

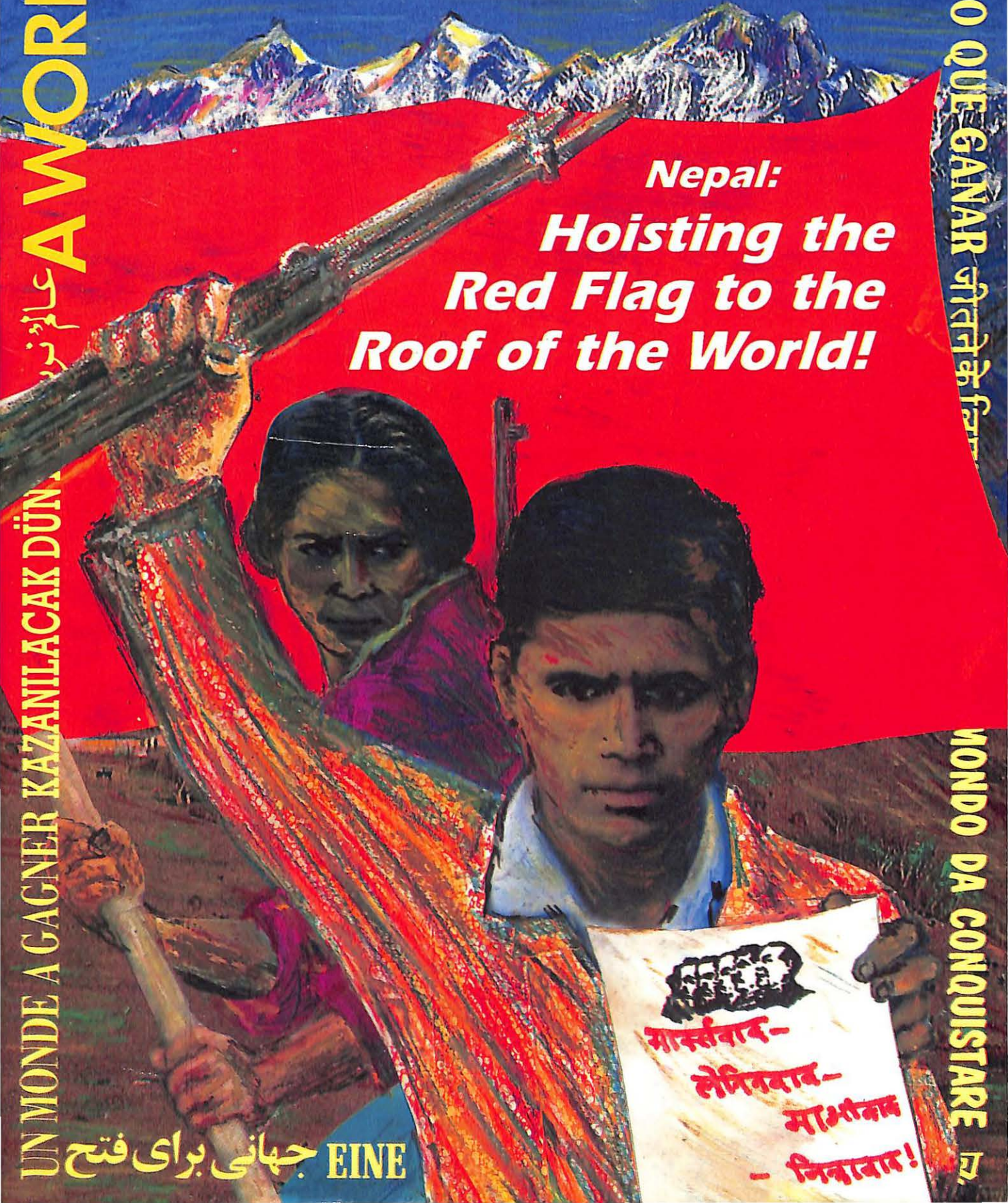
TO WIN 獲得的將是整個世界 1996/22 МИР ВБИГРАТЬ

UN MUNDO QUE GANAR जीतनेके लिए

A WORLD عالم دُنیا

UN MONDE A GAGNER KAZANILACAK DÜNYA

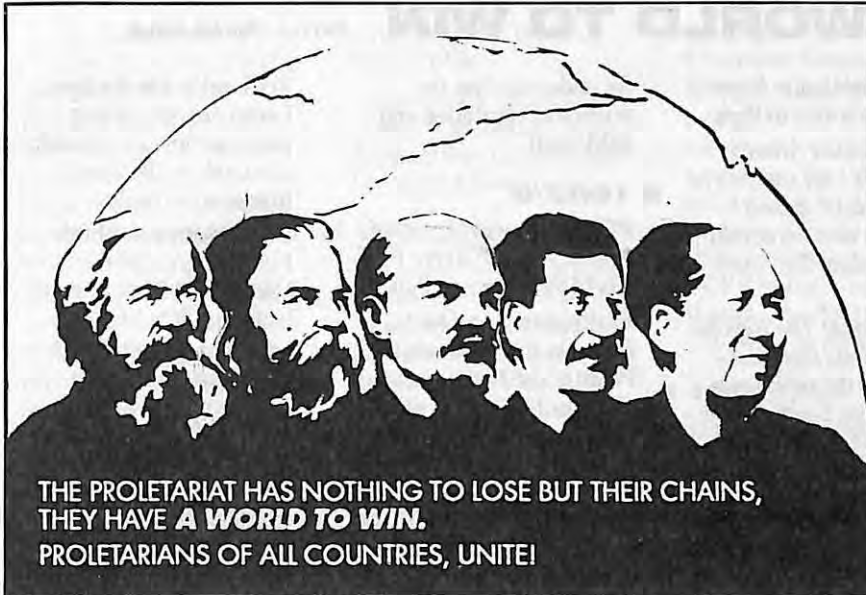
MONDO DA CONQUISTARE



Nepal:
*Hoisting the
Red Flag to the
Roof of the World!*

EINE جهانی برای فتح





1996/22



Nepal

13 February 1996: "The sight of hundreds of thousands of peasants and workers in Nepal standing up and taking on their enemies cannot help but inspire the oppressed masses throughout the world. It highlights the decisive role and vitality of the

revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and gives further impulse to the forming and strengthening of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organizations united in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. The initiation of the People's War in Nepal is a daring and glorious step forward for the world revolution."

Two-Line Struggle in Peru

In the prisons of Peru itself, among slum dwellers in India, in the "electronic world" of the Internet, debate is raging over the two-line struggle which emerged in the Communist Party of Peru. Let's Carry the Fight against the Right Opportunist Line through to the End!



Nepal

- Hoisting the Red Flag to the Roof of the World **6**
- Appeal of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) to the People: March Along the Path of People's War! **18**
- RIM Committee Message to the CPN(M) **20**

Two-Line Struggle in Peru

- Persevere through the Swirling Currents of the Two-Line Struggle! **22**
- Joint Resolution of the South Asian Parties and Organizations of RIM **25**
- A Hard Look at the Dangers and Opportunities **26**
- CoRIM Document: Twists and Turns in the Two-Line Struggle **34**
- An Initial Reply to Arce Borja: On the Maoist Conception of Two-Line Struggle **36**
- Newsbriefs from the Battlefield **46**
- Anti-RIM Critics from the Cyberswamp: "Virtual Maoism" and Real Opportunism **52**
- For Your Reference: "A Response to the 'Investigators' of RIM" **78**

- Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution – 30 Years Later **42**

- New Upsurge of Struggle in Turkey's Dungeons **60**

- Kurdistan:**
The Bitter Lessons of Betrayal **62**

CoRIM

- May First 1996: People's War from Andes to the Himalayas – the Only Road to Liberation! **70**
- Southern Lebanon: Another Bloody Chapter in the Middle East "Peace Process" **72**

■ **1985/1**

Peru: *When the Andes Roar.* Examines some of the history and aims of the People's War led by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP).

India: *Surface Cracks and the Tremors from the Depths.* "If you're talking about world revolution then you're talking about India." Analysing the question of when, not if, these "wretched of the earth" will rise up.

Homage to Yilmaz Guney: Revolutionary Film-maker from Turkey.

■ **1985/2**

Peru: Analysis of the advancing People's War. Historic PCP document: *On the Shining Path of Mariategui.*

Iran: *The forging of a weak link,* examines the developments in Iran and internationally that led to the Shah's overthrow in 1979.

Political Economy: *On the Dynamism of Imperialism and the Fettering of Social Development,* by Raymond Lotta.

■ **1985/3**

Peru: PCP document: *Don't Vote - Step Up Guerrilla Warfare!*, and an historic May First message from the PCP to RIM.

South Africa: *Summoned by Revolution* - including Raymond Lotta on *The Political Economy of Apartheid.*

Ibrahim Kaypakkaya on armed struggle: Excerpts from his polemic against the Shafak revisionists.

Reggae: Jamaica's rebel music.

■ **1985/4**

Peru: The People's War continues: *New Regime - Same Reaction.* Interna-

tional Campaign to Support the People's War in Peru.

Iran: *Defeated Armies Learn Well* - an analysis of the experience gained during the aborted revolution, including the Amol uprising.

South Africa: *The Revolutionary Crisis Deepens* - analysis of the rebellions then shaking South Africa.

Europe: *The False Path of the Western European "Urban Guerrilla"*

■ **1986/5**

Kurdistan and the Prospects for Red Political Power. Sharp refutation of how nationalism is not sufficient for all the way revolution. Including *Ibrahim Kaypakkaya on the Kurdish National Question.*

Bangladesh: An analysis of the growing political ferment in this *Tinderbox.*

■ **1986/6**

Peru: *"This Blood That Has Been Spilt Shall Never Be Forgotten"* - the heroism of hundreds of revolutionary prisoners of war in the face of the massacre at El Fronton prison.

Haiti: *"The Dechoukage Has Only Just Begun"*. The rebellion then shaking Haiti and the need to uproot relations with imperialism.

■ **1986/7**

Special Issue: On the 20th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, under the slogan *Forward Along the Path Charted by Mao Tsetung!* This issue consists principally of articles submitted by participating groups in RIM on the Chinese revolution and the lessons learned from Mao Tsetung, and is a key issue

for understanding the science of revolution and RIM itself.

■ **1987/8**

PCP document: *Develop People's War to Serve the World Revolution* - Part 1.

Philippines: *An Open Letter to the Communist Party of the Philippines from the Committee of RIM,* expressing RIM's deep concern over developments in the line of the CPP and the danger this poses to the revolutionary character of the Party and the People's War it is leading.

France: *December 1986 - Student Upsurge in Imperialist France.*

■ **1987/9**

India: *Naxalbari - 20 years since the clap of spring thunder,* the armed revolt of peasants in the area of Naxalbari, ushering in a new chapter in the struggle of the masses in India.

PCP document: *Develop People's War to Serve the World Revolution* - Part 2.

■ **1988/10**

The Gulf Fulcrum: Focus on the Iran-Iraq war, with a *Call to Fill up the Gulf with the Crowns of Imperialists and Tyrants!*

On the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution: *The Winds of October Still Blow!*

Burkina Faso: *Why You Can't Make Revolution without the Masses.*

Perestroika: *Gorbachev - the Soul of Capital Personified.*

■ **1988/11**

Palestine: *Let the Intifada Pave the Way for People's War!* - a focus on the Palestinian youths' heroic uprising.

Sri Lanka: On the Indo-Lanka accords: how a peace agreement conceals an attack on the Tamil liberation struggle.

PCP documents: From the First Congress of the Communist Party of Peru, including "On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism" and "On Gonzalo Thought".

■ **1989/12**

The 1960s in the Imperialist Citadels: a look at the eruptions that shook the US and Europe, and some lessons for revolutionaries today.

Philippines: *The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the False Friends of the Filipino Revolution.* A critique of a major statement by the CPP Chairman.

Colombia: *The Strategy of Insurrection vs People's War:* the lessons of Mao Tsetung and the Chinese revolution for Colombia.

Soviet Union: *Trouble Brewing in the USSR:* a first-hand account.

■ **1989/13**

A special issue to: Celebrate the 5th Anniversary of the Formation of RIM! With a photo essay.

Peru: *People's War Prepares a New Stage*

Bangladesh: *Masses Will End Man-made Floods* - a look at imperialism, nature and how the Chinese revolution mastered floods.

■ **1989/14**

China: In the wake of the massacre in Tienanmen Square, a Maoist look at the restoration of capitalism in China and lessons from the pre-1976 period of proletarian rule. Including important analyses written under Mao's leadership.

Cuba: *Notes on the Political Economy of Cuba: Burn Down the Cane Fields!* The title provocatively reflects the Maoist conclusion that Castro failed to carry out agrarian revolution and rupture with imperialism – Part 1.

The War on Drugs is a War on the People: An exposure of the US imperialists' so-called war on drugs, and how this covers for its counter-insurgency against the People's War in Peru.

■ 1990/15

In the wake of the Collapse of Revisionism in the East, a fresh look at what is meant by socialism, with important reprints from Mao, the Chinese Communists, commentaries by RIM organizations and first-hand accounts.

Notes on the Political Economy of Cuba – Part 2. PCP Chairman Gonzalo: *On the 40th Anniversary of the Chinese Revolution.*

■ 1991/16

Gulf: *The US-Led Aggressors Will Not Go Unpunished!* Statements by RIM organizations and the RIM Committee on the Gulf War.

Peru: *Our Red Flag Is Flying in Peru* – an important analysis of

advances made by the People's War.

Document by the Revolutionary Communists of Afghanistan on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

■ 1992/17

The worldwide imperialist offensive proclaiming the "death of communism" saw the outbreak of a fierce two-line struggle within RIM. Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP, USA, affirms the right of the proletariat and oppressed masses to rise up in revolution, wielding Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, in *Democracy: More than Ever We Can and Must Do Better than That*. A polemic against a social-democratic revision of Marxism by K Venu of the former Communist Party of India (ML).

Peru: *People's War Reaches Strategic Equilibrium – Communism Marches Forward in Peru.*

■ 1992/18

Peru: The campaign to Move Heaven and Earth to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo (Dr Abimael Guzman), captured by the US-backed Fujimori regime in Sept 1992, including reports and analysis from the International Emergency Campaign. Also included is

the lengthy *Interview with Chairman Gonzalo* in 1988, in which he addresses a range of political and ideological questions. Also a report on the fierce resistance to another prison massacre in Canto Grande, and excerpts from a 1991 PCP Central Committee report, *The Revolution Continues to Advance*.

■ 1993/19

This issue features coverage of the "Celebrate the Mao Centenary!" campaign carried out by revolutionaries worldwide. It includes a pathbreaking new survey from a Maoist viewpoint of the life of one of the main leaders of the Cultural Revolution, **Chiang Ching: The Revolutionary Ambitions of a Communist Leader**.

Reprint of a talk by **Chairman Gonzalo** in conjunction with the rectification campaign in 1991.

■ 1995/20

A major new document from RIM, as the Movement takes a leap forward by adopting MLM as its ideology: *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!* Also RIM's analysis *On the World Situation*.

Mexico: *The Chiapas Peasant Uprising: A Call to Arms!* Analysis of the uprising, along with a substantial look at the political economy of the Mexican countryside: *Agrarian Revolution and Semi-feudalism*.

Excerpts from the PCP CC document *Build the Seizure of Power Amidst People's War*.

South Africa: *Changing of the Guard*. Deals with questions raised by the recent political changes there, and poses the Maoist alternative of New Democratic Revolution.

■ 1995/21

Peru: Aiming to turn the two-line struggle that erupted within the ranks of the PCP into a great school of revolution, this issue gathers the major documents of the struggle. These include those from the PCP, the RIM Committee and a major refutation of the line calling for peace negotiations to end the People's War, *It is Right to Rebel!*, by the Union of Communists of Iran (Sarbedaran) as part of RIM's worldwide campaign to "Rally to the Defence of Our Red Flag Flying in Peru".

■ SPANISH EDITION

Current and most back issues available.

For details contact: Juan López Pérez, Apdo. 21-098. Coyoacan, 04021 México, D.F. México.

■ OTHER LANGUAGE EDITIONS:

Most issues of *A World to Win* are available in Farsi and Turkish. Selected articles available in Arabic, Italian, French and German.

A WORLD TO WIN

Air mail, institution and trade rates available upon request. Please send your name, postal address, cheque and the issue number with which to begin your subscription, to one of the following addresses:

For **SOUTH ASIAN** subscriptions, Rs. 80 for four issues, write to:

A World to Win,
C/o Chithira Publishers,
39/3006, Manikath Road,
Kochi, Kerala, India 682 016.
Fax : (91) (484) 380113
A Fax must include the reference number : A/c 214,
pp 364005

For **NORTH AMERICAN** subscriptions, write to:

A World to Win,
North American Distributors,
c/o Revolution Books,
9 West 19th Street,
New York,
New York 10011
USA.
Fax (1) (212) 645-1952

For **ALL OTHER AREAS**, £ 8.00 for four issues, write to:

A World to Win,
27 Old Gloucester Street,
London WC1N 3XX,
UK.

Fax: (44) (171) 831 9489,

Ref W6787

A Fax MUST include the reference number.

NOTE: Send all correspondence and other materials to: A World to Win, 27 Old Gloucester Street, London WC1N 3XX, UK.

The Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

Signatories of the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and Participating Organizations in RIM

Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist)

Communist Party of Afghanistan

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

Communist Party of Peru

Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist [TKP/ML]

Haitian Revolutionary Internationalist Group

Marxist-Leninist Communist Organization of Tunisia

Nepal Communist Party (Mashal)

Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

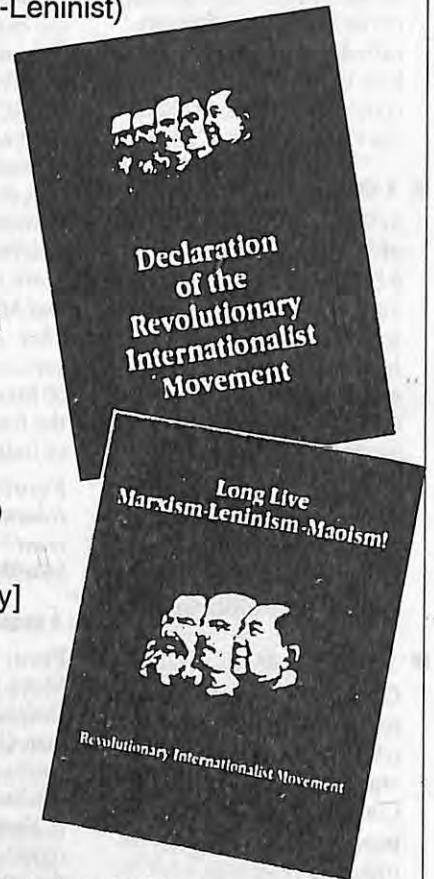
Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (PBSP)
[Bangladesh]

RedWorker Communist Organization [Italy]

Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia

Revolutionary Communist Party USA

Union of Communists of Iran
(Sarbedaran)



In addition to the above list of those whose participation in the Movement has been publicly announced by the Committee, a number of other organizations work closely with the Movement to advance its cause and build and strengthen vanguard communist organizations.

The Central Reorganization Committee, Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) has dissolved itself. RIM still includes in it MLM forces from India who are struggling to regroup.

The *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* has been printed in over 20 languages: Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Creole, Danish, English (2 editions, Indian and US), Farsi, French, German, Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Japanese, Kannada, Kurdish, Malayalam, Nepalese, Punjabi, Spanish (4 editions – Colombian, Peruvian, Spanish and US), Tamil, Turkish.

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism! is also available in many of the above languages.

Order From: BCM RIM, WC1N 3XX, London, U.K.

Declaration : £2.00 – *Long Live MLM* : £1.00 (plus £1 postage)

TO WIN 獲得的將是整個世界 МИР ВЫИГРАТЬ UN MUNDO QUE GANAR

A WORLD

عالم

تاریخچه

DÜNYA

KAZANILACAK

A GAGNER

UN MONDE

UN MONDO

DA CONQUISTARE

A *World to Win* has been inspired by the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, announced on March 12th, 1984, which has regrouped many Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organizations from around the world. It is not an official organ of RIM. Its pages are open to all those on the same side of the barricades in the fight against imperialism and reaction.

STEP FORWARD!

A *World to Win* cannot accomplish its tasks without the active support of its readers. Letters, articles and criticism are needed and welcome. Manuscripts should be typed double spaced. In addition we need translators, help with distribution (including through commercial channels) to make this magazine available in as many countries as possible, art work (as well as clippings and original photos), and financial contributions from those who understand the importance of the continued publication of this magazine. This includes both individual contributions and the efforts of those who undertake the responsibility for raising funds for this magazine. Send pledges and donation cheques made out to "A World to Win".

Send all correspondence and other materials to:

A World to Win

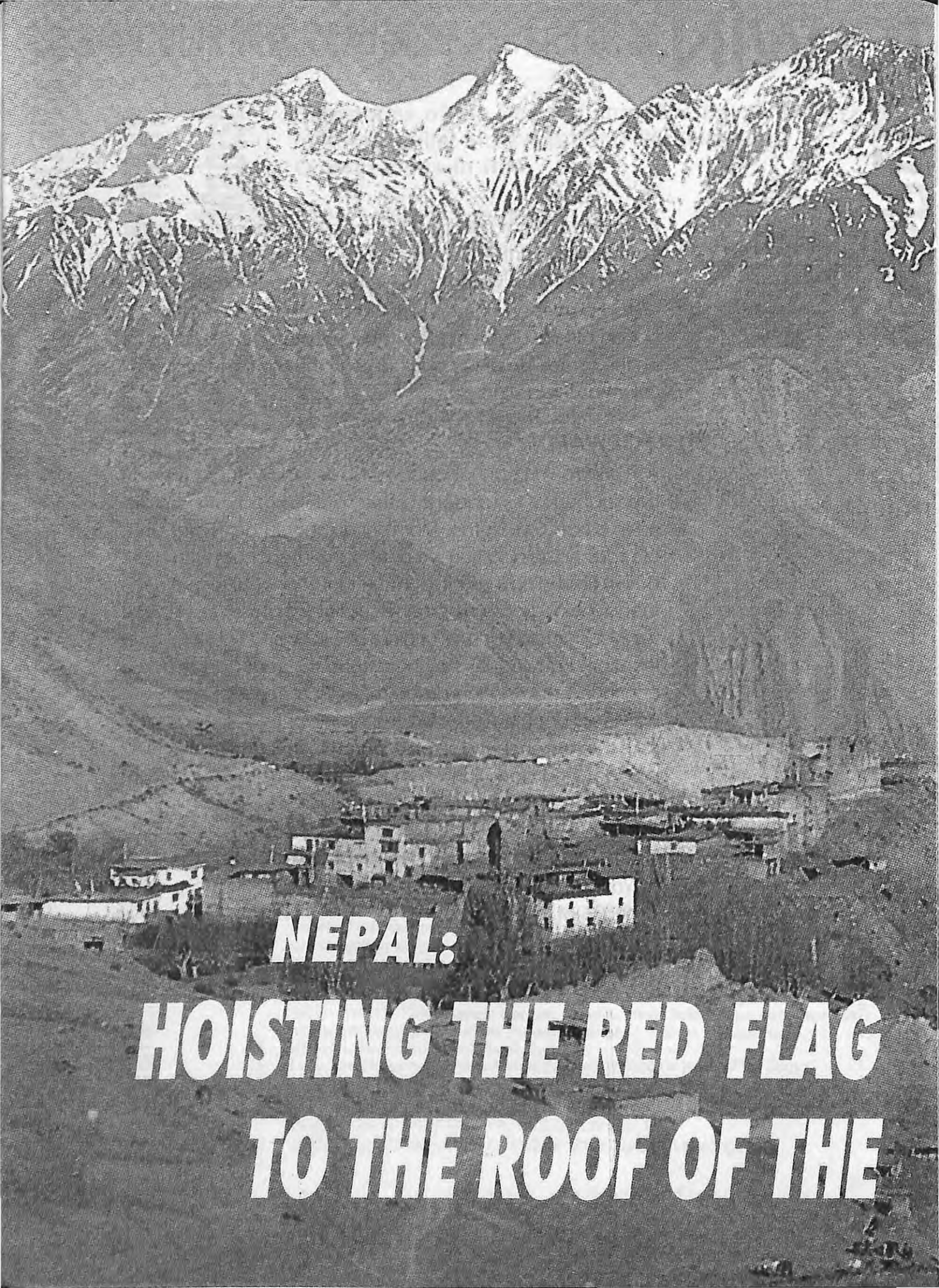
27 Old Gloucester Street

London WC1N 3XX, U.K.

Fax: (44) (171) 831 9489 Ref: W6787

Faxes MUST include the reference number.

UN MONDE A GAGNER KAZANILACAK DÜNYA 世界 獲得的將是整個世界 МИР ВЫИГРАТЬ UN MUNDO QUE GANAR जीतनेके लिए सार्वविश्व है UN MONDO DA CONQUISTARE EINE WELT ZU GEWINNEN বিশ্ব বিজয়



**NEPAL:
HOISTING THE RED FLAG
TO THE ROOF OF THE**

In February 1996, coordinated raids and attacks occurred in three main regions as well as in many other places across the length of Nepal. These armed actions involving thousands of men and women opened a new and glorious chapter in the history of that country – the launching of the People's War, aimed at sweeping away imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The initial phase, lasting only two weeks, included almost five thousand actions – from dramatic assaults on police stations in rural districts, confiscation of property from landlords and reaction-

aries, and punishment of a few hated tyrants, to widespread wall painting and leafleting. In all, some kind of activity in support of the People's War took place in 60 out of 75 districts of the country.

The enemy lashed out wildly at the masses, killing over two dozen people in the initial weeks alone, arresting hundreds and beating and terrorizing many more, especially in the remote rural areas where the revolutionary forces are concentrated.

At the core of this grand initiative is the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), a participating party of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. It is the Party which has made it possible for the long downtrodden poverty-stricken people to stand up straight, arms in hand against their oppressors, and for the rebellion of the masses to be transformed into a conscious revolution aimed at seizing state power.

SURPRISE AND NO SURPRISE

The initial actions, although modest from a strictly military point of view, stunned the ruling class like a blow to the head. For more than a millennium, the upper classes of Nepal had considered it their god-given right

to rule over and exploit the working people. In fact, the King of Nepal promotes himself as the living reincarnation of the Hindu god Vishnu! The feudals and bureaucrat capitalists who rule over Nepal in league with imperialism and neighbouring India found it almost impossible to believe that the workers and especially the poor peasants, who make up the overwhelming majority of the population, were daring to use force against the guardians of the old regime.

But although the actual outbreak of hostilities came as a jolt to the rulers, the intensification of the conditions giving rise to revolution had been at work for a long time and had been accelerating at a rapid pace in the last few years especially. Two significant scholarly articles had appeared¹ which had as subject matter the widespread support in Nepal for the Communist Party of Peru and Chairman Gonzalo and the possibilities that a People's War might erupt from the smoldering class conflicts there.

Furthermore, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) had made no secret of its determination to prepare and launch the People's War. Numerous public documents, articles and speeches had been made along that line, and many, many thousands of people were aware of or participating in the Party's active preparations. So why then such a shock?

This is because, in all countries, the class outlook of the reactionary classes leads them to underestimate and have contempt for the oppressed. While they do fear the possibilities of explosion from the lower depths of society and do institute numerous repressive measures aimed at preserving the status quo through force and violence, the exploiters nevertheless believe that they alone are really capable of running society. This viewpoint is also deeply ingrained in Hinduism, the religion of Nepal's ruling class. The more that the revolt of the masses takes on a conscious revolutionary form, the more that the target of the struggle is the seizure of power, and the more thoroughly the revolution aims to uproot and replace the old reactionary social relations – the more the ruling classes consider the revolution an impossible, unthinkable nightmare, even while they spare no effort to oppose, sidetrack, slander and, when all else fails, smother it in blood.

Another particularity of the revo-

WORLD

lutionary movement in Nepal is that for more than a generation communist leaders had been advocating in words armed struggle for a new democratic revolution while finding one reason after another not to take up the serious preparation and launching of such a struggle. The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) also had to discard the heavy weight of non-revolutionary goals, methods of work and forms of organization, which had characterized the whole of the communist movement in Nepal for decades. The daring initiation of the People's War is also a stinging refutation of the revisionist and opportunist lines.

SOME BACKGROUND

Nepal is located in a wide swath covering much of the Himalayas, which separate the Indian subcontinent from the Tibetan plateau (part of China). Although the Himalayas are the highest mountains in the world (the world's highest peak, Sagarmatha, known in the West as "Mount Everest" after a British colonial official, is located in Nepal), they are not impregnable, and numerous passes have been used since antiquity as trading routes. The capital of Nepal, Kathmandu, is located on the principal trade route that historically has linked Tibet (and beyond it China proper) with India.

Although a relatively small country, especially compared to its giant neighbors to the north and south, Nepal is a mosaic of different peoples, languages and cultures. Most of the peoples and language groups in Nepal can be traced either to what some anthropologists call the "Tibeto-Burman" groups from the east and north of the Himalayas or to the "Indo-Aryan" peoples from the west and south. The cultures coexisting in Nepal also reflect varying influences. Nepal is the reputed birthplace of Buddha, and that religion, largely but not exclusively in its Lamaite, or Tibetan variety, is still practised by close to twenty percent of the population.

About half the population of Nepal is made up of different *janjati* (or minority nationality) groups. The Nepalese ruling class counts the entire *janjati* population as "Hindus" to justify their treatment of these masses as part of "inferior castes" and to buttress their claim that Nepal is a "Hindu

nation". In fact, most of the *janjatis* reject the label "Hindu" and follow various animist (or naturalist) religious practices.

The geography of Nepal has favoured this mosaic pattern of peoples and cultures. The mountains as well as numerous rivers composing the three distinct water basins in Nepal tended throughout history to keep different populations isolated from each other. Peasants have always managed to eke out a living from terraced farming in the hills, or grazing in higher mountainous Himalayan regions, and the Mahabarat Lekh (the middle mountains between the lower foothills and the Himalayas proper) include some valleys well suited for rice cultivation and other agriculture at between one and two thousand metres above sea level. These areas, such as the fertile Kathmandu valley, became home to many Hindu feudals, who came north from what is now India to escape the Moghul invaders in the 11th-13th century. They subsequently were able to establish a number of feudal fiefdoms and suck the wealth of the successive generations of peasants. Later, as the British presence on the Indian subcontinent began to take shape, the most successful of these feudal principalities, the Gorkha kingdom ruled by Prithvi Narayan Shah, was able to establish a unified state in Nepal and extend its borders well beyond the present borders of Nepal (all the way to Punjab far to the west and to Bengal in the east) by using mountain warfare.

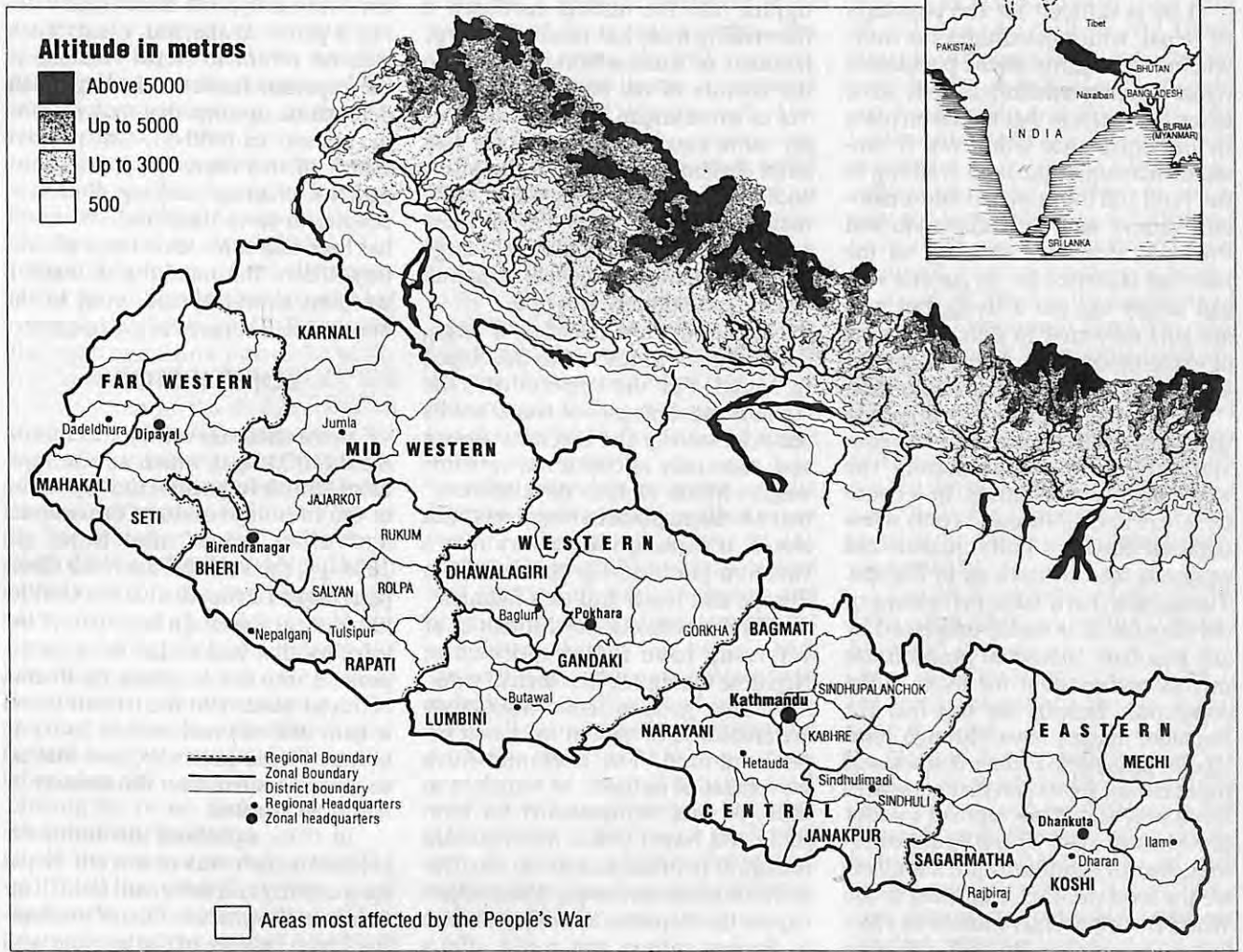
The defeat of the Gorkha kingdom by British India in 1815 and the subsequent Sugauli Treaty established the present boundaries of the country and codified the clear domination of British India. The various *janjati* peoples living in isolated hills and valleys of the country had their own local authorities and maintained their own cultural identities even while paying tribute to the king.

All along the southern border with India which runs for the entire breadth of the country lies a swath of land from 25 to 50 kilometers wide known as the Terai (or plane) which is not much above sea level. Today, the Terai is a wonderfully productive agricultural region with good soil, generally good water resources and an abundant labouring population (more than forty percent of the country's people live

there). However, until the last century the Terai was a lightly populated, forested swamp so malaria-infested as to make it dangerous even for invading armies, let alone farmers who might want to reclaim the land for agriculture. Indeed, the king of Nepal discouraged the settling of the Terai, precisely to keep it as a barrier against British India to the south. But as Nepal came more and more under the sway of Britain in the mid-nineteenth century (without however, ever being reduced to a colony), the colonial authorities of British India and the Nepalese rulers agreed to open up the Terai to settlers. The rulers profited from the logging of the then forested Terai, while the masses poured their sweat and blood into making the region productive, only to be shackled with a strict feudal system. In addition to peoples from the hill regions of Nepal and descendants of the original forest-dwellers, a large percentage of these new settlers came from different regions of India. Together they make up the Terai's current population.

Today the Terai, like the rest of Nepal, is still a checkerboard of cultures. Many of the inhabitants are still considered "Indians" even after generations of labour to reclaim and work the land. Taking advantage of the cleavage between so-called "Indians" and "Nepalese" is one of the standard games of both the Indian reactionary regime and the Nepalese rulers to divide the people and to further reactionary interests.

More than half of the population of Nepal are officially considered (by the Nepal constitution) as *janjati*. This category is used to distinguish these masses from what is sometimes referred to as the "mainstream" Nepalese nationality. While many of these *janjatis* live in remote areas under more primitive conditions, the term is also applied to the Newars, for example. They were early Buddhist inhabitants and traders in the Kathmandu valley who still occupy key posts in commerce and public life in the capital. Although the Nepalese language has been imposed throughout the country for two centuries, only thirty percent of the population of the country speaks it as their mother tongue (it is a Sanskrit-based language linked linguistically to Hindi, Bengali and many other languages spoken in northern India, Pakistan and Bangladesh).



Life is difficult for the peasantry of Nepal, which constitutes the overwhelming majority of the population (close to ninety percent). Despite some token land reform that has taken place in the period since World War II, feudal ownership of the land is strong in the Terai and the principal mid-mountain valleys such as Kathmandu and Pokhara. Primitive farming on the hillsides is carried out by janjatis who can barely eke out a living but who are still subjected to different forms of exploitation, both from the central state and traditional janjati authorities.

All of the "yardsticks" regularly used to measure impoverishment consistently show Nepal among the world's poorest countries. In a country where annual income is only a few hundred dollars a year, chicken and eggs can cost as much as in Europe. This means that a large percentage of the population is under-nourished by any standard. Industrial products are rare to non-existent for most of the population. Despite the fact that the Nepalese masses have, through hard labour, constructed housing stock and rudimentary sanitation that compares favourably to the widespread squalor prevalent in many Third World countries, health conditions are abominable for most people. According to the World Bank's *Social Indicators of Development* estimate for 1988-1993 (the latest available) only 1290 doctors were registered in the entire country – most of whom were in the capital, leaving a tiny number of doctors to serve about 18 million people in the outlying areas! All of this translates into an average life expectancy of 54 years for men and an even lower life expectancy for women (52.2 years). These averages mask the large disparities between the city dwellers and the impoverished countryside.

This lower life expectancy for women is particularly striking, given the trend observed in all countries for women to outlive men. It is testimony to the extreme conditions of oppression and hard labour that Nepalese women face and the high incidence of death during childbirth – one in one hundred. Marriage by kidnapping (after which payment to the bride's family is often negotiated – the opposite of the traditional Hindu dowry arrangement) is still found among some sections of the population. As even remote areas of Nepal are drawn

tighter into the market economy, a flourishing trade has resulted in large numbers of women being forced into the horrors of the brothels of India. Yet in some janjati areas, women enjoy more equality, a result of a less strict division of labor and the influences, in some cases, of primitive communal social structures. For all these reasons, it is not surprising that large numbers of women are participating in the revolutionary struggle.

In the last few decades, a large-scale tourism industry has developed in Nepal. For the imperialists, the "specific advantages" of Nepal are its beautiful scenery and excellent climate and, especially of course, its very low wages. Much of the "development" that has taken place in Nepal has been aimed at turning the country into a vacation paradise for tourists from Europe and Israel and rich Indians.

For generations, the difficulties of surviving have forced millions of Nepalese to migrate in search of work. Most have gone to India, where they are employed in menial work and super-exploited. The back-and-forth movement of millions of Nepalese to India is vital economically for both India and Nepal and is an important feature of political and social life. Despite the great hardships, it has helped expose the Nepalese labouring masses to foreign culture and world affairs and especially to the liberating ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Throughout India, large numbers of Nepalese workers have taken part in revolutionary struggles, and a great many are organized under the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) through the different mass organizations the Party leads in India. There are also millions of people living in the Indian hill areas bordering Nepal who speak variants of the Nepalese language and identify closely with the masses in Nepal. These are some reasons why the revolutions in Nepal and India will be intertwined.

Traditionally, many Nepalese men have enrolled in foreign armed services, particularly the British Army (and since independence, the Indian Army as well). These forces, often misnamed "Gorkha regiments" (after only one of the many peoples in Nepal), played an important role in the British and now Indian war machines. During World War II, as many as 500,000 Nepalese served in the Brit-

ish Army, only to be discharged without a penny at the war's end. Their massive return to Nepal was one of the important factors of the large-scale democratic upsurge that took place in the country in 1950-51. One positive aspect of this thoroughly disgusting practice of press-ganging oppressed peoples to serve their masters in war has been that some knowledge of military affairs and handling of modern weapons is widespread, even in the most remote corners of the country.

SOME HISTORY

From relatively nearby Calcutta on the Bay of Bengal, which was the capital of British India until the beginning of the twentieth century, the colonial authorities longed after Nepal. In 1814-15, the British East India Company waged a war against the Gorkha kingdom and seized a large part of the territory that had earlier been incorporated into the kingdom by Prithvi Narayan Shah. But the British found it both difficult and unwise to try to occupy Nepal militarily, and instead exercised control over the country by less direct means.

In 1846, a political institution developed which was to govern Nepal for a century and safeguard British interests in the process. One of the leading feudal families of Kathmandu with links to the British, the Rana, provided hereditary "prime ministers". The successive kings, on the other hand, were reduced to mere figureheads, and each was required to marry a member of the Rana family to further ensure the latter's dominance. During the hundred-year rule of the Rana family, Nepal's integration into the world imperialist system was brought about via the connection to Britain and British India. At the same time, extremely backward feudal conditions marked the socio-economic system, and the masses were locked out of any modern political life.

It was only after World War II and the revolutionary upsurge that accompanied the defeat of the fascist imperialist powers and the great weakening of British imperialism that the "Ranarchy" (as the Rana family domination was sometimes called) finally collapsed. The king, with the blessing of the British, waged a palace coup against the hated Rana family in hopes of heading off the popular ferment.

British India was partitioned into the formally independent countries of India and Pakistan in 1947, and Nepal's traditional subservience to British India was transferred to the new Nehru regime in New Delhi.

Two political parties were formed at that time, the Nepalese Congress Party and the Nepal Communist Party (NCP, formed in April 1949). The Congress Party was essentially a party of the pro-Indian big feudals and big bourgeoisie. While the NCP attracted the hopes and aspirations of the working class, sections of the peasantry and a big section of the middle class as well, even at its founding it did not have a revolutionary programme or ideology. In 1951, a compromise was engineered by New Delhi (known as the "tripartite agreement", between the king, the Rana family and New Delhi) to put an end to the revolutionary upsurge demanding democracy in the country. Under this compromise the hereditary prime ministership was to be eliminated, the role of India as the overseer of Nepal was confirmed and a parliament was established. The king obtained sweeping powers, including the power to dissolve parliament and rule by decree.

In the wake of the collapse of the old "dual monarchy" system, mass movements developed among different sections of the people. The NCP initially denounced the tripartite agreement and led some struggle against it. Some armed struggle developed among the peasantry. One important struggle in the early 1950s was led by Vim Dutta Pantha, who was pro-communist although not a Party member. The Nepalese police and army were unable to defeat him. It was left up to the Indian army to defeat Pantha's forces and behead him.

Peasant struggles in the Terai were led by the NCP and some of them went over to arms. Unfortunately, these struggles were betrayed by the NCP leadership, and especially by the General Secretary of the NCP, Man Mohan Adhikari, who went on to become the Prime Minister in 1994 at the head of the United Nepal Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), on which more later. Adhikari signed a secret agreement with the Prime Minister in which the NCP pledged to recognize the monarchy in hopes of lifting a ban on the Party.

In 1960, parliamentary elections

were held. The entire machinery of the Communist Party was plunged into the electoral arena. The NCP won only four seats in a parliament dominated by the Nepalese Congress Party. Under the Congress Party government, Nepal was brought even more under the domination of India. Numerous treaties were signed giving over valuable natural resources, especially control over Nepal's vast water reserves, to the Indian ruling classes. The Nepalese Prime Minister even went so far as to oppose Nepal's application for membership in the United Nations on the grounds that it was unnecessary because its "elder brother" India was already a member!

After only eighteen months of the Congress Government, with discontent rapidly growing among the masses, the king dissolved parliament and arrested all political leaders and activists. In place of parliament, the *panchayat* system was established. Under this system the government was to be based on village and local elections following traditional patriarchal authority patterns. At the top, representatives of lower level councils would serve as advisors to the king. All political parties were outlawed, and there was constant repression against the various communist parties in particular.

THE MAOIST MOVEMENT

Of crucial importance in the history of Nepal's communist movement has been the great battle against modern revisionism led by Mao Tsetung and the Communist Party of China against the Khrushchev clique leading the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Not only did Mao's line exert deep influence over the masses in neighbouring Nepal, but the worldwide revolutionary upsurge which accompanied the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was knocking on Nepal's borders with India as well.

In 1967, the famous Naxalbari upsurge began in a village by that name in the upper part of the Indian state of West Bengal, not too far from Darjeeling. The village of Naxalbari is only a few kilometres from the border of eastern Nepal. It is not surprising, then, that the influence of this movement would quickly spread into the adjoining areas of Nepal itself. In 1971, in the Jhapa district of eastern

Nepal, a local section of the NCP split off and began a Naxalbari-type armed struggle. Although the movement had great historical significance, it could not develop into a people's war. The leadership of the NCP denounced the movement as "ultra-left", despite its importance. Under the blows of the enemy, the movement was defeated and its political leaders degenerated, later rejoining the main revisionist party.

In 1974, the Fourth Congress of the Nepal Communist Party was held, which adopted Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as its ideology. It concluded that Nepal must pass through a new democratic revolution and that this could only be accomplished through armed struggle. At the same time, the Congress was unclear on what the nature of the armed struggle would be.

The NCP resolutely boycotted the 1980 referendum which the king had proposed in response to a new upswing in the mass movement. In 1981, the Party condemned the revisionist coup in China.

Normal Lama had become the General Secretary of the Party in 1978 and tried hard to have the Party adopt a line of "general insurrection" in opposition to the Maoist line of protracted people's war. While awaiting this "general insurrection", Lama advocated participation in *panchayat* elections. The Party expelled Lama in 1983 and was renamed the Nepal Communist Party (Mashal). The NCP (Mashal) joined the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement from its beginning in 1984.

The 5th Congress of the NCP (Mashal) in 1985 solemnly adopted the path of protracted people's war as the strategy for revolution in Nepal and even called for preparations to be made in this direction.² This position reflected the burning desire of the great majority of the Party to make revolution. But numerous problems of political and ideological line prevented the Party from seriously taking up the tasks of preparing and launching people's war. Two of the principal errors were:

1) The leadership of NCP (Mashal) began to more and more vociferously oppose Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, holding that because the world was still in the stage of imperialism which Lenin described, it was impossible for the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-

Leninism to reach a third and higher stage of Maoism. Further, NCP (Mashal) leaders claimed that Mao had made a number of important errors and, in particular, disagreed with the critique that Mao had developed concerning some of the errors and weaknesses of Joseph Stalin and the experience of building socialism in the Soviet Union under his leadership. The NCP (Mashal) leadership was unable to fully assimilate the experience of the Cultural Revolution and draw appropriate conclusions.

2) The NCP (Mashal) developed the thesis that it was impossible for people's war to be successfully conducted in Nepal unless it were to break out in India first. The argument of "two invincible mountains" held that people's war in Nepal, a landlocked country with the Himalayas on one side and India on the other three sides, would inevitably have to face the might of the Indian state and could never hope to resist such a powerful force. This view saw only the strength of the Indian ruling classes and not their weaknesses, especially that they are hated and opposed by the revolutionary masses of India. Revolutionary war in Nepal will be opposed by the Indian reactionaries but supported by the Indian people. The geographically unfavourable features (being landlocked) were one-sidedly used to negate the extremely favourable aspects – such as mountainous terrain favourable for waging people's war.

A split took place in the NCP (Mashal) in 1986, with one group known as the "Central Organizing Committee" (COC) and the other as the "Central Committee" (CC). Both of these groupings remained active participants of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. The campaigns of RIM were actively taken up in Nepal, particularly the support for and popularization of the People's War in Peru, which struck a deep chord among the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals of Nepal.

Over a period of time, the line questions in the Nepalese communist movement began to sharpen. In both the COC and especially in the CC group, serious grappling began to take place over the problem of how to wage protracted people's war in the conditions of Nepal. Furthermore, the CC group began to develop a more thorough critique of the errors of the COC



The extravagant way of life of reactionaries has always been supported by the brutal exploitation of children.

leadership [still known as "NCP (Mashal)"] and, most importantly, adopted and took up the struggle for Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in opposition to the COC view that Mao had not developed Marxism-Leninism to a new and higher stage.

Beginning in 1990, another mass upsurge rocked Nepal. Millions of people rose up to demand an end to the absolute monarchy. In the face of the mounting furor of the people, the

king quickly reached an agreement with the Nepalese Congress and the main revisionist groupings (who were collaborating with the Congress Party) to grant parliamentary elections for the first time in decades. In return, these reactionary and reformist parties were to accept the continued existence of the monarchy, which traded in its partyless *panchayat* system for "multi-party democracy". Political parties were legalized and a period of



ABOVE: Children learning to terrace a hillside for crop growing. ABOVE LEFT: Slave enchained by his master in Kathmandu (1990s). LEFT: Members of the ruling class during the "Ranarchy" on a tiger hunt in Nepal's southern jungle.

intense political activity began throughout the country, involving all sections of the population.

Within the communist movement, the process of realignment and polarization into two main camps also intensified under the conditions of revolutionary upsurge. In December 1991, the Nepal Communist Party (Unity Centre) was formed, made up of the NCP CC group, a section of the NCP COC, the Lama group and a group

called the Proletarian Labour Organization. The NCP (Unity Centre) applied for admittance into the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and was accepted, while the NCP (Mashal) remained a participating Party as well. Under Unity Centre leadership, a nationwide mass organization, the United People's Front, quickly developed a large following in both urban and rural areas.

On the other hand, the principal

revisionist organizations in Nepal joined together to form the United Nepal Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), usually referred to simply as UML. The UML included both the "historic leaders" of the Nepal communist movement, such as Man Mohan Adhikari, who had betrayed the struggle in the 1950s, and others who had taken part in the Naxalbari-type struggles in the early 1970s and then swung over to right-revisionist

positions.

In 1991, the first parliamentary elections in decades were held. The NCP (Mashal) called for a boycott, while the NCP (Unity Centre) chose to participate in the elections through the vehicle of the United People's Front (UPF). The Nepalese Congress won 110 of the 205 seats. The UML emerged as the second largest party with a total of 69 seats. The UPF won nine seats in the Assembly and several others in the upper house as well. Both the Unity Centre and Mashal participated in the local elections for a whole myriad of positions on local councils, school boards, etc, with the Unity Centre winning over 2000 posts and Mashal over 1000.

The masses, having been called forth into political struggle by the political upheaval in the country, were demanding a change in their lives. Needless to say, the new government did nothing to alleviate the dreadful conditions of poverty or to challenge the reactionary feudal ownership system. Under the Congress Party government, the ties to the Indian reactionary regime and imperialism became tighter still.

With the capture of Chairman Gonzalo in September 1992, the participating parties of RIM mobilized a massive campaign to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo in accordance with the needs of the hour and the call issued by the Committee of RIM. This campaign reached deep among the workers and peasants as well as the revolutionary intellectuals active in the capital and other cities. The support for Comrade Gonzalo reflected not only support for the PCP and proletarian internationalism, but also the desire of the Nepalese masses to rise up in revolutionary warfare. In many of the houses of the poor peasants, the only decoration on the bare wall was a poster of Chairman Gonzalo. The Mao Centenary was also celebrated in a big way by the Unity Centre who used it as an occasion to study and propagate Maoism, especially Mao's teachings on protracted people's war.

In 1994, new parliamentary elections were held. The Unity Centre and the United People's Front it was leading decided to boycott the parliamentary elections. In areas in which the Unity Centre was strong, especially the Rolpa area in Western Nepal, the election boycott was particularly suc-

cessful. In a reversal of position since the last election, the Mashal party decided to participate in the parliamentary election, winning two seats.

The biggest winner of the election was the UML, which formed a government. The election of so-called "communists" to power was widely commented in the international press as one of the only examples of "communists coming to power peacefully". In fact, the UML was communist in name only, and its taking over the government only meant agreeing to handle the administration of the old state apparatus (minus the most important component, the army, which remained firmly under the control of the palace) on behalf of the exploiting powers. No serious efforts were made to challenge the existing property relations or the entrenched authority of the exploiting classes. While the UML was fond of talking about Marx, Lenin, Stalin and even sometimes Mao, it was really just fulfilling the same role as that of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in nearby West Bengal. The CPI(M) has run the state government for decades and in particular bears responsibility for the murder of hundreds of revolutionary communists including comrade Charu Mazumdar, initiator of the Naxalbari uprising and founder of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). This shows that it is quite possible to protect the interests of the ruling classes while muttering Marxist phrases or putting up pictures of deceased proletarian revolutionary leaders.

The UML government lasted until November 1995, when a reversal of alliances in parliament led to its fall and the formation of a new Nepalese Congress government.

MAOISM IS THE KEY!

Meanwhile, the clarification of political lines in the ranks of the genuine communists continued. In May 1994, the Unity Centre decided to expel the Lama grouping from the Party and to rename itself the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). This was not just a name change, but represented the culmination of a long struggle comrades had been waging to unite the Party around a correct Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line. This victory in

the line struggle made it possible for the third plenum of the Central Committee in March 1995 to take the historic decision to start the People's War. The previous position of the Unity Centre in 1991 to launch the People's War had remained an abstract position, as the "Lamaites" in the Party opposed preparing for the people's war and instead argued for continued participation in parliament.

Once the momentous decision was taken, the Party leadership set out to bring to fruition the ideological, political and organizational transformations necessary to be able to launch the People's War. Despite the many struggles over the decades that had been waged against first one then another type of opportunism and revisionism, the struggle to consolidate a correct Marxist-Leninist-Maoist understanding needed to be carried through to the end.

As the CPN(M) leadership has put it: "There are specific weaknesses in the understanding of communists in Nepal. Mostly we have been influenced by gradualism. This means mass struggle, and that some time in the distant future the mass struggle will itself transition to armed struggle. This is wrong and goes against Marxist dialectics (it is gradualism, vulgar evolutionism). The law of dialectics is the unity of opposites. There was a debate in the Congress. The rightists argued that unity was permanent and struggle temporary. They are out of the Party but the understanding of this question is still a problem for the Party - development takes place through leaps and bounds... After the struggle with the rightists we have better grasped the Maoist idea of unity-struggle-transformation. The law of development is not through addition or subtraction but through qualitative leap.

"Basically we see that philosophy and ideology and organization is crucial to initiating people's war to break out of the vicious circle of reformism - the school of revolution in words and reformism in deeds that marked the old Mashal party. There needed to be radical rupture in thinking, deeds, style of organization. Otherwise we cannot initiate people's war. We have studied the experience of other countries and especially the works of Mao. The question of philosophy and ideology must be clear. In fact, it is part

of the problem of initiating. Things don't develop gradually, they need a leap. Mass struggle will not go over to armed struggle by itself. In other organizational spheres it is not enough just to make progress, there has to be rupture in our work style.

"Along with this, what we are emphasizing is that the revolutionary process does not develop in a straight line, it goes in zig-zags and there are successes and defeats. We... cannot say that with only one leap we will be able to get rid of all the revisionist garbage from the past. So there is a dialectical process of development – twists and turns, advances and retreats, etc. Ultimate success, but temporary failures."

Throughout this period and since, the CPN(M) has been an active participant in RIM, not only in its public campaigns but also in its internal life as well. The discussions involved in the adoption of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism by RIM in December 1993 and the unfolding of the struggle against the Right Opportunist Line which emerged in the Communist Party of Peru have also interpenetrated with the Party's strides forward. The Party pointed out in relation to the two-line struggle in Peru that, "the revolutionaries cannot remain a silent spectator when the struggle centres around broader ideological and political questions with universal implications like this one," and it spoke of "the direct bearing and significance" of such questions for the revolution in Nepal.³

In the last several years, the CPN(M) leaders have been engaged in a major effort to study the Maoist line on protracted people's war and apply it to the concrete realities of Nepal. This includes studying the military history of Nepal, the strengths and weaknesses of the enemy's forces, the particularities of Nepal's class formation, history and geography and so forth. But the key to solving the military line, in the words of the CPN(M) leadership, "was mainly a question of grasping Maoism and the struggle for Maoism".

Once the Party had firmly grasped the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist position on protracted peoples war, it went about the systematic political, ideological and organizaional preparations necessary among its members and supporters. Members were struggled with

to make the transformations required for the Party to be capable of really launching and sustaining a people's war. Others were encouraged to help the Party as sympathizers.

Particular military preparations took place as well. For example, the widely reported seizure of 40,000 detonating devices and one hundred kilograms of fuse took place in the days before the initiation. Although a highly publicized "recovery" operation was launched with the aid of dogs and helicopters, none of the explosives material was recovered and it was instead quickly distributed throughout the country.

In areas of strong Party influence in the backward and poverty-stricken Western Region of Nepal, Rukum and Rolpa in particular, the class struggle had been dramatically sharpening in the final months of 1995 and the beginning of 1996. The regime had launched a vicious campaign called "Operation Romeo" aimed at rooting out the strength of the Party in those areas and especially at wiping out military squads being formed under Party leadership. As many as 1000 Party members and sympathetic peasants and workers had been arrested and tortured by the reactionary forces before the People's War began.

The vicious repression campaign fueled the anger of the masses. Human rights organizations and even some ruling class elements such as sections of the revisionist UML party demanded an end to government terror. Mass meetings were held throughout the country against the repression and in support of the Party's basic program. In the capital alone, 50 000 people attended a rally and over 200 000 participated throughout the country. A delegation of the United People's Front led by Babarum Bhattarai and Pampa Bhusal delivered a memorandum to the Prime Minister demanding an immediate end to the repression campaign and indicating the revolutionary demands of the people.

Under these conditions of an extremely rapid intensification of the class struggle, the Party leadership took the bold decision to initiate the People's War on February 13th. Once the decision was taken and "the Rubicon was crossed", a whole new life began for the Party and its members. One thousand party activ-

ists went underground during the initiation.

THE INITIATION OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR

A total of 5000 actions, large and small, were carried out in the Western, Central, Eastern and Kathmandu Valley regions of Nepal, in what amounts to sixty-five percent of the country.⁴ On the first day, seven major actions were launched. In both Rukum and in the Sindhili district in Eastern Nepal, police camps were seized after the defenders surrendered. In another camp in Rolpa a gunfight lasted several hours before the guerrillas successfully withdrew. In another place in Western Nepal, a big feudal, almost a local king, was attacked, his property seized, and his land titles destroyed.

In the Central Region, an agricultural bank, which was part of a bureaucrat capitalist project to suck the blood of the peasantry in the name of rural development, came under attack. In the Gorkha district, squads successfully sabotaged a comprador-owned distillery, despite the unexpected presence of 15 policemen busy downing liquor. In the same district, the office of a notorious U.S. imperialist "aid" organization, "Save the Children", was ransacked. A symbolic attack was made against the Coca Cola plant near Kathmandu.

One important feature of the initiation phase was attacks on agricultural credit banks and the confiscation and burning of mortgages and loan documents. In a number of cases, hundreds of peasants led by regular guerrilla squads captured and burned loan documents belonging to very large and widely hated feudals. It is estimated that the total value of these loan documents was more than \$200 000 (US) – a very considerable sum for the Nepalese peasantry.

Together with the assaults, a nationwide propaganda campaign was also unleashed. In hundreds of villages, processions took place, which all together involved thousands of men and women in almost equal numbers. Participants in these processions, some of which were carried out at night by torch light, were armed with local weapons and led by guerrilla squads. In 40 to 50 district towns as well as in the capital, squads under

the leadership of the Party carried out the now very dangerous tasks of posting and wall writing in support of the initiation of the war. Hundreds of thousands of flyers were distributed along with 50 000 posters.

The goals of the initial campaign were:

- i) To establish the politics of armed struggle.
- ii) To establish in practice that the main form of struggle is armed actions and the main form of organization, at the present stage of the struggle, is the different types of organized squads.
- iii) To prepare the basis for developing guerrilla zones.

As news of the initiation swept across

ary masses right and left. Even a music cassette with revolutionary songs was banned, causing the black market price to triple, according to press accounts.

On the side of the government and the palace, panic set in. All of the major parliamentary political parties, and in particular the revisionist UML, were convoked by the Prime Minister to express their condemnation of the uprising. NCP (Mashal) also condemned the uprising as "premature" and "left extremist". The revolutionary process itself was dividing the political forces between those who stood for the overthrow of the old regime and those who objectively were defending it.



the country, a wave of enthusiasm spread among the masses of the poor and other revolutionary sections of the people. The dream of standing up, guns in hand, against the hated oppressors was finally becoming a reality!

The reactionary government responded by unleashing mass terror campaigns in areas of Party influence. Even in the capital they went on a mad rage, stomping around seeking Party leaders and members, furious when they discovered that most were gone and had not left a forwarding address! Unable to get their hands on many Party cadre, police arrested revolution-

At the same time, the camp of the ruling class was set into disarray by the rising of the masses. After the initial phase of several weeks of coordinated attacks was over, the Party leadership summed up the initiation as a complete success and began preparing for the next waves of struggle. At first, the enemy crowded over the temporary decline in armed actions by the people's forces. Actually, the Party and the forces led by it were preparing to go over to a new and higher stage of struggle, the initiation of guerrilla warfare.

In March 1996, the Political Bu-

reau of the Central Committee led by the Secretary General of the Party, Comrade Prachanda, met to sum up the process of initiation and to lay further plans. The document of that meeting put it as follows: "At the moment the attention of the politically conscious masses, intellectual community and all others is centred on what would be the next plan of the Party and whether or not we would be able to preserve and develop what has been newly given birth to. In this context we should pay serious attention to the following points:

"1. ... The enemy wants to draw us into

a war of quick decision but on our part we want to avoid it and prolong the war... the enemy wants to incite us and draw us into confrontation according to his own convenience, but we want to harass the enemy, tire him out and attack him at his weak points at the time and place of our convenience according to our plan.

"2. ...Our policies and programmes should guarantee our constant interactions with the masses, because the Party has no separate interests other than the interests of the masses....

"3. ...We must wage relentless ideological and political struggle against the tendency of dragging the Party in

own specificities."

Armed with the above line, the Party undertook active preparations for taking the struggle to a higher stage. In the areas of Party influence, the two thousand militarized police sent by the government continued their reign of terror. Cases of rape of women, burning of houses and beatings of the young and elderly were widespread. In the "struggling areas", all of the young men are considered guerrillas and a great many have had to flee their villages to neighbouring hills and forests. Women have taken the main responsibility for organizing agricultural production and mass resistance in the villages. In addition, scores of women have joined the regu-

In most cases the revolutionary squads are extremely underarmed. They have only a few modern weapons and instead use rudimentary country hunting weapons, homemade guns and arms such as knives, and even stones. But by utilizing tactics of pitting "ten against one", taking full advantage of the element of surprise, with high morale and superior intelligence, which comes from close integration with the masses, even ill-armed squads can defeat enemy patrols and capture enemy arms, as happened in several ambushes in summer 1996. The CPN(M) is following Mao's teachings of relying on one's own efforts and procuring armaments principally by taking them from the enemy.

REVISIONIST ATTACKS ON CPN(M)

Meanwhile, the revisionists of the UML are, with the help of some others, busy throwing mud on the great achievements of the genuine communists of Nepal and rushing to the support of the old regime, in a way that reminds one of the infamous Patria Roja which has opposed the People's War in Peru from the beginning even while claiming to be "Maoist".

The General Secretary of the UML declared at an international gathering in Brussels that, "Violence and armed revolt are never a desire of working people and the communist party.... We have seen that militant mass movements can also bring about change in the system without much bloodshed.... The present world has moved far away from the time of the Indonesian and Chilean incidents.

"Short-sightedness, dogmatism, subjectivism, sectarianism, extremism, petit-bourgeois romanticism, impatience and personal egos dominate extremist minds and they act as fanatics. Such actions actually harm the revolution, weaken and isolate the revolutionaries and provide the upper hand to reactionary regimes."

One result of the shameless attack on the revolution by the UML and others has been large-scale desertions from the revisionist and opportunist organizations, as more and more rank-and-file members and supporters rally to the cause of the People's War.

The UML revisionists have not restricted their attacks to mere words.

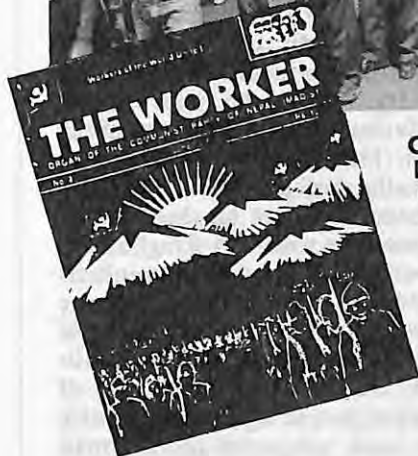
Continued to page 21



Top Left: Demonstration in front of the Chinese embassy in Nepal after the death of Chiang

Ching. The banner reads: "Long Live the Memory of Great Revolutionary Fighter Comrade Chiang Ching". Far left: Celebrating Mao Centenary and the adoption of MLM in the streets of Kathmandu.

Above: May 1996. Nepalese masses in Punjab, India, demonstrate against the brutal repression unleashed in the aftermath of the initiation of the People's War. Left: Cover of the Worker, organ of CPN(M).



the direction of either adventurism or capitulationism. In the present situation of the enemy on the offensive, the capitulationist tendency is more dangerous for the Party.

"4. ...The process of protracted people's war is the process of construction of the revolutionary Party, revolutionary struggle, revolutionary power and the revolutionary army, from the simple to the complex... now it is necessary to concentrate on the development of guerrilla warfare in a planned way and based on the principle of protracted people's war and on our

lar guerrilla squads.

By the end of July, over 45 people had been killed by the reactionaries throughout the country and many hundreds jailed. The enemy has offered rewards of thousands of dollars for information on the whereabouts of leaders of the People's War. However, a new factor appeared as well: by July three well-planned ambushes against police patrols in the rural districts in Western Nepal had taken place. It is clear that the squads led by the CPN(M), the rudiments of a peoples' army, have been able to withstand the repression campaign and even counter-attack.



Appeal of the CPN(M) to the People

March Along the

This historic leaflet was distributed in hundreds of thousands of copies all over the country at the time of the great initiation of the People's War on 13 February 1996. Here it is reprinted from *The Worker*, organ of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), June 1996. — AWTW

March Along the Path of People's War to Smash the Reactionary State and Establish a New Democratic State!

Dear Masses of the People,

Today Nepalese society is in a state of grave crisis, whether economically, politically, culturally or otherwise. Where has the present state that has been harping about development and construction for the last fifty years landed Nepal economically? It has landed Nepal in the position of second poorest country in the world after Ethiopia. This state that does not manufacture even a needle in the name of a self-reliant and national economy has handed over the whole economy of the country to a dozen families of the foreign comprador and bureaucrat capitalists. Whereas this handful of plunderers have become billionaires, the real masters of this country and the national property, the toiling masses of Nepal, are forced to eke out a meagre existence of deprivation and poverty. The sons and daughters of Nepalese peasants and workers reeling under unemployment and poverty are compelled to lead a miserable life of dishonour and neglect in India and different parts of the world to earn their daily bread. After piling a massive foreign debt burden even on the future generations of the Nepalese people, the feudal and comprador and bureaucrat capitalist rulers are making merry on it. In the name of privatization and liberalization under the guidance and for the benefit of the foreign capitalists, the process of mortgaging the whole country to the comprador and bureaucrat capitalists is now in full swing.

The burden of this economic degradation has to be basically borne by

the peasantry, which constitute ninety percent of the population. That every new government formed under this state structure pushes and will push the country economically into a further state of bankruptcy has been historically verified.

To maintain hegemony of one religion (Hinduism), language (Nepalese) and nationality (Khas), this state has for centuries exercised discrimination, exploitation and oppression against other religions, languages and nationalities and has conspired to fragment the force of national unity that is vital for the proper development and security of the country. On the contrary, it has been prostrating itself before the foreign imperialists and expansionists and repeatedly mortgaging Nepal's national honour and sovereignty to them. The present state has been shamelessly permitting the foreign plunderers to grab the natural water resources of Nepal and to trample upon our motherland. If this process is allowed to continue in the future, the patriotic, conscious and self-esteeming Nepalese have no doubt that the very existence of Nepal will be in jeopardy.

The present state has declared war against the development of the national culture of the Nepalese people by flooding the country with corrupt, licentious and distorted imperialist culture. The feudal and imperialist forces are doing their utmost to replace the democratic cultural values and ideals with Freudian, nihilist and anarchic values. This is a sequel to the conspiracy of the reactionary classes to corrupt the people culturally and preserve their own heaven of plunder. This corrupt cultural value is no less responsible for the burgeoning of drug-trafficking, smuggling, thievery, black marketeering, looting, murder and rape in the society today.

Within this moribund state structure, a coalition government of *Panchas* (royalists) and Nepali Congress, defamed in Nepalese history for their anti-national and genocidal deeds, is ruling right now. This government has forced not only the peas-

ants and workers of Nepal but also the people of different categories and professions to live in a state of scarcity, injustice and terror. Whereas this state has been treating women as second-class citizens for a long time, now it has intensified rape, trafficking and the process of commoditization through advertisements against them. The whole educational system is tuned to produce slaves for this state and there is rampant anarchy in it. Thus, be they workers, peasants, women, teachers, students, small traders, lower-ranking civil servants, doctors, professors, or people of different classes including the national bourgeoisie, all are victims of this state of feudals and comprador and bureaucrat capitalists. Except for radical change in all spheres, any possibility of reform has now become a mere chimera.

Reactionary ruling classes, forever swearing by democracy, have been repeatedly using their guns against the political activists or the ordinary masses who hold political beliefs counter to the interests of the rulers. This state which regards itself as the custodian of "democracy" has been surviving on the blood of innumerable sons and daughters of mother Nepal, ranging from infants to the aged, whenever the people have professed and spoken in favour of nationalism, democracy and livelihood. Hundreds of thousands of Nepalese people fighting for justice have been subjected to inhuman physical torture, confinement in jails and mental torture. Not only during the partyless *panchayat* (absolute monarchy) period but even in the present monarchal parliamentary period, the fascist genocidal and repressive acts have been on the increase rather than decreasing. This is a bitter truth experienced by the Nepalese people in their real life. This process has now developed into an armed repression campaign against innocent people favouring truth and justice. The recent armed operation and state terror let loose in Western Nepal and different parts of the country has testified beyond doubt that the ruling

Path of People's War!

classes have openly embarked upon an unjust war against the people. The heinous game of the reactionary state of enrolling the sons and daughters of the poor peasants and workers into the police and the army as mercenaries and forcing them to use arms against their own parents, brothers and sisters, is now crystal clear. With the passage of time those in the police and the army will also come to know the realities. There is no alternative for the people other than to raise the banner of just war against this unjust war.

How did we reach this stage of the critical condition of nationalism, democracy and livelihood and a situation of open warfare of the state against the people? What is clear on the basis of historical and scientific materialism is that the seeds of this state of affairs were sown in Nepalese history a long time back. With the advent of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, as in almost all the oppressed nations, in Nepal too, a semi-feudal and semi-colonial socio-economic structure based on the alliance of feudalism and imperialism was established. This gave rise to a process of feudalism prostrating before imperialism and imperialism plundering the masses while protecting feudalism. In Nepal, this process was initiated in concrete form after the conclusion of the Sugauli Treaty of 1815-16 with British India. The inevitable consequence of this process was that it obstructed the development of national capitalism and instead opened the path to the development of bureaucrat capital in the interests of both landlords and imperialism. This long historical period has in fact been the period of the process of the birth, rise and demise of the same bureaucrat capital.

In Nepalese society, the 104 year period of Rana autocracy (between 1846-1950) existed under the same formation as the later partyless *panchayat* autocracy (between 1960-1990), and the current so-called monarchical multi-party system (since 1990) also continued and continues

under the same dispensation. As a result of the struggle of the Nepalese people against this socio-economic structure, principally, and due to the changes in the international political situation, secondarily, the names of the system and the government have been changing, sometimes liberal and at other times conservative, to make a redistribution of the spoils of power. But the basic structure of the state has remained unchanged. The political developments of 1951, 1960, 1979 and 1990 can only be understood in this way. Looking at history just since 1951, it is amply evident that an ever greater crisis for the country and the people has been sprouting from within the womb of the petty reforms carried out within the reactionary state.

The Nepalese people have been constantly struggling against this state of affairs. In the process of such struggles, the Nepalese people have been a victim of not only the repeated repression and intrigues of the reactionaries but also of the betrayal and treachery of the reformists. Today the biggest traitors of the people have been those so-called communists, the revisionists, who have gone after crumbs of reactionary state power by licking the boots of feudalism and imperialism. The Nepalese people and Nepalese history will never forgive those traitors who have sat on the chairs of the reactionaries by betraying the people's faith in radical change and the Communist Party and by stepping on the blood of thousands of martyrs. Again if one talks of limiting oneself to the reformist struggle within the reactionary state, that will be merely another process of treachery. This has now been a historically verified truth.

The other aspect which should not be forgotten at this point is that the negative recurrence of the reactionary repression and intrigue and reformist betrayal and treachery has given rise to the positive conditions of enhancing the political consciousness of the general masses of the people and of their attaining the sole revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism for their libera-

tion, amidst the people's class struggle and a long and intense ideological struggle against such reformism. Today, the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party guided by this all-powerful revolutionary ideology has developed like a beautiful and blossoming flower, through the long struggle of the labouring masses of Nepal, irrigated by the blood of thousands of martyrs. Whereas all kinds of reactionaries and revisionists are madly after it to nip it in the bud, the revolutionary masses are taking care of its preservation and development.

Dear Masses of the People,

What is clear from the above historical and current facts is that the present crisis-ridden condition of the country is the result of the development of contradictions between the exploitation and oppression of the people by the state power of the feudals and comprador and bureaucrat capitalist classes, on the one hand, and the relentless struggle carried out by the people against it, on the other. To defend their moribund and crisis-ridden reactionary state, feudalism and imperialism have openly imposed an unjust war on the Nepalese people. If the Nepalese people cannot raise the banner of a just people's war against this unjust war and become victorious in it, the Nepalese people and the Nepalese nation will be doomed to a prolonged darkness.

Conscious of one's duty towards this historical necessity, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), the proletarian party of the sons and daughters of the masses of the people, has resolved to initiate the process of forcibly smashing this reactionary state and establishing a New Democratic state. This resolve of ours is based on the feeling of service and devotion toward the people, on the commitment to the lofty ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to free humanity forever from the yoke of class exploitation, and on the study of the history of Nepalese society in that light. We are fully conscious that this war to break the shackles of thousands of years of

slavery and to establish a New Democratic state will be quite uphill, full of twists and turns and of a protracted nature. But this and this alone is the path of people's liberation and a great and bright future. This path will unfold by making use of all forms of struggle in keeping with the historical stage of development of Nepal and principally, as we have been saying all along, according to the strategy of encircling the city from the countryside, with agrarian revolution as the axis and from the midst of and in conjunction with the rural class struggle. This process of people's war in the context of the present balance of forces will move forward through the process of people's guerilla war within the stage of strategic defence. We are confident that the masses of the people of all classes and categories will extend active support and help to this revolutionary process and that it will be victorious. Besides this, we are conscious and confident that this struggle will win support and help from the communist revolutionaries and struggling masses the world over, and that this will in turn assist all those revolutionaries. Because this struggle of ours will be part and parcel of the world proletarian revolution undertaken with a view to ending exploitation and oppression of man by man and to ending war itself forever. In this context we would like to make special mention of the ongoing people's revolution in Peru based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) and revolutionary movements the world over based on the same.

Finally, we appeal to the workers, peasants, women, students, teachers, intellectuals and the masses of the people of all categories and trades to march along in the process of people's war for establishing a people's New Democratic state and to extend to it all forms of support and help.

**It is Right to Rebel!
Long Live the People's War!
Down With the Reactionary State!
Long Live the New Democratic
Revolution!
Glory to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**

With revolutionary greetings,
Central Committee
Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

Message to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

From the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of all of the participating parties and organizations of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), we extend our deep heartfelt communist salute on the occasion of giving birth to a glorious chapter in the history of revolution in Nepal – the initiation of people's war aimed at overthrowing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. We highly cherish this newborn, and are immensely proud of it! We pledge our full support to help keep it growing and developing. The launching of revolutionary warfare for emancipation is what the proletariat and people of the world need and want.

Now the workers and peasants of Nepal under the leadership of their vanguard, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), are not only moving forward the history of Nepal but also world history; this is a great and lofty responsibility they are shouldering. They are not only fighting for their own liberation but for the emancipation of the proletariat and the peoples of the world; they have decided to boldly march in the front ranks of the world proletarian revolution and be a beacon light showing the way forward on the crimson and liberating path of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to all the oppressed of the world. This is a great advance for RIM and a tremendous assistance to our detachment in Peru, the Communist Party of Peru, which is involved in an intense and arduous battle to keep our red flag flying in Peru in the face of ferocious attacks by the enemy and ugly assaults from a right opportunist line.

Let the reactionary bloodsucking ruling classes in Nepal and their allies and their imperialist masters moan and tremble at the sight of the armed workers and peasants of Nepal who are taking the initial steps to forge a red army; as we know, without a people's army, the people have nothing. Up to now, the reactionaries have had the monopoly over the use of force. Now the people of Nepal, under the leadership of their Party and according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, have categorically decided to break this monopoly and take history into their hands.

Comrades: please convey our intense revolutionary feelings to the Party members and all of the red fighters. Together with all the participating parties and organizations of our Movement, we celebrate the memory of the fallen heroes of our class in this glorious battle of initiation. Every drop of blood that the reactionaries have shed from our class bothers and sisters in Nepal will be another nail in the coffin of imperialism and reaction. Although the road you have embarked upon will be long and tortuous, final victory will belong to the revolutionary masses of Nepal.

March 1996

Hoisting the Red Flag...

Continued from page 17

They have lent support to government efforts to create "self-defence groups" like the infamous "rondas" in Peru to oppose the uprising.⁵

Thus we see that today the "theoretical disputes" of the communist movement in Nepal (which are themselves part of the broader international struggle between Marxism and revisionism which some try to dismiss as mere "history") are again taking on flesh and blood – to oppose or support revolution. Just as the successful initiation of the People's War was only possible as a result of a long and bitter struggle against opportunism, it is clear that revisionism, in Nepal and internationally, will continue to do everything in its power to stop the revolution in Nepal.

The class enemy has already leapt quickly at the people, hoping that by using dual tactics of terror and deception they will sidetrack the revolution. Even as the Nepalese ruling class dispatches its militarized police to spread murder and terror throughout the rural districts, they have also tried to confuse the masses with talk of a "political solution" to the insurgency. The Prime Minister issued public feelers for negotiations.

The Party has held "that it would be a crime against the proletariat to start an armed struggle without the firm conviction of carrying it out to the end. We shall never allow this struggle to become a mere instrument for introducing partial reforms... or terminate in a simple compromise by exercising pressure on the reactionary classes."⁶ The CPN(M)'s vigorous participation in the repudiation of the Right Opportunist Line in Peru has helped further strengthen the Party's ability to respond to these counter-revolutionary dual tactics and the Party's grasp of the laws of war.⁷

THE FUTURE

One important actor in the months and years ahead will be the reactionary state of India. It is largely, though not exclusively, through India that Nepal is linked to the world imperialist system. India has long regarded Nepal as its protectorate and is almost certain to intervene militarily if it feels this is necessary. There are also precedents for Indian aggression against

small neighbours, including the invasion of the Himalayan states of Bhutan and Sikkim which are not far from Nepal. Sikkim was unceremoniously incorporated into the state of India by the force of the Indian army.

At the same time, the Indian rulers must seriously weigh every move they make, given the widespread hatred for them in Nepal among all classes and strata. This is particularly the case now that the Nepalese Congress Party, who are seen as stooges of India, are at the helm of government.

Furthermore, the Indian ruling class have their hands full trying to deal with the explosive contradictions in India itself, and they know that overt aggression in Nepal will also be fiercely opposed by broad sections of revolutionary and progressive people in India and throughout South Asia. For the moment, India has been quiet and has even offered some "carrots" to Nepal, in the form of relaxed border controls and so forth. But no one is so naive as to think that India will watch passively as revolution unfolds in its Himalayan protectorate.

Nepal's Western imperialist backers quickly announced the approval of various development schemes, for example, the building of new roads, whose military implications are obvious. Israel, which plays a special role in aiding and training the Nepalese repressive apparatus and intelligence services, is sure to step up its help to the counter-revolution.

The initiation of the People's War in Nepal comes at an important juncture in the world, when the imperialists and reactionaries have declared their "final victory" over communism. The possibilities of initiating and waging revolutionary warfare are being scoffed at in many quarters, and old verdicts in the long struggle of Marxism versus revisionism are being called into question, including by the Right Opportunist Line in Peru. The outbreak of a genuine people's war led by a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party participating in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement will strengthen the proletarian line internationally and deal a blow to the puffed-up revisionists, who had been pointing to Nepal as a possibility of "peaceful transition" and vaunting the wonders of parliament.

It is of course impossible to predict the future course of the People's War in Nepal. There can be no doubt that

the struggle will be fierce and complex, and there will be unexpected twists and turns. But already the hope for revolution is being transformed into a material force, the masses are aroused as never before and whole sections of the people, especially but not only the downtrodden janjati and other poor peasants, are seeking out the Party and its mass organizations. When the pent-up hatred of the downtrodden against their oppression is unleashed by a concrete programme for overcoming this oppression, when the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism illuminates the path for the armed struggle of the people, a titanic force is liberated which can sweep aside all that is decrepit and reactionary.

The sight of hundreds of thousands of peasants and workers in Nepal standing up and taking on their enemies cannot help but inspire the oppressed masses throughout the world. It highlights the decisive role and vitality of the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and gives further impulse to the forming and strengthening of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organizations united in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. The initiation of the People's War in Nepal is a daring and glorious step forward for the world revolution.

NOTES

¹ "Democratization and the Growth of Communism in Nepal: A Peruvian Scenario in the Making?" (R. Andrew Nickson, in *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Nov 1992) and "The Paradoxical Support of Nepal's Left for Comrade Gonzalo" (Stephen L. Mikesell, in *Himal*, March/April 1993).

² See *Nepalese Left Tribune*, October 1985.

³ *The Worker*, organ of the CPN(M) in English. June 1996, p 23.

⁴ Detailed information of the initial phase of the People's War is contained in *The Worker*.

⁵ *Kathmandu Post*, 26 March 1996.

⁶ From the "Plan for the Historical Initiation of the People's War" adopted by the Central Committee in September 1995.

⁷ In an article entitled "Two-Line Struggle within the PCP" in the June 1996 issue of *The Worker*, the Party summarizes key lessons of the two-line struggle in Peru concerning the correct policy toward negotiations, the laws of war, and so forth. The article supports the "detailed critiques by the Committee of RIM and the Union of Communists of Iran (Sarbedaran)" contained in *AWTW* 1995/21. ■

Persevere through the Swirling Currents of the Two-Line Struggle!

In the past year, people around the world have rallied to support the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) as it leads the People's War there in opposition to the imperialists and the Right Opportunist Line that is fighting to end the war. Meetings have been held in many countries bringing together veteran revolutionaries and forces new to Maoism; there have also been internal meetings and conferences, where the members of parties and organizations have gone more deeply into the two-line struggle, and important lessons have been drawn on the implications of this struggle for advancing preparations for People's War in their own countries. An important Regional Conference of South Asian parties and organizations in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) adopted a resolution signifying the high level of unity achieved against the Right Opportunist Line (see page 25). In all these forums, a key weapon has been the last issue of *A World to Win* 1995/21, in particular CoRIM's Call to "Rally to the Defence of Our Red Flag Flying in Peru" and the very important document prepared by the Union of Communists of Iran (Sarbedaran), "It's Right to Rebel". *AWTW* has come out in more languages than usual, including not only English, Spanish, Farsi and Turkish, but also French and German. This re-

flects the determination that broader ranks of the world's revolutionaries should be enabled to take up this battle in unity with their Peruvian brothers and sisters, who are themselves courageously pursuing the People's War under the leadership of the PCP Central Committee, in a living and powerful refutation of the pessimistic conclusions of the Right Opportunist Line (ROL).

Thus the two-line struggle is being increasingly turned into a mass school of revolution which is teaching rich lessons about matters vital to making revolution in any country, including on the dynamics and laws of People's War, on the revolutionary opportunities existing in the world today, on the nature and role of revolutionary leadership, and on the character of the party and two-line struggle within it, among many others. An article entitled "A Hard Look at the Dangers and Opportunities" (see page 26) makes use of the experience of groups and individuals from around the world who have taken part in struggle against the Right Opportunist Line. It concentrates some of the basic questions and answers that have come up in the course of this campaign, and makes the lessons from this struggle available on an even broader basis.

Maoists believe that struggle and change is permanent, and that the course of development of any process

is marked by twists and turns. This two-line struggle has not been a neat and tidy affair, where the "good guys" and "bad guys" line up squarely on opposite sides and go after each other on a clear field of battle. Indeed, the Fujimori regime's attribution of the Right Opportunist Line to Chairman Gonzalo himself has made this struggle a complex and serious matter, with important elements that were unknown right from the beginning. In this context, the desertion of a leading member of the PCP Central Committee to the ROL, not long after her capture, and her claim that her change of line came about because of her conversations with Chairman Gonzalo, has given added importance to the Maoist principle that what is decisive in such struggles is the line itself, not the author. A document from the RIM Committee, entitled "Twists and Turns in the Two-Line Struggle" (see page 34), analyses this development and pointedly concludes that this is a sharp refutation of tendencies to underestimate the life-and-death character of this battle.

The swirling currents in this two-line struggle have been stirred up further by an attack on RIM by a handful of people in Europe and North America who try to wrap themselves in the mantle of the People's War. Although they are a motley crew with serious differences amongst them-

Resolution of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

selves, they have united on the basis of denying the existence of the two-line struggle and insisting that it could be reduced to a "police plot". More than a year ago, the most prominent spokesman of these forces, Luis Arce Borja, editor of *El Diario Internacional*, vehemently denounced RIM's determination to seriously investigate the two-line struggle before reaching a public position, in an article entitled "A Response to the 'Investigators' of RIM" (see page 78). When CoRIM published its Call in March 1995, Arce escalated his attacks further, showing that his anti-RIM offensive did not spring from misguided impatience, but reflected his deep differences with RIM's Maoist approach to the two-line struggle. At a time when supporters of the Peruvian revolution all over the world need and expect the unity of the revolutionary forces in support of the People's War and in opposition to the Right Opportunist Line, Arce and a few others have now made their central task carrying out a hysterical campaign against RIM, of which the PCP is a founding participant. A reply to Arce, "On the Maoist Conception of Two-Line Struggle" (see page 36), was originally circulated privately in hopes of not distracting attention from the fight against the ROL. It is now being published here in *AWTW* in an effort to clarify how Arce & Co's line departs

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has, in accordance with its principles of functioning, conducted a vote of its participating parties and organizations on three important resolutions concerning the two-line struggle in the Communist Party of Peru. The following resolutions were approved unanimously:

- ◆ RIM rejects the right opportunist line of negotiating peace accords to end the People's War in Peru.
- ◆ RIM reaffirms its full support for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru and the heroic People's War that they are leading.
- ◆ The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement endorses the Call made by CoRIM on 28 March 1995, to "Rally to the Defence of Our Red Flag Flying in Peru!"

September 1995

from the Maoist understanding. Furthermore, just as the "poisonous weeds" from the Right Opportunist Line in Peru were included in the last issue of *AWTW* to enable readers to deepen their understanding of the two-line struggle, by way of negative example, so Arce's main attempt to refute RIM's basic approach is included here. This article, unlike Arce's later diatribes, at least has the merit of shedding light on the differences between RIM and him on some important principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Unfortunately, Arce & Co have not confined themselves to polemics against RIM's line. Congregating on a forum in the electronic "virtual world" of the Internet, they are now seeking to launch an international organization in opposition to RIM. They attack CoRIM as "revisionist" and "the main cause of immobilism" in the effort to support the People's War and the PCP Central Committee, and declare that their new organization is the centre of "all support work" internationally for the PCP and the People's War. An article by an *AWTW* contributor (see page 52), "Virtual Maoism and Real Opportunism", shows that while these forces loudly proclaim their adherence to Maoism, what brings them together is their opposition to the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line of RIM. It exposes some of the opportunist alliances that these forces are already engaged in establishing.

The extensive focus in this and the last issue of *AWTW* on the battle against the Right Opportunist Line in Peru reflects the truth of Lenin's observation some 80 years ago that the fight against imperialism is "a sham and humbug" if it is not linked to the fight against opportunism. It is in moments like these, when facing up to the dangers of a full-scale effort to impose a non-Maoist line on the party, that revolutionaries sharpen their own weapons and take big leaps in making revolution. CoRIM's Call to rally to the defence of the PCP Central Committee and the People's War is as urgent today as when it was issued over a year ago: It is a clarion call to rise to meet the new and unprecedented challenges facing the revolutionary detachment in Peru and, in so doing, to strengthen the ability of new detachments of the world's oppressed to rise in revolutionary war. ■

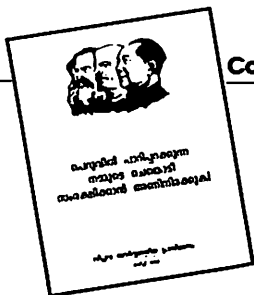
Available in:
English
Spanish
Farsi
Turkish
French
German

1995/ 21



Aiming to turn the two-line struggle that erupted within the ranks of the PCP into a great school of revolution, this issue gathers the major documents of the struggle. These include those from the PCP, the RIM Committee and a major refuta-

tion of the line calling for peace negotiations to end the People's War, *It's Right to Rebel!* by the Union of Communists of Iran (Sarbedaran) as part of the RIM's worldwide campaign to "Rally to the Defence of Our Red Flag Flying in Peru".



Joint Resolution of the South Asian Parties and Organizations of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

With a deep appreciation of the role that the People's War led by the Communist Party of Peru has played over the last fifteen years as a beacon to the proletariat and the oppressed people of the world and a living proof of the vitality of our ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the parties and organizations participating in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in the South Asian region have taken up a serious and profound discussion of the issues involved in the two-line struggle in the Communist Party of Peru and the Call issued by the Committee of RIM to "Rally to the Defence of Our Red Flag Flying in Peru".

On the basis of this study and discussion we, the undersigned parties and organizations of this region participating in the RIM, endorse that:

"RIM rejects the Right Opportunist Line of negotiating peace accords to end the People's War in Peru."

"RIM reaffirms its full support for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru and the heroic People's War that they are leading."

In this occasion, we also reaffirm our endorsement of the call issued by the Committee of RIM to "Rally to the Defence of Our Red Flag Flying in Peru".

Furthermore, the undersigned parties and organisations Call upon all Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organisations, revolutionary and progressive forces and individuals in South Asia to learn from the lessons of the two-line struggle in Peru and to join together with the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) in a forceful campaign to support the People's War in Peru being carried forward under the leadership of the PCP. We reaffirm our commitment to the ongoing battle to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo and Break the Isolation.

Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist)

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

Communist Party of Kerala

Communist Party of Maharashtra

Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (Bangladesh, PBSP)

August 1995

A Hard Look at the Opportunities in the



Dangers and Two-Line Struggle in Peru



The following article in a question-and-answer format was prepared with the help of reports from comrades and friends in many countries who have been grappling with this two-line struggle and the tasks it poses for those who support the People's War led by the Communist Party of Peru. — AWTW

You talk about “two lines” that emerged in the Communist Party of Peru (PCP). What are these two lines, exactly?

The main point is whether or not the People's War can and should continue. The Party's Central Committee (CC) says it can and must. The line that has risen up against that, what the CC calls the Right Opportunist Line (ROL), argues that it has become impossible to pursue the war, basically because of the capture of PCP Chairman Gonzalo in September 1992, as well as other alleged changes in the situation in Peru and the world. The ROL claims that without Chairman Gonzalo at the helm of the Party, victory is impossible, and without the perspective of victory, any military actions are meaningless. Therefore, they believe, the Party should seek to negotiate a way out of the war to escape the danger of being crushed.

So then the question is whether or not the PCP should negotiate?

No. The question is what is the purpose of these particular negotiations: *what kind* of compromises are being offered, for *what aim*, under *what circumstances*.

In October 1993, when US-backed Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori claimed that he had received letters from PCP Chairman Gonzalo appealing for negotiations, the proposed

peace accord had to be analysed in light of an evaluation of the situation of this People's War in particular as well as the laws of people's war in general. This analysis had to go beyond the mere diplomatic language involved. If, for instance, this proposal was meant to serve the People's War in some way, you could hardly expect that to be explicitly announced in these letters to Peru's President.

Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, including the PCP, do not reject all negotiations and compromise in principle. The PCP has used this tactic in the past. For example, in May 1992, jailed PCP members and leaders seized Canto Grande prison to thwart a government plan to murder them, then called for negotiations through the International Red Cross to end the siege. Their aim was to stave off the regime's assault if the negotiations were successful, to expose its bloodthirsty hypocrisy if they were not, and so in either case to deal it a political blow. Both Lenin and Mao entered into full-scale negotiations with the enemy at different moments and even offered important compromises when it was in the interests of the revolution to do so.

The content of this negotiations proposal turned out to be very different. The thinking behind the letters was made explicit in a series of documents the authorities allowed to leak out of Peru's prisons starting in late 1993. They began circulating abroad in 1994. What was being offered was the disbanding of the people's army and the base areas where the people hold revolutionary political power, in exchange for an accord with the Fujimori government that would lead to the release of imprisoned Party members and legal status or at least tolerated status for the Party. Later ROL documents declared the proposed negotiations only a means to achieve the Party's going over to what it called a "grand new strategy" – a long period of leading non-armed struggles, instead of people's war. This basic question of strategy is the heart of the matter.

What was the stand of the Party leadership on this bid for negotiations?

The PCP Central Committee (CC) had to respond quickly and decisively to the question of whether or not the People's War should be halted.

They did so in a Declaration of 7 October 1993, expressing their determination to continue in the strongest terms. That Declaration did not directly mention the letters, although it stated that the enemy had concocted "a hoax". In its February 1994 meeting, the CC characterized the letters as a "counter-revolutionary plot" and "hoax" by the regime and the imperialists. At the same time, they also analysed that a Right Opportunist Line had arisen, and called for the struggle against it to be "raised to the level of line struggle" – "attention must be paid to the two-line struggle". The CC also declared that the Party could never go against principles, and pointed out that one such principle is that no one can lead a communist party from prison. (Both these documents are in *AWTW 1995/21*) The CC's further thinking on the Right Opportunist Line, especially in light of later developments, has not been made public. However, the CC is actively pursuing the People's War.

What's wrong with the idea that these negotiations may be necessary to "save the life of the Party", as the ROL says?

First, the premise on which it is based – the claim that the People's War can't continue – is false. Conditions in Peru have not changed in a way that would make the continuation of the People's War impossible. This has been proven in practice since the ROL arose, as the People's War has successfully held out against repeated full-scale enemy offensives and hit back hard enough to repeatedly shock the reaction.

Second, no matter what anyone might intend, the actual result of doing what the ROL proposes would be the opposite of what it claims. Despite the difficulties the Party faces today, giving up its army and base areas would mean giving up any chance at all of solving these problems in the course of people's warfare. In the oppressed countries, a protracted people's war is the only way the revolution can go from weak to strong and over time accumulate the forces to seize countrywide power. Giving up because there is no immediate perspective of victory means giving up any possibility of ever winning victory.

Third, people's war cannot be turned on and off at will. Once those

who are "supposed" to toil and obey rise up in arms under the leadership of a proletarian party whose goal is to turn society and the whole world upside down, then even if the leadership surrenders the enemy will still seek bloody vengeance on the masses and on their leaders as well, to make sure the masses are taught a lesson. Experience has shown that even where there has been no such people's war, such as Indonesia in 1965 and Chile in 1973, when the reactionaries feel threatened by the masses, then the fact that the people are unarmed only means they are more easily massacred. Those who did not lead the masses to prepare for people's war led them to the slaughterhouse.

If the PCP did what the ROL calls for, it would throw away all that the revolution has won at the cost of the people's sacrifice. No matter what the risks are in continuing the People's War, if the Party betrayed the people that would make a future revolution all the more difficult.

(Here all we can do is summarize a few points taken from the major criticism of the ROL written by the Union of Communists of Iran [Sarbedaran], and the RIM Call, available in *AWTW 1995/21*.)

What's new or particular about all this? In any revolution, aren't there always some people who just give up, especially when things get tough?

What is new is that a whole line has leapt out – a whole worked-out strategy, tactics and ideological position – that is trying to overthrow the line developed under the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo that guided the People's War from the beginning. It is fighting all-out as an organized force to shatter the present political and ideological unity of the Party and the organizational structures built on that basis, in order to create a different kind of party with a different political and ideological line. The harm done by this destruction extends far beyond the numbers of those who are won to become militants for the new line.

This is particularly complicated because this ROL claims to be led by Chairman Gonzalo himself. This opposed line has not taken the form of open capitulation, of renouncing violent revolution and Marxism-Lenin-

ism-Maoism (MLM), but rather of claiming to give an answer to the obstacles now faced by the revolution, in the name of "applying MLM".

It may well be that many proponents of the ROL do not necessarily see or refuse to see that even if they have devoted their lives to fighting the class enemy, by adopting and working for this line they are tumbling down a slippery slope towards an enemy who is eagerly awaiting them, with a wide sinister smile, open arms and sharpened knives.

In order to have a correct orientation on this two-line struggle, revolutionaries must grasp both aspects – the form and the essence of the ROL. Its essence, its final result, is not the same thing as how it *appears on the face of it*. The ROL has arguments. What makes them dangerous is not just that some historic Party leaders are putting them forward, but even more importantly that the ROL claims to give Maoist answers to real burning questions facing the Party.

But if this line arose in prison, can it really be said that a two-line struggle emerged in the Party, or is it the result of torture, drugs and brainwashing?

Peru's prisons are notorious for their extreme cruelty. Fujimori himself was widely quoted in the media crowing that no one, including Chairman Gonzalo, could expect to stay alive very long in his prisons.

Still, under any circumstances, no matter how extreme, what political and ideological line people maintain or adopt determines what they do. Furthermore, in this particular case, some people have become conscious and very active organizers for a wrong line. The urgency of exposing and denouncing the regime's crimes does not lessen the need to refute that line in its own right. The idea that the ROL is just about some individuals whose weaknesses the enemy has exploited to shatter their will and manipulate them misses the point that what is happening is a political phenomenon that cannot be explained away by the enemy's ruthlessness.

An illustration that this is a question of line and not any individual frailty or "human weakness" in general is provided by the PCP's experience during the early years of the Peo-

ple's War. Although in retrospect we can see this time as one of great advance, there were painful twists and turns, including very difficult periods, especially when the Armed Forces were sent in at the end of 1982 and the years following. In defiance of capture, torture and murder in prison, PCP comrades set a magnificent standard for turning the enemy's dungeons into "shining trenches of combat" and heroism, based on a Maoist line. This was witnessed in 1986 at El Frontón and other prisons when revolutionary prisoners met the regime's ruthless repression with an unforgettable rebellion that came to be known as the "Day of Heroism". About 300 prisoners were killed in combat or murdered in cold blood afterwards. No wave of capitulation to the regime surfaced at that time.

In contrast, since the ROL broke out, a number of people who were upper-level Party leaders at the time of their arrest and other prominent Party members have defended the ROL in television interviews. Several hundred imprisoned members and fighters have signed petitions to the authorities in support of the ROL. Accounts of family visits have confirmed that each of the two opposing lines has a large following among the thousands of jailed PCP members and fighters.

Dialectics teaches us that internal contradictions are the basis for change, and in this sense the regime and its brutality cannot be considered the cause of this line that arose within the ranks of the Party. However, the authorities have done a great deal to promote and enforce the ROL and forcibly suppress the CC's line. The ROL is not being organized mainly through "free debate" or "the free exchange of ideas". Who gets to see whom in prison and when, and who is allowed in to visit, is one part of this. The ROL is allowed to have meetings, and prisoners are shuttled around from one jail to another to strengthen the ROL in those quarters where it is weakest, while prisoners who support the Central Committee are repressed. (For instance, for some time now certain prisoners have been brought from Puno to Lima to shore up the ROL there, especially in the Chorrillos women's prison, while at the same time the government sends prisoners from Lima to Puno, where conditions are particularly harsh, as a form of punishment.) Of course, the continu-

ing fierce resistance of many hundreds of Party people in prison who defend the People's War and the line of the CC is blacked out of the media.

How could this happen in a party like the PCP?

The Maoist understanding of the question of the two-line struggle is explained more directly elsewhere in this issue. (See "An Initial Reply to Arce Borja")

In a word, ideas representing all the different classes contend within every communist party. So this ROL did not arise out of nothing – there is a particular material base for lines representing different classes to arise in this Party and for the shifting political alignment and moods of these classes to have influence within it.

Further, this ROL has roots in the Party's specific practice and history, which only future struggle and review will fully reveal. Like everything else in the universe, a basically correct line is contradictory; it has within it incorrect or not completely correct aspects which can come to the fore under certain circumstances.

But what made this erupt now and in such a dramatically antagonistic fashion was an external objective factor: the change in the situation for the revolution that erupted with Chairman Gonzalo's capture.

What was this situation that led to the outbreak of the two-line struggle?

On the eve of the capture, the People's War was advancing by giant strides. Panic swept Lima's wealthiest neighborhoods. At cocktail parties held under the looming shadow of revolution, families that had ruled for generations and their hirelings made morose jokes about the "twilight of the gods". The US Congress debated whether open intervention was in order. Within the Party itself, meetings of its Central Committee in 1992 focused discussion on the need to take the revolution to a higher level. The Party leadership was grappling with the question of what strategy and what scenarios could lead to country-wide victory. The possibility was discussed that the Party could unite ninety percent of the people in a national war of liberation if US imperialism invaded.

Instead, the Yankee imperialists tried a different tactic. They sought to avoid the dangers of sending in massive numbers of troops by concentrating their considerable resources on efforts to decapitate the PCP, with painful results for the Peruvian revolution and the international Maoist movement. (This doesn't mean that they would have refrained from invading directly if that had proved the only alternative.) The imperialists also threw their undivided backing behind Fujimori and supported his efforts to unite the squabbling ruling classes at gunpoint. Beginning with Fujimori's so-called "self-coup" in April 1992, when he sent tanks to resolve the

issue of opposition in Congress and institute presidential rule, a reorganization of the state overcame some obstacles hindering the regime's ability to fight a reactionary war. Coming after these military and political moves, a new influx of imperialist capital modified the economic situation somewhat. A few sectors of the middle classes began to entertain some hope for the system, even while others were driven deeper into disaster.

Especially after the cap-



Turning the dungeons of reaction into shining trenches of combat, PCP prisoners of war set new examples of heroism and defiance. ABOVE: Studying Mao in Lurigancho prison (1986). RIGHT: Prisoners taking over Lurigancho prison, while their families stand outside. (18 June 1986) BELOW: Revolutionary prisoners in Canto Grande (1992).



ture, the Party faced new questions and unprecedented difficulties that had to be addressed. The People's War could not continue at the same level and in the same way as before. Under these circumstances, it was inevitable that debate and differences would exist in the Party over how to proceed. Thus it is not surprising that a major two-line struggle would break out. The ROL has given wrong and opportunist answers to the problems facing the Peruvian revolution, but it did not make them up from whole cloth.

The ROL exaggerates and absolutizes changes by evaluating them one-sidedly. It sees only the imperialists' gains and not the long-term instability and volatility of the situation, only the obstacles faced by the People's War



and not that the reactionaries have been unable to crush it. Above all, the ROL takes the great difficulties posed by the capture of Chairman Gonzalo as unsolvable -- as though his captivity were an inexorable reason why the People's War has to be halted. It points to an altered situation -- what Chairman Gonzalo himself correctly disparaged as only a "bend in the road" shortly after falling into the hands of the enemy -- to claim that a fundamental "turn" had taken place, changing not only the situation of the revolution but even the road it has to follow. As has so often happened in the history of the international communist movement, in the face of an acute change or crisis an opportunist line has jumped out to claim that key principles that had guided the revolution are no longer valid.

It says in the CoRIM Call that "the greatest difficulty facing the Party is the Right Opportunist Line itself". How can this be if the revolution faces such ferocious enemies as the Fujimori regime and imperialism? Why do you insist on the need for a two-line struggle?

Lenin argued that the struggle against imperialism is "a sham and a humbug" if it is not linked to the struggle against opportunism. Furthermore, experience the world over has shown that it is revisionism and opportunism, even more than the enemies' bombs and bullets, which have

derailed revolutions. It is certain that the ROL will continue to wage and intensify its own struggle against the correct line. Without waging the two-line struggle, the Party cannot defend itself. In order to defeat and root out the ROL, its arguments must be analysed and refuted directly and deeply.

Waging the two-line struggle is key in enabling the Party to fully overcome the "bend in the road" and succeed in its task of leading the revolution. It is only in the context of a thorough demarcation with the ROL, at all levels of the Party and its revolutionary activity, that it can formulate the political, organizational and military policies that can solve the challenges in continuing on the fundamentally correct path the People's War has followed, and on this basis analyse the roots of the two-line struggle and advance further. Of course, this does not contradict the necessary taking of organizational measures against those who unabashedly proclaim that they reject the Party's basis of unity, the fundamental line adopted at the 1988-89 First Congress.

It is in the course of repudiating opportunist lines that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has always achieved its greatest advances. The Maoist understanding of the decisiveness of line and two-line struggle which alerts us fully to the danger posed by the ROL also allows us to see the opportunities. It is for both negative and positive reasons that accounts must be settled with this line. The outcome of the two-line struggle will have profound consequences for the course of the Peruvian revolution.

What about the ROL's charge that the Central Committee is incapable of leading?

The ROL claims that only Chairman Gonzalo and not the present CC leadership is capable of leading the Party. But why should that be? Since the Central Committee has taken a correct stand against the ROL and has more than proven its determination and ability to continue the People's War, then why can't it overcome difficulties step by step? For its part, the Fujimori regime seems quite convinced of the CC's capabilities, which is why it has mounted campaign after campaign to hunt down Comrade Feliciano and other leaders

of the CC. In fact, with its steadfast rejection of the ROL, the Central Committee has proved that it is more capable of leading than those former Party leaders in prison who have espoused the ROL.

Is it true, as Fujimori claims, that Chairman Gonzalo is behind the ROL?

From the beginning, it has been impossible to know for certain whether Chairman Gonzalo was involved. This is a factor that has given even more weight to the vital importance of deep study and struggle around the line being put forward in his name.

No one can say with any certainty what Chairman Gonzalo's current position is. Fujimori and the Yankee imperialists are manipulating the situation and seeking maximum advantage from it. Since October 1993, when Fujimori presented a short video purporting to show Chairman Gonzalo reading the letters, he has deliberately maintained a certain degree of ambiguity and confusion by keeping Chairman Gonzalo isolated. It continues to be important that the people fight to break the isolation, in order to win this battle, defeat the enemy's manoeuvres and clear up the situation. This would help centre the debate even more sharply on the question of line, and not author.

There are some developments that have given more credibility to claims of Chairman Gonzalo's involvement. Members of his family abroad claim that on two occasions they were telephoned by Peruvian authorities who put Chairman Gonzalo on the line. The main point of these lengthy conversations was for the caller to issue appeals for the ROL. Almost a dozen major documents have now filtered out of prison, also with the assent of the authorities, polemicizing against the Central Committee's stand and putting forward extensive arguments for a new, opportunist line for the PCP. These writings may or may not be authored by Chairman Gonzalo himself, but they cannot be considered a simple fabrication by the likes of the Peruvian authorities or the CIA.

Another disturbing thing has been the prison conversion of Margie Clavo, a principal CC member at the time she was arrested in March 1995

along with other PCP members and leaders. When the police paraded her in handcuffs before the media with bruises on her face, telling reporters that "she was tougher than we thought" but that they would "wrench it out of her", she denounced the ROL and called on the Party to "Persist! Persist! Persist!" Then, some six months later, in a long prison interview shown on TV, she made an about-face, proclaiming that she had been won to the ROL as a result of conversations with Chairman Gonzalo.

Doesn't publicly discussing the possibility that Chairman Gonzalo could be linked to the ROL give aid and comfort to the enemy? Wouldn't it be more useful not to bring it up or even to deny it - why not just point out that the imperialist media lie all the time anyway?

Such a pragmatic approach could explode in our faces. It would be doubly short-sighted - short-sighted in terms of what could happen in this specific battle and short-sighted in terms of our long-range goals.

In the most immediate sense, closing our eyes and gambling everything on the hope that Comrade Gonzalo is not involved could be self-defeating. Our duty is not only to recognize the truth but to act on it. In this case, that means that even though conclusive proof is lacking we have to prepare for the worst. Acting on that means arming the advanced masses politically and ideologically to deal with what might happen and not risk being caught by surprise and unprepared. Anything less than this would mean instead of "fighting our way", drawing on our strengths, we'd be fighting with one hand tied behind our back, not to mention blindfolded. Furthermore, no matter what happens in this battle, we want to fight in a way that will advance our long-term goals. We must have confidence that the masses can be won to understand a correct line, even if it includes a painful and difficult process. The short-term expediency of fooling the masses, or ourselves, about the real situation is no solution at all.

The PCP CC and RIM both argue that one must base oneself on principles and not do anything that goes against them. Concentrating on line, not author, is itself a Marxist-Leninist-

Maoist principle. There is no other way to determine right from wrong. This is always true, but it is particularly applicable here.

If we base ourselves on MLM and if we use the struggle against the ROL to raise our own level and that of the masses to the greatest extent possible, then we will be in the best possible position no matter what. Otherwise, if our understanding of the correct and incorrect line remains on a superficial level and the masses are left unprepared, we will fail to really get to the bottom of the ROL and repudiate it thoroughly. We will throw away the opportunity to draw the maximum advances out of this struggle so as to strive to turn a bad thing, no matter how bitter, into a good thing.

If Chairman Gonzalo does turn out to be involved in the ROL, what does that mean about the line developed under his leadership?

The ROL claims that its "grand new strategy" is the application today of the same principles that have guided the People's War all along. The opposite is true — the ROL is opposed to the basic thrust of these principles. The ROL guts the MLM content of the PCP's line, while preserving some of the same words and phrases and trying to patch over the qualitative gulf that separates the two roads.

We cannot agree with the ROL's wrong conception of leadership that holds that Chairman Gonzalo's alleged championship of this line in itself constitutes sufficient proof of its correctness. Nor, by the same token, can we agree with the idea that if Chairman Gonzalo did turn out to be behind the ROL, this would invalidate the PCP's basic line he led in formulating.¹ Both views confound Marxism and religious faith. The truth or falseness of an idea does not rest upon the thinker. It can and must be verified in light of practice — historical and present social experience.

No matter who is behind the ROL, the viability of the strategy that the Party developed and carried out for sixteen years under Chairman Gonzalo's leadership has been confirmed in practice and it remains essentially correct today.

We need that truth. How can we do without it, even if it turns out to have been grasped by someone who

later dropped it? This was Lenin's attitude toward Plekhanov, who was considered "the father of Marxism in Russia". Lenin deemed Plekhanov's earlier works essential and insisted that the Soviet government continue to publish them, long after Plekhanov himself turned against the Bolshevik revolution.

Still, Marxism *develops* in the struggle against its opposite. When a deep two-line struggle erupts in a party, the correct line does not emerge exactly the same as before, but rather advances.

How could someone like Chairman Gonzalo possibly change his line? How is it conceivable that such an advanced leader could possibly support such a dangerous position?

In the absence of any decisive proof of Chairman Gonzalo's authorship of the ROL, it would not be helpful or correct to take up the question that way at this time. However, there are some general points that are useful to go into.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism teaches us that all things in society and nature "divide into two". This law of "one divides into two" also applies to revolutionary leaders. So long as the proletarian political and ideological line is firmly in command, leaders make great contributions to the revolutionary cause. But no leader is immune from the danger of adopting a wrong line. This question can never be settled once and for all in relationship to anyone, because new problems and questions arise constantly to challenge everyone, even those who hold the truth in their hands at any given moment. As RIM wrote, "Chairman Gonzalo's farsighted leadership in initiating and waging the People's War, his contributions to the political and ideological development of our Movement and the courageous stand he took upon his capture in no way lessens our responsibility to make our political evaluation based upon the concrete analysis of concrete conditions and in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. History has shown that even important leaders of the proletariat who had made real and lasting contributions to our struggle can become champions of a wrong line." (See "Twists and Turns in the Two Line Struggle")

One particular responsibility assumed by leaders in an MLM party,

their place in the party's division of labour, is to play a key role in synthesizing the correct ideas that arise from the experience of the masses, in the course of leading them in class struggle. This is what Mao meant when he said that "all correct leadership is necessarily 'from the masses, to the masses'". A party's chain of command, its organized discipline in the system of democratic centralism, is based on this chain of knowledge. The Marxist theory of knowledge holds that all correct ideas arise from the social practice of the masses and are in turn tested and refined in that process, in "an endless spiral, with the ideas becoming more correct, more vital and richer each time". (See "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership", Mao, *Selected Works*, Vol III) We cannot agree with the ROL's incorrect conception of leaders as geniuses from whose heads the correct line springs full-blown.

Nor can we agree with the ROL's conception of how leaders play their role, as individuals standing apart from the party's chain of knowledge and command. Like all leaders, Chairman Gonzalo played his role as part of a collectivity, in this case as the head of the Central Committee, a collective body that concentrates the process being carried out by the whole PCP. (See "On Strengthening the Party Committee System", Mao, *SW*, Vol IV) The principles of democratic centralism are that the individual is subordinate to the collective, the minority to the majority, the lower bodies to the higher bodies and the entire party (including the party leader) to the Central Committee.

Any leader can get arrested or "go bad"; and all leaders will eventually die, which is one reason the question of developing collective leadership and successors is so important. But the main reason for collectivity is that no matter how advanced, any individual leader may be, no one can have a sufficiently all-sided comprehension by themselves. In the end their abilities, including their understanding and ability to lead, depend on the collective strength of the Party and its ties to the masses.

When captured, regardless of whether a person retains their individual qualities in prison, the enemy keeps them from functioning as party leaders in the sense of being fully part

Continued to page 73

Twists and Turns in the Two-Line Struggle

The following is an excerpt from a document circulated to the parties and organizations of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in November 1995. It is being released in hopes of furthering the struggle against the Right Opportunist Line. — AWTW

ON THE "ABOUT FACE" OF MARGIE CLAVO

As you will recall, in late March of this year Margie Clavo was arrested in Peru along with a number of others accused of being leaders or members of the Communist Party of Peru. She was accused of being "Comrade Nancy", a leading member of the PCP Central Committee.

Shortly after her arrest, Clavo was presented to the press. At that time she called on the Party and the masses to "Persist! Persist! Persist!" in the People's War. She had been identified as a leading figure in the PCP Central Committee which has vigorously opposed the call for peace accords and has insisted on the need to carry the People's War through to victory. CoRIM publicized Clavo's call to "Persist, Persist Persist" and called upon the parties and organizations of our Movement to defend her.

It is thus a most unpleasant duty to inform comrades and friends that it appears that Margie Clavo has abandoned her previously correct position and has been won to support the call for a peace accord.

Of course, it is impossible to know all of the conditions under which this "conversion" took place. The bestiality of the Fujimori regime is well docu-

mented and as we pointed out at the time of Clavo's arrest, the Peruvian authorities said that "she was tougher than we thought" but that they would "wrench it out of her". She, like Chairman Gonzalo and a number of other prominent PCP prisoners, has been kept completely cut off from lawyers, family and supporters and guarded in specially constructed isolation cells. Under such circumstances, it is difficult to consider such a position a product of her free will and reasoned judgment. Nevertheless, the appearance of Clavo in a televised interview in that country leaves little doubt that her position has changed, regardless of the circumstances which brought it about.

An article appeared in the Peruvian press which quotes at length from her interview. Of particular note is Clavo's claim to have spoken on several occasions with Chairman Gonzalo whom she "credits" with winning her to support the peace accords.

In the aftermath of the Clavo interview, supporters of the Right Opportunist Line in the PCP of seeking a peace accord have circulated a leaflet claiming that Chairman Gonzalo has issued another "instruction" to supporters abroad commenting on the Clavo interview and including a paragraph quoting Clavo which did not appear in the press accounts in which she makes a "self criticism" for allegedly "deceiving RIM" about the nature of the peace accords.

It is hardly necessary to point to the seriousness of this situation. First of all, the fact that a major leader of the Central Committee has changed her position and is now supporting the Right Opportunist Line is itself a significant blow to the Party leadership.

Moreover, her claim to have met with Chairman Gonzalo further strengthens suppositions that Chairman Gonzalo is indeed proposing the line of seeking a peace accord.

In the Call to "Rally to the Defence of our Red Flag Flying in Peru"; CoRIM took a firm and unequivocal stand against the proposed negotiations for a peace accord and in favour of continuing the People's War, through whatever necessary steps, to nationwide victory. As noted above, the entire RIM has endorsed this basic position. There is nothing in the arguments presented by Clavo to cause the carefully considered position of our Movement to be called into question.

Supporters of the peace accords argue that Chairman Gonzalo's capture has made it impossible for the People's War to continue to victory and that, furthermore, his alleged support for the peace accords is proof enough of the validity of this approach. Now, with the capitulation of Margie Clavo and her claims to have spoken with Comrade Gonzalo, we are seeing a new offensive by the supporters of the Right Opportunist Line, hoping to breathe new life into the so-called "struggle for a peace accord", undermine the authority of and discredit the Central Committee of the Party, disorganize and demoralize the revolutionary ranks and drive a wedge between the PCP and RIM. We fully expect these efforts to continue and sharpen in the coming months.

Our fundamental answer to this offensive of the Right Opportunist Line is to grasp even more firmly the correct line adopted by CoRIM and the Movement as concentrated in the Call of 28 March 1995 and to strive even

harder to carry out the measures indicated in that Call. The Call (and together with it, the other important material of the two-line struggle, notably the criticism of "Asumir" prepared by the Union of Communists of Iran (Sarbedaran) in response to a request by CoRIM) provides the basic orientation necessary to respond forcefully to the Right Opportunist Line.

As for the claims that Chairman Gonzalo is promoting the "struggle for a peace accord", the 28 March Call is quite clear. It points out that, "It is important to continue to try to determine Chairman Gonzalo's current views. The key question, however, is the line, not its author." Furthermore, the Call points out that, "It is precisely this process of 'from the masses to the masses' and the Party's chain of knowledge based on its system of democratic centralism that the regime is severing through the isolation of Chairman Gonzalo."

The tremendous respect with which our entire Movement holds Chairman Gonzalo for his far-sighted leadership in initiating and waging the People's War, his contributions to the political and ideological development of our Movement and the courageous stand he took upon his capture in no way lessens our responsibility to make our political evaluation based upon the concrete analysis of concrete conditions and in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. History has shown that even important leaders of the proletariat who had made real and lasting contributions to our struggle can become champions of a wrong line. While conclusive proof of Chairman Gonzalo's support for the "struggle for a peace accord" is still lacking, even if such proof were to reach us it should not and will not push us off the path we have, in full consciousness, elected.

The renewed offensive of the Right Opportunist Line in the PCP and the increased possibility of Chairman Gonzalo's involvement in this line does, however, require that the whole Movement more vigorously take up this question. We have noted that some tendencies still exist to underestimate the importance of the two-line struggle in the PCP, to see it as something of the past, or to believe that it is enough to passively support the position of CoRIM. Comrades, this is dangerous thinking! The Right Opportunist Line which, whatever its motives,

would destroy the great accomplishments of the People's War, is of immediate and direct concern to our Movement in its entirety. The political issues at stake in the two-line struggle in Peru are present throughout our Movement as well, albeit in different forms. Furthermore, it is not at all unlikely that the further repercussions of the two-line struggle in Peru may raise questions even more sharply in the minds of the revolutionary masses and cadres.

It is neither possible nor correct to take an approach of "waiting for the storm to blow over", that is, of avoiding directly confronting the different questions of the two-line struggle including those that are difficult or make us uncomfortable. We must follow the policy of advancing through turbulent waters and we must maintain the orientation of "turning a bad thing into a good thing": that is, defeating the Right Opportunist Line and, as our Call puts it, using the furnace of two-line struggle "as a great school of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, revealing the difference between real and sham Marxism and helping the revolutionaries around the world to understand the necessities of the hour and to fulfill them".

Our previous efforts have not been enough, and, furthermore, new questions are emerging. So we should redouble our efforts. We want to broaden our efforts and take the issues of this struggle out beyond the ranks of our participating parties and organizations to broader sections of the revolutionary movements and the masses. This process is far from over. New questions and problems are emerging and more are likely to emerge in the coming months. Our own clarity and firm grasp of the correct line and, on that basis, our solid resolution to support the Central Committee of the PCP in carrying forward the two-line struggle and the People's War, remain key.

We also hope that comrades and friends will carry out a vigorous correspondence with the Committee of RIM on all aspects of the two-line struggle and that they will contribute to fulfilling our collective responsibilities.

CONCLUSION

In summary, it can be said that the difficult situation that faces the Communist Party of Peru and thus our

whole Movement is far from resolved. The Report of the 10th Party Congress of the Communist Party of China, under Mao's leadership, stressed:

"Chairman Mao teaches us that 'the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything'. If one's line is incorrect, one's downfall is inevitable, even with the control of the central, local and army leadership. If one's line is correct, even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be soldiers, and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained. This is borne out by the historical experience of our Party and by that of the international communist movement since the time of Marx....The crux of the matter is line. This is an irrefutable truth."

Today we can see that in Peru the tremendous advances won through so many years of struggle and sacrifice are threatened by the Right Opportunist Line which would abandon the People's War. At the same time, it is the victory of the correct line in the two-line struggle which will enable the revolutionary forces in Peru to fully overcome the difficulties posed by the capture of Chairman Gonzalo and the emergence of the Right Opportunist Line and advance toward the nationwide seizure of power. Our Movement is not a passive "observer" in this process - we have an important role to play. The Committee calls once again on all the participating parties and organizations of the Movement and its supporters to carry out our pledge in our Call:

"It is the internationalist duty of our Movement as a whole, as well as of the Committee as the embryonic political centre of RIM, to contribute all we can to the waging of the two-line struggle against the Right Opportunist Line of negotiations for a peace accord, to assisting the Central Committee of the PCP in carrying out this two-line struggle on the strongest basis and with the most powerful effect, to help strengthen the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist leadership and line guiding the People's War in Peru and carrying it forward on that basis, through whatever twists and turns, toward the goal of nationwide political power and the ultimate goal of communism, worldwide." ■

On the Maoist Conception of

By KJA, a contributor to *A World to Win* (Summer 1995)

For some time now, Luis Arce Borja, the editor of *El Diario Internacional*, has attacked the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and its leadership, the Committee of RIM (CoRIM), with an ever increasing level of intensity, distortion and vitriol. The publication of the Call by the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement to "Rally to the Defence of Our Red Flag Flying in Peru" has led Arce to issue an article whose title speaks eloquently as to the depth of his political analysis and method of struggle, "Trappist Monks turn into Village Charlatans: Another Somersault of the Circus Acrobats of RIM".

It is tempting to respond to Arce's diatribe from a whole variety of angles: the history of his long-standing dislike of RIM; Arce's boycott of the Move Heaven and Earth to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo campaign, initiated by CoRIM, even while he attempts to pickpocket some of its achievements; Arce's services on behalf of those opportunists and centrists seeking to construct another "centre" in the international communist movement *opposed* to RIM and *not* based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM); Arce's efforts to present his own erroneous thinking as the line of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), from which he has always jealously guarded his "independence"; Arce's insinuations concerning the "capitulation or death" of Chairman Gonzalo, while trying to wrap himself in the garb of an unqualified supporter of Chairman Gonzalo, and so on.

All of these deviations are not mere accidents; they do indeed stem from a common ideological and political root in Arce's thinking. But the thorough dissection of Arce's line and approach, not to mention unravelling all of the distortions, rhetorical gymnastics,

misquotes, unfounded speculation and deliberate provocation is beyond the scope of this initial reply. Furthermore, such an effort might tend to divert attention from the central question at hand today, which is not Arce's own opportunism, but the life-and-death nature of the two-line struggle that erupted in the PCP with the call to "fight for peace accords"

In this light, it is more useful to focus on Arce's previous article, "A Response to the 'Investigators' of RIM", which has the merit, to a certain extent and a certain degree, of raising a number of significant political questions (even if Arce's response to them is, invariably, wrong) rather than his more hysterical and thus more easily refutable article in response to CoRIM's Call to "Rally to the Defence...".

This initial reply will thus centre on Arce's denial of the two-line struggle which erupted in the PCP, and his failure to understand the laws of two-line struggle generally.

Arce writes that to speak of a two-line struggle is "to portray the PCP as corroded by scandalous division and weakened almost to the point of destruction". This confusion is particularly strange coming from someone who refers to himself as a Maoist. He reveals that he has understood virtually *nothing* about the nature of two-line struggle in the party, despite the fact that this is one of Mao's most important developments of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Even more than just a correct teaching, Mao's thesis on the two-line struggle in the party is inextricably bound up with the whole analysis Mao made of the nature of socialist society, the class struggle under socialism, the continuing existence of the bour-

geoisie and the need to carry forward the revolution even under conditions of proletarian dictatorship. This understanding was the political underpinnings of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR), the greatest revolutionary movement in human history and the cauldron from which Maoism emerged triumphantly as the new and higher stage of Marxism.

Arce's clumsy attack on the Maoist understanding of two-line struggle is really nothing but his incapacity to grasp Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a third, higher and new stage of Marxism, which, as we will see later, is at the root of his hatred of RIM and his hopes to regroup the "international

Mao taught that it was precisely through waging the two-line struggle that the party had to advance.

communist movement" on some basis *other than* (and in fact, opposed to) Maoism.

MAOIST UNDERSTANDING OF TWO-LINE STRUGGLE

Applying the laws of dialectical materialism to the Communist Party itself, Mao taught that the party was a "unity of opposites" between the leading proletarian Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line and party leadership on the one hand, and on the other, erroneous lines and thinking which ultimately reflect other class outlooks. He pointed out how this becomes particularly sharp in the period of socialism, when the bourgeoisie is "right in the communist party", but the basic fea-

Two-Line Struggle

ture of two-line struggle is true both before and after the dictatorship of the proletariat is established.

Furthermore, Mao taught that it was precisely through waging the two-line struggle that the party had to advance. In some passages Arce cites some of Mao's writings on this subject, but fails to understand the very words he is copying.

Mao argued that the two-line struggle is a *constant feature* of the communist party and, indeed, that without the struggle against erroneous ideas the "life of the party would come to an end". But he analyzed that the struggle between Marxism and opportunism goes through *different phases* and would necessarily call forth different means to resolve it.

It is worth quoting at some length from *A Basic Understanding of the Communist Party of China* published in Shanghai in 1974 (that is, under the leadership of Mao and the revolutionary headquarters in the Communist Party of China), which reads like a direct answer to Arce:

Quoting Mao: "opposition and struggle between different ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society."

Interestingly, this is the same passage used by Arce in one of his articles. But the Communist Party of China (CPC) textbook goes on to correctly explain the point:

"Class struggle in the society inevitably has its reflection inside the Party, and it appears in a concentrated fashion in the form of the two-line struggle within the Party - this is also an objective law. The reason why there can be no doubt that class struggle in society has its reflection in the Party is that our Party does not live in a vacuum, but in a

society in which classes exist, and it is possible for bourgeois ideology, the force of old habits and international revisionist trends of thought to affect and poison our Party organism. Moreover, imperialism and social-imperialism make use of every possible channel in their attempts to overthrow our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and therefore they seek by every means to secure agents within our Party. It is always possible that people in our Party will let themselves be corrupted by the enemy, will let themselves degenerate to the point of becoming agents of the class enemy. The ten big two-line struggles which our Party has gone through in the course of its 50 year history have all been reflections inside the Party of the class struggle on the national and international levels....

"The protracted nature of the class struggle in society determines the protracted nature of the two-line struggle within the Party. As long as there are

Arce's clumsy attack on the Maoist understanding of two-line struggle is really nothing but his incapacity to grasp Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a third, higher and new stage of Marxism...

classes, class contradictions and class struggle, as long as there exist the socialist and capitalist roads, the danger of a capitalist restoration, and the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism, the two-line struggle within the Party,

which is the reflection of these contradictions, will also carry on. Possibly this struggle will manifest itself another 10, 20 or 30 times, and it is possible that individuals like Lin Piao, Wang Ming, Liu Shao-chi, Peng Tehuai, and Kao Kang will once again appear - this is something independent of man's will. Some comrades are surprised by the appearance of important two-line struggles inside the Party - this is basically a result of their not having a clear enough understanding of the protracted nature of class struggle and two-line struggle during the period of socialism. They do not understand that the protracted nature of these struggles manifests itself like the ebb and flow of the tide - now high, now low. 'High' or 'low' are only the different appearances that class struggle may take; they do not represent a distinction between the presence and absence of this struggle. In the same way, 'ebb and flow' do not mean 'existence and disappearance'. Only if we firmly grasp the protracted nature of the class struggle and the two-line struggle will we be able to understand the laws which govern their ebb and flow, their high tides and low tides, and the twists and turns of these struggles. Only then will we be fully prepared, will we be in a position to take the initiative in the class struggle and in the struggle between the two lines - no matter in what disguise the class enemy cloaks himself - and will we be able to follow the development of events, lead them, and thus ensure the victory of the revolution." (NBI edition, Toronto, 1976, pp 51-52)

From this Maoist perspective on the two-line struggle we can see that struggle is continual, but it most definitely has its "high tides" when struggle erupts over the very line of the party itself. Furthermore, we can see that the phenomenon of "degenerating into

class enemies" is a feature of two-line struggle and *not*, like Arce argues, proof that no such struggle exists.

In fact, this is precisely the process that has taken place in the PCP. The PCP Central Committee has analyzed the existence of a "right opportunist line" (hereafter referred to as ROL) within the Party whose roots go back well before the outbreak of the struggle over the "peace accords". A February 1994 document of the Central Committee of the PCP calls on the party "to raise the struggle to the level of line" and writes in outline form:

"Pay attention to the two-line struggle, develop it to propel the People's War forward which is principal and determinant. It is necessary to go deeply into the antecedents, process and the current situation in order to define the current level of struggle throughout the Party."

Under specific conditions, longstanding differences have emerged into an actual concrete political line opposed to the basic line of the PCP (the "struggle for peace accords") championed by people inside and outside the leadership of the PCP. This two-line struggle is very much a reflection of the ongoing struggle in society, most importantly the People's War itself, and it is the reason that it is correct to stress that if the incorrect line were to dominate, the very future of the war would be compromised.

Arce argues that "when one speaks of the 'two-line struggle' the only thing it leads to is to neutralize the struggle against the capitulators." What?! Carrying out a struggle against what the PCP leadership has called a "right opportunist line" all of a sudden weakens the struggle against capitulators?

In his article "A Response to the 'Investigators' of RIM", Arce tries to explain that "two-line struggle" is something other than a life-and-death struggle, something which only takes place with comrades who have made mistakes but who have not developed into enemies of the party and the revolution. Of course, as mentioned above, two-line struggle exists at all times and does go through transformations,

as the contradiction between Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and revisionism develops in the wave-like motion described above. But Maoists emphasize precisely the *high points* of the two-line struggle, exactly when it has

Maoists emphasize precisely the high points of the two-line struggle, exactly when it has been necessary to wage all-out struggle over the fundamental line of the party.

been necessary to wage all-out struggle over the fundamental line of the party. This is what the comrades of the CPC meant when they spoke of "ten major two-line struggles". Frankly, it is somewhat difficult to understand how Mao had "neutralized" the struggle against Liu Shao-chi or Lin Piao or Deng Xiao-ping by launching major two-line struggles against them!?

Arce misunderstands "two-line struggle" to refer only to "non-antagonistic" contradictions which "can be resolved through criticism and self-criticism. A form of struggle which has the task of persuading and bringing com-

to minimize the two-line struggle and *reduce its scope* to being simply a way to help basically good comrades overcome errors in their understanding and practice. Once a contradiction has reached open antagonism, it must, according to Arce, be dealt with by *other means*, and "two-line struggle" is specifically excluded.

This is wrong and goes against the line and practice of Maoists. For example, the PCP has often spoken about the important two-line struggle that took place in the ranks of the Party on the eve of the initiation of the People's War (referred to as the "ILA", after the Spanish initials for "Initiate the Armed Struggle"). Without that two-line struggle (which was by no means a mild and harmonious affair and led to the departure of a considerable number of leaders and members of the Party), there would have been no People's War. In the years since the ILA there has not been, to our knowledge, the eruption of a major two-line struggle within the PCP. To use the term of the CPC textbook cited earlier, the two-line struggle has been at a "low tide". The outbreak of a full-blown right opportunist line in the PCP in October 1993 has been the occasion for a struggle of even greater importance than the struggle against the wrong line at the time of the ILA.

The Maoist conception of two-line struggle does not mean that die-hard revisionists should be tolerated in the party nor that the struggle against such revisionists should be limited to criticism and self-criticism, as Arce seems to misunderstand. Once a major two-line struggle erupts, it must be energetically fought through by the proletarian

headquarters in the party and resolved. But resolution is nothing *other* than waging a fierce two-line struggle. Didn't Mao "resolve" the contradiction with Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao precisely by mobilizing the whole party and the masses to wage fierce ideological and political struggle? Isn't the Cultural Revolution an example of "radical means of struggle"; *par excellence*?

This is why a "two-line struggle" can continue even *after* the main proponents of such a line have left or been

The outbreak of a two-line struggle is the occasion, the necessity, for bringing into sharper relief many political questions which existed earlier in a less developed form. Two-line struggle represents a consolidation of erroneous and opportunist tendencies in the party into an oppositional line.

rades with pernicious and erroneous ideas back to the correct line." When a contradiction "has become antagonistic in that it expresses irreconcilable interests, its resolution will take place through direct class struggle". He goes on to argue that in such cases "it is imperative to use radical means of struggle such as purging and a rigorous selection of members and cadres".

Thus we see that in Arce's worldview, two-line struggle is *not* part of the "direct class struggle". He wants

removed from the party. Again, the important two-line struggles in the Communist Party of China (especially in the period of the Cultural Revolution) are illustrative in this regard. The two-line struggle against the lines of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao went on and gathered in strength long after these revisionist chieftains had been smashed (and in the case of Lin Piao, long after he was dead!).

This is because the purpose of two-line struggle, from a Maoist understanding, cannot be reduced to simply removing this or that revisionist chieftain from the party. There is the need to thoroughly and deeply *expose* the revisionist line, strengthen the correct line and train the communists and the masses in the course of combatting this line and fighting to eradicate its influence. Two-line struggle does not *exclude* the necessity of taking firm organizational measures to protect the integrity of the party, such as expulsion and so forth. Such measures are almost always required in any major two-line struggle. But unlike Arce, Maoists do not believe that political struggle and organizational measures are mutually exclusive. On the contrary, Maoists believe that organizational measures flow from political line and serve it and that organizational measures can never be used as a substitute for waging the necessary line struggle.

Long before Mao, there had been important struggles against revisionism and opportunism. The struggle against Trotsky, discussed later, but also Lenin's struggle against the revisionists of the Second International, Marx's struggle against Proudhon, and so forth. Even in China itself it had been necessary to "clear out" a number of renegades from within the Party.

Mao synthesized the past experience of the international communist movement and was able to understand why and how these repeated struggles took place. In this regard he did have to subject some past experience to criticism and analysis. Mao understood that it is not enough to simply remove revisionist leaders from office. The struggle between Marxism and revisionism has to be taken to the masses

and their attention has to be focused on the *line*, not simply or mainly the crimes of the revisionist chieftains (although revisionist chieftains do inevitably commit crimes).

Two-line struggle does not erupt

and more importantly to meet the challenges of the revolutionary process and the certain emergence of new opportunist lines in the future. Two-line struggle is not a confession of weakness, it is a motor for pushing the revolutionary work of the party forward.

The existence of two-line struggle between Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and revisionism is an objective development independent of anyone's will. It is also inevitable that from time to time revisionist headquarters will emerge and fight to

A "two-line struggle" can continue even *after* the main proponents of such a line have left or been removed from the party.... The two-line struggle against the lines of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao went on and gathered in strength long after these revisionist chieftains had been smashed (and in the case of Lin Piao, long after he was dead!).

"from nowhere" (and this is one important reason why Arce's efforts to reduce it to a "police plot" are disarming and counter-productive). Two-line struggle invariably has its origins (or "antecedents", as the PCP CC document puts it) in political differences and tendencies in the party prior to the outbreak of a major two-line struggle.

Two-line struggle is not a confession of weakness, it is a motor for pushing the revolutionary work of the party forward.

overthrow the proletarian character of the party. These tests of strength will be closely connected to developments in the class struggle, for example, when the vital questions of the future of the revolution are concentrated in disputes over political line.

The question is not whether it is possible to "prevent" the emergence of such opportunist lines, any more than mankind can, at its current level of productive forces and scientific knowledge, prevent violent hurricanes. Rather, the question is how to prepare the party and the masses for such political "hurricanes": to defeat any such opportunist line, and to turn the defeat of a revisionist line into a force propelling the revolutionary process forward.

The emergence of repeated two-line struggles does not mean that the party is simply standing still, helplessly beating off one attack from within its midst after another. As each opportunist line is defeated this can and must lead to digging away at the ideological-political roots of that line and leave the party stronger – literally tempered – to carry on its revolutionary tasks. Again, this is *exactly* what Mao did in the Communist Party of China and this is how we understand the PCP Central Committee's call to "raise the struggle to the level of line"

GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

As stated earlier, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was the decisive crucible in which Mao

Tsetung's development of Marxism-Leninism emerged as a new, third and higher stage of Marxism itself. It is for this reason that correctly under-

The question is not whether it is possible to "prevent" the emergence of such opportunist lines.... Rather, the question is how to prepare the party and the masses for such political "hurricanes".

standing the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is at the heart of grasping Maoism.

The reactionaries and revisionists of all stripes have concentrated their attacks on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and its political and ideological lessons and underpinnings because they want to deny the universality of Maoism. There are also forces claiming to be part of the international communist movement today who pay lip service to Mao's great revolutionary contributions and even to his "struggle against revisionism" all the while *fighting tooth and nail* against Maoism as a third stage of Marxism and especially against Mao's line and practice of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Of course, in this article it is possible only to touch briefly and in passing on the world historic Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We hope very much that our readers will restudy the abundant material available on the GPCR from the revolutionaries in China as well as from the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and its participating parties and organisations with these questions of the two-line struggle in Peru in mind.

Bourgeois scholars have often tried to slander the GPCR as a struggle for power at the top of the CPC by a few individuals or "cliques". According to this view, the masses in the GPCR were cynically manipulated by Mao and the revolutionaries. This type of an "interpretation" of the GPCR is to be expected from class enemies and from bourgeois scholars whose own class outlook pre-

vents them from understanding the role of the masses of people.

This same line of attack, that the GPCR was nothing but a bourgeois power struggle at the top ranks of the Party, is also echoed by so-called communist critics as well. This was a hallmark of Albanian Party of Labour leader Enver Hoxha's attack on Mao after the latter's death and the reversal of proletarian rule in China. Some others who did not agree with Hoxha's reactionary conclusions that Mao was a "nationalist", a "populist" and so on, still tended to share some of Hoxha's method of thinking, especially his inability to grasp the real nature of the two-line struggle in China. They speculated out loud about why Mao did not simply dismiss the revisionists in the Party by administrative methods and be done with them.

In a remarkable interview in 1967 (given to the Albanian military delegation), Mao answered the delegation's question, "What do you believe is the goal of the Great Cultural Revolution?" [Voices respond, "to struggle against the capitalist roaders within the party".] Mao said:

Arce's comments that a "two-line struggle" would be an "internal affair" of the PCP are strange indeed. Was Stalin's struggle against Trotsky an "internal affair"? Was the GPCR simply an "internal affair" of the CPC?

"Struggling against the capitalist roaders is the principal task, but in no way is it the goal. The goal is to resolve the problem of world outlook; it is the question of pulling up the roots of revisionism."

"The Central Committee has emphasized many times that the masses must educate and liberate themselves, the world-view cannot be imposed upon them. To transform ideology it is necessary that external causes work through internal causes, although these latter are principal. What would victory in the Cultural Revolution be if it did not transform world outlook? If the

world-view is not transformed the 2000 capitalist roaders of today will become 4000 the next time." (Quoted in the PCP document, *Elections No, Guerra Popular, Si!*, Ediciones Bandera Roja, 1990. The entire article is reprinted in AWTW 1984/1)

Thus we see that for Mao, unlike Arce, there was no great wall between the need to smash a counter-revolutionary headquarters and the political and ideological struggle. The immediate political objective - overthrowing the capitalist roaders - was a means and a vehicle to carry forward the overarching struggle to pull up the roots of revisionism.

TWO-LINE STRUGGLE OR POLICE PLOT?

Arce, in a revealing subhead, asks, "what is the difference between two-line struggle and a police plot?" His argument is that the "struggle for peace accords" line has no internal basis within the Party and that it is simply a fabrication of the political police.

Again, Arce's starting point is his misconception of the two-line struggle. Arce tries to muster the example of Stalin's struggle against Trotsky as evidence that once a contradiction becomes antagonistic, it is no longer a "two-line struggle". But this is the opposite of the truth. The struggle of the Bolsheviks against Trotsky was precisely an example of a two-line struggle, and a grand one at that. Stalin mobilized the whole Bolshevik Party and the entire international communist movement to thoroughly and resoundingly defeat Trotsky, his followers, and above all his line. In fact, it was through this great struggle that the whole international communist movement consolidated a basic understanding of a number of vital political questions that today we take for granted - for example, the possibility of constructing a socialist society in only one country if faced with that necessity, the two-stage character of the revolution in the oppressed countries, and many, many more.

The Trotskyites did indeed aid the class enemy, and there was more than a little evidence of their collaboration with the enemies' counter-revolutionary apparatus. However, Stalin was not content to label Trotsky as simply a "police plotter" and dismiss it

as that. Indeed, some of his most important works, such as *Problems of Leninism*, were written in this major struggle.

But it was not until Mao that the international communist movement came to a thorough and deep understanding of this phenomenon of two-line struggle and the means to carry it

ine and overwhelmingly positive contributions (such as his struggle against Trotsky, correctly understood from the higher plane of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism).

In fact, if we examine the various two-line struggles led by Mao against revisionist lines in the Communist Party of China, we can see that almost inevi-

“legitimizing” his plotting?

Anyone with any knowledge of the history of the Communist Party of China knows the answer. Mao and the revolutionary leadership of the Party seized upon the Lin Piao affair to launch a deep-going and all-round struggle against revisionism. Long after Lin Piao had crashed into the desert of Mongolia, the masses of people in China were being called upon to deepen the criticism of Lin Piao, dead or not. This was because Mao and his followers understood that more was at stake than simply the crimes of one renegade, that renegacy itself has its material and objective basis which needs to be struggled against in order to carry forward the revolution. The masses were educated to understand why people like Lin Piao are produced and how to struggle against them. An opposite approach of leaving the struggle simply at a denunciation of his conspiratorial and criminal behaviour would have left the Party disarmed politically.

There is no doubt that at least some of those advocating “peace accords” are consciously working hand in hand with the class enemy. The Central Committee of the PCP and all of the ranks of the Party and the revolutionary masses are right to vigorously denounce such activities and launch a ruthless struggle against them. But that does not change the fact that these types of activities are inextricably connected with the Right Opportunist Line itself. The ROL leads to capitulation, and it cannot be otherwise. It is wrong to want, as Arce does, only to denounce the “police connection” while feeling it unnecessary to refute and struggle against the actual content of the arguments and lines being put forward by the advocates of peace accords.

In other words, the hand of the class enemy is generally to be found in any major two-line struggle. Whether some leading figures from within the PCP came up with the ROL and arguments for the “peace accords” themselves or whether the original impetus came from the political police is not the principal question. In either case, the fact remains that the *line* of “fighting for a peace accord” had, according to the PCP Central Committee, antecedents in previous erroneous

Continued to page 74

Mao and his followers understood that more was at stake than simply the crimes of one renegade, that renegacy itself has its material and objective basis which needs to be struggled against in order to carry forward the revolution.

through. In fact, this great contribution of Mao has been under constant attack, and not only from the revisionists in the USSR and those defeated revisionists in China. After Mao's death his thesis on the two-line struggle became a key point of attack by both the right in China led by Deng Xiao-ping and also, from a seemingly “opposite” point of view, from Enver Hoxha of Albania.

Hoxha argued that Mao “had permitted” the bourgeoisie in the party simply because Mao recognized the *objective existence* of the bourgeoisie and the revisionist line in the party and hence the need to struggle to prevent the rise of revisionism. Like Arce, Hoxha tried to pit the experience of Stalin against the more advanced understanding of Mao and his practice in leading the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Like Arce, Hoxha tried to argue that waging “two-line struggle” was a kind of liberalism or soft-peddalling of the struggle against class enemies. Like Arce, Hoxha tried to argue that to admit the objective existence of the bourgeois line would be a confession of the weakness of the proletarian party. Hoxha argued in terms of the party's “purity”, with the corollary being that revisionism could only be explained by the direct hand of the enemy, and not on the basis of the internal contradictions of the party itself. In making these arguments, Hoxha – and Arce – try to base themselves on Stalin, but they base themselves on his weak points and limitations, not his genu-

tly the struggle against a revisionist headquarters in the party involves different degrees of intrigue by the openly counter-revolutionary enemy.

This was certainly the case in the Lin Piao affair. In 1971 Lin Piao actually launched an attempt to assassinate Mao Tsetung. He did this in collaboration with the counter-revolu-

Like Arce, Hoxha tried to pit the experience of Stalin against the more advanced understanding of Mao and his practice in leading the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

tionary revisionists of the USSR and, when his plot failed, was killed in a plane crash while trying to flee to the Soviet Union.

The CPC correctly denounced Lin Piao as a “super spy”, and indeed a more “open and shut” case of involvement with the enemy's counter-revolutionary apparatus would be harder to imagine. But did this mean that Mao and the Communist Party of China were content simply to denounce him as an agent, although he clearly had become one? Did this mean that any reference to “two-line struggle” against Lin Piao and his clique should be banned as somehow

Thirty years ago, in 1966, Mao Tsetung launched the greatest revolutionary movement ever to be seen on the planet: The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. From one end of China to the other, tens of millions of people – at first mainly the students and other youth, but quickly spreading to the workers and peasants as well – rose up in a furious assault on those “command posts” of society such as education, culture, and even some organs of state power themselves, which were being used to reinforce chains of tradition which had taken shape in hundreds of years of class society.

What made this revolution so extraordinary is that it took place under conditions of socialism and proletarian dictatorship: It was a revolution aimed at *strengthening* the rule of the proletariat and people. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) had been unleashed by Mao Tsetung himself, but it was never the orchestrated political demonstrations serving “palace intrigue” that the imperialists and reactionaries try to claim. It was a revolution because it sought to *overthrow* those sections of the state power that had been usurped by new exploiters and do away with those practices, customs and ideas which stood in the way of the revolution’s further advance to communism.

The GPCR was Mao’s answer to the historic problem posed by the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union which had taken place in 1956. How would it be possible for the revolution to continue to advance toward the classless society of communism? How was it possible to defeat the “new bourgeoisie” that was arising within the Communist Party itself? How was it possible to train successors to the revolutionary cause rather than a pampered new elite?

Of course, prior to the Cultural Revolution there had been many struggles in both China and in the Soviet Union under Lenin and Stalin against different revisionist headquarters in the party and against various bureaucratic and revisionist practices. But Mao summed up that these previous movements and the simple dismissal from office of revisionists and renegades could not, in itself, assure the further advance of the revolution. Mao said in the GPCR they had found a form “to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

– Thirty
years later





all-round way and from below.”

In this sense, the GPCR was completely unprecedented in the history of the international communist movement. It was the proof that the revolution must continue, that achieving a classless society would be a long bitter battle with many twists and turns, advances and setbacks, along the way. It went against the previous belief widespread in the international communist movement that once the dictatorship of the proletariat had been achieved it would be more or less “smooth sailing”.

Mao summed up that, even when the proletariat and the working people had political power, they would have to periodically arise and knock down those forces in the socialist society who wanted to stop the revolution half-way and protect their own privileges. These revolutionary victories would set the stage for further transformation of society and people’s thinking.

In the course of the GPCR, Maoism emerged as the third stage of Marxism-Leninism. Through applying Marxism-Leninism to the revolutionary process in China and especially to the problem of fighting capitalist restoration, Mao had solved key questions confronting the international communist movement. He showed why a new bourgeoisie emerged even under conditions of socialism and why a capitalist restoration was possible. More importantly, he showed how to fight against such a restoration, through mobilizing the masses in revolutionary struggle, helping them temper themselves, training them in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and raising their level of understanding in the midst of battle, defeating the new bourgeoisie and recapturing those parts of the state and society that had been usurped by the capitalist-roaders. Mao showed how making revolution was the key to unleashing the productive forces, especially the most important productive force, the revolutionary class itself, which even under socialism could be stifled and restricted by practices and ideas which stood in the way of further advance.

Through the Cultural Revolution tremendous advances were made not only in destroying remnants of thousands of years of class society but also in constructing new practices which foreshadowed and paved the way for

the future communist society. New forms of management were introduced which involved rank-and-file workers and peasants in the leadership of factories and collective farms. The reactionary system of entrance exams for higher education was abolished and instead students were recommended by workers and peasants after having spent some years in productive labour. Workers and peasants together made stunning progress in science and technology. Great works of art were produced in which heroic images of workers and peasants occupied the stage previously dominated by portrayals of the reactionary classes. Important steps were taken to reduce the inequalities in the distribution of goods that still exist under socialism.

The Cultural Revolution had been greeted by tremendous enthusiasm all over the world. It was a flesh-and-blood example of the capacity of the proletariat to make revolution, change the world and transform the relations between people. It inspired a whole generation with confidence in the revolutionary cause and spread Marxism-Leninism-Maoism throughout the globe. The achievements of the GPCR were so profound that a large number of scholars, experts in different fields and personalities from countries all over the world were won to respect and admire the achievements of the Cultural Revolution and spread the news of it.¹

After ten years, the GPCR was defeated when a reactionary coup d’état was launched shortly after Mao’s death and the main leaders of the revolutionary left (including Mao’s widow, Chiang Ching) were arrested. The masses were suppressed and pushed back into the position of wage-slaves. Foreign imperialists were invited to again suck on the blood of the labouring people. The tremendous achievements of the Cultural Revolution

were systematically attacked and reversed. Inequalities grew by leaps and bounds. Economic imbalances, dislocations and crisis took place, such as the massive growth of an unemployed “migrant” population numbering in the tens of millions. In short, capitalism, with all of its horrors, was restored.

Internationally, the imperialists, revisionists and other reactionaries have worked overtime to distort, slander and bury the memory of the GPCR. They have taken advantage of the defeat in China to repeat and even magnify every preposterous lie the new capitalist rulers of that country have spread.

It is not surprising that the reactionaries the world over call the GPCR “terrorist”, “a nightmare”, “mass hysteria”, and so forth. For the reactionaries, there is no thought more nightmarish than that of millions of their former victims daring to rise up and take control of every sphere of society, no idea more “strange” than that ordinary workers and peasants can help run universities or transform the ballet, no vision more “utopian” than moving in the direction of a classless society.

The GPCR is decried as “terror” by the bourgeoisie, in fact the Cultural Revolution was living proof of Lenin’s famous statement that the proletarian dictatorship “is a million times more democratic... than the most democratic bourgeois republic”. Indeed, never in world history was such a broad section of the masses drawn into every aspect of political and cultural life. Mass debates, lively struggle and penetrating criticism were features of everyday life among the masses in their millions in China. And the Cultural Revolution showed that the proletarian dictatorship was not an impediment for such democracy, on the contrary it was *the condition* which made such democracy possible. Similarly, we have seen that it is the bourgeois dictatorship of Deng Xiaoping and the bourgeoisie in China who gun down protestors at Tienanmen Square and have instituted a climate of terror and fear all across China in order to enforce its rule.

For Maoists the world over, the GPCR will always remain, like the Paris Commune and the October Revolution, a platform of victory in the world

¹ At that time our revolutionary science was known as Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, although it was correctly understood that Mao had developed Marxism-Leninism to a “new stage”. It was only later, in the 1980s, that the international communist movement began to correctly refer to this stage as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, a position adopted by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement on the centenary of Mao’s birth, 26 December 1993.

revolutionary experience from which the proletariat has drawn its most precious lessons and from which it prepares to leap even higher in the future in its struggle for communism.

How wrong it is to consider the GPCR as something that is of significance only after achieving state power. Certainly, the GPCR does represent the highest experience that the proletariat has yet achieved on the front of carrying forward the socialist revolution under conditions of proletarian rule. But in order to be able to launch the GPCR, and in the course of leading it forward, Mao was forced to develop every aspect of Marxism-Leninism – its philosophy, political economy, revolutionary strategy and tactics, and so forth.

Mao carried forward the whole history of the international communist movement. But we know that no construction is ever made without destruction, and in order to carry forward the revolutionary heritage Mao also was forced to develop a penetrating criticism of those errors that had come to mark the international communist

movement under the leadership of Stalin. Today, when some forces are again trying to denigrate Mao's contributions under the cover of defending Stalin's mistakes, it is more important than ever to be firm in our grasp of Mao's qualitative development of all aspects of our ideology.

At a time when the international communist movement is confronting the major two-line struggle which erupted in the Communist Party of Peru, it is particularly necessary to have a firm grasp on Mao's teachings concerning the two-line struggle in the party. It was in the course of the GPCR that the Maoist understanding and approach to these problems took its full form and Stalin's erroneous idea of the "monolithic party" was rejected.

When we study the October Revolution it is not simply or mainly to learn from Lenin's masterful tactics or the particular practice of insurrection – although these are indeed very important. In studying October we can see the movement of the class in its millions, the complexity of how the revolution advances amidst turbulence

and contradiction, and the relationship between these movements of millions and the "dry theoretical disputes" that Lenin waged against opportunism and revisionism of his day. Studying October is part and parcel of understanding Leninism.

Similarly, when we study the GPCR, it is not out of abstract historical interest, not even mainly as a kind of "preparation" for the different struggles we will be faced with in the future when we have political power once again. We study the GPCR because through it *every feature* of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is illustrated and takes on new vibrancy and meaning. It is because without the GPCR we would be depriving ourselves and the proletariat of this most important treasure house of revolutionary experience. Without absorbing and building upon the lessons of the Cultural Revolution, we will never obtain political power, let alone defend it and use it to advance toward communism. It would mean depriving ourselves of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism itself. ■

AWTW 1986/7

A special issue on the 20th anniversary of the Cultural Revolution. This issue consists principally of articles submitted by participating groups in RIM on the Chinese revolution and the lessons learned from Mao Tsetung, and is a key document for understanding the science of revolution and RIM itself.

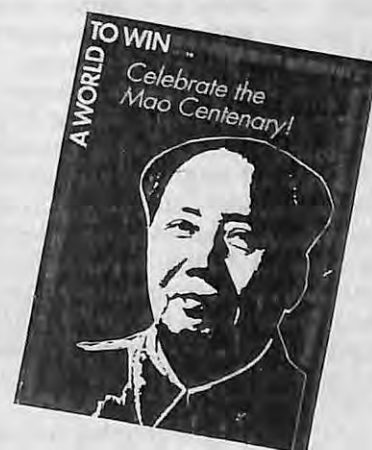


AWTW 1992/17

Features a polemic by Bob Avakian, leader of the RCP, USA, entitled "Democracy: More than Ever We Can and Must Do Better than That", against a social-democratic revision of Marxism by K Venu, leader of the former CRC, Communist Party of India (ML). Centres on summing up the experience of the proletariat in power in the USSR and especially in Mao's China.

AWTW 1993/19

Includes a pathbreaking new survey from a Maoist viewpoint of the life of one of the main leaders of the Cultural Revolution – **Chiang Ching: *The Revolutionary Ambitions of a Communist Leader.***



An Indispensable Weapon for Understanding the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

FOR MORE INFORMATION ON AWTW COVERAGE AND ON SUBSCRIPTIONS SEE PAGE 3

Newsbriefs from

A countrywide series of guerrilla attacks in late July and August 1996 marked a high point in the People's War in the last several years.

In 1993, in the period of reactionary intoxication following repeated blows against the PCP and the claim that Chairman Gonzalo had asked for peace talks, Peru's President Fujimori swore to completely wipe out the People's War by the beginning of his second term, 28 July 1995. He got it wrong — that month saw a revolutionary offensive against his regime. His speech at the official ceremonies a year later in 1996, amidst another, more extensive PCP campaign, was notable for the absence of any such promises.

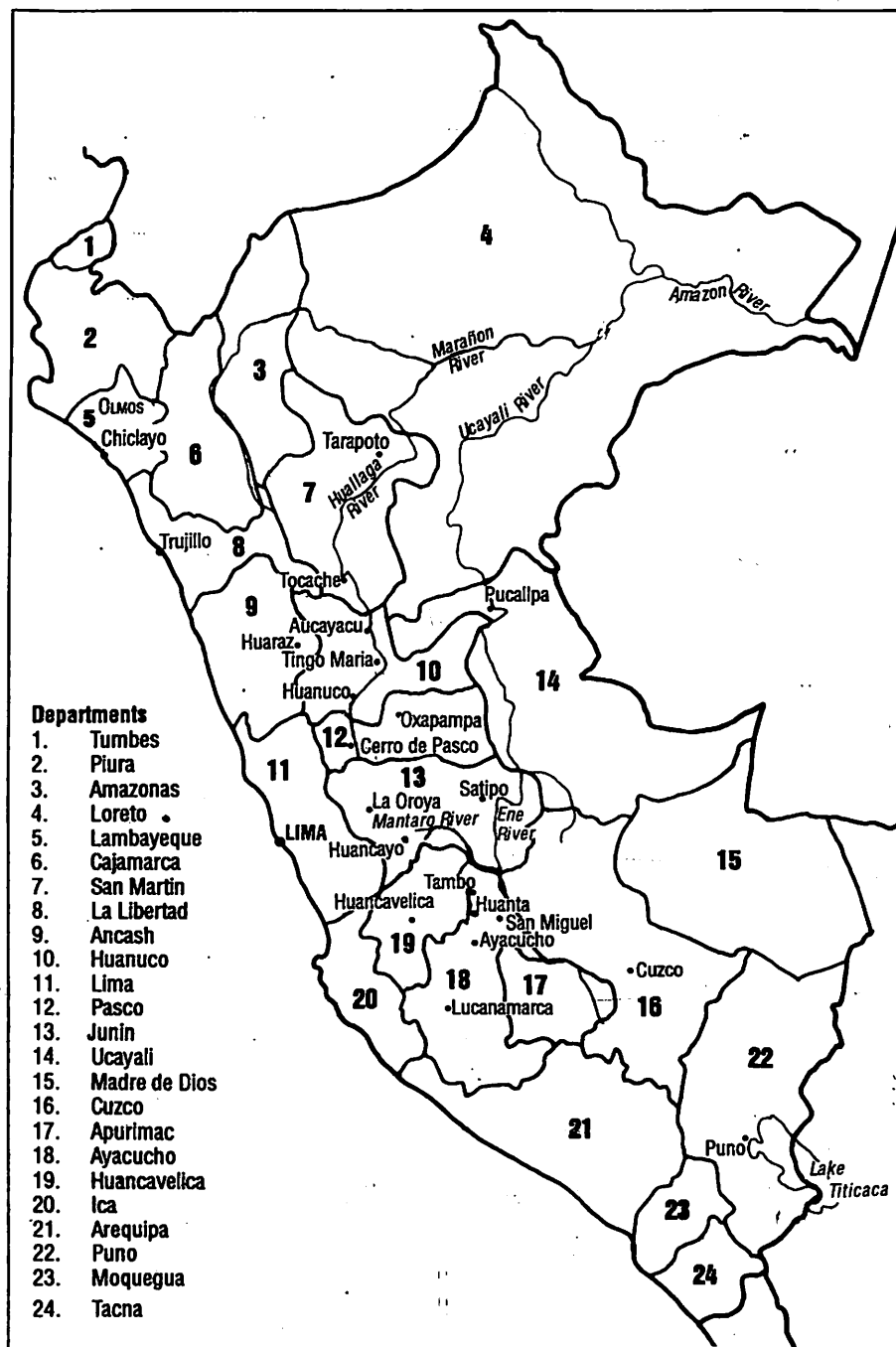
As of July 1996, according to the Reuters news agency, the PCP is active in 15 of Peru's 24 departments. The state of emergency granting the Armed Forces full control over all affairs continues to apply to a quarter of the country, where 44% of its people live. This includes most of the shanty towns and factory districts of the capital, and extensive areas of the countryside: the northern mountains parallel to the coast, the north-eastern jungles, the central mountains east of the capital, and the south-eastern highlands and their eastern slopes.

In October 1996, in tacit acknowledgement of the strength of the PCP, the regime mounted a major operation to isolate and capture PCP Central Committee leader Comrade Feliciano. Two thousand soldiers were deployed in the central Andes; however, Peruvian press reports complained that the operation seemed to be failing due in large part, they said, to extensive defensive preparations on the part of the guerrillas.

The following highlights emerge from wire service news reports from mid-1995 through mid-1996:

Huallaga River Valley

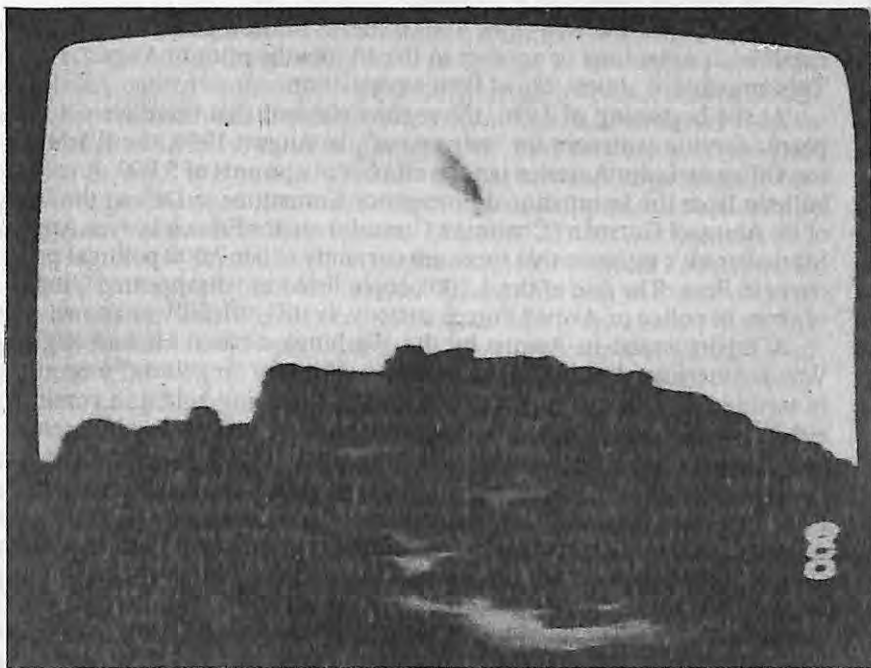
Repeated Army offensives along the Huallaga River and the lowlands rising to steep, wooded hills have been



unable to force the guerrillas to engage on the enemy's terms. Ambushes have become an especially important form of warfare. The régime may have helicopters to napalm and

machinegun people, but its Army could not maintain its ability to fight without being able to move men and equipment on the few roads through the forests. These ambushes have

the Battlefield



ABOVE: Red flag on a hill in Lima, 1 May 1996.

wiped out Army patrols and greatly hindered the Armed Forces' ability to extend their control beyond their strongholds. Assaults on Armed Forces bases, though not on a large scale, have also had the effect of obliging the enemy to keep his forces concentrated and abandon smaller posts. Another complicating factor for the government is that the brief 1995 war with Ecuador and the continuing tense situation at the border has meant that a few Army units have had to be withdrawn from the Huallaga. All this has made it impossible to eradicate the People's Committees that extend far into the forests. In revolutionary base areas on both sides of the Huallaga, political power is held by the peasants and others under Party leadership. This is where the People's Liberation Army draws many of its fighters, its supplies and its military intelligence.

The level on which the PCP is currently able to contend in this area was shown in the August 1996 takeover of Aucayacu. It was the most significant of a several-months-long string of temporary seizures of small



towns and villages on the approximately 200 kilometres of highway running alongside the Huallaga in the valley from Tingo Maria to Tocache, and east of Tingo Maria on the area's only other road, leading to Pucallpa. This was some of the largest-scale fighting in the People's War since the early part of the decade. While the clashes were not the biggest of the People's War to date, they would have been considered major battles at any point.

The government mounted several major offensives in this area in 1993 and again in 1994, involving up to several thousand troops. Each time they advanced and carried out horrible massacres in the villages before the campaign finally became bogged down and petered out. In July 1995, 21 soldiers were killed in the ambush of an Army patrol on a jungle trail near Aucayacu, the most important of several such battles. In all, the government admitted to the loss of 47 men in fighting in the area during the latter part of July '95. Maoist mortars raked the military base near Aucayacu on three successive nights, despite the troops backed by helicopter gunships looking for the guerrillas. In December, a five-hour long firefight took place near the town of Progreso, near Tocache, following the ambush of an Army patrol, leaving 11 soldiers dead, including two officers. The government launched a two-pronged offensive from bases near Tarapoto in the north and Tingo Maria to the south in late December and again in February 1996. Attempts to encircle and close in on the People's Liberation Army were smashed. A military convoy travelling just outside a military base six kilometres from Tocache was attacked and destroyed at noon on 9 February with mines and machinegun fire. There were 15 enemy dead and 10 wounded, with no reported losses among the revolutionaries. The local Armed Forces radio said that the ambush was led by a woman.

Inside Peru's

According to the *New York Times*, half a million people in all were detained at some time or another in the 18 months prior to August 1996. This amounts to almost 2% of Peru's population.

At the beginning of 1996, the regime claimed that there were 4,000 people serving sentences for "subversion". In August 1996, the Washington Office on Latin America put the number at upwards of 5,000. A recent bulletin from the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Dr Abimael Guzmán (Chairman Gonzalo) quotes French lawyer Anne-Marie Parodi's estimate that there are currently about 7,000 political prisoners in Peru. The fate of the 4,200 people listed as "disappeared", many of them in police or Armed Forces custody, is still officially unknown.

A report issued in August by the Washington-based Human Rights Watch Americas, denounced the Peruvian police for "regularly" engaging in torture and said that a great many people are being held as a result of either a confession obtained through torture or of being named by someone else who was tortured. A Reuters dispatch of 24 January carried an interview with a woman recently imprisoned for two years as a suspected PCP supporter. She described being blindfolded, beaten, hung from the ceiling, shocked with electricity and nearly drowned to extract a confession, and then beaten daily and raped before trial. "To know the military court is to know hell", the woman said. Those charged with "subversion" continue to be tried in secret military courts by "faceless" hooded judges, a procedure Fujimori introduced as an exceptional emergency measure more than four years ago that has since become standard. These tribunals convict 97% of the prisoners who come before them.

Prisoners at Canto Grande in Lima are locked up three people to a 3 x 3 metre cell, with half an hour a day in the prison yard. The food is

The Seizure of Aucayacu

This town of some 15,000 inhabitants is in an area surrounded by military bases and has itself served as a major stronghold from which the Army launched murderous assaults on the countryside. It was last taken over by the guerrillas in June 1991, during a mass peasant upsurge in the region. In June 1996, amidst battles throughout this area, the military withdrew from its base in town. The remaining base in Pucayacu, 20 kilometres away, also came under attack. News reports say that shortly after dusk on 2 August, three contingents, totalling several hundred revolutionaries, suddenly emerged from the woods and entered the provincial capital from the north and south roads and in small boats across the Huallaga River. According to the Lima daily *La Republica*, about

50 guerrillas carried semi-automatic rifles and rifle-propelled grenades. The rest were lightly-armed peasant men and women of varying ages from nearby villages and hamlets, where militias are organized by the People's Committees to fight in self-defence and help the local and main forces of the People's Liberation Army (PLA).

The two dozen policemen stationed in the town were bottled up at gunpoint while a town meeting was held in the main square. No people's trials were held. Every single governmental authority and all the local drug lords had fled to Tingo Maria, 50 kilometres south, or the departmental capital of Huánuco. Like everyone else, they had grasped the meaning of the PCP slogans painted all over the asphalt surface of the road in the weeks before. News accounts speak of impassioned speeches and discussions

Prisons

poor and tuberculosis and other illnesses are rampant, according to many sources, including the priest who is in charge of the country's prison chaplains, quoted by Reuters. The recently constructed Yanamayo prison in Puno, at an altitude of some 4,000 metres, has no heating, no glass in many of the windows, and no lighting in the 2 x 3 metre cells. The wind sweeps through everywhere and the water is so cold the prisoners' fingers turn purple when they wash. The 500 political prisoners are always hungry and often sick, according to an article in the U.S. daily *Rocky Mountain News*. Peru's prison regulations call for prisoners convicted of "subversion" to be completely isolated for the first year and then allowed one 15 minute visit a month by immediate family members. The Lima pro-government daily *Expreso*, in an 18 March article about what it called an "attempted riot" in Chorrillos women's prison in Lima, describes the prisoners as being confined two to a cell for 23½ hours a day.

After years of refusing to take a stand against the Fujimori regime in the case of Chairman Gonzalo, Amnesty International representative Peter Archard finally held a press conference in Lima on 16 May. He said that "at least 900" people had been unjustly imprisoned in Peru since 1992 as a result of judicial irregularities. "We will not rest until those prisoners get out free," Archard declared. Implicit was a stand he has long held – that the thousands of other prisoners he considers "guilty" of revolutionary activity are getting what they deserve. Fujimori concurred that "mistakes have been made" in his State of the Nation address 28 July, a minor concession meant to reduce political pressure and basically allow him to maintain the present situation. No concrete measures have been taken and appeals courts have released only about 150 people in the last year – many of whom face rearrest and retrial. ■

and a very festive atmosphere lasting far into the night. After overturning a Caterpillar earth-mover and two lorries to block the highway in both directions, the PLA units and the masses supporting them in this action disappeared before government troops could pour in by land and air the next day.

Ayacucho and the South-East

The department of Ayacucho and the neighbouring departments of Huancavelica and Apurímac constitute the region where the first revolutionary base areas arose. This is also where the government has some of its largest concentrations of troops and bases, which it uses to organize *rondero* paramilitary bands. Lack of cover due to the thin vegetation at high altitude is another specific problem

here, so that the PLA most often moves and frequently fights at night. All this has given the war in this region a particularly back-and-forth character for some years now. Many villages are now standing abandoned after repeated Armed Forces bombings and massacres. Hundreds of thousands of people have been "displaced" from the countryside.

Despite government attempts to present the central part of Ayacucho as "pacified", it was recently forced to renew the state of emergency in Huamanga province (south of the city of Ayacucho) and Cangallo (where the People's War began and long a leading concentration of revolutionary base areas). In early August 1996, an important action took place near the town of Lucanamarca, an area in the central part of the department that was the scene of historic battles in

the early 1980s.

In the last several years, fighting has been especially fierce in Huanta and La Mar provinces in the northern part of Ayacucho (adjoining Huancavelica/Junín/Cuzco and Cuzco/Apurímac respectively). The government claims that PLA guerrillas are fighting along one axis extending several hundred kilometres from Huancavelica in the northwest through northern Ayacucho and into Apurímac on the southeast, and another reaching north into Junín along the Apurímac and Ene river valleys as far as the jungle around Satipo, where eight soldiers were reported killed in an Army offensive in April and May.

An August 1995 guerrilla campaign in Huanta was followed by a government counter-offensive. In the following months, *ronderos* from the small cities of Tambo and San Miguel in La Mar sought to drive the People's Liberation Army out of the heights above the villages in this mountainous area. In turn, the guerrillas fought several successful battles against the *ronderos*, including incursions into towns, where *rondero* leaders were tried and executed. In March 1996 the PLA launched an offensive. An Army captain was killed in an ambush in Huahuaccana, La Mar province on 17 March. On 21 March 1996, a major firefight followed the ambush of an Armed Forces patrol in the Boca del Mantaro area, in Huanta where the Apurímac River (which serves as the border between Ayacucho and Cuzco) is joined by the Mantaro River and runs into the Ene River in Junín. The government claims that PLA units are able to travel quickly on foot through the dense forests in this system of valleys. Hundreds of special antiterrorist troops were dispatched to the area but attempts to encircle and suppress the guerrillas failed. Another battle occurred simultaneously in Ayacucho's Sello de Oro area, which, the media pointed out, the government had previously declared cleared of guerrillas. The following

month the village of Anchahuay in La Mar was temporarily seized to deal a blow to ronderos headquartered there. In May the Armed Forces carried out a counter-offensive in La Mar and Huanta. According to the press, the government feared that the city of Ayacucho itself might be attacked in commemoration of the anniversary of the beginning of the People's War in the village of Chuschi, Ayacucho, on 17 May 1980. At the same time troop manoeuvres took place along the border of the adjoining department of Cuzco to the east, where several small towns had been rocked by armed strikes in November 1995.

Actions took place in the highlands of Huancavelica at the end of July, as part of the countrywide PLA offensive. Here, too, though the dry, brown, rugged mountainous terrain at 4000 meters altitude is very different from the humid, low-lying Huallaga hills, the question of roads is of great military significance. In the earlier part of this year, guerrillas once again began stopping buses on the main motorway through the area to do agitation among the passengers, a practice that had been common until a few years ago. On 29 July PLA fighters intercepted two buses outside the departmental capital city and used them to attack a large encampment north of Huancavelica, towards Izucchaca, maintained by road construction companies working on the road that connects Huancavelica to the city of Huancayo. The buses were used to block the arrival of other vehicles from the nearest police post, about a half hour away, while guerrillas – said in press accounts to number 50 – took over the three company sites and called workers to a rally to speak bitterness against their bosses and the government. "They ask us to sacrifice, to tighten our belts, but we can't take any more. And they say we have been defeated, but here we are. We want you to speak about your problems, about wages and treatment and how you are abused", began a young guerrilla in his speech to the workers, according to

press reports. After a three hour meeting, the fighters seized dynamite and communications equipment from warehouses and destroyed the heavy machinery, blocked the roads with trucks and vanished into the mountains. In the city of Huancavelica, journalists noted a heavy police presence on the streets, apparently reflecting the authorities' worries about the town youth and about infiltration from the surrounding mountains.

Northern Mountains

Attacks were reported around Huarmaca, in the mountains of the southern reaches of the department of Piura, adjoining Lambayeque and

Narco-terrorism

In July 1995, the US signed a new treaty pledging to "coordinate policies and carry out specific programmes" with the Fujimori regime, replacing an earlier "anti-drug" agreement. Troops under the US Southern Command in Florida are on the ground in the Huallaga, Marañon, Aguaytia and Ucayali river valleys, all areas where the People's War has raged. The US refuses to comment, other than to say that they are providing logistical support for the so-called "war on drugs".

However, no such war is being waged in Peru. There is only armed conflict between government drug dealers and private sector drug dealers, and war against the peasants by both.

Coca leaf production still accounts for the equivalent of 40% of Peru's legal exports. Although its share of the country's overall economy has fallen in relative terms in recent years, due to the rapid growth of a handful of other industries that are just as directly tied to foreign investment, the amount of money involved has not decreased. In fact, as prices have dropped, the total amount of coca produced has gone up. The remittance of drug profits from abroad to Peruvian banks is said to bring in about \$1 billion a year, without taking into account the dollars paid in Peru itself (*Latin America Weekly Report*, 2 May 1996). This has been going on for well over a decade, but Washington has apparently failed to lodge any complaints about the fact that money laundering is legal in Peru.

Peruvian Armed Forces shoot-downs of small aircraft bound for Colombia and Brazil in the last year have not led to a reduction in the amount of drugs being sold for the world market. These civilian flights have been replaced by military planes. At the signing of the treaty, US ambassador Alvin Adams assured the Peruvian Foreign Minister that the US would not reduce aid just because recently 220 pounds of cocaine turned up in Peruvian Navy ships searched abroad, 174 kilos of cocaine slipped onto an Air Force plane being sent to pick up spare parts in Russia, and 383 pounds of cocaine were discovered in Fujimori's personal aircraft. Demetrio Chavez Peñaherrera ("el Vaticano"), said to be the kingpin of the drug

Cajamarca. On 6 April the PLA seized the village of Capilla, in the district of Olmos northeast of the city of Chiclayo in Lambayeque department. An important battle was reported to have taken place in Piura on 25 April.

PLA attacks have also been reported in Trujillo (notably a mine taken over and dynamite seized in March) and Huaráz (department of Ancash).

Central Mountains

Press dispatches cite the stretch in Pasco department between the city of Cerro de Pasco west to Oxapampa, and south of there, in the countryside around Tarma-Chanchamayo, as areas where the PCP is recruiting after suf-

in Peru

trade in the Huallaga, was charged with "treason" in 1994 so that his trial could be kept under wraps by the military. Recently he sent reporters a communication in which he gave names, dates and documents to back up his claim that he had operated with the protection of the Armed Forces and had bought the "franchise" for the trade from Vladimiro Montesinos himself at the price of \$50,000 a month. Montesinos was a lawyer for the drug cartels before becoming Fujimori's closest adviser and head of the military intelligence services.

In December 1995, Fujimori announced that what he called the "infiltration" of the Armed Forces by drug dealers had made it necessary to replace them with the police in anti-drug operations. Then, police head General Victor Alva Plascencia, who is considered close to the President, was publicly accused of running a racket with properties confiscated in connection with cocaine arrests and the Interior Minister himself was brought under suspicion. Fujimori was obliged to replace Plascencia with Antonio Ketín Vidal, who was in charge of the operation that resulted in the capture of Chairman Gonzalo and was later banished to the traffic department because of conflicts with Montesinos. This may have pleased the US, with whom Ketín Vidal has strong ties, but is unlikely to reduce the regime's reliance on the drug trade with which Ketín Vidal has also been linked and in no way has it changed the role of the Armed Forces on the ground, according to all reports. Fujimori recently reconfirmed his support for Montesinos.

The US government is Fujimori's strongest backer. It is the regime's biggest direct and indirect source of funds, through loans and grants, and through the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank that operate at its behest and in turn set the terms for private capital. Under US control, Peru has accumulated one of the highest per capita foreign debts in the world. This debt has jumped from \$22 billion to more than \$33 billion since Fujimori became President. The Fujimori regime is a narco-terrorist dictatorship – a wholly-owned US narco-terrorist dictatorship. ■

fering losses. They also report recruitment among unemployed youth in the mountain city of Huancayo, which at a population of 180,000 people is one of the biggest cities in the sierra.

On 8 December 1995, guerrillas ambushed a police vehicle near the border between Huánuco and Pasco departments. It was carrying eight prisoners identified by the authorities as PCP "leaders" from the Huallaga to prison in Lima. The fighters and freed prisoners escaped into the hills of Daniel Carron province, Pasco.

Lima

During 1995 and the first part of 1996, relatively few major attacks

took place in the capital. On 6 March 1996, in the shanty town of Huaycán, Pascuala Rosado was annihilated. She was described in the press as having been working with the director of the police, General Antonio Ketín Vidal, to organize the paramilitary squads that seek out and kill suspected PCP supporters in Huaycán and the nearby shanty town of Raucana, both areas along the Carretera Central highway outside Lima where the PCP has long had very strong support. Rosado had recently returned from self-imposed exile in Chile, with the belief that police and Armed Forces sweeps in these slums had made it safe to resume her activities. News media

warned that the recent proliferation of PCP slogans on the walls here and in the enormous Villa El Salvador shanty town south of the city were signs that the Party was rebuilding organizations among the urban poor. Police foot patrols were attacked and their guns snatched on several occasions in March and April.

Dawn of 1 May revealed a large red flag (4 x 2 metres) flying from an enormous flagpole on Purucucho hill in La Molina, overlooking the city's eastern slums. A helicopter was quickly called in and paramilitary police scrambled to tear it down. Explosive booby traps wounded a major and sergeant; the rest of the police came under gunfire from a neighbouring hilltop. Graffiti and posters reappeared on walls of the Carretera Central, which passes through factory districts before penetrating into the mountains east of the city, and the Panamerican highway leading north.

During the night of 17 May, a large car bomb severely damaged a Shell Oil Company vehicle depot in the La Victoria factory area near the centre of Lima. The following day Shell, Mobil Oil and the government were to sign a \$2.7 billion agreement for the exploitation of Peru's Camisea gas fields, the biggest deal ever cut between the government and private companies. The following day much of the capital was blacked out, with electricity cut from dawn until late at night. A string of bombings hit government targets in the following weeks.

On 26 July, just before the Independence Day parade, a car bomb blew up a police station used to guard the presidential palace 200 metres away and the Congress on the next block, in the centre of what is supposed to be the most secure area of Lima. On 29 July the Lima home of the general in charge of the Huallaga was completely destroyed. On 31 July, General Carlos Dominguez, head of the DINCOTE "antiterrorist" police, was forced to resign. ■

Anti-RIM Critics from the Cyberswamp

"Virtual Maoism" and Real Opportunism

By R. Voina

As explained in the Introduction to this section of *AWTW* on the two-line struggle in Peru, some forces who claim to support the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) and the People's War there have not only opposed the struggle against the Right Opportunist Line but have recently launched a campaign of vicious attacks against the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) and especially the Committee of RIM (CoRIM). As we go to press, the hard core of this anti-RIM cabal includes Luis Arce Borja, a Peruvian exile who edits *El Diario Internacional*, published in Belgium; Adolfo Olaechea, a close ally of Arce, who distributes his publications on the Internet and usually signs himself as the Committee Sol Peru, London; *New Flag*, an occasional magazine also edited by a Peruvian exile, which comes out in New York City; and a small group in the US called the Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM), which, despite its name, has nothing to do with RIM. There are a few other groups and individuals scattered around Western Europe and North America who are more loosely associated with this hard core.

It would be an overstatement to say that these forces actually constitute a trend. While trying to wrap themselves in the mantle of the PCP and Maoism, they have a long history of standing aloof from RIM and from the PCP itself, with each of them jealously guarding their independence. Even while joining forces to attack RIM, they savagely turn on each other from time to time like crabs scabbling to

be top of the heap.

They say that they have no interests other than defending the PCP Central Committee and the People's War, but their denunciation of the fight against the Right Opportunist Line (ROL) is a disservice to the PCP and to all those who support the cause of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Their opposition to fighting the Right Opportunist Line inexorably pushes them in the direction of liquidating the struggle against revisionism more generally. Common political discussions among these forces include such themes as whether "RIM is too opportunist to be saved", and they regularly welcome into their ranks almost anyone who denies the two-line struggle and is opposed to CoRIM, including pro-Chinese revisionists, old-style pro-Soviet revisionists and the like. Indeed, their opposition to fighting the Right Opportunist Line in Peru is the leading edge of a platform of refusing to fight opportunism at all, and ultimately converges with a programme of liquidating key dividing lines between Marxism and revisionism in the international communist movement more generally.

sionism in the international communist movement more generally.

FALSE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PCP

Arce, *New Flag* and Olaechea claim that in attacking RIM they are acting as true representatives of the PCP, or at least of its line. This has no basis in fact. The PCP has been a participant in RIM since it was founded 12 years ago, and in statements since the arrest of Chairman Gonzalo has continued to firmly uphold RIM.¹ Faced with this incontrovertible reality, Arce, *New Flag* and the rest are forced into a dizzying display of half-truths and insinuations to try to give some legitimacy to their anti-RIM project. Arce, for example, tries to create the impression that he is a "PCP representative", but has always refrained from doing so explicitly in print where this might more easily come to the attention of those who know better, not least of all the PCP itself.² There are in fact no PCP representatives abroad at this time.³

¹ The 1 May 1996 Statement of the Movimiento Popular Peru quotes a letter from the PCP to CoRIM, stating:

"We extend to you our most ardent communist greetings and express our deep joy because RIM has approved the adoption of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a new, third and higher stage. Maoism is a vital point and of immense significance and even more, today, this will help so that 'Maoism will be taken up by the peoples of the world and come to command the new great wave of the world proletarian revolution that is looming.' Also, it has

served the magnificent development of the Celebration of the Centenary of Chairman Mao Tse-tung...."

² For instance, a "Report from the Belgium bureau of *El Diario Internacional*" posted on the Internet by the Committee Sol Peru, London, refers to the "PCP representative" at a conference in Brussels at which the only Peruvian speaker was Arce. (2 May 1996).

³ Having tried to make a career out of pretending to be representatives of the PCP,

Lately, the efforts of these forces to adopt the mantle of the PCP have focused on presenting themselves as "unconditional" champions of Chairman Gonzalo. A brief look at this claim shows not only how hollow it too is, but also reveals some fundamental features of their method.

The least that can be said is that immediately following the capture of Chairman Gonzalo, these "unconditional" champions seriously minimized the struggle to defend his life. Arce's *El Diario Internacional* headlined its cover not with a call to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo, as had been put out by CoRIM, the PCP and the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Dr Abimael Guzman (IEC), but with "Gonzalo Thought Is Still Free"; Arce then refused to play almost any role at all in the IEC campaign. An explanation for this boycott came out from Olaechea, in an interview with the British journalist Colin Harding. Olaechea, it should be pointed out, often plays the role of "point man" for these forces, especially Arce, saying out loud what is more hidden in their own line. In regards to the capture of Chairman Gonzalo, Olaechea explained to Harding that it "...is more of a problem for Fujimori's regime than for us, really. They have relieved the Party of the responsibility of looking after the Chairman."⁴ The disdain for Maoist leadership expressed in this statement, not to mention Olaechea's attempt to pass his opinion off as that

of the PCP by equating "us" and "the Party", should wake up anyone who still has the slightest illusion about the "Maoism" of Olaechea, or of his credibility as a "PCP representative".

A year later, when Fujimori attributed the call for peace negotiations to Chairman Gonzalo, and CoRIM was urging the need to carry out serious investigation and study of the two-line struggle while continuing to support the People's War, Olaechea made the following argument: "Today we have received confirmation that the letters and videos attributed by the regime to Dr Abimael Guzman were obtained through psychological torture.... It is completely clear that what has been said and written by Dr Guzman has been done under force through continuous 'psy war' carried out by professional torturers. Far from being an insult, we should be proud that he resisted for so long a period.... Psy warfare in this case is no more than the imposition of violence ... under which the victim has no choice but to surrender."⁵ Arce likewise advances the argument that once Chairman Gonzalo was arrested, the only real choice facing him was "death or capitulation".⁶

How astonishing it is that these same characters who so quickly and lightly spoke of Chairman Gonzalo's "capitulation" are now presenting themselves as his "unconditional" champions and *denouncing as "traitors" and "Fujimori agents" anyone who even considers the possibility that Chairman Gonzalo might be advocat-*

ing the Right Opportunist Line. If their words were taken seriously, they themselves would be the biggest "agents" of all!

It is apparent here that what is driving Arce & Co's attacks on RIM is not some excess of zeal in defence of Chairman Gonzalo, or, for that matter, of the PCP, however much they might like to protest otherwise. Their recent donning of the mantle of "unconditional champions" of Chairman Gonzalo is as shallow and opportunist as their previous casual acceptance of what they saw as his "capitulation", and it is no more trustworthy.

THE "USEFULNESS" OF TRUTH

The way Arce, Olaechea and *New Flag* handle the possible involvement of Chairman Gonzalo in the Right Opportunist Line, along with their countless other half-truths, distortions and outright falsifications, reveals a strikingly cavalier approach to the question of truth.⁷ Furthermore, in a line of argument characteristic of these forces, Arce holds that this approach is not only justified but necessary, in order to avoid "demoralization" in the face of "any setbacks to the revolution and even imperialist propaganda itself".⁸ Because of this, he claims that to speak of two-line struggle "confuses and spreads doubt among the less advanced sections of the people". In other words, in the interest of supposedly avoiding "confusion" and "demoralization", Arce thinks it is appro-

these forces now try to pass themselves off as representatives of other RIM parties as well. *New Flag*, for instance, recently tried to pretend that the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) was in their cabal by alleging that the CPN(M) "sharply criticize the revisionist leadership of CoRIM".

⁴ Quoted in the Foreword to the book *Peru: Time of Fear*. The prolific Olaechea has never repudiated this quotation and has even confirmed it in meetings. Moreover, this same contempt for vanguard leadership can be seen in the way Olaechea deals with the man said to be leading the PCP CC today: "The Fujimori regime has long been spinning this fairy tale and for that purpose the name of Mr Ramirez Durand - who no one has seen or heard of for years - has been banded around and given the flashy name of 'Chairman Feliciano'." (Internet posting, 5 August 1996, Committee Sol Peru, London).

⁵ In a public Declaration dated 14 October 1993 and signed by the Committee Sol Peru, London.

⁶ See "An Initial Reply to Arce Borja" in this issue for more on this point. For its part, *New Flag* works the same ground, arguing that "leading cadres are in particular subject to reverse-memory techniques and alterations of the brain's electro-chemistry (drugs, etc.) in order to reprogram behaviour patterns and manipulate their consciousness of existing reality, in short, brainwashing." (Internet posting, 26 May 1996).

⁷ This light-handedness with truth is the operative approach for all these forces: *New Flag* gave attendance figures of a demonstration in Berlin it wanted to associate itself with when the demonstration was actually cancelled and never took place - no clarification appeared in

subsequent issues. They also quoted from a personal letter written by Heriberto Ocasio, the spokesman for the US Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru, falsifying the contents of the letter and then claiming it was a document of the RCP,USA. They ignored a public demand for retraction. Arce's current no.1 ally Olaechea reports on his public debate in London with someone he says was "a CoRIM leader". (Internet posting, 6 August 1996, "RCP/CoRIM/Sol Rojo Expose Their Hatred towards Chairman Gonzalo and the Revolution in Peru") The person was of course not at all a "CoRIM leader", but an *AWTW* supporter, as was made clear at the time of the debate. The list goes on and on.

⁸ See the section "Two-Line Struggle or Counter-Revolutionary Fraud", in "A Response to the 'Investigators' of RIM", by Arce, in this issue.

prate to distort, exaggerate, conceal and even invent important elements of the actual situation.

Maoists energetically seek the truth; unlike the bourgeoisie, which is rooted in class exploitation, and hence has much to hide, the proletariat has nothing to lose, no special interests to defend in class society - hence, as Mao said, "thoroughgoing materialists are fearless". Whether to seek the truth unflinchingly is ultimately a matter of class stand.

The approach of Arce & Co to the truth frees them to say whatever they feel is immediately expedient "for the revolution" at a given moment, which is then interpreted to mean whatever is expedient to their own narrow interests. Thus to slander RIM's line on the two-line struggle and avoid actual line struggle itself, they now baldly assert that RIM supports the line of peace negotiations!⁹ As for the possible involvement of Chairman Gonzalo in the Right Opportunist Line, regardless of the actual situation Arce & Co are going to assert whatever suits them at that particular moment. This is a great disservice, for revolutionary communists can only advance by facing the truth squarely, however bitter it may be.

THE INTERNET CAFÉ

Another point on which the views of these forces converge is their criticism of CoRIM for its "hidden methods of functioning". This is associated with a more or less general demand by these forces that RIM functions in a more "open", "democratic" fashion. One group, for instance, has demanded that CoRIM reveal its internal functioning, while another one ridiculed CoRIM's members for their "anonymity".

These complaints against RIM's "hidden functioning" echo longstanding social-democratic critiques of Leninist organizations for being "too conspiratorial" and "too secretive". The first question communists must ask is, "hidden" from whom? Do they really want CoRIM to "reveal RIM's functioning" publicly, which can only mean to the imperialist political police as well, when for instance, in the case of Chairman Gonzalo the whole world has just seen to what lengths the political police will go to hunt down and "neutralize" revolutionary leaders? Are these peo-

ple so numbed by the routine functioning of Western bourgeois democracies that they do not even consider that members and leaders of many RIM parties and organizations could be arrested, tortured and even executed merely for being identified as being members of their group?!

One of the great victories represented by the formation of RIM was to provide a means by which the Maoist parties and organizations around the world could learn from each other's experience and understanding, so as to accelerate and strengthen the revolutionary process. The social-democratic complaints of these forces only undermine these hard-won gains. Maoists must hope and indeed firmly insist that CoRIM and RIM do everything possible to function along true Leninist lines and protect the core of the Movement's internal functioning from the secret police, even if this offends the "democratic sensibilities" of some intellectuals.

Given this kind of bourgeois-democratic critique of RIM, it is not too surprising that the main forum for the organizing efforts of these anti-RIM forces has been the international computer network called the Internet. The Internet enables those who can afford a computer, a telephone, and a device called a modem (which links the computer with the telephone system) to subscribe to a service through which they can send electronic mail to anyone else on the Internet, access other Internet computers and post messages instantly on what are called forums, or electronic bulletin boards. Anyone else on the Internet can then read the messages and respond immediately. In this electronic world of the Internet, often called a "virtual world" or "cyberspace", these forces can generate hundreds of pages weekly on the forum where they regularly carry out their political attacks on RIM and each other. The atmosphere is like nothing so much as a non-stop university coffee house political discussion, only the debate takes place in the electronic world of "virtual reality".

Because the Internet makes it possible for millions of people from around the world to be connected electronically with one another with unprecedented speed and ease, it has been hailed in the media as a great instrument for "breaking down the barriers" between people of different nations and promoting an unfettered "global democracy". The "virtual reality" of Internet "cyberspace" is said to have turned the world into an "electronic global village".

The anti-RIM "virtual revolutionaries" openly conduct their activities on the Internet as if all this were real. They are blinded by their bourgeois-democratic outlook to some hard truths of life in virtual reality, not least of all that Big Brother is on the Net. In 1994, a spokesman for the US FBI acknowledged that they had twenty-five "net literate" agents for Internet operations, a figure which in the fast changing world of the Internet has undoubtedly multiplied several times since then. And this does not include the CIA, National Security Agency (NSA), and other political police operations in the US alone.¹⁰ The UK has at least seven intelligence agencies monitoring the Net, including MI5, MI6 and GCHQ in Cheltenham.¹¹

The "virtual revolutionaries" conduct the core of their affairs openly on the Internet and taunt CoRIM, demanding, for instance, how "in the age of the Internet" it could possibly "take so long" to come to a public position on the two-line struggle, as if - leaving aside the question of taking seriously the two-line struggle - RIM could simply carry out its most important affairs over the Internet itself. Suffice it to say that, having fought so hard against the political police in ordinary reality, Maoists should not just turn themselves over to the virtual reality snoops on the Net.

This Internet-centred approach on the part of the "virtual revolutionaries", besides being legalistic, is also inherently Eurocentric. Maoists must of course be present and active wherever there are masses, including on the

⁹ Arce's *El Diario Internacional* No 36 compares the *Revolutionary Worker*, voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP, USA), a participating party of RIM, to the pro-Right Opportunist Line edition of *El Diario* (Lima), saying that they play "the same counter-revolutionary role".

¹⁰ See the *Revolutionary Worker*, 16 June 1996, for an extensive analysis of the political police and the Internet.

¹¹ *Big Brother: Britain's Web of Surveillance*, Simon Davies (London 1996).

Internet, so as to do the most possible to advance the cause of revolution. However, the way this is done must conform to the principle of Mao's dictum that "you fight your way and I'll fight mine". Most RIM parties and organizations, for instance, do not have modems and Internet addresses. This is not only because many groups are functioning in conditions of severe repression, but also because of the marked inequality underpinning the structure of the Internet itself. Whatever the potential of the Internet, it has arisen under imperialism and reflects and indeed reinforces the inequalities in the imperialist world. Whereas almost all university students in the US have Internet access, most people in the oppressed countries do not have access to a telephone, and half the world's people have never even made a phone call. The way the "virtual revolutionaries" function, the loudest voices are inevitably those of the relatively privileged, whereas whole sections of the world, including revolutionary parties from the poorest countries, are silent and forgotten. And the PCP itself is unable to take an active part in these debates, only to be misrepresented by a host of conflicting "spokesmen", each with their own modem and their own political line. In such an unequal world, virtual and real, all modems cannot and must not be treated as equal. Building organization around a structure that is so inherently unequal and lopsided will give rise to an irresistible pull towards imperialist chauvinism.

But even if somehow everyone on earth had a modem and somehow there were no imperialist political police in virtual reality, it would still not be correct to carry on RIM's affairs openly on the Internet, for it would go against the Marxist theory of knowledge and its organizational corollary, democratic centralism. RIM is made up of organizations that have been forged in the various countries through the protracted, difficult process of going among the masses, waging revolutionary struggle, finding and bringing forward the advanced, working out the basic strategy and tactics of revolution in the country, welding together a vanguard, and throughout this process, developing and sharpening the understanding and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM), in the back-and-forth dialectic of "from the masses, to the masses", together with and as

part of the international communist movement. Although it is not the same as a communist party in a single country, RIM is based on MLM organizational principles. The process of knowing and changing the world must inevitably respect the Marxist theory of knowledge and the mass line. Democratic centralism must be applied in a way appropriate to RIM at this time, which will necessarily be different to how this functions in a party in a single country. Furthermore, while this general principle of democratic centralism is publically proclaimed, RIM does not have to and indeed must not publicly reveal its principles of functioning, its methods of work, and so on.¹²

As for the efforts of these forces to speculate on differences within RIM: of course there are differences within RIM – and the discussion and debate that goes on in RIM is part of the process of unity-struggle-unity through which the whole Movement advances. For example, the adoption of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism by RIM was illustrative of this very process. Some of this takes place in public, whereas other parts of it are and should remain internal to the Movement itself. As is usually the case, those who claim to "be in the know" about communists' internal functioning know the least!

REDUCING LINE STRUGGLE TO POLICE PLOTS

The stubborn insistence of the virtual world revolutionaries on reducing the two-line struggle in Peru to a police plot has inexorably pushed them in the direction of reducing *all* line struggle to police plots. Their turning away from major questions to become absorbed in speculation about police conspiracies, intrigue, spying, backstabbing and treachery has contributed to developing a spectacularly sick atmosphere on the Internet forum where these forces regularly congregate. Their initial unity against

CoRIM and against waging the two-line struggle has given way to a wave of vicious infighting, where people whom a few months ago were being hailed as "comrades" and whose documents were being reprinted and circulated are now denounced as "frauds", "sects" and "police agents" (this happened for instance with MIM, which turned on *New Flag*, and *New Flag*, which turned on Olaechea).¹³ In an ominous development, with Olaechea's support one North American journalist even gave out physical descriptions and what he claimed were the home addresses of some *New Flag* supporters over the Internet.

This is the bitter fruit of these forces' anti-Maoist insistence on reducing line struggle to a police plot and their general departure from the Maoist approach to handling contradictions. They ridiculed CoRIM for insisting from the beginning of the outbreak of the two-line struggle in Peru on the need to do serious investigation and focus on major questions of line, and now they are wading waist-high in a perilous swamp. The point is that real unity can only be based on a deep understanding of major questions of line. These people either do not understand this or oppose it and so are left uniting and splitting based on the infinitude of chops and changes that invariably arise over secondary matters, so that a mere harsh word suffices to turn yesterday's "comrade" into today's "cop". Indeed, it would hardly be surprising if the Arce-Olaechea duo itself were to explode in mutual recrimination.

Furthermore, for revolutionaries, the battle against the political police is a life-and-death affair, and labelling someone a "police agent" is a matter of great seriousness. It is only to be done after solid evidence is gathered, not simply because someone has raised incorrect ideas or even been dishonest. Yet for these forces, labelling opponents "police agents" has become a casual, almost everyday affair.¹⁴

The situation has now degenerated

¹² See the *Declaration of RIM*, section "On the Ideological, Political and Organizational Unity of Marxist-Leninists".

¹³ MIM even announced at one point that it was stopping all support work for the People's War in Peru, because... Olaechea told them to!

¹⁴ The Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM), for instance, shows how casually it takes the struggle against the political police when it uses the following logic: "[The *New Flag* editor] argues that because someone is someone else's brother, he must be a revolutionary. This thoroughly reactionary line was crushed

to such an extent that activity that would raise the darkest suspicions to any outside observer has now become routine on the Internet forum. All this has provided an atmosphere which the real political police are no doubt applauding with glee and laughter. One active supporter of Arce & Co, castigating the "secrecy" in which CoRIM functions, likened CoRIM members to Fujimori's "hooded judges", and even demanded that they "step forward" to "reveal" themselves.¹⁵ He went on to say that he was virtually sure that "the CIA was running the IEC founding conference". Olaechea attacked CoRIM, the IEC and the RCP,USA, especially its Chairman Bob Avakian, as a "three-headed hydra" that are "dumb tools of Fujimori", and he has repeatedly singled out Comrade Avakian for especially savage attack.¹⁶ Likewise, *New Flag* routinely labels CoRIM and Comrade Avakian "revisionist", "Trotskyite", "opportunist", etc, calls for "overthrowing CoRIM" and recently circulated a scurrilous cartoon portraying Comrade Avakian as an "agent" and called for forming "an emergency task force" to "separate and isolate" him.

Maoists understand only too well from bitter experience that treating revolutionary leaders as "police agents" only makes it easier for genuine police agents to hatch physical attacks on them and their organizations. These unprincipled attacks on CoRIM, Comrade Avakian or any revolutionary leader will not be tolerated by genuine Maoists: *New Flag*, Arce, Olaechea and others who have

taken part in this unprincipled activity should cease their attacks, and those who have gone part of the way with these people and tolerated this kind of climate should dissociate themselves from it and draw appropriate conclusions.

The main object of their attacks on CoRIM, Bob Avakian, the IEC, etc, is the Maoist line of RIM itself. Olaechea, for instance, has attacked RIM's *Declaration* as "opportunist" from the moment RIM was formed, despite the PCP's signature on that document, and has long considered RIM (and PCP) too Maoist and pushed for alliances with anti-Maoist forces. One way the opposition of these forces to Mao's line sometimes finds expression is in their denigration of his closest comrades in the revolutionary left of the Communist Party of China, especially Chiang Ching. Olaechea argues that "the question of the character of Madame Mao is not a dogma nor has it been settled in the international communist movement". He goes on to say that, "One of the features of 'Avakianist' theory is to hold forth that 'mistakes are not unavoidable' and that there is a magic potion of pure theory to resolve every problem. Madame Mao was in fact also an upholder of such views."¹⁷ Here Olaechea's efforts to caricature the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and mock its power, and to link this with Comrades Avakian and Chiang Ching, whom he disparagingly refers to as "Madame Mao", reflect that the real source of his problems is the Maoist line forged in the Cultural Revolution.

Indeed, what these forces really hold against Comrade Avakian is that for years now he has been associated with a stalwart defence of Mao and his revolutionary development of Marxism-Leninism, particularly in the crucible of the Cultural Revolution, and with a penetrating criticism of revisionism. Comrade Avakian is the leader of the RCP,USA, which, together with other Maoist parties and organizations around the world, notably the PCP itself, has been associated with the development of RIM and its line.¹⁸

MIM, *New Flag* and the rest of these "virtual revolutionaries" oppose basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, but rather than reveal their own line and risk actual line struggle, they try to hide their opposition beneath unprincipled personal attacks on a few Maoist leaders. Furthermore, one of the problems they have in maintaining their fragile alliance against RIM is that they are in serious disagreement with each other over just about everything else. The shallowness of their personal attacks on Comrade Avakian and CoRIM reflect the shallowness of their own unity, which turns on opposition to Maoism. So in a feeble attempt to maintain what little unity they have, and also because they do not consider line all that important in the first place, they avoid any real substantive critique of RIM's basic line - for instance, not one of them has said a word about the most important RIM document in the past few years, *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!*, perhaps in part because

during the Cultural Revolution of Mao Tsetung. The prestige of one revolutionary does not convert to the family members. *The fact that [the New Flag editor] argues this way shows that he is a cop....*" (*Maoist Sojourner*, June 96) Just as these forces reduce the two-line struggle in Peru to a "police plot", now they want to reduce virtually all political struggle to struggle against cops. With this approach, they see cops everywhere, while at the same time they have trivialized the struggle against the political police into a children's game of name-calling. This makes it impossible to carry out this most serious battle which, as Lenin never tired of explaining, is an area where revolutionaries must exert themselves to the utmost to break with amateurism and develop professional methods. And, like children playing with a loaded gun that they do

not understand can actually kill, they casually aim everywhere and nowhere, never knowing when it will go off. For if saying something wrong is grounds to be labelled a cop, then all of these forces are targets. Arce himself, currently one of MIM's champions, used *exactly the same argument as did New Flag above*, in the August 1996 issue of *El Diario Internacional*. He cast suspicion on a member of the Peru People's Movement (MPP) *because of this comrade's purported family connection with the Right Opportunist Line!* In other words, as above, family connections determine political colour. We would like to ask MIM just what Arce's method of arguing shows about him?!

¹⁵ Internet posting, 12 August 1994, "Why Does the RIM Help US Imperial

ism Encircle the PCP?", by RM.

¹⁶ For its part, MIM argues that: "apology for RIM = apology for CoRIM = apology for the Canto Grande authors = apology for capitulation = embrace of Fujimori and his Yankee puppeteers". (Internet posting, 23 May 1996, MIM).

¹⁷ Internet posting, 10 June 1996, "Gang of Five is Avakian's Theory and an Obvious Smokescreen".

¹⁸ See, among other works, Comrade Avakian's *Mao's Immortal Contributions, The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung*; more recently, he contributed to RIM with his defence of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism against the liquidationist attacks of K Venu, in *AWTW* 1992/17.

the PCP CC they repeatedly claim to speak for in opposing RIM has hailed its adoption. Similarly, these forces have had *nothing* to say about the important article "It's Right to Rebel" by the Union of Communists of Iran (Sarbedaran), written at CoRIM's request, which thoroughly dissects and criticizes the Right Opportunist Line, a task which Arce & Co has never even attempted – nothing that is, except a pathetic attack by Arce on a *single footnote* in the UIC text, which furthermore, in typical Arce fashion, he dishonestly truncated.

The virtual revolutionaries also repeatedly assert that "Avakian is running RIM", that "RIM is nothing but an Avakian front", and the like. Ironically, RIM is often slandered by reactionaries as the "Senderista International". This kind of anti-communist slander is exactly like the anti-communist hysteria of the bourgeoisie themselves, with their talk of "Stalinist dupes", "communist manipulation", etc, all contemptuous of the conscious unity and understanding of the revolutionaries. One variant of this attack is that "Avakian's domination of RIM" mirrors US imperialism's domination of the oppressed countries.¹⁹ This particular slander reeks of imperialist chauvinism and disrespect for the RIM parties and organizations in the oppressed countries, including the PCP itself. The unity of RIM parties and organizations on basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is open for all to see, including in the pages of *AWTW*, in the numerous documents of the various RIM parties and organizations, as well as in the *Declaration of RIM* and *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!*, both adopted by all the parties and organizations participating in RIM.

"REFORM" RIM, OR TRY TO SMASH IT? - A DEBATE FIT FOR "VIRTUAL REVOLUTIONARIES"

Having launched their virtual reality adventure, Arce, Olaechea, *New Flag*, and MIM maintained a steady stream of attacks on CoRIM and sometimes on RIM itself over a period of several months. They were puffed up by their new found unity, and there were even claims that most RIM parties really opposed CoRIM and sup-

ported their line instead. Thus the expectation was planted that soon most RIM parties would come out in open support of them, and there was similar talk about other groups identified with Mao internationally.²⁰

Their attacks sometimes take the form of open calls to do away with RIM, and sometimes of calls to "overthrow CoRIM" – either way, the heart of this opposition is to RIM's line. *New Flag*, for instance, advanced the "virtual reality" slogan of "Long Live RIM, Down with CoRIM". Maoists know that the nature of a political organization or movement is determined by its line. In the real world, calls to "overthrow CoRIM" mean opposition to RIM's *Declaration* and to *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!* and other major elaborations of RIM's line. The real reason *New Flag* advances its slogan is that, since the PCP is part of RIM, they do not want to be seen as attacking RIM itself, and so try to disguise their attack as an attack on CoRIM. Their real agenda slips out when *New Flag* argues that, "The PCP did not pull out of RIM as yet [!]. A mobilization of 'figure-heads' cannot change this, but only a mobilization of masses could."²¹ In other words, *New Flag* is setting itself the actual task of mobilizing "masses" not only against RIM but against the line of the PCP itself, which is clearly established as a RIM participant!

Buoyed up by the bubble of lies, hype and self-deception these forces generated, in the spring of 1996 Arce issued a Call to create a World Mobilisation Commission (WMC), whose purpose was "to lead *all* the support work" [emphasis added] for the People's War in Peru. The WMC Call also proposed uniting around "Gonzalo Thought", accepting "Maoism as the third and superior stage of Marxism", and fighting revisionism and opportunism, which is clearly identified in the Call as meaning, above all, CoRIM.²²

At this stage, some of the anti-RIM

forces stopped short. They pointed out that setting up a support group for the People's War with this platform of unity would cut out large sections of potential supporters of the People's War by explicitly limiting it to those who already embrace MLM. This criticism is of course true. As a "Support the People's War" platform, the WMC Call sounds "left", but would isolate and weaken the vanguard forces as well as narrow support for the People's War. However, this criticism misses the key point that the WMC is seen by its organizers not only as a support organization for the People's War, but also as an organization to undermine RIM as the emerging centre of MLM forces internationally.

The Call for the WMC states that "the revisionists and opportunists were represented – and still are – by the leadership of the international Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (CoRIM) and by the heads of the IEC. This current, isolated and despised by the true friends of the People's War and the PCP, are crawling like snakes, loudly hissing their 'support for the people's war' and even screaming that their 'red flag is flying over Peru'. Adopting this phoney revolutionary position, they are attempting to continue to profit from the People's War. This is precisely what must be stopped.... The opportunist leadership of CoRIM is the main cause of immobilism in the international movement in support of the People's War in Peru." The subsequent call in the WMC to "fight opportunism through to the end" is thus an open call to battle against RIM's chosen leadership.

Taken at face value, this enterprise seems most puzzling. A core of the world's Maoists, including the PCP in particular, have been voluntarily united in RIM around the banners of Marx, Lenin and Mao for more than 12 years, have chosen RIM's leader-

¹⁹ Internet posting, 12 March 1996, "Avakianism is Yankee Revisionism", by the Detroit Peru Support Committee.

²⁰ Olaechea, for instance, claims that "the Nepalese Party are *against* CoRIM and for a World Mobilisation Commission", a claim for which he can offer no reference since he has invented it himself. (Internet posting, 3 May 1996, "After Vomiting,

Now Diarrhea").

²¹ Internet posting, 3 May 1996, "Is Olaechea a Plant of the Intelligence Services?"

²² World Mobilisation Commission, Call for Mobilising for Struggle, Brussels, 10 March 1996, *El Diario Internacional* et al.

ship, and are waging an international campaign to defend the PCP and the People's War it is leading. And now Arce & Co want to set up a group also claiming to be based on MLM and also to defend the PCP and the People's War.

So what are Arce & Co really up to? They are in fact attempting to use their anti-RIM, anti-two line struggle banners as rallying points for the liquidation of the actual content of Maoism and for forming a group that pays lip service to MLM and the PCP, but more closely resembles a sort of international "United Left" of pro-Soviet and pro-Deng Xiao-ping revisionists, social democrats, Hoxhaites, and some genuine revolutionaries.

Arce has already made clear in previous issues of *El Diario Internacional* just what kind of line-up he envisages for a "restructured" international communist movement. In the January 1996 issue of *EDI*, Arce divides up a large number of groups active in the international revolutionary movement, based on his analysis of the correctness of their support for the PCP and the People's War. While the "bad" group includes a few RIM groups he particularly opposes, the "good" group – "political organizations that are fighting against the Fujimori hoax and against capitulation" – includes such groups as the Party of Labour of Belgium (known as the PTB), which is quite active in international left circles in Europe.

The role of the PTB is of special interest. *El Diario Internacional* is published from Belgium, where Arce himself has close connections to the PTB, making many personal appearances at PTB functions. The PTB's role is further elaborated on by Olaechea, who was the first signatory besides Arce on the WMC Call. Pointing to "positive" developments in the international communist movement, Olaechea emphasizes the centrality of the role seen for groups like the PTB in the WMC: "...there is already clear indication that the medium-sized parties, such as the Party of Labour of Belgium, have already undergone quite a good change.... Such parties, in addition to the traditional Maoist parties of the last two decades (excluding the RCP-style phonies), are precisely the backbone around which the WMC is starting to develop."²³ Actually, the PTB has not endorsed the

WMC and would not do so since it openly opposes recognizing "Maoism" as a "higher stage of Marxism". But Olaechea's comments make clear that Maoism is not the real basis of the WMC, and what that basis really is, as a look at the PTB's line will show.

Perhaps the "good changes" Olaechea sees include the PTB's widely circulated "Proposal for the Unification of the International Communist Movement".²⁴ Here the PTB argues that "the former divisions between Marxist-Leninist parties can be overcome". Principal among these "former divisions" is Mao's opposition to Soviet revisionism. Indeed, the PTB has openly upheld the Deng Xiao-ping regime for many years, including hailing the Chinese state's repression of the Tiananmen rebellion in 1989. As for "good changes" being made by the PTB, its Chairman Ludo Martens recently made a public self-criticism for having opposed the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan! Raising organizations like the PTB that oppose MLM and uphold revisionists like Brezhnev and the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Deng Xiao-ping over RIM parties and organizations and CoRIM, as Arce & Co does, shows how far they have sunk into the swamp of opportunism.

Just as Arce & Co have turned aside from using Maoist teachings to deal with the cardinal questions of political and ideological line raised in the two-line struggle which emerged in the PCP and reduced this to a police plot, so in their approach to the international communist movement they throw away the lines that divide genuine MLM from revisionism and set up other, narrower criteria.

Olaechea goes on to argue that RIM as a whole is beyond saving. Calls to overthrow the RIM Committee, he says, are as "illusory and hopeless" as calls for "overthrowing Fujimori from his own party".²⁵ However, in Olaechea's view there are better prospects out there anyway, notably the remnants of the long-established pro-Soviet parties, which he says are from "the European tradition of the Third International" [sic]. Olaechea argues

that these are much "bigger" parties than the RIM groups, and he specifically points to what he calls the "left wing" of the old Communist Party of Italy (PCI), the "left wing" of the CPUSA, and other such groupings: "...the development of a left within the traditional parties of the Third International, which is aware of the importance of the People's War in Peru for their own aims of giving their respective parties a new direction capable of serving the class interests of the proletariat and the people really holds promise, while the CoRIM strategy... has been proven kaput!"²⁶

Does Olaechea really expect anyone to believe that these die-hard revisionists, who have been props for imperialism for decades, are changing their spots and are now "trying to serve the class interests of the proletariat"? Is it not really the case that such parties are merely repositioning themselves in the bourgeois arena to deal with the collapse of their Soviet imperialist godfather?!

What does all this show about the WMC Call's platform of uniting around Maoism as "a third and superior stage"? That it is mere sugar coating, designed to lure the naïve, and to protect the cynical who want their retreat from Maoism to be carefully hidden.

Furthermore, it is revealing that those giving support for Arce & Co are found not in the hard core of the Maoist camp, but in parties that have for years fought the Maoists tooth and nail: pro-Deng Xiao-ping forces like the PTB, old-style pro-Soviet revisionists from the diehard revisionist CPUSA and PCI, etc. No wonder Arce & Co's supporters unite with them in liquidating the struggle against the Right Opportunist Line. They uphold out-and-out capitalist roaders like Deng Xiao-ping, why should they be bothered by some right opportunists in Peru?!

Arce & Co are dangling promises of "getting rich quick" by hooking up with the "left" of the big old revisionist parties, but the more likely prospect is that any genuine revolutionaries suckered into the WMC will be used as nothing more than pawns with

²³ Internet posting, 28 June 1996.

²⁴ This version, the latest of several, is dated 4 May 1995.

²⁵ Internet posting, 28 June 1996, "US Imperialism Seeks to Expand its Fascist Dictatorship".

²⁶ Ibid.

Maoist labels to legitimize the attacks by these established revisionist forces on the Maoists' international line and organization. These revisionists are already salivating in anticipation, urging Arce & Co onwards. One Mr Godenas, a leading figure in a small group in Rhode Island, USA that is a WMC signatory, and whom Olaechea and MIM repeatedly defend, has the following to say: "Since its inception, 'RIM' has been a ghost entity, wholly innocent of any party or group (other than the PCP) that amounts to a hill of beans.... Why do a few supporters of the PCP and the People's War jib at endorsing the Call for a World Mobilisation Commission, a Call that fully embodies the principles of a cause to which we are all friendly, and to which we have all sworn varying degrees of support? Comrades Olaechea and Arce Borja have proven themselves to be as courageous and principled opponents of the fascist Fujimori as can be found anywhere. They are as an implacable enemy of Peruvian reaction abroad as the PCP itself.... It is time, my friends, to junk Avakian,... RIM, the RCP, World to Win, etc. Having done so, we can move forward with the Call for a World Mobilisation, with comrades Olaechea and Arce Borja and the many thousands of others who stand ready to rebuild the communist international on a sound ideological and political basis...." Godenas also says that, "The Nepalese 'People's War' as such is a fiction", and he then

refers to "petit-bourgeois adventurism", to make his point perfectly clear.²⁷

It turns out that "Comrade Godenas", as Olaechea calls him, has run several times as a CPUSA representative for the United States Congress.²⁸ This is what Adolfo calls the "proletarian left" in the CPUSA – a die-hard revisionist who seethes with hatred for the world's genuine Maoists and oozes honeyed flattery for those who might help against them. The "sound ideological and political basis" on which Arce & Co are building their WMC is nothing but a revisionist-fueled fantasy of trying to wreck RIM.²⁹

Similarly, other groups in this swamp, such as the Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM), are also extending their connections to the hardcore revisionists. MIM recently reprinted what they called "an extremely sensible" article by a CPUSA member that extensively promotes this same "Comrade Godenas". MIM justified this by arguing that "as the fighting of cops [referring to *New Flag*] in the movement to support the People's War in Peru is extremely urgent, MIM puts aside its differences with the CPUSA here momentarily."³⁰ They made a similar call to the PTB for unity against "cops". They think that in the interests of fighting a small journal in New York City, it is fine to unite with the principal revisionist party in the US.

Arce & Co seem to be seeking some kind of devil's deal with some of the revisionists, whereby they will gain recognition from revisionist forces as "worldwide heads of People's War support", in return for which Arce & Co will lend their "Maoist" reputations to the revisionists to try and help "wreck" RIM. Or perhaps Arce & Co actually believe their own boasts that they will be the ones riding these dinosaurs – in which case they will undoubtedly be swallowed alive, not least of all because they are bereft of any Maoism with which to defend themselves, and are moving increasingly onto the revisionists' own turf.

In this regard, it is worth noting that Arce & Co, while stubbornly repudiating the need to wage line struggle against the Right Opportunist Line, are headed in a direction that is increasingly similar to the position of the Right Opportunist Line itself on many points. Not only are they liquidating key points of Maoist principle, as does the Right Opportunist Line, but they are even bandying about some of the same catchphrases. Aren't they, like the Right Opportunist Line, beginning to denounce RIM as nothing but "paper parties", "not amounting to a hill of beans"? Aren't they increasingly in the company of groups, like the PTB, Communist Party of Nepal (UML), Communist Party of India (Marxist) and others that promote participation in elections and long periods of peaceful political struggle in the oppressed countries instead of Maoist people's war? They denounce CoRIM for supposedly censoring the PCP CC and opposing its line, and pretend to be unreserved upholders of the CC, yet they go against MLM and the PCP's clearly established line on the most fundamental principles of the international communist movement. What do they think the PCP was talking about when it proclaimed the need to sweep away "mountains of revisionist garbage"?! Now when it is more urgent than ever to fight the Right Opportunist Line, not only are Arce & Co refusing to contribute to this fight but they are even focusing all their efforts on attacking those who are. The spectacle of these "virtual Maoists" from the cyberswamp lashing out at RIM and each other provides a distasteful example of where negating political and ideological line can lead. ■

²⁷ Internet postings, 5 May 1996, "Avakian & Co Should Go Quietly"; 7 May 1996, "Re Maoist Revolution in Nepal".

²⁸ According to an article by "a CPUSA member" reprinted by MIM in *Maoist Sojourner*, June 1996.

²⁹ Arce emphatically shares the vehemence of Godenas' attacks on RIM. This comes out firstly in his polemics. In the more vitriolic "Trappist Monks Turn into Village Charlatans: Another Somersault of the Circus Tumblers of RIM", he states that: "CoRIM went on to act in complicity with the enemies of the Peruvian Revolution"; "they openly side with Fujimori's agents and the capitulationist gang"; they are being "led to the side of counter-revolution"; CoRIM are "vulgar metaphysicians"; CoRIM's "Call is an old trick of rotten revisionists and opportunists"; etc. He carries this out in practice too. At the 1996 PTB May Day Conference, an AWTW representative sent to distribute Maoist litera-

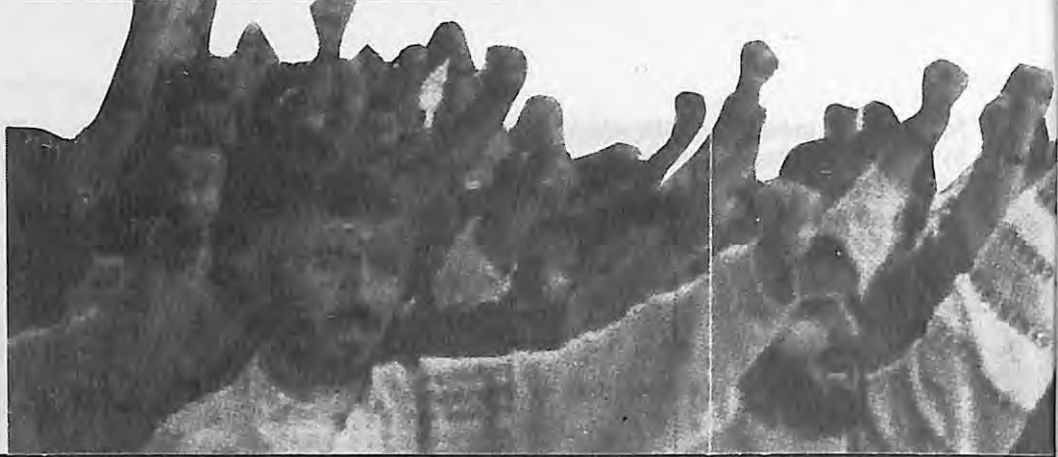
ture was physically expelled by the PTB. A "report from the Brussels bureau" of Arce's EDI reports this as follows: "alert comrades from the [Arce-generated] MPP in Belgium assisted the security people of the PTB and ordered the AWTW representative out into the street". Arce cannot be reproached for lack of consistency in this case. While hailing the pro-Deng PTB for physically expelling a Maoist AWTW representative, Arce himself was sharing the podium with revisionist gangsters like the Communist Party of India (Marxist) – which heads the state government in West Bengal, India, where thousands of Maoist "Naxalites" have been killed or imprisoned – and the CPN (United Marxist-Leninist), which was the former governing party in Nepal and has lent support to *ronda*-style militias against the People's War there. Arce should be filled with shame for trying to attach the name of the PCP and the People's War to his outrageous antics.

³⁰ *Maoist Sojourner*, June 1996.

RIGHT: Hunger strikers.

BELOW: Gazi (Istanbul).
Barricades erected in
confrontations with police.

BELOW RIGHT: Ankara. Street
demonstration and fight with
police in support of
prisoners on hunger strike.



NEW UPSURGE OF STRUGGLE

After a prolonged period when the squabbling Turkish ruling classes were unable to produce even a semblance of a government, the latest coalition was immediately put to a severe test by an upsurge of struggle from within Turkey's dungeons.

Since the spring 1995 storm of mass rebellions that shook working class areas around Istanbul, like Gazi Mahallesi and others, a new spirit of militant protest and struggle has been growing in Turkey. Struggle also sharpened amongst the thousands of political prisoners against the desperate "reform" programmes of the state.

Political prisoners in Buca Prison (Izmir) stood up to foil this attack in September 1995, and three were martyred. A few months later, in January 1996, prisoners at Umraniye in Istanbul courageously fought the state's armed forces inside the prison in defence of their revolutionary identity, and four more people were killed.

In the spring of 1996, the new Islamic-led government coalition sped up the restructuring programmes to crush this growing resistance inside (and outside) Turkey's dungeons under the guise of new "reforms".

The prisoners' response was swift and widespread.



IN TURKEY'S DUNGEONS

By 20 May 1996, about 1500 revolutionary political prisoners had jointly launched an unlimited hunger strike to beat back this new clampdown by the state. Some 41 prisons in 38 different cities were affected by the struggle.

On 3 July 1996, 159 political prisoners who had been on unlimited hunger strike decided to go over to a hunger strike until death, demanding that state tactics to create repenters and collaborators be abandoned, that the "tabutluk" prisons (with tiny coffin-like single cells), especially Eskişehir, be closed. They also demanded an end to all attacks and intimidation against the prisoners' families and an end to state torture, executions and "disappearing" of people, as well as the right to legal defence and medical care. Their call also included an end to state terror against the labouring people, first and foremost the Kurdish people, and an end to all barbarism in Erzurum and Diyarbakir prisons in the eastern part of the country, in Kurdistan.

On 13 July, 62 more prisoners joined the strike "until death", bringing the total number participating to 221. Outside the prisons, support began to grow in leaps. Street-fighting took place in several cities as well as confrontations



between prisoners' mothers and the police, and the struggle spread quickly to student campuses. In Gazi, the youth went on the offensive, attacking the police.

With the deaths of many impending and with the explosive support swelling outside, the accelerating struggle amongst the prisoners forced the Turkish Government to manoeuvre and retreat. After twelve hunger strikers had died, the state backed down on some of its repressive reforms, particularly the transfer of more political prisoners to the hated Eskişehir "prison of death". (The martyrs were from a range of revolutionary left groups, including the Com-

munist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist, a participant of RIM.) Some 20 others were critically ill and in mortal danger in the following days, either in a coma or suffering from blindness and irreparable organ damage.

The moment it announced its agreement to some of the demands in order to calm public opinion in Turkey and internationally, the Turkish regime began to mistreat striking prisoners who were transferred to hospitals. Police interfered with their medical treatment and used some forms of torture. While forced to carry out some aspects of the 27 July agreement in and

around prisons in the big cities, the state stepped up its reform clampdown in Turkey's smaller prisons, and meted out especially harsh treatment in the eastern prisons of Kurdistan, including in Diyarbakir and Erzurum.

At the end of September, the Turkish state carried out yet another massacre in Kurdistan, as it tried to both bring the situation under its control in the prisons and launch a new counter-insurgency operation against the PKK and the Kurdish people, after the PKK ended its cease-fire: 10 prisoners in Diyarbakir were killed and two dozen more injured, while many others were transferred. ■

By S. Gazal

In a two-week-long operation starting 31 August 1996, the Iraqi army of Saddam Hussein and the forces of the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) led by Massoud Barzani joined forces in a surprising alliance and occupied the entire territory of Iraqi Kurdistan. Barzani is one of the pro-US Kurdish warlords who, along with the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) led by Jalal Talabani, were brought to power by the United States and their allies through the Operation "Provide Comfort" campaign during the Gulf War and formed the "Kurdish Government". The joint forces of Saddam Hussein and Barzani quickly pushed the PUK forces out of the areas it controlled and into Iran. CIA operations in Arbil (the capital of the Kurdish Government) were driven out

and the US evacuated many of its agents into neighbouring Turkey.

Operation "Provide Comfort" was the final leg of the Gulf War in 1991, through which the US forces built a military and intelligence post in northern Iraq, where the borders of Iraq, Iran and Turkey meet. The Turkish army, on the southern flank of NATO, took major responsibility for this operation. In mid-September 1996, after the Iraqi army and the Barzani forces pushed into Iraqi Kurdistan, the US announced that it was abandoning what it called the "Safe Haven" project. This project, which was said to "save" Kurds from the attacks of the Iraqi regime, had the aim of giving a human face to the US occupation of Iraqi Kurdistan.

The Iraqi regime was prohibited from setting foot inside this region or

flying over the skies of Kurdistan. The UN military and civilian forces were stationed in towns, while the US military stayed near the border with Turkey, in Zakho. The CIA launched its operations out of the main Kurdish cities, like Arbil. Official and non-official organizations of the European powers (mainly German and French) quickly established themselves in this "haven". They busied themselves with intelligence gathering, reconnaissance activities and cozying up to the Kurdish leaders, in order to further their immediate and future imperialist interests in Iraq. Some also carried out the sideline activity of distributing imperialist handouts to the Kurds.

The Operation "Provide Comfort"/"Safe Haven" project was supposed to win a durable foothold for a direct US presence. However, this strategy ran

Kurdistan

The Bitter Lessons of Betrayal



Yet another generation of the Kurdish people is forced to flee their homes due to the manoeuvres of the "Great Powers".
NEXT PAGE: Iraq, June 1991



into many unresolvable contradictions. The European powers began to contest US plans. There was also concern that dividing up Iraq could be a destabilizing factor for other imperialist-dominated states in the region, such as Turkey, the Gulf states and Iran, which are already enmeshed in political crises. Moreover, the creation of a viable semi-colonial state in Iraqi Kurdistan proved to be a mammoth task economically and politically. Frequent wars broke out between the PUK and the KDP, the two factions of the "Kurdish Government". The PKK (Workers Party of Kurdistan) from Turkey used Iraqi Kurdistan as a staging area for carrying out its own insurgency against the Turkish regime. The Islamic regime of Iran deployed its military and secret agents in Iraq. The CIA-financed activities of the Iraqi opposition, aimed at unseating Saddam Hussein, did not yield results. The US strategy developed too many cracks to be repaired. So in 1995-96, the US ruling class began to talk about wrapping up the project and pursuing its goals in other ways.

When the forces of the Iraqi regime and Barzani moved into Kurdistan, the US was quick to adjust itself to this new situation: they abandoned "Safe Haven"/ "Provide Comfort" as if just waiting for the opportunity. US newspapers announced that the US had given a *coup de grace* to Operation "Provide Comfort". Barzani argued that what he did was not contrary to the wishes of the US, because the US had insisted on the sovereignty of Iraq, which meant no Kurdish state, and therefore it was correct for the Kurds to resolve their problems with Saddam. The US had already cut its "Provide Comfort" budget from \$600 million in 1992 to \$21 million in 1996.

The US imperialists, in the role of world gendarme, cannot tolerate unauthorized moves which would undermine their rule and status. Their ability to punish Saddam has become "proof" of their so-called invincibility. And, as bloodsuckers, every time they want to punish him they punish the masses of Iraq. So they threw their military weight around and launched more of their mass-murder missiles at the Iraqi masses to add to the numbers of those dying daily from the economic embargo they have imposed on Iraq since the end of the Gulf War.

These events exposed the fact that the Gulf War alliance the US imperialists put together has unravelled. This time the US failed to rally more than meagre support for its gunslinging against Iraq. Except for the United Kingdom, the major European countries refrained from extending the "no fly zone" prohibiting Iraq from flying over its own skies. So the US extended it unilaterally. Russia vetoed the US proposal to condemn Saddam in the UN and later announced that Iraq has the right to defend itself. Contrary to the US position, these other powers insisted on the implementation of the "oil for food" deal, which allows Iraq to sell some of its oil. They did not approve the establishment of the so-called "protection zone" by the Turkish army along the Iraqi-Turkish border. Nonetheless, the US asked Turkey to go ahead with it. But this did not occur either. Later, Turkish Foreign Minister Ciller retracted Turkey's plans and asked Saddam Hussein to take control of Iraq's borders with Turkey. However, within a week she reconfirmed the plans for the "protection zone". The problems facing the US were highlighted further when Talabani's PUK forces made a comeback in mid-October, with backing from the Iranian regime.

This whole episode is an important sign of the depth of the troubles of the imperialist system and of the failure of the goals the imperialists proclaimed during the Gulf War. A considerable gap has arisen between what the US wants and what it can get. Its vision of the New World Order, which was baptized in torrents of blood in the Gulf War, is not falling into place. Big counter-currents unleashed by the intensification of the major contradictions of the world capitalist system are undermining the US's position and control in many respects.

IMPERIALIST RIVALRY

The US imperialists announced their intention to forge a New World Order with the bloody rampage in the 1991 Gulf War, which they carried out in alliance with the other Western powers and the support of the ex-Soviet Union, along with an array of lackeys from the Third World.

The Gulf War came in the midst of the noisy crumbling of the walls of the East bloc. The US imperialists and

the other Western powers intended to utilize their victory in the Cold War to deal with their own deep crisis. The easing of contradictions amongst the imperialists which resulted from dismantling a major flank of theirs in the East – the Soviet-led bloc – presented the Western powers with opportunities as well as necessities. At that time, an editorial in *AWTW 1991/16* captured the situation clearly: "The arrogance of the US is to be explained not so much by the increased opportunities now that the Soviet Union is acquiescing in the US adventures, but more by the necessity felt by all of the imperialists to reconsolidate and expand their 'spheres of influence'. Clearly the post-World War II order is coming to an end. Already the collapse of the East bloc has sent the whole imperialist world into disarray. All of the imperialist powers sense that now is the time to grab, and if they fail to do so, their competitors will grab first. Countries long under the domination of these imperialist powers are experiencing increased hardship and unresolvable crisis and are seething with unrest and popular discontent."

The quickening of the pace of events in the Middle East today is not because Saddam Hussein supposedly has "provoked" the US once again. Larger issues regarding the Middle East policies of the imperialists and power relations in the region are at stake. Because of this region's economic, political and geo-strategic importance – in particular its oil resources and location at the convergence of Asia, Africa and Europe – it has always been one of the flash points of the world imperialist system. Events here frequently mirror much of the intensity and complex intertwining of important global contradictions, especially those amongst the imperialists and between the imperialists and the peoples of the world.

The imperialist alliance and consensus which the US led through the Gulf War have become quite relative. Frequently, on matters of global and regional importance, there are a series of collisions before a fragile consensus is reached – if indeed one is reached at all. There is intense rivalry amongst the powers over profit and power grabbing in the Middle East. The major European states keenly take note of any problems in the US's rul-

ing position and structures here and utilize every opportunity to advance their own immediate and long-term interests. For example, the favourable re-organization of the Iraqi economy, centred around its petroleum, is being actively pursued by the European powers – already French oil companies have secured major concessions from the Iraqi government for the extraction and sale of oil in northern Iraq.

Shortly after the Saddam-Barzani forces took over most of Iraqi Kurdistan, the French sent a commercial attaché to Baghdad – the first and only Western power to have done so. This infuriated the US more than Saddam's incursion into Kurdistan. The French also played an important role in mediating the recent conflict between Israel and the Hezbollah militia in Lebanon, who are backed by Iran and Syria. It will not be easy to determine whether the French had a role in funnelling arms by Iran through Syria to the Hezbollah, but the imperialists have a long tradition of working out their "peacetime" rivalries through proxies.

The Europeans, especially Germany and France, also have acute contradictions with the US over Iran. This is reflected in their serious opposition to the US economic embargo (and the US's possible military plans) against Iran, which is aimed at destabilizing the Islamic Republic government and/or forcing a favourable re-organization of power amongst the comprador-feudal classes in Iran, as well as affecting the regime's position in the region.

After the revolution in Iran, the European powers played a major role in blocking Soviet influence on Iran's economy and politics and keeping the country tightly knit into the Western bloc. This was done on behalf of the bloc as a whole, including its leader, the US, whose influence in Iran had been shaken by the 1979 Iranian revolution. Now that the Cold War is over, these European powers, mainly Germany and France, want to turn their influence in Iran into a strategic presence, giving them more leverage in the Middle East. German imperialism never abandoned its "Berlin-Teheran, Berlin-Baghdad" slogan, which is meant to express the need and drive of the German imperialists to carve out an area of influ-

ence in the Middle East.

Other regional policies of the US are also being contested. For its part, the US has launched important initiatives to organize regional security structures. To this end, the Turkish and Israeli armies are formally working together to build a powerful axis to bully the region. Egypt is said to be preparing to join the axis. This regional gendarmerie will be integrated with the help of the direct US military presence in Turkey and the Gulf. Other countries like Iran are being asked to accept this framework. But whether this vision will succeed this time, no one can say; as one song goes, "don't speak too soon, the wheel's still in spin".

INFLAMING THE MASSES OF THE REGION

Many US efforts to re-organize and consolidate its rule in this region, in particular the so-called Middle East peace process, are at best in a precarious and changing state. Even though Yasir Arafat's sell-out of the national resistance of the Palestinian people was a great service to imperialism and the Israeli state, the "peace" process has failed to tame the masses of Palestine and resolve many acute problems that the imperialists and the reactionary states face in this part of the world. The contradiction has intensified between the imperialist system and the peoples, who are being increasingly squeezed and trampled upon, but are also being thrown into struggle.

This is also reflected in the shaky situation of the Yankee client states in the Middle East. Some of the Gulf states are boiling with political and economic crisis, and US bases in Saudi Arabia have been targeted by bomb attacks. Bill Clinton complained that if the US uses ground forces or its pilots land on Iraqi soil, he is afraid that the humiliation they suffered in Somalia will be repeated, with US soldiers dragged and kicked in the streets by the people. In this most recent crisis between the US and Iraq, even the Turkish ruling class refused to allow its Incirlik bases to be used for bombing Iraq. Saudi Arabia also refrained, and Kuwait only agreed after dragging its feet. These US clients are now afraid of intensifying their own political crisis by being too closely identi-

fied with the US. (This tendency is increased by the fact that European states like Germany have considerable influence over regimes such as Turkey, even while the US remains the dominant imperialist power.)

The Kurdish peasants in Turkey are in revolt, and the new so-called "modern" Islamic government of Turkey was seriously challenged and exposed by the heroic struggles of the revolutionary political prisoners, who staged a hunger strike during the summer of 1996. The masses of Jordan recently rioted against King Hussein's tripling of bread prices, a result of the liberalization policies of the imperialist economic agencies. Egypt's Hosni Mubarak is trembling at the thought of similar revolts by the hungry masses in his country. Moreover, the people will not forget and forgive the killing field created by the US and the other imperialists and their lackeys in the Gulf War.

"KURDISH GOVERNMENT" – EAGER AGENT OF IMPERIALISTS

This round of events in Iraq was particularly important because it brought to a logical conclusion the so-called "pragmatic" policies of the bourgeois-feudal leaders of the Kurdish national resistance. During the Gulf War, these leaders welcomed the occupation of Iraqi Kurdistan by the imperialist forces in return for a little piece of power for themselves. These leaders promised the Kurdish masses a better destiny under the guardianship of US imperialism. They told the people that the US imperialists – who had just slaughtered tens of thousands of Iraqis and are still hated around the world for the millions of Vietnamese they massacred in the hope of crushing their just struggle for national liberation, and who are the only power on earth to have ever used nuclear weapons – will liberate the Kurdish masses from their national oppression and misery. What sick and twisted logic! They promoted the US imperialists among the masses and put up pictures of George Bush on walls as the "father" of the Kurds. US Rambo cowboys from Washington came and went, gave speeches, proclaimed "democracy for the Kurds" and together with the CIA acted as overseers of the Kurdish government.

The KDP, which struck an alliance with the Iraqi regime on 31 August 1996 and for the moment took over the areas controlled by Talabani's PUK, has a long history of being propped up by the CIA. [For a history of these parties, see *AWTW 1986/5*] In 1975, the KDP, led by Molla Mostafa Barzani (Massoud's father), surrendered the Kurds' national resistance to the Iraqi regime; this has come to be known as the Great Ashbatal, the great surrender. This came as a result of the US stabbing the Kurdish forces in the back and helping the Iraqi regime. In the aftermath of the Great Ashbatal, the PUK was formed by Talabani (who had earlier split from the KDP), in collaboration with a group of young revolutionaries, in order to resurrect the Kurdish national struggle. For years the PUK led a just war against the regime of Saddam Hussein. Later it degenerated first into a pro-Soviet imperialist group and then into an openly pro-US force.

After the Gulf War, the US and other imperialist forces united these two parties in the "Kurdish Government" they set up in northern Iraq. The pillar of this "Kurdish" political power was the imperialist occupation forces themselves. The two parties carved out areas of rule for themselves and relied on the local feudals and bigshots to build their respective power structures. Most of the big feudals and bureaucratic and military bigshots, who once were allies of Saddam Hussein, retained their economic and social privileges and positions under the protection of the PUK and the KDP. However, soon sporadic wars broke out between these two parties over power and money grabbing (of funds channelled by the imperialists to this government, revenue from border checkpoints, and prospective receipts from the "oil for food" deal).

Under this puppet government, the situation of the masses grew even more desperate. The villages burned and emptied by the brutal aerial and land attacks by Saddam's army lay idle. The masses were never encouraged to go back and develop agriculture in order to become independent both from the Iraqi regime, which had placed an embargo on the region, and from the pitiful imperialist hand-outs, most of which went straight into the pockets of the Kurdish ruling parties and their corrupt cronies.

The most important economic activity of the Kurdish government was collecting the revenues from Iraqi commercial transactions across Turkish and Iranian border customs checkpoints, which went respectively to the KDP and the PUK. This situation outraged the masses of Kurdistan. They started to rebel. On numerous occasions, PUK and KDP forces opened fire on the people. In late winter of 1992, for example, when this government still was new, the masses in the township of Nassr near As Sulaimaniya demonstrated against the local authorities because the PUK had been stealing food from them while its cadres took special privileges. The PUK forces shot and killed three people.

Under this government, feudal practices, especially against women, flourished: men could freely kill their wives, daughters or sisters on grounds of "infidelity" or "flirting". According to a report by a local group, 75 women were killed in the town of Dihok alone in a few months in 1996.

It is not surprising that the Kurdish government not only failed to turn the region under its control into a base area for the advance of the Kurdish national movements of Iran and Turkey, but it even cooperated with the regimes of those countries to chase and hunt down the revolutionaries from there. One of the hallmarks of its mercenary activities on behalf of the reactionary regimes of the region was to initiate a war against the PKK from Turkey. Propaganda preparations for the war were launched by Talabani personally. He made a speech in the Kurdish parliament and explicitly defended the "New World Order" and the "democracy" which it supposedly gives birth to, and said, "We are told that we are traitors, sell-outs and puppets. But the US and the British have warned us that they will not help us if the PKK uses our soil. The PKK are terrorists. We tell them to go negotiate and compromise with the Turkish regime."

The Kurdish government also gave a blank cheque to the secret services and military forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran to assassinate Iranian revolutionaries and attack the Kurdish forces of Iran, who for more than 10 years have been using Iraqi Kurdistan to organize their struggle against the Iranian regime. In the summer of

1996, the PUK forces gave cover to a 2000-strong military unit of the Islamic Republic to pass 150 kilometres from the Iranian border almost up to the doorstep of the Iranian KDP headquarters inside Iraqi Kurdistan, in order to stage a vicious attack on them.

This is just one more proof that any movement, however just, that is led by feudal and bourgeois forces will surely end up "cutting" separate deals with the enemies even against their own national brethren, because this is what the bourgeoisie and bourgeois ideology are – self-centred. The Iraqi regime's horrendous crimes against the Kurdish people will never be forgotten nor forgiven by the oppressed masses and the revolutionaries in this region. But this cannot justify jumping on the bandwagon of big imperialist criminals. In fact, in the Gulf War, one of the goals of the imperialists in targeting a criminal like Saddam Hussein was to cover their own misdeeds. The liberation of the oppressed masses anywhere in the world cannot be sought at the expense of other oppressed peoples. This will only lead to disaster for all the people.

Talabani and his PUK, who have a reputation as "left"-leaning, were very proud of themselves for formulating the "clever" policy of begging for some kind of Kurdish state by offering their services to the imperialists in exchange. Yet begging for a little power in Iraqi Kurdistan in return for services to the imperialists has always been the policy of the CIA-paid clan leader Barzani – but without the decorous label of "Realpolitik". Talabani scorned every revolutionary principle and claimed to be a "practical leader", unlike his "dogmatic" critics who only "preach" revolutionary principles; he talks as though revolutionary principles are for hoodwinking people and collecting soldiers from amongst the masses while reactionary, pragmatic, narrow nationalist policies are for "practicality"! Using this same logic, the PUK applauded Soviet social-imperialism when it was a strong imperialist power. These mis-leaders' practicality has always been very unpractical for the masses, because it only has served to prolong their oppression and intensify their misery. With this logic, political principles were bought and sold on the auction

block. With this logic, revolutionaries from Iranian and Turkish Kurdistan were served up to their hungry regimes. This is what Massoud Barzani's father and then his brother and he himself have been doing for the past three decades to the revolutionaries from Iran and Turkey and even to the militants of the PUK.

Talabani claimed that the formation of this CIA-backed Kurdish government was the first step to an independent Kurdish state. Instead, it was the decisive step in liquidating the Kurdish national resistance as it has existed since the aftermath of the Great Ashbatal of the KDP in 1975. We cannot say whether Barzani is more "practical"-minded than Talabani. They can decide that for themselves. In any case, it is crucial that the oppressed masses be armed with the truth: that the only road, and for that matter the shortest and most practical road to their liberation, is the proletarian internationalist road charted by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. For people such as Talabani and his class, however, the shortest way to "power" is to hook up with the reactionary and imperialist powers. The oppressed Kurdish masses must be consciously armed with the understanding that their own class interests and those of the bourgeois-feudal and bigshot Kurds are not the same. The paths promoted by these bourgeois-feudal forces cannot lead to anything good for the masses.

Some Kurdish forces are now complaining about the "US abandoning the Kurds". The US, France and Britain have a long history of playing the "Kurdish card" to further their colonial and neo-colonial interests in this region. At the time of the Gulf War in 1991, they played it, and now they are playing it again. The imperialists have actually been very consistent towards the Kurds. In the "practicality" game, no one can beat them.

SOME BITTER QUESTIONS

Let us look squarely at reality and ask the bitter questions. The masses and progressive and revolutionary forces in Iraqi Kurdistan have a long history of resisting their national oppressors and waging revolutionary struggle as well as inspiring and assisting revolutionaries from other countries. Their national aspirations

have been betrayed and trampled upon more than once by the imperialist powers – first the British and later the US. Why then in Iraqi Kurdistan did unity with imperialism replace unity with the oppressed peoples of the region against imperialism?

It was the bourgeois-feudal class forces in Kurdistan who led this alliance with imperialism and formed the heart and backbone of the so-called "Kurdish Government". No other political force would have been chosen by the imperialist powers for this matter; the bourgeois-feudal forces are the class allies of world capitalism within the oppressed nations. But the bitter fact is that their policy won a widespread national consensus and following. In other words, some other class forces, mainly representing the outlook and aspirations of the urban middle bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie, adopted a line and policy that, intentionally or unintentionally, fed into the imperialist policies of the US and its allies on Iraq and Kurdistan and strengthened the pro-imperialist policies of the PUK and the KDP. Many revolutionary-minded forces who did not really intend to help the formation of a pro-imperialist consensus, but who failed to wage the necessary struggle that the aggression of the imperialists against Iraq demanded, landed in the same corner as the Rambos.

None of these forces who call themselves revolutionary, anti-imperialist, "proletarian" and "Marxist" vigorously opposed the imperialist rape of Iraq. They did not expose and oppose the presence of the imperialist occupation forces in Iraqi Kurdistan. They did not organize the masses to understand the nature of imperialism as a class enemy and as a national enemy which has never hesitated to trample upon the national independence of the Kurds and all the oppressed nations of the world, nor did they use Kurdistan's own history to show this truth in a living way. They did not call upon the masses to reject an alliance with the biggest criminals on earth, to oppose them and wage struggle to oust their forces from Kurdish soil. They did not vigorously expose the nature of the "Kurdish government" as an imperialist appendage, a government of feudal-bourgeois class forces and national sell-outs. They did not expose the leaders who

promoted the Israeli model of "national salvation".

To the extent that some of these forces criticized the "Kurdish government", it was merely for not providing enough freedom for the opposition to organize unions, to hold mass rallies to protest against unemployment, and so on. They were content to hide their basically nationalist and reformist outlook behind "workerism". They did not try to broaden the vision of the masses and train them to be sensitive and raise their fists against every aspect of oppression of the different strata of people in the society and worldwide. Is this not a key difference between the proletarian outlook and a narrow-minded bourgeois outlook which takes the specific forms of nationalism, economism, and pragmatist expediency?

The idealism and reformism of some of these forces is revealing. For example, in July 1995, a group called the Workers' Communist Party of Iraq (WCPI), which had a base of activities in some urban areas controlled by the PUK, issued a programme for the resolution of the problems of Iraqi Kurdistan. While this organization itself is not very important, its line and programme is illustrative of the dangers of an economist and social-democratic approach. They called for "Complete withdrawal of the military and police forces of the central state [meaning the Iraqi regime – *AWTW*] under the supervision of the UN forces and the international authorities" and "initiation of a referendum in Iraqi Kurdistan under UN supervision in order for the people of this region – Kurds and non-Kurds – to decide whether they want to form an independent state or stay in the framework of Iraq. The outcome of this referendum will be official and lawful and binding."

This is a typical social-democratic illusory outlook of the reformist, petit-bourgeois and bourgeois intellectuals in the oppressed nations. These people even consider themselves "anti-imperialist". They have denounced the PUK and the KDP as nationalist parties who are "pawns of the US and the West and the states of the region" (Resolution of the Political Bureau of the WCPI).

But this group will pardon us some questions: Are the "international au-

thorities" different creatures than the same "US and the West"? And is not the UN an international forum of these powers and their client states? Did not the "Kurdish Government" come into being also through an electoral process which was "supervised" and sanctioned by the "UN forces or international authorities"? Was not this same programme carried out by your "international authorities" already? And was it not because of this that objectively or programmatically you abided by it?

Unfortunately, no force, however small, came out to rip away these bourgeois and petit-bourgeois class blinders and show the reality of the world to the masses through a revolutionary proletarian internationalist prism. This kind of outlook and politics was the only alternative to the pro-imperialist slavish philosophy that the feudal-bourgeois forces were dripping into the veins of the Kurdish workers, peasants and intellectuals.

Some say it was justified to adopt the policy of supporting this CIA-organized government against Saddam Hussein in order to stave off his crimes against the Kurds. But excuse us, why should you run from the criminal Saddam Hussein into the laps of the US imperialist baby-killers and beg for justice? Why run at all from one reactionary to the other? Why tail this dead-end tradition of Kurdish feudal-bourgeois forces who only see the masses as pawns, and are total strangers to concepts such as "self-reliance"? The fact that some Iraqi Arab forces who oppose Saddam Hussein also adopted the strategy of relying on the imperialists to struggle against Saddam Hussein shows that this is a question of class outlook, not nationalism per se.

It is true that some of these Kurdish forces called for solidarity and unity between the Arab and Kurdish masses of Iraq. That is good. But solidarity and unity between the proletarians and oppressed peoples of the world, which we Maoists call proletarian internationalism, is not a question of morality or mutual aid, nor is it optional. It is an outlook and policy which is a life-and-death requirement for every real revolution. This requirement is dictated by the way the world is organized and functions, by the class structure prevailing in the world. This global struc-

ture is the setting for and interpenetrates with the class alignment of forces in each and every country. Not grasping this relationship has always led to deviations among the revolutionary forces – including separating the nature and positions of the local reactionary regimes from the imperialist powers that dominate these countries.

This gives rise to two kinds of deviations, both of which could be seen during the Gulf War in 1991 and afterwards. First, some forces (along with many masses who yearned to hand a defeat to the imperialist powers) desperately hinged their hopes on Saddam Hussein and his army to fight against imperialist aggression, forgetting that the Iraqi regime was organized by the imperialists themselves to serve their system and could not and would not put up serious resistance to imperialist aggression. When it serves their interests, the imperialists even resort to toppling some of their own client regimes. Some of these regimes might resist being shoved aside, but that does not change their nature. Counting on the so-called "anti-imperialist" Arab regimes has been a widespread illusion among revolutionaries in the Arab countries. This form of nationalism has been a hindrance to the development of a real proletarian internationalist fighting detachment in the Arab countries.

The other wrong tendency has been to side (intentionally or not) with imperialist forces under the illusion that the imperialists would extend their system of rule in their own countries – bourgeois democracy – to their neo-colonies. Nothing is further from the truth. Fascistic dictatorial rule in the neo-colonies and the bourgeois-democratic form of bourgeois dictatorship in the imperialist countries are two sides of the same coin: the latter is possible because of the former, just as the prosperity of relatively large sections of people in the imperialist countries is possible because of the heart-wrenching poverty of the broad masses in the oppressed nations. The imperialists rule these neo-colonies through their alliance with the big pro-imperialist bourgeoisie and feudals and their reactionary state. The strategy for overthrowing the reactionary states should be based on this reality. These states and their imperialist masters are both targets of the new democratic

revolution, as a prelude to the socialist revolution.

The end of a period in the national resistance movement of Iraqi Kurdistan also calls for another look at the nature of and solution for the national question. This experience once more sheds light on the deep Marxist-Leninist-Maoist truth that the national question *is a class question*. This means it cannot be solved by bourgeois-feudal forces and narrow nationalist ideologies.

National oppression within the state boundaries of countries dominated by imperialism is built into a bigger structure of dependency on imperialism, and it cannot be solved in separation from the overarching national question of the epoch, which is the enslavement of whole nations and peoples by imperialism. National oppression, like other democratic problems, chiefly feudal oppression and exploitation, must be solved through a democratic revolution. But this democratic revolution can only be led by the proletariat in alliance with popular class forces (principally the poor and landless peasantry). It must be guided by a proletarian revolutionary programme, goal and perspective, that is, as a transitional step to the socialist revolution and as a base for world proletarian revolution.

For the national question, like every other problem in this world, different classes have different solutions. That is why we say that the national question, in the final analysis, is a class question. It can be and must be solved as a subordinate part of the process of carrying out the new democratic and socialist revolutions. This means the whole process of revolution needs to be led by a single party based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and rooted among the oppressed of all nations within the country.

To implement revolutionary, far-sighted, proletarian politics is not an easy task, especially on difficult terrains such as Kurdistan. But all terrains have their own kind of difficulties. These difficulties act as a pull and a burden on the minds of the revolutionaries to deviate to nationalist, pragmatic and reformist politics. These pulls act upon weaknesses inherent in the outlook of revolutionaries who do not have a communist ideology. Therefore, adopting correct ideology is key in arriving at correct po-

litical solutions for problems. In short, revolutionaries need to arm themselves with the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The lessons of the last six years in Kurdistan must be summed up and the masses armed with this understanding. The advanced revolutionaries, including the revolutionary intellectuals of Kurdistan, should lead them in doing so – but they must be guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to be able to do a thorough job of turning a bad thing into a good thing.

Furthermore, these are not lessons to be summed up only by the masses and revolutionaries in Iraqi Kurdistan. The same classes and the same tendencies, the same comprador-feudal aspirations in the garb of “national liberation” and even “Marxism”, exist in other movements, certainly in the Kurdish national movements in Iran and Turkey, but also beyond. These bitter experiences must be synthesized and their lessons brought to bear on other revolutionary struggles that the proletariat and peoples are waging. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement exists as an embryonic centre, a key task of which is to help the advanced forces in each country to grasp Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which is the concentration of the world-historic experiences of our class in its quest to wipe out the reactionaries and imperialists from the face of the earth. This is the best way RIM can assist the advanced revolutionary elements and groups in Iraq and throughout Kurdistan. Together, we must make the hard lessons of the past illuminate the future. As Chairman Mao says, the road is tortuous, but the future is bright.

PUTTING MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM ON THE POLITICAL STAGE

The post-World War II structures of the political and economic rule of the imperialists in different parts of the world are crumbling. In many places, in the absence of a revolutionary alternative powerfully coming to the fore to forcefully replace them, a lot of anarchy results on the political scene. In addition to the different popular forces who come to resist the obsolete and miserable system of imperialism and seek change, the decay of the system is giving rise to many

centrifugal forces. For example, the fall of the East bloc unleashed contradictions that had almost seemed frozen. The resurgence of warlords in different countries and regions is a sign of how much the old imperialist world order has broken down and how existing power structures are unable to tame and subordinate these reactionary forces.

The political scene in different parts of the Middle East appears messy and confusing. Some reformist forces (including the Workers' Communist Party of Iraq) deplore these kind of situations as “dark scenarios”. By this they mean that the “forces of backwardness” (religious obscurantists, but also others such as the peasantry!) are setting the political terms, as opposed to the so-called “forces of progress”, meaning the workers, but also the bourgeoisie of these countries. So what should the masses and revolutionaries do when confronted with the “dark scenarios”? Help to keep the imperialists and their reactionary semi-colonial state structures from falling apart?!

Their “bright scenario” is this: a tidy stage on which the forces of “progress” are lined up on one side and all the reactionaries on the other side, while the reactionary states and their imperialist overlords are able to prevent the various forces from talking through the barrel of a gun. These people warn the revolutionary forces against messing up the scene even more by resorting to armed revolution! But the truth of the matter is that the lack of proletarian armies on the stage is the main problem in these situations.

Only an army led by a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party can rise above the divisions stemming from national and local boundaries and unite the oppressed around their class interests against imperialism, semi-feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and lead a self-reliant war against all kinds of oppression, including national oppression. The presence of such an army would have sharply polarized the field in the interests of the people and the revolution and broken out of the vicious circle of fighting to replace one reactionary clique of bourgeois-feudals with another one.

The political stage in many countries will be increasingly occupied by a wide range of forces. Flags with false

claims designed to enlist the sacrifices of the masses will cloud the sky. This is already the case in many places: feudal warlords with religious obscurantism and feudal-bourgeois as well as petit-bourgeois forces with nationalist ideologies are all claiming to lead the masses out of the madness of class society and imperialist domination.

The rivalry of the imperialist powers to influence the reactionary class forces in these countries and sow seeds of instability in each other's backyards will encourage illusions about these powers among the masses (and among the revolutionaries, for that matter). As Lenin pointed out, even the reactionaries cannot do much without the masses in today's world. Reactionary and imperialist forces will cynically play with the longing of the masses to fight against their arch-enemies and will try to enlist them as cannon fodder. So this complex situation is bound to present the revolutionary communist forces with difficulties in carving out the road of the proletariat and people, including to initiate people's war and build the people's own armies.

Nonetheless, this same complex and contradictory situation will weaken the relative cohesion and stability of the central state structures and will increase the ability of the masses, if led by a genuine Maoist party in people's war, to deal blows to the reactionary states and make revolution. The complexity of the situation acts as a pull on many revolutionaries and even the masses to hold back and wait for a clearer sky. But revolutions are made in the midst of turbulence. The revolutionary communists must study the contradictions in today's situations and find the ways to hew the proletarian revolutionary path amidst confusion and disorder. It is key to establish an unmistakable proletarian revolutionary identity and programme in sharp contrast to the nature and programme of all other forces and show the class nature and interests behind the different flags waved before the masses. And more importantly, to fight to turn this into a material force, to fight for our flag to be held by the masses and to find ways in the midst of difficulties to project this proletarian programme through bold revolutionary political struggles and principally through a people's war guided by and imbued with this proletarian revolutionary programme. ■

*People's War
from the Andes to the Himalayas*

The Only Road to Liberation

— Statement by the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

1 May 1996

This May First, the revolutionary masses have a new reason to celebrate as the sparks of People's War kindled on 13 February leap across the Himalayas of Nepal and begin to catch fire amongst the workers and peasants. The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), a participant in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, has dared to initiate a war which will no doubt be protracted and bitterly fought but that has already begun to transform Nepal from a backward and oppressed country to an advanced outpost of the world proletarian revolution. This inspiring development has great implications for the South Asia region and indeed the whole world by once again reaffirming the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist principle that the masses can liberate themselves only through armed revolutionary struggle.

The revolutionary thunder in the Himalayas comes as a welcome reinforcement to the struggling people of Peru, whose vanguard, the Communist Party of Peru, also a participant in RIM, has been carrying the struggle forward valiantly despite fierce attack not only from the reactionary Fujimori regime but also from a right opportunist line which has called for ending the People's War through a negotiated settlement. Supporting the comrades of the Communist Party of Peru in pursuing the People's War and in fighting the right opportunist line remains an important task. The issues at stake in the two-line struggle are vital not only for the pursuit of the People's War in Peru but for the advance of the revolution in other countries and on a world scale. We must also continue to fight the outrageous isolation of imprisoned Chairman Gonzalo.

For the great majority of people on this earth, conditions are intolerable. At a time when the capacity to produce has reached previously unimaginable heights, hundreds of millions of people remain "prisoners of starvation". The world imperialist system has nothing to offer the immense majority except heightened exploitation, fiercer repression, deeper crisis and reactionary war. And this is not only true in the countries oppressed by imperialism: the imperialist citadels themselves are also the site of sharpening class antagonisms. History has shown that people will con-



tinue to rise up again and again until the conditions which spawn their revolt have been eliminated. But history, and contemporary events, also show that unless the movement of the masses is led by a vanguard party based upon Marxism-Leninism-Maoism the sacrifice and heroism of the people will be cynically abused by exploiting classes and their political representatives.

Only the class with no stake in preserving any vestige of exploitation, the proletariat, is qualified and capable of leading the struggle of the people forward toward a classless society. Those who remain focused on the final goal of communism and how to get there, the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, are also those who fight most resolutely in the revolutionary struggles of today. They are waging or preparing to wage people's war against imperialism and reaction according to the concrete conditions in different countries. The revisionists and opportunists who obstruct, compromise, betray or falter in this task cannot see beyond the narrow horizon of the system of wage slavery – their talk of socialism and communism is but a smokescreen used like the "paradise" of priests and mullahs to befuddle the masses.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is the embryonic centre of the world's genuine communist forces and is struggling for the formation of a Communist International of a new type, based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Those who are serious about revolution must be serious about supporting, joining or helping to forge genuine vanguard parties, based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and united in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

Hail the Initiation of People's War in Nepal!

Rally to the Defence of our Red Flag Flying in Peru! Down with the Right Opportunist Line!

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

Long Live the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!

Southern Lebanon:

Another Bloody Chapter in the Middle East "Peace Process"

- Statement by the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

28 April 1996

Once again the skies of Lebanon were torn by the sinister roar of Israeli fighter planes, and the dark clouds of explosions cast deadly shadows on the lives of its people. For 16 consecutive days, a torrent of shells pounded southern Lebanon, blowing up ancient highways, isolating villages and towns, exploding water reservoirs and a major electricity plant. Hundreds of people have been killed and many more maimed in this vicious act of imperialist aggression, and half a million people were driven from their homes. The pattern of massacres of civilians and destruction of Lebanon's infrastructure showed that Israel's goal was to terrorize the entire population into submission. With Israeli elections looming and preparations going on for negotiations with Syria, in the search for an even more favourable settlement for the US, the imperialists' hitman made its move.

The message is loud and clear: Israel is the same vicious attack dog of US imperialism that it always has been. It was set up to impose US imperialism's reign on the region and it will continue to do this. The weapons used to carry out this bloody massacre were made, supplied and paid for by the US, and even as the masses were still burying their dead, Clinton & Co announced additional military support for Israel.

Against this backdrop of imperialist-backed aggression, the bankruptcy of the established political forces in the region stands out sharply. As death rained from the sky, Arafat's PLO shamefully reaffirmed their capitulation to imperialism and Zionism by revoking all clauses in the PLO Charter calling for the destruction of Israel. This "peace process" has brought nothing for the Palestinian people or the oppressed people of the region. As for the Hezbollah-type forces, they are enmeshed in relations with reactionary states like the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Syrian regime, and will at most lead the struggling masses to become pawns in imperialist power plays.

Today rage burns ever more intensely in the hearts of the oppressed against the imperialists and their Zionist puppets. Revolutionaries from the region need to link up with the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and take up the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, in order to turn the rage of the Palestinian people and the peoples of the Middle East into a fire of people's war that will burn the imperialists' set-up to the ground. ■

A Hard Look at...

Continued from page 33

of this process. This would be true even if the majority of members of a leading body were to be thrown together into the enemy's dungeons, and there under his guns "decide" to overthrow the party's line. The principle that no one can lead a party from prison is an example of the opposition between the proletarian and bourgeois conceptions of leadership.

Whatever else he may have done to Chairman Gonzalo, Fujimori boasted that he had been put on an "information diet" where Chairman Gonzalo only found out what Fujimori wanted him to find out. The enemy violently ripped Comrade Gonzalo out of the Party's chain of knowledge and isolated him from the collective discussion and struggle through which the masses' knowledge is synthesized. No one confined under such circumstances could be in a position to correctly sum up the effects of major changes in the situation, and still less to reverse the Party's basic line. Even attempting to do so in the first place would be a step in the wrong direction.

Does this experience mean that all revolutions are at the mercy of the fate of their leaders?

If we understand that leaders are a product of the masses and the party, then we can see how difficult it is to produce them, how important they are, and how much they must be cherished and safeguarded from the enemy. The masses and the party cannot do without leaders. The most powerful force in the world is the conscious activism of the masses, and in a society divided into social classes, with all that means for how different people are brought up and trained, we need leaders to unleash that power to the greatest degree possible at every step of the revolutionary struggle. The loss of a leader can be a big blow, there is no doubt. But the fate of the revolution can never be reduced to the role of a single individual, however important.

As the *Internationale* says, "We want no condescending saviours/To rule us from their judgement hall/We workers ask not for their favours/Let us consult for all." The role of communist leaders enables others to use their heads and assume their responsibilities to the best of their abilities.

Actually, no matter who turns out to be behind the ROL, there have been glorious lessons in Peru regarding this question of leadership. By applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, a correct line has been developed and has unleashed a mass uprising. That line has become the property of a great number of masses, especially the most downtrodden and despised of Peru, who have wielded that science and their guns in a way that has served as a beacon to the oppressed of the world and a source of horror to the world's reactionaries. Despite the terrible blows the imperialists have rained down on the Party's leadership, and despite the ROL that is perfidiously seeking to capture the proletariat's fortress from within, at all levels people have come forward, stepping into the breach and accomplishing miracles. Old leaders have stood firm, new leaders are being forged, and the whole Party is undergoing the difficult but heroic process necessary to rise to the occasion.

What is the real situation in Peru now?

There is a material basis for the People's War to continue, especially the conditions created by the People's War itself – a mature Party, with strong ties to the masses, and an aroused people who have seen that another kind of world is possible and have even begun to live in it, in the base areas.

This Party has been able to continue, despite the worst the enemy has been able to throw at it. The People's War has not been defeated militarily. If it is true that the greatest danger to the Party comes from the wrong line, it is also true that the MLM weapon of waging two-line struggle has proven to be very powerful.

The military news has been very encouraging, even though it would be wrong to look only at an abstract count of military actions, as "Senderologists" often do. In the period after Margie Clavo's about-face, and influenced by the reaction's own triumphalism, the ROL was all puffed up and wrongly certain that "the war is coming to an end". Then, starting around mid-1996, imperialist mouthpieces such as *The Economist* and *Newsweek* declared, "Sendero is Back", as if the previous period in which there were few spectacular actions in the capital had meant that the PCP had gone away. No mat-

ter what the pace of the People's War is at this moment, the most vital question for the future is the progress of the two-line struggle.

ROL documents give a glimpse of frustration and grumbling in the ranks of those who have followed it, especially because the CC has refused to go along as apparently expected and the government has sneered at the idea of negotiating with prisoners who have no army. At the same time, the regime has been releasing some selected ROL followers from prison so that they can step up the struggle against the CC in the shanty towns and on other fronts.

The line we've seen so vociferously advocated by some people abroad, denying the existence of the two-line struggle and crying, "It's all only a hoax", has promoted denial about the real difficulties and dangers the PCP faces. But it also flips into or even coexists with an unwarranted pessimism – denial by day, dread by night.

Our optimism is based on what the comrades and people in Peru have achieved and on the Maoist understanding of the real opportunities the two-line struggle presents to solve problems and move forward on that basis.

Since this two-line struggle emerged within the PCP, what is the role of RIM? Why not let the PCP take care of itself and have RIM concentrate on other matters?

This type of thinking reflects a lack of understanding that the communist movement is an international movement – as opposed to the view that every nation should retreat to its own national tent. It is an extremely favourable factor that RIM exists, because it can concentrate international experience and lend assistance to the Peruvian revolution in this way. Further, at stake in this particular two-line struggle are burning questions that pose themselves in different but not necessarily less urgent ways for many other RIM parties and organizations, both questions specific to oppressed countries such as Peru and also ones of vital significance for proletarian revolution in both the oppressed and oppressor countries. Because of this, we can and must find ways to bring our international strength into play to aid our

comrades in this two-line struggle, deepen the understanding of the whole RIM and other Maoist forces on cardinal questions of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and thus turn a bad thing into something that can help push the whole revolutionary movement forward.

Could focusing on this two-line struggle distract from building support for the People's War in Peru?

On the contrary, the struggle against opportunism is essential to the fight against imperialism, and should push this fight forward.

A large and varied number of people all over the world "came to the rescue" in the campaign to Move Heaven and Earth in Defence of the Life of Chairman Gonzalo at a decisive moment. Many of those people and others who have more recently come forward are taking part in RIM's current campaign around the two-line struggle and rallying to the defence of the correct line. Once again, our task is to turn a sobering moment into an opportunity to deal blows to the enemy, to answer the questions and concerns of the revolutionary masses, and to seize the time to create a mass school of communism that will help rally and train forces to fight for it.

The experience in a number of countries has been very positive when this matter has been dealt with correctly. The imperialists and reactionaries and their allies would like to spread demoralization and demobilization among the masses and turn back revolutionary efforts, but we have already seen that this two-line struggle can have the opposite effect and give the revolutionary movement new depth, breadth and enthusiasm. The further grasping of the correct Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line will serve as a motor propelling forward the support for the People's War in Peru and help lead to breakthroughs on other fronts of the world revolutionary struggle as well.

NOTES

¹ For example, the editor of *El Diario Internacional*, Luis Arce Borja, has written, "Of what value could Gonzalo Thought be if its own author would betray it?" ("Trappist Monks Turn into Village Charlatans", 10 May 1995) ■

Initial Reply...

Continued from page 41

positions held by some in the Party, and the ROL has attracted a significant number of PCP militants (and Arce himself cites figures which would indicate hundreds of prisoners supporting this line):

DEEPEN THE STRUGGLE

The purpose of carrying out the two-line struggle is, again, not to "conciliate" with the Right Opportunist Line (any more than Mao was guilty of Hoxha's charge of having "conciliated" with revisionism in the CPC). The point is "to raise the struggle to the level of line" (as the CC says in its February 1994 document) and on that basis to more thoroughly criticize, repudiate and defeat the Right Opportunist Line. This is not only something to be done in Peru. There are many political questions involved that are matters of life and death for RIM and the international communist movement as a whole. In the process of RIM (along with others) fully and energetically taking up the two-line struggle, the whole movement can and must come to a deeper and richer understanding of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist principles.

Arce's comments that a "two-line struggle" would be an "internal affair" of the PCP are strange indeed. Was Stalin's struggle against Trotsky an "internal affair"? Was the GPCR simply an "internal affair" of the CPC? Did it not serve as a school for the whole international communist movement? Didn't this struggle play a very important role in spreading Marxism-Leninism-Maoism all over the world, including in training Chairman Gonzalo, who lived in China for six tumultuous months of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution? Fortunately, neither Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and certainly not Mao ever looked at the two-line struggle as an "internal affair", but as a vital struggle for all of the world's communists.

Arce believes that to thoroughly examine a wrong line will somehow lend it credence. He prefers rejection without analysis, repudiation without criticism. But is this really a viable option? And even if it were possible to short-circuit the political and ideological struggle, would this really be the best means of aiding the PCP and aiding

the Maoist forces internationally?

Whatever the origins of the call for peace accords, the fact remains that the ROL represents an internally coherent, opportunist line based on a certain analysis of the situation in Peru and the world. It will not be possible to defeat this line thoroughly by sim-

For Mao, unlike Arce, there was no great wall between the need to smash a counter-revolutionary headquarters and the political and ideological struggle.

ply dismissing it as a police ploy. Furthermore, important elements of this line are to be found in other countries and other parties.

Rather, what is needed is a mass movement of criticism to repudiate and criticize the ROL and on that basis strengthen and consolidate the understanding of the correct Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line. This is the method Maoists have always stood for, and we should vigorously fight for it and apply it today.

ARCE'S ATTACK ON INVESTIGATION

Because Arce fails to understand the need to wage a two-line struggle, he rails furiously against RIM for engaging in a process of investigation and study of the opposing lines and the situation in Peru. After all, according to Arce's simplistic thinking, a police plot is a police plot, so what is there to investigate? Arce sees no need to refute the ROL, rather he considers that the very act of refuting somehow "lends credence" to the "false" idea of a "two-line struggle".

In his struggle against the approach of RIM, Arce reveals his own ignorance and/or speculates on the inexperience of some of his readers regarding the history of the approach within the international communist movement to major struggles between Marxism and revisionism. For example, he argues in one of his earlier articles against RIM that Mao criticized Khrushchevite revisionism when it

emerged in the Soviet Union in 1956 with its unbridled attack on Stalin. It is true that Mao did criticize Khrushchev, first privately in the Party and later, beginning in 1960, indirectly but publicly in a series of articles. Only in 1963 did Mao and the CPC launch their all-out open polemics against Khrushchev and publicly split from Khrushchev and the modern revisionists – more than six years after Khrushchev's infamous secret speech against Stalin. In fact, the Communist Party of China even signed two important international declarations (the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960) with the Khrushchevite revisionists (while at the same time developing the struggle against the Khrushchevite theses in a step-by-step way, in addition to fighting against the inclusion of these theses in these two Declarations).

It is also clear that through the struggle Mao did wage against Khrushchev, dissecting his every argument and repudiating them on the basis of proletarian ideology, the understanding of the whole international

trying to insist upon.

The point is not to go into all the reasons why Mao adopted his specific approach to struggling with Khrushchevite revisionism. In fact, every important struggle in the international movement will have its own particularities, including over the best methods and tactics to develop the two-line struggle. But taking a look at Mao's masterful struggle against the Khrushchevite revisionists (including the tactics that he adopted) is useful not only to help clear up confusion caused by Arce's falsification (or ignorance) of the process of Mao's struggle (see Arce's "Silence of the Lambs"); it also helps put Arce's vitriolic attack on RIM's alleged "silence" in the face of the two-line struggle in Peru in a bit more perspective.

First of all, it should be pointed out that even in the one and a half years (and not "almost two years" as Arce claims) from the emergence of the "call to fight for peace accords" to the issuing of the statement "Rally to the Defence of our Red Flag Flying in Peru", RIM was never "neutral". The

protracted people's war.

NOT A QUESTION OF "TIME"

At an earlier stage of the dispute between Arce and RIM, some people felt that Arce's attacks could be explained because of his "impatience" at what he felt was the "silence" of RIM in the face of the two-line struggle. But in fact his reaction to the RIM Committee's Call to "Rally to the Defence of Our Red Flag Flying in Peru" is proof that "silence" or the "speed" in taking a position is really a non-issue. Arce considers RIM's words far worse than what he perceived as its "silence", and his level of malice has increased accordingly.

The problem again is that for Arce, CoRIM's original sin is to want to examine the *lines* which have emerged in this struggle. Arce wants to dismiss the Right Opportunist Line as nothing more than a police plot. But in fact there *are* a number of vital, life-and-death questions for the revolution that are brought into focus through this struggle. The difference between the tactic Mao employed on some occasions of negotiating in order to persevere in the People's War as opposed to the revisionist policy of fighting in order to be stronger in a strategy of negotiations; questions regarding the possibility of initiating, maintaining and carrying through people's war to final victory in the face of today's international situation; how can the leadership of a communist party be strengthened in the face of serious blows; these are but some of the important questions at stake in this debate. Questions which have emerged not only in Peru, but in the course of revolutionary struggle in other countries as well.

Is the revolutionary movement in Peru and the world strengthened or weakened by addressing these questions? Is it really true that the arguments of the Right Opportunist Line can be dismissed by a simple denunciation of a police plot? Will this really help defeat this line and minimize the damage it has created?

Instead of diving into these questions and assisting the PCP and the whole international movement in *combatting* the ROL, Arce declares that such a struggle is both unnecessary and somehow grants "legitimacy" to that line. One is forced to ask *who*

Arce's reaction to the RIM Committee's Call to "Rally to the Defence of Our Red Flag Flying in Peru" is proof that "silence" or "speed" in taking a position is really a non-issue. Arce considers RIM's words far worse than what he perceived as its "silence", and his level of malice has increased accordingly.

communist movement advanced to new heights. The political foundations of the new communist movement were laid to no small degree in the series of "Open Letters" from the Communist Party of China to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It should be noted in passing that Mao and the CPC even went so far as to "circulate" and in fact reprint Khrushchev's revisionist articles. In part, this was out of respect for the established practice in the international communist movement of printing the documents of those who are being criticized. But more important than the mere formal aspect of this is the political necessity of enabling the communists to really examine and thus more thoroughly repudiate the revisionist arguments. We can be thankful that Mao had not adopted the simple-minded approach Arce is

December 1993 resolution of RIM, issued on the Mao Centenary, at the same time as RIM's historic adoption of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, is clear on RIM's support for continuing the war. And, of course, during this whole period the Movement continued to carry forward the historic Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo campaign, which RIM had initiated in the days after the arrest of Chairman Gonzalo when certain others were nowhere to be found.

Furthermore, the guidance given by CoRIM for studying the line struggle in Peru (which has been released to the public) makes it clear that CoRIM never presented the questions involved in a neutral or agnostic way. The criteria for judging the two-line struggle were clearly based on MLM and specifically on the principles of

benefits from outlawing the two-line struggle? Isn't it the Right Opportunist Line itself? Doesn't this have the familiar ring of those, like Lin Piao, in the Communist Party of China who argued that the Cultural Revolution should be declared over and the attention of the masses focused on production once Liu Shao-chi had been removed from office? Doesn't this sound a bit like those such as Deng who furiously resisted the efforts of Mao and the revolutionaries in China to go ever more deeply into the struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, for fear that the two-line struggle would singe them as well?

ARCE - FALSE SPOKESMAN FOR THE PCP

In his polemics Arce tries very hard to imply, without ever daring to actually say in print anyway, that he can represent the thinking and viewpoint of the Central Committee of the PCP. He hurls charges at RIM for approaching the two-line struggle differently than the Central Committee of the PCP.

First of all, it was necessary and correct for RIM to address the question differently than the Central Committee of the PCP itself. RIM is an international movement linking together Maoist vanguards around the world, and its responsibilities will necessarily be different from those of any particular party, including the PCP; this is all the more true in the case of a two-line struggle erupting in the midst of the most advanced struggle in the world today. Furthermore, RIM has never claimed to speak for the Central Committee of the PCP, even though RIM has consistently supported the carrying through of the People's War and in its Call "Rally to the Defence of Our Red Flag Flying in Peru" offers its unreserved support to the Central Committee of the PCP in leading the People's War forward and in the struggle against the Right Opportunist Line.

But to claim that RIM has "ignored" the opinion of the Central Committee of the PCP or has sup-

pressed its documents is really absurd. The methods RIM uses to circulate the documents and opinions of the different parties and organizations participating in it are naturally unknown to newspaper editors - friend and foe.

What is disturbing is Arce's frankly dishonest attempt to imply that

The discussion of political questions can and must be centred on the question of line and not authorship.

he is putting forward the line of the PCP Central Committee. One will study high and low the documents of Arce to try to find any mention of the "Right Opportunist

Line" (ROL) which the Central Committee of the PCP so vigorously denounces (and indeed, since the whole idea is complete anathema to his approach, the word "ROL" appears only in a quote from the Central Committee used out of context, left in initials to ensure the reader will have no idea to what it refers, and then promptly ignored).

Of course, Arce is free to argue, against all evidence, that "no two-line struggle" erupted in the PCP. But he is *not* free to imply that this is the view of the Central Committee of the PCP.

Arce's approach is to spice up his articles with bits and pieces of alleged "inside information" he claims to have gleaned all in the hope of making him appear "in the know". Arce's quoting (and deliberate distortion) of an internal RIM document is a case in point. This is a typical professional deformation among certain kinds of journalists. But it is dangerous when the journalist's method masquerades as political argument. Let the reader beware: the assertions of Arce are to be taken with more than a grain of salt: they are often false, generally distorted and always ripped out of context. They are typical of the voyeurism and gossip that sometimes fascinate those who are on the fringes of the revolutionary struggle but who recoil at taking real responsibility as part of a disciplined communist vanguard.

For example, Arce, relying on what he alleges are unpublished sections of his interview with Chairman Gonzalo, claims that a certain Morote is not a leader of the PCP and that, therefore, it is wrong to say that any leaders of the PCP had been involved

in supporting the struggle for peace accords. Actually, the RIM documents never mention Morote or any other name as a "leader" supporting the peace accords. But the fact of the matter is that among the leading exponents of "the struggle for peace accords" are a number of people who have been associated with the PCP leadership in the past. It will not help the struggle against the ROL to argue differently in the face of all evidence, nor is that argument offered by the Central Committee of the PCP itself, even though they correctly emphasize that the ringleaders of this line are but a handful.

CHAIRMAN GONZALO

The approach of RIM to Chairman Gonzalo has been clear and consistent. RIM has led and continues to lead the international campaign to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo.

Again, Arce would do better to examine what evaluation the PCP Central Committee has made of RIM's role in the Defend the Life campaign rather than offer his own subjective, wrong and individualist evaluation in place of that of a communist vanguard (and Arce can also explain his own inactivity and *El Diario Internacional's* own deafening silence in relation to this great struggle). Furthermore, RIM has struggled hard against the isolation of Chairman Gonzalo and his conditions of confinement. The need to continue this struggle is again stressed in the recent Call of CoRIM.

In relation to the two-line struggle and Chairman Gonzalo, RIM's position has been clear. As long as his conditions of confinement remain as they are, no one can say with any degree of certainty what position Chairman Gonzalo has taken. In any event, the discussion of political questions can and must be centred on the question of line and not authorship, while struggling to win the battle for an improvement in Chairman Gonzalo's conditions and especially to establish access to him. To focus on what by its very nature is impossible to verify (the question of Chairman Gonzalo's current position) is really to turn attention away from the political questions involved. The ROL argues that the peace accords approach is correct because it is the opinion of Chairman Gonzalo - but

isn't Arce's approach just the other side of the same coin, when he makes the beginning and the end of his argument that Chairman Gonzalo *cannot be* the author of this line?

It is possible and necessary to prove that the line of "fighting for

is abundantly clear in a whole series of public documents from 1984 when RIM was formed onward, including a rather lengthy discussion of RIM in the 1992 Central Committee documents. Arce's attack on RIM should not be misunderstood as an "overzeal-

Yankee Go Home! campaign initiated by RIM and the PCP on an international level. Nor is Arce afraid even to tamper with the words of Chairman Gonzalo himself if it serves Arce's narrow aims. For example, he censors the phrase in Chairman Gonzalo's magnificent speech from the cage in which Chairman Gonzalo salutes the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (and just to clear up any confusion, Arce refused to publish a correction even though the error was pointed out to him repeatedly).

Perhaps the journalist should let the comrades of the PCP speak for themselves.

Arce's attacks on RIM and his violent attack on the Maoist understanding of two-line struggle are part of efforts by himself and others to erase the real lines of demarcation that have emerged in the international communist movement and replace them with different, non-Maoist criteria. This is why Arce can so easily assail the embryonic political centre of the world's Maoist parties and organisations, in which the PCP participates, while singing the praises of more than a few opportunists, centrists, vociferous opponents of Maoism, supporters of Deng Xiao-ping, and those who are nostalgic for the old Brezhnev regime. Refuting Mao's great thesis on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, including specifically his teachings on the two-line struggle in the party, is a requirement for trying to bring together this mish-mash.

Whereas the PCP and RIM hold that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the dividing line in the international communist movement, Arce argues unabashedly for other more earthshaking criteria - like whether or not a party distributes *El Diario Internacional!*

The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has been correct to focus on the political and ideological questions which emerged in the two-line struggle in the Communist Party of Peru. Revolutionaries from around the world should not allow journalists who are falsely donning the mantle of the PCP to stand in the way of carrying the fight forward to expose and defeat the Right Opportunist Line, win the fight to end the isolation of Chairman Gonzalo, and unleash a mighty campaign of support for the PCP and the People's War it is leading. ■

Arce's attacks on RIM and his violent attack on the Maoist understanding of two-line struggle are part of efforts by himself and others to erase the real lines of demarcation that have emerged in the international communist movement and replace them with different, non-Maoist criteria.

peace accords" goes contrary to the line forged by the PCP under the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo to carry the war forward (and this point is made forcefully in the Call of CoRIM). It is necessary to focus struggle against the regime and the barbaric conditions of confinement in which Chairman Gonzalo is being held. But the main point in this struggle against the ROL is to focus the struggle around the cardinal questions of political line.

It is somewhat surprising that Arce takes CoRIM to task for "separating Chairman Gonzalo Thought from the political life and praxis of Chairman Gonzalo". After all, it was *El Diario Internacional* which responded to the capture of Chairman Gonzalo with the title "Gonzalo Thought is Still Free" and with a stunning passivity in the face of the need to mobilize masses throughout the world to defend his life. Furthermore, in his article "Operation Capitulation", Arce writes that as soon as Chairman Gonzalo was captured "the only choice was death or capitulation". He speculates that Chairman Gonzalo is dead, but if he is not, the implication is crystal clear. If the only choice is "death or capitulation", as Arce maintained, why did the Central Committee of the PCP (and RIM as well of course) raise the slogan "Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo!"? Is Arce really so pessimistic, so disparaging of the strength of the masses in Peru and throughout the world that he is willing to declare in advance the impossibility of *winning* the struggle to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo?

The attack Arce wages against RIM is also an attack on the line of the PCP itself, whose position on RIM

ous", "clumsy" or "hotheaded" defence of the PCP's position. It is a *different* line, a *different* approach to RIM and to the international communist movement. It is a line that opposes and attacks the regrouping of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organisations in RIM in order to promote Arce's own different scheme to regroup the hodge-podge of Marxists and opportunists that he so generously refers to as the "international communist movement", and to do this on an opportunist basis. It is amusing that Arce takes RIM to task by saying "anyone who claims to be part of the left,

Arce is free to argue, against all evidence, that "no two-line struggle" erupted in the PCP. But he is *not* free to imply that this is the view of the CC of the PCP.

but who doesn't take into account the position of the PCP will fall into opportunist ground". Why doesn't Arce apply his own criteria to himself when it comes to his attacks on RIM?

Of course, Arce's hatred of RIM is nothing new. Long-time readers of *El Diario Internacional* will search high and low for any reference to the fact that the PCP is a participating party of RIM, or to RIM's call to "Move Heaven and Earth to Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo" or, earlier on, to news of the worldwide

For Your Reference

A Response to the 'Investigators' of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM)

By Luis Arce Borja

The following article was published in *El Diario Internacional (EDI)* in March 1995. It has been excerpted to a length suitable for printing in this issue of *AWTW*. An effort has been made to maintain all of Arce's main arguments, and footnote numbers appear as in the original. Readers who want the unedited article (about 50% longer) should write to *AWTW*. Our response, "An Initial Reply to Arce Borja", is found on page 36. — *AWTW*

The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) is currently circulating two political documents that refer to the purported negotiation of the People's War in Peru. One of these documents is dated June 1994, nine months after Fujimori published the first "peace letter" (1 October 1993). The other document is more recent, dated 10 November last year. According to their authors, these documents reflect "a very important process of investigation and study" in relation to the current situation in Peru. Despite the chronological difference between the first and second documents, the contents of both are nearly the same, with only small variations.

Both documents pretend to be serious and claim to be based on a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist analysis. These documents pretend to adopt an objective stand: they give equal importance to the political position of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru and the position of the capitulators and police agents propagating the "peace agreements". The authors of these documents pore over the history of peace negotiations conducted by communists, revolutionaries and reformers. The examples of Brest-Litovsk in the rising Soviet Union of 1918, the negotiations undertaken by Chairman Mao during the Chinese Revolution, the negotiations in Nicaragua and El Salvador, etc. The ideological framework of both documents is restricted to general theoretical formulations. For the sake of the unity of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, they ask for patience and calm in dealing with the problems generated by the "peace letters". Hesitantly, merely trying to keep up with events, they make a mild criticism of one text of the bogus "peace agreement".

The leadership of RIM points out that the

distribution of these documents should be restricted. That they "should not be revealed in any public or semi-public fashion". According to them this is "to prevent the enemy from taking advantage of these polemics". They propose a clandestine debate on these facts. What should be done? We cannot remain silent. When there are questions of principle involved, the right attitude is not to remain silent. That would mean conciliating with incorrect ideas; ideological differences should not be covered up. On the contrary, historical experience shows that their wide and open debate is healthy for the revolution. In his time Lenin advised: "The duty of communists is not to cover up the shortcomings of their movement, but to criticise them openly and to rid themselves of these in the most radical and prompt fashion".¹

Chairman Gonzalo points out: "But if the leadership is not just and correct, if the leaders follow an erroneous line... then those with the correct line must struggle to make it prevail".²

The leaders of RIM are seriously mistaken. Their analysis of the Communist Party of Peru and the struggle against the fraud of "peace agreements" contributes nothing to the revolutionary process directed by the PCP. We believe that the opinions advanced in those documents seriously damage proletarian internationalism. That they run counter to the ideological and political principles relating to the unity of the international communist movement. Hence the necessity of responding and clarifying the erroneous ideas advanced by the leadership of RIM. Our criticism essentially centres upon the following aspects:

First aspect: The RIM Committee asserts that "since October 1993 a very important struggle is taking place within the PCP". They affirm that this is a problem of a "two-line struggle".

Second aspect: They resort to a quotation of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and call for "treating the sickness to save the patient".

Third aspect: They paraphrase Chairman Mao and point out that he who makes no investigation has no right to speak and that one should seek truth from facts.

Fourth aspect: They hold that the elements promoting the "peace agreements" are people who historically played a lead-

ing role in the Communist Party of Peru. That they are mainly to be found in the jails, but that they also have support outside the prisons.

Fifth aspect: They ask that the debate around the "peace agreement" should not undermine the task of defending the life of Chairman Gonzalo and exhort for continued support for the International Emergency Committee (IEC).

TWO-LINE STRUGGLE OR COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FRAUD?

First aspect: "Since October 1993 a very important struggle has been taking place within the PCP, principally around the peace negotiations". "Evidently a struggle in two different directions has arisen within the ranks of the Communist Party of Peru". "...This is a two-line struggle within the largest organisation of our Movement..." (Documents of RIM).

It is a mistake to hold that the "peace letters" belong in essence to a process of two-line struggle within the PCP. This question is erroneously formulated. The analysis of the leading Committee of RIM is trundling in the wrong direction. The assertion that the "peace letters" are a product of the "two-line struggle" within the PCP falls into the following deviations and dangers:

1. If one considers the "peace letters" as an external manifestation of contradictions within the PCP, one is denying that these are in reality but a montage set up by the Peruvian regime and US Imperialism. Thus, this fraud is given the category of an inner-Party contradiction. If one is to adopt this position, it then becomes logical to draw the conclusion that it is not right to treat this as a police plot. That one should demand, as the leaders of RIM do, to be "cautious and restrained" in dealing with this problem. In this fashion, one would not only be overlooking Fujimori's fraud, but also the counter-revolutionary and criminal aims of the "peace agreement". To hold that the "peace agreement" is part of a process of internal conflict within the PCP portrays it as an organization corroded by a scandalous division, an organization divided and undermined and on the very verge of destruction. This point of view is similar to that of the die-hard

enemies of the revolution. Merely as an example, we are going to quote a "senderologist" and visceral enemy of the PCP:

"Internal documents of the terrorist organization reveal that the factional struggle between those who support the peace agreement and those who support Feliciano is ending with a clear victor: Abimael Guzman".³

Now, consciously or unconsciously, the leaders of RIM are sliding into the bog of conciliation with the enemies of the People's War in Peru. This conciliation is evident, not only in the content of the documents we have mentioned, but also in their attitude of keeping at arms length from the struggle against the so-called "peace agreement" fraud. Here lies the explanation for the protracted silence that the leaders of RIM have been keeping for over a year.

2. The leaders of RIM are confusing a police plot with a two-line struggle. In history we can find many cases of revolutionaries having to face frauds concocted by experts in anti-insurgency struggle. The most elementary manual of counter-insurgency procedures shows the two main methods for destroying a communist organization or a revolutionary process. The first method is to use violence and outright repression. This method makes use of the military superiority and the ample resources of the state. The second method uses the system of psychological warfare. It makes use of the enormous publicity machine in the hands of the reactionary state. This method aims at weakening and undermining the ideological and organizational capacity of the party leading the revolution. Its objectives are: Dividing, disorganizing and slandering the revolutionary organization, isolating it from the masses while generating capitulationism. Usually, psychological warfare makes use of infiltrated agents within the party, or renegades and turncoats that have gone over to the ranks of the enemy. Both methods are generally used in combination within a single counter-insurgency strategy.

It is an ideological and political error not to differentiate between a police plot and a two-line struggle. What is the gist of the "peace letters"? Where and how were these concocted? The "peace letters" were fabricated in the offices of the Intelligence Service of the Peruvian state (SIN). These letters did not originate in any Party organism, nor are these the product of any internal process of debate within the Communist Party of Peru. It is an error to hold, as the leaders of RIM do, that this is "a two-line struggle within the ranks of the Communist Party of Peru".

The authors of these letters are functionaries of SIN, police agents, high-ranking army officers, and specialists from the

US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). A police plot is not the same thing as an inner party struggle. The fact that some capitulators have participated in the elaboration and distribution of this montage does not make this a two-line struggle within the PCP.

To illustrate this point we shall refer to certain instances in history where police plots have been notoriously used. Between 1901 and 1904, the people's revolutionary movement in Russia was in full swing. Then the Tsarist police organized within the proletariat's ranks several bogus workers' organizations. The brains behind this scheme was police Colonel Zubatov. Although these organisms claimed to be working class, they were in fact led by police agents. Their aim was to arrest the growing influence of the revolutionary social democrats upon the workers and oppressed masses.

Later, also in Russia, this time in 1917, another plot was hatched: Lenin arrived in Petrograd in the German sealed train. Then, all the enemies of the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks and the provisional government itself took the opportunity for a furious campaign to depict Lenin as "a German imperialist agent". Four months later, in July, the Kerensky government issued an order to arrest Lenin and charged him with "treason". The objective of this plot was to undermine the prestige of the Bolsheviks and to assassinate the great leader of the October Revolution.

In Peru, police frauds can be counted by the dozen. Since 1980, different Peruvian regimes have included within their counter-insurgency policies the fabrication of lies against the PCP and the People's War. Among the most widespread fabrications we shall mention three in particular: The first is the lie that links the PCP to the international drug-dealing gangs. The second is the portrayal of the Maoists as brutal and bloodthirsty murderers of the people: They accuse the PCP of being a fanatical sect led by lunatics.

The third lie refers to the so-called "internal weaknesses of Shining Path", specifically its ideological weakness. All kinds of fabrications are put in motion purporting to show that the PCP is an organization on the verge of collapse due to "intense internal struggle". All this slander is based on sheer lies while promoting different personalities who contribute to lend credibility to these farcical charges. Here, propaganda is used as the principal means in attempting to destabilize the Party. The strategic aim is the same as that of the military actions directed against the revolution.

3. The leaders of RIM hold that the "peace agreement" is a two-line struggle. By doing this, they cast aside the analysis and position of the PCP's Central Committee in relation to this issue. The PCP,

by means of various documents, characterized and denounced the "peace letters" as vile slander fabricated by the Fujimori regime and by US imperialism. There is nothing that can justify contradicting the Party that is leading the People's War, especially if we consider that their analysis was carried out in the very field of operations, at the very centre of the fray. One of these PCP documents, dated February 1994, clearly states the following:

"The purported letters presented by Fujimori, the bogus international telephone call, and all other subsequent concoctions are counter-revolutionary plots. These are fabricated by US imperialism and the mass-murderer quisling dictatorship in combination with the sinister actions of the evil gang of turncoats. This plot is aimed at winning elections, to impede the celebration of the Centenary of Chairman Mao in December, and to cover up the Cantuta scandal. These are its immediate aims. Its essential objectives are the defeat of the People's War. In this context, they are continuing their plans to assassinate Chairman Gonzalo. We must denounce, condemn and smash the evil gang who are promoting revisionism and capitulation. We must point out that they are a group of infiltrated agents, turncoats, capitulators and rotten old revisionists. This handful of traitors are a group directly linked to the reactionary camp."⁴

Since the presentation of the first letter (October 1993), the Central Committee of the PCP has decidedly fought against the "peace agreement" plot. This struggle took place at both the national and international level. In Peru, the emphasis was on strengthening the development of the People's War and on unmasking the individuals who from inside the prisons were appealing for capitulation. Abroad, precise directives were issued: To oppose those individual members of the evil gang working in Sweden, Paris, Germany and Mexico. To stop them peddling the "peace letters" and the purported telephone instructions by Chairman Gonzalo. Why are the "investigators" of RIM ignoring these facts? To understand the "peace agreement" and its political and repressive implications, any person or political group must consider the position of the Central Committee of the PCP. It is not possible to overlook the solid reasons of the organization carrying out the armed struggle in practice, the principal protagonist in this conflict. Those who, while proclaiming themselves of the Left, fail to take on board the position of the PCP, inevitably slide into opportunism. It is worth noting what Lenin said about the manner in which opportunism approaches problems:

"The opportunist, because of his very nature, always avoids approaching problems definitely and precisely. He seeks the aggregate result. He wriggles like a snake

between mutually exclusive points of view. He makes efforts 'to agree' with both sides of every argument, while reducing his differences to small amendments, doubts, innocent good wishes, etc., etc."⁵

4.Experience confirms that there is a close link between cause and effect, between the People's War and the international tasks of support. In this field, proletarian internationalist action is still in its beginnings. It is easy to fall into idleness and to become demoralized. Any setback of the revolution, and even the imperialist propaganda itself, generates doubts and suspicions. Basing ourselves upon this reality, the way of dealing with the "peace letters" should be unequivocal. Those who speak of "two-line struggle" only impede the struggle against the capitulators. Thus the erroneous position of the leaders of RIM confuses and spreads doubt among the less advanced sections of the people at the international level.

5. Reducing the affair of the "peace letters" to a two-line struggle within the PCP amounts to opting out, avoiding to take up a position and evading the struggle against Fujimori's fraud. Basing oneself upon this false premise, one ends up conciliating with all those in Peru and abroad who are promoting the "peace agreement". The tactic of keeping silent is a conciliators' charter, its ideological and political roots are to be found in opportunism and revisionism. In this fashion, those individuals in Europe and America who are distributing the documents about the "peace agreement" are allowed to cause maximum damage. If we consider the "peace letters" as a problem of "two-line struggle", we cannot but conclude that this is a purely internal affair of the Communist Party of Peru. We must conclude that this is a case in which it is better not to meddle. A problem in which, as the leaders of RIM assert, we should not interfere "irresponsibly".

What conclusion can we draw from the idea floated by the RIM investigators of "not acting irresponsibly" and that we should merely take up investigation? Following their example, there would be no reason to struggle against the "peace agreement". We should wait for the outcome of their investigations....

Looking at it from this angle, the conduct of *El Diario Internacional* can be deemed as worse than "irresponsible". We have dedicated several editions to the unmasking of Fujimori's fraud. In this context, and since October 1993, some organisms closely linked with the leadership of RIM have initiated an underhanded struggle against *EDI*. In some cases, they have even prevented its distribution. *EDI* is a publication translated into several languages and well known nearly all over the world.

It is and will indeed continue to be a

serious obstacle for the enemies of the Peruvian revolution. It is because of this that the Peruvian regime and imperialism are attempting to boycott and obliterate it.

This explains why an important base of RIM in the USA in charge of translating *EDI* into English stopped doing this work. Moreover, they also suspended their sales of *EDI*. How do the leaders of RIM explain this fact?...

6. The leaders of RIM chose to ignore this problem: If it were true that there is a very important struggle within the PCP, why do they then not point out the character of this contradiction and the interests served by both lines? Why do they avoid taking up a position in relation to this problem, even though more than a year has elapsed since it first arose?

Supposing that the "peace agreement" were indeed a problem of two-line struggle within the PCP, what is there to prevent RIM, a political organization organically linked to the PCP and claiming to be a defender of the Peruvian revolution, from condemning the incorrect line? Here there is no room for intermediate or eclectic positions. The counter-revolutionary content and aims of the "peace agreement" are absolutely clear and cannot be denied. In any event, whether police plot or two-line struggle, this position must be fought vigorously. No one claiming to belong to the camp of revolution can stay aloof from this struggle....

How should we understand what makes up a two-line struggle within a revolutionary organization or party? How does this differ from a police plot?

In theory and practice, the two-line struggle is the confrontation between the proletarian and the non-proletarian line within the party. By means of the two-line struggle the internal contradictions of a political-ideological character within a revolutionary party are resolved.

Essentially, the two-line struggle serves for fighting against and eradicating opportunism, revisionism, rightism and capitulation, and all anti-party phenomena harming the revolution. The process of unity and struggle of opposites within a party is related to the law of the universality of contradiction within things, in nature and social phenomena. Unlike revisionism and opportunism that denies the two-line struggle, Marxism promotes it as the motive force for the party's development. Chairman Mao Tse-tung points out:

"The opposition and struggle between different ideas occurs constantly within the Party. This is the consequence of contradictions between classes within the Party and between the new and the old within society. If there were no contradictions or ideological struggles to resolve these, the life of the Party would end. There is nothing that does not contain contradiction. If

there was no contradiction the world would not exist"⁸

Assuming that the phenomena of unity and struggle of opposites is inherent to the Party's development, it then becomes important to establish the nature of each contradiction. To establish with exactitude if this contradiction is or is not antagonistic. The character of the contradiction depends on the historical conditions the Party is undergoing.

In a party like the PCP, involved in a civil war, contradictions sharpen and their struggle also tends to become more acute. In our specific case, the different contradictions are centred on the armed struggle and the road to the conquest of political power. Within the same phenomena of the struggle of opposites, a non-antagonistic contradiction will turn into an antagonistic one. Chairman Mao notes that some contradictions do not initially manifest themselves as antagonistic, but that in the course of the class struggle these contradictions become antagonistic. Moreover, Mao also teaches the importance of correctly establishing the character of these contradictions. He teaches us to use Marxist analysis and to adopt the specific methods of struggle needed to resolve them. There are no contradictions nor two-line struggles of an abstract character. If one fails to establish the character of a contradiction, and moreover, fails to point out the interests served by the opposite lines, one goes against dialectics.

THE LIMIT OF CONTRADICTION

The limit of non-antagonistic contradiction relates to the issue of whether its development goes against the ideological and programmatic principles of the Party. Whatever the particularity of this contradiction may be, it must remain consistent with the interests of the proletariat and the revolution. In other words, the opposite line would remain non-antagonistic while it does not develop as a complete negation of the Party and the revolution. A non-antagonistic contradiction is resolved by means of criticism and self-criticism. This method of struggle is related to the task of persuading those comrades expressing damaging and erroneous ideas to return to the correct line. With the two-line struggle, the Party strengthens itself and advances, consolidating its class line. The principal contradictions are resolved by means of unity and struggle. Chairman Mao points out that the application of this method is based upon the necessity of finding the unity of opposites.

"Currently the contradiction between the correct and the incorrect ideas within our Party does not manifest itself as antagonistic. If the comrades that have committed errors can correct them, it will then not turn into an antagonistic one."⁹

On his part, Lenin says: "The struggle of different tendencies is inevitable and necessary within the Party if it does not lead to anarchy and splits and if it is carried out within the framework commonly accepted by all comrades and members of the Party."¹⁰

Under the impulse of class struggle and internal and external factors, the contradiction within a Party may turn antagonistic — thus expressing irreconcilable interests. Then the solution of such a contradiction can only come about by frontal class struggle. Class antagonism, a manifestation of the struggle of opposites, by its own nature, cannot remain and develop indefinitely within the confines of an organization or revolutionary Party. Its permanence, by its very nature, is the negation of the fundamental principles of the Party, principally democratic centralism and the basis for Party unity. If the movement of such an antagonistic contradiction is not detained, it will lead to the ideological and organizational destruction of the working class organization.

The history of the international communist movement is rich in examples of how a non-antagonistic contradiction can turn into an antagonistic one. Lenin led a protracted struggle against opportunism and other anti-Marxist tendencies within the SDLP of Russia. The contradictions between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks were at first non-antagonistic, later turning into antagonistic ones. Another example is the struggle within the Second International. For instance, the struggle between Lenin and the right-wing opportunists led by Kautsky, Plekhanov, Axelrod and others who openly went over to the side of the class enemy. The struggle of comrade Stalin against the trends of Bukharin, Trotsky, Rykov, Tomski, Kamenev, and others was non-antagonistic at its onset. This struggle also became antagonistic when these "old Bolsheviks" turned criminal and sided with international counter-revolution. In China, the Communist Party fought against and smashed several antagonistic trends headed by revisionists, opportunists and adventurers. One of these struggles took place in 1927. Then Chairman Mao had to fight for the eradication of the opportunist line responsible for a serious defeat of the Chinese Communists and the people's movement.

In Peru, Chairman Gonzalo, as the leader of the red fraction, fought since 1962 against opportunists, liquidators and all kinds of opposite lines within the PCP. In the midst of an acute two-line struggle, he reconstituted the PCP and initiated the armed struggle in 1980. The protracted road of the two-line struggle within the PCP, personally led by Chairman Gonzalo, is proof of three concrete facts: First, that a two-line struggle carried out under the guidance of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist prin-

ciples serves for the consolidation of the Party, strengthens its ideological and political foundations and promotes the revolutionary process. Second, when the contradiction within the Party reaches its antagonistic level, it turns into the main problem that the communists must resolve. That this contradiction is resolved is the fundamental condition for the attainment of the strategic objectives of the Party in relation to the seizure of power. Third, to sweep away "the colossal mountain of garbage" because the tools for resolution of non-antagonistic contradictions within the Party, criticism and self-criticism, are no longer effective. In such cases, it is obligatory to take radical measures of struggle, such as purges, and a rigorous screening of cadres and militants.

"It is by means of persistent, determined and wise two-line struggle in defense of the proletarian line and defeating the opposite lines, that Gonzalo Thought was generated and established."¹¹

If we consider that both kinds of contradictions, antagonistic and non-antagonistic, have their origins within the party, the latter develops as a permanent phenomena implicit in matter and thought. It exists as a reflection of the class struggle and it experiences changes and mutations during its process of development. However, an antagonistic contradiction, because of its very character, dissolves the relative unity of opposites and thus excludes itself from the Party. By clashing openly with the Party's nature, it loses any identity with its opposites within the organization. In this respect it is worth quoting what Chairman Mao states in relation to the exact character of the antagonistic phenomena:

"Before a bomb explodes, it is a single whole within which the opposites co-exist due to the presence of certain conditions. The explosion only occurs when a new condition presents itself: ignition."¹²

Where is the bomb that has exploded within the PCP? We should ask ourselves where the bomb is that has exploded within the Communist Party of Peru? It is true that the "peace agreement" was set up as a kind of sinister bomb by the secret services of the Peruvian state and of US imperialism. However, this explosion — in reality more like a big noise — took place outside and not inside the Party. This is a fact, despite the claims of the low-intensity warfare strategists of reaction.

The fact that some traitors and capitulators participated in priming and igniting this bomb (the "peace fraud") does not mean that this is an internal conflict within the PCP. Even less can we speak of this as a "two-line struggle within the PCP". In *El Diario Internacional* of 24 September 1994, we have explained in detail how the fraud of "peace agreement" was planned and carried out. In that

article we proved that this fraud was concocted at the behest of the National Intelligence Service of the Peruvian state (SIN, with the US secret services). We also showed that its counter-revolutionary objectives aim at destroying the PCP, arresting the People's War, assassinating Chairman Gonzalo and liquidating Gonzalo Thought.

WHAT KIND OF PATIENTS ARE THESE WE SHOULD AIM TO SAVE?

Second aspect: The leaders of RIM say: "Treat the sickness to save the patient."

This is an incorrect assessment with no validity for the case at hand. Let us see why. The phrase bandied about by the leaders of RIM is taken from Chairman Mao Tse-tung's speech, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Within the Ranks of the People". This is a clear text that deals with the two kinds of contradictions existing then in Chinese society (1957). Concretely, it deals with the contradictions that the Communist Party had to resolve to lead the Chinese People's Republic along the road of socialist construction.

The two kinds of contradictions referred to by Chairman Mao are: Those that exist within the people's own ranks and those that develop between the people and its enemies. Chairman Mao expressly shows that we must first establish with precision who belongs to the ranks of the people and who to the enemies of the people. Only then can we distinguish correctly between these two different kinds of contradiction. Chairman Mao says that we should consider as the people "all those classes, social strata and groups supporting and participating in the cause of socialist construction". On the other hand, Mao characterizes as enemies of the people "all forces and social groups resisting the socialist revolution, hostile to socialist construction or undermining it". Chairman Mao stresses that the contradictions occurring within the people's own ranks are not antagonistic and that their resolution is by the democratic method (criticism and self-criticism). In this respect it is perfectly proper to apply the Maoist policy of "curing the sickness to save the patient". Chairman Mao said: "The application of this method requires to start from the desire for unity". On the other hand, the contradictions between the people and its enemies are antagonistic. Their resolution requires confrontation, and open struggle against the saboteurs.

Let us dialectically apply the theoretical formulations of Chairman Mao to the concrete case of Peru. The ranks of the people in Peru are made up of the working class, the peasantry, the petite bour-

geoisie and the middle or national bourgeoisie. That is, all classes and forces that in various degrees support the People's War led by the PCP. Within this camp there are and will continue to be contradictions for a long time. These contradictions will be gradually resolved by the Party and the working class in the course of the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and in the transition to communism. Who are the enemies of the Peruvian people? The imperialists, principally the USA. Also, the two factions of the big bourgeoisie (comprador and bureaucratic), the landowners, Fujimori's puppet regime and its army and police forces, the backbone of their state. In other words, the enemies of the Peruvian people are those classes, social groups and political institutions sustaining the oppressor's state and fighting against the revolution. Those openly fighting against the armed struggle initiated in 1980. Here, according to the concrete stage of the revolutionary process, antagonistic contradictions between the oppressed masses on the one hand, and imperialism, bureaucratic-capitalism and semi-feudality on the other, are resolved by the method of armed struggle.

Who can claim that the "peace letters" and their authors are to be found within the people's camp and even within the PCP? No one can be confused about this, unless it is intentionally. The "peace agreement" is an antagonistic contradiction, an irreconcilable contradiction pitting the revolution against counter-revolution. It is a contradiction between the Peruvian people and its enemies, between their liberation war and the anti-insurgency war of the reactionaries. There is no room here to "treat the sickness to save the patient" as the leaders of RIM are seeking to do....

In synthesis, no Marxist-Leninist-Maoist can demand what the leaders of RIM do: That capitulators be dealt with by the methods used to resolve contradictions within the ranks of the people. Even less can they demand, as they also do, that these elements should be considered as people undergoing an "illness", as people with whom we should not deal with "in hasty or irresponsible fashion". Chairman Gonzalo says that we must deal with capitulation by branding it with searing fire: "Capitulation expresses itself in two aspects: Capitulation in the face of native reaction and capitulation in the face of world reaction. It is always like this. Its aim is to sell out the revolution. Therefore, it is something rotten. It must be eliminated by searing fire".¹⁵

"WITHOUT INVESTIGATION NO RIGHT TO SPEAK"

Third aspect: The leaders of RIM say that: "Without investigation there is no right to speak, and that one should seek

truth from facts. That way one shall not act irresponsibly nor jump to conclusions before having grasped the problem as a whole."

One cannot deny that every problem should be studied in depth, especially when it affects the most important revolutionary process in the Americas. From the inception of Marxism, in the 1840s, the working class and the revolutionary forces have found a scientific instrument that serves them to understand and transform the world. Dialectical and historical materialism are the basis of Marxist philosophy. Of these two, dialectical materialism makes up the Marxist theory of knowledge. That is, the scientific method that guides itself by the principle of studying the phenomena and process of nature and society as permanently inter-related. But Marxism teaches and proves that any theoretical study must be linked with revolutionary practice. Marxism is profoundly linked to historical reality. This principle differentiates a Marxist study from an anti-dialectical, inane and philistine study. Chairman Gonzalo points out:

"We always undertake study with a view to its application and to resolve actual problems. Otherwise we would fall into bookish studies, into mere parroting, and that is a bourgeois, idealist and metaphysical method."¹⁶

Here, we must, like Karl Marx, point out that words divorced from reality have no meaning, they are dead letters: "It is in practice where man has to prove the truth, the power and reality, the this-sidedness of his thinking. The debate about the reality or unreality of an idea in isolation from practice, is a purely scholastic problem."¹⁷

Any serious attempt at investigating the counter-revolutionary political content of the "peace plot" must evaluate the complete set of elements that make up the political scene in Peru. The "peace agreement" and its repressive aims cannot be correctly explained if one does not at least take the following aspects into account:

- 1) The vanguard role of the People's War in the development of the world proletarian revolution.
- 2) Its links with the liberation process in Latin America and other parts of the world.
- 3) The struggle of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) for the validity and application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the third and superior stage of Marxism.
- 4) The fundamental role of Gonzalo Thought for the continuation of the revolution and the seizure of power in Peru.
- 5) The bankruptcy of bureaucrat capitalism in Peru and its consequences reflected in the decomposition of the old Peruvian state.

- 6) The struggle of the PCP against revisionism, opportunism and other counter-revolutionary trends within the working class and the oppressed masses.
- 7) The development of 14 years of armed struggle and the strengthening of the three instruments of the revolution (Party-Army-United Front).
- 8) The consolidation of the strategic equilibrium (Second stage of the protracted People's War).
- 9) The generation and multiplication of the People's Committees as the expression of People's Power in Peru.
- 10) The military, political and psycho-social plans of imperialism aimed at liquidating the revolution, destroying the Communist Party of Peru and eliminating Chairman Gonzalo.

If the "peace letters" are viewed in isolation from the sum of these elements, one is sure to go astray. One is sure to fail to arrive at a correct analysis or synthesis. One arrives anywhere except at the truth. Is it true that the leaders of RIM have seriously investigated this problem? We believe that they have not advanced very much in their investigations. Let us, for argument's sake, assume that it is true that they have investigated. After more than a year of studies, one question begs to be answered: How do they explain that their conclusions do not go beyond claiming that the "peace letters" are an issue of "two-line struggle within the PCP"? How is it possible that they fail to say anything about the fraud? How can they not have found a method to face this fraud from a revolutionary perspective?

The leaders of RIM did not undertake a serious investigation. This becomes evident from their claim that "it is very important to know exactly what Chairman Gonzalo really thinks". Moreover, they prattle: "It is as yet impossible to be sure about Chairman Gonzalo's point of view".

No one mildly acquainted with the theoretical contributions of Chairman Gonzalo can possibly have any doubts about the great Peruvian revolutionary's thoughts about the "peace letters". One cannot overlook the fact that since 1962, for more than 32 years, Dr Abimael Guzman has led the most solid and coherent revolutionary process in Latin America.

Any one of his authentic documents amply proves his character as a communist. It places him above any suspicion of being the vulgar capitulator that the bourgeois media is attempting to portray. Who, within the camp of the people, can imagine Chairman Gonzalo as the author of those despicable tracts advocating the "peace agreement"? Expressing doubts about the position of Chairman Gonzalo vis a vis Fujimori's negotiations plot only serves the Peruvian regime and US impe-

rialism. One of the strategic aims of this plot of "peace agreement" is to liquidate and vulgarise Gonzalo Thought. With this objective in sight, the leader of the Peruvian revolution is counterpoised to his own political thought....

Clearly the investigation carried out by the leaders of RIM is merely descriptive, lacking objectivity and scientific scope. Not in a million years could this investigation be considered as a true Marxist analysis.

They overlook most of the elements implicit in Fujimori's plot, both political and repressive. That is why their preliminary conclusions sound rather like a bad joke....

ON THE "HISTORICAL LEADERS" OF CAPITULATION

Fourth aspect: The leaders of RIM claim that there is "A group of people who have historically played a leading role within the PCP. That these are people strongly and decidedly promoting a line concerning the peace conversations.... This group appears to be concentrated inside the prisons. However, they also have support among PCP members and supporters outside the prisons, both in Peru and abroad...."

Here we can point out at least three errors. This evaluation is drenched in subjectivism and reflects mainly the influence of the psycho-social campaign of the Peruvian government. Let us analyse these points in detail:

1) Is it true that the individuals promoting the "peace agreement" belong to "A group... that have historically played a leading role within the PCP"?

How do the leaders of RIM come to this conclusion? Where do we find this historical role of the capitulators? This is what the Committee of Families of Political Prisoners, Prisoners of War and the Disappeared in Peru, an organism generated by the PCP have to say on this issue in their statement of 3 December 1993:

"...the sinister activities of this handful of proven and known capitulators, snitches and cowards ... servants of US imperialism and the mass murderers' dictatorship.... they are the same group of people who for a long time attempted to take advantage of the revolution, seeking to obtain important positions. They dreamt about seizing power without messing up their fine coiffeurs. They dreamt of dividing up the cake of power among themselves. Meanwhile, they were carping about the development of the strategic equilibrium and the achievement of the aims of the Party."

"...their 'historical contingent' (is) made up of renegades who have taken upon themselves the frontal task of assassinating Chairman Gonzalo and destroy-

ing the Party". "They are the same old puny bourgeois politicians" "usurping the name of the Party...."

It should be noted that this statement never accepts that the promoters of the "peace agreement" are high leaders of the PCP. Even less does it imply that they are people with an historical role. In reading this statement, it becomes evident that these people are but old renegades. It is true that the Peruvian government, as part of their psycho-social warfare, portrays these capitulators as historical leaders of the Party. This lie is but a component of the "peace agreement" plot. It is true that, within the prisons they control, the National Intelligence Service (SIN) has elected a "Central Committee of the PCP". This Committee is under the control of the police and headed by the "historical" Osman Morote Barrionuevo who has been promoted by the Peruvian government as "Shining Path's no 2 man". In the November 1994 issue of *El Diario Internacional*, we already dealt with the case of Morote. In that issue we reported on a conversation between the author of this document and Chairman Gonzalo. What transpired in that meeting of July 1988 is very valuable in clarifying this situation:

- Journalist: "Chairman Gonzalo, what is the concrete situation of Osman Morote? Is it true that he is the No 2 in the PCP? Is it true what the media says about him?"

- Chairman Gonzalo: "These are fantasies invented by our enemies. Morote has nothing at all to do with the leadership of the Party. Even less could he be the 'No 2'. We are not people who number themselves from 1 to 100.

"On the question of whether or not there is a line opposing the leadership: It is important to note that the Party's First Congress has consolidated us, both organically and at an ideological-political level. On the other hand, there could be some truth in that Morote may have some problems with the leadership. That is very worrying."

If Morote was not a leader and if we also remember that he has been in gaol since 1988, how does he then magically turn up as a "top leader of Shining Path", and leading the "peace agreement" at that!? Who appointed him as a member of the Central Committee? We understand that the PCP resolves its organic problems at its various Party levels such as the Party Congress, the Plenums of the Central Committee, the Enlarged Plenums, Party Conferences, etc. These events take place periodically but not within the prisons and even less with the support of the police. In synthesis, Morote and the high position he is supposed to occupy within the PCP is a mere invention of the government. This whole charade is a key element of "Operation Capitulation".

2) The leaders of RIM say that this group is concentrated inside the prisons but that they also enjoy support among militants outside the prisons, in Peru and abroad. This opinion is completely lacking in analytical seriousness. It does not tally with concrete facts. Even the reactionary Peruvian media supporting Fujimori recognizes the fundamental fact that: The weakness of the "peace agreement", and therefore its failing, lies in the fact that its chieftains and supporters are exclusively within the prisons. Some "senderologists" and the Peruvian media also admit the following fact: The government, in its counter-insurgency strategy, is setting some capitulators free and giving them the concrete task of promoting the "peace agreement" and snitching on the Maoist fighters....

Considering their grossly distorted figures - lumping together prisoners of war and hundreds of other people rounded up en masse and falsely accused of belonging to the PCP - here is a summary of the statistics concocted by the Intelligence Services of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This report claims that the prisoners "in favour" and those "against" the "peace agreement" are: in Castro Castro Jail (Cantogrande), 820 in favour and 469 against; in Chorrillos (women's prison), 168 in favour and 168 against; in PCSI, 50 in favour and 65 against; in Chiclayo, 6 in favour and 43 against.

Commenting on this issue of the police evaluation of these figures, it is worth quoting the newspaper *La Republica*: "The figures crudely reveal that Abimael Guzman's 'Great Decision and New Definition' did not gain credibility among real Shining Path prisoners...."²³

3) On the question of the purported support that capitulation enjoys abroad: Here the leaders of RIM are chewing on a half truth. On the one hand, it is true that the leaders of the old Peru People's Movement (MPP) took the lead in the international campaign to promote the "peace agreement". In their dirty task, they circulated the "peace letters" and even invented a telephone conversation with Chairman Gonzalo. Thus, they claimed to have received his orders to capitulate and sell out the People's War. But it is also true that these turncoat individuals, who went over to the camp of the enemies of the Peruvian people, ended up excluded from any links with the PCP and its work abroad. In November 1993, the true Central Committee of the PCP - not the one led by the National Intelligence Service (SIN) - issued an International Directive unmasking these elements. In this Directive the PCP gave precise instructions for the reorganization of the MPPs around those supporters that had kept their distance from the capitulators.

It is also true that the leaders of RIM

did not take up a position regarding the capitulators of the old MPPs and that they are still persevering in this course of action, despite the time that has now elapsed since the beginning of this struggle (more than one year). On the contrary, they have kept links with them as if nothing unbecoming had been going on. To justify this behaviour, they use their stock-in-trade excuse of "conducting investigations". From this position, they have even refused to circulate the documents from the PCP and any information against the "peace letters". This obviously pleased the capitulators who are denying the authority and the validity of the Central Committee of the PCP. In essence, the political behaviour of the leaders of RIM in this problem is open conciliation with elements that the PCP has expelled from its generated organisms abroad.

DEFEND THE LIFE OF CHAIRMAN GONZALO IN DEEDS AND NOT MERELY IN WORDS

Fifth aspect. The leaders of RIM say: "It is also imperative that the present debate does not affect the importance of continuing with the task of Defending the Life of Chairman Gonzalo and supporting the People's War in Peru. We must continue supporting and helping the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzman...." ...

By simple political logic, the revolutionary or democratic masses are not going to support a campaign to defend the life of a Chairman Gonzalo turned capitulator. They would not mobilize in defense of a person who according to the official propaganda holds daily negotiations with his jailers. A man equipped by the secret police with a private mobile phone. A man free to hold meetings with "his central committee" and give lectures on the "peace agreement" under the protection of the state. A man who writes and publishes essays about the economical, political and military successes of the puppet Fujimori. In synthesis, the masses, consciously or instinctively, would never struggle on behalf of anyone in cahoots with repressive and murderous governments such as the Peruvian regime.

The leaders of RIM and the IEC are closing their eyes to these facts. They do not want to see what even the blind can see. They call for defending the life of Chairman Gonzalo and supporting the International Emergency Committee (IEC). However, they do not take up a position vis a vis the "peace agreement". They contribute nothing to debunk the black propaganda woven by imperialism and the reactionaries around the fate of Dr Guzman. They do not lift a finger to unmask the capitulators. This attitude places them in

an untenable position. They are falling into the most elementary subjectivism and leading the IEC to its final bankruptcy.

SOME FINAL NOTES

From the above analysis, and taking the perspectives and international significance of the People's War in Peru into consideration, we can put forward the following conclusions:

1) Revisionism continues to be the main danger within the international communist movement. The conciliating tendency of the leadership of RIM reflects this phenomena. It is imperative to fight against this deviation. This struggle must guide itself by the scientific ideology of the proletariat. Failure to undertake this task would contribute to undermine the international revolutionary process and would render succour to the imperialist powers. To remain aloof in this contest is tantamount to going over to the opportunist swamp.

2. We must put into practice the three guidelines advanced by Chairman Gonzalo in relation to the unity and development of RIM: a) To unite around Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. b) To serve the world proletarian revolution. c) To fight uncompromisingly against revisionism.²⁴

"Unite to overthrow imperialism, revisionism and world reaction. This battle cry remains fully in the order of the day."²⁵

3. Consider the position of the PCP regarding RIM. Chairman Gonzalo points out that currently we do not have a Communist International and that it is the duty of the revolutionaries to strive for its establishment. To this aim, the RIM is a step forward "which would be useful on that account if it bases itself upon a just and correct ideological line."²⁶

4. The support for the People's War in Peru and the defense of the life of Chairman Gonzalo is a revolutionary stance based on the principles of proletarian internationalism. In theory and practice this means struggle against capitulation. It means fighting against the police agents, against imperialism. It means smashing revisionism and opportunism. By following these Marxist principles we will accomplish the task of contributing to the revolutionary process in Peru and at the international level.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ¹ V I Lenin, "Thesis on The Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Comintern", *Selected Works*, p 135.
- ² Chairman Gonzalo, "Speech at Plenary Session of the Second Plenum of the Central Committee", August 1990, p 9.
- ³ Carlos Tapia, *Diario La Republica*, 18 August 1994.
- ⁴ Central Committee of the Communist

Party of Peru, February 1994 Report.

⁵ V I Lenin, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back", February-May 1904.

⁸ Mao Tse-tung, *On Contradiction, Selected Works*, Vol I p 340.

⁹ *Ibid*, p 366.

¹⁰ V I Lenin, "One Step Forward Two Steps Back", *Selected Works*, p 15.

¹¹ *Fundamental Documents of the PCP*, "The Forge Amid The Two-Line Struggle", 1990 Edition.

¹² Chairman Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, Vol I, 1976 Edition, p 366.

¹⁵ Chairman Gonzalo, "Speech Report at the Plenary Session of the 2nd Plenum of the CC of PCP", August 1990, p 14.

¹⁶ Chairman Gonzalo, "On the Rectification Campaign" - "No to Elections, Yes to the People's War", *People's War in Peru, Gonzalo Thought*, Vol II.

¹⁷ Karl Marx, "Theses on Feuerbach", 1845, *Selected Works*, p 401.

²³ Angel Paez, *Diario La Republica*, Investigations Unit, 21 August 1994.

²⁴ Chairman Gonzalo, "Speech at the II Plenary Session of the Central Committee of PCP", October - November 1990.

²⁵ Chairman Gonzalo, "Speech at the II Plenary Session of the Central Committee of PCP", October - November 1990.

²⁶ "Document of the Congress of the PCP", *Bases for discussion*, 'International Line', Luis Arce Borja, *People's War in Peru*, 1989, Vol I, p 323. ■

Errata

There were two errors in the February 1994 Report by the PCP Central Committee, "Reaffirm Our Party Basis of Unity and Build the Seizure of Power", printed in *AWTW* 1995/21. Both were on p 21 in the section headed:

II On the Application of the Work Session

2. On Yankee imperialism's indirect intervention.

In column two, the second page reference under the document "Build the Seizure of Power Amidst People's War" should have been:

pp 13-14 On ideology as an arm of victory...

In column three, after the reference for p 43 Point 2. Psy-ops. II Plenum, pp 395-407, it should read:

- On the war of low intensity. Preparatory session. II Plenum pp 395-410.
- On probabilities. Summary document p 116.

Edited, printed and published by K. Muralidharan on behalf of *A World to Win*, Kochi. Printed at Chithira Printers & Publishers, Kochi-16 for Pynaadath Enterprises, HMT Jn., Kalamassery

