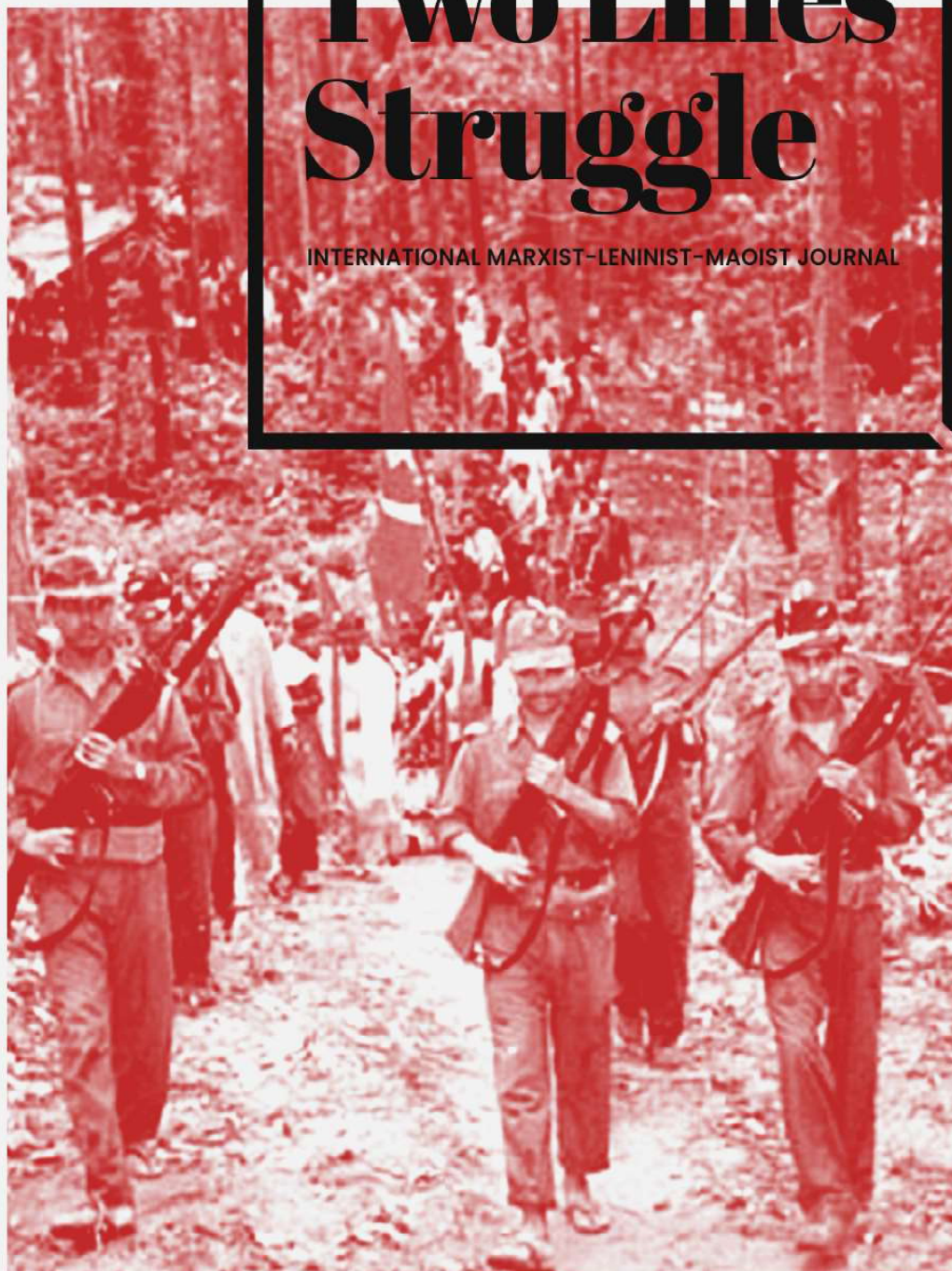


2022/1

# Two Lines Struggle

INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST-MAOIST JOURNAL



01

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# Editorial

We present to the comrades of the parties and organizations of the International Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Communist Movement, to the revolutionaries of all countries, to the international proletariat and the peoples of the world, the first edition of the journal Two Lines Struggle.

It is not the journal of a party, or a block, a faction or particular trend within the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, but the decision of different parties and organizations in order to promote the two-lines-struggle within the communists, as its name and slogan indicate, and to contribute to its unity, in particular, with the preparation of a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Unified International Conference.

The need for a journal like Two Lines Struggle lies in the urgency for the International Communist Movement to meet the challenges put by the world situation, in front of the extreme sharpening of the most important contradictions of imperialist capitalism: that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, that between the imperialist countries and the oppressed peoples and nations, that between the different imperialist countries and monopolies. Contradictions that in turn cause an ascent of the world revolution expressed by the uprisings of the people's masses around the world, the aggression against the oppressed countries and their wars of resistance, the growing preparations for a world war for a new distribution of the world, to which is added the outrageous destruction of nature... facts that indicate the advanced state of agony of imperialist capitalism and the excellent conditions for the advancement of the revolution that require the communists to unify their efforts to constitute an international centre of revolutionary leadership and the advance in the construction of the Party of the working class in each country, essential to guarantee the triumph of the World Proletarian Revolution.

A journal like Two Lines Struggle is also necessary to correctly develop the two-lines-struggle within the MLM communists: with an argued discussion seeking the truth in the facts, rejecting the logic of faction, the pre-constituted blocks, the intrigues and political maneuvers, the secessionist attitude; and working to unite, to realize the common platform for convening of the Unified International Conference towards a new international organization of the proletariat.

Therefore, Two Lines Struggle will publish documents of different parties and organizations on the ideological, political and organizational issues concerning the preparation of the MLM Unified International Conference. Considering that our entire struggle is against imperialism, against the revisionism of Prachanda, Avakian and all kinds of opportunism, it is necessary to develop the public struggle of opinions in order to clarify, based on the general ideological identity in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the differences that are legitimate within the MLM, unfolding at the same time the ideological and theoretical struggle on the methods and effects that sectarian and splitting positions and attitudes create in this struggle, as well as clarifying the class character of these positions, in order to enable the International Communist Movement to achieve a higher level of unity.

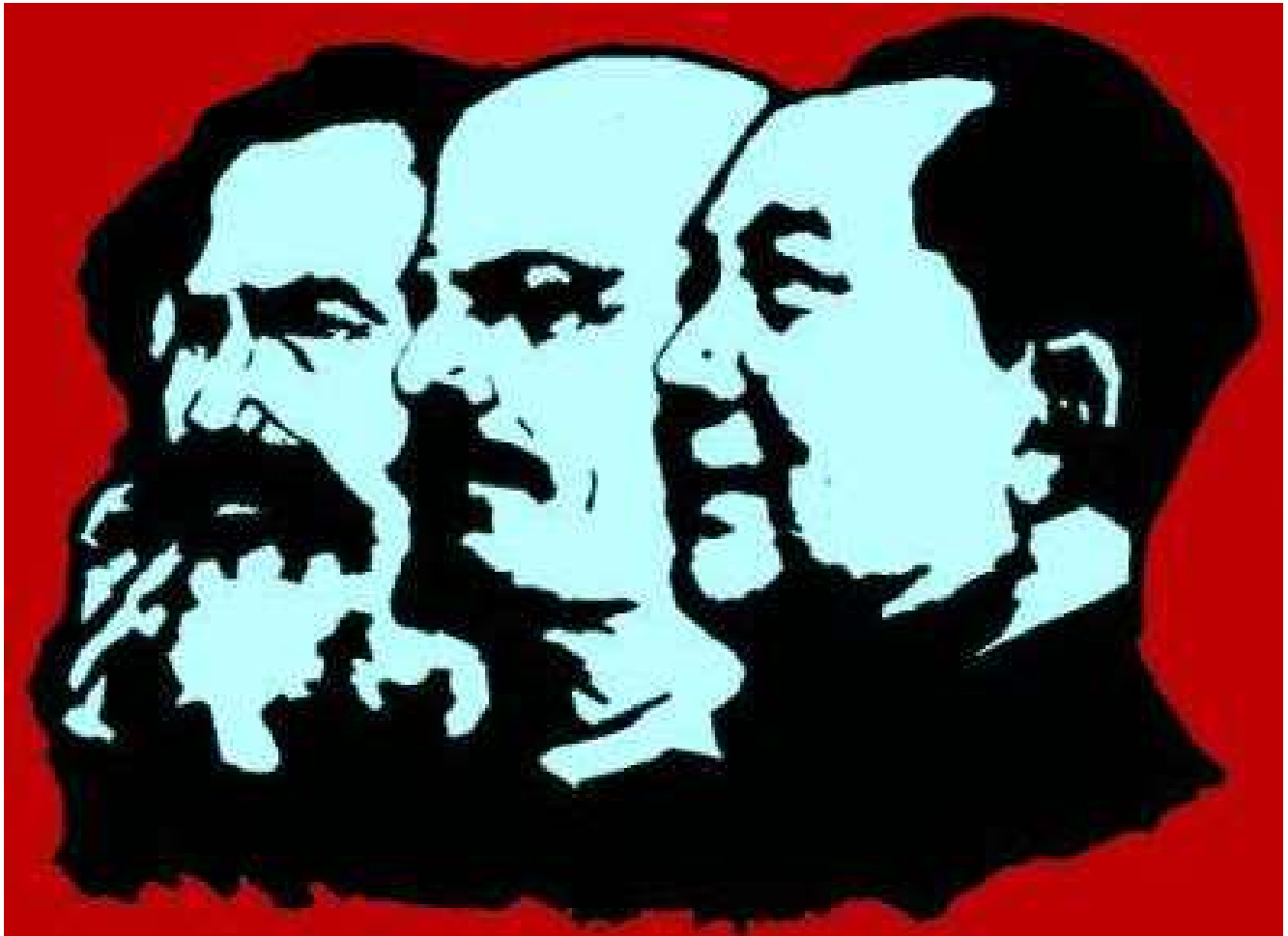
Two Lines Struggle will also publish joint international declarations accounting the common positions and tasks that are part of the process of struggle for the ideological, political and organizational unity of the communists of the different countries. Likewise, reports and special appeals will be published, in order to make know the common actions of the international proletariat and the most important struggles of the proletariat and the peoples of the world against imperialism and reaction.

Two Lines Struggle will also include some historical documents of the International Communist Movement that serve as a guide and inspiration to solve the big problems that our movement faces.

We call the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist detachments of the different countries to take this magazine as their own, to use it as an instrument of struggle for unity, since all the MLM Parties and Organizations, according to their level, can and should give a great contribution to carry out the MLM Unified International Conference.

Finally, Two Lines Struggle does not replace the different efforts that are being made and must be made by the different Parties and Organizations to hold bilateral and multilateral meetings, conferences, seminars... that are necessary to carry out joint work, helping each other to solve problems serving of the realization of the great step of the MLM Unified International Conference that the proletariat and the peoples of the world demand in their struggle and march towards revolution and socialism.

# **For a Unified Marxist-Leninist-Maoist International Conference**





# Proposal regarding the balance of the International Communist Movement and of its Current General Political Line

## I. Introduction

As communists, we are sons and daughters of a single class in the world, the international proletariat, which has its destiny undeniably welded – communism – which either all or none enter. For that, we firmly subject ourselves to proletarian internationalism as a fundamental principle for the ICM, we unfold our powerful and immortal lemma that was established in the Manifesto of the Communist Party from Marx and Engels: **“Proletarians of all countries, unite!”**

Communism is the inexorable goal of history, humanity marches toward it and this unfading goal will be reached no matter the vicissitudes we face today.

The principal task for the communists is to conform and develop themselves as a marxist-leninist-maoist Communist Party to initiate and develop People’s War to conquer Power – which we have to develop according to the particularity of each country – serving the World Proletarian Revolution to reach our final goal: Communism. The existence of a communist party is decisive to make the proletarian revolution at the New Era in which we develop ourselves. Without a marxist-leninist-maoist Communist Party, revolution can not be carried out and neither can it develop itself to conquer and defend the New Power.

The International Communist Movement is the vanguard of the international proletariat. The principal problem today for the ICM is the dispersion of forces and the main danger is still revisionism. Its unity is built on the base and guidance of marxism – today marxism-leninism-maoism, principally maoism – and its application to the concrete practice of revolution on each country and to the process of the world revolution.

Chairman Mao told us: **“the history of the international communist movement shows us that proletarian unity is consolidated and developed in the struggle against opportunism, revisionism and divisionism”**. The current dispersion was originated with the capitalist restoration in the USSR and in People’s China, and it was aggravated by the emergence of the right opportunist line, revisionist and capitulationist (ROL R&C) in Peru, the revisionist treason of “Prachandism” in Nepal and the “avakianite” liquidationist revisionism in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

(RIM), among other manifestations of new revisionism in different parties and organizations. Splittism and the following dispersion were the result of new revisionism’s treason to the fundamental principles of marxism in the proletarian movement.

The demarcation line between marxism and the new revisionism consists in: 1) acknowledging or not acknowledging maoism as the third, new and superior stage of marxism and the necessity to combat revisionism and all opportunism; 2) acknowledging or not acknowledging the necessity of revolutionary violence – as People’s War – to make revolution in one’s own country; 3) acknowledging or not acknowledging the necessity to demolish the old state apparatus and replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat; 4) acknowledging or not acknowledging the necessity of the revolutionary party of the proletariat.

The ICM can not give a single step toward its reunification without combating revisionism and all opportunism implacably and inseparably from the struggle against imperialism and all reaction. This is why we base ourselves in the principle of **“two-line struggle as a driving force for party development”**, which is decisive to formulate and defend the red proletarian line and to combat the other non-proletarian lines, in other words, to keep the Party red.

The general counterrevolutionary offensive that was unleashed in the beginning of the 90s of the last century, mainly by Yankee imperialism, is being defeated by the marxist-leninist-maoist revolutionary counteroffensive through the People’s Wars, the struggles for national liberation and the struggles developed by the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world. We greet the heroic People’s Wars in India, Peru, Turkey and the Philippines and the armed struggles for liberation of the nations occupied by imperialism.

Class struggle in the era of the world proletarian revolution and of the general crisis of imperialism and its sweeping away, the era in which we develop ourselves, follows the logic of the people that was established by Chairman Mao Tsetung, according to which there is

## ***For a Unified MLM International Conference***

no definitive defeat for the proletariat. Thus, the capitalist restorations in the USSR (1956) and in China (1976) can not stop the revolutionary march of the international proletariat on its path to ultimately settle down in Power. These defeats are only moments in the development of the contradiction between revolution and counterrevolution, from which we draw lessons to prevent restorations in the future. The few decades of dictatorship of the proletariat – which started the construction of socialism in more than a third of the world – produced the greatest social achievements for the masses in human history, which were never reached before.

The end of the social-imperialist USSR in the beginning of the 90s did not represent the defeat of marxism nor the failure of socialism, but the bankruptcy of the decomposing revisionism and social-imperialism. Marxism – today marxism-leninism-maoism, principally maoism – is the most complete, progressive and rational doctrine of the whole human history; it represents the new because it is the world view, the ideology of the last and most advanced class in History: the proletariat; the class that is conscious of its historical role of being the gravedigger of capitalism and, consequently, of all class society. Maoism is opposed to all the decadent and obsolete bourgeois ideology and its revisionist deviations.

During more than 170 years starting from the Manifesto of the Communist Party in 1848, the ideology of the proletariat has emerged and developed itself in the crucible of class struggle in three stages: 1) marxism, 2) marxism-leninism and 3) marxism-leninism-maoism. Maoism is the almighty scientific ideology of the international proletariat, it is almighty because it is true; the third, new and superior stage of marxism; the current marxism that we uphold, defend and principally apply.

The new revisionsim of the ROL in Peru, of the called “prachandaism” and “avakianism”, etc., act within the international proletarian movement as part of the general counterrevolutionary offensive, as an anti-maoist counter-current that attempts to hold down the World Proletarian Revolution. The new revisionism negates marxism, the party, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, the center of its attacks are condensed in the negation of the People’s War as an essential question of maoism – a question that is inseparable from it.

The fundamental of maoism is Power, in other words, the power to the proletariat, the power to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the power based on an armed force led by the Communist Party. Notably: 1) Power under the leadership of the proletariat within the democratic revolution; 2) Power to the dictatorship of the proletariat within the socialist revolution and the successive cultural revolutions; 3) Power based on an

armed force led by the communist Party, conquered and defended through People’s War.

Chairman Mao established the strategy and tactics of the world revolution. The development of the world revolution is the principal aspect for preventing the world imperialist war and, if it starts, we communists must oppose it with world People’s War. This demands us to lead People’s War to face the imperialist wars of aggression against the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa, Latin America and even in Europe itself. Even without the imperialist aggression we must lead People’s War to make revolution in all kind of countries, comprising countries and continents until advancing toward the world People’s War, with which we will sweep away imperialism and the reaction from the face of Earth. Thus, it corresponds to us making the world revolution through People’s War, and the base for it is constituted by the oppressed nations.

Therefore, the fundamental aspect of maoism is Power. People’s War and Power for the class are an essential part of maoism, and an inseparable aspect of it, namely the political and military conception of the proletariat: Power conquered and defended by the armed force led by the Communist Party. The Party expresses the political, military and construction strategy of the proletariat according to the three kinds of revolution.

People’s War is the superior form of struggle, through which the fundamental problems of revolution are solved, all that is good comes for the people comes from it; it is the military strategy that correspond to the political strategy (conquest of power) to transform society in favor of the Class and the people; it is the principal form of struggle and the People’s Army is the principal form of organization, an army of a new type that combats, mobilizes, politicizes, organizes and arms the masses, and produces. People’s War is a war of masses led by the Communist Party to conquer the New Power, which is materialized in the people’s committees and base areas for the conquest of Power in the whole country.

In order to carry out People’s War it is necessary to have four fundamental problems in mind: 1) ideology of the proletariat, marxism-leninism-maoism, applied to the concrete practice and the particularities of revolution on each country, both oppressed countries or imperialist countries; 2) the necessity of the Communist Party that leads the People’s War; 3) specification of the political strategy for the democratic or socialist revolution and the path of it; 4) base areas. The New Power, or Front-New State that is formed in the base areas are the core of the People’s War.

In order to establish the base areas, Chairman Mao established three fundamental requirements: 1) to have

armed forces, 2) to defeat the enemy, 3) to mobilize the masses. That is to say, to develop the Guerrilla warfare, which means to annihilate the living forces of the enemy and thus creating a void of power in order to establish, construct and defend the new Power, to destroy the old social relations of production and build new ones. From that the contradiction New Power/ New State Vs Old State is developed, through various reestablishment and counter-reestablishment moments, according to the fluidity of war.

Imperialism is the superior and last stage of capitalism, it is monopolistic, parasitic and decomposing and agonizing. It is in a general and last crisis and due to this situation it is harassed by its inevitable cyclical crisis that are increasingly worsened and deeper. Because of that it has to always attempt to recover from worse conditions, only to be swept away by the world revolution.

Imperialism is the tendency toward reaction and war in all the line. Imperialism and world reaction will collapse in the midst of a complex of wars of all kinds, they will be swept away from the face of Earth with People's War, and Socialism will emerge. Chairman Mao established that **“Yankee imperialism is a colossus with clay feet”** and that **“imperialism is a paper tiger, which must be strategically despised and taken into account tactically”**.

The process of World Proletarian Revolution in which we develop is within the frame of the **“50 to 100 years”** in which imperialism and world reaction would be swept away from the face of Earth, as foreseen by Chairman Mao. Thus, revolution has become the historically and politically principal tendency in the current world.

All the fundamental contradictions of this epoch are aggravated, the principal one being the contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism. The objective conditions were never so ripe for revolution. The development of the subjective conditions advances, smashing the declining general counteroffensive and smashing pessimism and capitulationism spread by revisionism. The conditions are each day more favorable for revolution.

More People's Wars are required in order to develop the world proletarian revolution. It is necessary to constitute or reconstitute communist parties – according to each case – on each country in order to develop new People's Wars, By applying the teachings of Lenin **“go further into the deepest masses”, “educate them in the practice of revolutionary violence”** and **“sweep away the colossal heap of garbage relentlessly fighting opportunism and revisionism.”**

## **II. Foundation for Establishing the General Line for ICM**

By applying marxism-leninism-maoism to the concrete practice of revolution on each country and the World Revolution, we point out the following foundations for the establishment and development of the General Political Line for the International communist Movement:

### **1. New Era**

With the emergence of imperialism, the world was divided between a handful of oppressing nations on the one hand, and a big number of oppressed nations on the other, which ripened the conditions for the World Revolution.

The triumph of the Great Socialist Revolution of October 1917 led by the great Lenin and the Bolshevik Party marked an extraordinary feat in Universal History – the end of the world bourgeois revolution and the opening of the New Era, the Era of the World Proletarian Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. There were many revolutions before the great October Revolution, each one of them provided new impulse for society. However, these revolutions only replaced an exploitation system with another.

The Great October Socialist Revolution (GOSR) was the first revolution that was conceived and carried out to establish a society free from exploitation and oppression – a classless society. The October Socialist Revolution represented a radical turning point in the history of humanity. It opened a New Era in the shining and long path that leads to socialism and communism.

The GOSR potentiated revolutionary violence as an indispensable weapon to transform the whole world. Lenin said: **“In the October Revolution ... revolutionary violence was a brilliant success.”** He assumed the Marxist principle of revolutionary violence as a universal law. We reaffirm ourselves in the established by Chairman Mao that **“Power grows from the barrel of a gun”** and that **“we are in favor of the theory of the omnipotence of revolutionary war.”**

In order to appraise the world in this New Era we see that four fundamental contradictions that are expressed: 1) the contradiction between capitalism and socialism – the contradiction between the two radically different systems will take this whole period and it will be one of the last to be resolved, it will last even after the seizure of Power; 2) the contradiction between bourgeoisie and proletariat – it is the contradiction between two opposed classes and will also remain after the seizure of Power, it manifests itself in various ideological, political and economic forms until its solution when we enter communism; 3) the interimperialist contradictions – these are the contradictions between

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the imperialists for world hegemony, it takes place between the superpowers, between the superpowers and the imperialist powers and between the imperialist powers, this contradiction will be resolved in the period of 50 to 100 years; 4) the contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism – it is the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed nations to destroy imperialism and the reaction, its solution is also included within the 50 to 100 years, it is the historically principal contradiction during this whole period of time; however, any of the four fundamental contradictions can become the principal according to specific circumstances of class struggle, temporarily, or in certain countries, but the historically principal contradiction will again express itself as such until its final resolution.

We, the marxist-leninist-maoist, have to carry out three kinds of revolution in order to, in perspective, achieve our final goal, communism: 1) democratic revolution – the bourgeois revolution of a new type, led by the proletariat in the backward countries, it establishes the joint dictatorship of the proletariat, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, and (under certain conditions) the middle bourgeoisie, all under the hegemony of the proletariat through its Communist Party; 2) socialist revolution – in the imperialist countries, which establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat; 3) the cultural revolutions – they are carried out in order to continue revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to submit and eliminate the whole generation of capitalism and to struggle against the attempts of capitalism restoration, they serve to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and to march toward communism.

Chairman Mao taught us that **“the replacement of the old for the new is a universal, eternal and inescapable law”**. It is a law of history which, in the struggle for establishing the new social system, the classes cannot impose themselves in one single attempt, in one single blow, and it cannot be different with the proletariat. The capitalist restorations in the USSR (1956) and in China (1976) are part of the contradiction between socialism and capitalism – the historical struggle for the replacement of the old by the new.

Lenin warned that the exploiting classes would never resign after being defeated and expropriated. Their hatred and efforts to restore capitalism would be hundredfold by their defeat. This is why they must be firmly submitted to the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to generate the conditions for the extinction of classes. Lenin declared: **“liquidating capitalism and its traces and introducing the principles of the communist order constitutes the content of the new epoch in the history of the entire world that has now commenced..”**

This way, Lenin pointed out that this task would take a long time and that in order to completely liquidate the classes it is not only necessary to eliminate the exploiting classes but also to make disappear the differences between city and countryside, workers and peasants, manual and intellectual labor and others.

This contradiction will only be solved through a long and complex process of restoration and counter-restoration, until the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism are consolidated in the whole world – paving the way for the disappearance of all social classes, with which the state is also extinguished, and humanity enters the always shining golden communism. Chairman Mao taught that: **“socialism will eventually replace the capitalist system; This is an objective law, independent of the will of man. As much as the reactionaries try to stop the wheel of history, sooner or later the revolution will take place and, without a doubt, will triumph.”**

## 2. The Process of the World Revolution

There are two forces that operate in the revolutionary movement in the whole world: the international communist movement and the national liberation movement, the first one is guidance and the second is the base.

The movement of national liberation of the force that operates within the nations oppressed by imperialism and the reaction. In the decade of 1910, Lenin paid maximum attention to the struggle in India, China, Persia, putting forward that the socialist revolution would not be uniquely and exclusively the proletariat against their bourgeoisie but of all colonies against their oppressors. He said that there is a fusion of forces: the international proletarian movement that act in the whole world, and the national liberation movement of the oppressed nations, and, given that the masses in the oppressed nations are the majority of the global population, it will be a decisive weight in the world revolution. He gets to the conclusion that revolution shifts toward the oppressed nations, but do not deny revolution in the imperialist countries, furthermore he shows that a socialist state – just as USSR was – could develop in the midst of imperialist siege. This is how the law of uneven development of revolution in the world operates.

Further developing Marx, Lenin lay the basis of the strategy of world revolution to undermine imperialism, unite the struggle of national liberation with the struggles of the international proletarian movement and develop revolution. Although **“Proletarians of all countries, unite!”** is the lemma for the communists, he puts forward that the lemma that should guide the struggle



of the two forces should be **“Proletarians of all countries and peoples of the world, unite!”**. The latter unites unifies the proletarian movement for the construction of socialism in the imperialist countries with the struggles of national liberation in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, a lemma that was accepted by the Communist International.

Chairman Mao, developed the strategy and tactics of the world revolution, he specified this lemma according to the tasks at the time: **“Marxist-leninists of all countries, unite! Revolutionary peoples of the whole world, unite; overthrow imperialism, contemporary revisionism and all reactionaries of the different countries!”** Thus he fuses the national liberation movement with the international communist movement and these two forces impulse the development of world history.

The international proletarian movement is the theory and practice of the international proletariat. The proletariat struggles in three spheres – ideological, political and economic – and since it appears [for the first time] in history as the last class, it does so struggling. The following feats stands out: 1848, when the Communist Manifesto written by Marx and Engels establishes the foundation and the program of the proletariat; 1871, Paris Commune, where for the first time the proletariat seizes power; 1905, general rehearsal of revolution; 1917, the triumph of the October Revolution in Russia, the class establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat and opens a new era; 1949, the triumph of the Chinese revolution, the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes led by the proletariat and the uninterrupted step into socialist revolution is resolved, it changes the correlation of forces in the world; and the decade of 1960 with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, led by Chairman Mao Tsetung, revolution continues under the dictatorship of the proletariat in a sharp struggle between restoration and counter-restoration.

**We must develop the struggle for demands serving the seizure of Power.** The proletariat generates the trade union and the strike within its struggle for demands, which are not only instruments for the struggle for demands, but they **“forge the class for the great battles to come”**. The strike is the principal instrument of the struggle for demands and the general strike is a complement to insurrection.

The proletariat generates political apparatus: the Communist Party which is totally opposed and distinct to the other parties, it has the goal of seizing political power, thus defined Marx. Lenin established the character of the Party of a new type when combating the hindering influence of the old revisionism, which generated bourgeois worker parties based on the labor aristocracy, union bureaucracy, parliamentary cretinism and that are adjusted to the old order.

Chairman Mao Tsetung developed the construction of the Party around the gun and put forward the inter-related construction of the three instruments: communist party, army of a new type and revolutionary United Front, among which the center is the Communist Party.

The proletariat generates ideology: marxism-leninism-maoism, principally maoism, for the world proletarian revolution.

Marxism was principally founded by Marx. Marx and Engels gather the best that was produced by humanity: German classical philosophy, English political economy and French socialism, to found the ideology of the proletariat. Marxism has never given a step in life without struggling against erroneous positions. Thus, it has to confront Proudhon and anarchism, the rightist deviations and supposedly creative developments of Dühring, the opportunist positions that emerge within the German social-democrat party.

Our immortal founders Marx and Engels have shown, through scientific analysis, the collapse of capitalism and its inevitable change into communism – where no more exploitation of man by man will exist. They established the mission of the proletariat of all countries: raise in revolutionary struggle against capitalism and gather all workers and exploited in this struggle.

The old revisionism would develop after the death of Engels – with Bernstein and Kautsky – and Lenin will combat and defeat them. In brief, Marxism will establish Marxist philosophy, or dialectical materialism, and scientific socialism.

Lenin develops marxism and raises it to a second stage, marxism-leninism. He made this in a fierce struggle against old revisionism – which denied marxist philosophy by saying one should base oneself in neo-kantism, which is idealism and not dialectical materialism. In political economy, they denied growing pauperization, thus they affirmed imperialism, capitalism, met the demands of the proletariat; they denied plus-value and imperialism. In Scientific socialism they pointed out against class struggle, against revolutionary violence and spread pacifism and parliamentary cretinism.

Lenin taught that revolutionary politics of the proletariat was made through its vanguard party. Without its General Staff, the Communist Party, the proletariat cannot fulfill its principal role in the transformation of the world. Thanks to the existence of a Revolutionary Party of a New Type, created and led by Lenin, the Russian proletariat could take advantage of the revolutionary situation and answer the imperialist war with revolutionary civil war. Chairman Mao said: **“with the birth of revolutionary parties of this kind, the physiognomy of world revolution has changed”**.

Revisionism is to revise the marxist principles by invoking new circumstances. Lenin said that revisionism is the contingent of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the

proletariat and that for struggling against imperialism it is necessary to struggle against revisionism because they are two faces of the same coin. Lenin highlights that revisionism tries to divide the trade union movement and the political movement of the proletariat and generates the split of socialism. Furthermore, within this unerring and implacable struggle against revisionism, Lenin puts forward to convert the imperialist war into revolutionary war in the conjecture of World War One, thus unmasking the old revisionists as social-patriots and social-chauvinists; he puts forward that in times of revolution it is necessary to make new organizations because reaction attacks the legal organizations and we must assemble clandestine apparatuses, inclusively for mass work. Then, he furnishes the October Revolution with a Communist Party and through insurrection.

Comrade Stalin would continue the work of Lenin and in the process of the construction of socialism in the USSR, he will struggle against opportunism and the treason of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Bukarin. Stalin developed this struggle for 13 years and it is false that he solved things administratively.

During the World War, the USSR under the leadership of comrade Stalin had to apply scorched land to defend its territory, the defense of the socialist motherland costed 25 million lives. In the midst of a complex and difficult situation, under the leadership of comrade Stalin, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the triumph of socialism was consolidated. The five years plans that were applied for twenty five years led to the biggest transformation in the relations of production and to the most powerful development of the productive forces in history until now.

We assume the position of Chairman Mao on the role of comrade Stalin that he was a great marxist. Furthermore, bearing in mind he was the one who brilliantly defined leninism. We, the communists, today have the task to make an adequate analysis of World War Two, the assessment of the Communist International and particularly to study well its 7th Congress, within this the role of comrade Stalin, the action of revisionism in France, Italy, etc.

Chairman Mao Tsetung, while developing marxism-leninism-maoism, raises marxism to its highest summit turning the theory of the proletariat into marxism-leninism-maoism. He fulfilled this task in the midst of a tenacious and persistent struggle, smashing right opportunist lines within the Communist Party of China – here we highlight smashing the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-chi and Teng Siao-ping; and at the international level he led the struggle and defeated contemporary revisionism of Khrushchev. The furnished the democratic revolution in China, the uninterrupted shift to socialist revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR).

The GPCR is the most transcendental aspect of marxism-leninism, in historical perspective, that was done by Chairman Mao; it is the solution of the big pending problem of the continuation of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; **“it represents a new stage, even deeper and wider, in the development of the socialist revolution”**.

Let us highlight two questions: 1) the GPCR imply a feat in the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat toward rooting the proletariat into Power, which was concreted with the Revolutionary Committees; and 2) the restoration of capitalism in China, after the counterrevolutionary coup in 1976, it is not a negation of the GPCR but simply part of the contend between restoration-counterrestoration and, on the contrary to being a negation, it shows us the transcendental historical importance the GPCR has in the inexorable march of humanity toward communism.

In these conditions, the most earthshaking political process was produces and the biggest mass mobilization ever seen on Earth, which Chairman Mao defines the goals of it as follows: **“The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is completely necessary and very timely to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to prevent the restoration of capitalism and to build socialism”**.

Chairman Mao affirmed that not having a correct ideological-political point of view corresponds to not having soul, and that the GPCR is a great revolution that has the goal of changing the soul of people, in other words the world view, ideology, raising the proletariat and the broad masses for the struggle for Power, the defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat, world revolution and communism.

Thus, we communists have three great swords: our founder Marx, the great Lenin and Chairman Mao Tsetung, our great task is to uphold, defend and apply marxism-leninism-maoism, principally maoism, placing it at the command and guide of the world revolution.

By applying the law of contradiction to the process of the world revolution, the process of sweeping away imperialism and the reaction from the face of Earth, there are three moments – because contradiction reigns over everything and every contradiction has two struggling aspects, in this case, revolution and counterrevolution. Those moments are: 1st Strategic defensive; 2nd Strategic Stalemate; and 3rd Strategic offensive of the world revolution. The strategic defensive of the world revolution, which is opposed to the offensive of counterrevolution, pulls out since 1871 with Paris Commune and ends in World War Two; the strategic stalemate takes place with the triumph of the Chinese revolution until the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the development of the powerful movement of

national liberation; afterwards, revolution enters strategic offensive of the world revolution that moment would be around the decade of 1980 in which we see the war Iran-Iraq, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, the initiation of People's War in Peru and it is countering the counterrevolutionary offensive of general character, the epoch within the "next 50 to 100 years"; from there on the contradiction between capitalism and socialism – whose solution will bring us to communism – will develop.

Chairman Mao taught us that the path is tortuous, but the perspectives are brilliant. Chairman Mao established that imperialism "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists", as the logic of the people is to "Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again . . . till their victory; that is the logic of the people". Revolution will triumph in the whole world and communism will shine over the Earth sooner than later, depending on the action of the communists.

### 3. International Situation

Starting from the thesis of Lenin, it is estimated that the economic relations of imperialism constitute the basis of the currently existing international situation. Throughout the whole 20th Century, this new phase of capitalism, its superior and last stage, was completely defined. And that the division of the world into oppressed and oppressor countries is a distinctive feature of imperialism. Thus, to understand the current situation we cannot start from the fundamental contradiction of capitalism because we are in its superior and last phase, imperialism.

There are three fundamental contradictions in the today's world:

**First contradiction:** between oppressed nations, on the one hand, and imperialist superpowers and powers on the other. This is the **principal contradiction** in the current moment and, at the same time, the principal contradiction of the epoch. The world is divided, in one part there is a big number of oppressed nations, which are colonial or semi-colonial countries, the latter have only formal sovereignty or independence, they are economically, politically and culturally subjugated to imperialism; in the other part, there is a handful of imperialist powers, superpowers or powers, in both cases they are oppressing nations. In the part of the imperialist powers, Yankee imperialism is the sole hegemonic superpower. Russia is still an atomic superpower and there is a handful of second-tier imperialist powers.

Yankee imperialism is the largest exporter of capital in the world, which is expressed in enormous unbalan-

ce in its economy. In order to keep its hegemony, imperialism is forced to carry out many wars at the same time, despite having military presence in all continents. This leads to enormous economic costs for maintaining its huge military machinery and espionage, the costs of the credits from the past wars and the current wars, support for the war veterans; not to mention the high social cost that is caused in their own land, despise for the life and dignity of the masses from the oppressed nations (Third World), the genocide they apply to subjugate them which nourishes class hatred from all the peoples of the world.

The Third World hosts the largest and poorest population, they are subject to imperialist oppression, they live in conditions that do not fit the level of development achieved by humanity, they suffer the demise of their living conditions, of the natural environment and they are stricken by the systematic wars of plunder of imperialism and their local lackeys.

A bureaucratic capitalism develops on a semifeudal and semicolonial basis in those countries. It generates the corresponding political and ideological genres and systematically prevents national development, exploits the proletariat, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie and restricts the medium bourgeoisie.

Not acknowledging the semifeudal character of the oppressed countries and, thus, the necessity for an agrarian war to solve it, ends up denying the necessity of the democratic revolution in those countries, the necessity to develop the People's War as a unitary war, in which the countryside is principal and the city is a necessary complementary, to end with imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and semifeudality.

World crisis will go on unloading on the oppressed countries and as long as they hold this condition they will still be the loot for the imperialist repartition. The policy of imperialism is further reaction and violence against the oppressed nations for a further national subjugation of wars of plunder and prey. The plan of the imperialists is the partition of the countries in the new repartition, based on the relations of military force and the advance of the occupation of strategic positions. What they seek is not peace but to subjugate the peoples through capitulation with "peace agreements", which they only formalize what they achieved in the battlefield.

The countries of the Third World from Asia, Africa and Latin America, as pointed out by Chairman Mao, are the zones of revolutionary storms and the base for the world proletarian revolution. It is necessary to highlight that the Third World extends even to Europe itself.

We reaffirm that the true national self-determination can only be achieved through revolution of a new democracy or socialist revolution, according to each case,

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through the development of People's War, to which it is necessary to constitute or reconstitute communist parties of a new type, marxist-leninist-maoist parties capable of leading revolution to its end. Chairman Mao has masterly synthesized all the struggles in the oppressed nations at the following great guideline: **"The countries want their sovereignty, the nations want their liberation and the peoples want revolution!"**

**Second contradiction:** between proletariat and bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries.

The economic crisis in 2008 that began as a finance crisis in the USA was unloaded over the masses in the imperialist countries themselves and in the oppressed nations. Thus it has stricken the proletariat of the imperialist countries, which instigated sharp struggles for the defense of the achievements they conquered throughout the 20th Century. The consequences of this crisis were not overcome, this is why the recovering of employment is at the expense of worse quality, lower wages and larger working day. The recovering is at the expense of increasing the over-exploitation of the class.

The contradiction proletariat-bourgeoisie is also worsened as a result of the migratory waves of thousands of war refugees and general poor people who – fleeing from the imperialist war and the ferocious exploitation and oppression in the semi-colonies – are thickening the ranks of the proletariat in the imperialist countries. These migratory waves are a consequence of the system itself and the "humanitarian tragedy" to which they are leading benefits the monopolies in the imperialist countries by reducing the production cost due to reducing the salaries with this working force that has costed nothing to them.

At the same time, the imperialists themselves cynically broadcast at their media the danger of "terrorism" of those immigrants and promote chauvinist hysteria, nourish racism and nationalism. Imperialism applies its chauvinist reactionary policy of dividing the class between native workers and immigrant workers to prevent the united class conscious action of the proletariat. To prevent it from organizing itself as a single class with the same interests with a single ideology, a single politics and a single party – the Communist Party.

The contradiction in the imperialist countries is also between revolution and counterrevolution, it is not a question of changing of this or that political regime – in other words, the form of government of the bourgeois dictatorship – but to put an end on the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat and the people through socialist revolution which is carried out through People's War.

The contradiction bourgeoisie-proletariat and all the other contradictions within the imperialist nations are sharpening. Also, because all the kinds of infamies that are carried out by the imperialist states against the op-

pressed nations, particularly by USA imperialism, increasingly backlash within the imperialist countries themselves – this is a feature of the current phase of its decomposition. The imperialist war has necessarily to return home.

Furthermore, in their own land, the systematic and continuous murder of the members of the poorest masses by the repressive forces of Yankee state are part of the war against the US proletariat and people, particularly against the black and immigrant from the Third World and their descendants. Facing oppression, the tendency is that the masses upraise in rebellion and turn the guns they were given for the massive genocide in the oppressed nations against their own oppressors. The expressions that confirm such tendency have already taken place.

Summing up, the principal is that the movement against the imperialist war will grow, together with the rebellion against the exploitation and oppression of the Class and the increasing poverty of the masses. This is taking place in all imperialist countries.

**Third contradiction:** interimperialist. Just as Lenin taught us, imperialism is not one, there are different imperialist countries. In other words, there are imperialist powers and superpowers which divides the world among them according to their relations of economic, political and military strength; relations of strength that changes all the time and develop through collusion and contend.

The United States currently bears the condition of sole hegemonic superpower. After the disintegration of the social-imperialist USSR in 1991, the economic weight of imperialist Russia was reduced and so did their military power, but it still maintains its character of atomic superpower. In turn, the other imperialist powers, like Germany, England, France, Japan, China, Austria, the Netherlands, Australia, Sweden, Canada, Italy, Spain, etc., altogether are also a handful of oppressing countries. Since the decade of 1990, they are contending for a new repartition of the oppressed countries that were subjected to social-imperialist USSR. Since then, all the events of some relevance, be them bellicose or non-bellicose, in Eastern Europe, in the former Soviet Republics of Central Asia, the so-called Amplified Middle East (the Persian Gulf, Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Northern Africa, etc.) are included in this contend for the new repartition of those countries.

The current world situation is marked by the plan of Yankee imperialism to develop its war of aggression through blood and fire. Their main strategic objective is to snatch the condition of atomic superpower from Russia, hold down social-imperialist China and push it to opening its economy bit by bit. Alliances with other imperialist powers are used for that purpose, accor-

ding to convenience, as with Germany, France, England, etc., to subvert order in the zones of influence that has a high strategic value for Russia and imposes economic sanctions as a threat to all imperialist powers. In its turn, Russia makes efforts to maintain its zones of influence, especially in Ukraine, Syria and Iran.

As for the imperialists, be them alone or in coalitions, they are against an oppressed country or many of those countries from the Third World, at this moment not only the principal contradiction expresses itself, but also the third contradiction is expressed – among the imperialists themselves. Yankee imperialism uses “divide and rule” against other imperialist powers. The imperialists violates as they wish their own treaties, their own international rules – the principle of non-aggression – because the law is for the other to follow. This is why peace and harmony between imperialists are old stories told again, as those of “superimperialism” and “ultraimperialism”, which spread reactionary concepts such as “neoimperialism”, “neocolonialism”, “neoliberalism”, “globalization”, “geopolitics”, etc., those are pseudo-theories that mainly points against democratic revolution and the struggles for national liberation and are used by both imperialists themselves and by revisionists.

The imperialist dispute in absolute and collusion is relative. This determines the circumstantial and temporary character of the imperialist alliances; this is why one cannot speak about “imperialist blocks”, this is revisionism. Thus the European Union is not a block, or an “European imperialism”, but an alliance of countries of Europe, under hegemony of Germany, in contend and collusion with France that tries to increase its power, to stop Yankee imperialism.

The imperialist powers of the second tier struggle to convert themselves into new superpowers and start contending for world hegemony to occupy the place that is today displayed by Yankee imperialism and to impose through a new world war a new repartition of the world that is already divided into a new world order.

Regarding **the contradiction between socialism and capitalism**, which corresponds to the whole era of the world proletarian revolution, in the current situation, is expressed and develops in the ideological and historical terrain.

From the terrain of the reaction, this contradiction manifests itself as the general counterrevolutionary offensive, which is weakening and is currently pointed against the national liberation wars through the so-called “war against terrorism”. We oppose it with the marxist-leninist-maoist revolutionary counteroffensive, which develops with People’s War. In the terrain of revolution, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism expresses itself in that socialism lives as an

idea in the struggles of the proletariat and the peoples of the world, in the ongoing combats and People’s Wars in India, Peru, Turkey and the Philippines, and the restless propaganda and increasing two lines struggle among the marxist-leninist-maoist parties and organizations for unifying the ICM under the guidance of maoism and the application of People’s War.

In 1962, Chairman Mao indicated: **“The next 50 to 100 years or so, as of today, will be a great epoch of radical change of the social system in the world, anepoch that will shake the earth, anepoch with which no other previous historical epoch can be compared. Living in such an epoch, we must be ready to fight a great struggle whose forms will have many different characteristics from the past.”**

All of that, on the one hand, impulses the greater reactionarization of the bourgeois state (big landowners-bureaucratic state serving imperialism in the oppressed countries) to counter the revolutionary situation in uneven development in the whole world. Its expression is the advance toward the absolute centralization of power in the Executive power – be it as presidential absolutism or as fascism – according to the particularities of the different countries. The centralization of power to face revolution and for the imperialist war of aggression.

The objective situation at world level develops, fundamentally, as a worsening of the general crisis of imperialism – which even the reaction itself needs to acknowledge. It is the deepening of its collapse. The huge richness that is socially produced incessantly grows as the private appropriation of such richness is done by a handful of imperialists and the big bourgeois and landowners of the Third World. The result of all this are sharper crisis and shorter cycles within the general and last crisis of imperialism, which pushes all the imperialist states to wage wars of prey for a new repartition.

Just as Chairman Mao has pointed out in 1958, **“imperialism is still alive and Yankee imperialism, as the sole hegemonic superpower and counterrevolutionary world gendarme, is the principal enemy of the peoples of the world; it still does as it pleases in Africa, Asia and Latin America; it still occupies colonies by force, establishes its military bases in all parts of the world and imposes a war of plunder; it continues to oppress the people’s masses in its own country”**. All that is even more acute now 60 years later. But the same situation is also becoming further unbearable and it is inevitable that sooner or later more than 90% of the world population would rise against imperialism and the reactionaries. All that in fierce struggle and in uneven development, it is already

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going on as a New Great Wave of the World Proletarian Revolution.

Since the beginning of this epoch, the crisis of imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism sharpens in the whole world. Whenever its decomposition deepens, all the contradictions sharpen; which develops further the revolutionary situation in uneven development in the whole world. The situation is expressed by the great activity of the masses, its explosiveness makes all reactionaries and their revisionist lackeys tremble. It is expressed everywhere at great explosions never seen before. The objective situation meets at fast pace with the subjective factor, principally the process of the Communist Parties, as marxist-leninist-maoist, principally maoist parties of a new type to initiate new People's Wars. Thus a new moment opens, a period of revolutions as part of this new great wave of the world proletarian revolution, within the period of the "50 to 100 years" in which includes the strategic offensive of the world revolution. This situation determines the tasks, the strategy and the tactics of the Communist Parties in the whole world.

### 4. International Communist Movement

We reaffirm ourselves in the full validity of the Manifesto of the Communist Party from 1848 (including all its preface and notes written by Marx and Engels, especially the preface of 1872), which is the start of the birth and cornerstone of the International Communist Movement. It established the fundamental principles and the Program of the proletarian revolutionaries. Given that our great founders, Marx and Engels, made that great calling and lemma "**Proletarians of all countries, unite!**", that lemma for combat inspires the struggles of the proletariat in the whole world and guides through the path of emancipation. The flames of revolution that were started by Marx and Engels have set the world on fire, permanently changing the course of world history.

Marx said: "**The experience of the past teaches us, that forgetting the fraternal ties that must exist between the workers of the different countries and that should encourage them to support each other in all their struggles for emancipation, is punished by common defeat of its isolated efforts.**"

Lenin established that true proletarian internationalism requires: "**first, the subordination of the interests of the proletarian struggle in a country to the interests of this struggle on world scale; second, that the nation that is reaching the triumph over the bourgeoisie is capable and willing to make the**

**greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capital.**" Chairman Mao raised internationalism in its deepest sense when affirming: "**it is the spirit of communism**".

Thus, the History of the International Communist Movement is a glorious process of struggle, through which the communists of the world have struggled and struggle to unify themselves serving the achievement of the unalterable goal: the communist society.

Three internationals were built in this heroic struggle:

The First International, or International Worker's Association (IWA), was founded by Marx and Engels in 1864 in a fierce struggle against the anarchist, the Blanquists and other positions to establish that the ideology of the proletariat was only one – marxism – it is solid and and scientifically welded with the international nature of the proletariat and its revolutionary party, laid the ideological basis of the proletarian revolution. The moment the International was infiltrated and surrounded of opportunists who attempted to usurp it, Marx put forward that it would be better to end with the IWA that to see it murdered by unity without principles.

The Second International, based on marxism, was founded by Engels in 1889 and served the multiplication of worker's socialist organizations and parties, especially in Europe and North America. After the death of Engels, Bernstein's and Kautsky's revisionism assaulted the leadership of the Second International and it degenerated into opportunism, it was finally bankrupt during the First World War, when their leaders opposed themselves to struggle against the imperialist war under the pretext of *Defensism* (defense of the motherland). They refused to turn it into revolution, they supported the imperialist war and the bourgeoisie of their countries, they voted for the credits of war at the parliament, turned into social-traitors, social-chauvinists.

The founding of the Third International, in March 1919, was the result of a long struggle by the left of the ICM that was developed under the Great Leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party. A struggle against all revisionism and opportunism of the member parties of the Second International – who were adapted to the old order. Lenin conceived and funded the Third International as a war machine to carry out the World Proletarian Revolution and the construction of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The founding of the Third International constitutes a great leap in the history of the International Communist Movement.

The Third International – Communist International (CI) or Comintern – existed for 24 years, seven world congresses were held during that time until its dissolution in 1943. It had to develop in a complex context

represented by the loss of its founder and principal leader – the Great Lenin – in 1924, the great challenges of the construction of socialism in the USSR, the rise of fascism to Power in many countries of the world – especially in Europe – and the beginning of the Second World War.

Its existence was strongly influenced by the intense and hard two line struggle that was developed within the Bolshevik Party which lasted 13 years, in which the left, under the leadership of comrade Stalin, had to tenaciously struggle to unmask and smash trotskyism, bukarinism, and the right opportunist clique of Kamennev-Zinoviev, among other gangs and black lines, against the efforts to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR, their attempts to usurp the leadership of the CI and controlling apparatuses to impose their policies in many sections – nefarious actions that caused grave harm.

Because of that, the CI suffered right and “left” deviations – particularly within the period between the 5th and the 7th Congresses – and it has issued some erroneous advises and directives that caused some harm to revolutionary parties and processes. However, the principal was that comrade Stalin led – developing the two line struggle – the left within the Communist International preventing the revisionist usurpation and smashed the trotskyist and zinovievist influence at its leadership. Under the correct and justified leadership of comrade Stalin, it kept its red color, marxism-leninism prevailed and revisionism could not raise its head.

The 7th Congress in 1935 was of particular transcendence due to the circumstances of the moment and the challenges it faced. This important Congress had to answer to new and far-reaching problems in the midst of a difficult and complex situation.

The 7th Congress established the tactic of World Antifascist Front and People’s Front to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat and develop the proletarian revolution while combating the counterrevolutionary offensive of fascism. With that, for the first time in the history of the ICM the international proletariat and the people’s masses of the whole world could be united under the same flag, the same policy, the same plan and under the same leadership, with a single combating army, providing shape for Lenin’s task of working as a true war machine for the World Revolution.

Under his leadership, hundreds of millions of masses have risen as a great torrent of steel against fascism, for revolution and in defense of the USSR. The Chinese revolution stands out, which changed the correlation of forces in the struggle against imperialism and the reaction worldwide, favoring socialism and the proletariat and oppressed peoples.

Under the leadership of the Third International, in

dozens of countries, not only in Europe but also in Asia, the communists carried out heroic armed struggles as guerrilla warfare, like in the Spanish Civil War. In those countries in which revolution could not triumph, the cause for that was principally because there were no sufficiently mature and prepared communist parties, based on marxism-leninism. Despite that, as history shows, its struggle contributed to the defeat of fascism, and the communists have shown to the whole world the communist high valor and heroism, not allowing the morale of the class to be broken.

By applying the resolutions of the 7th Congress, the CPCh, led by Chairman Mao, knew how to carry out the Front policy specified to the necessities of Revolution in China, applying independence and self-decision, defeating Japanese fascism and continuing with the liberation war until seizing power in the whole country, defeating the local ruling classes and their imperialist masters and completing the revolution of a New Democracy, uninterruptedly going into socialist revolution. The creative application of marxism-leninism and the line established by the 7th Congress to the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution led to the development of a more comprehensive and complete understanding of united front and fully developing the military theory of the proletariat: People’s War.

The problems and deviations that took place in many countries were principally the application, the main responsibility falls to the communist parties, who are the responsible ones for the application of the International line to their respective countries. Departing from what was put forward by Chairman Mao, in order to establish a justified assessment of this experience, it is necessary to draw a clear demarcation line between those who were still within marxism from those who fell into revisionism, still in the former group we need to differentiate the mistakes of principles from the mistakes made within the practical work. Furthermore, Chairman Mao develops the five laws of the united front and regarding the three fundamental instruments of revolution and their interrelation.

In some countries like Italy and France, due to the right opportunist positions at the leadership of the communist parties, after carrying out armed struggle of heroic resistance against Nazi-fascism, these parties moved away from the orientations of the CI and the fundamental principles of marxism-leninism, their leadership capitulated before their bourgeoisie while centering in the defense of the demo-liberal regime and betrayed revolution, degenerating into a most extreme and rotten revisionism.

At a world level, under the leadership of comrade Stalin, the Antifascist Front was brilliantly applied, the center was the defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat represented by the USSR. Through that, the dictatorship of the proletariat faced fascism and World Re-

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volution advanced. The victory of the antifascist war was a victory of socialism, a victory of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world over imperialism and world reaction, a victory of marxism-leninism over revisionism.

With the victory of the antifascist war, the imperialist camp was weakened and the proletarian revolution grew stronger. Thanks to the glorious role of the red army and the wars of resistance, revolution has expanded through Eastern Europe and Central Europe reaching part of Germany, thus increasing the socialist camp. Remarkably, with the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949, the correlation of forces between revolution and counterrevolution at the international arena changed in favor of world Revolution, which advanced into the stage of strategic stalemate, a powerful socialist camp and a powerful movement of national liberation in the colonies and semi-colonies emerged.

This is why we consider that the 7th Congress was an important marxist-leninist congress that armed the proletariat with a justified and correct political line to fight fascism and advance with the World Proletarian Revolution.

Although the Communist International and comrade Stalin made some mistakes on the course, the problems of grave deviations and betrayals were caused by revisionism in the leadership of those parties and that cannot be credited to comrade Stalin, the CPSU or the Communist International.

When gleaning the history of the ICM and the Proletarian Revolution, we see that comrade Stalin knew how to firmly and ingeniously apply, in the midst of a complex and difficult situation, the definition of Lenin of true proletarian internationalism and to subject the particular and national interests to the interests of the international proletariat as a whole, putting the defense of the World Proletarian Revolution and the cause of communism in first place.

In 1943, the CI self-dissolved and the ICM entered a period of relative dispersion, which was principally generated by the splittist and treacherous action of contemporary revisionism. Modern or contemporary revisionism was a counter-current represented by Browder, Tito, Togliatti, Thorez and principal Khrushchev and the infamous 20th Congress of the CPSU where the his clique usurped the leadership of the CPSU, degenerating it into a revisionist party and destroying the dictatorship of the proletariat, undermining the basic principles of the unity of the International Communist Movement.

The task of the communists to unify at world level, after the Second World War and the death of comrade Stalin, is done in a fierce struggle against contemporary revisionism, in which Chairman Mao rises as a growing Great Leadership of the World Revolution.

In 1957 and 1960, two international conferences of communist parties and worker's parties take place in Moscow. The declarations of these conferences correspond to the development of the two line struggle in the ICM at that moment, considering the big weight that the CPSU had, and reflected the correct handling of the struggle done by the left led by Chairman Mao and the CPCh, applying the principle of acting with reason, advantage and not exceeding.

The 22nd Congress of the CPSU was held in 1961, it was systematized the positions of modern revisionism in it. Chairman Mao, leading the Communist Party of China, defined the essence of new revisionism, which he systematize in the **“three peacefuls”** and the **“two wholes”**. Khrushchev distorted Lenin's thesis of peaceful coexistence which differentiates the relations between states from those within the states, to put forward a **“peaceful coexistence”** as a general line for the International Communist Movement. For Khrushchev, the problem was to avoid war because, according to him, the atomic weapons did not distinguish exploited from exploiters, which was why men had to join each other in order to prevent disappearance of humanity. The **“peaceful transition”** put forward that revolution did not need revolutionary violence, but one could replace a social system with another through the **“peaceful way”**, through elections, through parliamentarism. As for the **“peaceful emulation”** they defended that in order to destroy the imperialist system, the socialist system should make an emulation to show the imperialists that the socialist system was superior and thus the imperialist would change into socialism. The revisionist thesis of the **“state of the whole people”** was meant to deny the class character of the state and was concretely against the dictatorship of the proletariat. The **“party of the whole people”** in another machination that denied the class character of the Party as a Party of the proletariat. Thus, Khrushchev advocated that the 22nd Congress of the CPSU was the new program of the communists and substituted the Communist Manifesto with the bourgeois lemma of **“liberty”**, **“equality”** and **“fraternity”**. The Manifesto is the program of the communists and its denial has sparked and sharpened the struggle between marxism and revisionism.

On June 14, 1963, the **“Proposition on the General Line of the International Communist Movement”**, also known as the **“Chinese Letter”**, followed by **“The 9 Comments”**, in which Chairman Mao and the CPCh brilliantly unmasked and smashed contemporary revisionism in all its facets.

Only with the deep demarcation produced by the **Great Polemic**, led by Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China, the International Communist Movement was able to raise the process of reunification around the Great Leadership of Chairman Mao



and his contributions to the World Proletarian Revolution.

Chairman Mao developed this struggle simultaneously to the struggle against the right opportunist line within the CPCh which had usurped important apparatuses of the Party and the state.

Chairman Mao and the CPCh considered that, in such circumstances, it was not adequate to conform a new Communist International because the ideological and political basis, which should be marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought then, was not defined. Particularly the Worker's Party of Albania, led by Enver Hoxha, did not accept mao tsetung thought and wanted an international solely based on marxism-leninism, without considering the new development that it had, because essentially Hoxha was opposed to mao tsetung thought.

With the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, the influence of Chairman Mao increasingly develops throughout the world. The CPCh centers in very urgent problems such as recovering power in the People's Republic of China from the revisionist usurpation of Liu Siao-chi and Teng Siao-ping, and on how to continue revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. On that way, within the national and international class struggle against revisionism, Chairman Mao is converted into the great master of the proletariat and into Great Leader of the World Revolution and his thought turns into the third stage of marxism, even though the struggle for its definition and acknowledgment would only be given later. The UMIC is a step of great importance in that same path.

Chairman Mao dies on September 1976 and the Chinese revisionists made a counterrevolutionary coup attacking Chairman Mao and his thought. Thus, the unity of the marxists entered in grave and complex problems. With the death of Chairman Mao and the revisionist usurpation in China by Teng and his accomplices, we communists became dispersed in the world, without a center nor a base for the World Revolution; counterrevolution has shown its claws to deny Chairman Mao and the validity of Marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought and unleashed the triple revisionist attack of Teng Siao-ping (Chinese revisionism), Hoxha (Albanian revisionism) and Brezhnev (Russian revisionism).

The counterrevolutionary coup in China 1976 opened a new period of deep dispersion in the ICM, on which a general counterrevolutionary offensive was unleashed by Yankee imperialism that centrally and mainly centered its attack to snatch the soul of revolution – its ideology, marxism-leninism-maoism, principally maoism.

On the Fall of 1980, thirteen communist parties and organizations signed a declaration **“To the marxist-leninists, the workers and the oppressed of all**

**countries”** which called the communists to unite around marxism-leninism and uphold Chairman Mao, but not considering it a new stage, thus not having universal validity, a work that was mainly conducted by the Revolutionary Communist Party of USA.

In 1984, its 2nd Conference was held, it decided on founding the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM). In its founding declaration, it was affirmed that it was guided by marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought.

The RIM meant a step forward in the path of reunification, this is why it is necessary to make a correct and justified evaluation of this experience. For that, it is necessary to analyze the process of the two line struggle within the RIM and the role that each party played. Like all revolutionary body, the left, center and right were defined within the development of the two line struggle in its core.

In the decade of 1980, the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), under the Great Leadership of Chairman Gonzalo, upheld, defended and applied maoism as the third, new and superior stage of marxism in the International Communist Movement. The principal contribution of Chairman Gonzalo to the International Communist Movement was having defined maoism in a complete and scientific way by upholding, defending and applying it with the initiation and development of the People's War in Peru which was initiated in May 17, 1980. This event was of fundamental importance for the World Proletarian Revolution and the International communist Movement because it has proven the validity of maoism and the People's War. After its heroic fall on September 11, 2021, murdered after resisting for 29 years in absolute isolation regime in the dungeons of imperialism and the reaction, his name was permanently inscribed at the gallery of the great titans of the international proletariat.

Through the action of the PCP within the RIM, it went as far as acknowledging maoism as a new stage of marxism in 1993.

The RIM lasted a little more than 20 years from its foundation in 1984 until it went into liquidation in 2006 by the treason of Prachanda to the People's War in Nepal and the pretension of the RCPUSA of making this body be subjected to the revisionist “new synthesis” of Avakian. Its formal dissolution was made in 2012. Its existence reflected the two line struggle in the International Communist Movement. The RIM served the world proletarian revolution and the task of struggling for the reunification of the communists when the left, in hard struggle, was able to maintain the struggle for imposing maoism as the sole command and guide of the world revolution at its core.

However, with the arrest of Chairman Gonzalo in 1992 and soon after the blows suffered by the Peo-

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ple's War in Peru – which have hindered the action of the left within the ICM – the RCPUSA converging with the right opportunist line, revisionist and capitulationist (ROL), took advantage of the complex situation to attack the left and advance on his petty hegemonism – first spreading the revisionist, opposed to marxism-leninism-maoism, so-called “new synthesis” in a hidden form, then openly.

The RIM was entering into greater lack of cohesion. This was aggravated when the RCPUSA with Avakian at its head, in partnership with Prachanda, in collusion and contend, after publishing the **Declaration: For a Century of People's Wars from RIM** (2000), they started to deny it and both of them fell into path of revisionism increasing their attacks against maoism, in the following years, the contend for the hegemony between both revisionist currents and figures, not only in the RIM but at the level of the whole ICM, also the ideological, political and organizational dis-cohesion of the RIM was sharpening. Finally, the revisionist hegemonist positions were imposed in the Committee if the RIM. As a consequence, the RIM ceased to play a positive role and degenerated, entering bankruptcy and liquidation.

Today, when a New Great Wave of the World Proletarian Revolution is produced in the world with the ongoing People's Wars in India, Peru, Turkey and the Philippines, and its preparation in many other countries, with the heroic struggles of national resistance and people's resistance around the whole world emerge, when the general crisis of imperialism and its drowning are hugely intensified., it is necessary and urgent to raise the two line struggle at the core of the ICM to a

superior level in order to establish and develop its necessary, justified and correct General Political Line and to strengthen this New Great Wave through the spark of revolution with People's War in many countries and further advances wherever they are already being waged, as well as in the antiimperialist revolutionary movement under the hegemony of the proletariat.

This is why it is necessary to deepen the ideological and political struggle on the basis of the justified and correct assessment of the historical experience of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in general. An assessment that particularly synthesizes the experience of the application of the third stage of marxism, which is maoism.

The struggle to impose marxism-leninism-maoism, principally maoism as the command and guide of the world revolution is long, complex and difficult. Marxism has never advanced without a hard struggle, but in the end maoism is guiding the New Great Wave of the World Proletarian Revolution that has already started and needs to be impulsed in order to sweep away imperialism and the reaction from the face of earth through People's war, in order to carry out democratic revolutions, socialist revolutions and proletarian cultural revolutions – according to each case – and transit toward the shining and golden communism.

It is particularly necessary to keep deepening the struggle against the new revisionism, in its different expressions, because although they were unmasked and smashed in the ICM, they still have influence through the right and “left” opportunist positions, centrist positions, liquidationist positions, etc, and they harm the unity of the ICM as a whole because they are the main danger to the ICM.

## **5. We Assume the Following Basic Principles**

- \* The Contradiction – sole fundamental law of the incessant transformation of eternal matter;
- \* The masses make history and rebellion is justified;
- \* Class struggle, dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism;
- \* Integration of the universal truth of marxism-leninism-maoism with the concrete practice of revolution on each country;
- \* The necessity of the marxist-leninist-maoist Communist Party that firmly apply independence, self-decision and self-reliance;
- \* Inseparably and implacably combat imperialism, revisionism and the reaction;
- \* Conquest and defend power with People's War;
- \* Two line struggle as an impulsing force for party development;
- \* Constant ideological transformation and always putting politics at the command;
- \* Serve the people and the world proletarian revolution;
- \* Absolute selflessness and justified and correct style of work;
- \* Going against the tide.



UOC (mlm)

## On the "Proposal Regarding the Balance of the International Communist Movement and its Current General Political Line"

We salute the effort made by the comrades of the Coordinating Committee for a Unified Maoist International Conference – CCIMU in presenting a *proposal for the balance of the International Communist Movement and its current General Political Line*, since it corresponds to the need to advance in the unity of the communists and to the different pronouncements calling to hold a Unified International Conference of the Marxist Leninist Maoists of all the countries.

In May 2021, the Leading Committee of the Communist Workers Union (mlm) in the Editorial *For a single International Marxist Leninist Maoist Conference!* made an account of the efforts of our organization to contribute to the struggle for the unity of the communists of all countries, as well as the conditions that now allow the realization of a Unified International Conference, regarding which, it reiterated its position expressed in the proposal presented to the meeting of various organizations and parties held in January 2020 in Italy:

*To fight for a single International Conference of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists of the world is also an inescapable obligation of the communists because of their responsibility to be the conscience and the leadership of the class struggle of the proletariat at world level and of the struggle of the countries, nations and peoples oppressed and super-exploited by imperialism in association with the lackey and reactionary ruling classes.*

*To fight for a single International Conference of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists of the world is likewise a firm step in the solution of the problem of the political impotence of the communists, whose dispersion has contributed to opportunism and reformism fulfilling their objective of diverting the mass movement from its revolutionary path and perspective. (...)*

*We consider that the break made separately with the avakianist revisionism, main danger for the unity of the Marxist Leninist Maoists, tacitly constitutes an initial basis of common ideological unity, sustained in the intransigent defense of the principles of Marxism Leninism Maoism – the same that the avakianist revisionism has declared unsubstantial, in a general delimitation of camps with opportunist theories that falsify and dent the revolutionary*

*edge of Marxism Leninism Maoism, in common general conclusions of the analysis of the world situation in the light of the principles, and in common general political tasks to transform the situation in the perspective of the triumph of the World Proletarian Revolution.*

*It is the moment to express that initial basis of ideological unity explicitly in the Platform of Unity of an International Conference of the Marxist Leninist Maoists of the world, that allows to deal with the remaining divergences in order to reach a higher degree of unity in the perspective of unity in the General Line; Platform of Unity that is the ideological basis of a Program of immediate and common political struggle of the Marxist Leninist Maoists of all countries and of the organization of a single International Center of ideological and political leadership whose orientation is followed and executed in a disciplined manner by the Marxist Leninist Maoists of all countries.*

In this sense, we consider that the proposal presented by the comrades of the Coordinating Committee for a Unified Maoist International Conference -CCIMU, does not correspond to the current situation of the Marxist Leninist Maoists; that is, it does not represent a common general basis of unity, to continue the struggle around the divergences that for now are legitimate within the revolutionary communists, since such a proposal only expresses the position of a particular shade of the communist movement.

Although the controversial issues are varied, as the comrades of the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist Leninist Party of Turkey – TKP/ML have already warned in the document *The approach of our Party* on the prepared project, we want to deal with some important issues in a timely manner:

### 1. On the Exact Denomination of the Science of Revolution:

We start from the adoption of Marxism Leninism Maoism as a new, third and superior stage of Marxism, and we even admit the denomination Maoist for propaganda purposes, however, we consider erroneous the expression «**mainly Maoist**» because it cor-

responds to the pretension of making Maoism a «synthesis» of communism and reducing scientific socialism to the contributions of Mao Tse-tung. We consider that the philosophical basis of this error lies in the pretension of reducing the general laws of movement to contradiction, interpreting that its character of being the most fundamental law of dialectics or nucleus or essence of dialectics, means that it is the «**only** law of dialectics»; wrong idea that was imposed in the extinct RIM (defended also by the «new synthesis» of Avakian) and that now the comrades of the Committee try to amend in the proposal with the words «**only fundamental** law of dialectics», but preserving the old idea of ignoring the law of negation of negation, which indicates the direction of the movement, a law openly recognized by the masters of the proletariat: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung. In short, we defend the Marxism Leninism Maoism science in development, integral, coherent and exact.

## **2. On the fundamental contradiction, the main contradiction and the main aspect of the contradiction:**

We defend Mao Tse-tung's idea according to which: *The fundamental contradiction of the process of development of a thing and the essence of it, determined by this contradiction, do not disappear as long as the process does not end; however, in a prolonged process of development, the situation generally varies from stage to stage. The reason is that, while neither the nature of the fundamental contradiction of the process of development of the thing nor the essence of the process changes, the fundamental contradiction becomes more acute as it passes from one stage to another in this protracted process. Moreover, of the numerous contradictions, large and small, determined by the fundamental contradiction or subject to its influence, some are sharpened and others are temporarily or partially resolved or attenuated, and some new ones arise; this is why there are stages in the process. If one does not pay attention to the stages of the process of development of a thing, one cannot properly deal with its contradictions.*

We understand, therefore, that the fundamental contradiction of the capitalist system *between ever more social production and ever more private appropriation*, has marked its entire existence, is the deepest cause of its inevitable demise and can only be resolved by socializing the ownership of the means of production in socialism. Therefore there are not several fun-

damental contradictions as the comrades of the Committee assert in the proposal.

But in addition, objective reality shows that far from being attenuated, the fundamental contradiction of capitalism has deepened and spread worldwide; world social production is appropriated by a handful of monopoly groups, exacerbating all the evils, problems and contradictions of imperialism. *This sharpening of contradictions is the most powerful driving force of the historical period of transition initiated with the definitive victory of world finance capital*, according to Lenin. Therefore, to consider that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie only exists in the imperialist countries, as is affirmed in the proposal of the Committee, is a **great error**, since it ignores the development in extension and depth of capitalism as a world system of oppression and exploitation, which has spread the objective existence of the proletariat in all countries, precisely the undertaker social force of capitalism, whose conditions in the oppressed countries are of super-exploitation and oppression, and whose aspirations do not »join» with those of the bourgeoisie and the landowners of these countries, but correspond to those of the world proletariat.

In accordance with the correct affirmation of Chairman Mao, we understand that **one and only one** is the **fundamental contradiction** that governs the process of development of capitalism throughout its history, both in the first phase of free competition, as in its current monopolist phase, throughout which, it runs in periods characterized by a **main contradiction**. The International Communist Movement has highlighted or recognized four contradictions as the most important contradictions of imperialism, not the fundamental ones as the comrades in the proposal affirm, nor the only ones; these contradictions inevitably determine the death of the capitalist system: the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the contradiction between imperialist countries and oppressed countries, the inter-imperialist contradiction -of the imperialist countries among themselves- and inter-monopoly -of the monopolies among themselves-, and the contradiction between the two systems, the socialist and the imperialist, latent just, after the dissolution of the former socialist camp.

Likewise, since capitalism survives on the account of depredating the only two sources of wealth: the labor force and nature, since the end of the 20th century, the contradiction between society and nature has been highlighted as a fifth important world contradiction of imperialism. The imperialist depredation of nature has sharpened this contradiction endangering the very existence of humanity, on account of the profit for the imperialist bourgeoisie, being necessary to highlight also this contradiction in a Platform of Unity of the International Communist Movement today.

In addition to this, in the correlation of such world contradictions of imperialism, a main contradiction stands out, which characterizes each of the different periods of imperialist capitalism or dying capitalism, and which can be observed with all clarity in its long history of agony: from 1903 to 1918 was a period characterized by the inter-imperialist, as the main contradiction; from 1918 to 1948 was a period where the struggle between the monopolies was accentuated as the main contradiction; from 1948 to 1958, with the emergence of the Socialist Camp, the contradiction between the socialist system and the imperialist system was erected as the main contradiction; from 1958 to 1972, the correlation of contradictions changed, putting in the foreground the contradiction between the oppressor countries and nations and the oppressed countries and nations; the period from 1972 to 1990, was characterized by the contradiction between the imperialist countries, this time, concentrated between the United States and the Soviet Union. And according to our analysis, we are passing through a period initiated in 1990, where the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is playing the role of main world contradiction of imperialism. The economic crisis of world capitalism that broke out at the end of 2007 has confirmed and consolidated this contradiction as the main one.

We know that there are divergences among Marxist-Leninist-Maoists regarding the problem of which is the main contradiction in the world today, however, in the proposal of the comrades of the Coordinating Committee, on the one hand, the existence of four contradictions is formally admitted, but in reality only the contradiction between the imperialist countries and the oppressed countries is always recognized as the main contradiction:

*...the contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism, the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed nations to destroy imperialism and reaction, whose solution is also framed within 50 to 100 years, is the historically principal contradiction during all this time; but, any of the four fundamental contradictions can become principal according to the specific circumstances of the class struggle, temporarily or in certain countries, but the principal contradiction will historically express itself as such again, until its complete resolution.*

*If we do not pay attention to the stages of the process of development of a thing, you cannot properly deal with its contradictions, said Mao, and in this case, by transposing the contradictions of imperialism and only recognizing one contradiction in reality, you cannot trace a correct orientation for the international struggle of the proletariat.*

On the other hand, the proposal states: *There are two forces operating in the revolutionary movement*

*throughout the world: the international proletarian movement and the national liberation movement, the first is directive and the second is base.*

An incorrect and confused formulation that misrepresents the approach to the problem of the **two great currents** of the World Proletarian Revolution: the Socialist Revolution of the Proletariat and the Revolutionary Anti-imperialist Movement. They are not «two forces» that «operate» in any general «revolutionary movement», but constitute the historical currents that will give an end or solution to the problem of imperialist capitalism.

### **3. On the fusion of contradictions and the dissolution of the class struggle in the oppressed countries:**

Hand in hand with these erroneous ideas regarding the two currents of the World Proletarian Revolution, go other erroneous ideas linked to the same problem. The comrades of the Coordinating Committee say in the proposal:

*The national liberation movement is the force at work in nations oppressed by imperialism and reaction. In the 1910s, Lenin paid the greatest attention to the struggle in India, China, Persia positing that the socialist revolution would not be solely and exclusively of the proletarians against their bourgeoisie, but of all the colonies against their oppressors. He says that there is a **fusion** of forces, the international proletarian movement acting throughout the world, and the national liberation movement of the oppressed nations; and that being the mass in the oppressed nations the majority of the population on the globe will be decisive weight in the world revolution. He comes to the conclusion that the revolution moves to the oppressed nations, but does not deny the revolution in the imperialist countries, besides demonstrating that a socialist state, as was the USSR, could develop in the midst of the imperialist encirclement. Thus the law of the unequal development of the revolution in the world is followed.*

It is a great mistake to attribute to Lenin the detestable theory of the *fusion* of the class struggle of the proletariat with the national struggle. Lenin made it clear from the *Theses on the National and Colonial Problems* at the Second Congress of the Communist International:

*... the necessity to fight resolutely against the attempts to give a communist tinge to the bourgeois-democratic currents of liberation in the backward*

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*countries; the Communist International must support the national bourgeois-democratic movements in the colonial and backward countries, only on condition that the elements of the future proletarian parties, communist not only by name, are grouped and educated in all the backward countries in the consciousness of the special mission incumbent upon them: to fight against the bourgeois-democratic movements within their nations; the Communist International must seal a temporary alliance with the bourgeois democracy of the colonial and backward countries, **but it must not merge with it and must unconditionally maintain the independence of the proletarian movement even in its most embryonic forms** (bold ours).*

It should not merge but unconditionally maintain the independence of the proletarian movement. Such was Lenin's express orientation which obeys the profound understanding of the problem between two currents of a different nature: the interests of the proletariat and the interests of the nation, are of a different character. The former are the interests of a given class; the latter, the interests of the various classes of a nation. The one and the other are the material basis of two struggles of a different nature, which come closer, strengthen, ally, converge, **but do not dissolve, nor replace each other**. The conception of the world of the proletarian party in relation to the national problem is internationalism; not nationalism. The experience of the proletarian revolution in continuous combat to the nationalist propensity of the petty bourgeoisie and opportunism, has highlighted the difference and relationship between class interests and the interests of the nation, the unity of opposites between the civil war and the national war, between the class struggle and the national struggle, between the proletarian revolution and the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement.

Unity of opposites whose identity lies in being the two historical currents of the World Proletarian Revolution; in their confluence towards the same target, imperialism, whose exploitative and oppressive world character, objectively diminishes the exclusively nationalist dye of the struggle of the oppressed peoples; in having in the proletariat the only class that by its position and conception, is consistently anti-imperialist and fighter to ally the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement to its class struggle against the power of capital, a condition for the true triumph of the national struggle.

The erroneous theory of «merging the class struggle into the national struggle», was defended by Prachandist revisionism before the betrayal in Nepal, this being a revamped version of the old opportunism in the face of the national problem in the imperialist phase. Such a theoretical absurdity cannot be attributed to Lenin, who always denounced this «fusion» as a *fatal error* for the proletarian revolution. Even in the conditions of a na-

tional war against an imperialist aggression, the class struggle is subordinated to the national struggle, **but it does not merge, it does not dissolve in it**; the proletariat can never renounce its class independence, its program and self-decision within the united front. In Mao's words: *Any theory that attempts to deny the existence of the class struggle is completely erroneous.*

For these reasons the proletariat does not support the national movement for the mere fact of being anti-imperialist; it supports it and allies itself with it, on condition that it is a truly revolutionary anti-imperialist movement, that it does not oppose the workers' struggle against capital, does not impede its independent struggle and organization, nor hinder the agitation and propaganda of its Program in the education and revolutionary organization of the great popular masses, especially of the peasants in order to establish with them a solid class alliance.

## 4. On the single hegemonic superpower and the theory of the three worlds:

The confusion regarding the problems of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, the essential distinction between imperialist countries and oppressed countries, the inter-imperialist dispute and the unequal development of the imperialist countries, leads to erecting other incorrect theses as truths, with the aggravating factor of assigning them to Mao. The comrades of the Committee say in the proposal:

*As Chairman Mao pointed out in 1958, «imperialism is still alive and U.S. imperialism, as the sole hegemonic superpower and world counterrevolutionary gendarme, is the main enemy of the peoples of the world; it still makes and unmakes in Africa, Asia and Latin America; it still occupies colonies by force, establishes its military bases in all parts of the world and imposes a war of plunder; it continues to oppress the masses of the people in its own country.» And all this is even more acute today than it was 60 years ago. But the same situation is also becoming more and more untenable and it is inevitable that sooner or later more than 90% of the world population will rise up against imperialism and the reactionaries, and this, in hard struggle and uneven development, is already underway as a New Great Wave of the World Proletarian Revolution.*

Here the comrades resort to an inadmissible falsification to defend a wrong idea. What Chairman Mao said in the *Interview with a correspondent of the Sinjua News Agency* on September 29, 1958, was:

*Imperialism will not live long because it perpetrates all kinds of infamies. It stubbornly supports the reactionaries of the various countries, hostile to the peoples. It occupies by force many colonies, semi-colonies and military bases. It threatens peace with atomic war. Thus, forced by imperialism, more than 90 percent of the world's population is rising or will rise en masse to fight against it. But imperialism is still alive; it still makes and breaks in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the Western world, the imperialists continue to oppress the masses of people in their own countries. This situation must change. It is the task of the peoples of the whole world to put an end to the aggression and oppression carried out by imperialism, principally U.S. imperialism. (See, Quotations from Chairman Mao, VI. Imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers).*

Not only is it wrong to attribute to Chairman Mao something he did not say, it is even more wrong to accept a thesis of revisionism to introduce it as the acquis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This theory of the «single hegemonic superpower» emerged after the collapse of Russian social-imperialism and the period of expansion of imperialist capitalism at the end of the last century and coincides in essence with the belief that imperialist capitalism had been reborn. From such a reactionary conclusion emerged the openly bourgeois ideas of «neo-liberalism» and «globalization»; the theory of «Empire» of the petty bourgeois Negri and Hardt; from it are derived the revisionist theories of the «unipolar world» of the MLs, of the «globalized state of US imperialism» of Prachanda and of the «single hegemonic superpower» of Avakian.

All these «modern» theories are based on the old Kautskyist theory of «ultra-imperialism», according to which imperialism could overcome itself and resolve all its contradictions in a single monopolistic center.

At bottom, these theories are nothing more than an apology for the supposed good health of imperialism, omnipotent and unbeatable, and against which one can only resist. With the argument of this supposed invincibility of imperialism and the pretended impossibility of triumphing, the Revolution and the People's War in Nepal were betrayed.

The comrades of the Committee try to distance themselves from these theories by juggling to show the existence of other imperialist powers, recognizing the existence of the struggle between the different imperialist countries and defending the correct thesis of the inter-imperialist contradiction and the struggle for a new distribution of the world already distributed. Something that can explain itself, showing one of the most important contradictions of imperialism **in itself** without the need to resort to «innovatives» theories that obscure the consciousness of the proletariat.

Although the United States has the greatest number of nuclear weapons, the other imperialist countries are advancing in the arms race; Chinese social imperialism is today disputing in the world arena the first place in the economic field; in addition there is an offensive by the latter together with the Russian imperialists, to undermine the power of the Americans in their «backyard» in Latin America, as is shown by the facts in Venezuela, Cuba, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Ecuador... at the same time, the U.S. imperialists try to undermine the power of the Russian imperialists in the subjugated countries of the former Soviet Union, and they all collide and dispute in the Middle East. In fact, in objective reality, there is an inter-imperialist dispute which calls into question the supposed «single hegemonic superpower».

The same happens with the reactionary «Theory of the Three Worlds», concocted by the Chinese revisionists in the midst of the Cultural Revolution, but fraudulently presented by Teng Siao Ping as if it were the work of Chairman Mao and unfortunately taken by some comrades as a fundamental part of Maoism; in this case the comrades of the Coordinating Committee say, when they are talking about the contradictions of imperialism at present:

*For its part, the Third World is home to the largest and poorest population, subjected to the oppression of imperialism, living in conditions that do not correspond to the level of development achieved by humanity, suffering the degradation of their living conditions, the natural environment and are hit by the systematic wars of plunder of imperialism and its local lackeys.*

And it is astonishing that in the whole document the comrades make **no allusion** to a **second world** that should exist somewhere according to «the theory of three worlds». Why then persist in an idea that has no support whatsoever?

For Mao Tse-tung and all communists since Lenin, imperialism divided the world into a handful of imperialist countries, which by their great economic wealth and military might are dominant, oppressors, exploiters, usurers; and a vast majority of oppressed, subjugated, dependent, exploited countries. Such is the essential and inevitable distinction of the countries under imperialism, diametrically opposed to the bourgeois and opportunist preachings that cover up the semi-colonial financial enslavement of the oppressed countries and deny their antagonistic contradiction with the imperialist countries.

The essential Leninist distinction between imperialist and oppressed countries -under imperialism- is diametrically opposed to the old and new social-democratic and revisionist theories; all of them, heirs of the Kautskyist separation between the economy and the politics of imperialism, which reduce the difference to «rich

and poor», «advanced and backward», «developed, underdeveloped or on the way of developed» countries, restricting the struggle exclusively against the economic monopolies, without attacking the semi-colonial political power of imperialism; or merely against national oppression, evading the deep semi-colonial economic relations of the metropolises with the social economic formation of the oppressed countries. They deny the imperialist character of some countries, under the pretext of unequal development; or pretend to pass them off as «progressive» imperialists. Therefore, such a theory is reactionary and does not constitute part of the arsenal of the revolutionary proletariat. Why persist in such a monstrosity and why attribute it to Chairman Mao?

## **5. On the erroneous method of avoiding the concrete analysis of the concrete situation:**

Throughout the proposal of the comrades of the Coordinating Committee there are general formulations that elude the *concrete analysis of the concrete situation* and that evidence the incorrect method of subjectivism.

We have already referred to the class character of the «theory of the three worlds», now it is necessary to dwell on some mistaken and contradictory formulations which do not correspond to the present situation and, therefore, do not contribute to shed light on the struggle of the international proletariat. The comrades say in the proposal, referring to the «third world countries»:

*In these countries, on a semi-feudal, colonial or semi-colonial basis, bureaucratic capitalism develops, which generates the corresponding political and ideological modalities and systematically prevents national development, exploits the proletariat, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie and restricts the middle bourgeoisie.*

What does this mean, is it not the capitalist mode of production, but a superstructure of semi-feudalism? And they continue in the next paragraph:

*Without recognizing the semi-feudal character of the oppressed countries and, therefore, the need for an agrarian war to resolve it, we end up denying the need for democratic revolution in these countries, the need to develop the people's war as a unitary war, in which the countryside is the principal and the city is a necessary complement, to put an end to imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism.*

That is to say, there is no capitalism (of any kind) but semi-feudalism which is the economic basis of society in ALL oppressed countries. Where therefore it is ne-

cessary to develop a «democratic revolution», not of New Democracy, a «unitary war» (sic!). And they finish off with an outburst:

*The Third World countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as Chairman Mao has pointed out, are revolutionary storm zones and the basis of the world proletarian revolution, and it should be noted that the Third World extends (sic) to Europe itself.*

Marx said in 1858: *The specific task of bourgeois society is to establish, at least as a general plan, a world market and production based on that world market.* He also stressed that free competition led to concentration and monopoly.

When reaching its imperialist phase, the fundamental characteristics of capitalism were accentuated, becoming a world system of exploitation and oppression. A truth admitted by all Marxist Leninist Maoists. However, the comrades of the Coordinating Committee in the proposal for the bases of unity overlook the implications of this objective recognition:

To begin with, that imperialism, as an internationalized mode of production, chained all countries – with their specific modes of production – into a single world economy, where the economy of each country is a link in a single chain, which obeys and serves the production, the realization of surplus value, the accumulation and centralization of world capital. That is to say, the social character of production is already a world fact, which is brutally opposed to private appropriation.

Likewise, the process of chaining, expansion and deepening of capitalist relations in the world has brought with it not only the integration of all countries into a single world market of capital, goods and labor power, but also the emergence and expansion of industry in the oppressed countries and the introduction of major changes in agriculture, destroying the traditional systems of production and accelerating the process of decomposition of the peasantry, causing at the same time the accelerated urbanization of the oppressed countries, the development of the cities and increasing the international migration of the proletariat.

A confirmation of the idea expressed by Lenin in *Imperialism Higher Stage of Capitalism* in 1916:

*The export of capital influences the development of capitalism in the countries in which it is invested, accelerating it extraordinarily. If, for this reason, such export can, to a certain extent, cause a certain stagnation of development in the exporting countries, this can only occur at the cost of the further extension and deepening of the development of capitalism throughout the world.*

Therefore, to ignore that capitalism in each country is only an aspect of imperialist capitalism, to resort to the euphemism of calling it «bureaucratic», to deny its real existence in the oppressed countries, can only come



from the petty-bourgeois longing for an ideal, independent capitalism, which is no longer possible in the epoch of imperialism. And in politics, to deny the existence of capitalism in the oppressed countries, leads to safeguarding the interests of the bourgeoisie against the interests of the proletariat. Something inadmissible among those who want to represent the interests of the working class.

But to this great error of the comrades of making the «democratic revolution», even in the oppressed capitalist countries, are added others of no less importance, such as affirming that *the countryside is the principal and the city is a necessary complement* in the revolutionary war, which in practical terms would lead not to carry out the war of the masses that make up the majority of society and are concentrated in the cities, but a war with the minority of the population, as it is distributed in most Latin American countries where the population in the countryside is negligible as in Argentina 7%, Brazil 13%, Chile 12%, Mexico and Colombia 19%.

Error taken to absurdity when affirming that, such is the characterization of society, of the revolution and the way of the same, in the countries of Europe that enter in that supposed «third world», the case of Ireland for example, where to propose a Revolution of New Democracy would be a reactionary pretension, since it would be equivalent to pretending to turn back the wheel of history.

An affirmation that goes against the whole experience of the workers' movement and even against the Proposition on the General Line of the International Communist Movement, or Charter of the 25 Points that the comrades of the Committee claim to defend and feel themselves heirs to:

*In the imperialist and capitalist countries, in order to definitively resolve the contradictions of capitalist society, it is indispensable to carry out the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

(...)

*In the capitalist countries that U.S. imperialism controls or tries to control, the working class and the popular masses direct their main blow against U.S. imperialism, as well as against the monopoly bourgeoisie and other internal reactionary forces that betray national interests.*

A situation that today is not restricted to the countries that U.S. imperialism dominates or tries to dominate, but also to the capitalist countries oppressed by the other imperialists throughout the world.

Another matter that reveals subjectivism is the idea of the «strategic offensive» of the revolution, as the comrades of the TKP/ML correctly point out in their observations. It is correct to preserve the revolutionary

optimism that characterizes the communists, as well as necessary to emphasize the current upsurge of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the peoples of the world; however, what characterizes a strategic offensive of the revolution, is not only the existence of the objective conditions but also the subjective conditions, especially, of the situation of the communists.

It is a fact that after the defeat of the proletariat in Russia and later in China the socialist camp was dissolved and the workers movement entered into a deep crisis. Crisis that had important signs of recovery with the international meetings of the Communists such as the Autumn Conference of 1980 and the Foundation of RIM in 1984, with the beginning of the People's War in Peru and the adoption of Marxism Leninism Maoism as the new, third and higher stage of Marxism in 1993, which allowed the advance in overcoming the ideological confusion and the construction of new organizations and parties in different countries. However, the bankruptcy and dissolution of RIM led to a new dispersion of the forces of the revolutionary proletariat that only in recent years is trying to overcome in a new Unified International Conference, at the same time that all the existing parties and organizations have problems as correctly summarized by the comrades of Turkey. In these conditions, to speak of the «strategic offensive» of the revolution at the present time is a subjective wish.

Regarding the problems of Strategy, Tactics and People's War the comrades of the Committee say in the proposal:

*The people's war is the superior form of struggle, through which the fundamental problems of the revolution are resolved, from it comes everything good for the people; it is the military strategy corresponding to the political strategy (to conquer power) to transform society for the benefit of the class and the people; it is the main form of struggle and the people's army, the main form of organization, an army of a new type that fights, mobilizes, politicizes, organizes and arms the masses, and produces. The people's war is mass war led by the Communist Party to conquer the New Power, concretized in popular committees and support bases for the conquest of power throughout the country.*

*To carry out the people's war it is necessary to take into account four fundamental problems: 1) ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, applied to the concrete practice and the particularities of the revolution in each country, whether oppressed or imperialist countries; 2) the need for the Communist Party that leads the people's war; 3) to specify the political strategy in the democratic or socialist revolution and the road; 4) support bases. The New Power or Front-New Sta-*

## For a Unified MLM International Conference

te, formed in the bases of support, is the marrow of the people's war.

To establish the bases of support, Chairman Mao establishes three fundamental requirements: 1) to have armed forces, 2) to defeat the enemy, 3) to mobilize the masses. That is, to develop guerrilla warfare, to annihilate the living forces of the enemy, thus creating a vacuum of power to establish, build and defend the new power; destroying the old social relations of production and building new ones. From there the contradiction New Power/New State – Old State is developed by means of reestablishments and counter-establishments, following the fluidity of war.

Three paragraphs that in essence replace any concrete analysis of the concrete situation, evade the need to analyze countries, societies and concrete situations because everything is reduced to taking the armed struggle as the main form of struggle always and at all times, taking the popular army as the main form of organization, building support bases and gradually destroying the old power and establishing the new one, destroying the old relations and building new ones, until victory is won throughout the country.

A formula that does not correspond to the reality of all countries and therefore does not solve the real problems of the struggle of the working class: Which are the parties that really have armed struggle as the main form of struggle? Where does the popular army exist as the main form of organization? What support bases do the communists have at present? Is it possible to build support bases in capitalist countries and destroy the power of the enemy by parts and build new relations without destroying the central power?

To these formulas that do not contribute to clarify the tasks to advance the struggle of the proletariat are added other militarist statements:

*Chairman Mao Tsetung developed the construction of the Party around the rifle.*

*The fundamental of Maoism is Power... Power based on an armed force led by the Communist Party, conquered and defended by means of the people's war.* For Marxism the problem of power is indeed the central problem of the revolution, whose conquest cannot be made in any other way than through the revolutionary violence of the masses, through the people's war; equally correct is the affirmation that the new power, the dictatorship of the proletariat can only be defended with the armed force of the masses; But from there to affirming that it is defended with the people's war, is to surreptitiously introduce the mistaken idea of some comrades who speak of «people's war

until communism», which is not separated from the erroneous idea of armed struggle as the principal form of struggle at all times.

It is a «leftist» and militarist idea, not because it is not possible that wars may arise to defend the new power and even international wars, as happened during the Second World War, but to generalize such an idea does not correspond to the development of the class struggle in the socialist countries, where the cultural revolutions, which are also necessary to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, at least in what the experience in China shows, do not take the form of armed struggle or people's war. In this regard, in *Questions of Leninism*, Stalin, quoting Lenin, says:

But, naturally, the dictatorship of the proletariat is not reduced only to violence, although without violence there can be no dictatorship.

*Dictatorship,» says Lenin, «does not mean violence alone, although the former is not possible without violence; it also means an organization of labor superior to the preceding one» (see t. XXIV, p. 305).*

*«The dictatorship of the proletariat... is not only the exercise of violence over the exploiters, it is not even primarily violence. The economic basis of this revolutionary violence, the guarantee of its vitality and its success, lies in the fact that the proletariat represents and puts into practice a higher type of social organization of labor than that of capitalism. This is essential. Therein lies the strength and the guarantee of the inevitable and complete triumph of communism» (see t. XXIV, pp. 335-336).*

In the proposal of the comrades of the Coordinating Committee for the Unified Maoist International Conference there are other inaccuracies in the formulations, but they are of secondary order and perfectly could be corrected and for this reason we did not dwell on them.

We have made reference to some errors that we consider do not correspond to the position, method and point of view of Marxism Leninism Maoism, but to metaphysical positions; ideas that in politics lead to dogmatism and «leftist» sectarianism, and that from the class point of view correspond to the petty bourgeoisie and not to the revolutionary proletariat.

These are the considerations for which we warn from the beginning that the proposal presented by the comrades does not represent a general Base of Unity of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists at the present time, which would allow to apply the method of Unity – Struggle – Unity to continue the struggle around the divergences that for now are legitimate in the bosom of the revolutionary communists.



PCm Italia

## Critical notes on “*Proposal regarding the balance of the International Communist Movement and of its current General Political Line*”

### Introduction

With the collapse of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), the only existing international organization grouping the majority of MLM parties and organizations disappeared. MRI represented, after the crisis occurred in the International Communist Movement (ICM) following the death of chairman Mao and the defeat of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR), a concrete effort to unite the MLM parties and organizations scattered internationally and so to give birth to a counter-tendency opposing such a harmful scattering. Today, the consistently internationalist MLM parties and organizations cannot but fight every residue of Avakianist and Prachandist revisionism and resume the red thread of the RIM, its positive and negative lessons, to go ahead, through the construction of a new international organization of MLM parties and organizations, in the long road towards the goal of a new Communist International.

The website “Communist International” on January 4th published a document named “For a Unified Maoist International Conference! - Proposal regarding the balance of the International Communist Movement and of its current General Political Line” signed by the Coordinating Committee for the Unified Maoist International Conference – CUMIC. This committee groups some parties and organizations that in recent years claimed the will to pursue the purpose of convening a Unified Maoist International Conference (UMIC) and its document represents, from their point of view, a proposal of common “basis for discussion” (BD), but indeed it is their own political-ideological basis functional for such a convocation.

It is well known and recognized in the MLM communist movement that our party, since the collapse of the RIM, has always been at the forefront, through various political initiatives, in the work to lay the foundations for the holding of a new MLM International Conference (IC) aimed to give life to a new international organization.

Already in 2012 our party together with the CP(m)A and the CPI(ML) Naxalbari (then merged into the CPI (Maoist) held a Special Meeting of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Parties and Organizations of the RIM (SM)1

The outcome of this Special Meeting, after discussion and struggle, was the release of two “Final Resolutions” to which they refer<sup>1</sup>

The two resolutions marked a clear and definite delimitation from the two main new-revisionist currents led by Avakian and Prachanda, and started, for the first time since the collapse of the RIM, the work for the IC, which still included a number steps to integrate in that work other MLM parties and organizations, whether they had been members of the RIM or not.

In this sense, we think that the final resolutions adopted by the SM, albeit ten years later and in a different historical-political context, even if cannot be the basis for convening the IC, still contain useful indications of method, line and political analysis that serve to form a unitary basis for the MLM parties and organizations that intend to convene the IC.

Moreover, our party together with other parties and organizations also promoted May Day joint international statement and other bilateral and multilateral internationalist initiatives, both in the years before and after the SM, with the aim of maintaining the red thread of unity in our movement, especially on the occasion of this important day of struggle for our class.

Our party, upon the publication of the document by the comrades of CUMIC, had a positive attitude thinking that it could be a further contribution to get closer to the goal but, once we have read and analyzed it, we had to express our regret along with a mainly negative opinion, due to the assessment that this document cannot represent a unitary starting point for the convening of the IC.

Our Party entrusted to a comrade of our International Commission a first critical comment on some positions expressed by the comrades of CUMIC, to be followed by others that will comment on the strongly critical evaluations expressed by other organizations, whose arguments generally – but not totally – we agree and refer to.

**The revolutionary ideology on the basis of which to convene the International Conference is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism**

**Debate**

At the beginning, the document states “the main danger is still revisionism”, which can be shared; immediately afterwards it continues: “Its unity is built on the base and guidance of Marxism – today Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism”.

We would like to reiterate that the science of the proletariat at any level of its development represents an organic unity: it was so in the first phase of the birth and development of Marxism, then with Marxism-Leninism and finally with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, from its birth to date. The ideological unity and the understanding/application of all its facets by the proletariat led by its vanguard is the only key to undertake the revolutionary path in each country.

The name of our party is Maoist Communist Party, but we do not agree how the authors use the formulation “mainly Maoism” since it is against the understanding that the ideology of the proletariat is organically an indivisible whole including what it already is universally achieved by the revolutionary practice of the proletariat: are not the Marxist analysis of capital, the historical and dialectical materialist method, the Marxist analysis of the State and so on, still valid today in their universal aspects (and valid until capitalism will be defeated)? The same can be said for the universal contributions of Leninism and Maoism to Marxism which today is only represented by the definition Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The meaning given to such a formulation by the CUMIC document is shared only by the parties and organizations represented by the CUMIC itself, that are the expression of a fraction of our movement, having put forward various documents in recent years and often added the formulation: “with the universal contributions of chairman Gonzalo” and even raised the issue of “the six faces”<sup>1</sup>.

We think that a “basis for discussion” functional to the convening of the IC should uphold the formulation “Marxism-Leninism-Maoism” and put it as a delimitation against revisionism.

Coming back to the document by the comrades of CUMIC, we point out another point, expressed in the following paragraph: “The demarcation line between Marxism and the new revisionism consists in: 1) acknowledging or not acknowledging Maoism as the third, new and superior stage of Marxism and the necessity to combat revisionism and all opportunism; 2) acknowledging or not acknowledging the necessity of revolutionary violence – as People’s War – to make revolution in one’s own country; 3) acknowledging or not acknowledging the necessity to demolish the old state apparatus and replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat; 4) acknowledging or not acknowledging the necessity of the revolutionary party of the proletariat”.

We generally agree with the content of this para-

graph but, as regards the second point, we think that to identify people’s war and revolutionary violence is not correct from a MLM point of view. It is obvious that revolutionary violence is the central practice of the people’s war (PW), but it cannot be said that people’s war is just that. The history of the people’s wars themselves disproves this, just look at the great people’s war of the CPC led by Mao Tse Tung; but also the people’s war in Peru, the 10 years of people’s war in Nepal, and the ongoing people’s wars in India and the Philippines. They all deny it. People’s war is at the same time a struggle on the political, ideological fronts, for the construction of base areas, etc. Instead, such identification leads to a militarist understanding/position, which is anti MLM.

## **The International Conference as a step forward in the fight against imperialism**

We think that the holding of an International Conference of MLM parties and organizations will represent a second step (after the first represented by the RIM) in the long path of the struggle against imperialism and its final defeat with the victory of the New Democratic Revolutions and the Socialist Revolutions, marching to Communism.

Therefore, it is necessarily important to understand and masterfully handle the theory of imperialism formulated by Lenin and applied by Mao through his own leadership of the revolutionary process in China, the understanding of which is also favored by the concrete revolutionary experiences (the ongoing people’s wars) to understand what is the strategy to fight and defeat imperialism. In this sense, the concept of “world people’s war” presents a problem of theoretical-ideological understanding and ambiguity.

We are partisans of the launch and development of people’s wars in all countries<sup>1</sup>, we think that the path of people’s war should be universally applied in each country, according to the specific conditions of each country, and particularly according to the nature of each country whether it is an imperialist country or a country oppressed by imperialism (in both of them taking into account any changes, which we will treat briefly later). We think that PW is a world revolutionary strategy but, as known, the conditions of the development of each country in the world are and will be uneven until Communism and, consequently, the beginning and development of revolutionary processes also are uneven and so the people’s wars.

History has already shown how some countries achieved socialism, albeit temporarily and with uneven developments, while capitalist relations of production continued to be dominant in most of the world.

Based on concrete revolutionary experience in the era of imperialism since the October Socialist Revolution, we know that uneven conditions create uneven revolutionary developments, by which the countries that achieve socialism first have to defend this result as the main aim in the internationalist interest, to serve as a base for the World Proletarian Revolution (WPM).

On the contrary, the concept of “world people’s war”, taking not into account this, in our opinion is out of Maoism. The concept of “world people’s war” expressed in the document is in our opinion in contradiction with both the theory of imperialism and the protracted people’s war as synthesized by chairman Mao who always understood it as a revolutionary strategy to seize the political power and not as a form to exercise the proletarian dictatorship after the seizure of power.

Instead, “World People’s War” prospects an “uninterrupted people’s war” in each country, confusing the strategy to win the power and establish the proletarian dictatorship with the fight to construct the proletarian dictatorship itself. The strategy to counter the attempts to restore is the Cultural Revolution, which does not take the form of a people’s war.

Another important issue is related to the fact that in the document, later, refers to the “theory of the three worlds”. It means to attribute this theory to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and in particular to the analysis of chairman Mao, while it was put forward by Deng Hsiao Ping. We disagree with the assertion that considers the oppressed countries as “the bases of the world revolution”, and the peasantry as the main force; a position that has to do with third-worldism, not with MLM and disregards that the contradiction bourgeoisie/proletariat is the fundamental contradiction and today the working class is developing with increasing force, in terms of quantity and quality, even in many of the most important oppressed countries.

The first final resolution “On the International Situation and the tasks of the Communists” adopted by the SM in 2012 stated: “The imperialist bourgeoisie all over the world take advantage of the crisis to restructure imperialism on a global scale and save the interests of their class for their profit. This leads to unloading the vicious weight of the crisis on the workers and masses. In both the oppressed countries and imperialist countries, unemployment, job insecurity and the cost of living increase, exploitation is ratcheted up to modern forms of slavery, workers’ rights are reduced, social achievements won through years of struggles are erased, factories are closed with massive layoffs, peasants are ruined and driven to suicide, cuts in social expenditures and privatization of education and healthcare grow, the logic of commodification and profit is extended even to primary goods, such as water, air, sun, etc.. These policies are carried out within the contention for domination on the imperialist world market and

geopolitical strategic areas, but the unitary character of the policies to unload crisis on the proletarians and the masses is emphatically clear.”.

We think that this analysis is still valid after ten years and shows the sharpening of contradictions in both types of countries. The changes occurred during the last decades must should lead to not see statically the countryside and the peasants as the principal and the cities and the working class as a complement in the oppressed countries.

The comrades of CUMIC in their document wrote: “Not acknowledging the semifeudal character of the oppressed countries and, thus, the necessity for an agrarian war to solve it, ends up denying the necessity of the democratic revolution in those countries, the necessity to develop the People’s War as a unitary war, in which the countryside is principal and the city is a necessary complementary, to end with imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and semifeudality.”

We think that in many oppressed countries, due to a huge process of urbanization and proletarianization, began as a slow trend in the 1960s and increased since the 1980s continuing today in ever larger scale, the countryside tends to lose its “main” importance in favor of the cities and, consequently, it is not obvious that the people’s war in some countries oppressed by imperialism has the “classic” form of “agrarian war” as main shape. The theory of the development of PW in each country should necessarily take into account the social changes and the “demographic” distribution of the population and -again- cannot be a mere mechanical re-proposal of the theory of PW elaborated by Mao who -we repeat- took into account the concrete conditions of China and the world almost a century ago, so as Lenin did at his time and yet then warned that the path of October could not be repeated mechanically in other European countries.

To think that everything remains unchanged is anti-dialectical idealism.

On the contrary, dialectical materialistic analysis is alive, in close dialectical relationship with historical, economic, social and cultural changes. It cannot be embalmed by mechanically re-proposing the analysis made by our masters. The Marxist-Leninist-Maoists must be able to distinguish what is universal (valid always and everywhere, until capitalism is overthrown) from what is particular.

The main problem is that the authors of the document put the centrality of oppressed countries at the international level, asserting that the fundamental contradiction worldwide is that between imperialism and oppressed nations and peoples.

Both Stalin in “Principles of Leninism”, 1st chapter; and, especially, Mao in “On the contradiction”, fundamental working for the International Communist Movement clearly wrote that “the first contradiction is that

between labor and capital”. Both Stalin and Mao explain that the fundamental contradiction, that between proletariat and bourgeoisie, is always the same even in the epoch of imperialism. Mao wrote: “... when the capitalism of the era of free competition developed into imperialism, there was no change in the class nature of the two classes in fundamental contradiction, namely, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, or in the capitalist essence of society; however, the contradiction between these two classes became intensified...”

Having not changed the epoch, this contradiction remains the fundamental one. Therefore, it is wrong to assert, as the comrades in this and other documents do, that the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations and peoples is fundamental, universal. This wrong analysis is also based (and “necessarily” for the comrades) on a forcing, by which many countries are classified as oppressed countries, when they are capitalist countries. An example is Ukraine (and all the Eastern Europe, former socialist, countries) which is considered an oppressed country, hence the erroneous position, today in the ongoing war, to support Ukraine as an oppressed nation against Russia. Consequently, the revolution should be new democratic there, when these countries have already passed through the socialist revolution and the capitalist restoration.

## **The fundamental contradiction determines and affects the other contradictions**

In some periods one of the other contradictions can become the main one. For example, again referring the war in Ukraine, the contradiction between imperialists is clearly the main one here, but it does not replace the fundamental contradiction at the universal level.

Instead, making the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed countries and peoples the fundamental one, not only denies the changes that imperialism brings to the class composition of the people in the oppressed countries, as said before, but leads to a wrong analysis and therefore to take a deviated position.

To abandon the theory of imperialism and the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist analysis turns into a real “short circuit” between the analysis of the comrades of CUMIC and reality when they dogmatically repeat the quotation from Chairman Mao who in 1967 stated that the WPR would triumph “in the next 50-100 years”.

Mao’s statement was certainly right in the context in which has been formulated by the great teacher of the international proletariat based on a concrete analysis of the concrete situation 55 years ago, but, following to

the letter the method of the comrades of CUMIC, taking up the quote in a mechanistic way, the victory of the RPM on the face of the Earth would be certain within 2067 (in 45 years). Furthermore, the comrades reiterated this idea even more explicitly in the recent May Day statement, openly emphasizing that this period of “50-100 years” should be understood as from when it was stated by Mao (sic!)

Obviously, today the situation described by Mao in the 1960s has changed, and therefore its assessment. Since 1976 there is no longer even a socialist country in the world that acts as base area for the WPR and the two most advanced parties leading People’s Wars, the CPI(M) and the CPPh, declare to be in the stage of strategic defensive.

This first “short circuit” directly originates a second one: the at least questionable assertion that the ICM is in the stage of strategic offensive.

Here too there is a deformed use of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and in particular of Mao’s theory of the PW and its stages: if we were in the phase of strategic offensive, it would mean that the enemy is no longer able to defeat us and we are able to wipe out it and, therefore, close to seize the power on a global scale. It is clear that this condition is far away in every country in the world, including India and Philippines, according to the comrades from the respective countries themselves, as we have seen.

For the comrades of CUMIC, on the other hand, the current phase (whether it is strategically defensive, in stalemate or offensive) is not determined by the concrete analysis of the concrete situation (which and how many revolutions are developing, how many MLM parties exist and at what stage they are, and so on), but rather is idealistically determined by a subjectivist interpretation of the glorious history of the proletariat, unilaterally considering only its historical achievements, but “de-historicizing” them and removing the defeats, including the current phase in which we are, which requires us to overcome of the strategic defeat suffered (represented by the restoration of capitalism in socialist China).

The comrades write:

“By applying the law of contradiction to the process of the world revolution, the process of sweeping away imperialism and the reaction from the face of Earth, there are three moments – because contradiction reigns over everything and every contradiction has two struggling aspects, in this case, revolution and counter-revolution. Those moments are: 1st Strategic defensive; 2nd Strategic Stalemate; and 3rd Strategic offensive of the world revolution. The strategic defensive of the world revolution, which is opposed to the offensive of counterrevolution, pulls out since 1871 with Paris Commune and ends in World War Two; the strategic stalemate takes place with the triumph of the Chinese

revolution until the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the development of the powerful movement of national liberation; afterwards, revolution enters strategic offensive of the world revolution that moment would be around the decade of 1980 in which we see the war Iran-Iraq, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, the initiation of People's War in Peru and it is countering the counterrevolutionary offensive of general character, the epoch within the "next 50 to 100 years"; from there on the contradiction between capitalism and socialism – whose solution will bring us to communism – will develop."

The first final resolution adopted by the SM stated, among other things:

"This is the context in which a potential new wave of the world proletarian revolution develops and emerges. It has as its reference points and strategic anchor the people's wars led by Maoist parties.

To this we must add the preparation of several new people's wars, particularly in Turkey and South Asia, with the potential for it in Latin America, and throughout the rest of the world, with the constitution of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist (MLM) communist

parties. In this framework, the new MLM communist parties in the imperialist countries represent the potential for a quantum leap in revolutionary struggle and the unity of the two currents of the world proletarian revolution: the socialist revolution in the imperialist countries and the new democratic revolution, marching towards socialism, in the countries oppressed by imperialism.(...)

In the current international situation the task of communists is to make revolution in the different countries, because the revolution is the only solution to the crisis, the only way out from imperialism and the only road to achieve the ultimate goal of the struggles of the proletarians and oppressed people.

This demands the strengthening and building of MLM communist parties in each country, as a new kind of communist party, as vanguard detachments of the proletariat and leading core of all the people, as a party fighting for the revolution."

This is still the current phase, to take a triumphalist attitude does not help us to advance collectively but favors stagnation.

The same final resolution of the SM stated: "We must learn from both our victories and defeats, from our correctness as well as from our mistakes." In the document of CUMIC, on the other hand, subjectivist triumphalism leaves no room for such consideration and critical/self-critical assessment.

Finally, regarding the understanding and application of the theory of imperialism, we believe it is incorrect in strategic terms to use, as the document does, the formulation "the only hegemonic superpower" referred to the USA and that it is even less

correct and unscientific the "nuclear superpower" referred to Russia.

Once again we consider valid and far-sighted, especially in the light of recent events, the analysis carried out in the SM in 2012, - we quote again the first final resolution "On the International Situation and the tasks of the Communists":

"The balance of power among the imperialists is in a flux. Though the US still remains the sole super power its capacities have been considerably weakened, by the resistance of its victims and the crisis. This gave some room for the EU grouping. However similar factors have negatively impacted on their position too. Russia had not been affected so much by the crisis. Through its axis with China and consolidating ties with erstwhile Soviet Union republics, it has gained some advantage and has stepped up contention. Overall collusion is still principal in inter-imperialist relations. But imperialism in crisis, develops within it contradictions that can become potential sources of a new world war. Imperialist powers, mainly the US, unleash and accentuate wars of aggression, invasion, and neo-colonialism in the different regions of the world where their interests are vital or threatened. In developing these wars, it continues with the arms race and gets equipped with more and more devastating military instruments, surpassing all limits enshrined in international conventions and human rights."

## **Some concluding remarks**

In conclusion, we reiterate once again that the common goal of MLM parties and organizations must be the calling for a IC as broad as possible respecting two delimitation principles:

1) An IC whose participants fully adhere to MLM. Hence, in this IC there is no room for revisionism and new-revisionism. No to the participation of forces that refer directly or indirectly to Bob Avakian's "new synthesis" of RCP US, or to Prachandism, or to Right Opportunist Line in Peru. Furthermore, as stated in the second final resolution of the SM in 2012 named "Towards an International Conference of MLM Communist Parties and Organizations of the world" we still reiterate: "We believe that this task must be jointly taken up with the involvement of the Maoist parties leading people's wars, and all the Maoist forces..."

2) An International Conference of MLM Communist Parties and Organizations of the world, which can be reached with a shared unitary convocation call; in which a genuine discussion and sharp Two-Lines-Struggle are developed at the aim of reaching a higher level of unity towards the goal of founding a new MLM International Organization as embryo of a future International. Any result below the organizational, theoretical, political and ideological level achieved by the RIM would be a step back, not a step forward.



Comité de  
Construção do  
Partido Comunista  
maoista da Galiza

## On the Unified Maoist International Conference (UMIC)

*Proletarians of all countries, unite!*

First of all, we must congratulate the Coordinating Committee for the Unified Maoist International Conference (CUMIC) for making public the text that will be the main discussion document on the basis of international unity. The publication of this document makes it possible for the various communist parties and detachments to have the opportunity to openly putting forward our positions, making public the important topics for study of the International Communist Movement (ICM) at this historic moment.

“So far as such criticism represents a class, it can only represent the class whose vocation in history is the overthrow of the capitalist mode of production and the final abolition of all classes “ the proletariat.”

Karl Marx. Afterword to the Second German Edition of *Capital*. 1873

“Only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historic mission, to consign all armaments to the scrap-heap. And the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before.”

V.I. Lenin. *The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution*. 1916.

“Basing himself on the in-depth critical study of the economic and political conditions of Russia, the character of the Russian bourgeoisie and the historical mission of the Russian proletariat, Lenin, since 1905, will come to the conclusion that, due to the high degree of class consciousness of the proletariat and given the development of the class struggle, any political struggle would in Russia necessarily turn into a social struggle against the bourgeois order.”

Antonio Gramsci. *Lenin's Work*. 1918.

“When classes disappear, all instruments of class struggle “ parties and the state machinery “ will lose their function, cease to be necessary, therefore gradually wither away and end their historical mission; and human society will move to a higher stage.”

Mao Tse-tung. *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*. 1949.

“9. To serve the development of the Peruvian proletariat as part of the international working class, and the formation and strengthening of real Communist Parties

and their unification in a revived international Communist movement guided by the Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; all as a function of the proletariat fulfilling its great historical mission as the final class.”

PCP, *The Basis of the Party Unity*. 1988. Chapter: III Program and Statues.

Section: “General Program of the Democratic Revolution”, point number 9.

### Introduction

The Construction Committee of the Maoist Communist Party of Galicia is based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the synthesis of the experience of the Revolutionary Movement of the proletariat of different countries, of the International Communist Movement from its birth to the present day. During the struggles of the proletariat and the oppressed masses of the 19th and 20th centuries, revolutionary authors and communist militants Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin and Mao Tse-tung, study, question, experiment and theorize this knowledge of the struggle and warfare between social classes throughout history, in order to be able to establish a new science. One that makes it possible to understand the history of both human societies and humanity as a whole. The name of this science is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and it is an indispensable guide for carrying out a conscious social practice to create the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and is, therefore, indispensable for conquering political power, the emancipation of humanity and to be able to raise humankind towards communism.

Marx, Lenin and Mao are the main fathers of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Alongside them, Engels and Stalin form the basis on which we stand. They are the great teachers of the proletariat. There are also great revolutionaries like Gonzalo, Mazundar and Kaypakka, with an originality, scientific depth and historical transcendence fundamental to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

“Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement”, wrote Lenin in his famous book, *What Is To Be Done?*. Throughout history, the oppressed classes and the “marginalized” social sectors have risen up against exploitation and started struggles, revolts and just wars against their oppressors. But



without Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the triumph of the just struggles of workers and workers, of peasants and peasants, or the just struggle for national liberation of the oppressed peoples, cannot triumph because they do not have the science that allows us to create consciousness in large masses, neither create the Party, nor the People's Army, nor the Front, nor to create the New Power, and so without all this, it would be impossible to build a socialist society.

## **1. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; On the "Principally Maoism"**

From our perspective, the Political Declaration and Principles for UMIC should be amended in several points. Beginning with the fact that it is a constant in this document to follow the formula of "principally Maoism". This expression contains within it two important dangers that will lead us to lose our way if we are not careful. The first danger is that we get carried away by the repeated forms of memory that are more characteristic of religion than of the science of the proletariat. Learning a phrase from memory is not understanding, still less internalising, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Rethoric, slogans, etc., have their own place in a revolution, but they are not the main, nor the primordial, nor the essential. What is essential is the science of the proletariat, the consciousness of the history of humanity as a long road of struggle between classes, and also the consciousness of the necessity to fulfil the historical mission of the proletariat: the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism, the abolition of social classes under communism. This is the particular worldview of scientific socialism, the worldview of the revolutionary proletariat. Because this particular vision is the basis of the New Proletarian Culture.

Marxism is composed of scientific theses on the human societies of different epochs. These theses can evolve through study and conscientious social practice, through mass work which creates new social relations by transforming revolutionary theory into practice, until it becomes a New Power, a new law and, in the end, through people's war, a new state is born.

The other reason for not using the "especially Maoism" formula, is that it makes it difficult to understand that in every advance of proletarian science there is a continuity and a rupture at the same time. In Lenin and Stalin we have a continuity and a rupture with respect to Marx and Engels in strategic matters for the world proletarian revolution, like the importance of the struggles of the colonized peoples or, at the philosophical level, we find that Lenin integrates in Dialectical Materialism the question of the internal and external conditions of social phenomena and also in the movement of nature. In Lenin we have the theory of the proletarian

party of the New Type which was neither elaborated by Marx nor by Engels. If the "consciousness of the proletariat" plays a major role in Marx and Engels, in certain fundamental works of Lenin (such as *What Is To Be Done?*), the "consciousness", the "conscious factor", takes on a protagonism never before seen in Marxism. If for Marx, for Engels and for the Bolshevik Party before the October Revolution, the trade unions would be the administrative instrument with which to direct the economy, for the Lenin of 1918, it is already clear that the workers' unions of Russia are not an adequate instrument to direct the industrial production of Soviet Russia. The rupture and continuity is a constant in the history of Marxism, just as it happens with the natural sciences of bourgeois academia, where this process of rupture and continuity also takes place. This whole exposition leads us to understand why the term "Marxism-Leninism" is correct and not simply "Leninism", or "Marxism-Leninism principally Leninism".

In the same way, in Mao Tse-tung we also encounter rupture and continuity with respect to Marx.

If in Lenin consciousness is the protagonist, so too is it in Mao. If in Lenin the internal and the external enter the scene, with Mao they acquire protagonism.

If Marx could only study bourgeois revolutions and a first attempt at proletarian revolution such as the Paris Commune, Mao could study the Soviet experience, the liberation struggles of the colonies, the Chinese Revolution, etc. If Lenin encountered a spontaneously born soviet, when Lenin considers the "dual power" as a particularity of the proletarian revolution in Russia, Mao has to consciously create the "New Power" and can identify this "New Power" as a universal necessity of the revolution.

If Lenin gives us the outlines of the New-type Party, Mao gives us a detailed description of how to build the party with things like, what is the way we should treat liberal tendencies, the political line, cadres, mass work, mass line, etc.

Moreover, thanks to his own practical experience, Mao was able to elaborate the military theory of the proletariat: the theory of protracted people's war. With the discovery of the people's war, Mao breaks with the insurrectionist view that corresponds historically with the bourgeois revolutions but not with the proletarian revolution. With this rupture comes another, with his thesis that the epoch of the bourgeois revolutions has already historically ended, so in the backward (semi-feudal) countries it is up to the proletariat "as the leading class", united with the peasantry "as the principal class", to carry out the same historical mission of overcoming feudalism that the bourgeoisie fulfilled in the countries of the imperialist core during the historical epoch of bourgeois revolutions.

The need to mobilize the broad masses in cultural

revolutions is another example of a break with the more linear view of history that Marxism had at that time. In Mao we can clearly see this contradictory characteristic of continuity and rupture with what was before”which is a constant in Marxism”in the ICM.

From this perspective, rhetorical formulas like “principally Maoist” are not only alien to Marxism, but are a distorting ingredient of the internal logic of the science of the proletariat, of Marxism itself. An element which distorts the absolute rationality of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat.

To really understand revolutionary theory we have to pay attention to Lenin’s point about revolutionary theory as a “guide to action”. So that revolutionary theory must indicate to us what is a priority in our work at any given moment. If we start from “consciousness” as the fundamental subjective factor to accomplish the proletarian revolution, we have two possible paths to be able to give it protagonism in revolutionary theory. These paths are either that of philosophy or that of the social science of Historical Materialism. To rely more on philosophy implies going to the philosophical categories of “itself” and “class itself” and of, “for itself”, “class for itself”. To rely more on historical materialism leads us to give it more prominence to the historical subject, the social classes.

If the working class is the inevitable result of the birth of capitalist societies, the revolutionary proletariat is the result of the birth of the conscious proletariat. A proletariat armed with Marxism and which has its own Party. The Party is the instrument which transforms consciousness into “a social being”, into something so real that it is a social relationship between different people as any other objective social relationship. Therefore, consciousness is not something spontaneous that can occur in the economic struggle itself or in the different immediate demands of the broad masses. We can say that consciousness and the revolutionary proletariat itself are a historical creation of the science of the proletariat, of Marxism.

If we study the history of the class struggle itself, we see how the construction of the Party can only be done on the basis of a correct political line, from a strong central nucleus that must create organisms to do mass work. We also see how the construction of the Party is the creation of the Revolutionary Proletarian Movement, it is expressed as the union between the vanguard and the broad masses. We can develop this thesis on the basis that the construction of the Party is the same as the constitution of the proletariat as revolutionary proletariat, something that is produced thanks to its Communist Party and the Revolutionary Proletarian Movement. The constitution of the revolutionary proletariat as a conscious subject is also the birth of the first and only conscious historical subject of history.

As we see, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the result of a succession of ruptures and continuities with Marx, but the reality is that the primary is continuity. By contrast, if we compare the theses of Marx with bourgeois science, in this case what prevails is the rupture. In this regard, we must propose to redact the part of Section “II.2 The Process of the World Revolution” in which it is stated that Marx and Engels “gather the best” from “. . . German classical philosophy, English political economy. . .”. What Marx and Engels are really doing is not simply “gathering” the best of bourgeois science, but criticizing bourgeois science in order to overcome it and lay the foundations of the ideology of the proletariat.

## **2. On the principal contradiction**

The CUMIC Committee document addresses the thesis of the “historically principal contradiction” but the development of this thesis is confusing.

One way of dealing with this question is to focus on the fact that social contradictions are the internal dynamics within each people but are under the influence of external factors. Besides, in the epoch of imperialism there is the phenomenon of class struggle on a global level.

To determine which is the principal contradiction we have to determine which contradiction inevitably leads to war.

Within each country, the contradiction between the different social classes is the principal contradiction in most of the history of any people. It is precisely for this reason that social classes are the historical subjects.

The epoch of imperialism is the epoch of proletarian revolution. This means that even in economically backward countries, in which the peasant population lives in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, the overcoming of feudalism through a revolution is only possible if the proletariat is the leading class. It also means that it will be the outcome of the war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on a world level which will ultimately determine the future of humanity. But this does not conflict with the study of what contradictions have led to war in the world in each concrete period of time.

The study of history is what enables us to see how the contradiction between imperialism and the semi-colonial countries was the contradiction which most often led to war, and was therefore the principal contradiction for most of our time in capitalist imperialism. Still, during World War I the inter-imperialist contradiction was the principal contradiction. We must also point out that during WW II the contradiction between the proletariat and fascism was temporally and tacti-

cally, the principal world contradiction and it was this precisely, what gave meaning to the USSR alliance with the US and UK, which were major imperialist powers.

### **3. On Maoism**

We do not share the formula of “imposing Maoism” [II.4. International Communist Movement] because it does not clarify the complexity of the ideological struggle between the sectors of advanced workers, the sectors of the most combative students, advanced peasants, the different independence movements, etc. We cannot impose Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the people, but we must “raise” the consciousness of the people, through the consciousness of their social existence thanks precisely to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Another important point is the fact that we can determine historical tendencies, but we cannot know whether these historical tendencies will reach their culmination in a certain period of, say, 50, 100 or 200 years. Determining the years is a speculation which may result useful as a “poetic license” in a certain exposition for didactic reasons, but it is impossible to determine how long the period of confrontation between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will last.

The CUMIC document uses the term “third world” several times. A term that does not help to clarify. A more realistic terminology would be preferable. Economically backward countries, semi-colonial countries, countries of the periphery or, “oppressed nations” as it is in other parts of the cited document, among other terms that can better express the objective social reality of the world today.

“the base for [world proletarian revolution] . . . is constituted by the oppressed nations,” [I. Introduction]

“The countries of the Third World from Asia, Africa and Latin America, as pointed out by Chairman Mao, are the zones of revolutionary storms and the base for the world proletarian revolution.” [II.3. International Situation]

The base of support for the world proletarian revolution can only be a people’s state of New Democracy or a socialist state, but at this historical moment the proletariat does not have a state and this means that the world proletarian revolution does not have even a base of support.

Right now only in the semi-colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America has the class struggle reached the politically superior form of the struggle between the classes, by becoming an open war, a war of national liberation or a people’s war. But this does not mean that the mission of the M-L-M detachments from the countries of the imperialist core should be a simple

support of the people’s wars of the periphery but that these detachments of the imperialist core should work for the construction of the Party in each of their countries.

### **4. The thesis of a single world superpower**

“The United States currently bears the condition of sole hegemonic superpower” [II.3. International Situation – Third Contradiction]

“One cannot speak about ‘imperialist blocks’, this is revisionism.” [II.3. International Situation – Third Contradiction]

Most importantly, this document defends the thesis that the United States is the only imperialist superpower today and that to argue that the world is divided into imperialist blocs is revisionism. Our disagreement with this could not be greater.

Firstly because, compared to the situation in the 1990s, the United States is in a clear decline, while China and Russia are on the rise. If the United States spends three times more on arms than its competitor China, the formation of a bloc with Russia, Pakistan, Iran and other states could equal its military forces with those of the NATO bloc in a few years.

The influence of China and Russia in Africa and Asia will only increase. In Latin America, although much more slowly, Chinese and Russian influence is also increasing. Chinese companies are increasing their holdings and step by step, the Latin American countries will also enter the world division of labor designed by the Chinese bourgeoisie.

In the 1990s, there was a clear dominance of the United States as a great world empire, but right now, we can see the same generalized tendencies towards militarism, a rearmament of all states, an increase in spending to prepare for war, the formation of imperialist alliances and blocks. We can see how the tendency leads to the growing importance of the contradiction between the different bourgeoisies on a world level. A confrontation which is growing in importance every day and which is a tendency that will end up leading the world to a new world war between the imperialist blocs if the triumph of the world proletarian revolution does not come first. As Mao has said, “either the revolution will prevent the war or the war will bring the revolution”.

As we can see, it is a situation similar to what happened before World War I. A situation in which it is the tendency towards inter-imperialist war that has more and more weight until it becomes an open inter-imperialist war and not an anti-fascist one, no matter how much revisionism insists on looking for similarities with World War II.

A scenario such as World War I is a conjuncture in which the political independence of the proletariat is a factor of great importance. It also implies that the anti-fascist movement is not of strategic importance. Therefore, the anti-fascist movement in each country must receive more or less attention from the communists, according to each concrete case.

The world proletariat must oppose inter-imperialist wars with all means, knowing at the same time that even the outbreak of this war between imperialist blocs does not make revolution impossible, but that this war can create power vacuums which the Communist Party can exploit.

## 5. The current people's wars

“We must lead People's War to make revolution in all kind of countries, comprising countries and continents until advancing toward the world People's War.” [I. Introduction]

Another section of this document talks about coordinating the world's people's wars. This question should not be addressed publicly, but since it is there we have to give our opinion.

First of all, we have to say that it is unrealistic that people's wars in the world can be coordinated by people who only fully know the social reality of their country, at a time when we are trying to lay the foundations of an organization that has yet to gain international political authority. For an organization that most likely will not have a member who has experience in leading an army in a people's war, we conclude that this cannot be brought forward right now.

If the people's wars were centrally directed at this stage, it would not bring anything positive for the revolution as it would be totally impossible for anyone outside India to improve the military strategy and tactics currently employed by the PLGA, and the same can be said for any other country. Our work in support of the revolution in India includes criticism of its political line, but it is absurd to think that from outside we can contribute anything positive to the military activity of the Indian people's army (PLGA). Apart from criticising the general line, criticising a certain statement, or criticising its political position on a certain issue (negotiations, religions, ceasefire, etc.), apart from publicising the struggle of the EGPL among the proletariat of our countries, carrying out mobilizations among the conscious proletariat, seeking support for the peoples of India from intellectuals and democratic organizations or, at most, helping to mobilise the migrants from India in Europe; we cannot really contribute anything else as

long as we do not have a socialist republic that can serve as a base of support for the World Proletarian Revolution.

## 6. The trade unions

“The proletariat generates the trade union and the strike within its struggle for demands, which are not only instruments for the struggle for demands, but they ‘forge the class for the great battles to come’.”

Trade Unions are historically necessary instruments for the working class. Among other things, the most politically advanced people often participate in the unions, so it can be important for a communist detachment to have a presence in the trade unions.

But the problem is that in many countries of the imperialist core, the communist detachments have forgotten some very important theses of Marxism on trade unions. One of these theses is that the trade union is the most primitive form of organisation of the working class. We have very easily forgotten what Lenin said in *What is to be Done?* “working-class trade-unionist politics is precisely working-class bourgeois politics”. It is not a question of not participating in the trade unions, but of understanding that the vanguard should not dedicate itself to trade unionism. Trade unionism transforms the party cells and the committees of a communist detachment into trade unions. We go from training party cadres to training trade unionists. It creates a tendency to “hide” or forget the primitive characteristics of the trade unions for the advanced workers. The broad masses that mobilise in the trade unions and other popular organisations are fighting for causes that are just, but it is a spontaneous struggle created by the social contradictions between the classes. In countries where there is no Communist Party which can bring consciousness into this spontaneous struggle and transform it into a struggle for political power, into a struggle to create a Revolutionary Proletarian Movement, to be able to create the New Power; the result is that the communist detachments in Europe find themselves in a situation where they are really behind the masses. Thus, the communist detachments pass from the vanguard to rear-guard in social practice and at the same time disconnect revolutionary theory from their social practice of propaganda and agitation.

The popular and trade union mobilisations are just and should be supported to the extent of our strengths and priorities, but a consolidated bourgeois state will not be defeated through an insurrection, nor through a strike, nor through the struggle of an armed vanguard. To defeat the bourgeois state it is necessary to have the masses armed and consciously organised thanks to the Party, with a people's army and a united front which is the basis of the Revolutionary Movement with a New

Power that is capable of creating its own institutions.

A social practice illuminated by revolutionary theory is what defines the vanguard, being qualitatively superior to the tendency to follow the spontaneous demands of the broad masses.

A social practice illuminated by revolutionary theory is a conscious social practice and this is what defines the vanguard. This conscious social practice is qualitatively superior to a practice of following the immediate and spontaneous just demands of the broad masses, demands that cannot overcome bourgeois ideology.

## **7. The People's War**

We must fully agree with the thesis defended in the document for the UMIC on the universality of people's war. We must understand people's war as the military theory and practice of the proletariat, consisting of the armed masses consciously organized by the Communist Party. A Party work which aims to fulfill the historical mission of the proletariat, which is to create a world without social classes, communism.

To deny the universality of people's war means condemning the conscious proletariat of the countries of the imperialist core to the false hopes of insurrectionalism and foquism.

## **8. The United Front and the Popular Front**

The UMIC preparatory document is right to point out that the "United Front" as a revolutionary instrument of the people's war is much more than the anti-fascist "United Front" tactic promoted by the Third International.

Furthermore, the same document deals with the "Popular Front" policy adopted at the 7th Congress of the Third Communist International in 1935. A Popular Front policy which in many countries did not even mean a change from the United Front, but in Europe meant the attempt to create electoral platforms with the bourgeois programme of radicalised social-democratic reformism as a tactic to stop fascism. The most "successful" example of a Popular Front took place in the Spanish state, where communists of different peoples, social democrats, most of the nationalism of the Basque Country, Catalonia and Galicia, together with some anarchist sectors, created the "Popular Front" which won the 1936 elections to stop fascism, but Spanish fascism won the subsequent civil war. The Popular Fronts did not really succeed in stopping fascism in any country in the world.

The Popular Front policy was a very particular tactic of the ICM at that particular time, at a historical

moment in which the contradiction between the proletariat and fascism was becoming the principal contradiction on the world level.

## **9. The militarisation of the Party**

"Militarisation of the Party and concentric construction of the three Instruments of the revolution."

We consider the thesis of "concentric construction" to be a very good guide for action. First, because it links the existence of a party nucleus with a periphery in one image. It expresses this idea of construction from a core very well.

Second, because the Communist Party is the union between revolutionary theory and social practice or—what is the same—the union between the vanguard and the broad masses, so creating the Party is also creating the Revolutionary Proletarian Movement and not simply a union of previously existing social struggles and social movements (trade unionism, ecologism, etc.).

On the contrary, the thesis of the "militarisation of the Party" must be clarified. We have to know what it means exactly. Today, it sometimes seems that "militarisation of the party" is a thesis of all Maoism, but neither Mao, nor Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, nor Charu Mazumdar, nor in the CPI (Maoist), etc., have this thesis. Not even in the documents of the PCP before the 1988 Congress does "the militarisation of the party" appear. A "label" cannot be approved without having clearly defined its content. The thesis of the militarisation of the party should have been clarified. It should have been clearly stated in the document.

The advancement of the science of the proletariat requires an understanding of the practical consequences of defending a given position at each historical moment. Endorsing "labels" but leaving their implications undefined is not a two-line struggle, it is a formal radicalism which is not capable of being a guide to action. To transform the inevitable two-line struggle into a struggle over who is for or against a "label" which in reality does not contain within it clear theses to be our guide to action, would lead us into an aesthetic war and rhetorical "formulae" which may sound more radical, but it is a practice which does not allow the advance of the revolutionary theory which the proletariat needs.

We are in a historic moment of great responsibility in which it is necessary to take a position on various theses that are in dispute among the M-L-M organisations and parties. For our part, we would like the different communist detachments of the world to give their opinion in this important debate. The conscious proletariat always with consciousness in command!



**TKP/ML**

## **The Approach of Our Party on the Prepared Draft**

An assessment with general lines on our perspective towards proletarian internationalism and on which ideological-political and organizational grounds the International Movement of the Proletariat (IMP) should define itself in our day on the basis of the historical experiences of the International Communist Movement.

When the imperialist capitalist system in which we live in has made itself distinct with its most fundamental characteristics in the beginning of the 20th century, it was defined by Lenin as “a statue whose feet made out of mud” and as “a rotting” system. The imperialist capitalist system which Lenin has made the clearest description of its quality has been able to maintain its existence as the dominant economic, political and administrative system going through various stages until our day.

The capitalist mode of production and production relations have a distinct discrepancy from other productive forces-production relations in the past by being more hegemonic and having the characteristic of subjugating the whole to itself. Expansion through spread and generating new fields of dominance is an absolute for this system to function. It cannot maintain its existence by withdrawing to itself; it has to spread, increase, constantly expand its sphere of influence, and neutralize its competitors or the ones who have the capability to become competition. On the other hand expansionism which is a requisite for the existence of the capitalist system together with gradually getting more centralized imposes becoming a gear on this wheel as an obligation. Without this expansionism and subjugation of the whole to itself, capitalism cannot exist. In this sense, it is a system of exploitation that is more complex in respect to the economic, political and social systems of the past, a system that incorporates greater number of contradictions, and a system that faces off greater number of forces. Capitalism that incorporates the process of connecting all the systems on the face of the world to itself, at the same time, creates an environment of conflict that descends onto individuals and that obliges the reality of existence-nonexistence and “existing through the destruction of its competitor”. Due to the lethal competition that descends upon single producers, both among themselves and among them and

the working class and toilers the contradictions are rather violent and at the same time more destructive to a greater degree. In the systems of exploitation prior to capitalism, the forms of dominance essentially based on dominance over pieces and on the basis of piece through the subjugation of other pieces, together with capitalism has created the obligation to turn the general world which constitutes the essence of the exploitation into a common market. Due to this obligatory function that is specific to capitalism, the capitalists on one hand while trying to destroy one another through market seizing wars with relentless competition in an imperative manner, on the other hand even though it looks as if they are excluding one another, at the same time are in a necessary position of “protecting one another” in order to preserve the system. Despite the relentless competition among them, this has to be this way. Even though the relentless competition is an internal and obligatory characteristic of capitalism, solidarity among capitalists in order to preserve the given system in order to protect the system from the “gravediggers”, to avoid “their graves being dug”, which is the condition of existence is another obligation to the same degree.

Although this seems like a contradiction, the pieces of this system that conflict with one another relentlessly and experience this conflict at the level of every produce that they produce are tied to one another with an absolute link in order to realize their partnership at the most progressed level possible and to preserve this system together. This situation directs them to an obligatory unity against the working class and other productive sections that provides for their existence and the international character of production obliges also the international character of the solidarity for capitalists.

When we take a broad look at the functioning of the system as a whole, even there we witness the generation of numerous common action mechanism in the economic-political-military framework, stretching from single monopolies to the level of states, despite the relentless competition among them. IMF, WB, APEC, OPEC, NAFTA, EU, NATO are some well-known examples of this.

Despite the gradually increasing competition both in terms of its extent and depth and the continuous crises, it is still early to talk of a direct concrete threat such as an inter-imperialist war. In this sense, the process can still be identified as a “current of revolution”, not as a “current of war”. The given objective situation has not yet reached the quality of being a “current of war” in between imperialist powers in terms of the extent of the inter-imperialist contradictions and competition. However, this fact does not invalidate the sharpening of the competition between imperialist in a continuous and steady manner. The armed forms of the competition in between imperialists essentially continue as local and indirect wars-conflicts, not directly. The invasions that take place in the axis of the US and Russian imperialism are in essence take the form of direct invasions in semi-colonial countries that have their own unique characteristics. On the other hand, in countries which are subjected to an invasion of an imperialist alliance (NATO) or of one or more than imperialist forces, other imperialist or imperialists instead of directly confronting one another, take part in the indirect war by mobilizing collaborator-servant forces. Consequently, as the economic war is maintained directly and explicitly, the armed aspect of the sharing takes the aforementioned forms. Even though the evolution of the gradually increasing extent and depth of these contradictions to a direct confrontation of imperialists stands as a reality in front of us, in consideration with the stage that the war industry has reached, the reality of the destruction that is to be caused by such a confrontation would reach tremendously far beyond the destruction of the first and the second imperialist wars, requires postponing of an inter-imperialist war as much as possible. How long this “postponing” would last depends on the course of the developments. What we intend to mean is that the imperialist capitalist system could still carry the competition and conflicts that are internal to it and just as in the example of the indirect wars, could still absorb such contradictions in different forms by keeping its distance.

Despite all the infertile conditions, the imperialist capitalist system has managed to maintain its dominance by overcoming the blockages that it has experienced. The most significant reason behind this is the objective situation of the communist and revolutionary forces which is being far away from threatening the system. This situation provides for a more comfortable situation for the imperialists and their servants. This “objective comfort”, in terms of the “complete perpetuity” of the imperialist capitalist system enables the maintaining of the system on the line of “preservation through conflict”. The lack/inadequacy of the communist subject is at the essential determinative point of the continuation of the existence of the imperialist capitalist

system. The creation of the situation that “provides for comfort within unease” of the imperialists and their servants is due to the process that is essentially in favour of bourgeoisie for a long historical period which holds ups and downs and the continuing process of gains and losses of the class struggle of proletariat, despite the successful results obtained time to time.

Within the more hundred years period of the definition of Lenin of the dominant system as “Imperialism the Last Stage of Capitalism”, although great historic ruptures that shook the grounds of the imperialist capitalist system, such the the 17th of October and the Chinese Revolution had had happened and nearly one third of the world population lived under socialist powers, ultimately a period had ended by the usurping of the power by capitalist-roaders in China. Together with the fall of the “Berlin Wall” which is symbolically expressed as the demarcation line between the socialist system and the capitalist system, capitalist system declared its triumph! We, namely the MLM, however define it as a defeat of revisionism and social imperialism, together with the counter-revolutionary propagandas of the propagandists and bourgeoisie, of individuals and organizations that divert from Marxism and betray MLM, faith of large masses of people to socialism has weakened together with their experiences. Moreover, neo-liberal policies that were effectively implemented all over the world by 1980s and descended upon the working class and the toiling people in 1990s, parallel to the remission of communist and revolutionary activities has brought about the serious disorganization, distancing of the workers and toilers from organizations such as unions.

The weakening of this ground that brings about significant advantages of the organization of communist and revolutionary forces and the strengthening of dominance of within-the-system understandings within the existing understanding caused the weakening of the ties with the masses. Within this period, even though we have witnessed great mass demonstrations, actions of workers and peasants and sections of the society that have grievances towards the given system, due to communist forces not being able to actively exist and become an effective force in these movements in the real sense of the word, these movements have remained as movements that did not create disturbances within the whole system, that did not create threats against the whole system, and remained as movements that released the energy without obtaining results. Today too, in various parts of the world similar mass movements are taking place, however the obtained results are essentially the same.

On the other hand, these movements show that once

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a proper leadership is created and in this or that way the dynamics of these masses that have gradual grievances towards the system are channelized towards a proper direction, there are possible opportunities to obtain results in favour of the revolution front in the short term. The mass movements in several places of the world at the same time are significant in the sense that they show existing and gradually accumulating the dynamic against the system. The oppressed masses are in search for a solution however the lack of the communist subject is also deeply felt.

Even though the rage and the reactions of the working class and oppressed toilers against the given imperialist capitalist system time to time transform into actions and resistances that pour out to the streets, the energy emerging from the masses have not yet merged with the MLM forces. The movement and the struggle of the working class and the toilers are being imprisoned into within-the-system under the activities and the leadership of the revisionist reformist and within-the-system organizations to a significant extent.

This objective situation, despite bringing about great challenges in the continuation of the struggle for revolution and socialism of MLMs, in various places of the world, MLMs and various revolutionary forces have continued to struggle against the imperialist capitalist system by not giving in to the given conditions. Particularly proletarian revolutionaries that insist on the MLM ideological and practical line continued their struggle by raising the flag of MLM high up in various parts of the world, in Peru, in Nepal, in India and in Turkey and have made significant advances. As we all know, whereas the PCP under the leadership of President Gonzalo in Peru had once again made our hopes bloom, together with the capture of Gonzalo and important leaders of the PCP, as a result of the “road accident” that took place a serious regression had happened.

The People’s War in Nepal that was initiated in 1996 once again made our hopes blossom. The collaborationist line of the Maoist leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal by making the gains of the revolution a present to the bourgeoisie has caused a great waste of an important opportunity.

On the other hand our Party, the TKP/ML has a period of ups and downs in terms of People’s War. Due to reasons such as losses experienced at the level of leadership from time to time and not properly administering the process time to time, despite an uninterrupted persistence towards People’s War has not been adequately effective. In the last years, CPI(M) that continues the People’s War on the MLM line follows a consistent course of progress. Except of these parties and organization, we can also speak of the CPP that is timid in respect to directing itself to the power and its

line of constant seeking of reconciliation despite its factual armed struggle and its possession of a significant armed force and activities. However it defines itself as Maoist, CPP that ideologically has a rather third-worldist line, despite its great force is far away from being an inspiration for the world revolution. The social and national liberation movement that wage armed struggle except of the ones that define themselves as MLM or with Mao Zedong Thought have essentially anchored themselves to a “armed reformist” line and have embraced a direction on the reconciliatory-peaceful line. Great guerrilla movements such as the PKK and the FARC, in the given stage by choosing to reconcile with bourgeoisie, let alone preserving the gains they have obtained, they cannot even protect their lives! Even though the PKK has the advantage of struggling in the four-pieced Kurdistan, its line of reconciliation-peace today stumbles to a great extent and experience serious challenges. We should underscore that the problems visible in the given picture of these movements are due to the results of their reconciliatory and peaceful political lines towards dominant powers rather than military defeats or regressions.

On the other hand the developments in the other front of this picture consolidate the hopes towards the future for the proletariat and the oppressed-exploited peoples. In the struggle for the realization of the world revolution of the international proletariat in various parts of the world MLM parties and organizations are being constructed, in this sense we can speak of a positive tendency.

These developments reinforce our hopes towards the future and strengthen us. Together with the gradual maturation of the objective conditions, we have a strong faith and hope that these parties and organization will advance once they operate with a correct ideological-practical and organizational line and we should state that we do indeed care about them. The need of the working class and oppressed masses of toiling people to MLMs makes itself felt as an urgent need every single passing day. As long as we manage to walk on a correct line and a correct practical track, it is possible for us to lead the popular masses that experience serious problem with the system, that pour out to the streets, that are subjected to violent attacks of the state forces and to equip them with the political power oriented perspective with the command of the MLM. In order for this to happen, we need to get to know well the imperialist capitalist system that we live in, the contradictions that creates it, the class contradictions, the ground that we rise upon, the forms and instruments of our struggle, our tactical and strategic orientations, our friends, our enemies etc. In this sense, we need to put forward and present our opinions and criticisms in regards to the Draft prepared together with the desire to



build unities on a more correct ground with the dynamic and existing forces that are involved in class struggle with the command of MLM in the march of the proletariat for people's revolution, socialism and communism.

There are points which we do not agree on the prepared Draft. We take both defining these separation points and presenting our understanding on these separation points as a responsibility that the international proletariat loads onto our Party. We take the discussion of the differences emerging from various subjects among MLMs as an objective for strengthening our unity. We hope that this discussion and exchange of opinions will serve this purpose.

## **On Imperialism, Analysis of the Epoch and the Fundamental Contradiction**

Fundamental contradictions around the world are mentioned in two separate sections of the prepared draft:

“Starting from Lenin's thesis, it is assessed that the economic relations of imperialism constitute the basis of the international situation today. Throughout the twentieth century, this new phase of capitalism, its superior and final phase, has been completely defined, and that the division of the world between oppressed and oppressing countries is a distinctive feature of imperialism. Therefore, to understand the current situation, we cannot start from the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, since we are in its superior and final phase, imperialism.

In today's world there are three fundamental contradictions:

First contradiction: between oppressed nations, on the one hand, and imperialist superpowers and powers, on the other. This is the principal contradiction at the present moment and, at the same time, the principal contradiction of the epoch. The world is divided, on the one hand, into a large number of oppressed nations, which are colonial or semi-colonial countries, the latter with formal sovereignty or independence, subject economically, politically and culturally to imperialism; on the other hand, there are a handful of imperialist powers, whether superpowers or powers, in whichever case, oppressive nations.

Second contradiction: between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries.

Third contradiction: interimperialist. As Lenin taught, imperialism is not one, there are different imperialist countries. That is, there are imperialist powers and su-

perpowers that divide the world among themselves according to their economic, political and military balance of power; a balance of power that is changing all the time and develops in collusion and contention.”

Similarly in another section it says: To appraise the world in this New Era, we see that four fundamental contradictions are expressed: 1) the contradiction between capitalism and socialism, the contradiction between the two radically different systems, will cover all this time and will be one of the last to be resolved, it will endure even after seizing the power; 2) the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, is the contradiction between two opposing classes and will also persist after the seizure of power, manifesting itself in multiple ideological, political and economic ways until its solution when we enter communism; 3) the interimperialist contradictions are the contradictions between the imperialists for world hegemony and takes place in among the superpowers themselves, in between the imperialist superpowers and powers and in among the imperialist powers themselves, this contradiction will be resolved in the epoch of the 50 to 100 years; 4) the contradiction oppressed nations and imperialism, that is the struggle of the oppressed nations for liberation in order to destroy imperialism and reaction, whose solution is also framed within 50 to 100 years, is the historical principal contradiction during all this time; but, any of the four fundamental contradictions may become principal according to the specific circumstances of the class struggle, temporarily or in certain countries, but the historical principal contradiction will return to be expressed as such, until its complete resolution.

These analyses from various difference angles require assessments. We evaluate the epoch we are in as, “Imperialism and the Epoch of Proletarian Revolutions”. In our epoch the revolutionary process throughout the world is the process of proletarian world revolution. And the fundamental contradiction that marks this period is the contradiction between labor and capital. The proletariat carries the duty of resolving this contradiction through revolution on its shoulders. From the labor-capital contradiction which is the fundamental contradiction of the process of world proletarian revolution comes out a set of principal contradictions throughout the world. Here are these contradictions:

- The contradiction between the oppressed peoples and imperialism
- . The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie
- The contradiction among imperialist states

We do not view the contradiction between “capitalism and socialism” which appears in the draft among

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the principal contradictions based on the current conditions. We are passing through a period in which we witness returns from socialism are happening and being completed. Even though the struggle for socialism is still being waged as a lively and a dynamic struggle, there is also the reality of a nonexistence of an established socialist system where proletariat does not hold the power in any country. We have the opinion that this contradiction should be defined and should not be placed among the contradictions in the world. Within this context we do not define it at a level of power, opportunity and influence that would be placed together with principal contradictions. In consideration with the new contradictions emerging from the struggle and the process just now, namely the non-existence of a current socialist system, it would not be objective to give a place to such an analysis of contradiction in the categorization of prominent contradictions in this period. We cannot establish contradictions with our intentions and wishes. The contradictions should be determined in accordance with the given situation and we should establish a line of struggle in accordance. Viewing this contradiction among the principal contradictions is not correct, scientific and realistic.

In addition to this there are for fundamental contradiction analyses in the draft. Subsequently, based on the philosophical approach of comrade Mao through a discussion of handling of contradictions we will intend to lay down the mistakes of this approach. The fundamental contradiction, main contradiction and principal contradictions issue in the draft and their handling is not compatible with the law of contradiction of MLM. It incorporates an approach that would create blurriness of consciousness in understanding a complex process, problem.

It is not possible to remain on the field of MLM without designating the reality that our epoch is the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

The epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolutions was concretized into reality with the October Revolution and process that have been ongoing since then have been shaped as the process of proletarian revolutions against imperialism and world reactionism. The process of revolutions that started with the 1917 October Revolution gained tremendous advances having created socialist powers in more than one third of the world. This period of advances and triumphs ended with returns in succession in socialist countries. The revolutions regressed. However, has the epoch ended? No, it has not. In the historical march, in the path that the proletariat marches upon these are temporary regressions and stops. The epoch has not changed however in the movement of the proletariat that marked the epoch relative descends; pauses and regressions have

been observed. Only the conditions of the class struggle and the elements that play the catalytic role in the acceleration of these conditions will define how long this descending wave of revolution will last and when it will ascend back.

From our perspective since the epoch that we are inside is the “Epoch of Imperialism and Proletarian Revolutions” our analysis of the fundamental contradictions that marks this epoch is different than the fundamental contradictions stated in the Draft. We embrace the approach stated in the 10th Congress of the CPC that says, “there have been immense changes in the world since the death of Lenin but the epoch has not changed”. In this sense we defend that our epoch is still “the Epoch of Imperialism and Proletarian Revolutions”.

The “epoch analysis” that is in the Draft is incorrect. It is meaningless to define our epoch only as “the epoch of proletarian revolutions,” this states a piece of the phenomenon not the whole. When such a definition is made the first question that appears in the mind is that, where is the other piece of the phenomenon, namely the contradiction? To which system of dominance that encompasses economic, social, political, administrative, institutional etc. are proletarian revolutions the obligation of intervention? What is the reason behind mentioning proletarian revolutions before capitalism and proletarian revolutions of our age? To which system are proletarian revolutions contrary to as our alternative? We can go on with these questions.

Secondly, the initial shortcoming that is not visible in the Draft and that causes crooked results is setting off from “an imperialism without capitalism”. This approach that rips the problem from productive forces and production relations and does not handle the imperialist aggression on this ground is outside of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Thirdly, once again, the section about the fundamental contradiction in the world and the contradictions that appear subsequently is also problematic and does not express the reality correctly and completely. In the Draft the contradictions in the world are stated and as the fundamental contradiction “the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and nations and imperialism” is determined. This sort of a fundamental contradiction analysis does not fall in with the universal realities of MLM.

Fourthly, there are some sharp distinctions among imperialists, (such as super power and powers) and from our perspective these “sharp distinctions” correspond to a problematic understanding in terms of imperialism.

Here is our approach in regards to the points of objections that we have mentions as main topic above:

In order to reach an understanding and a conclusion in regards to the epoch that we live inside and the fundamental characteristics of this epoch and its fundamental contradictions, we initially need to look at the reality of the epoch.

“...I trust that this pamphlet will help the reader to understand the fundamental economic question, that of the economic essence of imperialism, for unless this is studied, it will be impossible to understand and appraise modern war and modern politics.”

This emphasis that Lenin makes in the preface of the Russian edition of “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism” dated April, 1917 is significant. It is significant and obligatory in order to correctly comprehend the significant social incidents, division wars that time to time take a military form and the causes of worker and toiler movements of the epoch and to analyze the entire phenomena in the basis of developments and conflicts, to grasp the essence of the issue and to place the power struggle of the proletariat to the correct grounds.

In the RSDLP program dated May, 1917 imperialism is defined as such: “The world capitalism, now, approximately since the beginning of the 20th century has reached the stage of imperialism. The age of imperialism or finance capital, is a well advanced capitalist economy where monopolistic capitalistic unities, unions, cartels, trusts gain determinative significance, the immensely concentrated bank capital connects with industrial capital, export of capital to foreign countries reach immense extents, all the lands of the world are divided among the richest countries and the financial division of the world begins among international trusts.

The definition of imperialism that is acknowledged by Marxists (MLM) is made by Lenin. In his work “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, the highest stage of capitalism, namely the process of imperialism is described through main lines mentioned below with its fundamental characteristics.

“(1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; (2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this “finance capital”, of a financial oligarchy; (3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; (4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves, and (5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed.”

Comrade Stalin, in his work that is translated to Turkish with the title “the Foundations of Leninism” as he discusses Leninism and the distinctive characteristics of Leninism states the below in regards to our discussion:

“The first contradiction is the contradiction between labour and capital. Imperialism is the omnipotence of the monopolist trusts and syndicates, of the banks and the financial oligarchy, in the industrial countries. In the fight against this omnipotence, the customary methods of the working class-trade unions and cooperatives, parliamentary parties and the parliamentary struggle have proved to be totally inadequate. Either place yourself at the mercy of capital, eke out a wretched existence as of old and sink lower and lower, or adopt a new weapon-this is the alternative imperialism puts before the vast masses of the proletariat. Imperialism brings the working class to revolution.

The second contradiction is the contradiction among the various financial groups and imperialist Powers in their struggle for sources of raw materials, for foreign territory. Imperialism is the export of capital to the sources of raw materials, the frenzied struggle for monopolist possession of these sources, the struggle for a re-division of the already divided world, a struggle waged with particular fury by new financial groups and powers seeking a “place in the sun” against the old groups and powers, which cling tenaciously to what they have seized. This frenzied struggle among the various groups of capitalists is notable in that it includes as an inevitable element imperialist wars, wars for the annexation of foreign territory. This circumstance, in its turn, is notable in that it leads to the mutual weakening of the imperialists, to the weakening of the position of capitalism in general, to the acceleration of the advent of the proletarian revolution and to the practical necessity of this revolution.

The third contradiction is the contradiction between the handful of ruling, “civilised” nations and the hundreds of millions of the colonial and dependent peoples of the world...

Such, in general, are the principal contradictions of imperialism which have converted the old, “flourishing” capitalism into moribund capitalism.” (The Foundations of Leninism/Stalin)

As imperialism turns every single piece of the world into a ring in the imperialist chain, it inevitably has created the opportunity to break the chain through the contradictions that it immensely sharpened. The fundamental contradiction of capitalism has become even sharper with the immense socialization of production and the concentration of ownership of means of production at the hands of few groups of finance capital.

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The free competition period is no longer; capitalism has reached its final stage. The most fundamental characteristic of capitalism in the stage of imperialism is its parasitic and rotten nature.

Comrade Lenin's analysis of imperialism continues to apply to this very day. We come across to views that put forward the idea that the analysis of imperialism that is presented by comrade Lenin in a crystal clear manner has gotten old and is inadequate to express the stage that it has reached today due to great advancement in technique and sciences, variations in models of production and the great development of means of communications etc. We can only speak of a development, deepening and a greater acceleration of capital movement here, not of change. The technique and scientific developments that evolve in a manner that serve the dominance of bourgeoisie and their interests, has not been of use besides strengthening the dominant power, namely the finance capital, deepening the exploitation and spreading its activities to the furthest points of the world. The power of monopolies has increased, and it has brought about a gradually increasing concentration of power and capital in the hands of fewer monopolies. We see the concentration of capital in the hands of fewer monopolies through the annual list of the richest, most expensive companies or statistics such as the biggest 500 companies of the world. This concentration of production and accumulation of capital at the same time deepens the contradictions, increases the exploitation and creates new dimension into search for new markets. Besides this, the periods of the crises of imperialist finance capital and production shortens and nowadays, this constant situation of the crises has become a product of the natural development course of capitalist imperialist production relations. This situation causes the intensification of all contradictions, their depth and the unavoidable duty of imperialism; namely being its own grave digger.

We see how significant it is that comrade Lenin points towards the finance capital and monopolies in how finance capital and monopoly groups intervene into the system not only through economic exploitation but also politically and practically in most of the countries in the world and how fundamental and determinative of an actor they have become as to organize military coups in order for the livelihood of their economic exploitation policies.

Consequently the fundamental characteristics and fundamental contradictions of the epoch we live through have not change, on the contrary the activities of finance capital and monopolies has become more vivid in all the pores of the system of exploitation and oppression. If we wish to wage struggle against capitalist

imperialism on the correct grounds and to change the world for the favour of the working class and toilers in the correct way, then we need to define the reality correctly. MLMs cannot name the phenomenon they wish to change through the definitions they make through their intentions. The change and transformation of reality can only be done through setting off from reality. Our guide should be MLM. In this sense it is imperative that we turn our faces towards comrade Mao.

It is the law of contradiction that becomes crystal clear in comrade Mao, the representative of MLM which we acknowledge as the third stage of Marxism. It is his method of thinking and resolution that he attributes a special significance in his handling of all ideological, theoretical, political, economic, military and practical issues.

It is imperative to designate the given contradictions, to lay down the essential and secondary aspects of contradictions with all their clarity and to operate a process on this basis at every stage of the struggle of proletariat in its class war and struggle for seizing and preserving political power. This has been the method of solution President Mao, the great Master of the proletariat and all the other communist masters in regards to all the issues. It is designating the principal ring that determines all the other phenomena and incidents, that shapes them, that directs their existence and course and it is to focus on the principal ring. The age that we live in is the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. This analysis is the concrete result of the world that we live in, the course of the development of human history, the dominant mode of productions and class relations and contradictions. The reality should be described from concrete phenomena, not through our intentions. Moreover, from the perspective of MLM who has the objective and the claim to lead the class struggle, to shape it and ultimately to create the political power of proletariat and keep it alive it is imperative to describe the reality over the principle of concrete analysis of the concrete conditions, this is what give meaning to our existence. Our designations and definitions project our location what we stand upon in the arena of the class struggle. We put the productive forces and production relations in our analyses in regards to class struggle and we see it on the basis of class contradictions that are concretized on this reality. The emergence, taking form, differentiation from other theories and representation of reality of Marxism rises exactly on this base.

In the prepared Draft our epoch is defined as the "Epoch of Proletarian Revolutions". This is a deficient definition and expresses only one side of the contradictions. The process of proletarian revolutions had appeared as the resolution to the contradiction of the age where capitalism took the character of imperiali-

sm. Capitalism gave birth to the two antagonistic classes of the history and the contradiction that is concretized in these two classes which is different from the class struggles of the past for the first time in history became the ground for the ultimate battle that will end the dominances that had been shaped through exploitation. The difference and the significance of the historical role of the proletariat which is different from all the oppressed and exploited masses and classes was born on this ground. In the thousands of years long history of human kind. The fact that the proletariat is the grave digger of bourgeoisie rises on this ground. We speak of the class contradiction that will result in the objective of ultimately ending the system of exploitation now, not of the replacement of one system of exploitation with another in every turn of history just as in the transition from primitive communal society to slave society, from feudal society to capitalist society. Consequently the epoch that is called the epoch of proletarian revolution is the name of the ground where the capitalist system evolves into imperialism and where the resolution to emerging contradiction from the perspective of exploited and oppressed masses becomes ultimate liberation from various exploitative forms of dominance that lasted for thousands of years. It would be a futile definition to speak of proletarian revolutions without speaking of imperialism and speaking of imperialism without speaking of capitalism and speaking of bourgeoisie without speaking of proletariat.

In order to clarify this issue it is useful to turn to comrade Mao who laid the law of contradiction in the most advanced form:

“When Marx and Engels applied the law of contradiction in things to the study of the socio-historical process, they discovered the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production, they discovered the contradiction between the exploiting and exploited classes and also the resultant contradiction between the economic base and its superstructure (politics, ideology, etc.), and they discovered how these contradictions inevitably lead to different kinds of social revolution in different kinds of class society.

When Marx applied this law to the study of the economic structure of capitalist society, he discovered that the basic contradiction of this society is the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of ownership. This contradiction manifests itself in the contradiction between the organized character of production in individual enterprises and the anarchic character of production in society as a whole. In terms of class relations, it manifests itself in the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. . . The contradiction in the capitalist system between the social character of production and the private owner-

ship of the means of production is common to all countries where capitalism exists and develops; as far as capitalism is concerned, this constitutes the universality of contradiction. But this contradiction of capitalism belongs only to a certain historical stage in the general development of class society; as far as the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production in class society as a whole is concerned, it constitutes the particularity of contradiction. . . since the particular is united with the universal and since the universality as well as the particularity of contradiction is inherent in everything. . . when studying an object, try to discover both the particular and the universal and their interconnection, to discover both particularity and universality and also their interconnection within the object itself, and to discover the interconnections of this object with the many objects outside it. . . .”

What is the fundamental contradiction? It is the one that marks the process. Just as the principal contradiction marks the existing stage of the of the process, the fundamental contradictions projects itself as the contradiction that gives all its quality to the whole process that is consisted of the total of stages. Namely, the fundamental contradiction is the contradiction that exists in the course of development of a thing, that determines the quality of the process, that continues its existence throughout the process, that brings about the completion of the resolution through the concentration of the process and its contradictions. Once again namely, the fundamental contradiction is the contradiction between the forces that represent the new and the old. When considered from the perspective of New Democratic Revolution the fundamental contradiction finds its base in the contradiction between the three mountains that represent the old; imperialism, comprador capitalism and landlords and large masses of people, it takes its character from here and it focuses on the resolution of this contradiction. This fundamental contradiction gives a two sided character to New Democratic Revolution; firstly “the national revolution” due to imperialism and secondly the democratic revolution due to feudal contradictions. This is a situation caused by the semi-colonial, semi-feudal quality of a country, namely due to the alliance established by imperialism and feudalism. Once the fundamental contradictions is designated among a series of complex contradictions that mark the process, then on the contradictions that this socio-economic structure creates are determined. Within this context some particular contradictions are:

- The contradiction between feudalism and masses of people
- The contradiction between masses of people and imperialism, and besides
- The contradiction between reactionary dominant classes

- The contradiction between bourgeoisie and proletariat

There are also less significant contradictions besides the ones mentioned above however these four contradictions come into prominence as four principal contradictions in semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries. One of these contradictions influences both some particular contradictions and all the other contradictions, it governs their course; it determines and affects them. Exactly this appears in front of us as the principal contradiction. Not being able to determine the principal contradictions among contradictions bring together what comrade Mao states as, "being lost in the fog, not being able to comprehend the essence of the issue". Naturally, this situation bring about not comprehending the side of the principal contradiction that plays a leading role, that determines all the other contradictions, that influences and subjugates them, and the mishandling and incorrect definition of the process of social revolution. Parallel to the determining of fundamental contradiction, the principal contradiction in countries such as ours could sometimes have a complex appearance. Under the conditions where direct invasion of imperialism is not the case that there is a situation of semi-invasion, the principal contradiction is in between feudalism and masses of people. The democratic demands of the revolution determine all the other contradictions and it directs them. In the case of an imperialist invasion the principal contradiction changes and the contradiction between imperialism and the masses of people in the conditions of invasion becomes the principal contradiction.

Under normal circumstances, namely in countries that are not dependent on imperialism, once again namely the modern capitalist countries of today, the fundamental contradiction is the labour-capital contradiction; the contradiction between bourgeoisie that represents reactionary forces and the proletariat that represents the new. In these countries, this fundamental contradiction as the principal contradiction, excluding the circumstances of imperialist war and conditions of invasion, directs all the other contradiction and governs them throughout the process. The contradiction between labour and capital/bourgeoisie and proletariat plays the role of fundamental and principal contradiction that is to resolves social contradiction.

In semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries too, in the beginning of the process of social evolution, namely at times where the economic, political, cultural and military siege of imperialism does not yet shackles such countries, the fundamental contradiction in the process of economic and social progress was the contradiction between the feudal system that rises on the core of the

peasantry/landlords and the large masses of people. This at the same time was also the principal contradiction of the period because it was a period in which capitalist imperialism had not yet taken the country under its economic and financial control as an external contradiction and a period in which it had not yet entered into a historical alliance with feudal forces and the trade bourgeoisie that had not yet entered a relation of dependency.

However, before the completion of the historical process of every single national economic to become an internal national accumulation and an internal closed system, the process of becoming a ring in the world capitalist-imperialism chain had become. The capitalization of the process was destructed, they have been made dependent, the internal dynamic had been collapse, and namely the process of colonialism or semi-colonialism became widespread and had gained a typical character.

Within the colonial and semi-colonial relation that are dependent and connected to capitalist-imperialism, the evolving and developing capitalist relation inside, especially at the stage where competitive capitalism evolved into imperialism, for the enemy classes that represent the most reactionary production relations, became the material ground for a reactionary alliances that imperialism determines. An alliance where usurer-trade bourgeoisie that claim the agent role for imperialism gains the bureaucratic-comprador quality and all social exploitation and relation leans onto feudal forces that maintain their dominance and governance.

This relationship and alliance that imperialism determines turns it into a compatible servant that keeps bourgeoisie and feudal forces alive, that feeds them and at the same time through these forces realized all its economic-political-cultural-military etc. interests in the market that it established dominance. Within this framework, as an external power that wishes relentlessly to clear its path for its capital with its dominance in the market through such alliances holds place inside all political and social contradictions. This alliance determined, directed and led by imperialism has become a part of the fundamental contradiction and all the revolutionary process as an enemy to be overcome in front of the revolutions of such countries. The anti-imperialist contradiction and the consequent anti-imperialist revolution has become a must. Besides its general positioning and its interests, due to its concrete and private interests, orientation and due to a serious of reasons imperialism can carry its semi-invasion, namely semi-colonialism into a full invasion, namely colonialism. This situation is realized as a state and a development that happens within the fundamental contradiction of such countries. However, such a situation is viewed as a new stage within the fundamental contradiction that is de-

terminated by it, not as a new situation that changes the fundamental contradiction. In this case, the leading contradiction, directing and determining contradiction namely the principal contradiction undergoes changes.

In such countries, since feudalism is the economic, political and social foundation of imperialism and since imperialism is the base that keeps feudalism alive and sustains it, the struggle against imperialism and the struggle against feudalism are inseparable and consequently the duty of national and democratic revolution unifies and gives the process its character. Sometimes one, sometimes both of the contradiction that incorporate two sides and that appear in front of us as the fundamental contradiction due to the pressure of the circumstances of the moment becomes prominent as the principal contradiction of the unique stage. It is understood that anti-imperialist and anti-feudal base due to the semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism gives its characters to the process until the completion of the Democratic Revolution process and at the same time depending on the given stage of the revolution, every single one of both becomes the principal contradiction.

In the analyses of contradiction, understanding and comprehending comrade Mao is very important, it is illuminating in regards to how we should look at the issue of contradiction as MLMs.

Consequentially, we can state the fundamental and principal contradictions as such:

The labour-capital contradiction is the fundamental contradiction that marks the “epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions” and gives it its quality. All the other contradictions rise on this ground. Here are the principal contradictions of the process that is determined by the fundamental contradiction at this unique stage of our day.

- The contradiction between imperialism and oppressed peoples
- The inter-imperialist contradiction
- The contradiction between proletariat and bourgeoisie

We do not view the analysis of a principal contradiction in the world as correct. As we have defined above, the principal contradiction is the one that determines, directs and subjugates all the other contradictions. It gives its colour to a process, to a stage and determines the quality of revolution. The analysis of principal contradiction is a necessity in order to catch the aim ring of a revolutionary process, namely in order to realize a revolution. The world proletarian revolution is going to develop, mature and throughout this process at one point is going to unify as a result of a complex, various, different processes of revolution and contradictions that differ in each and every country.

Today we are at the stage of two types of proletarian revolutions throughout the world; New Democratic Revolution and Socialist Revolution. Although, New Democratic Revolution that applies to semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries is the centre of the storm, every country will have unique processes of revolutions. Making a world-wide principal contradiction would create a confrontation of the unique contradiction of each and every single country with the universal one and would create a state of confusion. An analysis of a principal contradiction at the world scale for the Proletarian World Revolution harbours the danger of isolating the principal contradictions that are unique to every country and to their different revolutionary processes. The analysis of a principal contradiction in each and every country is necessary, obligatory and is a need for revolution whereas the analysis of a worldwide principal contradiction would cause hazardous results in the conditions that “the current of revolution is essential”. It would snatch the international proletariat away from accomplishing a revolution in its own country and on the basis of its own social contradiction.

An analysis of a worldwide principal contradiction would cause one-sidedness in the relationship between revolutionary processes of different countries for international proletariat and would create incomprehension in regards to the relationship in between processes of revolutions. It would allow for a ground to appear to distinguish between essential and secondary in terms of different revolutionary processes. It would remove the responsibility to develop revolutions in each and every country and the possibility to base the revolution on the unique social structure of each and every country. It would reduce internationalism to one-sidedness, would create turning faces that fit into the principal contradiction that is external to one’s country and lead to forgetting of the essential responsibility in their own class struggle. It would be neglecting the law unequal development that each and every country and society experiences. Due to all these reasons, not making an analysis of a worldwide principal contradiction but making an analysis of a fundamental contradiction that characterizes the epoch and lays down the fundamental contradiction of the world proletarian revolution and its quality should be embraced the as correct method.

Lenin, emphasizing the dividedness of the world into a bunch of “civilized” nations and oppressed nations of hundreds of millions of people as one of the most characteristic features of imperialism considers the struggle of oppressed nations in the age of imperialism as the substitute force of the struggle of the proletarian revolution and oppressed nations as the international allies of the proletariat. If the workers of Europe and America had not join together in their struggle against

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the capital with hundreds of millions of “colonial” slaves that are oppressed by the capital tightly and completely, the revolutionary movement in the progressive countries would have actually been phony” says Lenin who makes a motto out of the significance and meaning of this unity. And his slogan of “Workers and the Oppression Peoples of All Countries Unite” is a valuable legacy and a path illuminating light for the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist movement.

### **Our Opinion on the Analysis that “ICM is at the Stage of Strategic Offensive”**

Laying down our opinions in regards to this issue in reference with the masters of MLM would serve a better understanding and comprehension for the problem at hand. Based on which data do communists evaluate their own situations and the situations of their enemies and based on what they essentially determine the power relations? Let us initially try to clarify the problem in reference to comrade Mao who holds a special position in determining the strategic and tactical orientations of the class struggle besides the general characteristics of the class struggle.

Comrade Mao who defines imperialism as “the paper tiger” states;

“Just as there is not a single thing in the world without a dual nature (this is the law of the unity of opposites), so imperialism and all reactionaries have a dual nature – they are real tigers and paper tigers at the same time.... Hence, imperialism and all reactionaries, looked at in essence, from a long-term point of view, from a strategic point of view, must be seen for what they are – paper tigers. On this, we should build our strategic thinking. On the other hand, they are also living tigers, iron tigers, real tigers that can devour people. On this, we should build our tactical thinking.” and thus provides as a concise approach towards the issue and on the other hand he states in the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers Parties of 1957:

“We have developed a concept over a long period for the struggle against the enemy, namely, strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously. In other words, with regard to the whole we must despise the enemy, but with regard to each specific problem we must take him seriously. If we do not despise him with regard to the whole, we shall commit opportunist errors. Marx and Engels were but two individuals, and yet in those early days they already declared that capitalism would be overthrown throughout the world. But with regard to

specific problems and specific enemies, if we do not take them seriously, we shall commit adventurist errors.” And he clearly expresses how we should handle this issue.

Another similar approach is as such: “. . . Let us now add, in the same way, the reason that all successful revolutionary are successful not because they had the courage to undermine the enemy but at the same time in every particular problem and in every certain battle they took the enemy seriously and embraced a careful approach. Generally revolutionary and especially proletarian revolutionaries, if they do not do so, they cannot carry the revolution forward without wobbling the revolution to the right or to the left and it is possible that by falling into the error of adventurism and cause the revolution to experience losses and even defeats. Marx, Engels and Lenin, for the sake of the cause of the proletariat during the course of their life long battles have always undermined the enemy strategically; but have taken the enemy seriously tactically. They, in accordance with the concrete conditions, have also fought against “left” adventurism in two fronts at once. In this sense, they are spectacular models for us.” (Workers of the World Unite, CPC Official Documents)

If we return to the Draft once again, we think that the analysis that ICM is at the stage of “strategic offensive” is an exaggerated assessment. It is no doubt that communist should always be hopeful and optimistic. However, this cannot bring about living in an imaginary world. The state of communist and revolutionary movement is far away from the advancement that corresponds to “strategic offensive” as stated in the Draft. If we try to define generally the front of revolutionary and the communist movement based on the fact that capitalism is a system that is collapsing/rotting with the words “imperialism is in the throes of death”, and it seems so, we should realized this is not a healthy resolution. This kind of an assessment and a resolution would be defining the reality with only one side and with simplest way put, it is not the MLM method and perspective. It is possible that the proletariat is at the stage of offensive in ideological terms, but this also makes sense in the sense that it is the representative of the future and the reality. The depth of the contradictions of the imperialist capitalist system and its rotting state is a visible reality however it is also clear that the communist and revolutionary forces do not hold a position to encompass these contradictions and direct them to the axis of revolution and socialism, to lead the spontaneous movement or to establish their authorities on worker and toiler masses.

On the other hand the forces that wage peoples wars on the MLM line have a very limited sphere of influen-



ce. The People's War of PCP that was carried to a very serious point was disrupted by the capture of comrade Gonzalo and the leading cadres of PCP by the enemy, the People's War in Nepal under the leadership of NCP(M) has been neutralized by the reconciliation with bourgeoisie and selling out to bourgeoisie.

In the given state the People's War conducted in India and the struggle that experiences line problems in the Philippines and the People's War waged by our Party for long years are existent. Besides these the new process initiated by our Brazilian comrades is significant and the re-activation efforts of PCP are encouraging. Again, even though it has not yet become practical, the existence of various groups that have the claim to realize a line of People's War is present however is it possible to speak of a strategic offensive in consideration with all these? It is clear that this analysis is subjective; it is a resolution that exaggerates the situation of the communist and revolutionary forces. It is not enough to provide justification for the stage of strategic offensive only with the consideration that we are ideologically strong, we represent the future, the depth of the contradictions of the oppressed and the exploited with the system and the widespread mass movement all over the world. All these constitute only one side of the contradiction that is to be resolved and show that the contradictions are maturing.

The other side of the contradiction requires a concrete phenomenon and that is a strong party-parties. Our definition of strong party-parties is clear; they are parties that have tight relations with masses, that are organized widespread in accordance with the concrete conditions of their countries, that govern armed forces, and that have influence etc. over the working class and the toiling people. It is natural that when one speaks of "a stage of strategic offensive" all around the world, one means the existence and prevalence of such parties and their activities together with the loss of power of the counter-revolution front and its regression.

Concisely, a process that could be acknowledged as "Strategic Offensive", in terms of logic, requires very serious and extensive moves of forces of revolution against the counter-revolution. There is no such existing situation. It would be meaningless to speak of a strategic offensive as long as the revolutionary subject, MLM parties do not govern the process and organize and recruit masses on the axis of People's War and revolutionary power clearly, even though how deep the contradiction between the classes are all over the world. Exaggerating our own situation means underestimating the power of the enemy and this would cause us to let go off our vigilance against the enemy, to ignore the concrete reality and to embrace political, organizatio-

nal and practical positions that fall outside of reality. The strategic defence, strategic equilibrium and strategic offensive terms that comrade Mao uses while attributing stages to the People's War are not defined through the weakness of the enemy or the revolutionary situation that express the objective situation. It is defined through the power of the Party, organizing the masses and making them fight, the relationship of the subjective condition with the process of power namely the power of the communist revolutionary movement and its situation.

Otherwise it would not have been possible for him to carry the revolutionary war to success, to create correct tactics, instruments of struggle and organization, and to direct the masses to the correct objective. Ultimately he would have been faced with defeat, not triumph. On this axis, the sufficiency of the conditions of strategic offensive is at the same time directly in connection and is connected to the subjective situation of the CPs. We can briefly say that this is a left approach. As comrade Mao says, "The 'left' hurriedness tendency that ignore both subjective and objective factors is hazardous for a revolutionary war, consequently to every revolutionary movement..."

Again the in Draft the analysis that is mentioned as "between fifty to a hundred years" by comrade Mao we can say that it had been said in the atmosphere of fight for revolution and socialism that had reached enormous dimensions and partly it should be seen as an expression of the belief that the revolution would win. The developments since the time that these words had been uttered clearly project us the real picture. It doesn't matter with which argument we would define it, the period that we can call the first stage of socialist powers has resulted in defeat in the practical sense. Even though the contradictions of the imperialist capitalist system are deepening, the Communist Movement is rather at the stage of regrouping. In comrade Mao's time there had been socialist powers or powers that they called themselves socialists and there had been active and organized revolutionary forces almost all around the world.

Today, there is a different picture. In the face of all these realities we need to make more realistic definitions in regards to our own positions and generally in regards to the position of the communist movement against the imperialist capitalist system. Otherwise, as experiences quite often, it would be inevitable to fall into right and left deviations. MLMs define objectivity over scientific data and position themselves through this scientific data, and they do have to. If we shut our eyes to reality and try to determine the current situation and our position over the reality that we design, it is clear that we would take part in a process that is to end in frustration. Insisting on this analysis would mean that

we would have an organizational-practical stance that has a right line in the sense that it is “radical revolutionary” in appearance but limited in practically carrying out the duties of revolution, that limits the connections and instruments that is to be established with masses and consequently unable to carry out the duties of the revolutionary by being disconnected from masses and exaggerating the situation of the subjective force. Let us not forget that right and left are twins.

## **Serve the Unity of the Communists and the World Revolution, but on What Basis?**

Marxists emerged on the stage of history by clarifying the role of the proletariat, in other words, the emergence of the proletariat brought the emergence of Marxism. The process of formulation of Marxism by Marx and Engels, coincides with the period in which the fact that capitalism/the bourgeoisie, which has become more and more evident in parts one by one and spread to the farthest parts of the world, especially the main centers all over the world, is the main productive power and relation of production that charts the course for the world, established itself.

The scientific world view of the Proletariat, the most revolutionary class that history has ever seen, Marxism (Leninism-Maoism), has illuminated the past and future of human history and invalidated all ideologies other than itself. Described by Lenin as “the ones who brought the historical role of the proletariat to light”, Marx and Engels, in their jointly written Communist Manifesto, said, “The bourgeoisie not only produced the weapons that would destroy itself, but also created the people who would use these weapons, the modern workers, the proletarians.” have clearly indicated this revolutionary feature of the proletariat and at the same time exposed the impasse of capitalism. The proletariat, which is the leading force of the social transformation moving forward, is the only class that can eliminate all classes and all divisions with itself, beyond being the carrier of the features that can defeat the bourgeoisie.

The fact that the place of the proletariat in society, the role it plays in the social struggle and its purpose are one and the same creates the objective ground for the joint struggle and solidarity of its parts in all countries against capitalist exploitation, which has an international character, on which this struggle will rise. Emphasizing that the proletariat is an international class and its struggle has an internationalist character in its

core, with the call of “Workers of All Countries Unite”, Marx and Engels created Marxism, the scientific world view of the working class, and removed the working class from being a class spontaneously and became a class for itself. The consciousness of being a class for itself is also intertwined with getting rid of locality and grasping the universal character of the features embodied in it. While realizing the awareness of one’s own reality, a part of this realization or vice versa, it has become a necessity to comprehend the universal characteristics of the proletariat in order to achieve this realization. Without being able to see this necessary universal character, the qualifications of the proletariat could not be defined.

Since the founders of Marxism were aware of the vital importance of internationalism in the struggle for political power of the proletariat, they gave importance to the international unity of the proletariat, made efforts to ensure this unity, and gave importance to the formation of the First Communist International in concrete terms. The slogan “Workers of All Countries Unite” is not only a political slogan, but also a summary of what the practical stance of the proletariat should be. In terms of both hostile and antagonistic classes, these associations have been clearly identified as a necessity. This reality continues to this day.

Marxism, which was created as a result of the joint efforts of Marx and Engels on the basis of the synthesis of the accumulations of the history of civilization until that day (we use this concept with a meaning that we mean the forms it takes and the forms it can take in the ongoing process), until the proletariat creates a communist society, that is, until it abolishes all classes together with itself. It is the most fundamental and indispensable weapon in the class struggle that it will continue.

One of the cornerstones of the ideology of the proletariat in its struggle to change the world is proletarian internationalism. Proletarian internationalism is clearly defined by Engels as “the strongest international bond of the entire proletariat is its ideological unity”. In a sense, it is the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology itself. Like Marxism, it does not go out of the daily course of the class struggle. Therefore, it requires learning and understanding with special effort. If the international solidarity and struggle of the proletariat is not combined with the proletarian internationalist consciousness, it will have a spontaneous character and will be imprisoned within the boundaries of the bourgeois order. Only when the proletariat is equipped with an internationalist consciousness and stamps this consciousness on its struggle, only then can it achieve its true goals and objectives.

Our party is aware of this reality and has created

itself as a part of this reality. The founding process of our party, which is the representative of the international proletariat in Turkey, coincides with the period when international conflicts between Marxism-Leninism (Maoism) and revisionism were experienced at the most advanced points and on various fronts. In the fight against revisionism on the international level under the guidance of Comrade Mao Zedong, it determined its side in line with Marxism-Leninism and the thoughts of Comrade Mao, and the foundations of its establishment were realized in the struggle against revisionism, reformism, parliamentarism and philistineism, and became the representative of the war against revisionism led by Comrade Mao in our country.

This process also included all the features of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism-(Maoism) and revisionism in the international arena. Therefore, beyond a generalization, we have built ourselves as a part of the international proletariat on the ideological-political-practical plane from the foundation/formation stage. The fact that our party's founder and theoretical leader Öbrahim Kaypakkaya defined our party as the product of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the most concrete response to this reality. Our party has seen the ideological, political and practical issues on the international front as an important part of the class struggle it carries out, and has been sensitive to the developments. Due to the developments in our party, the processes and organizations that will serve the world revolution have always been important for our party, even though there have been difficulties in the systematic of relations from time to time. We attach great importance to this process in this sense.

As Marxist-Leninist-Maoists can determine the form and content that proletarian internationalism will take, while preserving the basic essence, based on a concrete analysis of concrete conditions in every historical section. What does this mean in the times we live in? Ultimately, the importance and meaning of the internationalist character and struggle of the proletariat struggling for the common goal of abolishing classes became much more evident in the imperialist phase of capitalism, when capitalist exploitation and organization became a world system. The contradiction embodied in the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the two irreconcilable and irreconcilable classes of the age we live in, also presents the ground on which the oppressed, exploited and oppressed workers and laborers who have to march on communist society will rise. The proletariat has taken on the responsibility of this universal task; It is responsible for carrying out the People's Democratic Revolution, Socialism and Communism march. The mission imposed by the most important and most difficult responsibility in the history of the class

struggle has brought to consider the proletariat as the most revolutionary class in the political sense. The universal character of the struggle of the proletariat, which will ensure the emancipation of all humanity with it, is the objective ground for the vitalism and necessity of international cooperation that will enable the communists to act together against their common enemies in the international arena.

On the other hand, it is necessary to see that the communists have the main task of realizing the capitalist system by breaking it off one by one in order for the proletariat to achieve its international goals. The main ground for the liberation of the whole is the liberation of the parts. The international unity and total emancipation of the proletariat will be realized to the extent that this is understood. Otherwise, we are faced with a "beautiful" deception at the level of slogans, such as "wholesale liberation", which means not realizing the revolution by ignoring the differences at the level of countries and the conditions of realizing the revolution in these countries, which are the results of the uneven development law of capitalism, but an invalid deception in the face of reality. As a matter of fact, similar discussions took place before the October Revolution, and despite all the experiences today, similar nonsense continues to be marketed under the name of "regional revolutions". This is what happened and the theory was made in Nepal. An important part of our country's revolutionary movement acts with a similar orientation and understanding. In essence, the disbelief that a revolution can be made and the presentation of this disbelief as reality for various reasons, and ultimately the understanding that "Socialism in One Country" cannot be realized, presents itself once again as an obstacle to the struggle for revolution and socialism in different geographies of the world.

Contrary to the rhetoric of the demagogues of bourgeois ideologues, the imperialist capitalist system's giving a more international character to production and exploitation and making all countries tighter links of the imperialist capitalist system does not destroy or reduce differences at the level of individual countries. On the contrary, it realizes a deepening ground against semi-colonial and dependent nations continuously and by reproducing. The gap between imperialist capitalist centers and the rest of the world widens more and more in every process. Imperialist capitalism is the main subject of deepening these differences. It is precisely because of this reality that while communists determine the form and content of the power struggle of the proletariat, taking into account the uneven development law of capitalism, based on the objectivity of each country, they also aim to resolve the common contradiction by resolving the contradiction in parts. Communists

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continue their struggle for political power, mainly by targeting political power in their own countries, in the direction of overthrowing the dominant political power within their given geographical boundaries and establishing a political power under the leadership of the proletariat. Serving the world revolution finds its true meaning here. Communists have to grasp the division of the world into countries and nations as an objective situation and place their struggle for their ultimate goals on this objective ground. The masters of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism also draw special attention to this point: “The proletariat of each country must first seize political power in its own country, assert itself as the ruling class of the nation, and become the nation itself, and it still retains its nationality, never in the bourgeois sense of the word but in this sense.” (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*)

Seeing this objective situation, Marx and Engels said, “Although not according to its content, the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie according to its form is first of all a national struggle. Naturally, the proletariat of every country must first settle an account against its own bourgeoisie’.

Again, Mao said, “Communists are internationalists because they are Marxists; but we can only apply Marxism when it has acquired a definite national form and is fused with the concrete features of our country. The great strength of Marxism-Leninism lies in its integration into the concrete revolutionary practice of all countries.” (Selected Works- p. 217-218 Mao Zedong) presented his point of view.

Lenin, on the other hand, expresses these objective differences and what they mean for the proletariat and the tasks they bring: “As long as there are national and political differences between peoples and countries, which will continue for a long, long time even after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat on a world scale, the international tactical unity of the communist working-class movement of all countries is aimed not at the eradication of these differences, but the destruction of national differences. But on the contrary, the fundamental principles of communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) require an application that will correctly replace these principles in specific questions, adapt them correctly, and apply them to national and national-state differences.”

This objective truth, which the Marxist leaders made very clearly, is at the same time the necessary objective basis for the organization of the proletariat at the level of countries. As a result of these objective differences, communist parties organized at the level of countries are faced with the task of breaking the imperialist capitalist chain in their own people. This is the definition of objectivity, not the result of a subjective desire, and is

the necessary first step for communists to realize the proletarian world revolution in their own people and to reach the final goal.

Thus; Evaluating the problem from a proletarian internationalist point of view, “not from my own country point of view”, but from the point of view of my participation in the preparation, propaganda and approach to the revolution of the world proletarian revolution, “it is my duty, the duty of the representative of the revolutionary proletariat”, Lenin said, “For the development and support of revolutions in all countries, J. Stalin in his own country) to do as much as possible”.

In order to carry out the proletarian world revolution, the imperialist chain must be severed from its weakest links. In order for communists to lead these struggles, it requires researching and examining the national and specific conditions of each country with the analytical method of Marxism-Leninism and establishing the correct policy that accommodates the general in accordance with these specific parts. Comrade Lenin expresses the necessary necessity of this as follows:

“The international problem, which is the same for all, the problem of defeating opportunism and left doctrinalism in the working-class movement, overthrowing the bourgeoisie, establishing the Soviet Republic and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the problem of the treatment of each country in a concrete way, in particular, nationally and specifically, whatever national to seek it, to study it, to sense it and grasp it, that is the chief task of all advanced countries (not only advanced countries) at the historical moment we are passing through.”

On the other hand, Marxist-Leninist-Maoists cannot be content with the task of carrying out and continuing the revolution in their own country as a link to reach the proletarian world revolution. At the same time, they try with all their strength to support the forces in other parts of the world fighting for the same purpose, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line. Marxist-Leninist-Maoists understand that the essence and purpose of all struggles waged on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line is the same no matter in which part of the world they are, and in this sense, they cannot put the differences between the struggles before the common essence and purpose. The revolutionary struggles and revolution being waged in a country are meaningful to the extent that they are a part of the general struggle of the proletariat, that is, the struggle for the proletarian world revolution, to the extent that it develops it. The interests of the part must be subordinated to the interests of the whole, that is, of the worldwide struggle. This is only possible if the problem is approached not from the point of view of “my country”, but from the point of view of “my share” in the struggles waged around the world.

The history of the world communist movement has not followed a straight course. In the international arena, the struggles against imperialism and reaction have taken different forms in parallel with the developments in the conditions. With the changes in the objective situation, the international communist movement has followed a variety of different tactics, both worldwide and in individual parts.

Many international organizations have been established until today in order to ensure the tactical and strategic unity of the communist forces operating in individual parts, to coordinate their struggle and solidarity, and to strengthen the ideological and political unity between these forces. Although the aims and objectives of such organizations, which are the worldwide organization of proletarian internationalism, are one and the same, they have taken different forms, corresponding to the different tasks they have to fulfill, due to the different objective conditions on which they rise and the specific situation of the communist forces. It is possible to see this situation when the First, Second and Third International and also the Cominform processes are examined.

Despite all these differences among themselves, the powers that felt the lack of a common international movement in the international arena and wanted it to be eliminated, announced the establishment of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement to the public with their statement in March 1984. After many years, the establishment of RIM had an important and historical meaning for the unity of international proletarian movements. RIM, revealing and defending the contributions of Comrade Mao to ML and making them reach wide masses, the three components of Marxism; recognition of his contributions in the fields of scientific socialism, political economy and philosophy, widespread propaganda of people's wars, etc achieved significant achievements. In this process, the prestige created by the People's War in Peru, which was initiated under the leadership of Comrade Gonzalo and made tremendous progress, and Comrade Gonzalo's clear and persistent presentation of Comrade Mao's contributions to ML played an important role in its acceptance the third and final stage of Maoism, Marxism-Leninism. This insistence and effort was of historical importance for the understanding and acceptance of the communist line, namely MLM, among the ML forces that defended the ideas of Comrade Mao in various ways. In addition to these positive aspects, as a result of the deepening of the ideological-theoretical and organizational-administrative problems and the inability to realize the right solutions, RIM became dysfunctional and lost its mission.

The RIM process is a process that needs to be carefully studied as it can enable us to draw correct con-

clusions while organizing a new and similar process for us, since it was created by recent history and by those who were followers of Comrade Mao in some way. It will also serve to make us understand that reality cannot be defined by intentions alone and steps forward cannot be taken. We should not lose sight of the stance of Comrade Mao, who experienced the reality of the disintegration of the Third International, to be very cautious at the point of forming a joint organization with a tightly centralized character in this direction of the international communist movement. It is important to pay attention to the fact that Comrade Mao, whose importance we cannot doubt attach to the international solidarity of the proletariat, deals with cooperation and solidarity among communists in different forms and more in the context of mutual relations, rather than an organization with a tightly centralized character. Moreover, despite all the past experiences in the RIM process, when we consider the practical process of the component that makes up the RIM KOM, which looks down on the RIM components and tries to dominate them, it will be seen that it is very difficult to draw lessons from the past. We do not want to make this mistake again and we think that it is necessary to learn from the experiences. On the other hand, we do not intend to put ourselves in a situation where we will give up on international associations just because all these have happened; we are only trying to learn from our past and be more cautious and create international associations without ignoring the concrete situation.

At the current stage, the need for parties and organizations that define themselves as MLM to come together under a common roof imposes itself as a necessity. There is a consensus in this sense, but it is important how the content and form of this union or the joint organization to be formed will be. As can be seen, there are differences of opinion between the powers that define themselves as MLM on various points. As long as they do not correspond to the principle points, it is acceptable to have differences in some issues, it is normal, and it will be in the ongoing processes. We can overcome these differences in the ongoing course of the class struggle, with discussions based on the concern of the proletariat to advance the cause of revolution and socialism, and we can form higher-level associations. That's one side of the problem. The other and essential thing is that while forming such a union, the main links of MLM should be defined correctly and a serious ideological struggle should be waged on this basis. Otherwise, it will not be able to move forward without a formation/organization that is seemingly united around common ideals but has contradictions that will destroy itself over time. There is no doubt that the main link in the formation of such an organizational uni-

ty in the present period is the intense ideological struggle that must be waged between the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist forces. A new organization of International Communist Movement can only be built on this struggle. In our opinion, the ground on which we will rise, our ideological reference point, the third and highest stage of Marxism-Leninism should be MLM. Because, Comrade Mao is the one who made an integral contribution to the three components of Marxism in the fields of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. A reference point other than MLM does not serve unity, it causes new divergences. At the same time, defining the issue of Maoism as People's War equals Maoism and saying that this equating is sufficient is an approach that narrows Comrade Mao's contributions to ML and is inaccurate, 'narrowing' Comrade Mao. In order to better understand what we are talking about, we can open it as follows; While People's War means Maoism, Maoism cannot be understood only with People's War. While attributing importance to the People's War or trying to embody its importance, it is necessary not to trivialize the whole with the concern of caring for the part. Maoism makes sense of itself in the whole of the contributions made by Comrade Mao in the fields of Marxist philosophy, scientific socialism, and political economy. Therefore, our approach to MLM is in this unity.

Another important point that needs to be emphasized is our approach to the forces that are outside of this platform and define themselves as MLM. On the one hand, it is necessary to fight against ideological deviations, not to fall into the opportunist understanding of "it is necessary to act together no matter what", and to clearly express the points of distinction, on the other hand, not to forget that there are forces that define themselves as MLM outside of this platform, MLM strives to ensure the partnership of the forces. It should have a purpose, target and sensitivity such as trying to repair the problems experienced in relationships as much as possible.

## **On the Assessment of Comrade Stalin in the "Draft"**

In the "Draft", "Comrade Stalin will continue the work of Lenin and will fight against the opportunism and betrayal of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Bukharin in the process of building socialism in the USSR. Stalin developed this war for 13 years, but made the mistake of solving matters administratively." it is called. It should be noted that the task of evaluating Comrade Stalin, detecting his mistakes, and the task that Comrade Mao suspended due to revisionist attacks is a task that stands in the way of Maoist move-

ments. However, we do not find it appropriate to discuss Stalin, the great master of Marxism, in such a formation process. This is an important issue that deserves extensive and thorough examination and discussion. Therefore, we think that a planning and discussion process on this subject should be carried out separately. This is a need. However, it is not healthy to do this in the declaration of an important international organization with a superficial approach. It would be the most correct and healthy method for such an international formation to organize a discussion that will clarify this problem. This should take place as a discussion that will contribute to the ideological-theoretical development of the international communist movement, and that the right is fully given.

Therefore, we propose that the evaluation of Comrade Stalin be removed from the declaration altogether.

## **Marxism-Leninism-Maoism or Marxism-Leninism-Maoism Principally Maoism?**

This debate, which took place almost simultaneously with the acceptance of Maoism as the third stage of Marxism-Leninism, is nothing new for us. In the past years, we have given answers on which of these definitions is correct for us or why we should use which one. It is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that we see as correct and insist on using. We deal with the issue in the context of the contributions made to the three main components of the Marxist theory in the power struggle of the proletariat, which has continued from the formation of Marxism as the theory of the liberation of the proletariat to the present, and we name the issue based on this unbreakable continuity. Although it seems like a consistency in itself to put special emphasis on Mao in the sense that Marxism reached its peak with Mao's contributions from its emergence, on the other hand, we can refer to the fact that even Mao himself refers to it as Marxism-Leninism when describing Marxism. Therefore, it is more correct for us to use the definition of MLM, which expresses continuity and that Mao carried Marxism-Leninism further, rather than making a definition that would mean placing Mao in a different place from them.

## **On the Definition of Universality of the People's War**

The issue of armed struggle/war/revolutionary violence is a problem that all communists have to deal with diligently in their class struggle. "The seizure of power

by force of arms, the solution of the problem by war, is the chief task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution applies both to China and to all countries.” (Mao Tsetung) As Chairman Mao has made perfectly clear, revolutionary violence is a principle without exception, and this applies to all countries. No bourgeois government will surrender its political power to the proletariat in a peaceful process. Neither in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal, capitalist, nor capitalist-imperialist countries, the revolution will not progress and conclude without civil war. If this is an undeniable fact, how can the revolutionary violence and armed struggle be determined in the communists’ struggle for political power, and what should be the theory of war that should be taken as a basis, and according to what? For MLMs, People’s War theory is the most advanced synthesis of all war experiences from history to the present. The proletariat and the workers thus acquired an invincible weapon. The reality of war and communist approaches to war; The form of the ideological, political, practical and organizational relationship that the communist party will establish with the war and the leadership of the CP in the war, the relationship between war and politics, the purpose and principles of war, the problems of strategy in war, the dynamic role of man in war, initiative, flexibility, planning, approach to the problem of alliance, the positioning of classes, forms of power, etc. The People’s War is a powerful weapon that contains the basic theses, principles and some basic methods and forms of struggle in the struggle of the proletariat to take power. It is the strategy of war for the only revolutionary power of the proletariat that has become systematized.

The fear created by the Great October Revolution, in which the power of the proletariat became reality for the first time, caused the bourgeoisie to make serious changes in the hegemony apparatus and organization of the dominant structure. The bourgeoisie and the ruling classes have centralized violence both within their given borders and in the international arena and have created an international network. Just as the proletariat has created a new synthesis based on the experiences in the power struggle, as in the theory of the People’s War, the bourgeoisie has equipped itself with methods and tools that will maintain its dominance in its own domination apparatus, ensure its continuity and neutralize counter-attacks. And just as the communists look at the world revolutionary struggle processes and learn from the lived experiences and turn them into political and practical experiences for themselves, the bourgeoisie does the same. When we look at the problem by narrowing it in the axis of war and violence, we see that the bourgeoisie has formed international violence organizations not only within its own borders, but also in the international arena to protect the dominant structure.

The establishment of the bourgeoisie’s international joint protection and attack organization in the military sense under the name of NATO is a concrete example in this sense. We know that since its establishment, it has made all kinds of practices to stifle the revolutionary struggles that have developed in socialist countries, especially in the CCCP, and in all countries of the world. The bourgeoisie has constantly developed its instruments of violence, first in the Paris Commune of 1871, and then, especially in parallel with the revolutions that took place during and after the Great October Revolution.

The struggle for power of the proletariat has to include revolutionary violence from the very beginning, equipping itself with the violence of the proletariat against the violence of the counter-revolution. As Comrade Mao put it very clearly, “The revolution is not a dinner. It is not a literary event. It is not a painting or an embroidery. It cannot be done gracefully or gracefully. Revolution is an act of violence.” “We agree on this point, but here comes another question that awaits an answer: Since the economic, social, cultural and traditional dynamics of each country are different and the unequal development of capitalism continues to prevail, how will the power struggle of the proletariat, which is carried out on the basis of countries, handle the problem of violence and organize it? If the People’s War is the most advanced form of taking power by the proletariat, shall we consider the People’s War theory formulated by Comrade Mao as the only formula for the organization of the revolution with universal validity? Or shall we define the entire revolutionary violence-war, which is an indisputable necessity in the struggle for power of the proletariat, as People’s War? We see that the prevailing perspective in this component, in which we are involved, presents the People’s War as the only and only way of revolution for all countries of the world. The resources we can reach regarding this formulation, which is presented as “The Universality of the People’s War”, do not allow us to reach satisfactory results. As far as we can see, the words of Comrade Mao, which we have quoted before, are taken as the main starting point. We, on the other hand, understand Comrade Mao’s formulation as the indispensable necessity of revolutionary violence in the struggle for political power. Revolutionary violence is a necessity in the struggle for political power of the proletariat, but given the fact that the uneven development law of capitalism prevails in every part of the planet and the numerous contradictions arising over this law of uneven development cause serious differences even in countries that are socio-economically close or similar to each other, our planet’s It is not realistic to suggest the same revolution for all. The examples given in the writings presenting the People’s War as the only model for

making revolution universally are not satisfactory. The examples of armed struggle from the USA, Germany, Italy, Spain, Japan, Ireland, France are meaningful only in terms of seeing that revolutionary violence can be organized, not in the sense that a People's War can be waged. Moreover, in two of these countries (Spain and Ireland), the national liberation struggle was being fought and they were the forces that created themselves through the broad mass support that objectively existed in every national movement. Others were forces with strong revolutionary feelings, but essentially reactive, far from being a communist movement, and moreover, without such a direct target and trying to create themselves through individual actions, which risked paying a great price.

Therefore, they are organizations that will not set an example for a CP. Likewise, guerrilla wars and civil wars in the developed capitalist countries during the second imperialist war cannot be used as healthy data to "prove" the "Universality of the People's War". The process is the process of imperialist wars and occupations. In such processes, various social forces, classes and strata, even some of the ruling classes, take part in the revolutionary front or in alliance with the revolutionaries, albeit periodically. Therefore, conditions and dynamics are "unusual". "Extraordinary" processes necessitated taking an "unusual" position. In fact, we can also say that the attitude of communists and revolutionaries at that time was created by creating tools and methods to dominate objectivity by defining objectivity correctly.

Again, as far as we can see, street demonstrations, strikes, various protests, that is, almost every movement against the system is considered as People's War. This point of view is not correct in our opinion. Mass actions, various protests, strikes, etc. It can be formulated as parts of the revolutionary struggle, it is correct to do so, but the People's War is a theory that includes these, but the organization of revolutionary violence in the form of Guerrilla War at its center, the advancement by establishing political power-domination over the parts, the creation of areas cleared from the enemy, and the CP in the center and under the leadership of all these. and the People's Army is a set of stages.

If we take it this way, that is, if we take the form that Comrade Mao formulated and outlined in detail in his writings, then it is not possible to talk about the universality of the People's War as we know it. Because the formulation of Comrade Mao is clear; Comrade Mao embodies the problem of the way of revolution in his article titled "Problems of War and Strategy" dated November 6, 1938:

## **China Characteristics and Revolutionary War**

The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.

But while the principle remains the same, its application by the party of the proletariat finds expression in varying ways according to the varying conditions. Internally, capitalist countries practice bourgeois democracy (not feudalism) when they are not fascist or not at war; in their external relations, they are not oppressed by, but themselves oppress, other nations. Because of these characteristics, it is the task of the party of the proletariat in the capitalist countries to educate the workers and build up strength through a long period of legal struggle, and thus prepare for the final overthrow of capitalism. In these countries, the question is one of a long legal struggle, of utilizing parliament as a platform, of economic and political strikes, of organizing trade unions and educating the workers. There the form of organization is legal and the form of struggle bloodless (non-military). On the issue of war, the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries oppose the imperialist wars waged by their own countries; if such wars occur, the policy of these Parties is to bring about the defeat of the reactionary governments of their own countries. The one war they want to fight is the civil war for which they are preparing. But this insurrection and war should not be launched until the bourgeoisie becomes really helpless, until the majority of the proletariat are determined to rise in arms and fight, and until the rural masses are giving willing help to the proletariat. And when the time comes to launch such an insurrection and war, the first step will be to seize the cities, and then advance into the countryside' and not the other way about. All this has been done by Communist Parties in capitalist countries, and it has been proved correct by the October Revolution in Russia.

China is different however. The characteristics of China are that she is not independent and democratic but semi-colonial and semi-feudal, that internally she has no democracy but is under feudal oppression and that in her external relations she has no national independence but is oppressed by imperialism. It follows that we have no parliament to make use of and no legal right to organize the workers to strike. Basically, the task of the Communist Party here is not to go through a long period of legal struggle before launching insurrection and war, and not to seize the big cities first and then occupy the countryside, but the reverse. "In China the armed revolution is fighting the armed counter-revolution. That is one of the specific features and one



of the advantages of the Chinese revolution.” This thesis of Comrade Stalin’s is perfectly correct and is equally valid for the Northern Expedition, the War of Agrarian Revolution, and the present War of Resistance Against Japan. They are all revolutionary wars; all directed against counter-revolutionaries and all waged mainly by the revolutionary people, differing only in the sense that a civil war differs from a national war, and that a war conducted by the Communist Party differs from a war it conducts jointly with the Kuomintang. Of course, these differences are important. They indicate the breadth of the main forces in the war (an alliance of the workers and peasants, or of the workers, peasants and bourgeoisie) and whether our antagonist in the war is internal or external (whether the war is against domestic or foreign foes, and, if domestic, whether against the Northern warlords or against the Kuomintang); they also indicate that the content of China’s revolutionary war differs at different stages of its history. But all these wars are instances of armed revolution fighting armed counterrevolution, they are all revolutionary wars, and all exhibit the specific features and advantages of the Chinese revolution. The thesis that revolutionary war “is one of the specific features and one of the advantages of the Chinese revolution” fits China’s conditions perfectly. The main task of the party of the Chinese proletariat, a task confronting it almost from its very inception, has been to unite with as many allies as possible and, according to the circumstances, to organize armed struggles for national and social liberation against armed counterrevolution, whether internal or external. Without armed struggle the proletariat and the Communist Party would have no standing at all in China, and it would be impossible to accomplish any revolutionary task.

We will either deal with this problem as Comrade Mao, the theorist and practical practitioner of the “People’s War” put forward, or we will express that we treat this theory differently and enter into appropriate definitions. When it is advocated that the People’s War, as it is known in developed capitalist countries, should be taken as a basis from the beginning, it is necessary to talk about realizing such components as guerrilla warfare, mass support, which is the sine qua non of the guerrilla, the peasant mass that created itself through feudal contradictions, base areas, red political powers, the creation of the red army. To claim that these conditions can be fulfilled when we exclude the imperialist war and occupation conditions and take today’s given reality as a basis is not a finding that is compatible with the reality. It is one thing to define the organization of the CP in imperialist countries with a formulation such as the party’s positioning its main body illegally from the very beginning, organizing itself with the reality of a belligerent party, organizing revolutionary violence, it is

another thing to define the existence of the CP in imperialist countries with the classical formulation of the People’s War. National, ethnic and sectarian problems are also quite evident in these countries, and all these are factors that impede the development of armed struggle, guerrilla warfare or the People’s War as a whole. Ultimately, the socio-social conditions that brought the People’s War into existence are semi-colonial semi-feudal conditions. Comrade Mao later brought the problem to a state of extension that it would be valid for countries where there were no feudal remnants, but which had fallen into the clutches of imperialist capital and had become dependent. In this context, People’s War is a war strategy that is valid for all semi-colonial countries. After the Chinese revolution, countries with similar conditions developed the struggle through the People’s War and succeeded in taking power in some places. Likewise, countries such as Peru, India, Philippines, Nepal, and Turkey can wage the People’s War based on the reality of the similar socio-economic structure and make progress and development. Despite being in different geographies of the world, the “unique feature” of these countries is that their socio-economic structures overlap. It is precisely for this reason that it is possible to implement the People’s War strategy in these countries. In the imperialist capitalist countries, these contradictions, which we have mentioned roughly, are largely absent. Therefore, semi-colonial, semi-feudal or imperialist countries cannot be put in the same basket and a solution cannot be offered with the same recipe. Because there are serious differences in the contradictions that we will rise over. The way of revolution takes place through the determination of these contradictions.

The question of the universality of the People’s War is “What is the war strategy of the proletariat?” and “does the proletariat have a completed war strategy or should it be?” controversial questions. In our opinion, the People’s War is a long-term, anti-feudal-anti-imperialist or anti-imperialist revolutionary war strategy carried out from the countryside to the cities under the leadership of the CP. It cannot be applied in developed capitalist countries where the revolution would start in the cities and spread to the countryside with a great uprising as a valid war strategy in the conditions of semi-colonial, semi-feudal or colonial countries. Because the revolutionary war in the developed capitalist countries will take place at the end of a protracted “peaceful” struggle; to engage in an armed struggle without such a struggle is not the right strategy in this country’s conditions. This difference causes us to define the universality of People’s War as a war strategy involving semi-colonial and semi-feudal or colonial countries. However, we fully believe that a war-like process will take place in the developed capitalist countries as well. Be-

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cause revolutionary violence is a principle without exception, it has certainly been proven. The differences between the form that revolutionary violence will take in developed capitalist countries and the form it will take in semi-colonial and semi-feudal or colonial countries are at the level of quality. Considering the confusion they cause, we disapprove of expansions that would lead to ignoring these qualitative differences, and moreover, strategy definitions not formulated by Mao Tsetung.

Mao had specifically stated that the revolutionary struggle in developed countries would go through a protracted “peaceful” period. This feature remains valid. While accepting that the way the proletarian world revolution takes place is not completely predictable, it is a known or accepted reality that the places of world revolution that are ready to ignite and flare up in a short time are semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries. As long as the fire in these areas does not take on a real character, the “peaceful” struggle period will continue to be essential in developed countries. It is wrong if the communist parties in these countries prefer armed struggle to “peaceful” struggle, as it will cause defeats and reduce the revolution, which is the action of the masses, to the vanguard actions of a handful of armed militants, causing the revolution to be grasped mainly outside the masses. It is a great mistake to dictate such thoughts within the universality of the People’s War. If it is said that “People’s War includes valid and even compulsory armed warfare in the last stage of the long-term peaceful struggle in developed countries”, this content should be specifically mentioned. Although we see this content outside of the People’s War understanding we advocate, we distinguish it from the wrong approaches we have just mentioned and do not reject it on the basis of principle. The definition of the People’s War as the universal war strategy of the proletariat requires that its basic principles be determined by specifying the qualitative differences between countries, which we have explained above. To be able to conduct the revolutionary war with the understanding of the People’s War, the original form that it will take in every country requires that the principles of the People’s War be different from what is known or what we know. Accordingly, the long-term armed struggle for power, advancing from the countryside to the cities, based on red political bases, and the peasant guerrilla warfare as the inevitable starting form of this, should not be the principles of the People’s War Strategy. The principles of the People’s War must be emphasized and precisely stated. Accepting the People’s War as valid on the whole world scale with a theory based on the principles determined by Comrade Mao will not fit the reality, it will also result in an idealism of “I said it happened”. Therefore, a discussion on this axis requires a new theoretical discussion and determining

new principles for the People’s War. On this axis, future approaches and new attitudes will undoubtedly be open to discussion.

The Declaration mentions four fundamental questions for the People’s War:

1) Proletarian ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism applied to the concrete practice and features of the revolution,

2) The necessity of the Communist Party leading the People’s War,

3) Characteristics and course of political strategy in the Democratic or Socialist revolution,

4) Support bases... These four main points mentioned seem important as we assume that they embody the principles of People’s War. The last two of these fundamental problems are also the reason why we do not see the People’s War as possible in the advanced capitalist countries. Although the political strategy of the socialist revolution will eventually evolve into an armed struggle, it brings a long-term peaceful struggle to the agenda. Therefore, the armed struggle, which includes the building of a power that develops from the beginning to the end, from small to large, is not the “main problem” of this revolution. In these countries, communists wage a “peaceful” struggle against the expansionist and occupying policies of the ruling classes, and only after a short-term preparation for an armed mass uprising do they start a revolutionary situation. Therefore, support bases will not be in the nature of “Red Political Bases” in these countries. For here the armed struggle must be short-lived; conditions in these countries are not suitable for a protracted armed struggle. We say this on the basis of the conditions of class struggle, which are carried out under normal conditions. Likewise, the necessity of the illegal organization of the CP is accepted by us as a necessity and even a necessity. The fact that the main core and major organs of the CP are illegal is a necessity even from the point of view of being protected from the enemy. In addition, it requires determining how, where and with what social force the support bases will be built, how the Army, which is one of the three weapons of the revolution, will be organized and how it will gain its course of action. It will not be a healthy discussion ground to discuss the validity of the People’s War on a whole world scale without establishing a theoretical discussion and a set of principles that will close all these gaps and be compatible with the objective situation.

We recognize that Maoism offers important, decisive approaches to the advanced capitalist countries in terms of continuing and concluding the revolutionary war and maintaining the new revolutionary power. In this sense, we argue that the Maoist revolutionary war theory has a content that includes these countries; but

we object to this being explained with the claim of “universality of the People’s War”. Because there are also serious left revisionist comments brought by this claim. One of them includes that the proletarian world revolution is possible with a certain people’s war that will take place all over the world at the same time. We see that this interpretation, which also opens the door to the Trotskyist understanding of world revolution, was not rejected in the Declaration. According to this, the communists “must oppose the imperialist world war with a world people’s war if it breaks out!” If the imperialist world war breaks out, the communists in every country will oppose it with the understanding of waging a power struggle against their rulers, but mainly with the aim of putting an end to this world war. This does not condition a People’s War that will start in every country. In order to start the People’s War, the communist parties in each country must have determined the revolutionary situation, and of course, communist parties must have been built in these countries before that. In semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, the communist party will be built in war, while in developed capitalist countries it will be built in a long-term peaceful struggle. This brings before us the problem that communist parties, especially in the developed capitalist countries, are not prepared for the People’s War, which will start at the same time as the imperialist world war and is formulated as the only form of opposing this war. In this case, it is not possible to defend the understanding that the communists in the developed capitalist countries have to start the “People’s War” immediately. This needs to be determined in concrete terms and these terms will be significantly related to the specificity of the countries. In many countries the struggle against the imperialist world war may and will have to be waged without the People’s War. It is a kind of dogmatism to have determined them beforehand, independently of the circumstances, and dogmatism only produces dogma and inevitably loses it. Such problems or unique situations were neglected in the declaration. Neglecting these and not explaining them with warnings will pave the way for familiar leftist interpretations of the People’s War; It even appears to have been opened. However, it is of decisive importance not to fall for left revisionism while standing against right revisionism.

In addition, although the “Universality of the People’s War” is mentioned both in this document and in some other articles, there is no clear program, set of principles, organization and way of action that we can see on how this will happen in imperialist-capitalist countries. If the “People’s War” is the only strategy that should be applied universally, and if the imperialist capitalist countries are also included in it, then how this will happen in any imperialist country, along which military and political line, must be revealed.

## **Three Worlds or World Divided into Two?**

Concepts such as “third world” and “third world countries” are frequently used in the draft to describe the storm centers of the revolution. As we do not see this concept as correct, we think that depending on this concept, the door will be opened to erroneous approaches in the issue of fundamental contradiction in the world (or multiple fundamental contradictions as it is misplaced in the draft). In this context, the use of this concept evokes the “three world theory”, provides a basis for it, and shows that a strong and full confrontation with this reactionary theory has not yet taken place. We think that the approach that divides the world into three poles, to determine a world system and a series of contradictions based on it, is fundamentally wrong. It provides a basis for an approach that confuses the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world, blurs the distinction between friend and foe, and in this sense, may cause problems in the separation of imperialist powers and all reactionary forces that are the link of that system. We are of the opinion that the Dengist “Three Worlds Theory” is a harmful residue that finds its reflection in communist movements.

It is seen that this concept is used based on an approach based on this definition of the world by Chairman Mao and the CCP he leads. However, it should be noted that Chairman Mao and the CCP he led, as a foreign policy of the period, included a scientific attitude that determined the main point of distinction between revolutionary forces and counter-revolutionary forces, revealed the points of distinction between counter-revolutionary forces, and revealed the line of relationship and struggle with these forces. This scientific approach was first exposed to reactionary left opportunist-revisionist abuse by Lin Biao. Later on, it was put forward as a counter-revolutionary theory that became creatively complete and integrated by Deng Xiaoping, the leader of the right revisionist line, the architect of counter-revolutionary, capitalist restoration. The Dengist line, beyond supporting this theory with a few sentences of Comrade Mao, fell into the baseness of basing it by referencing Comrade Mao without being able to prove it as a line belonging to him. Against Comrade Mao’s Communist red flag, he waved the white flag of revisionism with this theory.

The misinterpretation of the 1971 CCP foreign policy document titled “Some Remarks on the Foreign Policy of the People’s Republic of China” forms the basis of approaches that divide the world into three. This document has a scientific substance, which includes the clarification of the People and counter-revolu-

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tionary forces, and then the contradictions between the other forces and the policy to be applied against them. It has an approach based on class analysis with clear and precise lines. However, this approach is based on Deng Xiao-ping's speech at the United Nations in 1974, while Comrade Mao was still alive, and instead of the relations of production, the class differences on which they are based, the nature of the ruling classes in the countries, the rich, the developed, the underdeveloped, the poor, the productive forces and the production forces, divided into three worlds based on the distinction of the development of their relations. In 1976, the CCP announced it as a strategic approach in a speech at the United Nations. Accordingly, the world is under the domination of two "superpowers" such as the USA and Russian Social Imperialism, and these are the first world. Developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America and other regions make up the third world. The developed countries that fall between these two form the second world.

The contradiction between the first world and the third world is essential, the third world countries are the revolutionary impetus that turns the wheel of world history and are at war with the first world. The main strength of the world united front is the third world countries. Second world countries are forces to be won. This is the basic theory of counter-revolutionary, treacherous Dengism.

Lenin, Stalin, and Chairman Mao essentially and fundamentally divide the world into two fundamental poles. It is the imperialist-capitalist camp that represents the old, the rotten and the crumbling, the reactionary forces that are a link in their chain, and the proletariat, the masses of the people and the oppressed nations that represent the new. Comrade Lenin, Stalin and Mao made this fundamental distinction, and after identifying the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces, they developed an attitude that examines, determines and tries to take advantage of the contradictions between the counter-revolutionary forces. In this context, two hostile poles, counter-revolution forces and the pole of revolutionary forces are evident in their class-based distinctions and approaches. In the conditions where the states and sovereignty of the proletariat were formed, this approach left its mark on their foreign policy and became a guiding approach. The tactic of creating fragmentation for the counter-revolutionary ranks, its approach and the policy of making use of the contradictions between them, is based on strengthening its own front and weakening the other front. This is the opposite of the three-pole approach to defining the world. The division of the bipolar world, of the enemy

camp, should not bring three points of view as a whole strategic approach. We should point out precisely in his general approach that Chairman Mao has been misinterpreted at this point.

We advocate following the path of our masters. Underdeveloped, highly developed, developed when dividing the world into poles; rich and poor; We consider discriminating on the basis of the development and weakness of the productive forces and making three world definitions out of it is harmful, dangerous and dangerous as it will lead to class collaborationist approaches, confusion of alliance policies, tactical and strategic approaches. Separating the world into first, second, and third worlds will weaken the qualities of the ruling classes in the second and third world countries, the ground to fight them, and will create a situation that will lead to confusion.

We advocate treating the world with a sharp distinction between class-based imperialism and all forms of reaction, as well as oppressed peoples and nations. We do not find it correct to divide the concepts of highly developed, developed and underdeveloped into three categories based on these. We think that these concepts should be first in defining the reactionary forces of each country, the relations between the imperialist powers and the dominant powers that are their servants, to distinguish them as imperialist-capitalist countries and semi-colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries.

In this respect, we do not find the approach in the declaration dividing the world into three poles, categorizing countries according to wealth and poverty, development and weakness of productive forces, and defining the relationship between these countries accordingly. No matter what purpose this concept is used for, it is a concept that does not describe the real situation and does not make class distinctions clear. The concept that will express the storm centers of the revolution should be the concept of semi-colonial semi-feudal countries.

This is the most clear and precise class distinction concept. It will include an approach that will capture the main link in the struggle against the class and real enemy in the fight against imperialism, its lackeys, and the "first world" or "second world" powers that establish hegemony in individual countries. This revolutionary struggle will provide a proper and full determination of which powers, the imperialist powers whose dominance level has changed in each country. Otherwise, it will lead to class struggle, struggle and problems in the alliances and orientation that it requires.

# ***Other Documents***

*Poder Proletario [Colombia]*

**Statement for an International Maoist Conference**

<https://ci-ic.org/blog/2022/01/01/...>

*Communist Party of Colombia (Red Faction)*

**Response to the Statement of the Communist Workers' Union (UOC) on the Proposal of the Coordinating Committee for the Unified Maoist International Conference (UMIC) [Spanish]**

<https://ci-ic.org/blog/2022/07/12/...>

*Maoist Communist Party of the Spanish State*

**Position of the Maoist Communist Party of the Spanish State on the Unified Maoist International Conference**

<https://ci-ic.org/blog/2022/06/23/...>

**About UOC (mlm) positions**

*Defence of Maoism I, II*

<https://ci-ic.org/blog/2022/07/23/defence-of-maoism-i/>

<https://ci-ic.org/blog/2022/07/24/defence-of-maoism-ii/>

**CPI(Maoist)**

**Our Stand on the Formation of an International Organisation of the Proletariat**

*The Central Committee releases this document to guide our Party regarding the formation of an International Organisation of the Proletariat together with the Revolutionary Parties and Organisations of various countries, in the present conditions. This would be a proposed draft for discussion with the Parties of various countries to form an International Organisation of the Proletariat*

*-CC, CPI (Maoist), February 2017*

<http://w-ww.bannedthought.net/India/CPI-Maoist-Docs/Statements-2017/InternationalOrgOfProletariat-Eng-23-3-2017-Final-View.pdf>

## Communist Party maoist Italy

# Brief critical Notes on "Our Position Against the Imperialist War in Ukraine"

## *of Communist International website*

### Debate and Two Lines Struggle

The communiqué published by the Communist International website can be agreed to in many parts (in particular the denunciation of the role of OTAN and Russian imperialism in the ongoing war) but in the finally it cannot be globally agreed to for two main reasons:

First of all due to an erroneous basic analysis and secondly due to an insufficiency of indications for the masses and proletarians.

Regarding the analysis, the main mistake is to define Ukraine as a "country oppressed by imperialism" in particular by Russian imperialism, as we know by oppressed country we mean a country in which production relations are characterized by bureaucratic capitalism, cohabiting with semi-feudal conditions in the framework of semi-colonial relationships.

According to the authors of the declaration, in the case of Ukraine this condition would have occurred with the internal coup of Khrushchev and therefore with the restoration of capitalism in the USSR which would have made the SFSR of Ukraine "regress" from a socialist country to a semi-feudal country.

In our opinion, this thesis is wrong and would implicitly accredit the bourgeois accusations of the "forced collectivization" of agriculture in Ukraine by "an external entity": the USSR / SFSR of Russia headed by the Russian Bolsheviks (among other things headed by the Georgian comrade Stalin).

On the contrary, with the October Socialist Revolution before and with the founding of the USSR a few years later, a single state entity was created in the form of a federation of Soviet socialist republics which proceeded to the socialization of the means of production collectively and actively with support of all nationalities, proletarians and the poor and middle peasants coming from these nationalities (Russians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Belarusians, Kazakhs, etc.).

Consequently, with the Khrushchevian coup celebrated in the XX Congress of the CPSU, capitalism was restored throughout the USSR to the detriment of the socialization of the means of production, transforming the USSR into a capitalist country headed by a new bourgeoisie coming from the ranks of the CPSU, from all over the country, e.g. from Russia as well as from Ukraine (like Khrushchev himself) and from the rest of the federated countries.

As in all capitalist countries, including imperialist countries, there are socio-economic differences and gaps within each individual country, a reflection of the anarchic and unequal development of capitalism driven by the pursuit of profit in which the geographic areas best connected to the main economic sectors nodes, activate a vicious circle mechanism in which these areas with greater presence of capital attract more capital and therefore more investments than the less developed areas, aggravating the regional development gap even within the same country.

So after 1956 the SFSR of Ukraine as well as all the rest of the USSR fell back into capitalism and not into bureaucratic capitalism.

Once independence was achieved, following the collapse of the USSR, Ukraine as well as the Russian Federation remained two capitalist countries and later the latter once again took on the role of imperialist country as was Soviet social-imperialism (1958-1992). ), resuming the export of capital and investments starting from some ex-Soviet countries and beyond (Syria, Cyprus, etc.).

Currently Ukraine is therefore an independent capitalist country whose ruling bourgeoisie autonomously decides which international relations to cultivate in order to better enrich itself and in the last decade it has turned its gaze to the West.

The same goes for Poland, an industrialized, ex-socialist and now capitalist country, which is not "used" passively by the EU and by OTAN but, whose bourgeoisie has chosen to be an integral part of both the EU and OTAN as "minority shareholder" as regards the aspect of collusion with the other countries forming the two international organizations.

Finally, we believe that a declaration against the war of aggression of Russian imperialism in Ukraine, in addition to giving the right political-theoretical indications, should also be stirred up an immediate mobilization in all countries, starting with those where MLM parties and organizations are active in accordance with the specific conditions of these countries: in OTAN countries, mainly denounce the interventionist role of their government as a member of this alliance led mainly by US imperialism (including countries politically close to OTAN such as Sweden, Finland, Moldova, Austria and Georgia), in Russia to intensify the current protests against the Putin government, in Belarus to denounce the supporting role of the Lukashenko government to the current military aggression, in Ukraine no tactical alliance with the Zelensky, government servant of OTAN and the EU, that want to carve out a place in the sun to its own bourgeoisie it has attracted the winds of war on its own country. In all other countries of the world strike the interests of US, British, Russian and European governments imperialism.

**CI-IC.org**

## On the “criticism” of the Italian comrades

We noticed the remarks from the CPm Italy called “Ukraine’s war – A critical note of PCm – Italy”. Unfortunately we are lacking of capacities regarding Italian language and the published translation into English is even worse than ours are sometimes, therefore we can not guarantee that we did not misinterpret some parts of the text and kindly ask our Italian comrades to point our possible mistakes in these regards. This will be a very short answer, but we emphasize the necessity of international two line struggle and the comradely, openly and honest discussion of differences of opinion and we express our pleasure and joy to do that.

The criticism is divided into two aspects. One, we agree upon, is the question of “insufficiency of indications for the masses and proletarians”, this was solved by the publication of the five slogans for the ICM to apply in the recent moment on March 7, but the document in question lacked of this, except the utmost important quote by Chairman Mao that gives good and correct orientation for our class and the masses in Ukraine: “When imperialism launches a war of aggression against such a country, all its various classes, except for some traitors, can temporarily unite in a national war against imperialism.” So we partially accept this criticism but ask for the position of the Italian comrades in question of the five slogans.

The other thing is the alleged “erroneous basic analysis”. We reject the insult that our document “implicitly accredit the bourgeois accusations of the “forced collectivization””, i.e. what anticommunist slander calls “Holodomor”, and call upon our Italian comrades to be careful with their words. It is correct to criticise the handling of the contradictions among the people in the USSR and how the construction of socialism was conducted, but this insult absolutely lacks of a material basis. We do not deny the democratic and socialist revolution that took place in Ukraine, but after the coup of

Khrushchev and his gang the interrelations between the republics of the USSR changed (remember the Crimean gift Khrushchev gave to Ukraine in order to maintain order there). The process of restoration of capitalism within the social-imperialist Soviet Union led to the victory of the demo-liberal faction (a demo-liberal superstructure serves the development of imperialist economy best) within the ruling class, the bankruptcy of revisionism and the liquidation of the USSR – a determined process that all revisionism in power will follow sooner or later. The interrelation between two countries in the imperialist world are always based on violence and subjugation, there is no and cannot be a somehow side-by-side peaceful coexistence. This became more obvious after the collapse of the USSR and the imperialist scramble for the predominance over the third world countries in Europe, including Poland. We totally reject the anti-marxist thesis of the so called “new imperialist countries” and convergences like our Italian comrades exposed by stating: “Ukraine is therefore an independent capitalist country whose ruling bourgeoisie autonomously decides...” We understand that an analysis of how exactly the process of restoration of semi-feudal and semi-colonial relations and the emergence of the bureaucratic capitalist economy came about is lacking, but these relations existed in Tsarist Russia and could therefore be restored and anyone can feel what happened on the economic base in the superstructural expressions of these oppressed countries, expressions of centuries of backwardness as products of restoration. This deficiency is first of all a problem of the uneven development of subjective forces and secondly our deficiency, but we struggle to overcome it. The solution lies with the communists in those countries who have the unpostponable task of reconstituting their Communist Parties, as militarised Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties of a new type.

Finally, we ask, why do our Italian comrades define the Putin-regime as “social-fascist”? It is not demoliberal, for sure, but what proves it is fascist, and further “social-fascist”? We do not agree. And we reject the thesis of a Third World War ante portas, repeat the possibility but emphasize the communist stance: Either revolution makes the reactionaries disappear or the war strokes up the revolution and nukes are paper-tigers. We are not afraid of anything and our Italian comrades should neither tremble nor scare someone. But the most serious problem of our Italian comrades is their political orientation. Russian imperialism has unjustified initiated a war of aggression against Ukraine, broken even the bourgeois international law and is invading another

country. This has to be denounced and struggled against at the first place. To state that the government of Ukraine “has attracted the winds of war on its own country” is in this sense wrong. Russian imperialism is the aggressor. This needs to be clarified.

The position of the comrades of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) is quite clear in this regard and deserves to be highlighted on this occasion: “Russian imperialism made a war of aggression on Ukraine which is the result of the imperialist contention between US-EU and Russia in former Republics of Soviet Union. The people of Ukraine are giving stiff resistance with the spirit of anti-imperialism to this aggression.”

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## Communist Party maoist Italy

# On the Necessary Development of the Two Lines Struggle on the War in Ukraine

This is a brief response to “*On the ‘criticism’ of the Italian comrade*” which in turn had responded to our critical note “*A Brief critical commentary on ‘Our position against the imperialist war of aggression of Russian imperialism on Ukraine’*” issued by Communist International website (CI). We wrote it aimed to make clear some issues rose by the comrades of CI and to further develop this ongoing two-lines-struggle, although we are aware that a more organised and articulated paper is needed to deal with the issue of the war in Ukraine and of how the Maoists should stand and act against it.

First of all, we self-critically recognize that we published our previous text in a bad English, in this the comrades of CI are right, it is not a mere “linguistic” problem but an ideological one: the mentioned text was and is aimed to develop the two-lines-struggle the and to achieve this goal it has to be accessible to the comrades who read it. We hope to improve this aspect of our work starting from this writing.

Having said that, we would like to note to the comrades that the PCm Italy condemned this war as an imperialist military aggression by the Russian Federation against the people and the proletariat of Ukraine since the very beginning (in this we agree with the stand of comrades of CI, as we clearly wrote at the beginning of our previous criticism).

Furthermore, in none of our writings we have stated that we are on the eve of a Third World War, but rather that the current inter-imperialist conflict strengthens the

tendency to a Third World War. This tendency, from time to time, increases or decreases in intensity but is still immanent in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The criticism to us by the comrades of CI on this point is unfounded and probably is due to the aforementioned problems of mistranslation.

But, coming back to the point, to condemn the aggression by Russian imperialists is not enough, it must be specified that it takes place in the framework of the inter-imperialist contention between, on the one hand, Russian imperialists and, on the other, US imperialists and some European countries, particularly United Kingdom, Germany, France and, finally, Italy, to which are added other European countries members of the EU and NATO supporting this imperialist pole.

Even if our online organ is in Italian, it is really difficult not to notice the countless articles we posted condemning Russian imperialism but also our internal enemy: the warmongering Italian imperialism currently represented by the Draghi government (since February 22 to today there are more than 30 statements and posts). Moreover, we have not only take stand by writings, we also have put this line into the practice of the class struggle in our country and openly, particularly on the occasion of a national-wided proletarian and workers demonstration promoted by the collective of factory in struggle (GKN) in Florence the last March 26, and in local demonstrations against the imperialist war throughout the country, particularly in Palermo, Taranto, Turin, L’Aquila and in the demonstration in



front of the NATO base in Ghedi (Brescia), in which we participated with a contingent of workers organized by us (while we did not participate but criticized some ambiguous demonstrations which, while condemning the Russian aggression, supported the Italian imperialist government and NATO intervention, such as that in Rome, early in March).

The Revolutionary Proletarian Feminist Movement, an organization generated by our party, has also engaged in this battle together with the worker and proletarian women it leads.

Furthermore, all the stands against the invasion of Russian imperialism by MLM parties and organizations, including that of CI and the parties and organizations linked to it, have been published on the international website maoistroad. We have to negatively note that maoistroad was the only international Maoist site in our movement which did so, to facilitate the debate and consequently a genuine two-lines-struggle.

In this inter-imperialist contention, our unconditional support goes to the resistance of the people and proletariat of Ukraine against Russian imperialist aggression, but such support can only be properly practiced with a correct and just analysis of the nature of Ukraine.

In this sense, we repeat, it is misleading and wrong to consider Ukraine as a country in which the development of the productive forces and the relations of production has been backwarded into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal condition of bureaucratic capitalism, as the comrades of CI wrote. In order to argue this thesis also for other countries, such as Poland and other Eastern European countries, also in other writings, they simply put this fact as “obvious”, thus eluding the issue (in their response to our criticism the comrades admit that there are not yet analysis and evidences which reinforce this thesis, because of the lack of Maoist parties and organizations in Ukraine that can carry out this task and of the objective difficulty that this can be fulfilled by comrades from outside the country. Nevertheless, for the comrades “*it is obvious...*”: really, it is not a dialectical materialistic method of analysis).

Instead, we reiterate what is commonly accepted by the ICM, namely that with the coming to power of Khrushchev, capitalism was restored in the socialist USSR, with a coup d'état in favor of the Soviet (not only Russian) new-bourgeoisie. This multinational bourgeoisie was jointly represented by the CPSU. Throughout the republics of USSR, the socialist social relations of production have been replaced by capitalist ones, there are no concrete grounds that demonstrate that the development of the productive forces in these countries has regressed to semi-feudal and semi-colonial relations. The issue to be understood is rather the uneven development of countries, while being of the same nature. This was also true among the different socialist countries and is another immanent condition in

this era, which will be overcome only with the emerging of Communism on a global scale.

Assuming that Ukraine is a country with such relations today means to politically support the Ukrainian oligarchic bourgeoisie allied with NATO/EU imperialism, represented by the Zelensky government, it means that in the NATO/EU imperialist countries we should align with “our” governments and the bourgeois parties that send arms to the “Ukrainian resistance”, that is the Zelensky government, as part of the ongoing inter-imperialistic conflict and the so-called “strengthening of NATO’s eastern flank” and the overall growing militarization of the NATO/EU imperialist countries.

The Ukrainian proletarian and people’s resistance, in the current conditions of Ukraine, can be such only if they turn the weapons against all oppressors, starting from their own government, which is not simply a victim of Russian imperialist aggression but rather an active player in pushing towards war.

Therefore, it is essential to agree on the meaning of “people” of Ukraine, to prevent us from using the same word while expressing in facts two irreconcilable positions: is the oligarchic bourgeoisie represented by Zelensky part of the people?

Or, to put it another way, is the Zelensky government fighting an anti-imperialist war to liberate the country and the people of Ukraine or, in an equal and opposite way of Russian imperialism, is it opposing the latter to subjugate the of Russian nationality, part of the Ukrainian people, in the Donbass and other areas of the country?

Partly, the answer lies in what has happened in Ukraine and particularly in Donbass during the last 8 years, the comrades of CI should ask themselves about this.

Finally, we think that the five slogans worked out ex-post by the comrades of IC and put at the side of their statement of analysis (which, as already mentioned, in our opinion contains non-materialistic and even ambiguous points about the nature of the country and the people of Ukraine), do not fill the “clamorous lack” of consistent Marxist-Leninist-Maoist indications and practices in the imperialist countries, in NATO countries, in countries allied with US/NATO imperialism and in countries essentially dominated by US/EU imperialism in Asia, America, Africa and Oceania.

It is enough to note the high degree of heterogeneity in the stands of the Maoist Parties and Organizations on these issues which, on the one hand, shows the high degree of fragmentation currently existing and, on the other one, indicates that a higher effort must be made by all of us, through the two-lines-struggle, to reach a shared synthesis that will have the function of giving such indications for the action against the imperialist war in progress and all imperialist and reactionary governments in every country.



Communist Party  
of Nepal  
(Revolutionary  
Maoist)

## Maoist Outlook CPN (Revolutionary - Maoist) Central Organ

### Let us take an initiative to form an international centre!

In the particular period of world history, especially in Russia, under the leadership of Lenin, the socialist revolution was accomplished in 1917, and the communist movement continued. The process of establishing the socialist system was progressing. The new democratic revolution in China under the leadership of Mao made a significant contribution to this great campaign to advance the world revolution further.

After Stalin's death, Khrushchev captured the leadership of the government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In 1956, the Khrushchevite clique reversed socialism in Russia to restore capitalism. This clique also tried to drown the world communist movement in the right revisionist swamp. In opposition to this, Mao, the Chairman of the Communist Party of China, raised the banner of Marxism-Leninism higher. Following this, the world communist movement got divided into two camps. Despite various efforts, an international centre of the communist parties and organizations could not be established, for nearly three decades.

In the meantime, however, many efforts were made to build an international centre. The international conference of communist parties and organizations, organised in 1984, established the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, the RIM. At that time, parties and organizations that accepted the same opinion and views on fundamental issues like Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought as guiding principles opposed all kinds of revisionism and agreed with the principle of using force in socio-political change were involved in it. It was a notable success in the international communist movement. One of its weak points was that it failed to include some genuine revolutionary communist parties with it. However, efforts continued to bring them in till the last. On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Mao, the great leader of the world communist movement, an extended meeting held by the RIM Committee in 1993, highly evaluating Mao's contributions, decided to adopt Maoism in place of Mao thought. Maoism was accepted as the third stage of Marxism and the qualitative

development of Marxism-Leninism, not merely as a change of terminology. Thus, Marxism-Leninism-Mao thought was raised to a higher level, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, as an integrated guiding principle. Today, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has been established as a guiding principle of all communist parties. In addition, RIM also played a significant role in internationalising the people's wars waged then under the leadership of communist parties in Peru, Nepal, India, Philippines, Turkey, Bangladesh and other countries. Due to all these, the process of building the Communist Party in different countries in the world also progressed. RIM played a vital role in the world communist movement for about 22 years.

In the later part of the time, the top leaders of the CPN (Maoist) and the RCP, USA, which had played a very significant role in the RIM, pursued the path of degeneration. Prachanda, the erstwhile chairman of the CPN (Maoist), followed the path of national and class capitulation and led the party to the right revisionism. Bob Avakian, the chairman of the RCP, USA, followed the right opportunist and liquidationist line of New Synthesis, arguing that MLM has become obsolete and so cannot lead revolutions in the given situation. These two events directly or indirectly affected the RIM. As a consequence, RIM liquidated without any formal decision. There were some attempts to reconstitute RIM, but they also failed. After that, efforts were made to build a new international centre of communists from a new axis. There was an initiative to form a preparatory committee for holding an international conference of communist parties and organizations. However, the situation was not ready to hold such a conference owing to insufficient effort, homework and basic agreement. The publication of a joint statement signed by those organizations with which they had contact and a common understanding, in reference to May Day, proceeded. But a strange, the communist parties that uphold the clarion call: "Workers of the world unite!" have started issuing two joint statements every year. It has created a doubt are the communist parties going to divide again before an international centre has been constituted?

We believe the debate and discussion should be carried out for unity and convergence, not for division and

divergence. Some positive signs have appeared in the debate and discussions that have taken place in the latter part of the time. It is understood that there is a conscious effort to make a unity-oriented debate, not the split-oriented one. We should welcome this effort. Even today, there is a need for unity and an ideologically and politically clear international among the communist organizations scattered around the world. Let us all move in this direction.

## Our position on the International Communist Organization

The International Communist Movement is now without a centre after the undeclared dissolution of the Committee of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, the CoRIM. As a result, the movement has dispersed now. Most revolutionary communist parties that were or were not part of the RIM are active in their mission; some have ideologically deviated, and some have even degenerated into neo-reaction. And many other parties and organizations have emerged. By fighting against imperialism, the international communist movement is advancing in its relativity. The objective situation is developing in favour of the proletarian revolution. But the lack of necessary ideological and political unity and an international communist centre have weakened the unified and centralized offence on imperialism and domestic reaction on the part of the revolutionary communists. Imperialism has sustained its life in the weakness of revolutionary communists. It is a bitter reality today.

In the meantime, some of the Maoist communist parties have taken initiatives to build an international organization, and two coordination committees have been constituted to organize the conference. One has proposed a Unified Marxist-Leninist-Maoist International Conference, and the other has a Unified Maoist International Conference. Noteworthy is that both initiatives have proposed a unified international conference. Though it failed to appear as a joint statement, they are positive steps forward.

However, there is no uniformity in the grasp of many important ideological and political issues between these two coordination committees and the parties close to them. Even then, there exists unanimity to build an international communist centre among the revolutionary parties through a unified conference. It is a good thing. Stepping at this, we should systemize the two-line struggle among the parties and build a united international organization amid the two-line struggle. It is an imperative need of the day.

After these initiatives in the international communist

movement, the ideological and political positions of various communist parties also started coming out. It has initiated a new debate. Many questions of unity and disunity have also surfaced in these debates. One has sharply criticized the other. It is not wrong. However, it must be handled properly. Hunting for ideological rifts in the movement and trying to insert a wedge in it in the name of struggle or searching for compromise on the fundamental theoretical questions of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the name of realizing unity will not lead us to the right place. The ideological fight we conduct must base on principle, and its method must be scientific. It paves the way for the basis of unity.

Marxism has taught us that the communist movement is the unity of opposites. There is a non-stop ideological struggle between Marxist and non-Marxist outlooks, trends and lines. It is known as a two-line struggle. No communist party or any movement can escape from it. It is the motive force of the communist movement. Actors and trends may change, but the struggle continues. That is why Mao has said that the struggle is absolute and unity is relative. It is a fundamental question of the Marxist philosophy that the Communist Party needs to grasp. We must strive to build a strong but relative unity amid absolute struggle. There can be no absolute unity between the opposites.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Great Debate, Mao correctly synthesized the dialectics of unity and struggle in the communist movement. According to him, the basis of unity is ideological struggle, and it must be guided by revolutionary transformation and a higher level of unity. In short, he synthesized it as unity-struggle and transformation. Only the revolutionary transformation undergone after struggle creates a new basis for a higher level of ideological unity. To keep in mind is that the objective of the two-line struggle must be transformation, not negation.

Two statements that we simultaneously published in May Days in the past years show how weak the theoretical basis of unity is in the Maoist movement. We are in such a shameful situation that we seek to determine which side is stronger by counting the number of signatories on both sides. It shows the ideological status of all of us. We must rise above it. Self-struggle is its first condition. Right for this, Mao said that revolutionary communists must be ready to blaze their heads. We must grasp this spirit of Mao.

At the moment, we are in the process of building an international communist organization. There is unity among us on many issues, and our understandings and positions on some issues differ. In this situation, we should determine the minimum necessary conditions and

**Debate**

proceed based on them. The minimum principles one must adhere to are Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the necessity of violence in social revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, that is, the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. And those one must oppose are imperialism, all forms of reactions, parliamentarism, revisionism, Prachanda Path, and New Synthesis. These conditions as a whole alienate one from the present main danger, right-wing revisionism. We should constitute an international body by holding a joint conference or convention among communist parties with similar views on the fundamental questions above. When the CoRIM is already non-existent, it is not appropriate to insist on who was in the RIM and who was not.

Also, among the communist parties who share the same views on the fundamental questions above, there are contradictions on some other issues. Some of them will get resolved during the two-line struggle, while the class struggle will solve some others. New contradictions will also emerge again. This is what the universality of contradiction means. Once there is a common understanding of the fundamental questions of ideology and politics, to go ahead by building relative unity through unity-struggle transformation and the new unity on a new basis is the lesson Mao has taught us.

In the contemporary international communist movement, there are many friendly contradictions as well. Some of them are Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and principally Maoism, the universality of people's war, the fundamental and principal contradictions of the world, the question that the international communist movement at present is in the stage of the strategic counter-offensive, Gonzalo thought, the evaluation of the Comintern and Stalin, the evaluation of RIM, etc. It is good to strive for a common opinion on these questions in the movement. However, it is not correct that the building of an international organization should begin after a common understanding reaches them. They are questions that can be resolved in the course of a two-line struggle and class struggle.

Right here, we will not carry out an extensive debate on the disputes said before. We will debate when it is necessary. Now we take on a brief discussion about what is our preliminary opinion on the questions mentioned above. It is as follows.

One, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is an integrated whole and a comprehensive principle. It is not simply an arithmetic sum of Marxism, Leninism and Maoism. Leninism developed on the base of Marxism and elevated to Marxism-Leninism. Likewise, Maoism emerged on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and our guiding principle Marxism-Leninism-Maoism develo-

ped. Thus, Marxism, Leninism and Maoism are mutually inseparable and interrelated; they are not separate doctrines. Of those three doctrines, the latter one is undoubtedly more advanced than the former but cannot be delinked from the latter. It is what implies by saying that no party or an individual can be a Marxist without becoming a Maoist in today's world. The understanding of principally Maoism leads to the danger of separating Maoism from Marxism and Marxism-Leninism and reducing their weightage. That's why they are linked by a hyphen, not by commas. So, our party does not agree with the concept of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is a comprehensive principle in motion and is developmental. It is correct for future developments as well.

Two, the question that people's war is universal. It demands an explanation. The term people's war generally hints at the protracted people's war, the theory developed by Mao. It advances through three stages. They are strategic defensive, strategic equilibrium and strategic counter-offensive. In addition, the base area is the backbone of the protracted people's war. Protracted people's war and building base areas are not practicable in the developed capitalist countries where transportation and communication technology are highly developed and the revolutionary class concentrates in cities. In this situation, what will the people's war be like without a base area? Why will not it be roving rebel guerrillaism? No satisfactory explanation has appeared in any documents received so far.

The use of force, that is violence, is universal for the seizure of power. So, it is mandatory in social revolution. It is a war waged by the people under the leadership of the party of the proletariat. Two models of violence have been used in successful social revolutions so far. They are protracted people's war and armed people's insurrection, that is, the Chinese and the Russian models. Both of these models of war were fought by the people. If one calls the war fought by people the people's war, then both of these models of war are people's wars. However, it is a very simplistic interpretation. It cannot arrest the crux and the content of the subject matter. Again, in the present situation, these models of war cannot be replicated. We need to develop them. A hair-split analysis of how much the terminology people's war used now agrees with and where it differs from the two established models said before is necessary. Otherwise, though the word people's war seems lovely to hear, if there is no clarity on how it applies in the field, there is no other way forward for the communist movement except to move around the same cycle.

In the past few years, there have been many sponta-

neous uprisings. They disappeared as the high waves do on the seashore because there was no revolutionary party leadership in those countries. We have recently witnessed a spontaneous uprising of the people in Sri Lanka, which is deeply in debt, the international monetary reserves have run out, and even daily operations have come to a standstill. The government army and police sat as mute spectators. People's rage in Sri Lanka also is going to wane. Let's imagine if there was a genuine communist party and a committed armed troop under its leadership; what could have happened in Sri Lanka then? When we talk about the universality of violence in revolution, it demands to focus our attention here too.

Three, another point of contention is about the fundamental and principle contradictions of the world. The contradictions between labour and capital, the inter-imperialist contradictions between imperialist powers and the contradictions between imperialism and oppressed nations and people are the fundamental contradictions of today's world. Out of them, the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations and people is the principal contradiction. The failure of the neoliberal economy, in the main, and the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, the Russia-Ukraine war and the Taiwan crisis between the US and China have all caused the global economic recession to escalate. As a consequence, all the fundamental contradictions of the world have intensified. Although the danger of the Third World War has increased given the sharpening of the inter-imperialist contradiction, the main trend of the world is revolution today.

Four, the question of whether the contemporary international communist movement is in the stage of counter-offensive is another subject of debate. Some parties seem to have analysed the period from the publication of the Communist Manifesto to the establishment of the Paris Commune as the stage of strategic defence, from the October Socialist Revolution to the Chinese New Democratic and Proletarian Cultural Revolution as the stage of strategic equilibrium and then began the next stage of strategic counter-offensive. We disagree with this. Though it may be considered correct given the theoretical superiority of Marxism over capitalism, it is not an objective analysis in a situation where there is no socialism in any country in the world, and the subjective strength of the revolutionary communists is weak. We believe this interpretation is the result of the mechanical imitation of Chairman Mao's statement that the days of the next 50 to 100 years will be very turbulent.

Five, another issue of debate is Gonzalo thought. To synthesize Chairman Mao's contribution to Maoism and serve the world revolution by opening a new front of

the new democratic revolution in Peru after the counter-revolution in China are comrade Gonzalo's very important contributions. But we don't think it is a mature decision to synthesize Gonzalo's contributions as Gonzalo thought. Again, we do not consider this synthesis is wrong, and the defence, application and development of Gonzalo's contributions should stop. The truth of the synthesis will get proved in the course of the intensive debate at the international forum, work with the comrades upholding Gonzalo thought and principally its application in the field of class struggle. We believe that nipping the sprout of new ideas in the bud hinders its development.

Six, there are also disputes regarding the evaluation of the Comintern and Stalin. There is a dispute as regards the formation of an anti-fascist front at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the instruction given to the Communist Party in the respective countries to support the said front. Our position is that the formation of an anti-fascist united front aimed at defeating fascism and protecting the Soviet power, the base area of the Communists at that time, was correct. Again, we take Mao's evaluation of Stalin that although Comrade Stalin was a great revolutionary, the international communist movement suffered some losses due to his metaphysical weaknesses as correct.

Seventh, there are also differences regarding the evaluation of RIM. The establishment of RIM was a revolutionary step of far-reaching significance when there was a counter-revolution in Russia and China, and the apologists of imperialism were trumpeting the end of history and the failure of Marxism. The document entitled "Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism" and the Manifesto of RIM provided a correct orientation and revolutionary energy to the communist movement at that time. The RIM Committee, established as an embryonic centre, played to a great extent a commendable role in promoting the people's war in Peru and Nepal and in building communist parties in other countries. However, a question has come up that the two-line struggle within the RIM was not healthy and, as a consequence, it caused losses in the contemporary communist movement due to the sectarian and hegemonic role of the RCP USA. It had limitations and weaknesses. It is a matter to review seriously.

Apart from the questions above, there are other questions of disputes and disagreements in the communist movement. It is not a bad thing. But an appropriate method of conducting the two-line struggle should be developed to resolve differences and enhance the communist movement. And the class struggle itself dissolves some disputes.

Now a problem has arisen, where should one parti-

participate in the unified international conference organized by which coordination committee? Looking at the present level of unity in the world communist movement, it is unlikely that a party supporting one initiative will participate in the conference called by another one. In this situation, organizing parallel conferences is a declaration of the split in the movement. Such a split in the communist movement serves imperialism. The differences communist parties have are such that they can be resolved by comradely means under Maoist principles. For this, it is necessary to establish a single international centre. In this situation, it may be a suitable option to form a new organising committee to realise a joint international conference by dissolving both coordinating committees in a mutually agreed manner. We think that the parties on both sides will participate in the joint conference or convention called by it. Our party is ready to participate in it.

Some may consider our position as collaborationist or eclectic. But that is not true. If we stand together with the basic principles of MLM, then we must be ready to move forward unitedly by waging a two-line struggle in the subsequent contradictions. The thinking that demands absolute unity in ideology and opts to build an organization according to it does not agree with Marxism. Marxist world outlook is a philosophy of the absolute struggle and relative unity of opposites. Therefore, relative compromise is made and should be made on some issues of the organization, but not in fundamental principles. It is true not only for today but for the future as well. We must not overlook the unity and struggle that existed between Marx and Blanqui in the First International and Lenin and Kautsky in the Second International.

Now a question of whether the conference needs to form a loose international platform of communists or a relatively strong centre arises here. Given the present

level of unity among us, the appropriate organization is now a platform. Even if the joint conference or convention decides to form the International Communist Centre, we will not disagree with it. However, the decisions of the centre should be taken by consensus. We must not go for democratic centralism and the method of majority and minority while taking decisions.

Finally, Owing mainly to the failure of the neoliberal economy, the economic condition all over the world is worsening. And the covid-19 pandemic, the Russia-Ukraine war, and the Taiwan crisis have all added fuel to it. All the fundamental contradictions of the world are getting explosive, and the threat of world war is looming. Given all this, the days to come will be those of global economic and political crisis, and the possibility of the people going into a spontaneous rebellion has considerably amplified. Many countries of the world are on the line of Sri Lanka. When the masses of the people are looking for revolutionary leadership for their emancipation, a severe challenge has arisen whether the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties are unitedly prepared to fulfil this responsibility. Only with a conscious, united and planned drive, we can defeat imperialism and its running dogs. It is the need of the day to resolutely go ahead, for all of us.

**Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**

**Long Live Proletarian internationalism!**

**Down with Imperialism and all kinds of Reactions!**

**Down with all kinds of Revisionism!**

**Long Live World Socialist Revolution!**

# Answers of Basavraj, General Secretary of CC, CPI (Maoist)

## Questions of Journalist Alf



21 September 2022

**Q – Which mode of production does your party judge India to be in, semi-feudal, or industrial capitalist?**

**A –** Revolutionary Communists in the leadership of Comrade CM and Comrade KC concretely analysed the class contradictions in existence after a study of the economic, political, social, cultural and geographical conditions of India in the light of MLM. They affirmed that India is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society and that the path of revolution shall be Protracted People's War, that it shall first accomplish the stage of New Democratic Revolution and later advance to the stage of Socialism. Our united CPI (Maoist) is implementing this political-military line.

In the background of large scale discussions and debate among Marxists, revisionists, neo-revisionists, bourgeois intellectuals and NGOs as to whether our country is a capitalist society or semi-colonial, semi-feudal society, our party analysed and synthesized the reports of the studies of Relations of production that our party took up in various states since 2011 and the CC released a detailed document on 'Changes in Re-

lations of Production-Our Political Program' in its Sixth (contd.) meeting in 2020 December. The document asserted that our country is yet a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society. However, it also said that there are considerable distorted capitalist changes favourable to the imperialists and comprador bureaucratic capitalists and landlords. We adopted our political program so as to adopt corresponding tactics. You must have seen the document.

Earlier to British aggression, our country was a feudal society. After the British occupied India it changed into a colonial country. In fact by the time the British seized India, capitalism had been developing from the womb of feudal society in some areas of the country. During this time the Parsis of Mumbai, Banias of Gujarat and Marwaris of Rajasthan worked as agents to occupy India. The Indian big bourgeois class did not fight against British imperialism as per its character but extended total support during the days of war and other times. The British collaborated with the feudal Kings, Zamindars, money-lenders and merchants of India and came in the way of the independent development of capitalist developing in the country, basing on the feudal social base in the country. They introduced a cultu-

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re that serves British imperialism. They introduced distorted capitalist relations in their interests. Many old independent big traders and bankers of the country became bankrupt. Similarly the British made several changes in feudalism as per their colonial rule. They rejuvenated the weakening feudal relations. They destroyed the self-sufficient rural economic order in India. This made the peasantry and the artisans bankrupt. Forces of production were destroyed in a big way. Domestic market further declined. They introduced permanent tax collection method, ryotwari, mahal Wari and zamindari methods and turned land into a commodity. Thus the farmers lost their traditional right to land. India became a centre of production of raw goods and industrial goods necessary for industrial production of the British. They developed few industries, commercial crops, plantations, transport and communications only for the needs of the British. Comprador big bourgeois class emerged from the feudal Kings, Zamindars, Divans, comprador traders and money lending classes that helped the British. This class played an important role in allowing the British to loot the natural resources of our country. New Zamindar-feudal class developed in the place of old zamindars. Indian economy became an inseparable part of the world capitalist system in a colonial and dependent level. On one hand the Indian comprador bourgeoisie depended on imperialism for its existence and development and on the other became an instrument for colonial exploitation and suppression. Thus Indian feudal society became colonial, semi-feudal society. The British changed the country into a colony for two centuries and continued their exploitation.

The imperialists faced a difficult situation with the big defeat of the fascist forces by the Red Army of Soviet Union and the people of the world in the leadership of great Marxist teacher Stalin during the Second World War; due to the considerable weakening of imperialism after war; the establishment of people's democratic states in East European countries; the reach of the great success of China Revolution in the leadership of Mao to the edge; the emergence of world socialist system in one-third of the world; the development of independent/national liberation movements all over the world. Thus they changed their earlier direct colonial rule and form of exploitation and took up new form of exploitation – the neo-colonial form basing on the compradors trained by them and comprising indirect rule, exploitation and hegemony in a new style.

There was a unique revolutionary condition in the Indian sub-continent also during this time. There was a powerful movement to release 'Azad Hindu Phouz' prisoners all over the country; the effective anti-imperialist demonstrations of the students; apart from powerful anti-feudal movements in princely states, the Tebhaga

and Bakast movements, the strike of postal and telegraph employees; the great rebellion of the Royal Indian Navy in Bombay and the rebellious trends in Army and Airforce; the rebellion of Bihar police; struggles in solidarity to proletariat, the beginning of the historic peasant armed struggle in Telangana – all these brought the imperialist rule in India almost to an end. In such condition, the Indian comprador big bourgeois class collaborated with the feudal class and betrayed the Indian democratic revolution. The British imperialists made conspiracies depending on Congress and Muslim League leaders who happen to be reliable agents to them, instigated them to religious massacres and divided the country on the basis of religion.

In this background an agreement was made on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947 to transfer power. This happened only after agreements such as the Bombay plan of the imperialist monopoly capitalists and Indian comprador bourgeoisie. In a word, the British imperialists handed over power to their reliable agents, the Congress party and Muslim League that represent the comprador big capitalist and big landlord classes and went back stage. That is the reason the comprador ruling classes did not disrupt the semi-feudal relations in the country. After 1947, our country initially went into the economic and political control of Britain, America and subsequently to Soviet imperialism and again into the hands of America. As a result of the hegemony of various imperialist countries in terms of economy and politics on our country, Indian society transformed into semi-colonial, semi-feudal order in the indirect rule, exploitation and hegemony of several imperialist forces.

Therefore we say that India did not achieve genuine independence on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947, that it is nominal and in essence is fake. Colonial exploitation and oppression changed its form but essence retained. The objective of National democratic revolution and national liberation was not achieved due to the betrayal of the Congress and Muslim League. CPI not only tailed the Congress party but withdrew the great Telangana armed struggle and betrayed revolution.

After 1947, the Indian comprador big bourgeois and landlord classes utilised the state power and minted utmost profits through extreme exploitation and oppression on the people. the comprador big bourgeois class thus transformed into comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois class.

The 1944 Bombay plan and the mixed economy adopted after the transfer of power in fact are in the interests of the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and landlord classes. Public and private sectors were given place in the plan. But in fact the actual intention of the public sector industries is to utilise people's money in a large scale, build heavy iron and steel industries, thermal electric projects, coal, iron mining and heavy dams, to provide opportunities to the



imperialists, comprador bourgeois and landlord classes so as to develop basing on those, depend on the imperialist capital and technology to build them and to provide an opportunity for their exploitation.

For the past 75 years since 1947, several agrarian, industrial, service sector policies, fake reforms, Five Year Plans, green revolution and other such things have been implemented according to the interests of the imperialists and exploitive ruling classes. Later the LPG policies came into implementation. Disinvestment, deindustrialisation and deregulation came to be implemented. In the name of disinvestment public sector enterprises are being handed over to the imperialists and comprador capitalists at dead cheap rates. Thus unorganised sector and private sector became the main trend. Labour exploitation intensified further. The rights that they achieved through struggle are being trampled. Casual contract methods have become the main form for the workers. The ongoing semi-colonial relations are the reason for these difficulties and misery.

During the period of the First Five Year Plan in 1951-56, although land ceiling laws were made in various states, the comprador governments did not implement them properly. The landlords could retain land on benami names. On the other hand land under Coffee, Tea, rubber, fruit plantations, cattle rearing, sugar factories, in lands cultivated through modern methods and lands under temples, churches and masjids were exempted and so land reforms became a farce. They either removed tenant farmers or changed them and saw that legal tenant rights are not implemented. Since land ceiling was imposed on the basis of individual instead of family, landlord families could retain thousands of acres of land. While in 1955, nearly 6.2 crore acres of surplus land was available for distribution, by the end of 1970s, the surplus land declared was 24 lakh acres only. Only half of it was distributed. Thus it is clear that the land reforms have not been implemented towards the direction of structural changes in land ownership.

Although there was a little industrialisation in the name of Five Year Plans, it took place only on semi-feudal base and in the interests of the imperialists and comprador ruling classes. So all this development was distorted and topsy-turvy.

The strategy of green revolution that came to be implemented in the second half of the 1960s was in fact the program of Multi-National Companies of the US. Green revolution was implemented in Punjab, Haryana and other areas of Western Uttar Pradesh and later in one-third of the country in the name of overcoming deficiency of food, with the objective of making it an alternative to the armed peasant rebellions that spread to Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Mushahari, Lakhimpur-Kheri, Debra-Gopivallabhapur, Bheerbhum, Kanksa, Budbud and several areas of 10 states in a spate in the

rural areas and to create a captive market for the products such as agricultural machinery, chemical fertilisers, pesticides and HYV seeds of Multi-National Companies.

The comprador governments mainly provided heavy subsidies, cheap loans and irrigation through dams to the landlords and rich farmers without transforming the land relations fundamentally, distorted capitalist relations developed in the semi-feudal rural economy. 'Green Revolution' only benefited imperialist Multi-National Companies, comprador capitalists, landlords and a section of the rich peasantry. It devastated the poor and middle class farmers and land. Farmers left land in a big way. Growth in productivity, decrease of crop rates, more inequalities between the rich and the poor, rise in unemployment, increase of inequalities between areas, rise in environmental pollution, reduction of land fertility, vulnerability of crops to severe diseases where pesticides also do not help are some of the negative results of 'green revolution'. Finally these pesticides helped for the suicides of the farmers.

Before the implementation of LPG policies, Soviet Social imperialism unleashed hegemony on the public sector economy of India since the end of 1960s in the name of aid. This gradually declined since 1980s. With the growth of public sector in 1970s, the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class also grew utilising it.

In order to fulfil the interests of the imperialists and the interests of Indian comprador ruling classes as a part of it, Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation policies were implemented in the first phase from 1985 to 1991. The second phase is going on since 1991.

Soviet Union fell in intense economic crisis since 1985 and the dependency of India started to decline and so US sponsored New Economic Policies were brought to be implemented in India. In the first phase of LPG, the private corporate sector gained several tax subsidies in the first phase. The properties of comprador big bourgeoisie rose multi-fold.

With the commercialisation of agriculture globalisation started through contract agriculture in the first phase as per the schemes of imperialists and spread to several areas. Corporate companies gained total control on agriculture in contract lands.

Now let us see the second phase of globalisation of semi-colonial, semi-feudal system.

In this phase imperialism created 7 intense crises that devastates the oppressed nationalities and people living on planet earth. They are – economic crisis, employment crisis, environmental-ecological crisis, forcible migration crisis, fuel crisis, socio-cultural crisis, politico-military crisis.

Imperialism took shelter in fascism since it cannot solve these crises. Racism grew all over the world. Fascist parties strengthened. Those came to power in

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several countries. The Hindutva Fascist forces came to power in the leadership of Modi in India as a part of it. As a result of the pro-imperialist, pro-comprador policies of the ruling classes of Modi government dependence and neo-colonial exploitation intensified in our country. Apart from the working class, peasantry and other toiling classes exploitation intensified on small and medium kind capitalists and traders, in order to fulfil the interests of imperialist comprador bureaucratic capitalist, feudal interests. Especially due to the economic, industrial, mining, agricultural, service sector policies taken up as a part of implementation of LPG policies at various times, mainly the total foreign partnership in domestic industries, allowing the control of imperialist MNCs and dependency on foreign technology made the country further dependent. Domestic and foreign corporate enterprises are looting the labour power, products, services and mainly raw materials in export- import dependent industries, especially the outsourcing industries and agri- business companies. Public-Private Partnership is spread and implemented.

During this time, the slavery of comprador governments to imperialism reached its zenith. They are giving total opportunities to loot the land, labour, raw material and other natural resources of the country. They are handing over the economic, political, military and cultural sectors to imperialism. Micro, Small and Medium kind – MSME sector is shrinking day by day. Comprador governments are destroying the independent market of this sector. There is a drastic reduction in the growth rate of this sector. Demonetisation and GST led to the closure of 4,86,291 Micro, Small and Medium kind industries all over the country. Lakhs of workers are becoming unemployed.

Due to LPG policies our country is further getting into the clutches of foreign loans. The bankrupt rule of Modi led the foreign loans in the past eight years to Rs. 135 lakh crores. India is in the 5<sup>th</sup> place among the most loan receiving countries. The share of agriculture and industrial sectors that provide employment to 70 percent of the economy in GDP is going down and that of the service sector that provides employment to a mere 30 percent is rising. The fact that 100 prominent US companies acquired half of the economy of our country is enough to understand the joint onslaught of International monopoly enterprises and domestic comprador bureaucratic bourgeois corporate enterprises. During this period prominent comprador bureaucratic monopoly capitalists such as Mukesh Ambani, Adani, Mittal, Birla, TATA, Ruyiaya, Jindal, Vedanta, Infosys, ESSAR, Anil Ambani, TVS Iyyengar, Thapar, RPG, Bajaj, Mahindra and Pathanjali Ramdev rose heavily.

A new rich class and new forms of exploitation came forth in the country. Vital sectors such as mining, heavy industries and tourism and the utmost profitable tele-

com, power and finance sectors are in the public sector. Therefore plans are aggressively and speedily being implemented to eliminate those and hand over to foreign corporate enterprises. Special incentives and facilities are being provided to privatise each and every sector with a special policy. Public sector enterprises are pushed into losses in a planned manner and are put in the hands of corporate enterprises at dead cheap prices. Rise in high tech machinery, utilisation of technology and outsourcing deprived lakhs of workers and employees of livelihood. Organised sector declined and unorganised sector became the main one. The domestic and foreign corporate companies achieved Rs. 17.5 lakh crores during 2014-18. Imperialists are taking away nearly Rs.47.09 lakh crores from the country every year. It is not possible for a country put to such intensive exploitation to develop.

Due to considerable changes that took place in semi-feudalism during this period, a wide collective form of collaboration of government and non- government 'party-cooperative association-panchayat-police' systems came forth newly in the place of earlier forms of feudal hegemony. Cooperative bank is an important structural form of collaboration of bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism. The cooperative capital of these cooperative banks is the amalgamation of the surplus of investments of imperialists, comprador bureaucratic capitalists and local semi-feudal elements. A new system of local hegemony and exploitation came forth on the base of government properties/funds through these.

According to the statistics of NABARD of 2017, the number of landlords in the rural areas is 5.76 percent. Although the number of landlords came down and also that of extent of big land ownership, feudal hegemony is going on in the economic, social and political sectors. This is a change in form and not in essence. One more important development in the period of globalisation is the acquisition of lakhs of acres of cultivable, forest lands of farmers and tribal people. MNCs, comprador bureaucratic big bourgeoisie, NGOs, religious organisations, stock market brokers and several kinds of mafias are seizing the government lands and the cultivable lands of the farmers. The lands of farmers and forest lands are being allotted to non- agriculture projects. Nearly four crore acres of land had been acquired forcibly by the exploitive comprador governments displacing six and a half crores people in 1951-2010. Compensation and rehabilitation are nominal. The problem of displaced became a main factor in land problem.

On the other hand, Indian market was widely opened for agricultural imports. Investment in agriculture sector reached a worse level. Food security policy had been liquidated. Public distribution system had been weakened. Public sector acquiring policy had been

privatised. Minimum Support Price is not at least two times the expenditure on production of crops. Agricultural goods produced heavily and cheaply with heavy subsidies in imperialist countries are poured into the domestic market. Due to all these and other factors the agrarian sector fell in severe crisis. In one word, due to globalisation, the inequalities between the rich and the poor rose to the highest level.

When compared with capitalist/imperialist countries, crop productivity is very less in our country. There is a constant rise in small land ownership. Production of ordinary crops continues to be the main trend even now. This is an important criterion to semi-feudal relations and backward semi-feudal mode of production. Although there is a rise in wage labour in agriculture and affiliated sectors of agriculture and in the number of agricultural labour and semi-proletariat working on wages, there is a large discrepancy between their wages and those of the modern proletariat in the industries. This change did not lessen the semi-feudal exploitation to the least extent.

Most of the surplus created in agriculture is in the bureaucratic hegemony of banks/cooperative associations, money-lenders, shahukars and various finance enterprises. This is coming in the way of capital accumulation. The condition of capitalist reproduction is seen nowhere. Semi-feudal relations are an obstacle to the development of capitalism from the top to the bottom. Money lending and commercial capital seizes the agricultural products/goods of the farmers but not the process of production. This process is binding the farmers in semi-feudal relations. It controls their labour power and do not transform them into workers. It neither lets them transform into capitalists.

The labour contract between a hegemonic caste landlord and a Dalit landless labourer is semi-feudal in nature. This is at the same time a base for economic and non-economic exploitation and oppression. Brahmanic caste based feudalism and caste-class oppression is yet lively and prevalent in the rural areas. Caste hierarchic system is integral to semi-feudal relations. Most of the people are bound to backward relations of production and this is acting as a chain to the development of forces of production. This is keeping the majority of the people in utter poverty and miserable condition. It is shrinking their purchasing power thus it is limiting the development of domestic market. Suppression, oppression, discrimination, untouchability, social boycott, direct violence, massacres, live burning, sexual atrocities on women, burning of houses, exploitation of properties, destruction on the oppressed Dalit castes and tribal people are yet an ordinary feature.

As a result of the policies the comprador rulers are implementing since transfer of power in 1947 and the globalisation policies implemented since 1991, as a re-

sult of the anti-feudal class struggles that took place in the leadership of our party for the past five decades and the anti-imperialist, anti-government movements, there are considerable changes in the various states/areas where revolutionary movement is going on under the leadership of our Party. Distorted capitalist relations are spreading in production. The earlier landlords shifted their properties and investments to the town areas.

Revolutionary peasant committees/Ryot Coolie Sangams, Revolutionary People's Committees (RPC) are built and consolidated and class struggle is spreading. This led to considerable changes in class composition of the villages. Non-agricultural rural hierarchs were established and land was mainly concentrated in their hands. New methods of exploitation came forth. Due to all these, semi-feudal relations relatively became weak. In the tribal areas where revolutionary movement took place strongly, forest lands and the surplus lands of non-tribal landlords and the bad gentry were seized. There is a stop to the exploitation and oppression of government, forest and revenue departments, money lenders and market traders. Wage labourer system reduced to a large extent. Struggles against imperialists, public-private investment, state and its compradors are rising.

As per the changes in the past seven decades, it is undoubted that Indian economy is not at all capitalist or in the path of transforming capitalist, that there is no such democratic trend in the country and more so, on the contrary semi-feudal relations are relatively weak. Land problem is the main problem and land reforms on the basis of land to the tiller yet bears importance and relevance in the broad rural areas.

Semi-feudalism means although capitalist relations developed at various levels in the womb of feudal system, those did not yet develop into fundamentally independent capitalist relations in a comprehensive level and so this is a system where semi-feudal relations continue. These capitalist relations that developed at various levels are considerable but those are quantitative only. There is no qualitative change in the relations of production. There is no fundamental change in the nature of Indian revolution or in the friendly and enemy classes of revolution. However much capitalist changes took place in Indian semi-colonial, semi-feudal economy bound in imperialist economy, all are in the interest of the imperialists, comprador big bourgeois and feudal classes. There are no chances of a change into an independent capitalist country.

When we observe these changes, it makes it clear that these changes cannot fundamentally affect our ordinary political line and the path of Protracted People's War followed to make success this political line, that our party adopted, basing on the changes in the era of imperialism, especially all over the world in neo-colo-

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nial period and the social changes that took place until the great revolutionary spate of Naxalbari in our country, the document that was enriched in the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress and, moreover those would further complicate the implementation of our path. It, therefore makes it clear that we need to creatively implement our political-military line according to the social changes that took place in the country,, learning lessons from the experiences of social revolution and to adopt our strategic plans so as to fulfil the tasks of our political-military tactics according to these changes. It is possible to defeat the enemy classes by uniting the entire friendly classes and isolating the enemy classes against the common enemies according to these changes.

For this purpose we must destroy the three hills such as the exploitation, oppression and suppression of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and feudal classes that are depressing the Indian people by bringing down the outdated semi-colonial, semi-feudal system in the country to establish New Democratic society with the objective to establish Socialism-Communism by accomplishing the yet incomplete tasks of National democratic revolution in India. The only path for this is New Democratic Revolution with the axle of Agrarian Revolution on the basis of land to the tiller. India can attain liberation from the exploitation of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic comprador big capital only through this revolution.

Depending upon the distinct characteristic features of Revolutionary war in India, military strategy will be Protracted People's War. It means, as Comrade Mao said, establishing revolutionary base areas in the rural area where the enemy is relatively weak and gradually encircle the cities that are forts for enemy forces and then seize them.

We can fulfil national liberation and democratic revolutionary tasks such as seizing land without any compensation to the landlords on the basis of 'land to the tiller' and distribute the lands of the landlords to agricultural labour, poor farmers and lower middle class farmers; to occupy the agricultural estates and plantations of imperialist MNCs, capitalist landlords, comprador bureaucratic capitalists and government institutions; to nationalise revolutionary people's governments; to industrialise the country basing on serial policies on the principle of 'basing on agriculture and keeping the industries in the lead', 'walking on two legs'; encourage and develop cooperative agricultural movement and agricultural cooperative associations; nationalise imperialist enterprises, companies, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois companies and government lands; seize their properties and banks, annul domestic and foreign loans and the unequal agreements; and eradicate unemployment only through New Democratic Revolution.

**Q – Many of the areas in which your Party and the PLGA are active in are very rich in biodiversity and in rare and important plant and wildlife. What is the Party's stance towards conservation in these areas, and on the capitalist-imperialist destruction of the environment more broadly?**

**A –** The areas of the revolutionary movement under the leadership of our party are rich of bio-diversity. There are countless trees, green forests and ever flowing rivers, medicinal herbs, forest animals, various kinds of birds, mammals, insects, rivers, water animals, amphibians, hundreds of fish, dozens of small forest produce available from the forests, various kinds of roots, fruits, bushes and trees that give fruits, thousands of kinds of paddy grains protected in traditional methods, pulses, oil seeds are abundant. There is enormous danger to the valuable, magnificent, unique, balance natural bio-diversity from imperialists, comprador bureaucratic capitalists for a long time. Due to the anti-people, imperialist sponsored policies of the exploitive ruling classes, this bio-diversity and environment are facing destruction. Nature must not be let fall for profits of a few domestic, foreign big exploiters. natural balance must be preserved, environment must be protected and natural wealth and resources must be utilised in a balanced manner to improve human living conditions. Environmental protection and natural balance and improving human living conditions are mutually dependent. We must constantly fight against the destruction of resources by capitalist imperialism. New Democratic Revolution shall form the fundamental basis for permanent solution to this problem.

These are a few examples to show how the imperialist MNCs are destroying the bio-diversity of our country. Dr. Richaria collected more than 22,000 paddy grains and above 1800 leafy vegetables from thousands of farmers from hundreds of villages in Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh and preserved its germplasm in the Indira Gandhi National Agricultural University in Raipur, the capital of the present Chhattisgarh in 1950s and 60s. Out of these, there are those that grow with less water, that give less grass, more grass, spread good smell, that are long, short, that grow in any season and so on. But the germplasm of these paddy grains was stolen by the MNCs of the US and other such countries in collaboration of comprador rulers of our country. The MNCs claim to have developed those grains in the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) in Manila and sell them with names such as IR- 36, IR- 72 to India and other countries. They force the farmers to depend on MNCs for seeds every year.

The actual story behind the preservation of the development of so many thousands of kinds of seeds that

hands over a great historic experience is very interesting. The world must know. The peasantry of Chhattisgarh make a festival called Akti. On that day, all the youth play Kolatam and ask paddy from every house. They sow the crop collected from the whole village in a common land. Naturally new kind of seeds are generated in the process of growth of crop. They collected those crops separately and sowed it. Thus every year seeds with new characteristics emerged in every village. Thus every village developed into an agricultural laboratory and every farmer into an agricultural scientist and so many thousands of paddy seeds developed. Paddy seeds developed in the country and that possess such diversity have been stolen by the MNCs with the support of comprador governments and are owning those. Hundreds of kinds of local paddy seeds, pulses, roots, leafy vegetables, vegetables, fruit seeds and other such are yet available in the interior tribal areas. There is a strong need to protect and preserve them from not going into the hands of corporate companies.

In 1990 also a MNC Syngenta tried to steal the germplasm of various kinds of seeds in collaboration with the management, when a patriot Professor took the initiative to expose the matter. Democrats, Mass Organisations and Trade Unions took up struggles and the attempts were stopped.

With the indiscriminate exploitation of resources by the imperialists and their agents, the comprador bureaucratic capitalists for their profits, lakhs of acres of forests, forest lands and riverine areas are being devastated with the heavy mining projects, mega industrial projects and big dams. Trees, organisms and animals are becoming extinct. Sound, underground, surface water and air pollutions are intensifying. Environmental destruction is going on in a big way. Rich bio-diversity is becoming extinct.

Due to mining in the country, many small rivers and canals apart from the big rivers are being polluted. The waters of these rivers and canals are not feasible for cultivation. The water is polluted to the extent that it cannot be used even for washing, leave alone for drinking. Almost all the rivers flowing from near the mines are being polluted. Water organisms and bird species are becoming extinct. People are suffering from severe ill health apart from various kinds of skin diseases.

Drilling, explosion, goods trains, lorries (trucks) and machines used for the transport of mineral resources in heavy mining and the heavy sounds of the machines cause intense sound pollution. According to an estimate, one tonne of explosive material needs to be used for 5 thousand tonnes of iron. In few places the sound of mine explosion is heard up to a distance of 150 kms. This is causing cracks in the walls of the houses of the people of the towns and villages near coal mines, iron

ore mines, bauxite mines. The firing and shelling from the field firing range of various government forces are causing harm to the ears of the people. sound pollution and explosions are leading to heart diseases, blood pressure, deafness and premature deliveries.

Field firing ranges are arranged near the residential areas. People are being injured due to firing and shelling from this range. Their properties are destroyed. In Jharkhand, people fought and stopped few field firings ranges. Movements are going on against field firing ranges in many states.

The gases that emanate out of the explosions in mining, the poisonous gases from the heavy industries and the pollution from blast furnaces all together are intensifying air pollution day by day.

Capitalist imperialism only squeezes more and more profits from its industries but does not make proper arrangements to see that no accidents occur. Scores and thousands of people lost their lives in the several industrial accidents and in underground coal mines due to sheer negligence. Lakhs of people suffer from severe physical and mental ill health. The example of the accident in Union Carbide, a MNC of the US in Bhopal in 1984 reveals the situation. More than two and a half thousand people lost their lives due to leakage of Methyl Iso Cyanide. Thousands more became ill. Anderson, the MD of the factory who was responsible for such a grave accident was sent in a respectful manner and with heavy security by the government officers to the US by flight. This is the model of slavery of the ruling classes to imperialism.

In 2020 May, 12 people died of a gas leak in LG Polymers, a MNC of South Korea in Visakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh. Hundreds were ill. Thousands of birds became extinct. There are many such examples.

The Indian exploitive governments who saw with their own eyes the fierce accidents that occurred in nuclear projects in Russia and Japan are purchasing the outdated ones from imperialists leading the people to death.

No one can forget the tragic story of the villages that were drowned due to dam on River Narmada. The construction of Polavaram dam on River Godavari drowns 250 villages and lakhs of acres of forest and agricultural lands of four states. This is the case with each and every heavy dam. Ecology, bio-diversity, natural wealth, resources, land and water resources, environment and the livelihood of the people are destroyed due to heavy mining, the construction of dams and industries. Rain water is stored in the layers of mineral resources, especially bauxite mines and flows into streams and rivers slowly all through the year. These streams and rivers are the life line for the tribal and non-tribal people living in the forest areas. The exploration of these minerals leads to a drastic reduction of water level in these rivers and underground. The pollu-

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ted water from the mines and industries and the water from the bathrooms and latrines of these areas into the rivers is polluting the whole river water.

According to an estimate, the production of one ton of iron needs 44 tons of water and one ton of Aluminium needs 1378 tons. We can easily understand how much water is spent on mining and production of minerals and the extent of pollution.

Normally hills-hillocks, forests, especially the high and broad mountain ranges and broad dense forests are an important factor in monsoon. For example the Raoghat hills of Bastar are very much favourable for monsoon rains. Due to mining in this area, the monsoon is negatively affected and the environmentalists say that this shall cause a reduction of rains in not only Bastar but also in South Chhattisgarh and that these hills are very important in environmental balance in the country. Moreover TATA, Adani and the like are very eager to explore these mines. The central and the state governments are preparing the ground in all ways to facilitate the same. Rise in global warming is causing extreme heat for a long time, famines and untimely rains and other such natural calamities. It is estimated

that the sea water levels are going to rise by 27 cms due to global warming.

Electronic goods are more and more produced that are emanating radiation to an extent more than approved. This is leading to unimaginable diseases. People's health is severely disturbed. The MNCs are utilising this situation also to mint profits. They are spreading the health sector and are exploiting the people through super-specialty hospitals. They are looting people's money in the name of various people's health schemes with the support of the exploitive governments.

On the other hand the governments are establishing tourist centres in the interior forest areas. These are the centres of luxury for the rich classes. The culture, traditions, song and dance of the local tribal people is made a commodity in these places. Bad culture is being introduced from other places. The people's democratic culture is affected. Body trade is being encourages. Diseases such as AIDS might spread to interior areas and to all those visiting these tourist centres. So our party is severely opposing the establishment of such tourist centres. Capitalist imperialism is suffocating workers, employees and people to the core. It is putting constant pressure on them and is unleashing intense labour exploitation. It turned human life utmost narrow and is forcing people to visit certain places by week end or month end once in a year. The total situation needs to be changed.

Political leaders, big contractors, timber mafia, mining mafia, forest and police officers collaborate and are smuggling timber in a big way from National Parks, Reserve Parks. The Hasdeo forest and other such ever

green forests are being indiscriminately cut for industrial purposes. Forest animals are being hunted in a big way with the help of forest and police officers.

On the other hand the central and the state governments are chasing the tribal and farmer people in the name of parks, tiger reserves, reserve forests and centers of protection of wild animals. They are trampling the right to life of the tribal people. The anti-development governments and imperialist sponsored NGOs are making ill propaganda that tribal people are a danger for the protection of forest and wild animals. This is absolutely not a fact. In fact, the tribal people living in the forests for generations are the protectors and conservators of the forests, the bio-diversity and environment. Tribal people are the children of forests. They are entangled with the forest. Their life and livelihood are entwined with forest. The forests and forest animals survive due to them and their struggles. But now when they are being displaced, one must thing how to protect the forests, environment and bio-diversity. This is not the problem of tribal people alone. It concerns the existence of the whole human race. Therefore the people of the country and foreign countries need to fight against all the schemes such as the pro-imperialist, pro-comprador bureaucratic capitalists and pro-feudal classes development models, heavy mining, industries and construction of dams that displace tribal people. anyone who cause damage to environment must be chased away from the forest. One must be prepared to retaliate together with the people and armed retaliation with the available weapons. We must develop the same. We call upon the youth to recruit in a big way into PLGA in the areas of revolutionary movement under the leadership of our party and take part in intensify-expand people's war/guerrilla war to all corners of the country and to come forward to join hands with the people.

Imperialists, comprador bureaucratic capitalists and landlords cause severe harm to environment for their profits. They indulge in sound, water an air pollution. The bureaucratic Modi government at the centre recently amended the Acts that provide action on such persons against the interests of the workers, peasants, middle class and tribal people and the country and in the interests of the comprador bureaucratic capitalists and imperialist MNCs. All the amendments to the Environment (Preservation) Act 1986, Water (Pollution prevention and control) Act 1974, Air (pollution prevention, air control) Act 1981 are meant to protect the imperialists, comprador capitalists and landlords in violation of these Acts. These amendments leave capitalists who indulge in environmental, water and air pollution without punishment. There is only a nominal fine. However no capitalist was sent to jail even before the amendments. These Acts provided a basis for people's struggles and the present amendments give indiscrimi-

nate powers to the capitalists. They shall indulge in environmental destruction. Environment shall fall into further crisis. Our party calls upon the people and people's organisations of the country to fight against the pro-capitalist amendments in these Acts.

Our party is committed to preservation of bio-diversity and environment comprised of forests and all kinds of plant species. PLGA, Mass Organisations and RPCs are working together with the people under the leadership of our party for this. They are raising the consciousness of the people. The forest protection department of our people's governments is specially concentrating on this aspect. We come in the way of any public or private scheme that displaces the people and causes harm to environment and bio-diversity. We call upon the environmentalists, biologists, scientists, democrats, civil rights organisations, social organisations and tribal social organisations to come and work with us in this regard. We opine that we need to build strong movements all over the country for protection of environment and bio-diversity and take up struggles in the direction of achieving various demands. On the other hand we wish to say that New Democratic India that would be established by accomplishing New Democratic Revolution in the path of Protracted People's War shall guarantee the protection of forest, environment and bio-diversity.

**Q – Similarly, many of the areas in which your Party and the PLGA are active are rich in natural resources, such as coal and bauxite. These resources are sought-after by large multinational capitalist corporations, who are invited by the fascist old Indian state to steal the resources for themselves, and many people are forced from their homes to give these corporations access to the resources. Can you go into more detail about the practices of imperialism in India, and how the CPI (Maoist) and PLGA resists this imperialism?**

**A –** Our country is not a poor one but it is a country of poor people. There are green forests in our country. There are ever flowing rivers, fertile cultivable lands, invaluable, abundant mineral resources. This apart, there are crores of toiling workers and farmers. Crores of government and private employees, lakhs of educated and intellectual toilers and crores of youth are there in the country. 700 kinds of indigenous, tribal people constitute 8.5 percent of the population. But, majority of the people of the country are suffering from hunger, illiteracy, superstitions, ill health, unemployment, poverty and other such problems. They are fighting in various forms to solve the fundamental livelihood problems and for democratic rights. The natural wealth, resources, the abundant labour power and local technology is not being used in the interests of the people of the country

the initiative and efficiency of the broad masses is not explored but their democratic rights are suppressed in the interests of a few comprador bureaucratic capitalists, landlords and imperialist MNCs.

To be more specific, there are abundant natural wealth and mineral resources not only in the forests and semi-forest areas of the indigenous, tribal and non-tribal people of the country but in the areas of revolutionary movement, i.e., the areas where the Party, PLGA, Mass Organisations and in some areas the RPCs are working such as the states of West Bengal, Odisha, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala, Tamilnadu and Karnataka (Western Ghats). India produces 90 kinds of minerals such as iron, coal, bauxite, mica, manganese, silver, gold, lime stone, granite, Aluminium, copper and cement. Procurement of diamonds is going on as a big trade. India happens to be one of the 5 big producers of important minerals. 25 percent of mineral resources of India are in Jharkhand. 70 percent of the bauxite resources and 28 percent of iron ore resources are in Odisha. Telangana and Andhra Pradesh have coal and bauxite mines. Iron, mica, gold, diamonds, coal, Uranium, bauxite, Corundum, dolomite and cassiterite are abundant in Bastar and Sarguja of Chhattisgarh. There are 9 crores of tons of iron ore in Surjagarh hills of Maharashtra. There are several mineral resources in both the forest and plain areas of almost all the states.

The exploitation of these resources started and spread right from the time of British occupation of India. The British declared their authority on the forests, minerals, land and water resources through various Acts (such as the India Forest Act 1867, Forest Act 1878, Land Acquisition Act 1894, India Forest Act 1927). The loot of natural resources was intense in the phase of industrial capital and finance capital when there was intense exploitation and oppression and cruel political authority. Political suppression too intensified during this time including exploitation of forcible cheap labour. Agricultural policy of the country was changed according to the needs of the market for colonialists and their world market. Large forests were cut for laying Railway lines. British imperialists allowed TATA, Birla and other such comprador big capitalists of the country to establish industries for their war needs during World War I and thus they too joined the loot. They started large scale iron ore and coal mining for iron and steel industries.

India became a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country after transfer of power in 1947 and since then, it had been under the indiscriminate exploitation and oppression of several imperialist countries. The Indian feudal, comprador capitalist classes that seized state power in collaboration with the imperialists have been serving them and are unleashing indiscriminate exploitation and

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oppression. With the change of political power, the Indian comprador capitalist, feudal class changed into comprador bureaucratic capitalist class. Whichever parliamentary parties those belong to, the central and the state governments that represent the exploitive ruling classes of our country are implementing the policies of economy, industry, minerals, agriculture, education and health in favour of imperialist, comprador bureaucratic capitalist and feudal classes. Those are creating infrastructure facilities in favour of them and are following domestic and foreign internal policies. Those are implementing LPG policies in all sectors since 1991.

See these examples! Indian government established National Mineral Development Corporation (NMDC) in 1958 to look after survey of mineral resources, mining, production, sale, exports, establishment of steel industries and other such things. This made an agreement with Japan Steel Mill in 1961 and vacated 22 tribal villages to start iron mines in Bailadilla in Dantewada district of Bastar division in Chhattisgarh state, the present Dandakaranya struggle area. No one was provided rehabilitation. Since production started in 1968, the iron ore from Bailadilla is being looted at a dead cheap rate of Rs. 50 to Rs.400 per ton by Japan, China and Korea imperialists. ESSAR and other comprador bureaucratic capitalist companies are also looting it. You must have been aware that iron ore costs Rs.5600 to Rs.10000 per ton in the world market. Iron ore needed for mini Steel Plants and sponge iron industries is not given at least at the export price to the small and medium kind capitalists of Chhattisgarh. This led to the closure of nearly 150 industries and ten thousand workers are on the streets. The mines are being spread further. There are a lot of such examples.

More than two dozen of goods trains move on the Kirandul- Visakhapatnam Railway line built in the name of 'development' and to provide facility to the people and there is only a single passenger train. What for is the Railway line claimed to be a big engineering feat? The rise in water and air pollution is leading to the danger of ill health and destruction of the people, cattle, forest animals and fish. Presently Dalli-Raoghat-Jagadapur Railway line is being laid in the same name of development. In fact the railway line is meant for shifting of mineral sources from the proposed mines in Rajnandgaon and Bastar divisions of Chhattisgarh and armed forces.

The government allowed the laying of ESSAR pipeline of a comprador capitalist company by reducing Rs.550 per ton to supply iron ore through rail costing only Rs.80 per ton. Iron ore powder is being shifted through pipelines from Bailadilla to Visakhapatnam. Water resources of Bastar are going waste into Bay of Bengal for this shift. This is causing water shortage in

Bastar. ESSAR company used land in a stretch of 20 meters for laying the pipeline at a length of 267 kms but did not pay a single paise for the displaced. It also cut thousands of hectares of forests.

Here is one more example. The government is not supplying the necessary coal produced in Chhattisgarh to the industries of the small and medium kind capitalists of the state. Moreover the Modi government stopped supply of coal since August in the name of coal crisis for the past 6 months. The Chief Minister (of Congress party that is in opposition at the centre) himself appealed in vain. Hundreds of small and medium kind industries are in the danger of closure. Meanwhile in the name of solving coal crisis big comprador capitalists are being supplied with large amounts of coal and on the other is importing coal at high prices from other countries. This is a traitorous, anti-people policy of the government.

There is yet another surprising instance. Government sold a stretch of 23 kms of Sivnadh river that flows through Durg district of Chhattisgarh to Radias Water Limited in 1988. The conditions of the agreement mention the responsibility to purchase water from the company. The company laid fencing on both sides of the river to the extent it took on lease. The people of the scores of villages on both sides of the river are not utilising the river waters and have been deceived. Who gave the authority to the government to sell the natural river and river waters to private companies? It is interesting to know that the farmer people destroyed the fencing declaring their authority on the river.

In Raigarh district of the same state comprador bureaucratic capitalist Jindal built his empire of Steel and electric industries. He displaced ten thousand farmer families from 1990 to 2010 for this purpose. These farmers and the agricultural labourers became migrant labour. Jindal acquired the lands of these villages with the support of the revenue administration of the government. He also seized the pool that the villagers have been using for generations.

The central and the state governments are handing over the public sector industries in the name of disinvestment as a part of the LPG policies at dead cheap prices to the comprador capitalists and MNCs. Bharat Aluminium Company (BALCO) one of the vital public sector industries said to be Indian Navaratnas costing Rs.5000 crores had been handed over to Sterlite company with 50 percent partnership by the then BJP government in the centre in 2003. In addition to it, the mine pot bauxite mines in Ambikapur also were given to Anil Agarwal of Sterlite company. There are lot of such examples from each and every state all over the country.

The exploitation of these resources that began during the rule of Congress party intensified further during the BJP rule. Since 1991 when LPG policies came to



be implemented in a full fledged manner, the central and the state governments are making hundreds and thousands of MoUs with comprador bureaucratic capitalists and imperialist MNCs for the export of minerals, for the construction of heavy industries, for mining of various kinds of minerals and construction of big dams. The central and the various state governments are holding summits with imperialist, comprador capitalist corporate companies and are opening the doors wide for exploitation of resources. Forums are held in various imperialist countries to make such agreements. Since Modi came to power he is further speeding and intensifying the exploitation of these resources in the name of 'Make in India', 'Make in Maharashtra' and 'Make in Gujarat' and such others. These 'Make in' festivals are being held frequently in all the states. Let us see some instances to understand how this game takes place.

According to an estimate, since the transfer of power the central and the state governments displaced 5 crore people in the name of 'development' schemes. In Jharkhand 15 lakh tribal people have been displaced in the past three decades for the construction of industries, mines, dams, roads and railway lines. While 40 percent of them are tribal people, 25 percent are Dalit people. 75 percent of the displaced are not rehabilitated. The rest of the 25 percent have been provided nominal rehabilitation. Similarly, 40 percent of the land acquired from the displaced is of the tribal people. since 2005, we see that Arcelor Mittal, POSCO, Vedanta, Sterlite industries (Vedanta resources), Phelps Dodge, ACC Riontento, CRA, De Beers, Anglo-American exploration, BHP Minerals, Proem Alcon, Norse Hydro, Aston mining, Lloyd company and other such imperialist Steel and Mining corporate companies have been given permission in a big way to take up survey of minerals such as iron, coal, gold, diamonds, bauxite, mica and silver in Jharkhand, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. In addition to these, Indian comprador bureaucratic capitalists and mining corporates such as TATA, Jindal, Birla, ESSAR, Adani, Nouka and other such companies also issued permissions for mining.

This alone gives us the understanding as to how and how much the corporate companies gain super profits. Utkal Alumina Company is going to mint Rs.2,80,000 crores in the coming 25 years at a cost of Rs.4500 crores through mining in 8000 acres.

The governments gave permission to 760 Special Economic Zones (SEZ) all over the country by 30<sup>th</sup> November 2007. The number must have increased by now. Para-military, police forces, goonda gangs and brokers have been deployed to forcibly seize 2 lakh hectares of land from the farmers and tribal people of 20 states for this. Mukesh Ambani displaced 2 lakh 50

thousand people of 35 villages in Navi Mumbai for Reliance SEZ and seized 35 thousand acres of land.

Agricultural lands and forest lands of the farmers and the tribal people of various states of the country are being utmost bureaucratically seized for the sake of industrial corridors, coastal corridors, export zones, ports and other such things and Express highways, Super highways, Airports, Sagarmala, bullet trains-speed trains and entertainment parks necessary for those are being laid as a part of infrastructure.

Modi government gave permission to comprador capitalist Gautam Adani to construct ports, Airports, 900 cold storages and 900 multiplex cinema halls. It gave heavy subsidies to take up mining. The central and the state governments leased two deposits spread over lakhs of acres in Hasdeo Aranda coal mines in Hasdeo forest in Korba, Sarguja and Surajpur districts. People are making intense struggles against the cutting of forest by Adani under the banner of 'Hasdeo Jungle Bachao' committee. Valuable teak and other trees, animals and floral species are on the verge of extinction.

In Odisha, the central and the state governments together issued 97 thousand hectares of lands on 600 mining leases. But the fact that 46 percent of families in Odisha are living below the poverty line tells us that the profits out of mining are going to corporate companies, political leaders and higher officials and no one else.

The farmers of Jagatsingpur have been putting down the attempts of the government to displace 22 thousand farmers to acquire 4 thousand acres of land for the Steel Plant of a MNC POSCO of South Korea. Vedanta Sterlite Company is making severe attempts to explore bauxite from Niyamgiri hills costing the identity of the Kuvvi tribal people. for the purpose it deployed Para-military forces in the area and expanded carpet security. The tribal peasantry is daringly facing this. Bauxite mining and industries of domestic and foreign corporate companies such as Vedanta Resources, Vedanta Aluminium, Sterlite India, Odisha Mining Corporation, South-West Odisha Mining Corporation, Hindalco, Birla group, Utkal Aluminium Industry Limited (UAIL), ALCAN of Canada and NALCO in Koraput, Bolangir, Kalahandi and Raigarh districts. Thousands of tribal people of primitive tribes of Kasi-pur, Gopalpur, Gandamardhan, Jajpur, Kalinganagar, Jagatsingpur, Keonjhar and Serengdaga were displaced. The process is still going on.

In the name of nuclear electric industries, thermal electric industries, bauxite mining, industrial, coastal and oil corridors that are utmost dangerous to the survival of the people, natural wealth and the wealth on sea coast is being handed over to the MNCs and comprador capitalists like Adani. Several projects such as Polavaram and Kavvala Tiger zone, Singareni Open cast coal mines and other such several projects are laid in Telangana displacing the tribal people.

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Attempts are going on to seize Lakhs of acres of crop lands and forest lands of the tribal people by the Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra governments with the support of the armed forces to implement the agreements with MNCs and comprador capitalists. There are iron ore, quartz, quarries, Silica cell, China clay, Limestone, White clay and Uranium are abundant in the forests and hills on the border of Rajnandgaon, Kanker and Balod districts. Although the people have been firmly facing these mining activities under the leadership of the party, ITBP, BSF camps have been set up in scores of numbers and few of these projects are being run under constant attacks on the people. with the weakening of the people's movements, mining is going on in Ahladi, Barbaspur, Ari Dongri, Mahamaya, Pallemadi, Chargaon and other mines.

While the various mines in Chhattisgarh have been given to TATA, Jindal, ESSAR, Adani and NECCO Companies on lease the mines in Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra have been given for lease to TATA, ESSAR, Arcelor Mittal, Jindal Steel, Vedanta, Lloyd, Rio-tento, De Beers, BHP Bili tin and other corporate companies.

As we see the exploitive governments are handing over the natural wealth and mineral resources of the country to imperialist MNCs and domestic comprador bureaucratic capitalist companies. Thus lakhs of hectares of crop lands and forest lands are going into the hands of the domestic and foreign corporate companies. Tribal communities such as the Mariah, Koya, Halba, Dhurva, Batra, Koyatur, Koyagal, Korga, Rajgond, Gond, Lohar, Kotadval, Koyyal, Kolam, Pradha, Thoti, Nayakpod, Kondareddy, Kondadora, Bhagatu, Savara, Jatabu, Kuvvi, Kotwal, Koliya, Koyamali, Chenchu, Korval, Koma, Kolha, Kol, Dharu, Kondi, Kondh, Dongaria, Sabara, Komundal, Keriya, Hora, Hokya, Koltal, Kotia, Bil, Bilal, Juvang, Santhal, Munda, Uraov and Ho and non-tribal communities such as Gando, Gasiya, Harara, Marr, Panara, Panka, Pradha, Yadav living in the forests traditionally are going to lose their survival, identity and self-respect. Their language, culture and life style are going to become extinct.

One important aspect needs to be brought to your notice. On one hand agreements are being made to hand over the wealth and natural resources of the country to the imperialists and comprador capitalists and on the other several draconian new Acts have been being made to suppress the movements that arose and are going on against the implementation of these agreements. 'UAPA' and NIA have been provided with more powers and the old draconian Acts have been amended. The Chhattisgarh state government brought forth the Chhattisgarh Special People's Security Act in 2005 itself. Since then thousands were arrested under the Act.

People, especially tribal people of all the states and these areas of the revolutionary movement are fighting

relentlessly against the exploitation of these resources. Tribal people are fighting daringly for their right to 'jal-jungle-zameen' (water-forest-land) for their right to live, for their existence, identity and self-respect. Party, PLGA and RPCs are standing in support of the struggling people. party is directly and indirectly leading these people's struggles. It is guiding those struggles. In some places, people themselves are getting down to struggles inspired by the party, PLGA and RPCs and under the influence of the class struggle and people's war under the leadership of those. Lakhs of people of the country are participating in these people's struggles. Earlier Salva Judum, Sendra and other repressive campaigns and later Operation Green Hunt in order to eliminate the leadership of these struggles and suppress them, thus facilitate the way for the exploitation of resources and labour, market control and political hegemony. Moreover the campaigns are also intended to total elimination of the RPCs that are the organs of people's state power that emerged as the ray of hope for the Party, PLGA and the oppressed people of India and the revolutionary movement on the whole. Presently 'SAMADHAN' strategic multipronged offensive is going on in the utmost intensive level. As a part of it carpet security is strengthened and expanded. Corporatisation-Militarisation is going on in an intense and speedy manner in Chhattisgarh-Maharashtra (Dandakaranya), Bihar-Jharkhand, Odisha, Telangana, AOB, Maharashtra-Madhya Pradesh-Chhattisgarh (MMC), Western Ghats. The exploitive ruling classes are laying roads, bridges, pipelines, railway lines on war footing to facilitate the movement of armed forces and to exploit the resources at dead cheap rates, in the name of infrastructure.

People understood that these police camps, roads, bridges and railway lines are only to displace them from their water-forest-land, to eliminate their survival, to loot their resources and to eliminate the RPCs that they fought for a long time and established and are fighting with dare and determination against those. The struggle of the Silinger tribal people of Bastar that is going on militantly for the past 15 months stands in the forefront as an icon of these struggles. Tribal people have been holding indefinite dharna against the new police camps being set up in Parasnadh hill area of Jharkhand, in cut off area of Andhra Odisha border area, in Vechaghat, Gompad, Singaram, Burji, Pusnar, Vechapal, Poosuguppa, Gondod, Gornam and other places of Dandakaranya. State is making brutal attacks on them. Lathi-charge, tear gas, illegal arrests, firing, sabotage and mortar shelling have become an ordinary feature. People are continuing their struggles denying government repression and encountering the government Paramilitary and police forces. They are obstructing mining. PLGA retaliation is adding to these struggles. The sup-

port of the students-youth, tribal and non-tribal people, intellectuals, prominent democrats at various levels is instilling self-confidence and firm determination in these struggles. Thus these people's struggles, people's retaliation and people's war are taken up in coordination and to stop the implementation of the agreements of the governments with corporate companies.

Party and the people stopped the mining in Raoghat that was initiated in the 1990s. TATA had to withdraw its plan to set up a Steel Plant in ten thousand acres of tribal land in Lohandiguda due to the 10 year long people's resistance. ESSAR Steel plant planned in 4 thousand acres of land of Dhurli, Bhansi and Kamalur villages also had to be withdrawn due to people's resistance. The construction of Bodhghat mega dam planned on River Indravati is yet pending. People and PLGA under the leadership of the party are coming in the way of many such mining projects.

Heroic people of Singur of West Bung fought back the plan to construct a Nano car industry by TATA through their struggle. People of Nandigram of the same state chased away a MNC Salem group of Indonesia through their struggle. People of Salbani of West Bung stopped the expansion of Jindal industries through the historic Lalgarh struggle.

Kuvvi tribal people chased Anil Agarwal the owner of Sterlite Vedanta industries from Niyamgiri of Odisha. Comprador rulers indulged in police firing on 2<sup>nd</sup> January 2006 on the militant demonstration of 15 thousand people of 15 villages against the construction of TATA Steel plant of Kalinganagar and helped for its construction. However the Odiya people are against POSCO in Jagatsingpur. People, intellectuals and artists of Odisha, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana are together fighting against bauxite mining in Visakha, Mali and Devamali hills and Uranium mining in Nallamala mountains.

13 people were murdered and above 100 were injured in brutal firing to suppress the people's struggle going on in a militant manner against the proposed Sterlite Company in Toothukudi of Tamilnadu. People of Western Ghats are against mining of iron ore mining. The people of Gadchiroli are fighting against mining in Surjagarh, Damkodivahi and Korchi in Maharashtra.

Tribal people of Amdai, Tulad, Taralmetta, Pittodmetta/Nandaraj hill of Bastar are making a relentless struggle against mining.

The central government decided to establish a military base in the name of training centre of the Military in Maad area that happens to be the residence of Mariah tribe one of the ancient tribe in a place called 'Abuzmaarh' of Narayanpur district in Bastar division. The earlier BJP government of Chhattisgarh made an agreement to hand over one-fourth of Marh to Indian Army. There are several mineral resources in Marh. This is

one of the big strategic areas of the country. The Indian government deployed thousands of Indian Army forces from 2011 to 2013 in Marh and trained them in jungle warfare. The Indian government temporarily stopped the deployment of the Army with the severe protest movement of the people of Dandakaranya, democratic intellectuals, human rights and social organisations of the country.

Large amount of forest land of the states of revolutionary movement is transferred for National Parks, centres for conservation of wild animals, tigers, leopards, reserves of bisons, tourist centers and field firing ranges for which hundreds of villages are turned into a graveyard. Thousands of families and lakhs of people are being displaced. People are opposing all these attempts.

Tribal people achieved certain rights in the form of Acts through struggles going on for decades. Few rights have been given to the tribal people in the Indian Constitution. In fact these Acts, rights are never totally implemented. But they have been a base to formulate demands for struggle. Few of the Acts possessing such pro-people aspects are the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution, the 1996 PESA, the rights of Gram Sabhas, Forest Lands identity Act 2006, Forest Conservation Act 2013. Various state governments formulated various Acts in the respective times banning the purchase or seizure of tribal lands in areas of Fifth Schedule. PESA, Forest lands identity Act 2006, Forest Conservation Act 2013 clearly mentioned that the lands of tribal people must not be seized by the central and the state governments for the sake of any kind of development plan, industries, mines and dams without the permission of Gram Sabhas.

India signed the paper of statement of rights of tribal people issued by the UNO General Assembly on 13<sup>th</sup> September 2007. Section 30 of the paper clearly said that no military actions should be taken up on the lands of the tribal people without their consent and permission.

However, until date, none of the lands allotted and leased to the comprador capitalists and imperialist MNCs and also the lands allotted for the central and state government projects had been given the permission of the Gram Sabhas. All those have been issued by the governments in the name of permission of fake Gram Sabhas without the knowledge of the concerned people. permission of Gram Sabhas was not asked for the camps of the police, Para-military and Army forces set up in our struggle areas. People are fighting to implement these rights, to lift all the camps established without the permission of the Gram Sabhas and to not construct any projects without the permission of the Gram Sabhas. The 'Pathalgarhi' struggle that started in Jharkhand and North Chhattisgarh with the slogan 'our

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village our government' spread to Madhya Pradesh, Odisha and South Chhattisgarh on the borders.

Now the fascist Modi government trampled the rights of the tribal people through issuing Forest Conservation Ordinance on 24<sup>th</sup> June 2022. This is a gross violation of tribal people's rights, the Constitution and tramples the same. Through the ordinance the central government can allot the lands of tribal farmers and the forest lands to the domestic and foreign corporate companies and for public-private projects without the permission of the Gram Sabhas and the land owners. The party has the important task to expand, unite, consolidate these people's struggles against the anti-people, anti-tribal fascist policies and Acts of the government and take them forward towards the direction of forming an anti-imperialist, anti-comprador bureaucratic capitalist, anti-feudal people's struggle front all over the country and to mould them in the direction of intensifying and expanding people's war.

In fact, the struggles against displacement, the Paramilitary and Special police camps are entwined with the problem of land and existence. All these are anti-imperialist, anti-comprador bureaucratic, anti-feudal struggles. These struggles have to be linked with People's War-Guerrilla War and intensified and expanded.

All what the exploitive ruling classes are doing in the name of development is nothing but their intense exploitation and not the development of the people. It is nothing but an anti-development and traitorous model to indiscriminately loot the resources of the people that devastates them, destructs the environment and puts the country in debt. It is the model that utilises the natural wealth and resources not for the entire people and the country but for the imperialists and comprador exploitive ruling classes. We need to oppose and fight back this model of development. The genuine model of development shall be to conserve the resources, develop them, protect environment, utilise them in a discriminate manner for the needs of all the people and the country and for the future generations. The New Democratic state power that is built by destroying the state power of imperialism and comprador exploitive ruling classes through Protracted People's War in the leadership of the proletarian party alone shall implement the genuine model of development. Only then we can achieve genuine all round development of the people. Only thus we can control the indiscriminate exploitation of the resources and preserve them. These attempts began and are continuing in the leadership of the organs of people's state power under the leadership of the party in the areas of struggle in a primary level.

**Q – One major problem facing the International Communist Movement is the problem of revisionism. Revisionism comes in many forms:**

**Trotskyism, Khrushchevism, Electoralism and Dengism are just a few. How large of a problem is revisionism in India, which parties would you judge to be revisionist in nature, and how does the CPI (Maoist) combat revisionism in India?**

**A –** Yes. As you said revisionism is one big problem that the International Communist Movement is facing. Since Marxism came into being as the theoretical weapon of the proletariat, it came forth in various forms in the name of Marxism itself. It is still coming forth and shall do so in future also. The danger of revisionism shall arise until the success of the World Socialist Revolution and also until Communism is established. Whichever form it arises, its theoretical origins lie in bourgeois/petty bourgeois ideology. The interests of the revisionists harm the interests of the proletariat and the toilers and help those of the bourgeoisie. Thus revisionist practice does not help to destroy the capitalist-anti-development classes and to prepare for armed revolution or lead it but to the existence and status quo of the present society. As long as these exist between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie during revolution and after it, it manifests in various forms in the proletarian party also as a conflict. We must enlighten the Party ranks politically and develop the political consciousness of the people that as long as communists are needed for the society the danger of revisionism exists in various forms. We have to unite and strengthen the party fighting against revisionism. We need to take up several cultural revolutions to transform Socialist democracy into a great force under the proletarian dictatorship in the country/countries where political power is seized, with appropriate line and policies.

Marx-Engels formulated the proletarian revolutionary theory of Marxism. Since then while on one hand the bourgeois theories attack Marxism, on the other hand, there are many in history who claimed themselves to be Marxists and distorted it in various forms and opposed its essence.

By the end of the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Marxism defeated all the bourgeois, petty bourgeois opportunist trends in the International Communist Movement and achieved a stable place as the scientific theory of the international proletariat. Marx-Engels made a fierce struggle against these trends for nearly half a century and defeated them.

After capitalism transformed into monopoly capitalism-imperialism, in the process of creative application of the fundamental principles of Marxism to the concrete practice of Russian revolution and world proletarian revolution, in the process of making a theoretical, political struggle against the various kinds of revisionists such as Bernstein, Narodniks, Economists, Mensheviks, legal Marxists, liquidators, Kautsky, Trotsky and dogmatic Marxists such as Plekhanov, Lenin pre-

served the proletarian science of Marxism, enriched it and enriched it to a new and higher stage. Thus it developed into Marxism-Leninism. Lenin considered revisionists as the agents of imperialism hidden in the ranks of proletarian movement. He criticised and fought against them.

Comrade Stalin preserved and developed Marxism-Leninism through the struggle against the Trotskyites, Zinovinists, Bukharinists, bourgeois agents and various kinds of opportunism hidden in the Soviet Communist party.

The Communist Party of China under the leadership of Comrade Mao made ten internal struggles against left, right and opportunist trends in the process of Chinese Revolution and defeated them. It accomplished New Democratic Revolution and built Socialism. Thus it showed a path for a change in the semi-colonial, semi-feudal systems in Asia, Africa and Latin America and to the New Democratic Revolutions and Socialist Revolutions in those countries. It developed the path of Protracted People's War. In the process, as a part of the struggle in the international plane against international revisionism, it fought against imperialist agent Tito and revisionists such as Togliatti and Thorez and preserved Marxism-Leninism and developed it.

It led the international theoretical struggle against Khrushchev's modern revisionism through the Great Debate in the leadership of Comrade Mao. Great Debate helped the genuine proletarian revolutionary forces fighting against revisionism to form new Marxist-Leninist parties on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles all over the world and facilitated the path to advance. During this period, Comrade Mao led a two line struggle against the main centre of the modern revisionists of the capitalist roaders in the leadership of the diehard revisionist Li Shao-chi. Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was taken up in the leadership of Comrade Mao in the CPC against modern revisionism. GPCR helped as a catalyst to sensitise the theoretical, political struggle against revisionism in various Communist Parties in the international plane. Lin Piao who stood in the forefront together with Mao in GPCR spoke leftist jargon in the veil of Mao Thought and brought forth the revisionist line in no time and tried to seize power in a traitorous manner. He proved to be a conspirator. After the demise of Comrade Mao, the Hua-Deng modern revisionist clique led a counter revolutionary conspiracy, seized power and restored Chinese capitalism in the place of Socialism and bureaucratic capitalism in the place of Socialist state. After Russia, revisionism gained hegemony in China in the condition of which the Communist Parties of several countries of the world degenerated into right opportunist parties and revisionist parties. Revolutionary movements of few countries also came to an end.

The modern revisionist line of Deng caused extreme harm to the revolutionary communist movement in our country also. Especially the CPI (ML) Liberation in the leadership of Vinod Misra turned Dengist and degenerated into a revisionist party. The DV group (one of the groups in the earlier UCCRI ML) is a Dengist revisionist splinter group. Our party and several Maoist parties and forces of the world took up the historic lessons of GPCR, and condemned the modern revisionism of Deng with the utmost powerful weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. These parties are also fighting back the various forms of revision that came forth due to the influence of Deng including the revisionism in the veil of Maoism and all shades of revisionism. CPI (ML) People's War, one of the two revolutionary streams of the united CPI (Maoist) commented wrongly about the second world in regard to the three world theory for some time. Anyhow it soon rectified its mistake.

Later the CPN (M) brought forth 'Prachanda path' in the leadership of Prachanda-Bhattarai traitorous clique. RCP (US) in the leadership of Bob Avakian brought forth another modern revisionist theory Avakianism. Several Maoist parties and forces including our party opposed and theoretically exposed these two trends.

We need to specially expose the China Social-imperialism that is the China revisionism and fake Socialism that came forth with the fake slogan of 'Socialism with Chinese characteristics'. Modern revisionist parties in power in the name of Communist parties in Vietnam, Cuba and North Korea and the modern revisionist parties that do not hold high the proletarian international flag in their country and internationally, that do not implement Socialism, that do not strive for the success of World Socialist Revolution shall not be genuine Communist parties. They help to continue the capitalist systems as opportunist parties. We must expose the opportunism of these parties. Thus we must develop the revolutionary consciousness and alertness of the people of the world. Our party program declared the correct Marxist position about proletarian internationalism and the relations between the countries.

Coming to our country, our party was formed from amidst the theoretical, political struggle against revisionism and neo-revisionism. Later it countered right-opportunist, left adventurist and many kinds of opportunism and revisionism that arise inside and outside the party, fought against those trends inside and outside the party and reached the present state.

After the success of Great October Revolution in Russia in the leadership of the great Marxist teacher Lenin in 1917, Marxist-Leninist theory became popular in our country. Communist Party of India (CPI) was formed in 1925 under the influence of the theory-revolution and as a result of the heroic militant class struggles of the proletariat against British imperialism. Al-

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though there were numerous opportunities, due to the wrong line followed by the party leadership at the time, it could not play the leading role in the national liberation-democratic movement. Communist party always denied to recognise the actual class nature of the Gandhian, bourgeois, feudal leadership. Therefore it failed in adopting the genuine path of revolution, in bearing revolutionary initiative and in fighting with the leadership. Therefore it wrongly understood the comprador bourgeois class as national bourgeois class, tailed Gandhian leadership and were unwilling to adopt genuine strategy-tactics to combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete practice of Indian Revolution. The leadership made grave mistakes in analysing the classes in Indian society. It failed severely in identifying with the heroic broad masses, especially the peasantry. It rejected to learn from the successfully advancing China Revolution in the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the CPC and to creatively apply the path of PPW that it adopted and its great experiences to the concrete conditions of our country.

It did not take up the path of armed struggle for seizure of political power in national liberation movement. By the time the objective revolutionary situation in India is very favourable. But the right opportunist leadership of the Communist Party was always unwilling to take up the correct path of PPW for armed national liberation and democracy. In fact the leadership of the Communist Party helped the bourgeois class to divert the anti-imperialist militant movement of the people. It entered into an opportunist alliance with the Congress, was not independent in the United Front, felt that everything is possible through unity and took the revolutionary people as a tail to the Gandhian leadership. Moreover, the Communist party leadership betrayed the great Telangana peasant armed struggle and fell neck deep into the mire of parliamentarism and revisionism in the deceptive name of utilising parliament. In fact the objective condition was unprecedentedly favourable to advance Agrarian Revolution and it had the path of great PPW and the success of China revolution showed by Comrade Mao. But they acted otherwise. However, heroic ranks of the communist party joined hands with the struggling people and led several revolutionary struggles. Thousands of comrades laid down their valuable lives to achieve the great cause of accomplishing NDR in India as a part of the World Socialist Revolution.

Genuine revolutionary forces representing the revolutionary ranks in India fought against the wrong right opportunist, revisionist lines of the leadership that was leading CPI, against its backstabs and later on with the modern revisionist CPI (M). this struggle attained total new dimensions in the end of 1950s and in the 60s. The Great Debate taken up under the leadership of the CPC in the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung against the Soviet modern revisionism of the leadership of

Khrushchev stood as the symbol of this new beginning. Just like how the Great Debate intensified and led to the GPCR that shook the earth, the struggle against the modern revisionist CPI

(M) leadership further intensified and reached the state of divorcing the party. The beginning of GPCR stood as a milestone for this process. In the direct influence of this process, the forces that represented the struggle against initially the CPI revisionism and later the modern revisionism of CPI

(M) leadership supported Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought (now Maoism) theoretically and more importantly in their revolutionary practice and internalised it. Thus Comrade CM, Comrade KC and the great leaders of the first rank and Maoist forces came on to the stage in a large number to condemn the program of the 7<sup>th</sup> Congress of CPI (M) as revisionism. The great Naxalbari rebellion that took place in 1967 May under the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar became the opening for 'Spring Thunder in India'. Since then, the history of Communist movement in our country took a new qualitative turn. It not only greatly exposed revisionism and permanently divorced from it but, for the first time, stood as the symbol for conscious application of the bright path of seizure of political power through PPW, the path of MLM and that Comrade Mao already put forth.

Thus Marxism-Leninism-Maoism stood as a line of theoretical political demarcation between the revisionists and genuine revolutionaries of India. Naxalbari inspired armed peasant struggles at various levels in nearly ten states of the country. In the process genuine revolutionaries organised as two main revolutionary streams in 1969 – the CPI (ML) and the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC). The 8<sup>th</sup> Congress of CPI (ML) was held in 1970. However, due to the left tactics that the party followed at that time, the right and left alien trends internally and due to the brutal offensive of the enemy all over the country, the movement temporarily setback. Within a short while after the 8<sup>th</sup> Congress revolutionary disrupter Satyanarayana Singh attacked Comrade CM with his right opportunist line in 1971 and split the party. West Bengal police arrested Comrade CM on 28<sup>th</sup> July 1972 and murdered him in police custody. Most of the leadership in the Central Committee and the various State Committees of the CPI (ML) and ranks of the party either became martyrs, were arrested or scattered. With lack of a centre of the party it became organisationally very weak. There was theoretical confusion. CPI (ML) split several times. Many parties/groups were formed. The central level leaders and the respective state leadership left without being arrested worked with the theory and politics as per their understanding. During this time several strong trends of right and left adventurism came forth. In the

later period on one hand there were attempts of unity of genuine communist revolutionaries and on the other once again splits and formation of new groups.

Although the movement temporarily setback, the revolutionary movement gradually gained strength and advanced amidst several ups and downs, learning lessons from earlier experiences and daringly facing enemy repression making enormous sacrifices in the leadership of the CPI (ML) and MCC. Both these Maoist revolutionary streams made determined fight against the various kinds of opportunism inside and outside the revolutionary all over the country, based on the correct path of revolution and continued the legacy of all the revolutionary aspects of the Indian Communist movement.

On the other hand the two main revolutionary streams united the genuine revolutionaries working as separate parties/groups, sections and as individuals and ultimately merged into the CPI (Maoist) on 21<sup>st</sup> September 2004 as a single centre of Indian proletarian vanguard. This attained utmost importance in the history of Indian Revolution. With the merger of CPI (ML) Naxalbari with the CPI (Maoist) on 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2014, the unity of various revolutionaries of India as revolutionary parties and groups is complete.

Now let me tell you the stand of our party towards the various left parties in India in the present conditions.

The main theoretical task of the party today is to theoretically face and defeat the post-modern trends, especially the revisionist trends. If our party does not fight against revisionism theoretically and politically, it would be impossible to accomplish NDR in the country. Various revisionists are trying to divert the advanced sections from the path of revolution. They are trying to divert the revolutionary people into parliamentary, legal and peaceful paths, with their post-modernist revisionist ideologies.

When the left alliance of the CPI and the CPI (M) in power in Kerala and Bengal, the ruling class parties in the centre and the states that formed the government with their support followed imperialist dictated, pro-comprador ruling class policies. Especially when the CPI (M) was in power in West Bengal, TATA, Birla, Ambani, Jindal and other comprador bureaucratic capitalists of the country and MNCs like Salem were given the lands of the farmers at dead cheap prices by forcibly acquiring them. These social fascists deployed police and Para-military forces on the people's struggles and unleashed severe repression. They indulged in fake encounters and massacres. Murders, atrocities, loot, house burning, arrests, tortures and corruption were normal. In Kerala where it is presently in power also, the government is implementing pro-imperialist policies and handing over the natural resources at dead cheap price. It is suppressing our party, people and workers

opposing their policies under iron heel. They prove through their anti-people suppressive policies that they are nothing less than the BJP and Congress in serving imperialism.

Presently CPI and CPM and the ruling class (including the regional ruling class) parties have a considerable influence on large sections of the Indian organised working class. Especially the majority of workers and employee organisations of public sector industries, banks, insurance companies, coal and iron mines and other such sectors are under the leadership or influence of these parties. They are in the way of building a militant working class movement in India. The Trade Unions of these two parties are confined to give call for General strike one or two times a year. In the present conditions where the onslaught of international Finance Capital is intensifying day by day and the central and the state governments are trampling the rights that the workers achieved through struggle for decades, conditions are favourable to build a strong workers' movement. But the two parties are a hurdle for the same. At times they murmur about privatisation of public sector enterprises, Foreign Direct Investment in the retail sector, retrenchment of workers and casual-contract labour system, in practice they act as agents supporting these polices. Our party exposes their class collaborationist politics. Our weakness in urban-working class sectors is confining the development of People's War. Our Party needs to advance in the direction of building a strong revolutionary Trade Union movement.

The Central Committee of our party called upon all the left parties and forces for united struggles against the state repression unleashed by the exploitive rulers on the oppressed people, the attacks of the Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist forces, against displacement and other such people's problems. In some states our Mass Organisations are taking part together with the Mass Organisations of CPI.

Now I wish to tell you about the various opportunist parties in the veil of MLM.

CPI (ML) Liberation and CPI (ML) Red Star follow right opportunist path in the veil of MLM. These parties left armed struggle, uphold parliamentarism and help the bourgeois parties and revisionist parties such as the CPI, CPM and SUCI. CPI (ML) Liberation took up the revisionist path of Deng in early 1980s and left armed revolution. These parties make heinous, cruel ill propaganda that our party is violent. We need to expose the real character of these two parties much more among the people.

Some Trotskyites working in the working class make ill propaganda that India turned to be a capitalist country, that PPW is outdated and that CPI (Maoist) is a terrorist organisation. They are not at all concerned with rural India and are not even taking up the working class struggles in a militant manner. They allege the PPW and

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the CPI (Maoist) that is leading it and join the ruling classes in propaganda.

Apart from these there are few more ML parties that follow right opportunist line. All these parties propagate MLM theoretically and politically. They mobilise the people in their areas of work on economic problems and political problems in legal methods. Their people's struggles are never militant. These parties are open organisations. They show reasons like revolutionary conditions is yet not matured, that the people are not yet ready for armed struggle, that there is no spate of revolution in the country or that they are making preparations for revolution and confine themselves to legal, partial struggles and postpone People's war indefinitely. CP Reddy, Satyanarayana Singh led two or three groups (New Democracy, Janashakti and others) have armed squads in undivided Andhra Pradesh. Anyway, they utilised the squads only to collect funds from the contractors, for votes and to maintain the hegemony of their groups but not to make armed struggle. As per their understanding taking up military formations to make people's war is left adventurism. Almost all these parties got into the mire of elections in the name of tactics. Forces of the erstwhile UCCRI-ML factions are seen here and there in the country but they are not building class struggle anywhere in the country. They do not exist anywhere except in Punjab.

Our party had been making a severe theoretical, political struggle with CPI, CPM, and also Liberation, Red Star, New Democracy, Janashakti, Lin Piao group and other ML groups. At times we even had physical conflicts with New Democracy, Janashakti and Liberation groups. Subsequently we overcame this physical confrontation through mutual discussion and at times through unilateral ceasefire from our side. We are making political, theoretical struggle against the right opportunist line of these parties and making efforts to form broad United Forums together with their Mass Organisations and other organisations on the economic and political problems of the broad oppressed people, especially of the farmers, workers, middle classes, against the Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist forces, against the repression of the exploitive governments, against displacement and for civil rights. We are working together in such forms. We are ready to work together in future. We need to make more initiative to work together with all the forces that are ready to fight against the Indian exploitive ruling classes, against their anti-people, traitorous fascist policies and in the interests of National Democratic Revolution and for building United forums.

We are aware that there are activists in the lower level in the various right ML parties who work with an aspiration for revolution and dedicated to the people. Depending on the development of People's War in the country they might think of the genuine path of revolu-

tion. We hope they would break the chains of revisionist, post-modernist, right opportunist and left adventurist ideologies and unite with genuine revolutionary communists. We also wish they would travel in this direction.

On the whole, we can advance the revolutionary movement towards success only by making a theoretical fight against revisionism in various forms, exposing the real nature of the bankrupt leadership and defeating it. Our party developed only by exposing and defeating the right and left opportunism through theoretical, political struggle inside and outside the party since the Naxalbari Spring Thunder until date. Our party could sustain amidst the ebb and flows and develop only through making efforts to the best of its strength with a proper Marxist stand in the theoretical struggle in the International Communist camp. Therefore the Program and Constitution and the Political Resolution of our party wrote clearly about the importance of the struggle against revisionism. Although we faced betrayal, blows and temporary defeats from the revisionists in the veil of the Communist Party who represented the bourgeois class even in the theoretical sector not only in practice but until establishing Communism through the process of Socialism by destroying world capitalist system, ultimately we shall defeat them in the theoretical sector and all the sectors and definitely achieve success. This is what we tell always not only in our party but also in the revolutionary camp and to the people. This is what we tell even at the international plane.

**Q – There are some, including some who view themselves as “communists”, who hold a defeatist attitude towards the people's war in India, and some proclaim it has no hope of victory. Could you explain to our readers why we should be hopeful and optimistic in our view of the people's war in India, and, despite setbacks, what advances and gains the Communist Party of India (Maoist) and PLGA have made in recent times?**

**A –** Yes. You are correct. Some individuals including those who claim themselves to be 'Communists' have a defeatist attitude towards People War in India. Some else lack confidence in its victory. They lack the primary Marxist understanding that imperialism and the semi-colonial, semi-feudal system of India that slaves it is in decline and the People's War going on in India as a part of Socialism and World Socialist Revolution is the sprouts. It is because they lack dialectical historical materialist perspective towards the rules of social development. They did not understand the rules of social development. They analyse and understand the conditions in metaphysical manner. They see only the problems, difficult conditions and losses of the revolutionary movement in the present conditions. They thing



that the present situation of balance of forces between the enemies and the people as permanent and unchangeable. They do not consider the opportunities to strengthen leaning valuable lessons from the objective revolutionary condition, the weaknesses of the enemy, the contradictions between the enemy classes and the practice of revolutionary forces. They lack confidence in the nature of the present imperialist-revolutionary era and the revolutionary nature of people. They do not understand or deny to understand the ongoing and future changes in the balance of forces with the enemy through conscious revolutionary efforts of the revolutionary forces and revolutionary party, through taking up tactics in a planned manner according to conditions and by overcoming the blows and setbacks. They do not confide in the people the genuine makers of history, on the utmost progressive, scientific theory of MLM (the present Marxism) and even on themselves. They thing the enemies of the broad masses and their strength invincible. Such persons bring forth defeatism. You clearly know that defeatist attitudes are seen not only in our country and party but in several countries and parties of the world.

We are totally confident in the success of People's War in India. MLM is our guiding theory. It is the utmost progressive, revolutionary, dynamic and scientific theory among all the theories existing until date. It is the theory of the utmost advanced class, the proletariat. It is the utmost magnificent theoretical weapon in the hands of the oppressed people of the society. People's War shall definitely achieve success through organising the oppressed classes, sections and nationalities in the light of this theory, through leading them and continuing class struggle-people war. We absolutely believe that people are the makers of history and they shall attain the final victory. We are making class struggle-people's war with total confidence on our theory, people and future. We thoroughly know our friends and foes. We see the enemy strategically as a paper tiger and tactically as a real tiger and are making PPW.

Marxism says that the contradiction between the forces of production and relations of production is the origin of social change. Indian socio-economic system is presently semi-colonial, semi-feudal. The comprador bureaucratic capitalist class and feudal class collaborated with the imperialists and are continuing as the exploitive ruling classes. The imperialist has indirect rule, exploitation and control on our country. The Indian state that represents the exploitive ruling classes is unleashing exploitation, oppression and repression on the workers, farmers, petty bourgeois, national bourgeois classes, special social sections such as Dalits, tribal people, religious minorities, women, LGBT, the oppressed nationalities of Kashmir and the North East and others. All the policies of these governments in political, economic, industrial, agricultural, service, defence cultural

and environment sectors are anti-people and traitorous. Those are in the interests of a few comprador bureaucratic capitalists, landlords and imperialists. therefore the broad oppressed masses shall definitely fight and are fighting against these exploitive ruling classes. This is the basis, the source and also the guarantee of the success of People's War.

Ours is a broad country where there is economic, social and cultural unequal development. We are relatively weak. Our enemy is strong. The revolutionary movement is at present in the stage of strategic self-defence. It is also going on with unequal development. It is yet to spread to all the areas and sectors. Enemy is trying his best to eliminate us before we strengthen. Our enemy is not only the old Indian state. The world capitalist imperialism in support to it too. We face the challenges that the Russian revolution faced at the time when there was no Socialist camp anywhere in the world. However, there are Maoist parties and forces fighting for the success of revolutions in several countries all over the world. We have their support. When we fight with a strong enemy we have ups and downs and advance and retreat. We take up the challenges, spread to all the areas and sectors of the country, enhance the mass base and shall fight courageously and with dare. We shall achieve success. People are invincible. They are the decisive factor. If we organise the oppressed people the majority people shall definitely bring down the few exploiters. We are absolutely confident in the historic truth that there is defeat-success-defeat and ultimately success. Capitalist imperialism is not permanent on this earth. In the process of development of human society, ultimately a society without exploitation and oppression, Communism shall be established.

The present international and domestic conditions are very favourable to advance the revolutionary movement. The three fundamental contradictions are sharpening day by day. The four fundamental contradiction in the country are also intensifying. These are creating favourable objective conditions for revolutions. In the recent times and especially since the Hindutva Fascist forces in the leadership of Modi came to power at the centre and in the majority states, they have been implementing LPG policies that fulfil the interests of imperialists and Indian comprador ruling classes very aggressively. The farmers of the country made a prolonged, historic, militant struggle for one year in Delhi against the anti-farmer, traitorous three agrarian acts that forced Modi to withdraw those Acts temporarily. These Acts were brought forth in the name of 'Atmanirbhar' as a part of the conspiracy to transform the country dependent on imperialists for food material. Apart from the Shaheenbagh struggle of Delhi against CAA, the ongoing people's struggles against police camps, roads, displacement, construction of devastating mega projects and state fascist repression in Chhattisgarh,

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Odisha, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Jharkhand, Bihar, Keralam, Punjab and Maharashtra, workers, teachers, employees, students, unemployed, oppressed social sections and others are making struggles all over the country. These reveal favourable conditions for revolution in the country.

The central and the state governments are trying to suppress the movements in fascist methods. Especially as a part of building Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist neo-colonial India in the name of New India the Modi government is making constant attacks on religious minorities, especially the Muslims, Dalits, tribal people and democrats. It is making many kinds of attacks on their religious customs and food habits and are trying to make draconian Acts to justify their acts. It lifted Article 370 and Section 35A and dissolved autonomy to Kashmir. It made an Act annulling triple talaq, building Ram Mandir in Ayodhya, suppressing the questioning voices, foisting conspiracy cases and putting in jails and unleashing the 'SAMADHAN' multipronged offensive to suppress the revolutionary movement in the utmost fascist methods are all part of it. But the vast oppressed people and democrats understand the conspiracies of the RSS and the BJP at the centre and are raising their voices and are organising against it.

Now, let us briefly see the condition of the ongoing People's War in the leadership of our Party, the Party, PLGA and Revolutionary people's organs.

After Naxalbari our movement setback in a short time. There was despair and disappointment. But we reviewed the movement, learnt lessons from the mistakes and weaknesses, overcame and gradually stepped forward. Since the end of 1970s, two revolutionary streams, the CPI (ML) and MCC started work in small areas of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and other states, gradually learnt and developed. In the process we faced left, right and various kinds of revisionism inside and outside the party. We strengthened and expanded into all sectors. We formed PLGA, organs of state power and various forums of United Front under the leadership of the Party. The process of unity of genuine revolutionaries took place during this time. The two main revolutionary streams of India, the CPI (ML) (People's War) and the Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCCI) merged on 21<sup>st</sup> September 2004 and the CPI (Maoist) emerged. Thus we developed into a detachment of international proletariat and as a vanguard from a single centre that leads New Democratic Revolution in India. Subsequently we successfully held the Unity Congress- Ninth Congress of the party in 2007 January. The Congress adopted the enriched basic documents and few policy papers. We formulated the central, main tasks and other important tasks. We consolidated the leadership through election.

After the Congress our practice continued in the direction of achieving other tasks including the central

main task of seizure of state power through armed struggle. In 2005, various state governments unleashed Salwa Judum, Sendra and other such repressive campaigns with the support and in the guidance of the centre in a bid to suppress our movement. We defeated Salwa Judum and other campaigns by the end of 2008 through the heroic political and military struggles of the three forces of PLGA namely the main, secondary and base forces, Revolutionary people's organs, revolutionary people, progressive and democratic intellectuals and social activists in the leadership of our party. Later the central and the state governments together started the countrywide strategic multipronged offensive Operation Green Hunt since 2009. We faced this offensive making enormous sacrifices until 2017. We did not allow the objective of Operation Green Hunt to be fulfilled. Then the enemy is unleashing another multipronged strategic 'SAMADHAN' offensive since 2017 May. PLGA, Revolutionary Mass Organisations and revolutionary people are making heroic guerrilla war against the Special Police, the Para-military, Commando forces possessing the support of power, economic wealth, modern weapons and heavy training and the Indian Army forces being secretly deployed in the veil of these forces. On the whole, to put it briefly, the revolutionary movement that went on in the leadership of our party in India from the end of 1970s to 2011 was in the stage of advancement. Thousands of martyrs shed their blood for this advancement. During this time the party stepped forward to a little extent in the direction of achieving the other tasks including the central task. It gained several utmost valuable and new experiences in political, military, United Front and Cultural sectors.

Our party had been making efforts to enlighten the people with the politics of New Democratic Revolution as the alternative to the fake parliamentary system and the state of the exploitive classes, organising them, taking up class struggles, developing its subjective strength and build People's Army. By taking up People's War-Guerilla War in a planned manner, it destroyed the state power of the comprador exploitive ruling classes and built, developed and expanded the guerrilla bases. These guerrilla bases contributed to further consolidate and expand the movement and to advance the People's War. We built these guerrilla bases in Dandakaranya (DK), Bihar- Jharkhand (BJ), Andhra-Odisha Border (AOB), Telangana, West Bengal and some parts of Odisha state. We established RPC as the organ of state power at the village, area and division levels depending on the balance of forces of the movement. These are holding the New Democratic state power. These people's governments are exploring the abundant initiative hidden in the people and are making efforts to develop agricultural production through collective labour; to advance toward achieving economic development and self-sufficiency; to develop

New Democratic culture; and to support the Party, PLGA, Revolutionary people's organs, people's struggles and People's War.

However, certain severe shortcomings, weaknesses and limitations came up in the process of development of the Party, People's Army and United Forums that are the three magnificent weapons that guarantee the success of revolution since 2012. Due to the shortcomings and limitations in adopting and implementing tactics according to the changes in the relations of production owing to imperialist globalisation policies and in the conditions of war, due to the lack of enough bolshevisation of the party, PLGA and people's organs and due to the constant counter-revolutionary offensive on the party and the revolutionary movement, of the Indian comprador ruling classes in the dictates of the imperialists, there were big losses in this period. Various bureaus, sub-committees and departments were affected. Scores of central and state leaders were arrested since 2005 and the party faced a severe loss. 21 members of the CC were arrested after the Congress. Seven became martyrs in fake encounters, encounter and 13 CCMs out of ill health. The losses were mainly in the urban and plain areas. In this condition the party is not able to utilise the favourable atmosphere all over the country. We have to view the difficult conditions, problems and challenges of the party in this background. However, when compared with the time of Naxalbari, although there is improvement in the party and revolutionary movement in all the sectors, we could not protect the revolutionary leadership and the subjective forces in the severe enemy offensive and thus this situation arose. The 6<sup>th</sup> (contd.) meeting of the CC adopted tactics, direction of general practice and strategic plan. It made the necessary changes in the immediate, main and central tasks basing on the facts in the light of MLM. The party needs to make efforts with a firm determination accordingly.

In the recent times, we have been achieving certain successes in theoretical, political, organisational, military and cultural sectors. Let us look into them in brief.

The CC took up certain concrete and important tasks in theoretical and political sectors in its 6<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> (contd.) meetings. It adopted a document 'Changes in Relations of Production in India-Our Political Program'. It 'answered' the unreal, immature discussion that the relations of production in India turned to be capitalist and affirmed that the Indian social, economic system is yet semi-colonial, semi-feudal. However, it also said, that as a result of the policies of the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic capitalists and feudal classes there are considerable distorted capitalist changes and formulated the Political program and tactics. It formulated and released a document 'Nationality Question in India- Our Party's stand'. It made the necessary changes and additions in the documents on Caste Question

in India-our perspective and China-a new social-imperialist country and re-released those. It prepared and released the Central Political and Organisational Review from the Unity-Ninth Congress of the party held in 2007 until 2020. In the changed conditions and the present background of the movement it changed the central task thus – 'Let us work with the objective to develop Dandakaranya and Bihar-Jharkhand, East Bihar- North East Jharkhand into base areas. Let us intensify anti-imperialist, anti-comprador bureaucratic capitalist, anti-feudal class struggles in all the areas of the movement in the country'. It made the necessary changes in the immediate tasks in the political, organisational, military, United Front and urban sectors in accordance to the main central task.

The CC released a document on the understanding of the party on the formation of an International organisation in its meeting in 2017. It released circulars and letters on the political conditions and enemy offensive on various occasions. It could thus take the perspective and understanding on various aspects up to the cadres. It became easy to adopt the necessary tactics to take up people's struggles on people's problems in the light of these documents.

As a part of consolidation campaign of the party we held plenums of various Special Areas/Special Zones/States. We adopted Political and Organisational Reviews of the movements in the respective places. We assessed the conditions of the movement and adopted tasks. We elected new members into the leadership committees and consolidated them. We also successfully took up a campaign of party membership in some states and developed the primary membership of the party. We consolidated party cells and GPC.

We held four revolutionary days of international prominence in 2017- 18 such as the – Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Fiftieth Anniversary of Naxalbari Armed Peasant struggle, Centenary of Russian October Revolution and the 200<sup>th</sup> birth Anniversary of the great Marxist teacher Karl Marx with revolutionary enthusiasm. In certain areas, basing on the syllabus released by the CC for political education of the party cadres in 2019, subjects for study were selected in view of the concrete conditions in the respective areas and political training imparted at all level. Apart from study we also took up bolshevisation and field training in certain areas. In some other areas we took up struggle against non-proletarian trends in the party and PLGA.

In the military sector, depending on the mass base in the various guerrilla zones and red resistance areas, PLGA forces took up Tactical Counter Offensive Campaigns and retaliation programs in the leadership of the party and countered the 'SAMADHAN'-Prahar offensive. In the Eastern region, resistance was taken up under the name 'GHAMASAN'. The TCOC and retaliation campaigns were successful in a few places and

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partially successful in some others. In some places they failed.

In 2020, PLGA made 99 guerrilla actions on the whole. The ambush in Vimpa was a big one. PLGA eliminated four soldiers of the Indian Army secretly deployed in the cover of Police, Para-military and Commando forces apart from a few of these forces in this ambush. This is a new and higher experience. PLGA made 350 guerrilla actions all over the country from 2020 December to 2021 September. It wiped out 66 personnel and injured 85 of the police, Para-military and Commando forces. It seized 15 modern weapons, thousands of ammunition and other war equipment from the enemy forces. The ambush in Jeeragudem and Kadiyanar are the big actions and the rest were of small and medium kind. The PLGA forces retaliated the police, Para-military and Commando forces in more than 65 encounters in this period.

We need to make a special mention of the political and military importance of Jeeragudem ambush. PLGA divided the enemy forces that were in Battalion number (above 750 in number) and eliminated a platoon number

(28) forces, eliminated them and injured another 31 in another platoon. The ambush gave a stiff resistance to the Prahar decisive attack that went on from 2020 October to 2021 June. It could temporarily stop the enemy plan. It instilled confidence among the revolutionary people, party and PLGA that we could defeat the 'SAMADHAN'-Prahar offensive. If such Maoist style of struggle is implemented in all the guerrilla bases and red resistance areas, we can defeat 'SAMADHAN' offensive.

PLGA forces implemented defence tactics and escaped safely from the heavy drone attacks made by the police, Para-military, Commando and Army and Airforce on the camps of PLGA in the area of struggle in Dandakaranya in the midnight of 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of April 2022. There was large scale protest to the drone attacks in the country and the world.

In 2022, PLGA forces eliminated four Jharkhand Jaguar policemen in TCOC and retaliatory actions in Bihar-Jharkhand, East Bihar-North East Jharkhand Special Areas and injured some more in retaliation to the 'SAMADHAN'-Prahar offensive of the enemy.

In Andhra-Odisha Border area PLGA injured four policemen amidst persistent combing and attacks by the enemy.

In the past one year PLGA forces eliminated 14 Para-military, Commando and Special police in guerrilla actions of the PLGA forces in various guerrilla areas. It injured 54 Para-military, Commando and Special police, seized 7 AK-47 Rifles and ammunition from them.

In some areas of struggle people's militia took up guerrilla actions

independently and seized weapons from the enemy.

PLGA forces made deliberate ambushes, opportunity ambushes, sniper actions, booby traps, remote actions, sabotage actions, seizure of enemy supplies, elimination of informers, elimination of counter revolutionaries, elimination of people's enemies, attacked the police camps with shelling/grenades and other tactics in TCOC and retaliatory actions in order to defeat the counter-revolutionary 'SAMADHAN'-Prahar offensive. The guerrilla war of PLGA played an important role in protecting the guerrilla bases and RPCs.

We imparted political and military training to the PLGA forces. We celebrated the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of PLGA yearlong from 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2020 to 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2021.

By taking up people's struggles and people's wars with coordination we could temporarily stop mining, industrial projects, mega dams and tourist centers.

In some areas of struggle we recruited youth into PLGA in the recruitment campaign. We have been taking up these campaigns every year.

Coming to United Front, as a part of consolidation of Mass Organisations and RPCs representative election meetings and Conferences of Revolutionary mass organisations were held at various levels. New leadership committees were elected. People celebrate revolutionary days and protest days every year in the leadership of the Party, PLGA and the Mass Organisations on 26<sup>th</sup> January, 15<sup>th</sup> August, the great Bhoomkal struggle day on 10<sup>th</sup> February, International Working women's day on 8<sup>th</sup> March, anti-imperialist day on 23<sup>rd</sup> March, May Day, martyrs' week from 28<sup>th</sup> July to 3<sup>rd</sup> August, foundation day anniversary week from 21<sup>st</sup> September to 27<sup>th</sup>, Russian October Revolution Day on 7<sup>th</sup> November, PLGA foundation day from 2<sup>nd</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> December and other such. On this 23<sup>rd</sup> March, the anti-imperialist day we held meetings and programs upholding the martyrdom of Comrades Bhagatsingh, Rajguru and Sukhdev, opposing the aggression of Russia on Ukraine and the war frenzy US, EU and NATO and greeting New People's Army of Philippines on its 53<sup>rd</sup> Anniversary. We are opposing the Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist forces penetrating into the struggle areas through people's struggles, retaliation and guerrilla actions. We are taking up propaganda and retaliatory programs against the attacks and massacres of Dalit and tribal people. several anti-Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist struggles are going on in various forms all over the country from the local to the central level.

Anti-imperialist, anti-comprador bureaucratic capitalist, anti-feudal class struggles are expanding and intensifying all over the areas of the movement. People are making militant fight against new police camps in Bijapur, Dantewada, Sukma, Narayanpur and Kanker districts of Dandakaranya for the past years. Especially the struggle against the Silinger police camp in Bijapur district going on for the past 15 months is attracting

the people, especially the indigenous people of the country and the world. In Andhra-Odisha Border Special Zonal Area, people are occupying coffee plantations and subsequently cultivating them in the leadership of the village committees. In Telangana people are fighting against the 'Haritaharam' scheme of the government that displaces the tribal people from Telangana, against the anti-people policies that chase away the tribal people from the podu lands and against Government Order (GO) Number-3 that reduces the importance to tribal people in jobs in the tribal areas. PLGA forces mobilised the people widely and destroyed the properties of comprador bureaucratic capitalists and the government worth crores of rupees as a part of coming in the way of mining and infrastructure projects necessary for mining in Surjagarh and Amdai and other hills.

Thousands of people held militant movements carrying their traditional weapons such as axes, knives, sickles and bow and arrows against the proposed police camps in Tesaphooli, Parvatpur, Dholkatta, Banpura, Pandedih in the Tarayi area of Parasnath mountain range in Jharkhand. They destroyed the police vehicles. They burnt them. Tribal peasant struggles are going on in Dandakaranya, Jharkhand, AOB and Odisha against the camps of police, Para-military and Commando forces, against roads and culverts, police atrocities, fake encounter, massacres, atrocities on women and displacement. Lakhs of people are participating in these struggles. We called for a campaign to preserve peoples' health against Corona pandemic and combined it with anti-imperialist, anti-comprador bureaucratic capitalist, anti-feudal class struggle. Our doctor teams served the people with treatment. We took up people's struggles with demands such as free vaccination, treatment, free ration to those who lost livelihood and to provide job facilities.

On the occasion we convey revolutionary greetings and revolutionary thanks to the ICSPWI and various revolutionary parties who have been taking up solidarity movements in support to the People's War in India at the international plane for the past one and a half decades. You are aware that the International Action Day against the counter-revolutionary, strategic 'SAMADHAN' offensive and Prahar offensive as per the call of ICSPWI. The propaganda and agitation activities that took place in a wide level regarding 10<sup>th</sup> February, 23<sup>rd</sup> March and 13<sup>th</sup> September were because of the initiative in the International Communist Movement.

One of the successes the Party achieved was to enlighten women, half of the sky, developing their efficiencies in political, organisational, military, cultural and other sectors. Presently there are nearly 50 percent women in PLGA in almost all the areas.

Party paid much attention to develop the revolution-

nary, democratic cultural sector. This sector helped to develop revolutionary, democratic values among the oppressed classes, oppressed social sections and oppressed nationalities.

One more important issue is the struggles of political prisoners in jails and the development of struggles of ordinary prisoners with their support.

On the whole, we see that efforts are going on to expand-intensify class struggle-guerrilla war (People's War) all over the country. efforts are going on to organise the Party, PLGA and United Front. We are gaining new experiences politically, organisationally, militarily and technically. The combination of positive experiences in this effort shall undoubtedly help to defeat the counter-revolutionary 'SAMADHAN'-Prahar offensive and to advance the Indian Revolutionary movement.

However, we have the unfavourable factors and challenges created by the enemy. Protecting successes is one important factor. We are aware that there shall be more difficulties, tests and losses in future. However, we will learn from mistakes, develop our subjective strength and efficiency, win most of the people, friendly forces and organisations on to our side, adopt tactics to educate the party and the people, develop the understanding and culture not to be depressed with losses and feel great of successes, utilise these experiences on the basis of successes and victories achieved until now, utilise the present revolutionary conditions and shall definitely advance from the present state of the movement. Therefore optimistic perspective and confidence are necessary towards the success of Indian People's War.

**Q – One group of people who have been persecuted by the old Indian state are the queer community, such as lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgenders. What is the stance of the CPI (Maoist) on the movement for LGBT rights in India, and on the persecution of LGBT people by the Indian fascist state?**

**A –** our party understands and analyses the LGBT issue also with Marxist (MLM) understanding. True liberation of the LGBT community from gender oppression and discrimination is obtained only through eradicating class oppression and constant theoretical, political, social, economic, cultural and medical efforts to bring about a change in the perspective of the people. only then they can have a condition to live equal to others and gain respect.

Our party recognises the special problems and rights of the LGBT just as it does of the human, civil rights and all the rights of the oppressed classes, special social sections and all the oppressed nationalities, like it supports their struggles for rights and like it sup-

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ports the struggles of those being exploited and oppressed by the old (reactionary) Indian state. They are born with certain physical characteristics and physically and mentally special (genetic) characteristics. But they are part of the humankind. We oppose the oppression and discrimination of the Indian state that represents the capitalists and landlords and acts as comprador to the imperialists. It respects their right to life as Indian citizens, their primary rights equal to all the citizens and the right to have all rights including particular/special rights concerning concrete problem.

The party provides them partnership in education, medicine, residence, employment, administration and political sectors in the future Indian New Democratic state. It will provide economic and social security, and a healthy social and cultural atmosphere. It guarantees free medicine and introduces pro-people medical system that can provide good health. Thus they can live with the recognition they need or wish, confirm their gender and have the opportunity to have physical and mental treatments, free medicine and a healthy, respectful, scientific life. It also trains the society so that they have an equal and respectful attitude towards them.

It supports the movements going on for their rights in the present stage. It opposes the sexual violence, exploitation, oppression, discrimination and sexual opportunism towards the LGBT community. The LGBT community must not lose any opportunities. They must be provided all the opportunities so as they can utilise all their strength and efficiencies for the society.

In the present stage, the movement going on for the rights of LGBT in India segregated from the social reality of class struggle and is under the influence of individual centered, bourgeois, post-modernist ideology. The movement must overcome it. This movement must become part of all the movements that are working to destroy the Indian state that represents the semi-colonial, semi-feudal socio-economic system and is unleashing fascist repression and cruel exploitation on all the oppressed classes of the country, apart from the LGBT community. The LGBT community also must unite with all the oppressed classes against the three enemy classes namely imperialists, Indian comprador bureaucratic capitalist and feudal classes that are unleashing exploitation, oppression, suppression and discrimination.

Imperialism, ruling classes and their Indian state are indiscriminately utilising the LGBT community to make the society inactive. They are encouraging the porn industry as a part of cashing on the discrimination towards the LGBT community, their poverty and unemployment. It is encouraging sexual anarchy among the people, especially the youth. Our party opposes it severely. Indian New Democratic state bans porn industry.

In one aspect regarding LGBT – the Party opposes and discourages the attitude if a person living a normal

life with the recognition of a woman or a man or anything else (third gender) and on the other continues an unnatural relation and enters into physical relations with many persons in an anarchic manner.

When the concerned individuals lack scientific understanding towards the genetic related extremities by nature and the causative physical particularities related to gender, the attitude towards such issues and individuals will become unnatural, doubtful, disrespectful and shameful. In such conditions the concerned persons face discrimination not only from the society but also from the families and relatives. Then they will be pushed to the situation of living as a separate community. Socialist state provides scientific understanding to all the people of the society. It develops an ordinary understanding so as to accept it as a natural thing.

One section is being attracted towards unnatural physical relations under the influence of distorted culture, sexual anarchy, porn literature and cinema and other such things that imperialism is supporting. The Socialist state works to establish healthy, mutual respectful human relations in the society through destroying capitalist imperialism, outdated rotten culture and through spreading democratic, socialist culture.

**Q – Lastly, I would like to ask you about the situation of revolutionary political prisoners in India. Can you tell our readers more about this situation?**

**A –** The methods and ways that the state adopts to suppress the people's movements, the ongoing revolutionary movement, anti-displacement movements, workers' and farmers' movement, those of the students and youth, government employees, oppressed social sections, fisherfolk, unemployed, tribal and religious minority peoples, struggles for human rights, women, handicapped, pensioners and prisoners are multipronged. Two of them are important. One is to eliminate the people's leadership and activists fighting in brutal and fascist methods utilising armed forces. The second is to illegally arrest and imprison them. Armed forces, courts, jails and the Constitution that provides the base for these are the important and vital ones in stabilising and protecting the authority of outdated exploitive ruling classes, unleashing persistent exploitation, oppression and anti-people policies. It is an ordinary feature of class society in class society to eliminate those who counter the state through armed forces, arrest and imprison them, punish them through courts, isolate them from people's life and destroy their strength and efficiency.

The condition of revolutionary political prisoners in India is becoming miserable day by day. The Indian state had been very inhuman and brutal since a long time, especially since the beginning of the rule of Brah-

manic Hindutva Fascist BJP towards all the democratic movements, struggling organisations and also towards the revolutionary political prisoners. Apart from them it is antagonistic towards the religious minorities, activists of Dalit movements, human rights activists, revolutionary, progressive, democratic, secular student-youth, teachers, patriots, intellectuals, poets, artists, writers, lawyers, journalists, scientists, various social activists, activists of worker and farmer's organisations, activists of anti-displacement movements and the activists of movements of nationalities such as Kashmir, Naga, Manipur, Asom and Bodo. State follows several illegal methods to suppress anyone who question the anti-people, anti-country, traitorous policies of the governments that represent the reactionary exploitive ruling classes and when not possible to do so, put them behind the bars. It is grossly violating, fascising and saffronizing its own Constitution. It is foisting cases, conspiracy cases indiscriminately and is making arrests. Maoist prisoners in West Bengal and Kerala prisons fought for the right to be recognised as political prisoners and achieved it. But, the Indian comprador ruling class did not recognise the political prisoners languishing in jail all over the country. It is because of its repressive policies.

It is nothing new for the old Indian state to imprison the questioning voices and those who oppose behind bars. It inherited this legacy from the British. Indian state is not only discriminate socially, economically and politically but also constitutionally also towards caste, class and gender. This is continuing in the central and all the state governments. It is implemented towards the political prisoners also.

The world is aware that the Modi government in the centre stuffed the leaders and activists of political parties of the main stream and the local parties in Kashmir in jail and then annulled the special autonomy to Kashmir. Modi had been unleashing fascism and emergency for the past 9 years more than that during the rule of Indira Gandhi. Thousands of Muslims and Dalit people are behind the bars.

It had become a normal feature to make constant check-ups utilising cruel intelligence agencies such as the NIA with fascist UAPA in its hands; placing illegal equipment in the houses and creating fake documents that they seized them; inducing convenient software such as Pegasus into computers from outside to foist conspiracy cases; and amending UAPA with further cruel regulations. You are aware that a team of IT experts of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (US) revealed this in the foisted case of Bhima Koregaon.

This is the state that pushed 85 year old Father Stan Swamy, a tribal rights activist in the Bhima Koregaon case by denying him a straw in a condition where he cannot drink water and disallowing the minimum medical facilities. Except for revolutionary poet Varvara Rao

who is severely ill and in old age and social activist Sudha Bharadwaj given conditional bail or almost house arrest kind of stringent conditions, the rest are languishing in the prison for more than four years. 90 percent disabled Comrade Saibaba who was a lecturer in English in the Ramlal Anand College of Delhi University is denied minimum facilities such as wheel chair.

61 year old Comrade Narmada, member of the Secretariat of the Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee of our Party and leader of Dandakaranya women's movement was arrested in 2019 when she was undergoing treatment for higher stages of cancer. She was put in Bombay prison and denied treatment. Finally she had to wait for her death in a hospice. Her partner Comrade Kiran was also in prison in the city but was not allowed to meet her in her last minutes. Although the court permitted, the jail authorities deliberately let him see only after her death.

Senior members of the CC Comrade Barun, Comrade Tapas, Comrade Vijay, Comrade Chintan became martyrs within a short time of their release since they were denied of proper conveniences during their prolonged imprisonment. Comrades Sumit (Amitab Bagchi) and Asutosh, members of CC are in the jail for the past more than a decade. Polit Bureau member, 76 year old Comrade Kishanda of Naxalbari generation is suffering from 5 kinds of chronic diseases. He is being denied proper treatment and they want to murder him inside the jail. Comrade Sheela arrested along with him as she was going for treatment for four kinds of chronic diseases was also foisted with wrong cases and imprisoned. Comrade Vijay (BG Krishnamurthy), the Secretary of Western Ghats Special Zonal Committee, senior citizen, CCM Comrade Kanchan (Arun Kumar Bhattacharya), CCM Comrade Jaspal (Vijay Kumar Arya) are facing imprisonments and tortures. 71 year old Comrade Kanchanda is suffering from several chronic diseases but denied of treatment. All the comrades are holding aloft the Red Flag in prisons.

Thousands of party leaders, cadres and comrades of local organisations of various levels are in jail under trial for a long time. Fake evidences were created on them and they are imposed prolonged punishments, life and hanging. 10 comrades were imposed hanging and three with life imprisonment by the Jehanabad district court in Sinari case in Bihar. Mercy petition in hanging for four comrades in the Bara case is pending in the President's office for the past 2 years. Finally the President issued orders that they have to stay in jail as long as they live. Munger district court imposed death sentence to five tribal farmer activists. In Jharkhand, a member of the East Bihar-North East Jharkhand Special Area Committee Comrade Praveer was imposed death sentence by the Dumka district court. All this is the continuation of the illegal and conspiratorial hanging of revolutionary peasant guerrilla activists Bhoo-

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mayya and Kishtagoud during the criminal period of emergency imposed by Indira Gandhi. This is the continuation of hanging warriors like Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev by the British colonialists a few decades after this.

The police are indiscriminately arresting children, old women, pregnant and patients of our areas of struggle and show to have surrendered. Those who do not surrender are being murdered in fake encounters. Many are foisted with false cases and imprisoned. They are in jail for years together without trial and are living in a pathetic condition. They are deprived of any kind of medical help in jails. The conditions are inhuman. The inhuman conditions create trauma. All these are leading to the death of a few. Such incidents are not being informed to their families. The courts are forced to release many persons because they could not obtain fake evidences after investigation of years together. The families of those languishing in jail for a long time are suffering from economic problems. Family members are mentally depressed and some are suffering from mental ill health. Children's lives are disturbed. Some families are scattered.

This is a fresh example. Police and Para-military forces went on combing to Burkapal village of South Bastar division of Dandakaranya when PLGA ambushed them. 25 CRPF personnel lost their lives and 31 were injured. PLGA seized 24 automatic weapons from them. Later police and Para-military forces made attacks on the villages surrounding Burkapal and arrested 122 tribal farmers. They were foisted with false cases and sent to jail. One of them fell severely ill and breathed his last in prison. After 5 years and 3 months 121 people including a woman were recently found not guilty and released by the local court. The extent of foisting wrong cases indiscriminately is clear from the fact that even wrong evidences were not available. TV channels showed the pathetic condition of the 122 families. The Central and the state governments arrested hundreds of farmers during the year long historic peasant struggle. Although the governments agreed to release them with the agreement with Samyukta Kisan Morcha, many of them are still in jail.

The condition of Indian jails is very pathetic. Prisoners and under trial prisoners are suffering from many difficulties. The jail manual is very old. This is a duplicate of the jail manual prepared by the British in 1894. The Hindutva fascist Modi government is involved in transforming it much bureaucratically in legal forms. Meanwhile the prisoners and under trial prisoners are not provided the facilities even as per the jail manual. The jails are stuffed with prisoners more in numbers than during the British period. For example, while the capacity of Chhattisgarh jails is 6070, there are more than 16,000. They are given low quality of rice, oil, pulses and vegetables and that too not as per the quo-

ta. The eatables are normally rotten. Soaps, pastes, clothes and under clothes are inadequate. Many prisoners do not have a chance to obtain them from their families. The lives of poor prisoners are much more miserable. They are made to work hard with nominal daily wages. The women prisoners are in a much more miserable condition. There is patriarchal suppression. CC TV cameras have become a normal feature in all the jails in the name of protection. Women prisoners lack privacy. Since the rule of BJP and Sangh Parivar, non-vegetarian food, eggs and other nutritious food is not being given. Jail authorities indulge in limitless corruption and atrocities. Coupon system is going on in the jails in Bihar, Jharkhand and others. In tribal areas, prisoners are given soup without tea of breakfast. Body trade is also going on in jail with the help of the officers. The rich, political leaders and mafias obtain all kinds of facilities and luxury in jails.

Trials are prolonged for years and at times even for decades without taking them to courts in the name of lack of escort. The police machinery arrests people, activists of the movement, leaders and activists of people's movement and leaders and activists of our party and foist scores of fake cases. The trial is prolonged. Although there are few cases on a few persons, those who are released not guilty are re-arrested near the jail gate, foisted with some more new cases and imprisoned. Comrade Madkam Gopanna, a member of the Dandakaranya Special Zonal Committee had been in jail for the past 15 years. He was arrested two times near the jail gate and sent to jail once again. Bails are normally not granted in the courts of many states such as Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, West Bengal and Assam. They need to complete the trial and be released not guilty. There is no other way. When there are many cases under many sections, all the punishments are not carried at a time (in concurrency). The punishments are taken up one by one. This situation is beyond that of the British colonialists. A strong movement is needed so as to achieve the right to register all the cases on the accused within four months of arrest and to implement concurrence.

At present the judiciary is being fascised day by day under the rule of Brahmanic Hindutva BJP government. Supreme Court gave a clean chit to Modi and Amit Shah passing judgment on the Zakia Jafri petition related to the massacre of Muslims by Hindutva forces in Gujarat. Social activists Teesta Seetalvad was arrested the same day. Gandhian social activist Himanshu Kumar petitioned for justice to the family members of 16 tribal people massacred in Gompad-Singaram by the armed police forces in 2009 in Dandakaranya. He was found fault for wasting the time of the court and was imposed Rs.5 lakhs or rigorous punishment for two years. The whole world was shocked and raised voice against this attitude. The supreme court indirectly told



not to approach the courts and that if approached they will be sued.

Deputy jailor of Central Jail in Raipur (the capital of Chhattisgarh) Varsha Dongre was suspended from duty for a facebook post exposing the inhuman behaviour of the police toward tribal prisoners. Sukma district additional magistrate Prabhakar Gwal was suspended in 2016 and later removed from job when he did not agree to send hundreds of tribal people to jail. He said that it is not possible unless identity papers such as Aadhar card are presented.

One important thing needs to be brought to your notice in this regard. Jail comrades have been constantly making struggles against the inhuman conditions and for their just demands. They are obtaining better results to an extent temporarily. Leaders and activists of our party are organising the ordinary prisoners in the prison and taking up struggles for their rights. They are observing revolutionary days and protest days in the prison. They are moulding prisons into centers of class struggle, study and education. They are facing intense repression, tortures, atrocities firmly and with dare and continuing their political efforts.

Women political prisoners are in the forefront in the struggles of the jail comrades. We bring a small example to your notice. The struggle of women prisoners in the leadership of women activists of our party in Jagdalpur Central jail in Chhattisgarh in 2013 gained magnificent victory. The struggle achieved rights such as taking the undertrials to each and every adjournment to the court, providing immediate medical treatment to the ill, joining them in hospital, issuing separate independent kitchen to women prisoners and giving daily wage to women prisoners on kitchen duty.

On the other hand, it is organising different democratic forces in support of the struggles of jail comrades, so that they take up solidarity struggles outside the jail and arranging legal aid (judicial help) for their release. They are working to the best of their strength for this purpose. Anyway, we need to organise advocates, democrats and rights activists in the necessary extent to work in this direction.

Party is mobilising revolutionary people in support to the struggles of the jail comrades on 13<sup>th</sup> September on the occasion of martyrdom of Comrade Jatin Das, the revolutionary hero who made indefinite hunger strike for 64 days for the rights of prisoners against British imperialism. Intellectuals and democrats are observing the day. They are organising interviews in large numbers, to meet families of jail comrades, extending support to the possible extent and holding rallies, meetings and seminars. They are making efforts to provide legal aid through advocates. They are forming committees for the release of political prisoners, organisations and legal aid committees and to extend them

On the other hand jail comrades are making attempts

to the best of their strength to break from jail. The Jehanabad jail break, Dantewada jail break, guerrilla action on Lakhisarai court, Chaibasa jail break-1, 2, the escape of 6 revolutionary children from the Rourkela juvenile home, guerrilla action on the escort vehicle of Giridih prisoners, the escape of 9 members of revolutionary children's organisation from Dantewada juvenile home are few examples. Jehanabad jail break and attack on Giridih escort vehicle stand as examples to incidents that took place with the support of the party from outside. Another example is to get a PBM released from the escort police when he was brought to the Lakhisarai court. However, the various kinds of attempts going on for the release of the comrades and their rights are going on to a little extent due to the intense enemy offensive, the limitations and weaknesses of urban movement and democratic movements. Our party, the movement and the people have the heroic revolutionary tradition of escaping from jail. There were jail breaks during Naxalbari in the process of which comrades were martyred. When the secretary of AP SC Kondapalli was brought to hospital when in Visakha jail, he and another SCM were released from the police. Four comrades including the AP SC secretary Shyam broke from Adilabad jail in 1987 along with three Rifles. However, in the present condition of severe repression and bureaucratic rule in the country and jails, we need to intensify attempts from the inside and also outside.

This year due to the initiative and special effort of ICSPWI, action week is going to be observed for the release of Indian political prisoners from 13<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> September 2022, in support of them and to stop the heavy drone attacks made jointly by the BJP government in the leadership of Modi and the Bhupesh Baghel led Congress government in Chhattisgarh on our areas of movement. The CC of our party appreciated the call of the ICSPWI and appealed to make it a success.

There is a strong need to build, strengthen worldwide militant, organised solidarity movement for the political prisoners with the demands Political prisoners of all the countries such as Philippines, Turkey, Peru, Galicia, Afghanistan and all the countries of revolutionary movement including India must be unconditionally released; all those arrested as a part of social, political struggles and are in jail must be provided the status of political prisoners; there must be a stop to the violating of rights of prisoners, especially political prisoners and women prisoners and the atrocities and suppression on them; jail manuals must be reformed; conditions in jail must be improved according to them. Our Party hopes that the efforts of ICSPWI goes in this direction. It declares that it would make the efforts in India in this regard and firmly believes that the movement shall gradually develop.

# Let's Develop the Revolutionary Struggle against the Imperialist World War Preparations!

All the imperialist countries proclaim to be defenders of freedom, democracy and world peace. They all pretext to fight against dictatorships and international terrorism. But indeed they are the worst terrorist dictators in the world. They speak about peace but frantically prepare for a new war of global robbery. They strengthen the arms industry. They increase their arsenals. They mobilize huge war machines mainly towards Eastern Europe. They sponsor the already prolonged wars against the peoples of Palestine, Syria, Yemen. They are inciting the outbreak of new reactionary wars in the Taiwan Strait, on the Korean peninsula, in the East China Sea, on the Ukrainian-Belarus border, on the sea border between Greece and Turkey. NATO, commanded by Yankee imperialism, in Ukraine through the puppet regime of Kiev, confronts its mercenary armies, weapons and military chiefs, with the military might of Russian imperialism. Both sides concoct pretexts to use nuclear weapons. The inter-imperialist contradictions sharpened to the point that a new nuclear world war is no longer a latent imperialist danger, but an imminent risk for the existence of world society and its habitat.

The world imperialist system, decadent and decomposed, in its inevitable one-way march towards the grave, has unloaded on society the terrible consequences of the increasingly acute world economic crisis, and with it, has extended and deepened in all continents social, health and environmental crises. For the insatiable imperialists, the monopolization and accumulation of capital at the cost of the global exploitation of social labor, the usurious export of financial capital, the destruction of nature, the plundering of the oppressed countries, is not enough. The crises of their system, mainly the economic one, impel the imperialists to carry out a new division of the already divided world. A new division that can only be achieved by economic force, financial force, military force, the force of the world war between a few imperialist countries in decline and others fighting for world hegemony, as a product of the inexorable economic law of the uneven development of the imperialist countries.

But the same economic and social causes that push the imperialists to wars of robbery, become unlivable, unbearable material conditions for the slaves of capital, material conditions of the rebellion of the exploited proletarians, peoples, nations and countries oppressed by the monopolies and imperialist countries. And it is up to the International Communist Movement to bring them the revolutionary conscience, organize and transform the rebellions into a revolutionary struggle against the common enemy: the world capitalist system of oppression and exploitation.

It is up to the communists to give an example of internationalist unity and struggle against the preparations for a new imperialist world carnage; join and coordinate efforts to promote the revolutionary struggle of the proletarian armies in all countries against the mobilization of troops and weapons for reactionary wars; construct a common front with all the revolutionaries and democratic sectors that oppose the support and military commitment of the lackey regimes with their imperialist masters; reject and denounce as traitors the opportunist satraps who, in the name of the proletariat and the peoples, give support to one of the imperialist factions, when they are all deadly enemies of the oppressed and exploited of the world; relentlessly support the revolutionary struggle led by genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communists, mainly the people's war in India that, together with other people's wars, today are the vanguard of the World Proletarian Revolution, against imperialism and its reactionary national watchdogs.

**Imperialist capitalism is in crisis! Long live Socialism and Communism!  
Or the revolution stops the war or the war unleashes the revolution!  
Workers and peoples of the world, unite against imperialism!**

**Communist Workers Union (mlm) - Colombia  
Construction Committee of the Maoist Communist Party of Galicia  
Maoist Communist Party Italy  
Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan**





दुनियाभर के कर्मचारी, एकजुट!  
పరస్పంచ కరిమకులర ఏకంకండి!

**Mga manggagawa ng mundo, magkaisa!**

**Bütün ülkelerin işçileri, birleşin!**

**¡Proletarios de todos los países, uníos!**

**全世界无产者，联合起来！**

**Proletarier aller Länder, vereinigt euch!**

**Workers of the world, unite!**

**Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!**

**Prolétaires de tous les pays, unissez-vous!**

**يا عمال العالم اتحدوا!**

**Lavoratori di tutto il mondo, unitevi!**

**پرولترهای همه کشورها متحد شوید!**

**Proletários de todos os países, uni-vos!**