, families of the disappeared and injured ones have been the victim of want and oppression; initiative is to be taken to do away with this situation and ensure judicial and equitable distribution of physical resources.
- v. An initiative is to be taken with concrete plans to launch a movement in Madhes against the arrogance of ruling class of hilly upper castes and agents of Indian expansionism raising the issues of Madhes including autonomous state with the right to self-determination and liberation of all workers and peasants in Madhes.
- vi. All comrades at the leadership level need to be conscious enough that they should at least understand the languages spoken in the concerned autonomous states including Madhes where they are assigned to work.

Acknowledging the history-tested fact that all Madhesi people are patriotic and revolutionary, the party should be clear that the liberation of the entire Nepali people would be ensured only if we move ahead on the basis of the above mentioned policies and plans of the party.

### On Future action plans:

It becomes clear from the above analysis about the critical position of the existing class struggle in the country and concrete political line to be adopted by the party. The party can accomplish its historic responsibility only when we are able to unify the party; formulate its concrete plans; and wholeheartedly translate them into action on the basis of this clarity. The party, therefore, must focus its attention on this fact. While talking of concrete plan of action, the party should be clear that this is the plan of four preparations and four bases.

The plans that were adopted unanimously in the much-talked about politburo meeting after serious deliberation are fundamentally correct even now. The above analysis has also made clear that this plan was correct. It is necessary to modify this plan in the present context on the basis of the action plans adopted by the politburo.

#### 1. Ideological-political aspect:

Keeping at the focal point the necessity and significance of insurrection, independence movement and national stalemate for the establishment of people's federal republic; the works concerning ideological-political schooling and publication and publicity should be launched effectively along with concrete plans. The central committee has to correctly and concretely define and complete the first phase of the work concerning the abovementioned plans by mid January, 2011. The main goal of the first phase of this ideological-political work is to instill lifeblood in the whole party for making the tasks concerning four preparations and four bases more effective.

#### 2. Organizational Aspect:

-Special emphasis will be given to develop the party in a new approach as a front organization of the proletarian class on the basis of democratic centralism to enable the party to fight against factionalism, splitist tendency, bureaucratic trend and anarchy.

- Acknowledging the principle of freedom in criticism and uniformity in action, it should be firmly and translated into action. For this, arrangements, through the decision of the central committee, should be made to conduct debates both in internal forums as well as in public on the issues except the ones concerning immediate tactics and action plans. In accordance with democratic centralism, a system should be developed to make party system more effective and disciplined and to respect dissenting and independent views in the committee. Encouraging this procedure, the party unity should be consolidated.
- The central committee will formulate a concrete plan and implement it within February, 2011 to make the works concerning the supervision, protection, management and mobilization of all cadres as well as martyrs' families, families of the missing fighters and the injured fighters and their families more effectively. In connection with the management and mobilization of all cadres, special teams would be formed nationwide, from local to the central level, and mobilized for the works concerning public service. Similarly, a plan should be formulated to make the cooperative campaign effective and implement it. Cooperatives is a reliable means for organizational expansion, foundation of self-sufficient national economy, scientific method and framework for the utilization of decentralized and limited capital, skill, experiences and education and also the means for providing direct benefits to the people of basic classes thereby creating ground for scientific socialism and developing true communists directly involved in the production sectors. It is, therefore, necessary to develop and launch cooperatives campaign in different levels and sectors and launch it as a method to ensure victory over the Lumpenproletariat perversion. The plan concerning effective coordination between forest, agriculture and cooperatives would play an important role in the revolutionary transformation of the party, towards which our attention must be directed.
- The tasks concerning the four preparations and four bases should be developed in a planned manner. Plans should be formulated to make the tasks of trade unions and professional organizations, fronts and departments more effective; and prepare them for the movement concluding necessary conferences, assembly and meetings of these bodies within mid-February.
- In order to accomplish the historic responsibility of consolidating party unity and mobilizing the entire party and all the bodies under the party for the movement in a massive and centralized manner, a balanced and scientific action plan will be formulated from the central to the local level keeping at the focal point the ability and necessity and implement it effectively.
- In order to end the seriously growing trend of

financial anarchy, class elevation, class discrimination, financial obscurity and corruption; a system would be developed to present the details of income and expenditure of the party to the committee, bring party's fund and all physical resources of the party under party committee and utilize them on the basis of decision of the committee. This would be strictly implemented. This would begin immediately from the center. And financial departments would be formed and reorganized in district and local levels too, and would ensure its effective implementation and mobilization.

- Acknowledging the necessity of immediate preparation to counter and foil the external interference and reactionary conspiracies and also the booby-trap laid against our party; untied fronts, committees, special committees of YCL from the central to the local level should be formed and central bureaus and staff committee be reorganized. Based on this, central committee, with new division of responsibilities, would prepare a concrete plan and implement the first phase of the task within mid-February to mobilize the masses and make it more effective.
- On the basis of proletarian internationalism, fraternal relationship with the communist revolutionaries throughout the world would be consolidated; emphasis would be laid on the formation of an anti-imperialist front, and priority would be accorded to develop and conduct diplomatic relations with neighboring and other countries as well as international organizations in a planned and effective manner.

### On Struggle

- It would be suicidal if we underestimate the conspiracy being hatched by reactionaries that seek to dissolve the peace and constitution making process, impose brutal dictatorship upon the people and push the country into the state of conflict by hijacking the gains achieved through the glorious people's war and people's movement like republican set up, federalism, secularism and all other achievements related to social justice based on the proportionate and inclusive principles. The party, therefore, has to immediately accord top most priority to launch a unified and centralized movement nationwide and accordingly implement it on war footing to defend the gains of the movement like peace and Constituent Assembly and address the issues related to national independence and people's livelihood.

### Technical Aspects:

In order to address the above mentioned necessity relating to ideology, organization and struggle, a concrete plan is to be formulated immediately to build the four preparations and four bases.

Dear Comrades!

Let us march ahead in a unified manner with the determination of standing firmly against the tides of any kinds of reactionary conspiracies ensuring our own transformation for the establishment of people's federal republic. The victory of revolution and the people is inevitable.

## Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

### Com. Gaurav: Revolutionary Line Will Prevail

*Interview with Com Gaurav for The Next Front (Chandra Prakash Gajurel, popularly known as 'Gaurav' was born in April 29, 1948. Now he is a member of the Standing committee and Secretary of the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). Before this, he was the Head of the International Bureau of the Party.*

*Question: It's been almost five months since the sixth extended meeting or the plenum of the party was held in Palungtar of Gorkha district. It has been widely felt that things are not moving towards correct direction. No change has taken place and no sense of newness has been felt in the party. Only stereotype of working style exists. What is your view about this situation*

*Answer: Yes. Five months have been elapsed after the Sixth Expanded meeting of the Central Committee of Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) held in Palungtar of Gorkha district. High level of polemic in the midst of around seven thousand leaders and cadres was a very significant event in the history of our party and whole political movement of Nepal as well. There were many new things to be noticed in the expanded meeting. One peculiar event was that none of the three documents among that of Chairman Com Prachanda, which the press likes to call 'the Supremo' of UCPNM was passed in the historic meet. However, 'there is no option to unity', 'there is not option to the people's revolt' and 'there is not option to transformation' were agreed as the catch words of the historic meet.*

The CC meeting which was held immediately after the historic meeting approved a plan of action based on the general line of 'people's revolt'. But this plan was completely aborted and there was no progress in implementation of this line. It is true that no significant change has taken place even after that. It caused a new debate in the party, who was responsible for the failure of this line? Many opined that it was the main leadership which was mainly responsible for the failure of implementing this plan of action. It was one of the main points of debate in the historic CC meeting held at the last week of April.

*Question: Who is responsible for this inaction? Who do you think is responsible for this-the main leadership or the entire team of leadership or the existing circumstances?*

*Answer: Well, it was one of the most confronting issue of the recently held CC meeting. There were three different opinions regarding the question of which factor and who was responsible for the failure of implementation of this line. One, it was the leadership which was mainly responsible for this. Two, it was not implemented because the general line of people's revolt was wrong due to which it was not implemented. Three, it was due to the lack of discipline in the party and factional activities that prevailed in the party, was the main responsible factor.*

*Question : The party adopted the political line of People's Revolt. But the political activities of your party do*

*not seem to be compatible with the party's official political line. Is the relevance of Palungtar meeting is now over or is it just the result of opportunistic and compromising attitudes?*

*Answer: Yes, 'there is no alternative of the People's Revolt' was a catch word of the Palungtar meeting. And the CC meeting held immediately after the expanded meeting, worked out a plan of action based on the same line. But the same plan was aborted in different excuses. So conclusion cannot be drawn that the general political line and plan of action were irrelevant. Still I believe that the political line adopted by the plenum and plan of action worked out based on the same line were correct. This plan of action and the line was deliberately sabotaged due to the line bias.*

*Question: The party has a barrage of problems and challenges especially in the ideological field, party's political line and its organizational set up. How can you believe that the present party organization-mass party organization-could successfully launch the people's revolt in order to achieve the goal of New Democratic Revolution?*

*Answer: Definitely, we have been facing hosts of problems and challenges. Now the size of the party has become very large, but the quality has been reduced considerably. The party of the advanced proletariat is losing its character and seems to become a mass party. It is obvious that if the character of the party is not back in the track, if the party is not rectified, it is simply impossible for this party to lead a people's revolt. We cannot carry on the rectification movement isolated from the class struggle. So, there is no doubt about the fact that the party should be rectified. But the way party is rectified is to carry the class struggle and once again it has to be tested in the class struggle. It requires that the leaders also have to come under the test. Passing test once in life is not enough. Even the leaders have to pass the test time and again. I am confident that it is only the Maoist party which is capable to lead the New Democratic Revolution, but not exactly at the present condition. The party should undergo through a test, should enter into the furnace of class struggle based on correct ideological-political line and correct tactics and correct plan of action.*

*Question :You, one the one hand, are talking about People's Revolt while there has been marathon bargaining in the party for posts and positions like ministers. Do you not think it is contradictory?*

*Answer: Yes, many selfish and bourgeois tendencies have emerged in the party right from the most top level to the bottom. People even at the central level, are showing their greed for the ministerial post and other posts of profit. This type of character which is emerging and developing slowly in the party reflects the sign of the party changing the colour. This change is naturally effecting the line of the party, different deviations like centrism and righti-*

sm, reformism are being emerged in the party and the struggle against these wrong tendencies have been developing. The two lines struggle which was clearly manifested in the 'Kharipati National Convention', 'Sixth Expanded meeting' and CC meeting concluded last week, reflect the real situation of the party.

*Question: Imperialist and expansionist countries, especially Indian expansionism are active to create political disturbances and turmoil in the country. The comprador forces and Indian lackeys including Madhesi parties and some armed groups backed by India are talking of a 'democratic front' in Nepal. In addition to this, the Nepali Congress party and Indian lackeys within the left parties are also collectively echoing Indian voice. They are dancing to the Indian tune. Against this backdrop, progressive and nationalist forces in Nepal are facing a big challenge to safeguard national sovereignty and national independence. What type of plan and programs you have to cope with this challenge?*

Ans: What has been described regarding the role of Indian expansionism and role of comprador bourgeoisie and bureaucrat capitalism is basically correct. It has been realized by the party since quite a long time back. Therefore party has identified that the principal contradiction has been changed. The contradiction between comprador and bureaucrat capitalism and remnants of feudalism and that of Indian expansionism is principal contradiction. The policy of united front has been changed accordingly. Basic policy of the party is to forge united front between Leftist, Patriotic and Democratic forces. It has been recognized that struggle for national sovereignty and national independence has become major form of struggle. But the major problem in implementing this line is the wrong line of thinking especially at the highest level of party leadership and sabotaging the plan of action to implement the line. Major causes of emerging the two lines' struggle are all these factors.

*Question: How can you fight against these reactionary forces without strong unity within your party? Analyzing from the revolutionary perspective, you are exercising opportunistic line and advocating eclecticism in practice in the name of party unity. Undermining and minimizing the two line struggle in the party is tantamount to avoiding the class struggle. Do you agree?*

Answer: Party unity should have to be seen in two ways. One, the stage of People's War has reached to the concluding stage in which insurrection is decisive. To achieve this aim we should have a strong party and unity among all communists who want revolution is necessary. On the other hand, unity of the opportunists is also felt necessary to bring down the revolutionary forces in minority position. As explained above signs of opportunism, one of them is eclecticism has been noticed in the party and two lines struggle has been waged against all wrong tenden-

cies erupted in the top level of the party. We are not minimizing the lines' struggle which has been repeatedly reflected in the practice. It is true that strong unity in the party is the precondition for the success of the revolution. But the unity should have to be based on correct line, which the revolutionaries within the party are striving for.

*Question: The Maoist revolution is rapidly growing and accelerating worldwide. But UNCP (Maoist) appears to be a passive and mute spectator of this revolution. What do you say about the recent activities of CCOMPOSA and RIM? And what do you think would be the role of UNCP (Maoist) in future?*

Answer: Yes, communist movement is an internationalist movement. As most advanced party of the proletariat we were discharging our revolutionary duty by contributing in International Communist Movement. What Lenin has taught us is that one can best serve the ICM by making revolution in one's own country. Based on this principle we were playing very significant role within the RIM and also in the CCOMPOSA. But when line problem has been emerged within the leadership of the party our role has been limited. The leading role of our party was established during the time of PW, but unfortunately right at this moment communist revolutionaries are looking our party with suspicion, whether this party will change colour and will become the vehicle of reformism. In this situation, it is very difficult for our party to play leading and substantial role. One important point is that Maoists of the world are keenly looking towards the ongoing two lines' struggle of the party. If this lines' struggle would not have been emerged, Maoists of the world would have severed the tie with our party and the fraternal relation would have been broken. They are hopeful of the result of the two lines' struggle. We still hope that we will be able to revitalize the RIM and CCOMPOSA and will enhance our role.

*Question : Can you elaborate more on Nepalese Maoist Revolution? And also anything about The Next Front ?*

Ans : Well, our party is now facing two different problems: problems of inner struggle and problems of class struggle. It is widely felt that if the party was sincerely unified in the correct line the 'people's revolt' would have been succeeded. But the wrong lines at the level of leadership sabotaged this golden opportunity. Our party is the party of heroes who have shed their blood and sacrificed everything for the revolution. This quality of the party still prevails at different levels. We hope that the revolutionary line will prevail and party will be able to lead the revolution. Therefore, I see a bright future of Nepalese revolution.

The next front seems to me as a new initiative to propagate revolutionary line and revolutionary activities at the international level. So, it is appreciable and seeks support from the Maoist revolutionaries.

## Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

### Com. Kiran: Pressing Toward the Seizure of Power

‘The immediate political proposal’ presented by comrade chairman in the Politburo meeting held on April 20, 2011 and also in the present Central Committee meeting is against the fundamental spirit of the political line adopted by the Central Committee meeting held soon after the Palungtar extended meeting. Expressing my dissenting opinion on Chairman’s proposal, I, therefore, would like to present a separate political proposal in this committee.

#### 1. Two main problems at present

*The country is now in a grave political crisis*

We have now two main problems. They are: problems related to class struggle or national struggle and problem related to two-line struggle in the party. The problem concerning national struggle is related to the problem in correctly identifying the class enemy and the problem in effectively advancing the struggle against it. Now the reactionaries, on the one hand, are conspiring to convert our party — Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) — into a reformist and status-quoist party by pushing it to the grand parliamentary quagmire and should this plan fail, they are plotting to resort to suppression against our party, one the other.

We must understand this truth properly. In the same way, the two-line struggle in the party is getting complicated and this is also the expression of class struggle. We also must be serious on the issue of properly understanding the two-line struggle and advancing it in a comradely manner.

Now families of martyrs, families of disappeared warriors, and injured and disabled warriors are expecting from our parties to realize their aspirations and dreams of liberation. The entire Nepali people including workers, peasants, women, dalits (oppressed), janajatis [minority nationalities], Muslims and all backward people and classes as well as the international proletarian class, too, are watching at our party as a centre of hope for their bright future.

We must pay our attention to all these factors. A true communist party and its leaders must seek scientific solution to these problems. Otherwise, the validity and justification of such leadership would automatically come to an end. We must be very serious on this issue.

#### 2. On the Chairman’s proposal

The political proposal presented by com. Chairman is against the fundamental spirit of the political line and policies based on the political proposal adopted by the Central Committee which was a continuation of the Sixth Extended Meeting of the Central Committee held in Palungtar. In this connection, it is necessary to give due attention to the following matters.

In the first place, comrade Chairman’s proposal has rejected the political line adopted by the central committee convened as per the directives of the Palungtar plenum. The earlier political line of the party was rejected in the name of “clarifying confusions in the political line and modifying the plans of actions in view of the new developments and changed context”.

On the one hand, comrade Chairman, in his proposal, has avoided the issue concerning the review of the situation emerged after the Palungtar Plenum and he has also reincorporated his own views in it. Herein has been used sophism against dialectic materialism.

Secondly, in the document on political line that was adopted after the thorough analysis of national and international situation by the Central Committee in accordance with the mandate of the Palungtar plenum, it was stated: “The party has adopted the establishment of people’s federal republic as the immediate tactics. It has adopted a clear-cut policy of consolidating mass insurrection for the establishment of people’s federal republic or people’s republic through struggles from three fronts—constitution, peace and government—with priority to street struggle on the basis of four preparations and four bases. The party has also made it clear that it has to move ahead by consolidating the movement taking up issues of national independence, people’s supremacy and other burning issues directly related to the people including their livelihood. Now it is urgent for the party to act in practice by formulating concrete action plans on the basis of this political line”.

But the political proposal presented now has stated, “As a part of four preparations and four bases, it is necessary to take ahead the process of army integration and rehabilitation and prepare a unified draft of the Constitution and take it to the people for debate, despite differences on some key issues including the ones related to state restructuring, governance structure and electoral system.” It is clear that the proposed proposal does not match with the spirit of earlier report adopted by the Central Committee as directed by the Palungtar Plenum. This proposal has rejected the political line adopted by the Central Committee held after the Palungtar Plenum.

Thirdly, citing the intensification of conspiracy of imperialists, expansionists and reactionaries to break the peace process, dissolve the Constituent Assembly, impose tyranny on the people and seize the achievements of the “People’s War” and popular movement, the Chairman’s political proposal has stated the necessity to immediately integrate the army and prepare a unified draft of the Constitution to foil the conspiracy. This logic is based on pessimistic and capitulationist thinking that considers reactionaries stronger than their real strength and sees only the negative aspects of the situation. This is monolithic thinking which is against the materialistic dialecticism that believes in the thinking that the political line and tactics should be adopted on the basis of concrete analysis of concrete situation.

Fourthly, this document does not contain the correct and scientific answer of the question as to why the revolutionary political line could not be implemented. In the report, the role of the main leadership for its failure to concrete on four preparations and four bases that was required for the mass insurrection has been described as the secondary one while “rising factionalism, anarchy, confusion and suspicions in the party and antagonistic and separatist activities,” which are in fact, secondary factors, have been cited as the primary reasons.

Fifthly, comrade Chairman, in various parts of his report, has, as usual, raised three lines or trends in the party. But there are only two trends in the Party at present. The parliamentarism and inertia are not two separate trends but fundamentally one.

#### 3. Some Ideological Questions

It is necessary in the present juncture to pay due atten-

tion to some ideological questions in order to develop the communist party into a new kind of communist party and to effectively advance the tasks of revolution. These ideological questions are as follows.

Firstly, it is the question relating to dissecting one into two and integrating the two into one. This is the question that is related to intense struggle between dialectics and eclecticism in the ideological front and between class struggle and class coordination in the political arena. The principle of dissecting one-into-two is based on dialectical materialism and integrating two-into-one is based on eclecticism and class coordination. In this crucial juncture, we must firmly stand in favour of dialectical materialism and class struggle and against eclecticism and class coordination.

The second issue is related to the relationship between imperialism and revisionism. Engels had said that capitalist party or the party of elite workers was being developed in the first monopolized country, England. After that Lenin had also especially mentioned that capitalism had taken the form of imperialism which has resulted in the development of revisionist parties of the elite workers in different countries and it consequently resulted in split and fragmentation in the communist movement.

Now imperialism, which is the highly developed form of capitalism, has projected itself in a new form and cover. Against this background, the alliance between imperialism and revisionism is also being developed into a new form and colour. Factionalism, division and opportunism in any revolutionary communist party are the expression of this alliance. True revolutionary communists must be alert against the alliance between imperialism and revisionism.

Thirdly, it is related to the question that seeks to turn the tactics of Constituent Assembly into the strategy. In the process of capitalist democratic revolution, proletarian class can present the tactics of Constituent Assembly and this can be viewed as a correct tactics as well. But we have to be alert to ensure that such tactics would not be allowed to turn into the strategy. This is so because reactionaries can utilize the Constituent Assembly for their own interests. If the Constituent Assembly slipped out of the control of proletarian class, it shall have no meaning and validity. In such a situation, a people's constitution cannot be made from the Constituent Assembly.

The fourth question is related to the tendency of opposing revolutionary Marxism and advocating revisionism in the name of creativity, originality and newness. The history of international communist movement as well as Nepali communist movement has proved that all kinds of rightist and revisionists have been unleashing onslaught against revolutionary Marxism and Marxists in the name of creativity, originality and newness.

The revisionists describe revolutionary Marxism as old Marxism, dogmatism and conservative Marxism and in the same way they describe revolutionary Marxists as traditionalists, conservatives and dogmatists. Right from Bernstein, all rightists, revisionists, so-called neo-communists and all post-modernists have been doing exactly the same. Many revolutionaries also get scared from this reactionary onslaught and it is necessary to be clear on this as well.

Fifthly, this is the issue relating to the understanding of liquidationism. The characteristics of the liquidationism is to abandon revolutionary ideology and communist party that is guided by revolutionary ideology and revolutionary political line and struggle and also to give emphasis on legitimate and legal actions in all fronts. It is also neces-

sary to become alert to ensure that we are not going to be degenerated into liquidationism.

#### 4. Brief review of situation after Palungtar meeting

The two-line struggle had reached a climax in the extended meeting of the Central Committee held in Palungtar of Gorkha district.

Finally, the meeting reached a conclusion with the mandate of transformation, unity and mass insurrection. In the central committee meeting held after the Palungtar plenum, a political document had been adopted by integrating positive aspects of the reports of comrade Prachanda and comrade Kiran on the one hand and decision had been taken to discuss the rest of the issues in appropriate forums and settle them in the next national congress or assembly. With the conclusion that it was necessary to establish a people's federal republic and protect national independence and that the principal contradiction of the people of Nepal was with domestic reactionaries and Indian expansionism, the meeting had decided to make four preparations and four bases for the mass insurrection.

Similarly, a five-point formula had been adopted on the issues concerning two-line struggle. This kind of decision had rekindled a new hope and enthusiasm in the entire rank and file of the party and among the people. But concrete progress could not be made in the process of translating the political line into action.

Despite many complications, orientation (schooling) programmes, both at the central and local level, were held in different regions after the meeting. But situation was not favourable to move ahead with concrete plans. The implementation of the party's political line was obstructed not only by those who had disagreement in it but also from a large section of those who had agreed on it.

In addition to this, the main leadership exhibited dual character of acceptance of the political line in words and objection to it in action.

Efforts were also made to create rift and create enmity among those who had agreement on the political line from top to bottom. Party Chairman demonstrated some example of dual characters by advocating mass insurrection with one section of the people and openly opposing with the others. He, on the one hand, said that Constitution writing was impossible and he, at the same time, said the Constitution would be written by midnight of May 28. Similarly, he said with one section of the people that the formation of people's volunteers was a must and said with other people that this idea was bad. Not only this, he, on the one hand, signed a Seven-Point Agreement and helped form the government, while he tried to pull down the government by entering into the 12-Point Agreement. These are some of the dual characters and double standards of party Chairman.

It has proved that there has not yet been revolutionary transformation in the main leadership of the party. The main leadership is, therefore, responsible for the failure of implementing the political line of the party.

Analyzing the entire situation right from the Palungtar plenum, the following conclusion can be made regarding the main leadership.

1. From class perspectives, the main leadership has ceased to trust the lower class but has started trusting the upper class or reactionary class and the trend of class uplifting has been strong in the leadership.
2. Ideologically, it is oriented to eclecticism and anarchic evolution.

3. Politically, it is moving from centrism to reformism and national capitulation. Special efforts are, therefore, necessary to take the ideological struggle to a newer height and reverse this trend.

Finally, what must be mentioned here is that comrade chairman has raised a question why the rule concerning the two-line struggle was not implemented. This is a serious matter. When ideological and political line is separated from the rule and principle of democratic centralism, this gives rise to a grave situation. This issue requires massive and intensive discussion.

### 5. Present political situation

Now, the process of imperialist globalization has been deepening in a swifter manner, on the one hand, while the competition among the imperialist powers has also slowly intensifying. The contradiction between imperialism and oppressed countries is the principal contradiction in the present day world. In addition to that, Asia, Africa and Latin America are the turbulent center of revolution and the revolution is the principal trend of the world at present.

At this juncture, the principal contradiction of the Nepalese people is with the domestic reactionaries under the leadership of comprador capitalism and Indian expansionism. The process of ingratiating and neo-colonialism has intensified in Nepal. Now there has not only been serious conspiracy against the process and objective of constitution writing through the Constituent Assembly but at the sometime our national independence is also under threat. In this situation, it is necessary to turn the existing political crisis into the revolutionary crisis, for which we must be serious.

At this crucial time, it is necessary to analyze the political situation mentioned in the political report presented by comrade chairman and discuss the conclusion made on the basis of this analysis.

In this proposal, it has been stated that the possibility of implementing the plan of utilizing the political crisis to turn it into revolutionary crisis by May 28 is getting impossible.

In the report it has been pointed out the possibility of constitutional vacuum after May 28 and it has raised the possibility of presidential rule or some kind of coup to be staged by the president. In view of this situation, the report of the chairman has made a conclusion on the necessity of army integration and preparation of the draft constitution. We need to be clear that the report of the chairman has neither objectively analyzed the situation nor has it made correct conclusion.

In fact, it is a capitulationist conclusion made on the basis of monolithic analysis of the situation. As a matter of fact, there would not be any constitutional crisis even if the constitution was not promulgated by May 28. It is so because the Interim Constitution has the provision that states that the Constituent Assembly would continue to exist until the new constitution is promulgated. If anyone tries to stage a coup violating the constitutional provision, there would be a possibility of stormy people's revolution, which may create the situation that would pave the way for turning the political crisis into the revolutionary crisis.

The revolutionary forces need to give especial attention to utilizing this situation for mass insurrection. But comrade Chairman's attention has never been directed towards this possibility.

In the same way, some responsible people, one the one hand, are deliberately blocking the process of constitution writing and they are, at the same time, spreading the ru-

mour to confuse the people and convince them that constitution writing process has been obstructed by the Maoists, on the other. In addition to this, some planned criminal activities like explosions, hooting the inmate inside prison, fatal assault on Energy Minister and shooting the staff of diplomatic mission of certain country have been carried out. These incidents are seriously linked with the issue of nationalism. Now the constitution writing is related not only with democracy but also with the issue of national independence.

In such a situation, the fury in the mind of Nepalese people against domestic and international reactionaries is deepening. People want to conclude the peace process in a revolutionary way, write the constitution through the Constituent Assembly and solve the problems related to people's livelihood, for which they have established and accepted the UCPN-Maoist as the dependable and trustworthy party. If the constitution is not written and intensification of danger on national independence grows, it is certain that people's fury would further intensify.

In overall sense, the objective situation for revolution and mass insurrection is still favourable. But subjective situation is weak and unfavorable, to some extent. Despite this, if we advance our tasks of unifying the party and the task related to four preparations and four bases, we cannot rule out the possibility of transforming the political crisis into revolutionary crisis and give the mass insurrection a practical shape within the predetermined time.

Hence, we, correctly assessing the revolutionary objective situation, need to pay special attention to the preparation of subjective situation.

### 6. Immediate Political Line, Policy and Action Plan

The principal political line of the revolution to be completed in a country like Nepal which is in semi-feudal and semi colonial state is and should be based on the grand objective of advancing to socialism and communism through the completion of new people's democratic revolution. The new people's democratic revolution to be completed in Nepal is based on the strategy of unifying patriotic, democratic and communist forces and also the general mass under the leadership of proletarian class against feudalism and imperialism.

To complete this type of revolution in the present unique national and international context, establishment of people's federal republic, protection of national independence and resolution of fundamental problems related to the livelihood of the people are the subjects of principal political tactics of our party. This type of principal strategic tactics is closely related with peace, constitution and mass insurrection as their integral part.

The repression, counter revolution and the conspiracy of the reactionary forces to impose tyranny on the people cannot be resisted through capitulationist style like integrating armies and writing the status-quoist constitution. This can be done only by intervening from the government, mobilizing the people on the streets and effectively advancing the exposure campaign and also by giving practical shape to the tasks concerning the four preparations and four bases.

Mass insurrection is not something that can be accomplished within the predetermined time. Instead it is based on the synthesis of objective and subjective situation. The logic that says the mass insurrection is not possible within the predetermined time is in no way meant for army integration in a capitulationist manner and promulgation of the status quoist constitution. The mass insurrection is possi-



ble in any circumstance and especial emphasis should be given for its preparation.

In this context, we need to move ahead in the following ways.

**a. On Constitution**

- 'People's Federal Republic' to be mentioned in the preamble of the constitution.
- The report of the committee concerning state restructuring to be made its basis.
- On the question of governance structure, the largest number of votes in the sub-committee to be made its basis.
- Basic priority to be given to workers, peasants, women, oppressed, nationalities and the people belonging to backward areas including Mashas.
- Constitution with the essence of anti-feudalism and anti-imperialism to be formulated
- The party should draft a brief constitution based on these subjects and take it to the people

**b. On Army Integration**

- Not to accept regrouping without deciding the modality
- Security related policy to be formulated prior to the army integration
- People's Liberation Army to be integrated as a separate or mixed force and its command to remain with the People's Liberation Army
- People's Liberation Army to be given the responsibility of border security force

**c. On relation between the constitution and army integration**

- People's Liberation Army to be established as the principal force for change in Nepal
- Formulation of people's constitution and army

integration to be completed simultaneously

**d. On government**

- The present government to be given continuity
- Representatives to be sent to the cabinet on proportionate and inclusive basis

**e. On Organizational task**

- Freeing the party from all kinds of wrong thoughts and trends like groupism and splitist trend, struggle to be launched to build a new type of communist party
- In the local level, party, youth force, fronts and committees to be effectively organized
- Mobilization of people, service to the people and the disclosure campaign to be made systematic and to be organized more effectively.
- Considering the present national necessity, a united front of patriotic, democratic and communist forces to be created also in the central level.
- The task concerning division of responsibility to be made more organized

**f. On mobilization of people, service to the people and exposure campaign**

The fundamental issues of this campaign are as follows:

- Peace and constitution
- Defence of national independence and sovereignty, annulment of unequal treaties and agreements including 1950 Treaty, resistance against external interference including border encroachment.
- Campaign against killing, hooliganism and insecurity
- Rs one million to be given to the family of the martyrs, disappeared warriors to be made public, appropriate relief to be given to injured and disabled fighters.
- Campaign to control price hike and corruption
- All old and new cases against the Maoists to be withdrawn

## Letter to the PCm Italy

*The last weeks have become very important in the Nepalese revolutionary politics. In the main, CM has now appeared with his true colour. It means the contradiction he had shown between his revolutionary form and reformist essence has now been resolved. His eclecticism has now transformed into open reformism, which manifested in open from his political line presented in the last CC meeting. He argued that party needed to change some tactical plans put forward by Palungtar EM because insurrection is not possible around May 28. For that he proposed to work with tactical plans of peace and constitution in place of people's insurrection.*

*It was in fact a change of political line not of the plan only. His logic is that enemy conspiracy of dissolving CA and imposing presidential rule could be foiled by showing our party committed for peace and constitution. Based on this logic, he brought a line to finally surrender PLA in the name regrouping and write a piece of constitution based on compromise with the reactionaries. JB supported it. But he said CM's line demanded some more things to add. Firstly, he demanded to change the Palungtar analysis of principal contradiction, secondly change the policy of united front and thirdly call to form a consensus government inclusive of Nepali Congress and Madheshi Parties. CM neither opposed nor supported it; but remained silent. Com K placed a separate document, to which about one third comrades present in the CC upheld firmly and a few others who were previously supporter of CM inclined towards K's position. There is a considerable number of pro-CM CCMs who want CM to unite with K not with JB. Finally, CM's document was adopted by majority.*

*In the days following this meeting CM himself and his kitchen cabinet are working hard to belittle K and the line he has placed before the CC. Factionalism is rampant. There is a danger of the line struggle transforming into class struggle. It is heard that some squads are being trained to smash opposition. So the days ahead are challenging. On the other, the proposed congress is aimed at wiping out revolutionaries from the organisational responsibilities.*

*Now, there is no doubt that the leadership and party has become reformist. Now no question remains to abide by party discipline imposed by reformist line and leadership. So the split is inevitable. But we have to choose such a point at which split is justified and the revolutionary masses are not confused with. Now, at present, we have started working to set up parallel structures at all the levels.*

*A comrade of CC  
May 07, 2011*

## On the Situation in Nepal

### On the interview with Com. Gaurav

While we publish the recent interview released by com. Gaurav, we back to take stock of the situation in Nepal.

As we wrote in the joint declaration of May day, the Nepalese revolution is at a difficult crossroads of the clash between revolution and counterrevolution, in which it faces external and internal enemies and, in particular, the reformist tendencies within the party that currently, with the alliance of right and center, are the majority in the party.

Despite the party line had laid down the path of people's revolt, and on that was based the strength position of the Left, the party leadership since the very beginning has worked to sabotage this line, getting results: the Ministry of Interior and the confirmation of deadline of 29 May for the Constituent Assembly. But these results are involving more and more the Communist Party of Nepal in the preservation of the bourgeois democratic regime, the form through which the comprador bourgeoisie of the bureaucratic capitalism continues holding on to power, stopping the way for the new democratic revolution.

This path is supported only by the Left and now more than ever it needs to mobilize the masses and make the masses the winning weapon. But it is equally important that the Left is given the international support by Marxist-Leninist-Maoists and the anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces in the world.

In this sense the joint Declaration of May Day, on which the UCPN(M) has placed the signature, is the form in which the Left still keeps the party within the revolutionary current. But, as it has been said in the interview, the unity of this party can be based only on the advancement of the line of the people's revolt (concrete form, in the current situation, in which it can be resumed the interrupted march of the People's War).

We do not think that this party can be the instrument of this resuming. But surely it is through the two lines struggle that the Maoists in this party may unite and win. The necessary and uncompromising exposure of the revisionist positions of the leadership cannot be equivalent to the liquidation of the match of the Nepalese revolution, the 10 years of people's war, the leading the mass political movement, which was a great hope for the Communists in the world.

Nepalese Maoists are taking the path to the reactivation of RIM, of which the Declaration of May Day is sign and step in the road that requires the defeat of the liquidators of RIM represented by the RCP US, and the parties close to it, and of the revisionist positions of the leadership of the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

### On the document of Com. Kiran

After the resolution adopted by the CC PCNU (M) following the Plenum in Palungtar, which had sanctioned the efforts of the left of the Party to impose to the leadership, isolating the extreme right of the Party, the application of the line of the people's revolt, the interview with Com. Gaurav explained what happened after the CC and the new turnaround of the party leadership allied with the right against the left to counter the line of the people's revolt and continue imposing the revisionist line.

In the important document submitted by Kiran, Deputy

Secretary of UCPN(M) and current leader of the left, to the meeting of the CC of April 20, in which the rupture between the revisionist leadership and the left of the party has become more clear, and the two lines struggle stronger.

We publish also an excerpt of a letter received by our party from the left of UCPN(M) that reports to our party and for the movement the current state of affairs.

We consider decisive for the fate of the Nepalese revolution to take again, through the battle for the people's revolt, the path of people's war, the only that will lead the party, the proletariat and the masses to the victory of the Nepalese New Democratic Revolution, marching towards socialism and communism.

We reiterate that the international communist movement and, within it, the genuine MLM forces, should provide support to this line, beyond the persisting differences on the ideology, the strategy and the assessment of the process of people's war in Nepal and UCPN(M) in the years since 2006.

The Kiran's document renews, reaffirms and deepens the criticism of the majority line of the party leadership. The class nature of the latter is more precisely defined, as well as the theoretical basis of abandonment of Marxism. It shows how in the evolution of the situation in Nepal, the arguments of "creativity and innovation" have been used again to assert revisionism, and points out the link between this revisionism and the trends so-called "new-communist and post-modernist" existing also in our movement (of this nature is the tendency represented by Bob Avakian and his followers).

The comrades, the Left, oppose to this line with an alternative plan that remains, also for tactical reasons, within the guidelines of the Plenum and the resolution of the following CC held in Palungtar. Of the plan they proposed we support the revitalization and the role that is given back to the People's Liberation Army. We will not go into these plan and proposals, but we raise a few points that we had the occasion to express directly to the Left of the party - the reports of these meetings will be made public in the near future.

First, the two lines struggle can not be confined within the party, but should develop among the proletarians and the masses throughout the country, taking the head of the social demands of the Nepalese masses, which are important for their mobilization and to strengthen the class content of the Left line.

Secondly, pointing out the need of a new Communist Party, Kiran says in the document: "Freeing the party from all kinds of wrong thoughts and trends like groupism and splitist trend, struggle to be launched to build a new type of communist party". We think that this new type of communist party is the key to give the proletariat and the people of Nepal a new leadership, anti-revisionist and Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, able to unite all the Maoists, inside and outside the party.

Along with the action of the Left in the party, adhering the joint declaration of May 1, under the signature of the party, a positive solution to the crisis crossing the Nepalese Maoists and the Nepalese revolution is advancing, and this may contribute the rebuilding of a new international organization of the proletariat.





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झूठे चुनावों का  
बहिष्कार करो!

विकास के नाम पर  
विस्थापन व विनाश  
का खेल खेल रही  
लुटेरी चुनावी पार्टियों  
को मार भगाओ!!

दण्डकारण्य शेरगल जोनल कमेटी  
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# Support the People's War in India



2 - 9 April 2011  
International Week of Support

International Committee to Support the People's War in India  
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