

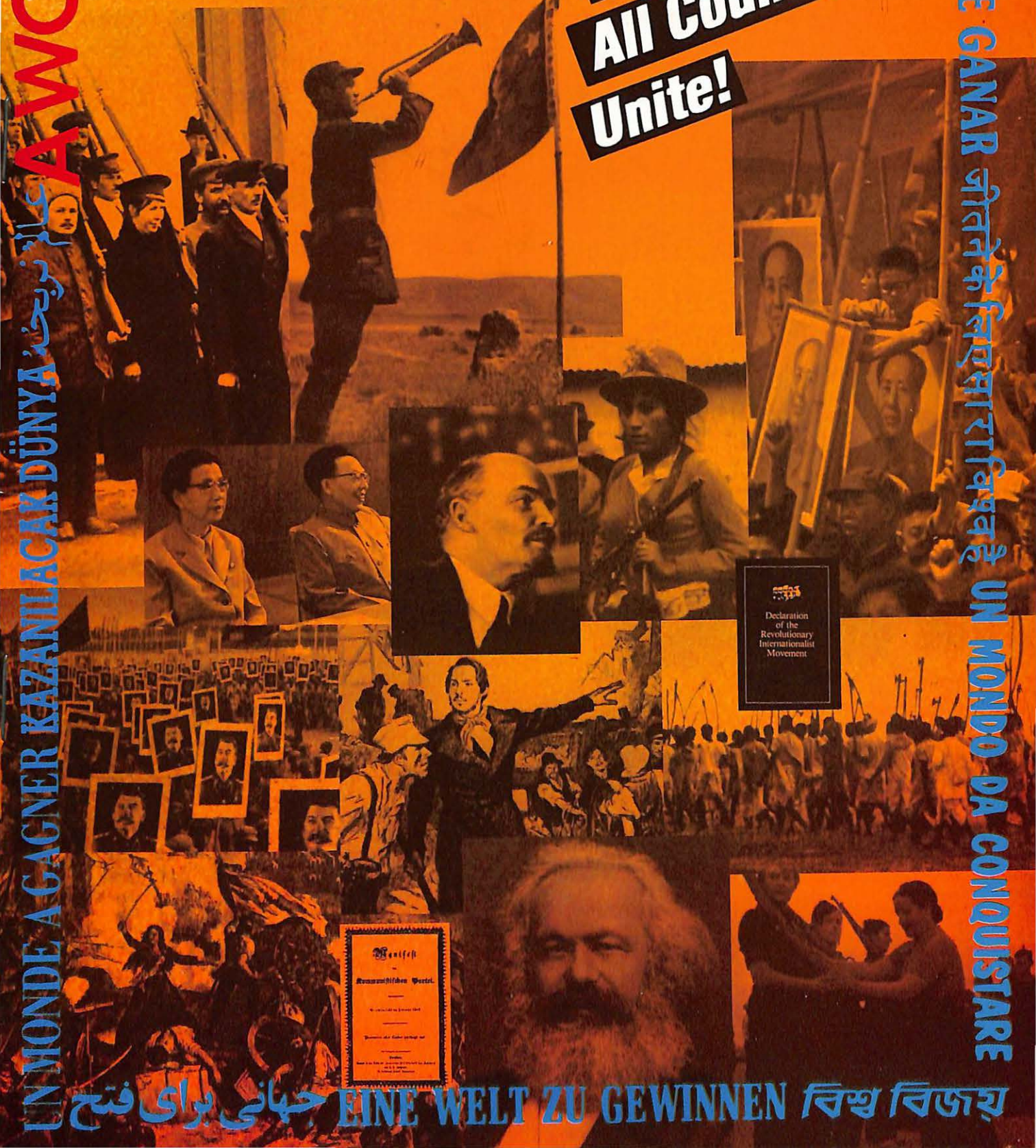
TO WIN 獲得的將是整個世界 **МИР ВЫИГРАТЬ**

1998/23

A WORLD
عالم نزيح
DÜNYA
KAZANILACAK
GAGNER
MONDE

UN MUNDO QUE GANAR
जीतनेके लिएसाराटविश्व है
UN MONDO DA CONQUISTARE

**Workers of
All Countries,
Unite!**

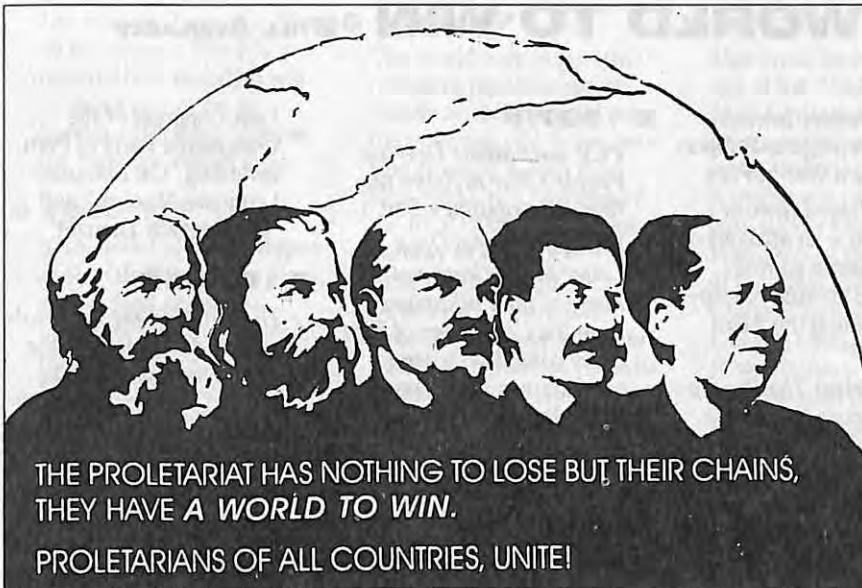


Declaration
of the
Revolutionary
Internationalist
Movement

Manifest
des
Communistes
Partei.

جهانی برای فتح **EINE WELT ZU GEWINNEN** বিশ্ব বিজয়





1998/23

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

An *AWTW* editorial leads off a section on the international communist movement (ICM) by reaffirming what unites the workers of the world and showing the need for an "International of a new type". It rejects views that would deprive the ICM of an organized centre, or that objectively promote unity against Maoism. (For cover photo captions see p. 74)

Naxalbari

Thirty years ago the armed revolt of peasants in the area of Naxalbari ushered in a new chapter for the struggle of the masses in India. Led by Charu Mazumdar and other communist revolutionaries, the Naxalbari struggle constituted a dramatic break that transformed the political landscape in India.

People's Wars

People's Wars are simmering in Peru and Nepal. The Nepal People's War, in its second year, is sinking roots and spreading to new areas, amidst calls from reactionaries to bring in the army. In Peru, the PCP is proving its ability to maintain the 18-year-old War, despite the losses inflicted on its leadership and attacks on its line. Both show the power of Maoism, and are bright new bases for world revolution.

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

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■ **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." Analyzing 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. International 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 West 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!* Articles submitted by participating groups in RIM on the Chinese revolution and the lessons learned from Mao Tsetung, a key issue for understanding the science of revolution.

■ **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.

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 and the False Friends of the Filipino Revolution.*

Colombia: *The Strategy of Insurrection vs People's War.*

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: The US imperialists' so-called war on drugs 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 validity of 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. It includes the lengthy *Interview with Chairman Gonzalo* in 1988. 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**.

Chairman Gonzalo on 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!*

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.

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

South Africa: Changing of the Guard.

■ 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 as part of RIM's worldwide campaign to "Rally to the Defence of Our Red Flag Flying in Peru".

■ 1996/22

Nepal: Highlighting the decisive role and vitality of the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the events of 13 February 1996 give further impulse to the forming and strengthening of MLM 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."

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 PCP. Let's Carry the Fight against the Right Opportunist Line through to the End!

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In every country, upon meeting representatives of the revolutionary struggle of the workers in other countries, class-conscious proletarians are full of enthusiasm. They want to know everything about the advances and the difficulties of the struggle "over there" and are eager to express their support for their class brothers and sisters.

Similarly, class-conscious workers who, for whatever reason, have found themselves living or working in other countries, will sense after a certain time a common bond which unites them with the workers where they are living.

Of course workers, like others, also belong to nations and this also impregnates their consciousness and colours their attitudes. In the case of workers from the oppressed nations, where the struggle against foreign imperialism is at the centre of the revolutionary agenda, this national sentiment and identification tends to be linked to their participation in the revolutionary struggle itself.

In the imperialist countries, the working class is divided between two "poles": On the one hand, a strong and influential minority of very privileged workers whose material position and outlook leads them to side with their "own" ruling class *in opposition* to the workers of other nations and in unity with the imperialist domination of the oppressed countries, and, on the other hand, the mass of workers "with nothing to lose but their chains", who, with different degrees of class consciousness, hate their imperialist overlords and more readily identify with the proletariat of other countries, including those directly dominated by their own "fatherland".¹

However strong chauvinism and nationalism may be, it remains true that the reality of proletarians belonging to the same class internationally is stronger still. In short, the workers have more in common with the proletarians of other countries, *even those of countries which are oppressing them*, than they do with the exploiters and the rich of their "own" countries, *even when sections of these classes are*

¹ During the Vietnam War, for example, one very significant development was the widespread identification of large sections of proletarians in the United States, especially Black proletarians, with the Vietnamese liberation fighters.

150 Years Ago
— The Battlecry of the

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

participating in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. The spontaneous sentiments toward internationalism are but a reflection of a deep material reality — the proletariat is a single class with a single class interest of wiping out exploitation and oppression from the face of the earth.

Despite this, these sentiments toward internationalism, if left to spontaneity, are overwhelmed by an even stronger spontaneous trend toward the bourgeois ideology of chauvinism and nationalism, which is preached by reactionaries and reformists and reinforced by capitalism's tendency to pit workers of one country against those of another. Were the workers and oppressed spontaneously able to understand their class position and class mission fully, capitalism would no longer be the stultifying and oppressive system that we know it to be, and there would be no need for a commu-

nist vanguard capable of representing the long-term world-historic interests of the working class. In this regard, Marx and Engels set forth the tasks of the communists in the *Communist Manifesto*: "In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole? ...by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole." (from Section II, "Proletarians and Communists")

The immense growth of the productive forces which has marked the modern era, with the objective intertwining of the world to a previously



In the stormy years of building socialism, the workers of the Soviet Union had a deep sense that their fight was part of an international struggle for communism. Photo: May Day Demonstration in Petrograd, 1920.

inconceivable degree, ties the proletariat together as a class across national borders. However, this growth is taking place in a still very unequal world dominated by rival imperialist states. A handful of nations control the wealth and means of production of the great bulk of the world, while in the imperialist citadels the workers of one country are pitted against those of another in fierce competition between national capitals.²

In particular, the division of the world between oppressed and oppres-

sor nations is one of the great obstacles to solidifying the unity of the proletariat, and overcoming this division is one of the great challenges to the revolutionary movement. It is largely through solving this problem that genuine internationalism will be forged, as the proletarians in the imperialist countries come to understand and actively support the struggle in the oppressed nations and as the struggle against imperialism in the oppressed nations is infused with the socialist perspective of seeing the battle against imperialism as only the first stage in a revolution aimed ultimately at doing away with classes themselves.

This understanding of the underlying basis for unity among proletarians – that there is more in common between, say, an Italian worker and an Indonesian worker than there is between either of these workers and a representative of their “own” bour-

geoisie – has of course been a fundamental tenet of scientific socialism ever since Marx and Engels penned the mighty call, “Workers of All Countries, Unite!” 150 years ago, in the winter of 1848, in the *Manifesto*. This resounding call by the founders of communism has a whole series of ideological, political and organizational implications. It means that the struggle in every country must be conducted with the final goal of communism throughout the world clearly in mind. It means that practical means need to be found for the proletarian movement in one country to support revolutionary struggles in other countries. And it also means that the advanced detachment of the proletariat, the communists, must be united organizationally on an international level. It should not be forgotten that the *Manifesto* itself was prepared as the political statement of the Interna-

² The current trend toward “globalisation” is an expression and an intensification of both of these tendencies of the imperialist epoch – to tie the world closer together, strengthening the basis and need for proletarian internationalism, and to intensify inequality and thus heighten the basis and need for national liberation struggles against imperialism.



tional Workingmen's Association, or First International, which Marx and Engels played key roles in forming. From its beginning the communist movement has been, and can only be, an international movement.

But it can also be said that in the history of the international communist movement (ICM), and perhaps particularly in the decades of the new communist movement that arose in opposition to Khrushchevite revisionism, some aspects of the fundamental principles of proletarian internationalism have at times been blurred in the vision of the revolutionary communists.

In many ways, this was understandable. In the formative years of the new communist movement, during the great struggle Mao waged against Khrushchev and his successors, the revolutionary movement was surging ahead in the oppressed countries, particularly Vietnam, while, for various reasons, the revolutionary struggle in the imperialist citadels was retarded. Furthermore, the Soviet revisionists caused confusion by hoisting the banner of "proletarian internationalism" to justify numerous imperialist crimes such as the invasions of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Afghanistan in 1979. They developed other pseudo-internationalist justifications for social-impe-

rialism such as the "international socialist division of labour" and the "doctrine of limited sovereignty".

The leaders of the fight against modern revisionism, the Communist Party of China (CPC), led by Mao Tsetung, were particularly sensitive to the problem of the equality of parties in the ICM, having suffered certain negative experiences in the history of the Chinese revolution when the advice – and even pressure – from the Soviet party and the Third or Communist International (Comintern) was harmful. Leaders of wrong lines such as Wang Ming in the 1930s had used their connections with the ICM to struggle to impose these erroneous positions on the Chinese Party. Today this well-known history is often used as an argument against efforts to regroup the ICM organizationally as well as ideologically and politically.

Moreover, for the past several decades there has been no communist international, and a viewpoint has taken root that such an International is unnecessary. This view holds that the very existence of an international organization will *hinder* the development of competent, self-reliant leadership in the different parties, that an international centre will never be able to understand the concrete realities of revolution, and that there is no need

or capacity for the international coordination of the proletarian revolutionary movement.

The dangers and difficulties associated with an international communist organization – and in the final analysis with a new Communist International – are real enough. And it is also true that the division of the world into different states and the fact that the world revolution will pass through revolutions in single states or groups of states means that the world revolution cannot be led in the same way the revolution in a single country is led.

Nonetheless there must be a "General Staff" of the world revolution, a new Communist International, one which will be capable in a much fuller way than today of uniting the proletarian revolutionary struggles of all countries. The fundamental truth is that the world proletarian revolution is itself a process directed against an international enemy – the world imperialist system and the reactionaries of all countries in league with it. Such an International would arouse revolutionaries from around the world to come to the aid of revolutions in different countries. In response to the crimes of the imperialists and reactionaries, the international will be better able to mobilize and concentrate



LEFT: Depicting Marx and Engels at the founding of the International Workingmen's Association, or the First International, in 1864 in London.

RIGHT: Delegates to the 2nd Congress of the Third International, held in Moscow.

the international response of the workers and oppressed. Imagine, for example, how much more powerful and coordinated the response could have been to the imperialist crimes in the 1991 Gulf War had a new International existed.

Most important, however, will be the future International's political role. It will spread and fight for Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in every corner of the earth, helping the formation of vanguard parties. The International will provide a vehicle for leading the necessary worldwide summation of experience, discussion and struggle *among* the communists, which is necessary to advance our collective understanding of making revolution.

Mao's observation that if a party is not carrying out a correct policy it is carrying out an incorrect policy, and that if it is not carrying out a policy consciously it is carrying out a policy blindly, is true in the international arena as well. Every revolutionary party will necessarily be confronted with the reality of this international dimension of the struggle and must adopt, consciously or unconsciously, a line and policy in relation to it. Furthermore, a party in a single country will necessarily understand this process less fully, less correctly, than an International functioning on the ba-

sis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. To lead the process of world revolution, an International is required.

Again, this is not to be understood mainly in the sense of the marshaling of forces and the coordination of practical struggle, however important; rather, it is the International's role as a political centre that is its defining characteristic. Political lines, like other ideas, do not respect national borders. The great battles of Marxism vs. revisionism have never been confined to a single country and today, with the world more intertwined than ever before, the line struggle in one country necessarily is bound up with and influences developments in others.

A General Staff of the world revolution will have to take into account the extreme complexities of the revolutionary process. Revolution will be made country by country or by groups of countries, and it will take place unevenly at different rates of development. The new International cannot substitute for the process of integrating the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with the concrete reality of each specific country and of building up a strong and tested leadership in each country capable of directing the revolution to victory. The original slogan of the Comintern, "A

world party for the world revolution", is wrong in so far as it implies that the world revolution will have the same dynamics as the revolution in a single country or be led in the same way. This is why the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* stresses the need for a Communist International of a "new type", which will "serve as an overall guiding political centre", and for "a form of democratic centralism based on the ideological and political unity of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists. But it cannot be of the same nature as the functioning of a party in a single state, since the components of such an international organization will be different parties having equality of right and responsibility of leading the revolution in each country in the sense of each party's share in the preparation and acceleration of the world revolution."

Indeed, it is only in this context of a party's share in the world revolution that the question of the equality of parties can be understood. Lenin pointed out that, "There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and this is — working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda,

sympathy, and material aid) this struggle, this, and only this, line, in every country without exception." ("The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution") Thus the Leninist vision of internationalism is more sweeping in scope than material solidarity against a common enemy, however essential that may be, for the call to make revolution in "one's own country" is inseparably linked to the obligation to support "this line and no other" in all other countries. Lenin never respected the "right" of the revisionists to betray the workers of any country. Similarly, Mao said clearly that in the event of capitalist restoration in China, the international communist movement should fight the new bourgeoisie there.

It is the democratic-centralist form of organization that is best suited to the proletariat's revolutionary struggle. This is as true on a world scale as it is in a party in a single country, even if the application of democratic centralism is different in the two instances. Actually, most of the arguments against a Communist International could be made against the need for a vanguard party in any country. At the level of a country, it is also true that the central leadership cannot substitute itself for the initiative of those on a lower level, and that the correctness of the line and policies the centre advances must be drawn from the experience of the party as a whole and based on its up-and-down leadership structure. Likewise, these policies must be tested, refined or ultimately rejected based on the experience of implementing them in practice on the lower levels.

This process of democratic centralism is consistent with the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist understanding of the relationship of theory and practice and the role of the masses as the makers of history. It is a vehicle through which the advanced understanding of the party and the masses is concentrated and systematized, as expressed in line and policy, which can then be returned to the lower ranks of the party and the masses and used to transform the world.

The social-democrats and anti-communists of different stripes have long claimed to have found the "origin of communist tyranny" in the Leninist organization of the party itself, as expressed most sharply in *What Is to Be Done?* They claim that



the conspiratorial organization of the Party, its need for strict discipline, its hierarchical structure, all carries within it the seed of "dictatorship". Of course, the critics are correct in so far as the Leninist party structure does indeed foreshadow the "dictatorship of the proletariat", which means dictatorship over the relative handful of exploiters and oppressors and the corresponding freedom and democracy for the vast majority of society who exercise this dictatorship. Lenin stressed that the proletarian dictatorship is incomparably more democratic than bourgeois democracy and that it is the capitalist ruling class which must disguise its dictatorship of a small minority over the masses as "democracy for all". Yet life teaches again and again that it is really only democracy for the capitalist class itself.

Without democratic-centralist or-

ganization, it is impossible for the proletarian line to dominate in the revolutionary movement, and leadership is inevitably handed over, consciously or unconsciously, to the representatives of other classes. The proletariat, which is effectively excluded from real participation in political and intellectual life under capitalist society, requires a form of organization that can give expression to its experience and opinions. To do this requires a system of committees and other collective organs that can use Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to develop lines and policies to change the world.

It is the bourgeois-democratic form of organization which, while hoisting the banner of the absolute equality of individuals, actually leaves the proletariat a voiceless and passive spectator unable to assert its class interests, led about by orators and manipulators



Right after the 1949 liberation, following years of civil war, masses of Chinese people volunteered to go and fight with their Korean

sisters and brothers and organize support in China itself. They were showing the depth of their understanding of the internationalist character of the Chinese Revolution. This understanding manifested itself time and time again during the years of socialism. ABOVE: Demonstrations in support of the Black people's struggle in the US. LEFT: An anti-US rally in support of the Vietnamese people.

exercising their "freedom" from the supervision and control of the proletariat. How many times have we seen "democratic" organizations of the workers, be they simple trade unions or even revolutionary organizations in the oppressed countries, change course on the decision of a small group of non-accountable leaders and betray the interests of the rank and file? Indeed, the repeated betrayals, the inability to match words and deeds, the lip-service to one class and the real service to another — all this has bred no small degree of cynicism among the proletariat in different countries.

Yes, our critics will respond, but you communists also have had your betrayers, you also have built political parties which claimed to be revolutionary instruments of the proletariat and which ended up betraying their interests. And, of course, this is true.

The revisionist reversals in the Soviet Union and in China were done in the name of the party of the working class. The very structures that the proletariat had created and built up were turned into oppressive machines to once again enslave the proletariat and guarantee the rule of a new bourgeoisie.

Mao Tsetung and the revolutionaries in the Communist Party of China spent great efforts to understand this problem and to find solutions for it. Mao understood from studying the reversal of the Soviet Union after Stalin's death that no organizational form alone can ensure that the interests of the workers and peasants will guide, and that no set of rules will ensure that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism will prevail. Mao had seen that the Soviets, the system of workers' councils that had been forged in the October Revolution, could become an instrument of

a new bourgeoisie.

But this does not mean that the proletariat is indifferent to questions of form, that any form is equally suitable to both the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, a real proletarian organization must necessarily suppose real proletarian democracy. It must assure the link between theory and practice, between words and deeds, and provide a vehicle for the experience, aspirations and class interests of the workers and other sections of the oppressed to dominate. Again, the experience of the class struggle has shown that such a form can be none other than the democratic-centralist organization first conceived and elaborated by Lenin as a fighting machine for preparing and waging the October Revolution.

The struggle between Marxism and revisionism is also expressed in a struggle over the line on organization. Revisionism always seeks either to replace the system of democratic centralism with another system and/or to transform the democratic-centralist system into an empty shell hiding the real organizational control of a handful opposed to the genuine interests of the proletariat. The vigorous vanguard party of Mao was linked by a million threads to the proletariat and labouring masses and actively fought to sum up their experience in making revolution and concentrate their interests. It has nothing in common with the bureaucratic machinery of oppression and theft that the "Communist" Party of China has become under the leadership of the new rulers.

The point of all this is that the fundamental questions of line and approach that require a democratic-centralist organization in a given country also require a Communist International of a new type, capable of leading the overall process of the world revolution while taking into account the complexity of this process and the fact that revolution, in the main, is made country by country (or by groups of countries). If in the international arena there is no strong proletarian centre, if instead there are "many centres" or "no centre", then non-proletarian and opportunist lines will come to dominate. An International must be forged for preparing and waging revolution, in every country and on a world scale. If it is not

built with this purpose, it will fail Lenin's definition of proletarian internationalism and end up like the Second International, a fig-leaf to hide the real nature of parties and organizations that had long given up revolution and internationalism.

Some of the arguments made concerning the dangers posed by an International are that it could be dominated by a "Father party", that its central leadership could rely on heavy-handed means to deal with disputes with member parties, or that it could fall into the practice of substituting the preconceived or ill-informed opinions of the central leadership for the necessary living application of a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line in a given country. But simply refusing a Communist International cannot solve these concerns, however legitimate they may be. On the contrary, a correctly functioning international organization, and especially a Communist International of a new type, will be in the best position to consciously apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to dealing with the problem of the relationship between the "part and the whole", that is, the revolutionary struggle in a given country and the overall worldwide advance of the world proletarian revolution. It will have the organizational structure best able to concentrate the advanced experience of the whole international proletariat, to allow the widest discussion and debate among the revolutionaries of every country, to promote and assist, without stifling or disfiguring, the development of revolutionary leadership in every country.

Experience has shown that the absence of international organization is no guarantee whatsoever against the slavish following of others. For example, it is well known that during the 1960s and '70s a great many parties uncritically adopted the positions of the Communist Party of China. The high prestige of the CPC under Mao's leadership, earned in the course of arduous struggle against revisionism and in building socialism, was overwhelmingly a positive factor in helping to generate a new generation of revolutionaries and new Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organizations all over the world. But this did not negate the need for each party to itself examine the vital questions of revolution, especially since there was an objective

difference between the role of China as a socialist state and the task of pushing the revolution forward in specific countries. Furthermore, there were also errors of that period, some no doubt initiated or exacerbated by the capitalist-roaders in the CPC who were to take power after Mao's death. All too often the errors of the CPC, such as Deng Xiao-ping's "Three Worlds Theory", were blindly taken up and championed by pro-China organizations the world over.

The widespread adoption of Deng's "Three Worlds Theory" was mainly a reflection of wrong ideological and political influences on the part of those who took it up, including the continuation of some wrong tendencies from earlier stages of the ICM. However, the fact that there was no international structure to carry out the debate and discussion on this and other vital questions of the time only made it more difficult to "stand up" to the misuse of the prestige of the Communist Party of China. Similarly, it turned out that most forces in the ICM were ill-prepared to deal with the situation that presented itself in 1976 when, following on the heels of Mao's death, Deng Xiao-ping and Hua Kuo-feng arrested Mao's closest followers, overthrew Mao's line and began the mad dash to capitalist restoration, whose effects we are seeing in all their hideous features today. Again, no organizational form could have assured that the revolutionary line would have triumphed on an international level — indeed, it would be quite naive to think so. Yet there can be little doubt that such an organizational form would have strengthened the forces who refused to accept the counter-revolution in China and would have facilitated their efforts to establish contact with each other and fight back against Deng and his band of capitalist usurpers.³ Ultimately, these efforts achieved fruition with the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in 1984, but this process would no doubt have been quicker and more forceful had an international organi-

zation of the Maoist forces existed previously.

CURRENT EFFORTS TO REGROUP THE ICM

In the last few years since the collapse of the USSR and its bloc, the international situation has undergone great changes. These changes and the more general turmoil in world affairs have been reflected within the international communist movement as well.

In particular, in addition to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, there have been a number of other projects aimed at providing some kind of vehicle for the unity of different parties and organizations which declare their allegiance to Marxism-Leninism.

The reasons for this phenomenon are multiple. Certainly, the desire of the masses to unite with their class sisters and brothers in other countries is one important factor encouraging the different initiatives toward communist unity. The shock of the collapse of the Soviet Union also served as a "wake up call" for some forces who, although previously having been part of the Maoist movement, had increasingly diverged from their origins and found themselves strongly attracted to what the Soviets tried to portray as the "socialist camp".

Now that a number of initiatives are being proposed to the communist forces — and before taking a brief look at one of these — it is important to consider closely the question of unity. What is the purpose of unity, what is the basis for such unity, and how is it linked to the past, present and future of the international communist movement?

It is well known that the history of the international communist movement has been replete with numerous divisions, great debates, conflicting agendas, etc. In fact, we can even go so far as to affirm that, in essence, the history of the ICM has been the history of repeated two-line struggles

³ The struggle was further complicated by the treacherous role played by the Party of Labour of Albania and its leader Enver Hoxha. He opposed the new rulers of China following Deng's coup but he focused his attention almost solely on the criticism of the "Three Worlds Theory", ignoring the most essential questions involved in the struggle in China, which he thoroughly misunderstood. Soon he launched a vicious opportunist attack on Mao Tsetung himself. Hoxha also benefited from the lack of an international structure of the ICM in his effort to erect Albania as the centre of the ICM.

between revisionism and Marxism. (This observation is in keeping with the Maoist understanding of the philosophical principle that "one divides into two".)

The unity of the proletariat has never been achieved by trying to hide the differences in the communist movement. Rather, it has been built by drawing clear lines of distinction on the major questions facing the movement at any one time and uniting the revolutionary communists and the advanced workers in a resolute struggle against revisionism and opportunism.

No one should forget the great struggle that Lenin waged against the social-chauvinists of the Second International who held that the workers should support their own bourgeoisie in the First World War. At the beginning of that great struggle, Lenin and the Bolshevik Party and the few other genuine revolutionary elements in the Second International such as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht of Germany were lonely voices barely heard amidst the chorus of "leaders" singing the praises of their own bourgeoisie. Even among those sections of the Second International who balked at open support for the bourgeoisie of their own countries, Lenin's revolutionary position of "turning the imperialist war into a civil war" was ridiculed by the learned leaders such as the centrist Karl Kautsky, who held that it was impermissible to break with the right-wing social-chauvinists.

Despite this seeming isolation, Lenin went on to lead the successful October Revolution which not only established the first lasting proletarian regime but awakened an immense wave of sympathy and support from among workers in the capitalist countries and the oppressed peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial world.⁴ On the heels of the October Revolution, splits took place in virtually all the old Socialist Parties between the rotten right-wing leadership and the revolutionary workers inside the parties. Communist Parties were established and united in the new Communist International, the Third International,

founded in 1919.

Why was Lenin's line able to so quickly have such resounding success, going from a small minority to a mighty current represented in a new International? It was because the dispute between Lenin and the revisionists, opportunists and centrists of his day was not just a dispute over some minor terms or empty slogans or theories. This line dispute was itself the concentrated expression of *class interests*. Lenin's line represented the interests of the proletariat in doing away with the horrors of capitalism and the first imperialist world war it had spawned. The revisionist line represented the interests of a small privileged section of the proletariat (known as the labour aristocracy) which benefited to a certain extent from the superprofits of the imperialist system wrung out of the oppressed nations and peoples. This labour aristocracy was well represented in the workers' organizations, their parliamentary representations, mutual-aid societies and so forth. And it was this upper section of the workers who abandoned their lip service to socialist convictions and rushed to the side of the bourgeoisie at the first whiff of gunpowder.

Underneath this "colossal heap of garbage" was the basic proletariat, which had no stake at all in preserving the imperialist system. In most countries the representatives of this revolutionary trend were small, disorganized and persecuted. But when the October Revolution exploded on the world scene in 1917, the workers the world over, and especially those in the belligerent countries who were still being ordered to slaughter one another in the course of the world war, recognized the October Revolution as *their* revolution. The more class-conscious among them quickly embraced Leninism.

In other words, the Communist International was not formed simply because Lenin was successful in making revolution. The class struggle of the proletariat, including the internal struggle in the capitalist countries between the two wings of the working class — the revolutionary proletariat and the labour aristocracy — together with the intensification of the misery of the masses of people in the belligerent countries all provided a strong material basis for a genuine communist line, the line that Lenin was fight-

ing for and represented. Lenin succeeded in making the October Revolution because his internationalist line represented the interests of the masses of the proletariat, not only on the general level, but in very immediate terms as well, including their pressing need to get out of the slaughter of World War I. While this revolutionary basis was particularly strong in Russia, it was by no means limited to there. There is good reason to believe that had a strong revolutionary line and organization been present in other countries, revolution may have succeeded in more than just the former Tsarist Russia.⁵

Those who hold that first a revolution must be successful and only then can an International be formed are missing fundamental lessons of Lenin's struggle against the revisionism of the Second International. That struggle was far from being an "impediment" to the practical revolutionary struggle for power, something that could be "put on hold" while awaiting practical advances. From the moment Lenin analyzed the betrayal of the Second International in 1914, he re-doubled his fight not only for a correct revolutionary line in his "own" country, but on behalf of the world proletariat in its international organizations. Indeed, the two battles were inseparable, and in that sense Lenin's fight against the Second International was one of the very conditions for October's success.

MAO'S GREAT STRUGGLE AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM

Beginning with Khrushchev's "secret speech" in 1956 that contained an all-out attack on Stalin and on the dictatorship of the proletariat that Stalin represented, Mao Tsetung initiated and led a great international battle against what came to be known as "modern revisionism".

This struggle led to a major split in the international communist movement between its revolutionary wing

⁴ The Paris Commune in 1871 was the first attempt of the proletariat to seize political power. But the Commune was short-lived — it lasted only 90 days — and the movement was still immature.

⁵ Indeed, important attempts at revolution were made in Europe after the October Revolution. In particular, there was the Spartacus Rebellion in Germany led by Liebknecht and Luxemburg and the short-lived workers' republic in Hungary led by Bela Kun.

led by Mao and the Communist Party of China and the revisionist parties that followed the baton of Khrushchev and the Soviet party. Although this struggle did not lead to the formation of a new Communist International, it did lead to the formation of an international Maoist movement with vanguard organizations in a large number of countries. On the basis of the impulsion of Mao's struggle against modern revisionism and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Maoist parties were formed which took upon themselves the preparing and launching of people's wars. The heroic launching of the armed struggle in India, the Philippines, Turkey, Bangladesh and other countries by Maoist revolutionaries is testament to the far-reaching impact of the great split in the ICM. The formation of an international Maoist movement also helped spur on the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples against imperialism which were then sweeping the globe, including the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people.⁶

The great struggle against modern revisionism pitted two major parties, the CPC and the CPSU, against each other, each of which held political power in the name of the working class. However, in the case of Khrushchev and his successor, this claim was but a thin coat of red paint covering the rule of a new bourgeoisie.

Thus, even more sharply than Lenin's struggle against the revisionists of his day, the Great Debate in the communist movement reflected differing and opposing *class interests*, and from this flowed the intensity and the irreconcilability of the struggle.

At stake was nothing other than

⁶ The revisionists always tried to use the struggle in Vietnam as a reason requiring the "unity of the communist movement", by which they meant that the struggle against modern revisionism had to cease and desist. This position was also furthered by the Vietnam Workers' Party's own centrism around the vital questions of those times. In reality, however, it was the consistent stand in support of the Vietnamese people's struggle by the Maoist movement, and especially revolutionary China itself under Mao's leadership, that created the most favourable external conditions for that struggle to advance, including by encouraging the more revolutionary elements in Vietnam to struggle on to a victorious conclusion.

the goal of building a classless society — communism. In the USSR and the East bloc as a whole, this goal was proclaimed in much the way that priests promise an eventual kingdom of god on Earth, but this religious incantation of the revisionists was just as divorced from the society they were presiding over as "brotherly love" is from the hell-holes of capitalism.

Maoism stood for continuing the revolution, for ensuring that, step by step, the ideological, political and economic conditions were being created for a society in which human labour was no longer a commodity to be bought and sold, where the division of labour between town and country, worker and peasant, and mental and manual labour was being steadily reduced. Maoism represented the interests of the workers and peasants in fighting to maintain their rule over society and preventing the fruits of socialism from being usurped and perverted by new exploiters. These principles came alive to people all over the world when they saw tens of millions of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals rising up in China in the Cultural Revolution to advance society further on the path toward communism.

Revisionism, especially revisionism in power such as in the USSR or the other East European countries, stood for a completely different agenda. In these societies nothing was done to break down the division of labour or the other "birthmarks" inherited from the capitalist system. On the contrary, the new rulers fought to protect and defend the very inequalities that benefited them. The goal promoted for the workers was not to remake the world but rather to achieve a "fair share" for a lifetime of enriching others. This outlook is the same one that has always marked reformist trade unionism and revisionism in every country. Long ago Marx had called on the workers to reject the slogan "A Fair Day's Wage for a Fair Day's Work" and inscribe on their banner the revolutionary slogan "Abolition of the Wage System".

To demand, as some did at the time, that there be unity between Maoism and Soviet-style modern revisionism is just as senseless as demanding unity between the exploiter and the exploited. Unity between revolutionary Marxists and die-hard revisionists

cannot exist for long, and where it appears to exist it is simply preparing to explode.

Now that the Soviet Union and its bloc have collapsed, some forces are saying that the "old disputes" should no longer be an obstacle to the unity of the communists. This viewpoint is spelled out quite clearly in the "Proposals for the Unification of the International Communist Movement" prepared by the Workers Party of Belgium (PTB) and the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (AUCPB) of the former Soviet Union for one of the PTB's annual May First Seminar (see p. 28). It is worth citing a passage from the section of the Proposal called "The former divisions between Marxist-Leninist parties can be overcome".

"Today, as a result of the restoration of capitalism under Gorbachev, the 'pro-Soviet' tendency crumbled into innumerable tendencies. In the sixties, a 'pro-Chinese' tendency emerged but split into various tendencies after Mao's death. There has been a 'pro-Albanian' tendency... and a 'pro-Cuban' tendency, mainly in Latin America. Some parties, finally, maintained an 'independent' position vis-à-vis the tendencies mentioned.

"Whatever one's opinion about the correctness or necessity of these splits at a certain point in history, it is nowadays possible to overcome these divisions and to unite the Marxist-Leninist parties, which are divided into different currents."

First we should note that, according to the Proposal, capitalism was restored in the USSR *under Gorbachev*, that is, some time after 1984! Maoists have always held that a new bourgeoisie captured power in the USSR in 1956 and restored capitalism at that time. Although the Proposal speaks repeatedly of "Khrushchev revisionism" it passes in relative silence over the long period of Brezhnev's rule in the USSR when, as Mao analyzed, the Soviet Union had been thoroughly converted into a social-imperialist country challenging the US bloc for world domination.

This "minor problem" of the nature of the USSR cannot be swept under the rug, as the Proposal would like to do.

Second, we note that the Proposal argues that these divisions can be overcome because they are mere histori-

cal disputes. At first glance it may appear that the Proposal is simply appealing to pragmatism – why dispute over the “sex of the angels” when the angels are no longer on the scene?

Actually, the Proposal is not being honest here. *Some* of these historical “divisions” are not called into question by the Proposal, for example, the struggle of Comrade Stalin against Trotsky and Bukharin. These are in fact the struggles from the pre-1956 period that the Proposal wants to use as a reference point. *Other more recent* “historical disputes”, such as “the invasion of Czechoslovakia”, “the liquidation of the tendency around Chang Ching in 1976... the line of Deng Xiaoping in the early 1980s and so on” are treated, in the words of the Proposal, as “real differences exaggerated to the point of antagonism and split”. (Excerpts reprinted on p. 30)

Thus, the authors of the Proposal are most definitely concerned with history: They understand quite well that these disputes are very much connected with vital questions of line. Indeed, the Proposal includes its own “history” of the ICM in which, “Until 1956, [the ICM] maintained its revolutionary orientation and its unity; its strength and its influence in the world never ceased to increase. In order to reappear on the world scene as a significant current, the International Communist Movement must claim this common history.”

In other words, the *high point* of the international communist movement was in 1956, before Khrushchev’s revisionism and “*sectarianism and ultra-leftism*” led to the disintegration of its strength. While this political evaluation is presented as a fundamental rock upon which to rebuild the ICM, it is also asserted that “different opinions in the International Communist Movement on the merits of Mao Tsetung will remain for a certain time...”.

Why is it that the struggle against “social-democratic and Trotskyist ideologies is a *condition* for the development of the Marxist-Leninist movement”, as the Proposal would have it [italics added], while such questions as the “merits” of Mao Tsetung should not interfere with the “duty to maintain the unity of the International Communist Movement”? It is because the Proposal, which writes with such feigned humility of the need to carry

out scientific discussion, seeking truth from facts, etc., has, in fact, *already concluded* that Mao’s leadership of the struggle against modern revisionism, his analysis of the restoration of capitalism and the development of social imperialism in the Soviet Union, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, etc., were, at best, mistaken.

Maoists too uphold and defend all the great accomplishments of the international communist movement, including the building and defence of socialism in the USSR under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin. But we also uphold Mao’s penetrating analysis of the contradictions of socialist society, his summation of the errors and weak points of Stalin, and the line he developed, largely on this basis, for carrying the revolution forward. Indeed, Mao’s understanding of socialist society in theory and his practice of leading the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution is not simply his most important single contribution, it concentrates Mao’s qualitative development of the proletarian revolutionary ideology, its stand, viewpoint and method. It is nothing less than the lynchpin of Maoism.

This is why any effort to “unite the communist movement” without reference to Mao means uniting *against Maoism*. And, in fact, this is precisely what the PTB/AUCPB Proposal and the PTB Seminar are trying to do. While the Seminar doors are flung open to a wide variety of forces, including rabid opponents of Maoism as well as some genuine revolutionaries, it is the forces of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement who are excluded.⁷ This shows once again that “pluralism”, or the practice of tolerating what appears to be widely divergent views, often disguises real suppression of a genuine proletarian revolutionary position.

It is because the authors of the Proposal *oppose* Mao’s analysis of socialism and oppose his leadership of the socialist revolution in China that they can dismiss so contemptuously the question of the events in China after the death of Mao Tsetung. Here again the authors’ professed agnosticism

and openness is actually a cover for a clear line. The PTB supported the overthrow of Mao’s line by Hua and Deng’s coup d’état and since then they have supported the Chinese revisionist rulers through thick and thin – the destruction of socialist agriculture, the campaign “to get rich is glorious”, the 1989 massacre at Tiananmen Square, and so forth. At a conference in India in 1995, Nina Andreeva, the leader of the AUCPB, declared that those, such as RIM, who criticize the Chinese revisionists do so because they have “no experience in building socialism”.⁸ In fact, we *do* have experience in building socialism, and specifically we have the experience of the Cultural Revolution and the tremendous impetus that it gave to developing socialism in all spheres. We *do not want* the experience of the kind of “socialism” that marked the USSR for the last thirty years of its existence or of the “socialism” practised in China today.

**RIM AS THE
EMBRYONIC CENTRE OF
THE WORLD’S
MAOISTS**

When the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement was founded in 1984 it represented a great step in putting a halt to the crisis that was engulfing the Maoist movement internationally and in establishing a new level of ideological, political and organizational unity. The formation of RIM had the merit of taking place on a clear ideological and political basis, expressed in the *Declaration of RIM*. In particular, it regrouped the core of the Maoist forces who had fought against the revisionist betrayal in China while upholding Mao’s development of Marxism-Leninism to a new, third stage. In this way, RIM sharply demarcated from the other tendencies which had developed out of the previous Maoist movement, in particular the pro-China tendency and the pro-Albania tendency which had rejected Mao Tsetung Thought.

On this initial firm political and ideological basis, it was possible for RIM to establish an embryonic organi-

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⁷ In 1996 AWTW was “disinvited” from the Seminar at the last minute. Similarly, in 1997, the Revolutionary Communist Party USA was “disinvited” at the last minute because of its participation in RIM.

⁸ The Conference organized by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) Janashakti organization in Hyderabad.

Worldwide Fundraising Campaign

From One Corner of the World to the Other,

Raise Funds for RIM!

AWTW received the following from the Information Bureau of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement is calling on everyone who dreams of doing away with the intolerable social order of today, who dreams of seizing the opportunity and forging the leadership needed to make revolution, or who dreams of a world in which proletarian rule again seizes the day to transform society from top to bottom, to help organize the Worldwide Campaign to Raise Funds for RIM.

A WORLD OF NEEDS

The primary reason for this campaign at the present time is the great need for increased operating funds to carry out the many tasks of RIM. Since its beginning in 1984, the Movement has grown and become stronger through its work. In line with its task to help strengthen and build Maoist parties united in RIM, the Movement has actively spread Marxism-Leninism-Maoism around the world in many ways, not least of all through its literature. It has inspired the publication of the international journal, *A World to Win*, in several languages: English, Spanish, Farsi and Turkish, with selected translations in Arabic, French, German, Italian and some Indian languages. The magazine provides in-depth reportage and analysis of key issues facing the revolutionary movement today, as well as popularizing the advanced experiences of organizations and parties united in RIM. From Afghani revolutionaries soaking up its contents in Farsi to readers in Mexico and Latin America rushing to get the Spanish edition out on the streets, the journal has built a solid Maoist lifeline linking the struggles of our class across the world. RIM has also regularly intervened through its statements on important international events and battles against imperialism from the outlook of the international proletariat.

In its unique position as an embryonic political centre of the world's Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, the Movement investigates, discusses and wages struggle over the paramount problems that may make the difference in whether or not the oppressed and proletarian masses in a number of countries favourable for revolution have a serious chance to develop genuine MLM leadership and build the organization necessary. In a majority of countries Maoist parties

don't yet exist, and where they do they must grow stronger. The more the formation of revolutionary Maoist parties is delayed, the more the fruits of the struggle of the masses will not be harvested, or at least will not fully serve the target and goal of liberation. //

Without a strong Movement, the crucial struggles against revisionism that affect the future of the revolutionary movement as a whole could not be waged in the same concentrated way. Most fundamentally, RIM has led the process of struggle over the years to raise the level of political, ideological and organizational unity among Maoists united in RIM themselves, in particular the historic step of adopting Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. RIM has also led numerous different campaigns, from exposing the imperialists and building support for the Communist Party of Peru and the People's War it leads, to popularizing the achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The existence of an organized centre has made a real difference in the past short fourteen years. One very favourable but demanding result has been to multiply RIM's tasks many times. The demand for the Movement to play even more of a role is being echoed throughout the world. This requires money. Funds are needed to spread RIM's materials into places they haven't reached, to be able to expand the Movement's presence and work in places where revolutionaries have not yet had the opportunity to know and work with RIM, and to strengthen the projects and participation of the Movement in the priority areas it has already shouldered.

Many people are stepping forward to help RIM in various ways — this is an important part of the revolutionary movement relying on the people, its only source of support. It also helps relieve some financial pressures by providing assistance in areas that would otherwise incur expense, like local transport, communications, or food and lodging to visitors, to mention a few everyday examples. But this needs to develop in many ways, in more countries, and this is impossible without a conscious effort to raise money. The international proletariat doesn't own any trains, airplanes and printing presses. RIM is able to do a lot with the support of its parties, organizations and supporters, but it needs to accomplish more, much more. In today's imperialist world where costs are high, the stakes are higher; but the potential support for revolution and for the revolutionary movement has no limit — and

As one facet of the campaign, RIM is calling on people from all walks of life in all countries to give one-half a day's wages to this fundraising effort. While this does not equalize the great imbalances among countries, it goes in that direction and represents a sacrifice for everyone, no matter on which side of imperialism's tentacles they were born.

Readers Write...

One of the key activities that needs to be stepped up by the world's Maoist forces is the dissemination of revolutionary literature. The following letters from readers of *A World to Win* around the world testify to the indispensable role this magazine plays in fanning the flames of revolution that burn in the hearts of the oppressed. Send in your contributions today to *AWTW* to support the more frequent publication of the magazine, in more languages, and to make it available in more places around the world that want and need it.

Make your cheques and money orders payable to *A World to Win* and send them to *A World to Win*, 27 Old Gloucester Street, London WC1N 3XX, UK.

From a reader in Poland

Thank you for a hot letter. We are on the same side of the barricades in the fight against imperialism, reaction and from myself - democracy.

I'm impressed by RIM's success in uniting the Maoist groups around the world. My congratulations!

As an anarchist, I am sympathetic to the Maoist revolutionary ethos (spirit) and the Maoist belief in the possibility of the human cause.

If it is a possibility can you write to me the details about RIM's relationship with the revolution in Peru and the PCP, and about your opinion of Sendero Luminoso....

I want to cooperate with and participate in RIM.

From a reader in Nepal

Warm greetings.

I am very happy to write to you my personal opinions about your

highly famous magazine *A World To Win*.

I think your magazine has existed as a milestone, for the evil forces in society, and has been a light in the clouded world. It has helped to weed out the dirt and filth in society. The articles which are presented in your magazine are highly intellectual and philosophical as well as scientific and sane. It helps us to sharpen our knowledge about the social activities of day-to-day events. One vital role of the articles in the magazine is that they help the readers identify the social parasites which are really serpents in the garden making impure, luxurious and incestuous works for their own benefit. Your magazine helps to give the knowledge of how to liquidate social evils. I am an especially strong Marxist-Leninist supporter and I hate the hell of capitalism and its negative role in power. I strongly oppose any type of exploitation through the wind of capitalism

and imperialism.

I hope we win the last victory all over the world because Marxism is a non-challengable philosophy which will emerge victoriously over capitalism in one after another [country] all over the world. Your magazine has been the mouthpiece of the proletariat.

When I got your magazine *A World To Win* 1995/20, I read all its chapters thoroughly. I was very impressed by the articles so I have written you such a letter so I hope you will take it positively. My village is very remote with hillside areas where we hardly get magazines like it.

If you continue to send me your magazine, it will help me to gain knowledge about the world's communist movement and help convince people [of the necessity] of the progress of our communist movement. The news media plays an important role in society. In our country such types and standard of Marxist magazine are rarely

found....

That's why I heartily request you to send the *A World To Win* with your comment on my letter.

Thank you.

From a reader in a US prison

My name is X. I'm presently incarcerated. I'm serving time in X federal penitentiary. I've always been concerned with and about poor people. I believe everybody should have food, clothing, education, etc., and that nobody should suffer. I would like to know how can I help RIM? How can I become a member, or assist in any way. Can you please send me information about RIM. Thank you.

From a reader in the Philippines

I would like to deeply thank you for your short letter.

I would like to mention that we need both moral and material supports in

within the bounds of what is possible to raise given our forces. RIM's ability to do more *can* be boosted significantly. It's really a question of how well we grasp that and can help others to grasp it.

TRAINING INTERNATIONALISTS

Taking out a fundraising campaign to the revolutionary masses of the different countries provides an excellent way to train them in proletarian internationalism — what is this Movement and what does it stand for? Why and how does it represent their interests? Why and how is revolution a reflection of Mao's truth — “we all go to communism, or none will go?” The basic people understand that imperialism and the reactionary states it dominates fit into an international order: the international proletariat's strength against it must be also seen and supported in these strategic terms. The heritage of our class — the outstanding leaders and their teachings, the Paris Commune, the October Revolution, the liberation of China and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution — are shouldered today by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. It is determined to build on the tremendous contributions, sacrifices and epic-making revolutions of the past to carry through emancipation to the end.

What would it be like, trying to do without a RIM in today's world, or one whose mass support around the world is way behind its potential? It won't do to underestimate the hatred of the masses against the life of misery, oppression and degradation imperialism has slated for them; nor to downplay their enthusiasm for fighting it and for making it increasingly possible to concentrate our science, our experience, and even on some scale, our resources, to do away with it. To do this people need to understand what they have in common with the rest of the world's oppressed. This is a fine opportunity: by actively bringing out RIM — *in its own right* — we can make the connections between the oppressed internationally much clearer, and thus also why and how revolution means relying on the masses.

One of the richest examples of combining revolutionary internationalism with material support for RIM over the past decade has been the continued sale in numerous countries of copies of revolutionary artwork depicting scenes from the People's War in Peru. Originals were painted by political prisoners based on a model and then were smuggled out of Peru's dungeons to RIM to contribute to fundraising for the Movement the PCP is part of. Copies were sent around the world and reproduced in varying forms from postcards to large colour prints. Several thousands of copies of a high-quality revolutionary music cassette “We Only Want the World”, connecting the people's struggles in a way only RIM could have achieved, have been sold around the world.

In Tamil Nadu, India, where peasants' living standard is typically very low, money was raised for the Defend the Life of Abimael Guzman Campaign by supporting volunteer bicyclists in a long distance ride to inform the people of the campaign.

In some countries, people may have already been won to contributing to an MLM organization or party which belongs to and in turn, supports, RIM. Asking these masses to donate to RIM in its own right poses what is in fact a good contradiction — one that politically enables supporters to understand more about revolution as a worldwide

our hard and protracted battle against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism which are ruling tyrannically and exploitatively in our impoverished country.

The moral or political support is the promotion of the justness and humaneness of the national democratic revolution in the Philippines which is being led by the Communist Party of the Philippines.

...My revolutionary spirit just keeps growing as my understanding of revolution widens. I think all I need is to do practical actions to complete my communist baptism. I hope you will be of help to me in this regard.

I have also received a newsletter from RIM *Let Red May Day 1997 Thunder Around The World!*

With regard to the article *Reply to Liwanag: The CPP and the False Friend of the Filipino Revolution*, I firmly agree with the analysis of RIM that soliciting aid from revisionist parties and organizations is erroneous, which leads nowhere but to the domain of political opportunism and is indeed contradictory to the CPP's professed adherence to the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist principles.

However, since 1988 many things have changed. Revisionist parties in Eastern Europe were knocked out from power. A document by Armando Liwanag entitled *Reaffirm Our*

Basic Principles and Rectify Errors has become the new guiding light of the Philippine Revolution. Even though this has caused a split within the Party, the rectification movement is, in my best opinion, the correct measure to purify the re-established Communist Party of the Philippines in the ideological front. Thank you.

May the Revolutionary “Spirit” Guide us Always!

Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!

There is No Such Thing as Proletarian Nationalism!

Welcome to the Philippine Revolution!

Long Live the CPP!

Long Live RIM!

Rebel to the End!



From a reader in Mexico

Dear Comrades,

I am a Mexican student and like yourselves I strongly oppose the bloody oppressive system headed by Yanqui imperialism that has continually bled my country and the world. For this reason I am with you comrades in the struggle to end this monster called capitalism.

The pro-US rulers in Mexico say that democracy, social justice, stability and happiness exist for everyone. This is a great falsity because as they hand over more and more of the country to Yanqui imperialism via the TLC and

privatizations, we as a people suffer more and more the ruins of a crisis in every aspect. Political and military repression is the order of the day against anyone who resists. They violate our most fundamental rights such as the right to work, education, housing, land and they do not respect the culture of our indigenous brothers and sisters, never leaving aside the corruption that swarms through the system.

As a student of social work I think that the students and professional colleagues should take up the class struggle in our country together and make our flag the flag of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism so that we no longer serve the oppressor class but instead take up our historical task of participating in the revolutionary transformation of the society to be able to transform and give a new context to social work and cast aside the bourgeois weight that holds back our evolution towards the objective that should be to serve the people wholeheartedly and fight on by their side, to make their historical claims, with arms in hand, ready to give our lives for the cause of the revolution.

Also I would like to tell you that I have read with great interest different editions of your journal which is for me the light pointing towards the way we think, I continue to pay attention to the events in the world and above all the heroic People's War in Peru

which I support wholeheartedly, as well as all the just struggles which are developing in all the world....

On this day I would like to make a revolutionary homage to all the student and worker comrades who fell on 2 October 1968 to the murderous bullets of the PRI Government and the Yanqui Imperialists as the brains behind it, and who fought for the ideals of the revolutionary proletariat: **THE REVOLUTION WILL REVENGE THE BLOOD OF OUR COMRADES WHO FELL IN COMBAT!**

Lastly I send a revolutionary greeting to all of you from this trench and to struggle together to advance the fight.

**Long Live Maoism!
Down with Imperialism!
Death to Imperialism!
Revolution Yes! Farce No!**

Long Live the People's War in Peru!

Save the Life of Chairman Gonzalo!



From a reader in Europe

Dear Comrades! Accept our comradely salutes!

Yesterday, for the first time, I saw a copy of the revolutionary journal *A World to Win (Jahani Barayeh Fath)* at a friend's in another city. It was issue 21. First I was delighted that our comrades have such a journal on an international level and then I was disappointed for having missed out on

process, the relation between building revolution in one country and overthrowing the world system of imperialism, and even more deeply, just who *are* the revolutionary people from one corner of the world to the other. This can also serve to generate creativity beyond the bounds of the organized forces — ways in which the masses can support the struggle in other countries, and support the centralized vehicle that strengthens the ties between them.

A GEOGRAPHY OF SACRIFICE?

Like the burning desire of the masses to do away with their oppressors and exploiters, the ability to make sacrifices to create the organization required to accomplish this has no borders. The world is extremely unequal — that is imperialism's logic — and our determined revolutionary internationalism must rise above these differences to support, build and strengthen the common interests of the down-trodden of the world, which are far greater. The Movement is mainly centred in the oppressed countries, and we have the highest expectations of even the poorest masses to make sacrifices based on their understanding of who makes revolution possible. We oppose paternalism that would say people in rich countries can sacrifice but that those in the oppressed countries cannot or will not, or that the "value" of sacrifice in the poorer countries is less "useful" than the relatively high wages pegged to an inflated Deutschmark or pound Sterling in the West.

And we must also strive for a similar *level* of sacrifice among our supporters in the imperialist countries, challenging any reasoning that delays or minimizes their need to contribute generously by those who think that conditions for revolution are not as ripe as in the oppressed countries. People do understand what an important difference it makes when their contributions go towards the cause of undoing the swaggering empire of monopoly capital and its repulsive political dictatorship. So they must be struggled with to dig even deeper (into their pockets), as well as to convince others in the world's richest countries to overfulfill their share in supporting RIM. Of course, in these countries too it is the common sacrifices of the masses of workers and oppressed which will ultimately be the backbone of support for revolutionary internationalism, but allies from other classes defiantly acting out of their own hatred of imperialism's crimes can play a significant role in giving material aid.

Many friends of RIM are dispersed in places where the revolutionary movement may be just beginning. Such individuals and groups can make an important internationalist contribution by joining in this Worldwide Fundraising Campaign, setting high goals for themselves and thinking of imaginative ways to help organize it wherever they are. We encourage you to contact us further about this.

As one facet of the campaign, RIM is calling on people from all walks of life in all countries to give one-half a day's wages to this fundraising effort. While this does not equalize the great imbalances among countries, it goes in that direction and represents a sacrifice for everyone, no matter on which side of imperialism's tentacles they were born.

Aim high and go all out to raise funds for RIM!

Note: Some people will be able to arrange sending funds through their own connections; we encourage others to be in direct contact with the London address to facilitate this.

such a journal that is for our class, the working class.

When I saw the cover I felt I am hearing the liberating roar of the guns of the "Shining Path". I imagined the world trembling, and with every moment passing, this calm before the storm that is hanging over Europe is becoming impregnated with the spectre that is flying over each factory and farm. It will not be long before the storm of revolution will arrive and burn away imperialism and international capital.

My son, who is sixteen and still vividly remembers the Afghan national war of resistance against Soviet social-imperialist aggressors asked me to frame the cover of the journal, but my daughter who is 14 protested as she wanted the cover framed for herself. She claimed that the people of the Shining Path are the only people who are working towards liberating women from all historical, religious and sexual oppression; so she is the one who deserves this cover. My son said that after finishing his studies he will go fighting in the barricades with his comrades and so he is the one who should get that photo. Their mother said no, I will frame the picture myself and will hang it in the sitting room.

I told all three of them that I will ask comrades to send 3 copies of this picture, preferably in poster form, and will also subscribe to the journal.

Comrades! My family

and I want to subscribe to this journal that belongs to our class and reflects the genuine goals of our class.

Finally, I shake your hands. Please convey my communist greetings to the comrades of other countries. We firmly believe that the final victory is ours and the time is pregnant with revolution.

From a reader in South Africa (Azania)

Dear Friends,

I am sending my cordial greetings over to you.

Here in Azania the situation is so complex with the contradiction between an oppressed nation vis-à-vis imperialism.... The ruling racist class in cahoots with Western imperialism never tried to conceal their naked repression of the masses in the struggle to obtain genuine liberation.

It should be noted that Western imperialism opted for negotiations between the formerly banned ANC and their surrogates in Azania. But out of this much publicized turnaround of the racist regime, the masses paid in their own blood.

It was due to an absence of a truly Marxist-Leninist-Maoist vanguard party to lead the struggling masses to even greater heights in the struggle for self-determination. Nowadays it's not strange in this country to hear or read a lot of nonsense about our newly found democracy.

The majority of the Black masses lack proper housing, sanitation, jobs, etc. They are still being exploited by the capitalist class which refuses to grant a 40-hour working week, six-month maternity leave for expectant mothers. On the labour front, COSATU (an ANC-allied trade union) has been bargaining with the capitalist class for the basic demands of workers. In the countryside the rural masses are hungry for their land — the Boer farmers are evicting families whose sole livelihood is employment as farm labourers. The ANC-led government has passed laws that grant pieces of land only to those families whose land was appropriated by white settlers after 1913. This is basically not a Maoist solution to the land question. Mao was correct when he stated that the New Democratic Revolution paves the way for indigenous capitalism, but it opens up new ways for socialism, and to confiscate the property of imperialism, the capitalist and the landlord classes.

As stated in *AWTW* no 20 what we have witnessed is the changing of the old guard by Mandela and Co.

I would like to get past issues of *AWTW* and also your latest publications.

From a reader in Europe

Yesterday I received your package. Thank you for sending it so quickly. With respect to the questions that you have asked me I will begin with the issues of *A*

World to Win that I have read and found very interesting, above all the articles in which you refer to political theory without leaving aside your economic analysis. One of the factors that I want to emphasize is that this magazine has enabled me to learn about certain Maoist theses. About the situation here I will attempt to answer your question in a more extensive way.

I learnt about Maoism in this country because in mine (Chile) the left has always been dominated by pro-Soviet revisionism. What most damaged the party here was accepting the "Three Worlds Theory" and passing it off as Maoism. There exists a pamphlet with this theory that is supposedly signed by Mao, not only did they accept that this is true they went even further to affirm that it is correct. This led many communists to break with the party and also with Maoism because they could not accept this opportunist and reactionary lie. I have lived in this country for nearly ten years, and I also believed that this theory was Mao's (the reason why I distanced myself from Maoism). Until I read the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* and I saw that there was nothing reactionary or revisionist in it - on the contrary I could only find Marxism-Leninism in it as it clearly outlines the political line of the true party of the proletariat...

On the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (Soviet Union)

A 'New October' Requires Maoism

Ever since the salvos of the October Revolution spread Marxism-Leninism around the globe, the names of Moscow, Leningrad, Baku and the other centres of the first successful proletarian revolution have resonated with special significance for those who hunger for liberation. Yet for several decades, the USSR was a pillar of world reaction, a social-imperialist exploiter ruled by the revisionists who in 1956 overthrew the proletariat and restored capitalism. The USSR was no longer cherished by revolutionaries but had come to be hated just like every other imperialist oppressor.

Today, under the combined weight of intense US imperialist-led pressure and the ongoing crisis of the world imperialist system, including contradictions that sharpened within the Soviet bloc itself, the revisionist form of bourgeois rule has collapsed and given way to a more Western form. Class polarization has sharpened even further, the masses of the former USSR are groaning beneath the weight of the crisis, and new, unprecedented rumblings of discontent stir the length and breadth of the land. All this is punctuated by the clash of arms along the periphery of the former empire.

Out of the smoke and ashes left by the revisionist collapse have stepped a large number of parties who claim the banner of Marxism-Leninism and declare that they have learned profound lessons from the Soviet experience and are determined to lead the people of the former USSR forward to a "new October". In the last few years, scenes have repeatedly been broadcast from Russia of demonstra-

tors brandishing red flags and posters of Stalin and clashing with the police.

Who are these forces? What do they stand for? How have they summed up the bitter lessons of capitalist restoration? And what path are they advocating for the people of the former USSR?

The scene among these forces is fluid, and marked by constant mergers and splits and ever changing alliances. These often involve forming various "communist unity alliances" incorporating one or two groups with a national presence in Russia and a host of smaller groups in a particular region or former Soviet republic, like Azerbaijan, Ukraine or the like. While it is very difficult to be sure of the various nuances of differences between these groups, it seems that a few of them are emerging at the head of distinct trends.

First, there is the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF). It is led by Gennady Zyuganov, who ran a close race against Yeltsin in the latest Presidential elections in Russia. While declaring that they uphold and continue the heritage of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and pay lip service to the need to restore the USSR, the CPRF have distanced themselves from some policies of the CPSU, and for instance openly espouse the need to rely on the capitalist free market. By far the largest of the so-called "communist parties", having inherited an extensive network of former CPSU officials, the CPRF have worked hard to recast themselves as trustworthy partners of the Western social-democratic parties.

There is then the trend led by

Viktor Anpilov, now at the head of Worker's Russia. These forces attack the CPRF for its parliamentary politics and its advocacy of Western capitalist methods. Anpilov was arrested by the Yeltsin regime, but upon his release forged a "communist" electoral alliance that took a position of critical support for the CPRF. Anpilov won nearly 5% of the vote in the first round of the most recent Russian Presidential election. This trend are also active in the movement to "restore the USSR".

Finally, there are the smaller forces which include the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (AUCPB) [previously known as the Communist Party of Bolsheviks of the Soviet Union], which is led by Nina Andreeva, and the Russian Communist Workers Party (RCWP) led by Tiulkin (which the Anpilov-group had previously belonged to). The AUCPB boycotted the recent Presidential elections and targets the CPRF as "revisionist". This last trend, sometimes together with Anpilov forces, make up the forces most often seen in the international press with banners of Lenin and Stalin in celebrations of the October Revolution, May 1st, etc. They are at the heart of the movement to restore the USSR.

It is this last trend, particularly the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, headed by Andreeva, that will be the main focus of this article. They are the ones who have basically claimed the "left" of the political spectrum in the former USSR. Within the trend itself, many of the basic features and political positions of the Tiulkin party are shared with the AUCPB, but

RIGHT: Over two million Afghans were forced to leave their home and live in refugee camps in neighbouring countries as a result of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.



RIGHT (INSERT): Comrade Akram Yari, a leading Afghan

Maoist and founder of the communist movement of Afghanistan, was arrested and killed by the lackies of Soviet social-imperialism in the early years of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.



NEXT PAGE: Soviet tanks roaming the streets of Prague. Spring 1968.

it appears that if there are any substantial differences the Tiulkin grouping is to the "right" of the AUCPB. For instance, in contrast to the AUCPB, Tiulkin's RCWP called for convening the "next Congress" of the CPSU, and sees itself as continuing where the CPSU left off at the time when Gorbachev came to its leadership. Finally, it is the Andreeva group, the AUCPB, which has been most active internationally, having appeared at numerous international conferences around the world during the past few years.

Indeed, there are features in the line of the AUCPB that would certainly stir interest among genuine revolutionaries: they claim to be Marxist-Leninist, and uphold Stalin as a great continuator of Marx and Lenin; they denounce Khrushchev's infamous secret speech at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, and say that this was the starting point for the rise of opportunism in the USSR and the CPSU itself. Today the AUCPB has

been founded, they say, in order to do away with the capitalist class ruling Russia and the former USSR and restore socialism there. The Party has also on occasion expressed an interest in learning about the criticisms made by Mao and the Communist Party of China of the CPSU.

Yet these bits and bobs ultimately do not suffice to make a radical rupture with the revisionism of the old CPSU itself. It is as if, since the old revisionist exploiters have collapsed and so are today exposed and scorned worldwide, these new forces are trying to step into the breach, but are unable to learn from the bitter experience of three decades of revisionist rule. Internationally the AUCPB are vigorously promoting glossing over the lines of demarcation between revisionism and Maoism. They call on genuine revolutionaries to "forget the old quarrels" and reverse verdicts on the former USSR and join hands in a broad new alliance.

It is necessary then to take a close

look at the line of the AUCPB. In order to do this, we will reprint and analyze key excerpts from a number of speeches by Party leader Andreeva as well as from the AUCPB Programme adopted at the Party's 1991 founding congress in Minsk, Bielorus. These excerpts are chosen so as to present as full a picture as possible of the line of this Party on the important questions facing revolutionaries in Russia today.

ON THE RESTORATION OF CAPITALISM IN THE USSR

"For the Communist Party of Bolsheviks [AUCPB], the bourgeois counter-revolution that is unfolding in the country today has its roots in the last thirty to forty years of Soviet history. These roots are connected to the influence exercised by the rising middle bourgeoisie.

"The ideological overture of the



restorationist process was the anti-Stalin campaign deployed after the 20th Congress of the CPSU. That campaign denigrated the authority of socialism and created serious difficulties in the international communist movement. It led to the confrontation with the Communist Party of China, and to the agitation of the enemies of socialism in the people's democracies of Eastern Europe. In the Soviet Union, there was the elimination of revolutionary cadres who were accused of 'dogmatism' and 'Stalinism'. Persecution and moral terror were seen.

"Following that began the *revisionist erosion* of the fundamental basis of Marxism-Leninism and, in the party, the rehabilitation of opportunism. The shadow economy took flight, the working class was quietly removed from the politics of the state, and the proletarian state was transformed into the 'state of the whole people'. The Communist Party proclaimed that it was the 'party of the whole people'. Labour productivity fell and scientific and technical progress were impeded. The prices of mass consumption products, which had a tendency to fall, began to rise. The prestige of high party and state leaders diminished. Each official coming to power charged his predecessor with everything that had gone wrong. The workers grew increasingly alienated from the state apparatus, which thus lost its quality

as the organizer of socialist construction. In the final analysis, this led to the phenomena of the 1980s, which is correctly called stagnation.

"Gorbastroika brought bourgeois democracy to the Soviet people. This allowed the anti-Soviet forces to use lies to infiltrate the organs of power and to direct the counter-revolution." — From "We Must Begin All Over Again", Nina Andreeva

"The Communist Party of Bolsheviks of the Soviet Union bases itself on the view that *with the events of August 1991*, a bourgeois revolution has taken place in the political system of our society. Capital has seized the reins of legislative, executive and judicial power. Under this pressure, and aided by the betrayal of the Gorbachev clique, the CPSU grew demoralized and was liquidated after the perestroika/counter-revolution was carried out in its name. Finally, socialist phraseology was thrown overboard by those who had used it to build their political career. *The mafia-capitalists*, once in power, came out into the open. *What had up to recently been socialist property* is now subordinated to a state of entrepreneurs and businessmen." — From "Some Current Questions", Nina Andreeva, April 1992 (italics added).

There are some correct criticisms here of various aspects of the CPSU's revisionist line: there is a denuncia-

tion of Khrushchev's secret speech and the substitution of the "state of the whole people" for the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the "party of the whole people" for the CPSU as the party of the proletariat, and so forth. However, any seemingly correct points are set side by side with incorrect ones and ultimately form part of a picture of the USSR in the last few decades that is fundamentally wrong.

First of all, the decisive turning point in the restoration of capitalism in the

USSR was not August 1991 but 1956, when Khrushchev and his revisionist accomplices seized the reins of the CPSU and reversed its line, thereby overthrowing proletarian power and establishing a new bourgeois dictatorship.

Is this a mere quibble about dates? Only if you think everything that the USSR did for those 35 years is merely worth a "quibble": two generations of Soviet proletarians suffering capitalist exploitation, in the name of socialism, instead of wielding power to uproot exploitation and advance towards classless society; two generations of imperialist bullying and betrayal of revolution and national liberation struggles and even outright neocolonial exploitation worldwide, again in the name of socialism. For those 35 years the crimes of the Soviet revisionist rulers abroad can only be compared to those of their Yankee imperialist rivals, and ranged from their invasion of Prague and their vicious bloody suppression of the Afghani people to their nuclear blackmail of revolutionary China. They were even readying to devastate the world in nuclear war with their US rivals, an imperialist world war to redivide the world, especially the colonies and semi-colonies.

With their view that capitalism

Continued to page 80

The documents reprinted below are from *Rebolusyon*, the theoretical journal of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP). They concern an important rectification movement that the CPP has been waging over the past few years.

The CPP has been part of the worldwide Maoist movement since it was founded in 1969 in the great wave of revolutionary movements inspired by the Cultural Revolution. It was in fact formed directly out of a fierce battle by young revolutionaries against the pro-Soviet revisionist line and leadership that then headed up the CPP. Indeed, the Party calls this the First Great Rectification Movement.

The CPP's founding documents strongly affirmed Mao Tsetung's basic developments of Marxism-Leninism. Amidst a powerful surge of mass rebellions then shaking the Philippines, the CPP launched a People's War against the US-backed Marcos regime.

The People's War continued to advance over the next few years, but soon the Party faced a series of rapid, dramatic changes in the international and national situation, including the reactionary 1976 coup in China and the capture of the Party's founding chairman José Maria Sison and other top leaders. In this difficult situation, the Party began to lose its bearings. For many years no stand was taken against the Deng Xiao-ping regime, and a series of other errors arose, including on military strategy, the united front, and, before long, on such questions as the class nature of the Soviet Union and whether it could be a source of aid to the revolutionary movement. (For more on this, including the CoRIM's Open Letter calling on the CPP comrades to turn back to Mao, see AWTW 1987/8 and AWTW 1988/12.)

By the mid to late 1980s, the situation had grown serious indeed. The Party had been buffeted sharply by an inability to deal correctly with the fall of the Marcos dictatorship and the rise of Cory Aquino, and grave errors had been committed in the handling of inner-party struggle and the struggle against enemy infiltrators in one particular region (referred to in the documents below as the Ajos campaign). Trends even arose to drop Mao Tsetung Thought completely. As the CPP Central Commit-

Rectification Movement in the Putting Mao at

tee itself has now summed up, the very life of the Party was coming under threat.

Not long afterwards, those forces in the Party who had been pushing to support the Soviet Union were dealt a sharp blow by the weakening and then collapse of the revisionist facade there. However, it was not until 1992 that the revolutionary forces were able to bring together the strength and understanding necessary to launch an actual rectification campaign within the Party, led by the Central Committee and its Chairman Liwanag.

The rectification campaign has been leading the cadres in digging out the revisionist influences, and the revolutionary enthusiasm of the comrades has been unleashed. The process is going deeper and further than had been foreseen. The campaign has been waged for five years now and, of course, has been uneven. It has taken many unforeseeable twists and turns, as accounts (reprinted in *Rebolusyon*) by the Party leadership in the regions as well as centrally make clear. In the midst of this process the Party has maintained its national presence and preserved the People's War. This is powerful testimony to the deep roots of Maoism in the ranks of the Party and its supporters.

Revisionist forces within and around the Party taunted the revolutionary comrades for "dogmatically" sticking to the "slow" track of protracted people's war. They promised "quicker, easier" paths to victory, incorporating elements of urban insurrectionism or decisive large-scale military confrontations with visions of international aid. These left-sounding promises hid a thoroughly reformist essence, for, as one critique put it, "they are easier and quicker because they bypass any real revolution". (For more on the line of urban insurrectionism see, *Protracted People's War is the Road to Liberation — A critique of Omar Tupaz's "Toward a Revolutionary Strategy of the 90s"*, Centre for Social Studies, Netherlands. Available from AWTW.) The

right essence of the "left" opportunist line has stood out sharply as the rectification campaign has developed.

Many questions have been battled out, including on the class character of the Philippines, the basic strategy of people's war, the nature of the United Front and many others. But the most important advance achieved by the rectification movement has been bringing the teachings of Mao Tsetung back to the heart of the Party's life. The Maoist teachings on the strategy of people's war and new democratic revolution in particular have been the subject of serious study campaigns carried out in close relationship to summing up practice and carrying out criticism/self-criticism at every level of the Party. The goal of classless society, communism, has been reaffirmed, and revisionism roundly attacked, including the Deng regime in China. AWTW is reprinting these documents with the permission of the CPP to make this important campaign better known to revolutionaries worldwide.

Every revolutionary communist should support this rectification movement in arming the comrades of the CPP with an ever deeper understanding of MLM, so that they are able to further revitalize and propel forward the People's War to defeat the US-backed comprador regime and turn the Philippines into a powerful red base area for the world proletarian revolution. The excerpt from the first document, *Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors*, is from section one "In the Field of Ideology". The other two sections are entitled "In the Field of Politics" and "In the Field of Organization". Similarly, the excerpt from the document by the CC Executive Committee is from section one "Ideological Rectification and Strengthening". The other two sections are entitled, "Advancing the People's Democratic Revolution" and "Consolidating the Organization".

Note: The spelling of proper nouns is as in the original document — AWTW

Communist Party of the Philippines

the Heart of Party Life



ABOVE: Political education in the countryside of the Philippines

RIGHT: Guerrillas of the CPP-led New People's Army



Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Rectify Errors

Central Committee, Communist Party of the Philippines, July 1992

[*Rebolusyon* Editorial Note: This is the final document as amended and approved by the Central Committee of the Party.

....Because this is a summing up of major errors and shortcomings and also a rectification document, there is preponderance of criticism rather than of celebration of the achievements of the Party.

This is the principal document of the on-going rectification movement. It is supplemented by the General Review of Important Events and Decisions (1980 to 1991).]

Let us reaffirm the basic revolutionary principles of the Party on the 23rd anniversary of its re-establishment. These are our guiding light in taking stock of and celebrating the accomplishments of the Party as well as in confronting certain long-running problems and unprecedented setbacks.

Our basic principles are set forth in the documents of re-establishment such as "Rectify Errors and Rebuild the Party", the Party Constitution and Program. As proletarian revolutionaries, we must always measure ourselves according to these principles.

These principles run through the following: adherence to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, repudiation of modern revisionism, the class analysis of Philippine society as semi-colonial and semi-feudal, the general line of new democratic revolution, the leading role of the working class through the Party, the theory of people's war and the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside, the united front along the revolutionary class line, democratic centralism, the socialist perspective and proletarian internationalism.

Through the years, the overwhelm-

ing majority of Party cadres and members have adhered to these basic principles and have won great victories in carrying the Philippine revolution forward. The Party played an outstanding role in the long struggle against the U.S.-Marcos fascist dictatorship up to the end and comprehensively and profoundly advanced the Philippine revolution to a level higher than at any time in the past.

Under the guidance of the Party's general line, correct tactics against the U.S.-Marcos fascist dictatorship, policy on the step-by-step, all-sided and consistent pursuit of the armed revolution and through the courageous struggles and sacrifices by Party cadres and members and by the revolutionary masses, the Party, the people's army, the mass movement and the revolutionary united front reached in the mid-1980s a level unprecedented

in scope and strength since the Party's re-establishment, far beyond the highest level ever achieved by the armed revolution under the leadership of the old merger party.

At the same time, there have been gross deviations and errors which have caused grievous damage to the Party and the revolutionary mass movement. There have also been other errors and shortcomings, which although not as serious, have nonetheless caused damage or served as a drag on the advance of the revolution. Impelled by petit-bourgeois impetuosity and subjectivism in the face of the vigorous advance of the revolution and the rapid decline of the U.S.-Marcos fascist dictatorship, there emerged inside the Party certain concepts of "advancing" the revolution that deviated from the basic principles and the theory and line of people's war, flew away from concrete conditions and the actual strength of the revolutionary forces and over-reached for a quick victory by skipping the necessary stages for advancing the revolution.

The worst among these is the line combining the desire for urban armed insurrection and army "regularization", that in the countryside encouraged military adventurist actions and the purely military viewpoint and, in the cities, actions and ideas of putschism and worship of the spontaneous masses. The obsession with urban insurrection and the premature build-up of higher but as yet unsustainable military formations (companies and battalions) and top-heavy staff structures, deprived the countryside of cadres urgently needed for mass work. These are misrepresented as adjustments or refinements on the theory and practice of people's war or otherwise as a superior theory or strategy. Thus, we are plagued by a reduction of mass base and other concomitant problems that in gravity are also unprecedented in the experience of the re-established Party.

The serious deviations and errors were not identified, criticised and repudiated for a long time. These were allowed to spread and influence a portion of the Party organization and created a great amount of disorientation and damage, and then to harden to the point of rejecting criticism and rectification, and now to a degree these threaten the very life of the Party and the revolutionary movement.

However, the correct line and those who adhere to it still prevail and can further prevail over the wrong line. It should be made clear, however, that we are still far stronger in several respects than in 1968, 1977 or 1980. The entire strength of the Party, the people's army and the mass movement in the countryside and the cities is more or less at the level we reached in 1983 or 1984. If we rectify the deviations and errors and take firm steps towards the correct course, the strength that we have achieved and maintained until today will be sufficient for us to continue advancing towards the last phase of the strategic defensive. There is firm ground for further leading the masses (arousing, organizing and mobilizing them) and launching the offensives (mass actions and armed tactical offensives) that we are capable of.

The enemy was daydreaming when he boasted of being able to defeat the Party and the people in 1992 and 1993. The ruling system is wracked by an ever worsening political and economic crisis. There is increasing violence among the political factions of the exploiting classes. The pre-industrial semi-colonial and semi-feudal economy continues to be plundered by the local exploiting classes and the multinational firms and banks. The crisis drives the broad masses of the people to resistance and provides the fertile ground for the armed revolution and the legal democratic movement.

We must stand firmly as proletarian revolutionaries like the Bolsheviks did when capitalism expanded rapidly to become modern imperialism in the period before World War I and the classical revisionists dominated the Second International and also like the communists did when they fought fascism during another period before, during and after World War II. We must stand firm and fight now in another dark period when capitalism seems to be unchallenged and unbeatable as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the revisionist ruling parties and regimes and their replacement by undisguised bourgeois class dictatorship and capitalist regimes.

The chronic crisis of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal social system is ever worsening and provides the conditions for the development of our protracted armed revolution. We see

the ever-growing contradictions among the capitalist powers; between them and the increased number of debt-ridden neocolonies; between the local ruling classes and their foreign masters on the one hand and the oppressed and exploited peoples and nations on the other and between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

All the counter-revolutionary campaigns of violence and deception will fail if the Party sums up its experience well, criticizes, repudiates and rectifies the major errors and deviations that have seriously damaged the Party and the revolutionary mass movement and now threaten their very life. The Party can further strengthen itself by basing itself on previous and continuing achievements, conducting criticism and self-criticism in an all-round rectification movement and correctly setting forth the new tasks.

In the face of enemy assaults and of deviations and errors that have caused serious damage to the revolutionary forces and the people, we call on all Party cadres and members to reaffirm our basic principles, identify and rectify the major deviations, errors and shortcomings and strengthen our Party ideologically, politically and organizationally.

Despite the adverse results leading to the drastic decline in our strength in certain areas, there are still some elements who persist in their impetuosity and there are others who swing from an ultra-Left position to a Rightist position. It is of crucial importance that we trace the ideological, political and organizational roots of our major errors and shortcomings, understand the circumstances in which these arose and recognize their harmful effects, so that we can correctly take our bearings and strengthen the Party and the revolutionary mass movement.

There can be countless specific achievements and specific problems to cite. But our main objective in this document is to identify, criticize and rectify those major deviations, errors and shortcomings that have had the most considerable impact on the current status and further development of the Party and the revolutionary movement. While we conduct a wide-ranging review and study of our past practice and current circumstances, this is not intended to replace the summings-up and assessments of varying scope

that must still be undertaken.

In general, the Party still has considerable strength and vitality needed to solve the long-running problems and overcome the unprecedented setbacks. We can further strengthen ourselves and carry the revolution forward.

I. IN THE FIELD OF IDEOLOGY

As proletarian revolutionaries, we have availed ourselves of the great treasury of Marxist-Leninist theory and have drawn from it the basic principles that guide our revolutionary cause in the stages of new democratic revolution, socialist revolution and communism. We must continue to do so, or else suffer the fate of the revisionist ruling parties (including their camp followers) that started to revise and depart from basic revolutionary principles more than three decades ago and would eventually disintegrate during these last few years.

Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement. We can persevere in revolutionary struggle, promote the rights and interests of the people, stay on the correct line and win further victories only if we have firm ideological moorings. We must therefore undertake theoretical studies seriously.

Political studies and activism are absolutely necessary in order to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses. But these are not enough. We must not limit ourselves to the study of the national situation from time to time. We also must not swing and sway with the current hype in the bourgeois mass media nor with pressures of unstable and unreliable allies. We must constantly be clear about our theory and our ideas. We must constantly be clear about the interests of the proletariat and the oppressed people in our own country and throughout the world.

We must maintain and further develop our Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method. We must constantly improve our knowledge of the materialist philosophy, historical materialism, political economy, scientific socialism, the new-democratic revolution, party building, people's war and the building of the united front.

Since the re-establishment of the Party, theoretical study has had three levels: the basic level focusing on Philippine history, society and revolution and our own basic documents; the interme-

diated level, on the comparative study of the Philippine revolution with the Chinese and other revolutionary movements, using our seven-volume selections from Mao's works; and the advanced level, on the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist theory, using the most important works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao for reading and study by individual Party members and by Party branches.

But since the late 1970s, we have increasingly departed from the fore-going structure of theoretical education and given less attention to the works of Mao. Writings of lesser importance and lesser relevance to our revolutionary struggle have gained more attention from Party members although in a superficial manner.

Also since the late 1970s, except for the basic Party course and other sporadic educational drives of limited coverage, there has been a gross lack of study courses and study materials for theoretical education at the intermediate and advanced levels. New translations into Pilipino of the basic documents of our Party's re-establishment and other important basic writings were made and distributed in 1981-82 but only in limited number. The works of the great communist thinkers and leaders have also become scarce and unavailable to the Party rank and file.

LOW LEVEL OF THEORETICAL EDUCATION

The undeniable consequence of this neglect of theoretical education is the widespread low level of theoretical knowledge among Party cadres and members, especially among those recruited since the late 1970s. There is a growing failure to evaluate the revolutionary experience of our own Party and people as well as foreign revolutionary experiences, past and current. There is also a growing failure to identify, criticize and combat the petit-bourgeois ideas and influences that emerge inside and outside the Party and are allowed to mislead our Party members and the revolutionary masses. Cadres with a low level of theoretical knowledge have been organizationally promoted and are prone to serious deviations and errors not only in ideology but also consequently in political and organizational work.

There is wide ground for subjectivism, including the dogmatist and

revisionist trends, to arise within the Party. Instead of having a comprehensive, complete and all-sided view of things and theoretical development from a proletarian revolutionary stand, there is a narrow, one-sided and fragmentary view of these, depending on which deviation certain elements wish to promote.

For instance, there are elements who exaggerate the current role of their urban area of work and eclectically take out of historical context certain dramatic events, like the Petrograd and Moscow uprisings, the Vietnamese uprising of 1945, the Tet offensive of 1968 and the Nicaraguan final offensive of 1979 - in order to insist on the "autonomous/specific dynamism of urban struggle" (apart from the entire strategy) and devise a "new strategy" of armed urban insurrection and dogmatically superimpose it on or counterpose it to the entire theory and practice of people's war.

People's war does not exclude armed insurrection at the appropriate time, like the widespread revolutionary uprisings in many Philippine provinces in 1896-98 and 1898-99 against Spanish colonial rule and then against the U.S. war of aggression and those in Central Luzon in late 1944 and early 1945 against the collapsing Japanese forces. In their respective times, the Philippine revolutionary army and the Hukbalahap were the rallying points of the organized and spontaneous masses.

A successful popular insurrection is premised on the disintegration of the counter-revolutionary army and on the existence of a new armed revolutionary force among other factors. To deny the necessity of developing people's war and building the people's army in stages, while the enemy force is still intact and not yet disintegrating, is not only to demagogically take advantage of a natural desire for quick victory but to lead the revolutionary forces to self-destruction.

Even when the wholeness of a certain thing or process is well perceived and even when the two contradictory aspects are recognized, errors have been committed either in identifying which are the principal and the secondary aspects under certain conditions at a given time; or after identifying the principal aspect, in completely or virtually denying the secondary one.

Take for instance the current of thought leading to the boycott error of 1986. The central leadership was correct in declaring that the 1986 snap presidential election was farcical and that Marcos would cheat and win the Comelec count. So up to a given set of circumstances and within a certain period of time, the principal aspect was obviously for Marcos to remain in power. Indeed, Marcos would "win" by Comelec count and Batasang Pambansa (the legislative) proclamation.

But the secondary aspect could rise to the principal position upon a change of circumstances, like the U.S.-engineered military mutiny and the popular uprising that arose due to the convergence of both the organized reactionary forces (including the Catholic Church) and the progressive forces. As early as November 1985, the high potential of the secondary aspect rising to the principal position was already discernible.

In the handling of contradictory aspects, error can also arise from trying to combine or reconcile the principal aspect with the secondary aspect. According to dialectical materialism, an entire thing or process can be understood by knowing both the principal aspect and the secondary aspects or in a complex thing or process, both the principal and the secondary contradictions.

For example, one line is correct, like the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside in accordance with the theory of people's war. Another line is wrong, like aiming for total victory or a share of power with the bourgeoisie soon, without necessarily building the people's army in stages until it is strong enough to smash the bureaucratic-military machinery of the reactionary state in the cities. Thus, Party cadres, including those on the enemy manhunt list, concentrate in urban-based staff organs for the purpose of "preparing" for armed insurrection; and the people's army is pushed to build prematurely and unsustainably large combat formations and top-heavy military staff.

The wrong line is not at all identified as such because it pays lip service to the theory of people's war and the leadership of the Party and also because it uses Party cadres and rides on — even while it undermines — the

existing urban and rural mass base and contains certain elements of short-term validity like more effective offensives by bigger military formations before the mass base is greatly reduced or lost.

Proposals for shifting to an "insurrectionary" strategy or the diminution of importance of base building and the anti-feudal struggle have been rejected, but these have not been thoroughly criticized. Worse, they have been allowed to persist in other guises such as aiming for the decisive victory of the revolution by means of the "strategic counteroffensive" within the strategic defensive and "seizing opportunities" by means of an urban insurrection combined with "regularization" for the strategic counteroffensive.

There is in effect a blending of the correct and wrong lines which allows the latter to make a big headway until the Party wakes up to the ultimate losses. In the absence of a clear and consistent criticism and rejection of what is wrong, the compromise allows the error to work like a parasite on the correct body of principles, the Party, the people's army and the revolutionary mass movement.

The grossest example of failing to recognize the principal and secondary aspects of a certain thing or process pertains to Kampanyang AHOS (the anti-informer hysteria in Mindanao). The grave violations of civil rights, the unjust taking of the lives of comrades and other individuals and the attendant devastation of the revolutionary forces by this campaign are so strikingly clear and revolting. Yet for some time the campaign was deemed correct on the premise that it probably succeeded in eliminating real deep penetration agents even if hundreds upon hundreds of good comrades and innocent people were victimized and killed.

Various reasons which are extraneous or of indirect relevance to the flow of events under the responsibility of the Mindanao Commission from the early 1980s to late 1986 are cited as the basic causes of Kampanyang AHOS. These cut off the real connection among the wrong ideological, political and organizational line; the resultant setbacks; and the anti-infiltrator hysteria. The worst proposition put forward by some elements is that Kampanyang AHOS was a revolutionary success.

PEOPLE'S WAR AND THE TWO-STAGE REVOLUTION

It is not a matter of arbitrary choice that in the structure of theoretical education a large part should be allotted to the study of the works of Mao and the Chinese revolution. Mao represents a stage of theory and practice which is a major development of Marxism-Leninism. His works bring Marxism-Leninism deeper into the East. And these arose from semi-colonial and semi-feudal conditions basically similar to those of the Philippines.

The Chinese and the Vietnamese examples of people's war bear closer relevance to the current people's war in the Philippines than any other armed revolution abroad. These examples demonstrate that the chronic crisis of the semi-feudal conditions is the ground for a protracted people's war and, to this day, they remain the best available and most relevant to our struggle.

We have learned basic principles from the Chinese revolution and Mao's works as the Vietnamese revolutionaries have. We have applied them according to our own conditions, never copying dogmatically nor mechanically any pattern of experience. Let us cite some important differences from the Chinese experience in people's war:

(1) In addition to using the countryside to divide and weaken the forces of the enemy, we have used the archipelagic character of the country to further divide and weaken them.

(2) The Chinese people's army used regular mobile warfare and established extensive base areas during the strategic defensive. Like the Vietnamese, we have done so with guerrilla warfare and guerrilla bases and zones.

(3) A whole period of agrarian revolution involving peasant uprisings and confiscation of land preceded the more successful campaign of rent reduction and elimination of usury during the anti-Japanese struggle. We have pursued what we call the minimum program of the agrarian revolution before the maximum program.

The objective conditions and the subjective forces of the current Philippine revolution are such that it can fulfil the two-stage revolution (new democratic and socialist) first defined by Lenin and elaborated on by Mao.

The Philippine revolution is therefore similar to the Chinese, Vietnamese, Korean, Cuban and other revolutions which could proceed from the new democratic to the socialist stage. In this sense, our revolution belongs to a level higher than that of revolutions that have had to emerge from more backward colonial and even racist political and economic domination (like much of Africa) or those in which the revolutionary leadership is not determined to make a socialist revolution (like in Nicaragua).

The worst kind of dogmatism resulting in the worst damage to the Party is the superimposition of the Sandinista paradigm or some aspects of or events in the Vietnamese revolution outside of their historical context on our successful practice of people's war in order to push for insurrectionism and the unacknowledged revival of the Jose Lava idea of quick military victory to push the purely military viewpoint and military adventurism. The seed ideas for these started to sprout and grow in influence at first within the central leadership in the early years of the 1980s, emerged as a clear insurrectionist line in Mindanao in 1983, and was subsequently propagated on a nationwide scale from the mid-1980s onward within the frame of the program for the "strategic counteroffensive".

In its documents of re-establishment, the Party took into full account the most important and essential facts of Philippine history and circumstances, in the class struggle and revolutionary movement in our country. In the ideological field, the most outstanding achievement of the Party is the integration of Marxist-Leninist theory and concrete Philippine conditions. This involves the identification of the basic conditions and current character of the Philippine revolution, its motive forces and enemies, its strategy and tactics, its tasks and its socialist perspective.

The Party made a criticism of the various subjectivist errors — dogmatist, empiricist or revisionist, and "Left" or Right opportunist — of the previous leaderships of the first Communist Party (1930-38) and the merger party of the Socialist and Communist parties (1938 onward).

Among the major subjectivist and opportunist errors criticized and repudiated was the Jose Lava adventurist

line of quick military victory, building battalions and companies without building (through painstaking mass work) an extensive and deep-going mass base as their foundation. When we forget lessons from our own history, we are bound to repeat the errors.

The line of spontaneous mass uprising and urban armed insurrection looks new and trendy because it flaunts the Sandinista paradigm or some paragraphs taken from some Vietnamese writings. But in fact, this line is also an unacknowledged recycling of the Sakdalista *alsa puto*, which had been correctly criticized and repudiated since the time of Comrade Crisanto Evangelista. As proletarian revolutionaries, we must learn from various revolutionary experiences abroad but we must know how to evaluate them according to their world significance, national context and relevance or applicability to our own people's struggle. It is a manifestation of low theoretical understanding, subjectivism and opportunism to rate any Sandinista leader as more significant or more relevant than Mao in terms of seizing political power and making social revolution. We must read the self-criticism of the FSLN after it lost power after ten years.

We must grasp the fact fully that U.S. imperialism and the reactionary classes in the Philippines are not easy pushovers. Making revolution is not simply a matter of choosing from foreign models the easiest way to seize power. Otherwise, the coup d'etat made by progressive army officers in the Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) would be the best model. Since 1969, it has been necessary to wage a protracted people's war in order to accumulate strength and build the organs of political power in the countryside. To rush the process of ultimately seizing the cities with notions of spontaneous mass uprising and quick military victory is to feed the small fish to the shark, to plunge into setbacks and defeats.

From the mid-1970s onward, there seems to be a penchant among certain cadres for studying Bolshevik history and the works of Lenin. By itself, this is a good thing. It is even better if this is done within the context of our comprehensive theoretical education. But the effort by certain elements to apply the Bolshevik model on the Philippine revolution and at the same time diminish the importance of the works of Mao

Zedong — which are the more relevant to the conditions of the Philippines — has encouraged a trend to deviate from the comprehensive structure of the basic, intermediate and advanced levels of theoretical education.

The apparently avid students of Bolshevik history and Lenin eventually overfocused on the issue of the 1978 and 1986 elections and neatly divided themselves into the boycott and participation sides of the debate. Because the Party was banned by the enemy from participation, the boycott side always came out winner in the internal debates. Despite objections of Party cadres to the formulation of the issue as well as practical suggestions from them, the Party centre did not fully take into account how our Party conducted itself in the 1969 and 1971 elections and, of course, in reactionary institutions and organizations and how the Vietnamese comrades during the Vietnam war overrode the electoral exercises staged by the Saigon regime.

In late 1986 and 1987, there was the promotion of a tactical course on "political leadership" concentrating on Bolshevik history and strategy and tactics and on Lenin's work. The intention was to correct the erroneous application of the strategic and tactical principles of the Bolshevik revolution on the EDSA uprising and the post-EDSA political situation. At the same time, a Leninist course was promoted by the Manila-Rizal Regional Committee among their leading cadres. Because there were practically no other courses undertaken, these courses had the effect of squeezing out the further study of the theory and practice of people's war, encouraging an urban orientation which was used by some elements for pushing the notion of insurrectionism.

Priorly in 1981, a view emerged within the central leadership itself and spread among some parts of the Party that neither the Bolshevik model nor the Chinese model is applicable to the Philippines. This further pushed the tendency to lessen the reading and study of the works of Mao and to deviate from the appropriate structure of our theoretical education.

It was further encouraged by attacks on Mao Zedong in China with regard to the great leap forward and the great proletarian cultural revolution as well as by the lessened

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FOR YOUR REFERENCE

Proposals for the Unification of the International Communist Movement

4 May 1995

The following are excerpts from a document by the Party of Labour of Belgium (PIB) and the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks of the former USSR. This document, which liquidates the dividing line between Marxism and revisionism, is subjected to initial polemics by two articles in this issue, the editorial *Workers of All Countries Unite* and *A New October Requires Maoism*. Further comments from readers are welcome — AWTW

INTRODUCTION

1. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the introduction of naked capitalism in that country and in Eastern Europe, as a consequence of the counter-revolutionary policy of Gorbachev and Yeltsin, represent a turning point in the international situation. It is a victory for imperialism and reaction.

2. These counter-revolutionary events exacerbated all the basic contradictions in the world: the contradictions between the socialist countries and imperialism, the contradictions between the oppressed people in Asia, Africa, Latin America and imperialism, the contradictions between the monopolies and the imperialist powers and the contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The forces of reaction, racism, fascism and war have started their offensive on a world scale.

3. In this situation, parties and organizations that have stayed loyal to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism are trying to draw the lessons from the counter-revolutionary processes which destroyed socialism in the Soviet Union. Faced with the offensive unleashed by the reactionaries, they feel the need to unite for a counter-offensive in favour of the oppressed and exploited masses, in order to keep high the flag of socialism and communism and to restore confidence in the socialist future of mankind for all those who are fighting against capitalism and imperialism.

THE FORMER DIVISIONS BETWEEN MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES CAN BE OVERCOME

1. Since 1956, the International Communist Movement has been divided and has fallen apart. The revisionist line adopted by Khrushchev is the first and main cause of division. Later on, the anti-revisionist movement itself split under the influence of ultra-leftist attitudes.

2. Today, as a result of the restoration of capitalism under Gorbachev, the "pro-Soviet" tendency crumbled into innumerable tendencies. In the sixties, a "pro-Chinese" tendency emerged but split into various tendencies after Mao's death. There has been a "pro-Albanian" tendency, which also split after the collapse of socialism in Albania, and a "pro-Cuban" tendency, mainly in Latin America. Some parties, finally, maintained an "independent" position vis-a-vis the tendencies mentioned.

3. Whatever one's opinion about the correctness or necessity of these splits at a certain point in history, it is nowadays possible to overcome these divisions and to unite the Marxist-Leninist parties, which are divided into different currents.

4. All Parties that remain loyal to Marxism-Leninism are aware that revisionism has weakened and divided the International Communist Movement and that it has finally degenerated into open treason.

5. After the complete restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, all the communists must agree that revisionism is the most dangerous ideological enemy of Marxism-Leninism. Life has proved that revisionism represents the bourgeoisie within the communist movement.

6. In the past, several parties and organizations gathered on the basis of a specific political and ideological orientation. Within the various groupings, some parties succeeded in striking deep roots among the masses, acquired a revolutionary experience of their own, and succeeded in linking Marxism-Leninism to the reality of their country. Within each of these groupings, some organizations have deviated to left or right opportunism, roamed about without a grip on the struggle, and disappeared.

7. In the present situation, all parties that stick to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism feel the need to overcome the former divisions and to unite.

8. Communists must unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. When it comes to uniting on an international level parties and organizations with a quite different history, it is impossible to require ideological unity beforehand. We have to accept that disagreements, however serious they might be, may exist for a long time; we have to accept criticism and counter-criticism, and to preserve unity by keeping in mind the common interests of the whole movement. Upholding both Marxism-Leninism and unity are two aspects of a consistent revolutionary policy.

FIGHTING REVISIONISM AND DEFENDING MARXISM-LENINISM

1. Since it was created in 1919, the International Communist Movement has stirred history and changed the outlook of the world. The Second Congress of the Communist International held in July 1920 adopted a constitution, requirements for admission, a Manifesto and other essential resolutions which characterized the International Communist Movement vis-a-vis social democracy. Until 1956, it maintained its revolutionary orientation and its unity, its strength and its influence in the world never ceased to increase.

2. In order to reappear on the world scene as a significant current, the International Communist Movement must claim this common history.

3. Lenin continued the revolutionary work of Marx and Engels and developed it under the new conditions of imperialism. He drew up the principles of the creation of the Communist Party, elaborated the strategy and the tactics of the socialist revolution and put them into practice. He denounced social democracy as the ideology of the bourgeoisie and of imperialism inside the working class movement. He formulated the guidelines for socialist construction under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He set up the Communist International and defended proletarian internationalism.

4. Stalin applied the Leninist principles and under his leadership the Bolshevik Party transformed a backward and ruined country into an industrialized socialist country. The collectivization and modernization of Soviet agriculture, socialist industrialization, the cultural revolution, the building of strong defence forces, the victory in the patriotic anti-fascist war, the reconstruction of the country and the adoption of a consistent foreign policy defending world peace and supporting the anti-colonial and anti-neocolonial struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America are achievements of historical and worldwide significance.

5. Stalin maintained the idea that class struggle goes on under socialism. He stressed the fact that the old feudal and bourgeois forces didn't cease their fight for restoration, and that the opportunists within the Party, the Trotskyites, the Bukharinists, the bourgeois nationalists and the bureaucratic elements, helped the anti-socialist classes and strata to gather their forces together.

6. Khrushchev imposed a revisionist line on the Soviet Party and part of the International Communist Movement. This line was formulated in his report to the XXth Congress, his secret report on Stalin, and his report to the XXIIInd Congress.

7. In 1956 Khrushchev launched an attack on Stalin's internal and foreign policy in order to change the fundamental ideological and political line of the Party. Subsequently, a gradual degeneration of the political and economic system followed. Khrushchev's theories on the "state of the whole people" and "the party of the whole people" led to the destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a cessation of the class struggle against bourgeois forces and influences. The theory of "cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States in the struggle for peace and security for all peoples" strongly jeopardized the anti-imperialist struggle. The theory of "the parliamentary and peaceful path to socialism" strengthened the social-democrat tendencies within several communist parties.

8. Brezhnev never questioned the revisionist programme of the XXth and XXIIInd Congresses. He even "developed" the thesis on "the state and the party of the whole people", and declared that the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union was no longer possible. He destroyed all revolutionary vigilance and let bureaucratism, technocratism, careerism and corruption develop. In regard to other communist parties and socialist countries, he often applied a policy of intrusion and control.

9. Under Gorbachev and Yeltsin, revisionism was pushed to its final consequences, the Soviet Union was dismantled and a "wild" capitalism was installed.

10. In the whole world, the bourgeoisie celebrates the defeat of socialism. In fact, we have witnessed the defeat of the revisionism that Khrushchev initiated 35 years ago. This revisionism ended in complete economic failure, in capitulation to imperialism, in capitalist restoration, social catastrophe and reactionary civil wars.

11. Khrushchev started his destructive work by alleging that his criticisms of Stalin's errors were aimed at restoring Leninism in its original purity. Gorbachev made the same demagogical promises to disorient the leftist forces. But the criticism of "Stalinism" was only a trick to camouflage attacks on all Marxist-Leninist principles. The day Gorbachev completely destroyed "Stalinism", he declared his open hostility to Leninism and his adherence to social democracy.

12. The discussion about the experience of the CPSU under Stalin must be reopened inside the International Communist Movement. Anti-Stalinism has been the Trojan horse for anti-communism, introduced in the ranks of the International Communist Movement.

13. For a certain period of time, there will

continue to be differences in the assessment of the different policies put into effect by comrade Stalin. These discussions should be dealt with in a scientific manner and on the basis of a revolutionary class perspective.

14. History shows that, after the XXth Congress of the CPSU, the majority of communist parties strongly underestimated Khrushchev revisionism.

15. In the sixties, Mao Zedong and Enver Hoxha were best able to grasp the dangers of revisionism. Ho Chi Minh, Kim Il Sung, Che Guevara and other communist leaders made important contributions to the fight against revisionism.

16. In the light of the degeneration of the Soviet Union there is a need to re-evaluate the work of comrade Mao Zedong. By leading the national democratic revolution and by transforming it into a socialist revolution in a large Third World country, he made a contribution of worldwide significance. Mao Zedong resisted Khrushchev and later on Brezhnev's revisionism. He made the first attempt in history to bring the masses into the fight against degenerative tendencies within the Party.

17. Different opinions in the International Communist Movement on the merits of Mao Zedong will remain for a certain time; they must be approached scientifically, seeking truth from facts and in a revolutionary class spirit.

18. The ideological struggle against revisionism is a complex and prolonged task. Revisionism, which destroyed so many parties, will not disappear spontaneously. Tito's revisionism had been criticized by the International Communist Movement as early as 1948. Khrushchev, in developing his opportunist course, did no more than refurbish Tito's revisionist ideas. If revisionist ideas and theses are not analyzed and criticized in depth, they will continue to exist and liquidationist currents can strike again and claim new victims. The relationship between the lines of Khrushchev and Brezhnev and the policies of Gorbachev must be analyzed in detail, as well as the development of the degenerative process from its origins until its outburst.

19. The pernicious influence of revisionism facilitated a revival of social democracy (a bourgeois trend) and Trotskyism (an anti-communist trend). Struggle against the social democratic and Trotskyist ideologies is a condition for the development of the Marxist-Leninist movement.

FIGHTING SPLITISM AND MAINTAINING UNITY

1. Khrushchev started to destroy the unity of the International Communist Movement by cutting all relations with those parties that opposed his revisionism. In some countries, where the leadership was following Khrushchev's revisionism, it was

correct for the communists to set up new Marxist-Leninist parties.

2. But subsequently, sectarianism and ultra-leftism resulted in innumerable unjustified splits. Real differences were exaggerated to the point of antagonism and split. There have been important ideological and political conflicts about Czechoslovakia in 1968, Cambodia in 1979, Afghanistan in 1980, the liquidation of the tendency around Chiang Ching in 1976, the Three Worlds Theory in 1977, the line of Deng Xiaoping in the early 1980s, and so on.

3. All these conflicts were important. Fundamental disagreements have to be clarified, but it requires time and a serious materialist and dialectical analysis and debate. Each party should seriously study the different colliding points of view and formulate its own point of view while preserving the unity of the movement.

4. Every party applies the Marxist-Leninist principles to the present reality according to its own conception. Nobody can demand concessions on questions judged to be questions of principle. Every party defines its policy in complete independence. But this doesn't contradict the duty to maintain the unity of the International Communist Movement, for this unity is also a question of principle of first importance.

5. The habit of the CIA and other secret services to exploit disagreements between communist parties is very well documented. The enemy is aware of the importance of unity among communists and often supports all centrifugal tendencies, sponsoring at the same time right revisionism and leftist positions, in order to accelerate divisions and splits.

6. By safeguarding the movement's unity, each party will be able to learn more and faster. We can learn not only from the parties with which we generally agree, but also from those with whom we have major differences.

7. First of all, our judgment can be wrong. Secondly, experience has taught that parties can draw lessons from certain aspects of the mass work, the experiences, the theoretical work, and so on of parties with whom we have differences.

Thirdly, fundamental disagreements must not preclude certain forms of cooperation and common struggle in regards to racism, trade union rights, anti-imperialist struggle, etc.

Fourthly, we must take possible developments into account. Some parties with which we disagree may correct themselves, or some factions may develop positively.

Finally, the parties with which we disagree may degenerate completely, and openly turn to the bourgeoisie. Maintaining relations with such parties can teach us many useful lessons by negative example..... ■

"Naxalbari Zindabad!" means

Thirty years ago, the armed rebellion of the peasants of Naxalbari, a village in the State of West Bengal, sparked off a revolutionary conflagration in India. Centuries-old shackles of oppression and exploitation were attacked. Revisionist appeals to continue living as obedient slaves were scornfully ignored. The poor and downtrodden peasants dared to seize political power and expropriate the fruits of their toil from the hated feudal landlords.

Naxalbari literally shook up the whole country. The pent-up fury of the lowest of the low in Indian society, of *Adivasis* and *Dalits* (tribals and "untouchables" of caste society) besides other poor and landless peasants, burst out as raging storms of revolution in numerous places all over the country. The gusty winds of Naxalbari blew away a decades-old revisionist stench and stirred up hundreds of cadres trapped in parties like the CPI and CPM¹ into rebellion. In Calcutta and a number of smaller industrial centres whole sections of workers and the urban poor broke away from trade unionist hacks. A large number threw themselves into battle, fighting in the van of armed agrarian revolution as class-conscious proletarians. People from all walks of life, professionals, academics and others, joined the revolutionary festival of the masses. Naxalbari swept across a whole generation of youth and students and

channelled the revolutionary vigour of thousands of youth fired by communist ideals of serving the people and self-sacrifice for the cause of revolution.

Despite long spells of revisionist domination before Naxalbari, the communist movement in India also had an inspiring history of revolutionary struggle. Notable was the five-year-long Telengana armed struggle of the late '40s which succeeded in establishing red power in hundreds of villages during its high tide but was later betrayed by the CPI leadership. Groups of revolutionaries had sided with Mao Tsetung in the struggle against Soviet revisionism. But Naxalbari marked a leap. It was the product of a conscious grasp of Mao Tsetung Thought as a qualitatively new stage of Marxism-Leninism and its application to Indian conditions in initiating the revolutionary armed struggle of the masses. This is the distinct and key element which catapulted Naxalbari into centre stage. Led by Charu Mazumdar, a group of revolutionary cadre within the CPM organization in Darjeeling district had consciously fought to deepen the struggle against revisionism and centrism. Drawing valuable lessons from the ideological struggle led by Mao Tsetung against Khrushchevite revisionism and further from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, Charu Mazumdar succeeded in making a thorough rupture with revisionism (including recognizing the then-existing Soviet Union under revisionist leadership as an enemy) and launching the armed agrarian revolution aimed at the seizure of political power bit by bit through the path of protracted People's War. Naxalbari

was seen as part of the world proletarian revolution. It fuelled revolutionary struggle in other countries in the region and received enthusiastic support from the Communist Party of China and other proletarian revolutionaries the world over.

Naxalbari raised the process of rupturing from the revisionists and forging a genuine communist vanguard to a new and higher level. In 1969 the bold step was taken of forming the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) under the leadership of Charu Mazumdar. The founding congress of the CPI (ML), held in 1970 amidst the advance of the armed struggle, adopted a program which characterized Indian society as semi-feudal, semi-colonial and identified the targets of revolution as feudalism, comprador-bureaucrat capitalism, imperialism and social-imperialism (as represented by the then-existent Soviet bloc). It laid down the tasks in the stage of New Democratic revolution and the path of protracted People's War.

Revolution is not a dinner party but, as Mao put it, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another. The new vanguard had to be forged in and through the intense revolutionary upheaval unfolding in large parts of India. Deeply entrenched revisionist thinking and styles of work had to be continuously fought out, thousands of youth had to be remoulded and trained as proletarian fighters and leaders, the wealth of experience gained at the cost of blood had to be synthesized to develop the line and raise the level of the party's work — and all of this had to be done while making bold advances in the armed struggle and fighting off the

¹ Communist Party of India, CPI, the pro-Soviet revisionist party in India. Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPM) is a centrist split-off from the CPI in 1963 which criticized the CPI and Khrushchev as revisionist but which never adopted a genuine revolutionary program.

"It's Right to Rebel!"

murderous suppression of the enemy. The loss of a number of experienced cadres in the early days of the new party evidently put a big strain on its capacity to tackle these tasks. Serious difficulties caused by setbacks were further compounded by a rightist wind which tried to reverse the correct orientation of the party, seizing on some real weaknesses in its line and practice.

Much has been said about the so-called "sectarianism" and "adventurism" of Charu Mazumdar which supposedly "isolated" the party from the masses and caused setbacks. Yes, elements of one-sidedness, spontaneity and subjectivism which run counter to Charu Mazumdar's overall Marxist-Leninist-Maoist stand, viewpoint and method are evident in his works. But what strikes one most forcefully while reading them now is the resolute clarity in his criticism of revisionism, a keen grasp of the key question of seizing power, deep faith in the masses and robust revolutionary optimism. Far from isolation, his leadership deeply entrenched the party among the masses and created a vast reservoir of support which is still being tapped by genuine revolutionaries. His name continues to haunt the ruling classes and inspires revolutionaries.

Following the dastardly murder of Charu Mazumdar in 1972 by the Indian rulers abetted by the CPI-CPM revisionists, the CPI(ML) failed to continue as a single, united party. Since then there has been a lot of struggle over the summation of experiences and attempts to unite. The 1976 capitalist roaders' coup in China caused new divisions, greatly strengthened the rightist tendencies in the

CPI(ML) and added complexities. But it also created important and new obligations and opportunities to deepen the grasp of ideology which in turn could give a new thrust to the struggle for a correct summation and unity. Unfortunately these opportunities were either missed, or ended up misused in cases where they were initially begun. Over the past years the genuine revolutionary forces have developed a better understanding of the significance of the internationalist struggle to defend Mao Tsetung's qualitative development of Marxism-Leninism to a whole new stage and to fight the capitalist usurpers in China initially led by Hua Kuo-feng and Deng Xiao-ping as well as Hoxhaite revisionist attacks on it. Yet this issue, which has direct implications for successfully completing the task of uniting Maoist revolutionary forces into a single centre, still remains to be fully resolved.

During this whole period, revolutionary forces who were part of the united CPI(ML) as well as others have heroically continued to hold high the red banner of Naxalbari. In Andhra, Bihar and Dandakaranya² armed revolutionary struggle has made significant advances, won wide-spread support from the masses of people and accumulated important experience.

Over the past 30 years the conditions which made the armed agrarian rebellion of Naxalbari possible and necessary have ripened even more. Aggressive imperialist penetration in all sectors of the economy coupled with the exploitation and oppression of the Indian ruling classes is causing

² A vast forest region comprised of parts of four states in central India.

an all-round intensification of the misery of the masses. Most importantly, it is calling forth resistance and struggle, including armed struggle, in diverse regions and sectors of society. Divisions among the ruling classes are increasing. Moreover, the initiation of People's War in neighbouring Nepal by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) gives a direct and intensifying impetus to revolutionary ferment within India.

This situation clearly demands a daring and mighty push to unite the communist revolutionaries into a single centre based on a correct Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line capable of uniting and leading all the streams of revolt and struggle into a mighty People's War. In the struggle to achieve this goal, which necessarily implies a synthesis of the rich experiences of the past 30 years, the revolutionary communist forces in India can and must draw strength from the experience of the whole class internationally, especially the higher understanding concentrated in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Concretely this means fighting to forge a single vanguard party united in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

Proletarian revolutionaries throughout the world cannot afford the slightest indifference to the advances and difficulties of our comrades in India. In the first issue of this journal we pointed out that: "If you are talking about world revolution, you are talking about India." *In the diverse languages of India, "Naxalbari Zindabad!" means "Long Live Naxalbari!"* But, for the oppressed in India and beyond, it also means "It's Right to Rebel!" ■

We have received a number of statements or calls which were issued in early 1997 by Maoist Parties or Organizations of India on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Naxalbari rebellion. Excerpts from these are given below. — *AWTW*

Let the War Cry of Naxalbari Reverberate Ever More!

Central Organizing Committee, Maoist Unity Centre, CPI(ML)

[MUC, CPI(ML) was formed on 22 April 1997 through the merger of the Kerala Communist Party and the Maharashtra Communist Party. These two organizations were formed after the liquidation of the Central Reorganization Committee, CPI(ML) when these comrades waged a resolute struggle against the liquidationist line of K. Venu. The MUC has then regrouped through the said merger by carrying out a thorough rupture from the revisionist line of K. Venu and with the perspective of reorganizing the CPI(ML) on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The MUC, CPI(ML) upholds the *Declaration of RIM* and RIM's 1993 resolutions "*Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*" and "*On the World Situation*".]

Thirty years have passed since the revolutionary call to arms sounded from the village of Naxalbari. Its message was loud and clear — destroy the reactionary state by the force of arms; build the new state led by the proletariat which alone can guarantee an end to the exploitation and domination suffered by the oppressed masses.

India since Naxalbari has never been the same. Whether it be the struggle of Dalits against inhuman caste oppression; the struggle of oppressed nationalities against Indian domination; the struggle of women for emancipation; the struggle in academic circles for a materialist analysis of society; the struggle in the realm of culture for anti-imperialist, anti-feudal art and literature; or the struggle for basic democratic rights; Naxalbari marked a turning point and a brilliant

revolutionary inspiration. It was always present, but at times indirectly, despite the blood bath of the reactionary state. The oppressed had stood up to overturn this world. For the first time they were led by a conscious grasp of proletarian ideology, developed under the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar and the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)(CPI(ML)).

Naxalbari hoisted the red flag of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought (today Maoism), the resolute enemy of all sorts of revisionism and centrism which dilute and shackle the revolutionary course. Naxalbari drew on the advanced lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China led by Mao Tsetung. With this conscious grasp of ideology, the bow twangs of peasant revolutionaries in Naxalbari reverberated as mighty peals of spring thunder throughout India and even abroad.

Naxalbari firmly declared "No to elections; yes to people's war!" and broke away from the Communist Party Marxist/Communist Party of India parliamentary cretins and class collaborationists. It gained this firmness by breaking away from economism — the thinking which refuses to put the seizure of political power at the centre and always chants "first land then power" and ultimately ends up in the mire of reformism. Naxalbari marked the stage of New Democratic Revolution, directed against imperialism, the Savarna comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and feudalism. Naxalbari laid down the path of people's war and the basis of a united front for seizing power through

agrarian revolution, with worker-peasant unity as its axis. It inspired thousands of youth to go to the villages.

They did not follow the Gandhian path of engaging in reformism and sharing in reactionary power but integrated with the real toilers on the land, joining them in overturning this world of oppression and exploitation. Above all, Naxalbari gave the toiling masses their vanguard party, the CPI(ML).

Thirty years have passed; thirty more years of imperialist exploitation; thirty more years of the rotten all-India ruling class and the wretched parades of its political parties. It is high time to fully reclaim the heritage of Naxalbari, to unite all forces and struggles led by revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties into a mighty torrent of New Democratic Revolution, as predicted by Naxalbari. In order to fully realize the immortal words of Comrade Charu Mazumdar — "Naxalbari has never died, it will never die" — it is time to go all-out.

**Let the War Cry of Naxalbari
Reverberate Ever More!**

**Seize Political Power Through
Armed Agrarian Revolution!**

**Red Salutes to the Martyrs of
Naxalbari!**

**Red Salutes to Comrade Charu
Mazumdar!**

**Unite and Reorganize the
CPI(ML) on the Basis of
Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**

25 May 1997

Three Decades of Naxalbari!

Intensify the Struggle Against Parliamentary Politics! Hold High the Banner of Agrarian Revolution and Protracted People's War!

Maoist Communist Centre (MCC)

[The Maoist Communist Centre has its origin identified with the Naxalbari uprising and had been part of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionaries who rebelled against the revisionist line that dominated the Indian communist movement in that period. MCC is one stream of Maoists in India who, due to disagreements regarding the process of party building, did not join in forming the CPI(ML) in 1969 and for many years has been carrying out armed struggle separately, mainly in Bihar. MCC also calls for the unity of all Maoist revolutionary forces in India under a single centre.]

1. Thirty years have passed since the great rebellion of Naxalbari. The red flames of Naxalbari continue to shine still brighter only by overcoming many complex and difficult situations. Different corners of India resound to the slogan: "Naxalbari the Only Path".

2. In the concrete conditions of India the only meaning of "Naxalbari the Only Path" is armed agrarian revolution and protracted people's war as the only path for emancipation. Raising the slogan of "Naxalbari Zindabad" means to rebel against the existing law and constitution, i.e. the present system, by dealing hard blows against revisionism and going all out for building a peoples' army and base areas and for the area-wise capturing of power by proclaiming a boycott of elections. The essence of forward along the path of Naxalbari is to advance by applying Mao's line for the concrete analysis of the concrete conditions of India and in accordance with the uneven economic and political development of semi-colonial and semi-feudal India. The three decades since Naxalbari have established that no single advance in Indian revolution is possible without Mao's line....

4. If one does not try to deny the facts of history, one has to recognize that since the Seventh Congress of the CPI(M) in 1964, a number of comrades (notable were Com. Kanai Chatterjee, Com. Amullya Sen and Com. Charu Mazumdar) carried out fierce struggle against the revisionist line of the leadership in that party. It is in the course of the battle between these two ideologies and paths that the torch extinguished in Telengana was rekindled in Naxalbari... Naxalbari was the practical expression of the revolutionary line that had been developed through the long existent two-line struggle in the communist movement in this country and inspired by the international Great Debate against revisionism....

8. Due to differences regarding the process and method of building the party we had decided that it would be correct not to join CPI(ML) and later we renamed our organization (which had been known as "Chinta" and "Dakhsin Desh" group since the beginning [of struggle against the revisionist line in CPM in mid-'60s — translator]) as the Maoist Communist Centre on 20 October 1969....

10. It is clear that, as a result of the split of CPI(ML) into numerous groups and their practice of different lines and activities for the last 26 years, the very fundamental line that was established by Naxalbari faces challenges even after three decades. Under such a situation today's debates over ideological and political questions no longer stand at the same point as they did [thirty years before — tr.]. It is not possible to determine by using old criteria who is correct and who is wrong, and who is following the correct line of Indian revolution and who is not. Today it is no longer enough to have a formalistic agreement regarding the nature of the Indian state, the friends and enemies

of revolution, "armed agrarian revolution and protracted peoples war" as the path of revolution, etc., rather the essential point is whether or not [one] has practised these.

11. There is no doubt that a correct Marxist-Leninist line and a correct Marxist-Leninist military line can only be built through the course of struggle, and of course not isolated from struggle. This is completely true. But this does not mean that one has to grope in the dark. In fact it is impossible to lead revolutionary enthusiasm and the initiative of millions of the masses and to carry forward the real significance of Naxalbari towards a definitive goal without a systematic line, policy, plan and method....

13. Today a good many are able to realize how important and urgent is the task of uniting the genuine communist revolutionaries under a single centre, i.e. to build a single communist party. The particularity of the present national and international situation has helped bring this necessity to the level of realization. Now discussions are underway among various groups for such a unity. We too are carrying out such discussions and will continue to do so....

17. In order to forge unity it is necessary to emphasize the questions on which there exists disagreement. It is imperative to correctly understand where the disagreements lie and to go deeply into those questions. It is necessary to emphasize discussions not only from the ideological and political point of view but also from the practical point of view.

As an inseparable part of the efforts for unity, highest stress must be given to ideological and political struggle against and discussions on "left" and "rightist", especially rightist line. In order to accomplish this successfully we have to clearly identify the main

questions on which rightist line is expressing itself in words and deeds — and clearly identify the roots of rightist ideology.

18. We have to keep in mind that the opportunists never stick to the same position. This is equally true for parliamentary capitulationism. They will again and again change colour and tactics. Due to this, the struggle against their ideology is bound to be protracted....

19. If we are to carry forward the fundamental line established by the great struggle of Naxalbari through a complex and difficult situation that still prevails three decades since Naxalbari then we must carry out resolute struggle against the above wrong tendencies. Only through carrying out that kind of ideological and political struggle can today's agrarian revolutionary red resistance struggle march forward. In today's situation the most positive element is that, in different parts of India, revolutionary struggle, i.e. armed resistance struggles of the peasants under the leadership of a number of communist revolutionary groups, are increasingly developing to higher stages by combating the "encircle and suppression" campaigns by the enemy. Most vivid of the examples are those of Bihar, Andhra and Dandakaranya. Resistance struggles are also advancing in many other places in West Bengal, Orissa, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, etc. In these areas, especially in Bihar, Andhra and Dandakaranya, the main target of peasant struggles is to smash feudal power and to establish peasant's power.... The peasants are ... building self-defence forces, guerrilla squads and guerrilla armies. They are using the hills and forest areas as their base for carrying out their main activities....

It can be said with much confidence that this stream of armed struggle of Bihar, Andhra and Dandakaranya is the main stream for advancing the Indian revolution.

20. On this occasion of three decades of Naxalbari, we call upon: Intensify the struggle against parliamentary politics and capitulationism, hold high the banner of agrarian revolution and protracted people's war. Build a genuine and single communist party unifying all the genuine communist revolutionaries through a correct process and method.

Let us always hold high the red flag of Naxalbari by carrying out relentless struggle against revisionism. ■

Carry Forward the Legacy Guerrilla Zones

[In the process of reorganizing different splinter groups of CPI(ML) in the late '70s, the Andhra Pradesh State unit together with a number of groups united and formed CPI(ML) (PW) on 22 April 1980 and has been carrying out armed struggle notably in Andhra Pradesh (AP) and Dandakaranya. Since its formation, the CPI(ML)(PW) has called for the unity of all Maoist revolutionary forces in India under a single centre.]

It is May 23, 1967, in a tiny village of Naxalbari area. The landless and poor peasants of Jharugaon village raised their bow and arrows. The attacking police hordes were met with a shower of arrows, spears, stones. An inspector was killed, the rest fled. The Naxalbari armed struggle that was to become a historic turning point in Indian politics, had begun.

...It was, as Charu Mazumdar said, not merely a struggle for land, but a struggle for the seizure of political power, a struggle for liberation. This is what distinguished Naxalbari from all earlier peasant uprisings.

The Communist Party of India (CPI), which came into existence at the Kanpur Conference in 1925 and held its first Congress in 1943, had always pursued a class collaborationist line of achieving Indian independence through the Indian National Congress.... The heroic Telengana armed struggle was betrayed by the CPI leadership in 1951 and from then on revisionism ruled the roost for over 15 years....

Throughout 1964 and 1965 Charu Mazumdar (popularly known as CM) did a detailed study of the Chinese revolution and Mao's thought. In 1965 the first few of his "Historic Eight

Documents" appeared.... The last of CM's "Eight Documents" appeared in April 1967, on the eve of the Naxalbari uprising, entitled "It is only by fighting modern revisionism, that the peasant struggle will have to be taken forward."

Throughout 1966 the ground work was prepared for the armed conflict... and the peasant convention held on March 18, 1967, was the signal for the upsurge. Until mid-July the movement advanced like a tornado, and *kisan* (peasant) committees came up to take possession of the land of the *jotdars*. Land was seized, food grains confiscated and the armed gangs of the landlords smashed....

Though the Naxalbari uprising was crushed, the Naxalbari line spread to all corners of the country.... The Indian political scene was never the same again....

With Naxalbari, a party of a new type, a genuine Bolshevik Party was born.... [T]he Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) was formed on April 22, 1969... the Eighth Congress... on May 15-16, 1970 in Calcutta... elected a 21-member Central Committee... with Com. Charu Mazumdar as the General Secretary.

Naxalbari and the CPI(ML) drew a clear line of demarcation between Marxism and revisionism. It put armed struggle onto the agenda of Indian revolution....

Naxalbari took place at a time when not only the Indian masses were getting disillusioned by the twenty years of fake independence, but at a time when the entire world was in turmoil.... In the communist arena, all parties throughout the world were compelled to take positions in the Great Debate, between the CPC and

Hail the Thirtieth Anniversary of Historic Naxalbari!

of Naxalbari by Building and Base Areas!

Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (People's War) [CPI(ML) (PW)]

the CPSU, which had been going on since Khrushchev restored capitalism in the USSR in the late 1950s. Naxalbari was a product and a part of this ideological-political ferment taking place throughout the globe.

Naxalbari restored the revolutionary essence of Marxism on the Indian soil which had been distorted, corrupted and destroyed by the revisionist semantics of the CPI and the CPI [Marxist] (CPM). On the question of programme... it outlined the stage of revolution as New Democratic, the enemies of revolution as imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capital, while the friends of revolution were the workers, peasants, middle-classes and national bourgeoisie — with peasants as the main force and workers as the leading force. This clear class analysis was of historic importance....

On the question of tactics it rejected parliamentarianism and called for the boycott of elections. It fought against economism, legalism and reformism, in methods of work and organization. It set about building a strictly underground, Bolshevik-type Party.... The CPI(ML) emerged as a Bolshevik-type Party equipped to lead the class struggle for the seizure of political power.

On the question of the path of revolution... It clearly stated that the path to liberation lay in building a peoples' army, creating liberated base areas in the countryside and gradually encircling and capturing the cities. It also stated that the democratic revolution is only the first step in the long period of transition to socialism and communism.

...Internationally it pin-pointed the two super-powers, US imperialism

and Soviet social imperialism, as the main enemies of the world's people, and China as the centre of world revolution. Within the country, it upheld the right of the Indian nationalities to self-determination including secession; it also exposed Indian expansionism of the Indian ruling classes, which, in fact, has been fully supported by the CPI/CPM.

Most important of all, in the realm of ideology, it uncompromisingly fought against revisionism and strongly upheld Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as Marxism of the present day. Particularly, it established Mao's Thought as a development of Marxism-Leninism and undertook a massive campaign to popularize it....

Though later, some tactical errors and a massive offensive by the enemy led to a temporary setback, Naxalbari made an indelible impact on the revolutionary movement in the country....

Though the spark of Naxalbari was never extinguished in these three decades of its existence, the post-1972 period witnessed severe setbacks. And with these setbacks there emerged three distinct trends in the Marxist-Leninist movement in India with each seeking to rebuild the movement along its own line....

...The Andhra Pradesh unit developed into the CPI(ML) (People's War)....

The Andhra State unit put forward a detailed review of the past errors of the movement while upholding its positive aspects. And it was based on their review that new tasks were formulated by which the movement first revived, and then grew into a major force....

With the growing intensity of the

movement the government unleashed massive repression on the mass movement and two [areas] were declared a "disturbed area" giving the police draconian powers....

By 1979 the movement had reached a stage, where advance meant, taking on not only the landlords but also the police and paramilitary forces....

But from mid-1985 the scale of repression took a qualitative turn... it was an all-out attack on the party. This massive onslaught called for new political, organizational and military initiatives....

The CPI(ML) (PW) in May 1985 gave a call for a "war of self-defence" to defeat the enemy's new offensive... by consistent efforts, by 1988, the initiative was regained....

Anyway, seeing this large mobilization the government once again stepped up repression and by 1991, the second round of suppression was on a scale even larger than in 1985....

In the last three to four years, to varying degrees these tasks have been initiated and the consolidation of the guerrilla zone is in process in NT and DK, while in the three regions of the East Zone, South Telengana and the Nallamala forest region which are at the preparatory stage of guerrilla zone, too, this process is going on. Also while the mass struggles have continued in spite of the repression, the military capabilities have vastly improved....

Today, while commemorating 30 years of Naxalbari, while remembering the thousands of heroic martyrs who have laid down their lives for revolution — it is important to remember Mao's three "Magic Weapons" and learn to wield them effectively. ■

From the Pioneer of Maoism in India

Selections from Eight Documents
by Charu Mazumdar

DOCUMENT FIVE

WHAT POSSIBILITY IS THE YEAR 1965 INDICATING?

There are some comrades who get scared at the mentioning of armed struggles, and go on seeing the spectre of adventurism. They think that the work of building a revolutionary party has ended with the very adoption of the programme; in other words with the adoption of the programme, that is the strategic documents at the Seventh Congress of the Party. Merely from some resolutions on movements adopted at the Party Congress, they arrived at the decision as if besides the present stage of revolution and the class composition, the tactics of the present era had also been decided at the Seventh Congress. From their words, it appears as if peaceful mass movement itself is the main tactics of struggle of the present era. Although they do not openly state Khrushchev's tactics of peaceful transition to socialism, what they want to say almost amounts to the same thing. They want to say that there is no possibility of revolution in India in the near future. So at present, we shall have to move along the peaceful path. In the era of worldwide struggle against revisionism, they cannot openly state the revisionist decisions. But they are abusing as adventurist and police spies anyone who is speaking of armed struggle. Yet, even if we leave out the mass movement of Kashmir, the government has killed at least 300 people during the last eight months, the number of prisoners have risen to several thousands and, one after another, the states have been shaken by mass movements. What programmes are we placing before these agitators? Nothing! On the other hand we are dreaming — under our leadership organized peaceful mass movements will grow up. This itself is a shameless instance of revisionism. We are still unable to realize that in the present era we cannot build up peaceful mass movements. For the ruling class is not giving us and will not give us such an opportunity. We should have drawn this very lesson from the tram fare resistance movement. But we are not taking that lesson. We have become anxious to organize satyagraha movements, we are not realizing that in the present era



Comrade Charu Mazumdar

this satyagraha movement is bound to fail. It does not mean that satyagraha movements are altogether outmoded today. All types of movements have to be carried on at all ages — but the form of the main movement depends on the ruling class. The present feature of our age is that the government is fighting every movement by violent attacks. So for the people, the armed resistance movement has appeared as the most important necessity. So in the interest of mass movements, the call should be given to the working class, the fighting peasantry and every fighting people: (1) Take to arms; (2) Form armed units for confrontation; (3) Politically educate every armed unit. Not to give this call means pushing without any consideration the unarmed masses to death. The ruling class wants that, for in this way they can break the strength of mind of the fighting masses. The agitated masses today attack railway stations, police stations, etc. Innumerable agitations are bursting forth upon government buildings, or on buses, trams and trains.

DOCUMENT SIX

**"THE MAIN TASK TODAY IS THE STRUGGLE
TO BUILD UP THE TRUE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY
THROUGH UNCOMPROMISING STRUGGLE
AGAINST REVISIONISM"**

12 AUGUST 1966

The Party leaders, after long imprisonment, after the Party Congress, for the first time had a session of the full Central Committee. The central leadership of the party which was formed through struggles against revisionism, adopted an ideological resolution and declared bluntly that all the criticisms made against the Indian government by the great Chinese party were wrong. At the same time they have stated in the resolution that criticism of the Soviet revisionist leadership should not be made public now, as otherwise the people's faith in socialism will decrease. That is, the mask must not be torn off the attempt that is being made by the Soviet revisionist leadership in collaboration with the US imperialism to establish world hegemony.

The leader of the great Chinese revolution, the Communist Party of China, and its leader comrade Mao Tsetung, are leading today the proletariat and revolutionary struggles of the world. Comrade Mao Tsetung has today filled Lenin's position. So the struggle against revisionism cannot be carried out and the purity of Marxism-Leninism cannot be maintained by opposing the Chinese party and comrade Mao Tsetung. By opposing the Chinese party, the Indian party leadership has forsaken the revolutionary path of Marxism-Leninism. They are trying to pass off revisionism by putting it into a new bottle. So Party members should understand this clearly today that in the struggle against revisionism, this Party leadership is not at all our comrade-in-arms, not even an associate.

Continued to page 40

Charu Mazumdar

“And then, like a crash of spring thunder exploded the Naxalbari struggle in 1967. People all over India listened to its reverberations and tried to understand its significance, its message. The revisionist leadership of the party had repeatedly asked them to believe that the Thought of Chairman Mao Tsetung was unsuitable for India, that armed struggle could not be waged in India, and that any talk of armed struggle would lead to the destruction of the people’s fighting organizations. And then, the people, who were being harangued like this, saw for the first time the application of Mao Tsetung Thought in Naxalbari. This helped them to understand that all-conquering Mao Tsetung Thought cannot only be applied in India but is the only road to their liberation.”

— *The New Year Holds Promise of Still Bigger Victories*, 29 December 1969

“Naxalbari has taught us that revisionism can be opposed only by propagating Mao Thought, that it is possible to arouse the peasantry to grasp Mao Thought, and that Mao Thought will firmly grip the minds of the peasant masses.”

— *Indian Revolution in Marxist-Leninist Perspective*, October 1969

“And what constitutes our ‘material’? Dynamite, explosives and fire-arms? Certainly not. Man is the main material in a revolutionary war. Once inspired with the revolutionary theory, that is, Mao Tsetung Thought, men turn into spiritual atom bombs which are more powerful than thousands of atom bombs. Ours is a country of 500 million people. Once we can rouse them with Mao Tsetung Thought so that they participate in revolutionary activity, we shall be able to put into effect all kinds of daring plans, carry the revolutionary war against the war of aggression through to victory, and even face a nuclear war.”

— *Make the 1970s the Decade of Liberation*, February 1970

“...[T]oday when we have got the brilliant Thought of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the highest stage of the development of Marxism-Leninism, to guide us, it is imperative for us to judge everything anew in the light of Mao Tsetung Thought and build a completely new road along which to press ahead.”

— *Call of the Party to Youth and Students*, 21 July 1969

“Revisionism taught us to doubt everything. Therefore the task of revolutionaries is to regain their faith in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.”

— *Conversation with comrades at Naxalbari 1962-67*

On Mao Tsetung

“At the time of World War II Chiang Kai-shek got the support of the Soviet Union and on the pretext of that support, he and his associates repeatedly sought to have the Chinese Party tied to Chiang Kai-shek. As Chairman understood the need for unity, so also he realized the necessity of independent work and initiative and did not make compromise in any sphere. That is why, after 1945, when communists all over the world laid emphasis on unity with the bourgeoisie and decided to surrender arms, Chairman Mao, even after having admitted the necessity of unity, gave a call for taking up arms with a firm hand. That is why we see that after World War II communists of almost all countries took to the path of revisionism but, under Chairman Mao’s leadership, the Chinese Communist Party could, through a successful revolution, raise the banner of Marxism-Leninism higher still and reach the stage of Mao Tsetung Thought.”

— Letter to a Comrade from *Liberation*, July 1971 - January 1972

“Today the leader of the great Chinese revolution, the Communist Party of China and its leader Com. Mao Tsetung, is leading the world proletariat and world revolutionary struggles. Today Com. Mao Tsetung is playing the role of Com. Lenin in the world revolution.”

— *Build up a Genuine Revolutionary Party by Struggling Against Revisionism; That is the Main Task Today*, 30 August 1966

“The politics of agrarian revolution must be brought to the proletariat from without, from outside the trade union struggle. For this we require revolutionary worker cadres, equipped politically, that is equipped with the Thought of Chairman Mao.”

— *On Some Current Political and Organizational Problems*, July 1969

“...The Thought of Chairman Mao has emerged as the only Marxism-Leninism, Marxism-Leninism which he has greatly developed and enriched through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution....”

So the political task of the student and youth workers is to study this new and developed Marxism, the Thought of Chairman Mao, and put it into practice. He who shuns this task can never acquire knowledge about the principles of Marxism.”

— *To the Youths and the Students*, April 1969

Selected Quotations from Charu Mazumdar's writings contributed by Maoist Unity Centre, CPI(ML)

Continued from page 37

Soviet revisionist leadership in collaboration with the US imperialism is today trying for world hegemony. They are acting as enemies of every national liberation movement today. They are trying to establish the revisionist leadership by splitting the revolutionary parties and are shamelessly acting as agents of the US imperialism. They are today the enemies of the people's liberation struggles in every country, enemies of the revolutionary struggles, enemies of revolutionary China, even the enemies of the Soviet people. So no struggles against American imperialism can be made without carrying out an open struggle against this Soviet revisionist leadership. It is impossible to lead the anti-imperialist struggle if it is not realized that the Soviet revisionist leadership is not a partner in the anti-imperialist struggle. The party leadership, far from following this path, is rather trying to convince the people through different writings that the Soviet leadership, in spite of a few mistakes, is basically opposing the policies of the Indian Government, and is still moving along the path of socialism. That is, they are trying to conceal in a cunning manner the fact that the Soviet leadership is transforming the Soviet socialist state into a capitalist state gradually and that the Soviet-American collaboration itself is because of that.

DOCUMENT SEVEN
TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY

During the last two years, the spontaneous struggles of the petit-bourgeois youths and students have created a stir from one end of India to another. Although at the beginning the demand for food was the main demand, gradually the demand for ousting the Congress government has become main. Chairman Mao has said: "*The petit-bourgeois students and youth are a part of the people and at the inevitable conclusion of their struggle the struggle of the workers and peasants will reach a high tide.*" So hardly had the struggle of the students and youth ended, the peasants struggle has begun in Bihar. Hundreds of peasants are harvesting and carrying away the crops. They are seizing the hoarded stocks of crops of landlords. This struggle is bound to spread in the coming days to West Bengal and other states. The government is resorting to violent repression to suppress the agitating peasants. Chairman Mao has said: "*Where there is repression there is bound to be resistance against it.*" So we are witnessing spontaneous resistance in the struggles of the students and youth. The peasants of Bihar are carrying on resistance spontaneously. The official spokesmen are repeatedly declaring that they would resort to further repressive policies to preserve peace and order. So the responsibility of consciously building up resistance struggles has come up before the revolutionary working class and its Party.

This era is the era of active resistance movements. Active resistance movements will open up the source of the revolutionary genius of the revolutionary masses. It will spread the tide of revolution all over India. So in this age, to lead legal trade union or peasant association movements can never be the main task before the revolutionary cadres. Trade union or peasant association (kisan sabha) movements cannot be the main supplementary force in the present age of revolutionary tide. It would not be correct to draw from this the conclusion that trade unions or peasant associations have become outmoded. For trade unions and kisan sabhas are basically organizations to build up unity between Marxist-Leninist cadres and working class and peasant masses. This unity will be consolidated only when Marxist-Leninist cadres move forward in the work of building up the revolutionary party among the working class and peasant masses with the tactics of revolutionary resistance movement. The revolutionary working

class and Marxist-Leninist cadres will have to go forward in the face of peasant struggles to give active leadership to the peasants' struggles through resistance or "partisan" struggles. The reactionary government of India has adopted the tactics of killing the masses; they are killing them through starvation and with bullets. Chairman Mao has said: "*This is their class character. They launch attacks on the people even at the risk of being defeated.*" There are some leaders who, faced with these indiscriminate murders, get scared and seek protection. Chairman Mao has said about them: "*They are cowards and unworthy of revolutionary leadership.*" There is another group of people who boldly face death. They try to avenge every murder — they alone are revolutionaries and it is they who can show the masses the path.

The government might appear to be powerful, because it has in its hands food and arms. The people do not have food and they are unarmed. But it is the unity and firm spirit of these unarmed masses that will smash all the arrogance of the reaction and make the revolution successful. So Chairman Mao has said: "*The reactionary force is actually a paper tiger.*" In the present era, our main task will be on the basis of three main slogans.

Firstly: Unity of workers and peasants. This unity does not mean that the workers and petit-bourgeois masses will give only moral support to the peasant movement. This slogan means the realization that the peasants are the main force of the revolution in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like India, the unity of peasants and workers can grow only on the basis of class struggle. So on the question of seizure of state power, Chairman Mao has said: "*It is the liberated area in the countryside which is the concrete application of workers-peasants unity.*" So it is the responsibility of the workers, and particularly of the petit-bourgeois masses to develop peasant movements for building liberated areas. So Chairman Mao has told petit-bourgeois students and youth about movements: "*Whether they are revolutionaries can be determined only by how much they become participants of this movement.*" Those who will not participate in this movement have the danger of becoming reactionaries.

Secondly: The revolutionary resistance movement, armed struggle. The reactionary government of India has declared war against every struggle for the democratic demands of the masses. Inside India, it has created a playground for imperialist and feudal exploitation, and in its foreign policy it has turned India into a base of reaction in collaboration with imperialism and modern revisionists. The people of India have become rebellious against this intolerable situation. In this situation, the revolutionary resistance movement or armed partisan struggle of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party against reaction and the passive resistance movement of the revisionist party, have today become the main part of the Party's politics. So every Party member and revolutionary cadre will have to grasp this tactic of struggle. They should learn to practise it and temper the revolutionary spirit of the masses through propaganda among the masses. The success of the struggle depends on how far we can popularise the politics of armed struggle through propaganda of it among the masses.

Thirdly: The building up of a revolutionary Party. In this revolutionary situation in India today, our Party organization is not capable of giving leadership. Without being firm in theory, clear in politics and without a mass base in respect of organization, it is impossible to give leadership in this revolutionary age of today.

(1) On the theoretical question: —It should be remembered that the Party leadership of the world's first socialist state, the Soviet Union, has been captured by a revisionist

clique. As a result, revisionist influence has fallen on the communist parties of different countries of the world. In our country also as this revisionist influence was felt, the need for forming a separate Party was felt. And as a result of that, a separate Party was formed at the Seventh Congress. The formation of a separate Party does not mean that the fight against revisionism has ended. Revisionism speaks of fighting against imperialism, feudalism and the reactionary forces, but in deeds it widens the path of collaboration with these forces. Marxism-Leninism firmly opposes these forces, avenges their every attack, and, mobilizing the masses through long-drawn struggle, alone destroys these reactionary forces. The old ideas become manifest in (i) not accepting the leadership of the great Chinese party against international revisionists; (ii) in not accepting the new developing forces; (iii) in not making the working class conscious of this new realization; (iv) in not aiding the struggle of the peasantry, which is the main ally of the working class.

(2) Political: The people's democratic revolution will have to be seen as the task of this moment. Chairman Mao has said, "*No dying force gives up its power easily; freedom comes out only from the barrel of a gun.*" So in our politics the main part will be the armed struggle for the seizure of power. The common people have started this armed struggle spontaneously. The main aim of our politics will be to establish consciously this armed struggle on a mass base. The basic three points are: (i) Worker-peasant unity under the leadership of the working class, (ii) consciously establishing armed struggle on a mass base, and (iii) firmly establishing the leadership of the communist party. It is imperative not to leave aside any of these three tasks. This politics will have to be propagated extensively among the masses.

(3) Organizational: The mass base of the Party will have to be extended. We have seen during the last few years, thousands of militant cadres come to join the work of the organization during different movements and struggles, try to give leadership to the struggles, but the moment the movement stops, they again become inactive. Today, in the age of the revolutionary upsurge, people of many backward areas are coming forward on the road of struggles, and it is through those struggles that many young militant cadres are joining the work of the organization. If we can educate these cadres in our revolutionary theory and politics, the Party can get its mass base. We shall have to begin working boldly on collecting these cadres and on forming secret groups with them. These cadre-groups will carry on political propaganda and will act as units of armed struggle. The striking power of the Party depends on how far we are able to form these groups in increasing numbers among workers and peasants. With whom we are forming the groups and organizational details, like shelter, dumps, etc., should certainly be kept secret. But our theories, politics and the slogan of Party formation must never be kept secret. In the age of armed struggle, every Party unit must be participants in the armed struggle and be a self-reliant leader. The general elections are coming. During these elections the discontented people desire to and will listen to politics. Before the elections, every party will try to propagate their politics among the masses. We shall have to take advantage of these elections to propagate our politics. Let us not be confused by the false slogan of the non-Congress democratic government. We shall have to take to the masses courageously the politics of our people's democratic revolution, that is, the politics of worker-peasant unity under working class leadership, of armed struggle, of establishing the leadership of the Party. If we fully take advantage of this it will not be possible for any leftist leader to oppose us. We shall have to take full advantage of this opportunity. ■



മാർക്സിസം-ലെനിനിസം-മാവോയിസം
അജയമാണ്
വിപ്ലവ സാർവദേശീയ പ്രസ്ഥാനത്തിന്റെ
പ്രഖ്യാപനം

*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 Nepal (Maoist) ■ 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) ■ 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.

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Peru

People's

Regime

There are two facts which no-one, friend or foe of the revolution in Peru, can deny: the Fujimori government is in unprecedented trouble, and the People's War, now in its eighteenth year, is continuing to demonstrate its endurance.

A few years ago, after the capture of Communist Party of Peru (PCP) Chairman Gonzalo and especially after the call for peace accords that Fujimori attributed to him, the government and all the reactionary press jubilantly proclaimed the imminent demise of the People's War. Peru's ruling classes seemed to be enjoying stability and unity. Now, to the extent that any of the press is jubilant about anything, it is opposition media that is crowing about the crisis in the Fujimori regime. In contrast, the more serious reactionary organs have adopted a sober tone in describing the People's War.

For instance, two days before the 17 May anniversary of the launching of the People's War, guerrillas attacked the police station in the Lima slum of Ate-Vitarte. After a firefight, they exploded a 40-kilo car-bomb in front of the entrance and left behind leaflets headlined "Long Live the 17th Anniversary of the People's War!" and "Long Live the Street-Vendors' Struggle!" The reactionary Lima news weekly *Caretas* warned that even though this action had taken place after a long period without major attacks in Lima — and even though the

LEFT: On 17 July, 10,000 municipal workers, street vendors and teachers fought with riot police in the square outside the presidential palace.

War Perseveres, in Crisis

number of large-scale actions in general has declined considerably — it would be a fatal error to be blind to the PCP's advances which are less visible. It particularly cited the country's south-east, central and Huallaga regions, and the neighbourhoods and factories along the Carretera Central, the main road leading east of the capital into the mountains, including the shantytowns of Huaycan and Raucana, known as PCP strongholds at the beginning of the decade.

Accompanying this was a reporter's dispatch from Chuschi, the Ayacucho town where the People's War began. Chuschi's symbolic value is so great that Fujimori made a hugely publicized visit there — dropping in by helicopter — to declare the People's War all but over. Since then foreign journalists seeking to spread that idea have made a pilgrimage to "peaceful, happy" Chuschi the centre of their reportage. *Caretas* took a totally different view this time. After implicitly recalling that the authorities had underestimated the PCP at the beginning as well, the reporters quoted interviews with people who cursed continuing oppression and government abuse. The magazine advised the police to look deeper into reports that as villagers driven out by the military return to their homes from the slums of Huamanga and Lima, PCP organization is returning with them.

The Right Opportunist Line that arose within the PCP with the call for

**RIGHT: Woman
fighter in a
guerrilla column,
Sorata,
Ayacucho.**



peace accords claimed that the People's War could not continue, first because of Chairman Gonzalo's capture, and second because Fujimori had succeeded in obtaining political and economic stability. As it turns out, much of the reactionary press itself does not share that opinion.

BATTLE REPORTS

In October 1996, the PCP-led People's Liberation Army fought battles in south-east, central and northern Peru in the face of a major government offensive. Again in the midst of an Armed Forces offensive against revolutionary base areas in May and June 1997, the People's Liberation Army launched a number of counter-attacks against the military and its paramilitary armed bands.

The authorities would later claim that this simultaneous PCP counter-offensive had been foretold in April, when graffiti in favour of the PCP and the People's War suddenly appeared on walls at universities around the country.

On 8 May, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) temporarily took over the town of Campanilla near Juanjui in the Upper Huallaga valley. The forests and hills of the region spanning the departments of San Martin and Huanuco continue to be a bulwark of the People's War. On 6 July, the PLA entered the village of Ramal de Auspuzana, about 140 kilometres north-east of the city of Tingo Maria, and executed two Armed Forces agents sent in to spy on the peasants and the activities of the revolutionaries. An attack on powerline pylons blacked out a large area, including Aucayacu, near Tingo Maria, a town that has been important to both sides in the People's War (see *AWTW* 1996/22).

In May, June and July there were a number of battles in northern Ayacucho, especially in the provinces of Huanta and La Mar (alongside the Apurimac River), as well as near Satipo, to the north, along the Ene River into which the Apurimac flows. The government claims that Comrade Feliciano, the leader of the Party's Central Committee, is somewhere in this vast region, but repeated Armed Forces dry-season offensives have come up empty-handed.

One of the most notable battles was the PLA assault on Tircos, a Huanta village converted into a paramilitary base. Reportedly, guerrillas overran and destroyed the base, and then tried and executed four *rondero* leaders. The *ronderos* are reactionary armed bands set up by the Armed Forces to terrorize the peasants and murder suspected PCP supporters; they have been a particularly favourite government tool in this region. The next day the PLA surprised a *rondero* meeting in a nearby locality. After the paramilitaries surrendered, all but one were freed with a warning. Their head was executed.

In August, a number of PLA actions took place in the countryside and villages around San Martin de Pangoa, between the rivers Ene and Tambo in the department of Junin. On 15 August the PLA seized an oil exploration camp being used for a French company. PLA members gave speeches and talked to the 29 workers for several hours before leaving with captured supplies. This took place as hundreds of government troops carried out operations against them in this jungle area largely populated by the Ashaninka indigenous people.

The Peruvian press reported that the PCP had carried out a raid in the high jungle zone of Upper Huallaga in mid-October, and killed three anti-drugs policemen. It is notable that the head of Columbia's armed forces has recently announced that he has obtained explicit US permission to use so-called anti-drugs funds in operations against guerrillas, revealing yet again that the war on drugs is aimed at anti-US armed struggle. Also in mid-October, a reported 30-strong unit of guerrillas from the PLA occupied the village of San Miguel, deep in the Andes. They remained for several hours.

In October 1997, the government sent some 300 soldiers and police into the Tingo Maria area, detaining about a hundred suspected "subversives" in the city itself. Meanwhile, a wave of PLA actions in the Huallaga that had begun in September continued. There were also reports of an upsurge of revolutionary actions in northern Ayacucho and the Apurimac river valley.

FUJIMORI'S TERRORISM AT THE EMBASSY

President Alberto Fujimori seemed to be at the peak of his powers in April of this year. His troops stormed the Japanese embassy taken over by the MRTA and mercilessly murdered every single one of those involved, not to protect the hostages but to make a political point — to demonstrate Fujimori's power and determination to crush any opposition. The political contrast between the MRTA and the PCP is stark. The MRTA's strategy has always been to use armed means to apply political pressure, rather than to overthrow the government and the system. This is illustrated by the fact that they seized the embassy in order to negotiate the release of their own imprisoned members and supporters and force the regime to accept a "dialogue" with them. The People's War, with its very different military strategy representing a very different political goal, has from the first represented a mass upsurge of Peru's poorest and most despised people against the whole system. Yet Fujimori's bloodbath was aimed as much against the masses and the People's War as against the MRTA itself.

This criminal slaughter by a government that has made such terrorism its hallmark was backed by the US, which helped plan and prepare it and politically supported it once it occurred. In the following days, angry rallies took place at Peruvian embassies and other targets across the Americas and Europe. Visiting Bangladesh, Fujimori was confronted with a militant march denouncing him and imperialism and supporting the People's War.

CRISIS IN THE WAKE OF THE MASSACRE

After his troops retook the embassy, Fujimori was so inflated with bloodthirsty arrogance that he had himself photographed amidst the carnage and made a special point of refusing to allow the victims' families to claim their bodies for burial. Yet in retrospect it seems that beneath the surface his regime was already rent by deepening cracks.

Even at this very moment, the opposition press was interviewing

Leonor La Rosa, a former military intelligence (SIN) agent. One day when she came to work as usual at the Armed Forces headquarters where Fujimori spends much of his time, known as the "Little Pentagon", she was seized, tortured and crippled by her colleagues. They suspected her of leaking information on Fujimori's plans to use the SIN to intimidate and murder opposition figures and journalists. Another woman SIN agent was found hacked to pieces. Her parents told the press that she had formerly lived with an Army major and had been killed to protect his secrets. This officer, they said, was a member of the Colina group, a secret Armed Forces death squad most infamous for the 1992 murder of nine students and a professor of the University of La Cantuta suspected of supporting the PCP. A number of intelligence agents have died recently in violent or mysterious circumstances.

This apparent infighting between rival forces in the military reflects broader behind-the-scenes power struggles. Fujimori is trying to have the constitution changed so that he can run for the presidency a third time in the year 2000. He has changed the constitution at will twice before since he became president in 1990. Yet this time three of his own hand-picked constitutional court judges ruled against him. In a rage, Fujimori had them sacked by the congress his party dominates. Gunmen tried to murder a leading congressman and an editor of the daily *La Republica* who opposed these moves.

But things did not go as they used to for Fujimori. When he stripped the foreign-born owner of a pro-opposition TV channel of his citizenship, so that under Peruvian law he would become ineligible to run his station, Fujimori himself was hit by the expected counterblast. Documents leaked to the Peruvian press seemed to indicate that he himself was not born in Peru, as he had claimed, and therefore is legally ineligible to serve as president.

The obvious contradictions and apparently crude falsifications contained in Fujimori's birth registration and other family documents from half a century ago bring out an intriguing question: why is all this coming out now? No less an imperialistically-informed mouthpiece than the *New York*

Times (NYT) (25 July) speculates that behind this sneak attack are Armed Forces head General Nicolas Hermoza and his boss, the master of the SIN and the "Little Pentagon" himself, Vladimiro Montesinos, a life-long CIA "asset". The *NYT* euphemistically described Montesinos as Fujimori's "national security advisor" who had long served and protected the president, including, according to the *NYT*, by covering up Fujimori's records.

As has been pointed out many times, there is no better proof of Montesinos' ties to US imperialism than the fact that the US has deliberately and consistently overlooked his ties to Peru's drug empire.¹ It certainly seems logical to wonder whether Montesinos' manoeuvres against his chief are being carried out with support from at least some people in US ruling circles, just as his previous service to Fujimori counted on the wholehearted support of US imperialism.

It is difficult to judge who is up to what in this latest political crisis. But it is not hard to see what is at stake. The US loved Fujimori when he seemed to be a winner against the People's War, but he really hasn't been able to deliver. In 1993, after the capture of Chairman Gonzalo, Fujimori boasted that the war would be over by 28 July 1995. Not only is he more than two years behind schedule and falling farther behind every day, but the very goal itself seems increasingly illusory to the reaction. This may be why five of Fujimori's leading ministers jumped ship in July 1997. Of course, whether or not Fujimori's criminal ship sinks depends to some extent on whether the US ruling class believes it has an acceptable replacement.

¹ In what is only the most recent of many Montesinos scandals, the Sao Paulo daily *Jornal do Brasil* referred to a secret Brazilian government report that said he was continuing to protect the head of a Colombian drug gang. (It is a matter of public record that Montesinos was the lawyer who got Raul Porras out of jail in 1978 when he was arrested in Lima with many tonnes of unrefined cocaine paste in his possession.) Yet in response to this latest accusation, General Barry McCaffrey, President Clinton's "drug czar", publicly praised Peru's drug programmes and spoke of meeting personally with Montesinos on several occasions.

AN UNFAVOURABLE POLARIZATION

The discontent among Peru's ruling classes and the imperialists is not unrelated to the discontent of the people. If it can be said that the job of any reactionary president in Peru would be to stand as an opposite pole to the road to liberation represented by the PCP, then it would have to be concluded that there are some factors in how Peru's people are polarized now that are not favourable to the system. The regime's strategy towards the poorest masses who make up the country's vast majority has been to combine gunpoint repression with efforts to demoralize and paralyze them politically and above all to try and isolate them from the PCP. But the continuation of the People's War under difficult circumstances shows that it continues to draw on the protection, support and participation of exactly that sector of the people. At the same time, the regime's efforts to mobilize a part of the somewhat better-off classes in its favour have not fared well, which has given the poorer urban masses more political breathing space and room to act. Throughout the last year there have been daring, combative and large marches, demonstrations and streetfighting in downtown Lima by striking workers and others — a common sight during the 1980s and 1990s but one that Fujimori seemed to have consigned to the past until recently.

For instance, according to the London-based *Latin America Weekly Report*, "The biggest march for years took place on 5 June, culminating in a mass meeting in Plaza Bolivar, outside the congress building. The riot police resorted to clubs and tear gas, and the evening sitting of congress was hastily called off... one of the striking features of the protests was that trade unionists, students and professional bodies marched side by side for the first time in many years. The universities, which have gone through a process of rigorous 'de-politicalization' after becoming hotbeds of subversion in the 1980s, have kept their head down for so long that it was a remarkable sight to see students and teachers together joining in a march..." On 17 July, according to the media, 10,000 munici-

pal workers, street vendors and teachers fought with riot police in the square outside the presidential palace.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

On the international level, one of Fujimori's most important political goals during the embassy takeover was to reverse right and wrong, to beat back the unfavourable public opinion that had built up against his regime because of its imprisonment of thousands of political prisoners at the hands of "faceless judges" who dispatched them to a lifetime in dungeons after a few minutes of secret trial with no evidence or witnesses. Yet the massacre at the embassy brought him no victories here either and instead focused a spotlight on the regime's other crimes as well.

Fujimori cut off Red Cross visits to Peru's prisons on 17 December 1996. His pretext was the embassy takeover but his purpose was to keep the Red Cross from publicly confirming the well-foundedness of the outcry over the conditions for political prisoners. On 19 August 1997 he once again denied the Red Cross's request to visit these prisoners. A number of organizations, including Amnesty International, have referred to the well over 4,000 people jailed under Peru's terrorist "anti-terrorism" laws and called for the release of "the hundreds falsely accused". Actually, all of the prisoners have suffered the same mock trials and inhuman treatment and none can be said to have been convicted through what is sometimes called "due process". All are equally deserving of their freedom. The International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Dr. Abimael Guzman (Chairman Gonzalo) intends to continue working with lawyers and others on this front to end the isolation of Chairman Gonzalo (who has not been allowed any outside contact for five years) and fight for all of Peru's political prisoners.

Ironically, Fujimori achieved the opposite of what he sought with the embassy killings. Instead of becoming a symbol of the strength of imperialism and its henchmen, he made himself a symbol of reactionary oppression in general and US-supported crimes in particular. All this, too, is part of the equation that is shifting against him. ■

The following is a report adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) in October 1995 and made public in early 1997. It continues to play a major role in guiding the Party's work today. - AWTW

OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD BY DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

(Outline)

- ▮ QUOTES
- ▮ NEW PLAN: Part of the VI Great Military Plan.
- ▮ POLITICAL STRATEGY: SEIZE POLITICAL POWER
- ▮ MILITARY STRATEGY: PEOPLE'S WAR. "TAKE GUERRILLA WARFARE AS FUNDAMENTAL, BUT LOSE NO OPPORTUNITY TO CARRY OUT MOBILE WARFARE WHEN THE CONDITIONS ARE FAVOURABLE." PREPARE INSURRECTION IN THE CITIES.
- ▮ STRATEGY FOR BUILDING: BUILD THE SEIZURE OF POWER IN THE MIDST OF PEOPLE'S WAR.
- ▮ IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL FOUNDATION.

Take as the political foundation all that has been put forward by CHAIRMAN GONZALO AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, particularly in the III PLENUM AND THE WORK SESSIONS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, as well as the document, "AGAINST THE GENOCIDAL AND NATIONAL-SELLOUT DICTATORSHIP, PERSIST IN PEOPLE'S WAR!"

Analyze Fujimori's speech, which, in summary, calls for repeating what he did in his first term, in the framework of the three tasks of the reactionaries, and the plan of the imperialists, principally the Yankees, and the Armed

Forces.

- ▮ DOCUMENTS FOR STUDY.
- ▮ NOTES FOR SUMMATION OF GREAT FINAL PUSH.
- ▮ TAKE THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS INTO ACCOUNT:
 - PEOPLE'S WAR.
 - BUILDING.
 - TWO-LINE STRUGGLE.
- ▮ OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD BY DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR!
- ▮ OBJECTIVES:
 1. Overcome the bend in the road.
 2. Combat the plan of the reactionaries and imperialism
 3. Smash the "pacification" hoax.
 4. Smash the revisionist and capitulationist ROL.
 5. Lay the basis for holding the IV PLENUM.
 6. General Reorganization of the Party.
- ▮ Part One: OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD BY DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

Timeline:

- ▮ Part Two: OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD BY DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

Timeline:

[Before, during or after important dates occur, work to develop offensives and counteroffensives in accordance with the national situation and the specific conditions of each Committee. And in the framework of our countercampaigns (campaigns).]

- ▮ CELEBRATIONS: (Before, during or after)
 - October 7, 1995. DAY OF THE PARTY: "The Communist Party of

Overcome the by Developing

Document

Bend in the Road the People's War

Peru, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, is the heroic combatant that leads the revolution."

- December 3, 1995. CHAIRMAN GONZALO'S BIRTHDAY AND PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY DAY: "What is People's War? People's War until Communism."
- December 26, 1995. CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG'S BIRTHDAY: "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is a new, third and higher stage of Marxism."
- May 1, 1996: LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT!
- May 17, 1996: OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD BY DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

▷ **ATTITUDE:** Nothing is impossible if you dare to scale the heights!

Be superior to the reactionaries!

Nothing and nobody can stop us: not imperialism, not the reactionaries, nor revisionism, nor even nature!

DEVELOPMENT

OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD BY DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

▷ QUOTES:

1. "The correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything. When the Party's line is correct, then everything will come its way. If it has no followers, then it will have followers; if it has no guns, then it will have guns; if it has no political power, then it will have political power. If its line is not correct, even what it has it may lose."
2. "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China

and for all other countries."

Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Vol. II, p. 219

3. "In China war is the main form of struggle and the army is the main form of organization. Other forms such as mass organization and mass struggle are also extremely important and indeed indispensable and in no circumstances to be overlooked, but their purpose is to serve the war. Before the outbreak of a war all organization and struggle are in preparation for the war, as in the period from the May 4th Movement of 1919 to the May 30th Movement of 1925. After war breaks out, all organization and struggle are coordinated with the war either directly or indirectly."

SW, Vol. II, p. 221

4. "Without armed struggle the proletariat and the Communist Party would have no standing at all in China, and it would be impossible to accomplish any revolutionary task."

SW, Vol. II, p. 222

5. "[We have learned that] without armed struggle neither the proletariat, nor the people, nor the Communist Party would have any standing at all in China and that it would be impossible for the revolution to triumph. In these years the development, consolidation and the bolshevization of our Party have proceeded in the midst of revolutionary wars; without armed struggle the Communist Party would assuredly not be what it is today. Comrades throughout the Party must never forget this experience for which we have paid in blood."

SW, Vol. II, p. 292

6. "According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power

must have a strong army. Some people ridicule us as advocates of the 'omnipotence of war'. Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist. The guns of the Russian Communist Party created socialism. We shall create a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and the landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed."

SW, Vol. II, p. 225

7. "The Red Army's operations take the form of counter-campaigns against 'encirclement and suppression'. For us victory means chiefly victory in combating 'encirclement and suppression', that is, strategic victory and victories in campaigns. The fight against each 'encirclement and suppression' campaign constitutes a counter-campaign, which usually comprises several or even scores of battles, big and small. Until an 'encirclement and suppression' campaign has been basically smashed, one cannot speak of strategic victory or of victory in the counter-campaign as a whole, even though many battles may have been won. The history of the Red Army's decade of war is a history of counter-campaigns against 'encirclement and suppression'."

8. "In the enemy's 'encirclement and suppression' campaigns and the Red Army's counter-campaigns against them, the two forms of fighting, offensive and defensive, are both employed, and here there is no difference from any other war, ancient or modern, in China or elsewhere. The special characteristic of China's civil war, however, is the repeated

alternation of the two forms over a long period of time. In each 'encirclement and suppression' campaign, the enemy employs the offensive against the Red Army's defensive, and the Red Army employs the defensive against his offensive; this is the first stage of a counter-campaign against 'encirclement and suppression'. Then the enemy employs the defensive against the Red Army's offensive, and the Red Army employs the offensive against his defensive; this is the second stage of the counter-campaign. Every 'encirclement and suppression' campaign has these two stages, and they alternate over a long period.

By repeated alternation over a long period we mean the repetition of this pattern of warfare and these forms of fighting. This is a fact obvious to everybody. An 'encirclement and suppression' campaign and a counter-campaign against it — such is the repeated pattern of the war. In each campaign the alternation in the forms of fighting consists of the first stage in which the enemy employs the offensive against our defensive and we meet his offensive with our defensive, and of the second stage in which the enemy employs the defensive against our offensive and we meet his defensive with our offensive."

SW, Vol. I, pp. 290-201

9. "2. The subjective forces of the revolution have indeed been greatly weakened since the defeat of the revolution in 1927. The remaining forces are very small and those comrades who judge by appearances alone naturally feel pessimistic. But if we can judge by essentials, it is quite another story. Here we can apply the old Chinese saying, 'A single spark can start a prairie fire.' In other words, our forces, although small at present, will grow rapidly. In the conditions prevailing in China, their growth is not only possible but indeed inevitable."

SW, Vol. I, p. 119

10. "Except for a few chapters, all the main writings of the history of the revolution of 1848 to 1849 contain the epigraph: Defeat of the revolution! But what succumbed in these defeats was not the revolution. It was the traditional prerevolutionary appendices, the remnants of social

relations that had not sharpened up sufficiently to take the very clear form of class contradiction: people, illusions, ideas, schemes, of which the revolutionary party has not rid itself before the February revolution, and of which the February victory was not able to rid it, which only a series of defeats could rid it. In one word: revolutionary progress did not forge its path through direct and tragicomic conquests, but rather on the contrary, by engendering a fierce and powerful counterrevolution, engendering an adversary, in the struggle against which the party of subversion matured, becoming a truly revolutionary party."

Karl Marx, cited in *Elecciones, No! Guerra Popular, Si!*, p. 70

11. "... but at the same time the major prerequisites for helping the struggle in the cities and hastening the rise of the revolutionary tide are specifically the development of the struggle in the countryside, the establishment of Red political power in small areas, and the creation and expansion of the Red Army."

SW, Vol. I, pp. 122-123

12. "... only concentration will enable us to wipe out comparatively large enemy units and occupy towns. Only after we have wiped out comparatively large enemy units and occupied towns can we arouse the masses on a broad scale and set up political power extending over a number of adjoining counties. Only thus can we make a widespread impact (what we call 'extending our political influence'), and contribute effectively to speeding the day of the revolutionary high tide."

SW, Vol. I, pp. 123-124

13. "As to dividing our forces over a wide radius, it is possible only on the two conditions that circumstances are comparatively favourable and the leading bodies fairly strong."

SW, Vol. I, p. 125

14. "The more adverse the circumstances, the greater the need for concentrating our forces and for the leaders to be resolute in struggle, because only thus can we have internal unity against the enemy. Only in favourable circumstances is it

advisable to divide our forces for guerrilla operations, and it is only then that the leaders need not stay with the ranks all the time, as they must in adverse circumstances."

SW, Vol. I, p. 123

15. "To extend stable base areas, employ the policy of advancing in waves; when pursued by a powerful enemy, employ the policy of circling around."

SW, Vol. I, p. 124

16. "... revisionism is an agent of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the proletariat, and so it provokes splits. It divides the communist movement and Communist Parties, it divides the trade union movement, and it breaks up and divides the people's movement."

"Revisionism obviously is a cancer, a cancer that has to be ruthlessly eliminated. Otherwise we won't be able to advance the revolution. Remembering what Lenin said, in a concise way, we must forge ahead on two questions, the question of revolutionary violence, and the relentless struggle against opportunism, against revisionism."

"Revisionism has already lost out, it's only a matter of time. The problem is already defined, the rubbish has begun to be swept away, burned away; as I said, it's only a matter of time. The process of their demise began years ago. And if we go back further, to the beginnings, the 'ball game' was lost when they became revisionists, when they abandoned their principles...."

Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, pp. 8, 9, 10

17. "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again... till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law. When we say 'imperialism is ferocious', we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Bud-dhas, till their doom."

"Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again ... till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they

too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law. The Russian people's revolution followed this law, and so has the Chinese people's revolution."

Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle

(August, 1949) *SW*, Vol. IV, p. 428

18. "The existence of serious weaknesses in the War of Resistance may lead to many setbacks, retreats, internal splits, betrayals, temporary and partial compromises and other such reverses. Therefore it should be realized that the war will be an arduous and protracted war. But we are confident that, through the efforts of our party and the whole people, the resistance already started will sweep aside all obstacles and continue to advance and develop."

SW, Vol. II, p. 121

19. "We are here in circumstances which some think to be a great defeat. They are dreaming. Today we say to them this is only a bend in the road. Nothing more! A bend in the road. And though the road is long, we shall travel it to the end. We will reach our goal and we will win! You will see it."

Chairman Gonzalo's Speech, 14 September 1992

20. "... one does not play at insurrection, one does not play at revolution. But when one raises the banner of insurrection, when one takes up arms, there's no taking down the banner, it must be held high and never lowered until victory. This is what he taught us, no matter how high the cost! Marx has armed us then, as Lenin has, and, principally Chairman Mao Tsetung taught us about the price we have to pay - what it means to annihilate in order to preserve, what it means to hold high the banner, come what may."

Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, p. 44

21. "Have we gone through difficult times? Yes. But what has reality shown us? That if we persist, keep politics in command, follow our political strategy, follow our military strategy, if we have a clear and defined plan, then we will advance, and we are capable of facing any

bloodbath."

Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, pp. 44-45

22. "THE PEOPLE'S WAR WILL INEVITABLY TRIUMPH!"

NEW PLAN: Part of the VI Great Military Plan.

POLITICAL STRATEGY: SEIZE POWER.

MILITARY STRATEGY: PEOPLE'S WAR. TAKE GUERRILLA WARFARE AS FUNDAMENTAL, BUT LOSE NO OPPORTUNITY TO CARRY OUT MOBILE WARFARE WHEN THE CONDITIONS ARE FAVORABLE. PREPARE INSURRECTION IN THE CITIES.

STRATEGY FOR BUILDING: BUILD THE SEIZURE OF POWER IN THE MIDST OF PEOPLE'S WAR.

IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS.

Take as the political foundation all that has been put forward by CHAIRMAN GONZALO AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, particularly in the III PLENUM AND THE WORK SESSIONS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, as well as the document, "AGAINST THE GENOCIDAL AND NATIONAL-SELLOUT DICTATORSHIP, PERSIST IN PEOPLE'S WAR!"

Analyze Fujimori's speech, which, in summary, calls for repeating what he did in his first term, in the framework of the three tasks of the reactionaries, and the plan of the imperialists, principally the Yankees, and the Armed Forces.

DOCUMENTS FOR STUDY.

- ▶ On Protracted War, Vol. II, Chairman Mao, pp. 113-136, points 1 to 34
- ▶ Six Military Writings, Chairman Mao, pp. 205-248 [in Spanish]
- ▶ Great Strategic Concept
- ▶ The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountain, Vol. III, Chairman Mao, pp. 271-273
- ▶ "The three rules of discipline and the eight points for attention", Quotations from Chairman Mao, p. 217
- ▶ Five Articles by Chairman Mao
- ▶ Our Position

▶ Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War, Vol. I, Chairman Mao, pp. 200-254, Chapter IV to the end.

▶ Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan, Vol. II, Chairman Mao, pp. 101-106, Chapters VIII and pp. 79-88 [in Spanish]

▶ Quotations from Chairman Mao, Chapters 12, 13, 9, 10 and 16

▶ Unity, dynamism, seriousness and liveliness

▶ Four relationships

▶ Problems of War and Strategy, Vol. II, pp. 219-235

▶ New Tasks, New Forces, Lenin

▶ Document: Against the Genocidal and National-Sellout Dictatorship, Persist in People's War!

NOTES FOR SUMMATION OF THE GREAT FINAL PUSH

People's War develops against wind and storm. In July the first part of the Great Plan of Building the Seizure of Power was brought to a conclusion. Defend the Headquarters, Oppose the Genocidal Dictatorship! Laying the basis for developing the second part, which will be guided by the slogan: OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD BY DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

Once more the country was rocked by the blazing flames of people's war, from the Principal Region to the capital itself, the zone of operations of the Metropolitan Committee. In this way, in the Ayacucho zone committee, we defeated the sinister "encirclement and suppression" campaigns of the genocidal and national-sellout armed forces. We carried out operations throughout base number seven and base fourteen, agitating and mobilizing the masses. Seizure of cars on the Ayacucho-San Francisco highway was organized; paramilitary groups were wiped out in Ccano; in Yanamonte a tractor belonging to the old state was sabotaged; in base 33 (Ene River) enemy forces were wiped out and cattle were taken to feed the "Red Bastion" Revolutionary Base Area and the forces of the People's Liberation Army, and as a complement to this, there were ambushes, laying siege to and wiping out the enemy bases. Similarly, the Cangallo-Fajardo zone committee carried out a magnificent in-

cursion in La Mar, Vilcashuaman and Cangallo, right under the nose of the countersubversive base, resulting in confiscation of more than 30 boxes of dynamite and a radio transmitter. Meanwhile, the Huancavelica zone committee carried out the stunning Supaymayo-Lachoc ambush, wiping out nine police (including a major), and confiscated nine HK rifles. In addition, magnificent ambushes were carried out in the Huallaga Regional Committee, wiping out more than 50 special forces (commandos), confiscating one MAG machine gun, an RPG rocket launcher and more than 30 FAL, M-16 and AKM rifles and a radio transmitter. And in Lima, the Metropolitan Committee and People's Aid placed powerful car bombs at the Maria Angola tourist hotel, and the home of the lackey congressman Joy Way. These are just a few of the most notable of all the actions carried out during the offensives of the month of July; there were also actions in the north, the south and the centre, such as the ambush at Pichanaki.

For all the above reasons we say that our plan has been successfully brought to a close. In this way we also have celebrated the 15th anniversary of the invincible People's War, smashing the dried-up cackling of the genocidal and national-sellouts General Hermoza Rios and Fujimori, who said repeatedly that "By July '95 Sendero Luminoso will be wiped out". Once more they have suffered a defeat, and they have had to swallow their own reactionary vomit. The same with the revisionists and capitulations of the right opportunist line, who made the gloomy prediction in '93 that people's war could not be maintained because "the conditions don't exist".

It is important that we recognize and give a heartfelt salute to the extraordinary heroism and great firmness on the part of the Base Areas in withstanding suffering and sacrifice. These masses are an example to all the Peruvian people and they deserve our great respect and admiration; together with the People's Liberation Army and the Communist Party of Peru, they struggle shoulder to shoulder to maintain the New Power, whatever the cost, developing a new economy, new politics, the new culture.

Also we salute the heroic militants and fighters of the Communist Party of

Peru and the People's Liberation Army, who by putting politics in command and always guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, win victory after victory, overcoming all difficulties, always holding high the banners of the People's War, always fighting against imperialism, reaction and revisionism.

TAKE THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS INTO ACCOUNT

► **PEOPLE'S WAR:** This must be developed, taking the Military Line as the basis, along with more than 15 years of victories and reversals, especially in the countryside; pay great attention to the handling of campaigns (enemy campaigns carried out in the framework of the so-called "low-intensity warfare" strategy – they are its main form; the complementary forms are population control, civil control and "intelligence" work, including psychological operations) and countercampaigns, the main form of the Civil War. We must carry out our offensives and counteroffensives within this context and not outside it; always taking into account the national political situation and the specific situation of each committee, without underestimating or overestimating the enemy (see *Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan*, chaps. VII and IV). Applying the Great Strategic Concept.

In terms of the cities, we uphold the criterion of one single people's war, but with the specific feature in this period of developing a gradual advance, seeking to fuse people's war with the class struggle of the proletariat and the masses of people in the neighbourhoods and shantytowns, handling the two hills at all times, and lay the basis for insurrection.

► **BUILDING:** While smashing revisionism, develop a General Reorganization of the Party.

In the countryside for some time now a corporatist militarization has been developing, with the aim of shackling the peasant masses; therefore only through armed conflict and political mobilization can we incorporate the peasantry into the People's War, eliminating step by step the control and pressures exercised over them by the forces of repression and the paramilitary groups (Resettlement Without Repres-

sive Forces! Resettlement without Paramilitary Groups! Civil Defence is Defence of Criminals!)

In the cities this government has set up an almost fascist police presence, under the control of the Armed Forces; this must be exposed and defeated. Because of this we must pay a great deal of attention to the relation between open and secret work, aiming at developing secret work. In all we do, we must be superior to the reactionaries!

► **TWO-LINE STRUGGLE:** Develop two-line struggle against the revisionist and capitulationist right opportunist line (ROL).

Study these documents: *The Struggle Against Revisionism; Lenin and the Proletarian Revolution; Khrushchev's Revisionism.*

OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD, DEVELOPING PEOPLE'S WAR!

► OBJECTIVES:

1. Overcome the bend in the road.
2. Combat the plan of the reactionaries and imperialism.
3. Smash the "pacification" hoax.
4. Smash the revisionist and capitulationist ROL.
5. Lay the basis for holding the IV PLENUM.
6. General Reorganization of the Party.

► **First part: OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD BY DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR!**

Timeline:.....

► **Second Part: OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD BY DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR!**

Timeline:

► **Celebrations:**.....

OUR ATTITUDE:

Nothing is impossible if you dare to scale the heights!

Be superior to the reactionaries!

Nobody and nothing can stop us, not imperialism, nor the reactionaries, nor revisionism, nor nature!

Peru, September 1995

Central Committee
Communist Party of Peru

"Take No Prisoners" in Lima, Peru

A Massacre Carried Out On Washington's Orders

Once again Peru's Fujimori regime has gorged itself on blood. That blood has also spattered all over the US and other governments which made possible this cold-blooded murder of all the MRTA members involved in the embassy takeover.

Right after the Japanese Ambassador's residence was seized last December, several waves of special Peruvian armed forces and police units were sent to the US to be trained for a specific mission: the one they now have finally carried out with such thorough brutality. Can anyone doubt that from the moment this plan was conceived, the intention, indeed, the point, in order to send the message they wanted was to take no prisoners?

Afterwards, President Clinton's office praised Fujimori for "acting in the interests of his government and his people." Would they have said that if this barbaric deed were not in the interests of US imperialism? Asked if they played any part in this raid, American officials all but winked and would only say that they had no "formal" prior notice. Fujimori himself told the press that his right-hand man Vladimiro Montesinos, publicly identified as a CIA "asset", played a central role in it. Few facts have come out yet, but the media is hardly bothering to deny that this was one more US operation.

Fujimori himself is a US operation. On the eve of taking office in 1990, he was called to Washington and told to implement an economic programme totally opposite to the one on which he had just run his campaign. In 1992 when he had more than 50 imprisoned leaders and members of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) shot in cold blood, the US stepped up its financial and military support. The US Ambassador nodded approvingly when later that year, faced with ruling-class squabbling that was weakening the regime's war-fighting ability, Fujimori sent tanks to dissolve Peru's parlia-

ment and took everything into his own hands. He likes to play the feathered peacock and strut like a "strongman", but his only real role is doing the US's dirty work.

The Japanese Ambassador's residence was a copy of the slaveowner's mansion in the movie *Gone With the Wind*. But the target of the MRTA members who seized it was not the system that enslaves Peru — run by foreign capital, local flunky capitalists and feudalistic tyrants — even though their hostages were leading representatives of it. In return for releasing them, the MRTA demanded freedom for its members (almost 500 of the 4200 men and women officially considered political prisoners) and a "dialogue" through which they could practice in a peaceful "political process" of the electoral type.

But the MRTA's wishes did not mean that the reactionaries treated them as gently as they treated the reactionaries. From the start of the negotiations, tunnels were being dug and plans prepared to kill each and every one of them as soon as possible. Of the three-man committee "guaranteeing" the negotiations, the deputy head of the Red Cross was expelled from Peru on the eve of the assault. The Archbishop of Ayacucho, who often blessed the regime's armed forces and their holy trinity of rape, torture and murder, oddly chose this day to take a vacation. The Canadian Ambassador, according to press accounts, may have used his visit inside just before the attack to help prepare it.

We Maoists do not reject all negotiations. Whether or not to engage in any particular negotiations at any particular point is a tactical question to be judged according to the revolutionary interests of the people. But a strategy of fighting in order to force the other side to negotiate can only be a death-trap. As Mao Tsetung said and Fujimori once again proved, the imperialists and their henchmen will

never lay down their knives and cease to be bloodthirsty butchers. And as Mao also said and as once again has been proven, without a people's army, the people have nothing. At a terrible price, the reactionary alliance of the Peruvian ruling class and imperialism has repeated the lesson that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.

Since 1980, the PCP (called "Shining Path" by the media), a participating party of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, has been leading the masses of people, above all poor peasants, in building revolutionary base areas in the countryside. There the people who were once the most downtrodden enjoy political power and are beginning to build a completely different society. The plan is to gather strength over a protracted period of time and surround the cities from the countryside until the armed people constitute a revolutionary army strong enough to seize power throughout Peru and transform the country in the service of the world revolution. These base areas — the organized and armed support of the people — are the "secret" that has allowed the PCP to resist constant attacks and difficult situations. Without the base areas and the PCP-led People's Liberation Army, the Armed Forces would surely rampage everywhere and take revenge on the people and the Party would be destroyed. This People's War, with much support on every continent, is more clearly than ever the only hope for the Peruvian people and a great source of inspiration for the people of the world. Right now Fujimori and his masters are drunk with blood. But they will have to face reality in the morning. People everywhere are denouncing this crime and those responsible for it and drawing the lessons.

Information Bureau of the
Revolutionary Internationalist
Movement
23 April 1997

Nepal

The People's War Is Sinking Roots

From the time the first cries of the People's War were heard on 13 February 1996, the face of Nepal has been changing. The downtrodden of the Himalayas are rising up, arms in hand, marching along the tortuous path of revolution to overthrow imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, determined to turn Nepal into a red base for the world revolution.

With the initiation of the war, the sharp class struggle that has been rocking Nepal for some time has taken a qualitative leap in both intensity and scope.

In semi-feudal semi-colonial countries the poor peasants are the main force of the new democratic revolution. And in Nepal, one of the poorest countries in the world, the rural poor live in particularly appalling conditions. Unleashed by the People's War, this most oppressed section has stepped to the forefront of the struggle. Along with the proletariat and, led by a genuine MLM party, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) [CPN(M)], the masses of Nepal are learning the laws of war through waging war. The pace and quality of events during the last two years have brought valuable lessons not only to the oppressed of Nepal and their vanguard, but for the oppressed all over the world.

DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR

The two weeks of concentrated and simultaneous activity that marked the initiation of the People's War and the ensuing actions in the next couple of

months effectively established the politics of armed struggle and prepared the basis for guerrilla war. After the successful accomplishment of this first phase, in which new forms of organization also started to take

shape, the Party launched the second phase of the war. The CPN(M) adheres to the Maoist understanding that in a people's war the main form of the organization of the masses is the revolutionary army and the main form of



Note: For more on the communist movement in Nepal see *AWTW* 1996/22 and the CPN(M) document "Strategy and Tactics of Armed Struggle in Nepal", page 60.

struggle is armed struggle. The basic objective of the Second Plan was "to develop guerrilla warfare in a planned manner so as to prepare grounds to convert specific areas into Guerrilla Zones in the near future. For this, the emphasis would be on creating radicalized (or militarized) mass bases in specific areas and upgrading and expanding the fighting capability of the armed detachments. Accordingly, broad categorization and identification of Principal Zones, Secondary Zones and Propaganda Zones was made...." ["One Year of People's War in Nepal", *The Worker*, Organ of the CPN(Maoist), No. 3, February 1997] The Second Plan that started to unfold in October '96 incorporated different forms of action and activities.

An important part of the Second Plan has been guerrilla raids against enemy armed forces. The proletariat and the people can only seize power by destroying the enemy's rule which is enforced through its army. In countries dominated by imperialism, the people's army can destroy the enemy's rule at first in parts of the countryside, win base areas and establish political power as the key to unleashing the masses and developing strength in preparation for seizing nationwide power in keeping with the strategy of surrounding the cities from the countryside. This is an uneven and protracted war, where the forces of the enemy have all the means of the state at their disposal and are armed to the teeth. But the army of revolution is armed with great courage and sacrifice stemming from a materialist understanding of the course of history, and it relies on the boundless initiative of the masses to overcome any obstacle. Most of the CPN(M)-led military actions so far have been carried out with home-made guns and bombs, *khukhuris* (traditional Nepali curved knives), work tools and sometimes even bare hands. But the revolutionaries also apply a policy of acquiring more modern weaponry. In late '96 and early '97, there were several attacks against police outposts, including in Lung in Pyuthan, Tribeni in Dolpa (both in the Western hills) and in Bethan.

Among these the Party has singled out the Bethan raid as the most successful and the best example so far in this newly budding war of a daring military exploit and supreme sacrifice.



ABOVE: Sentry at a political workshop.

PREVIOUS PAGE — TOP: Guerrillas planning the attack against the feudal landlord in Kabre. BOTTOM: Fighters in training workshop.

Bethan is a backward region in Ramechhap, in the Eastern hills of Nepal. In the dark of the night of 3 January 1997, a squad consisting of 29 guerrillas led by Comrade Tirtha Gautam held their lives in their hands and dared to attack a police outpost equipped with modern weaponry. Our comrades were armed only with home-

made bombs and guns, but were filled with revolutionary enthusiasm and convinced that in a revolutionary war it is people not weapons that are decisive. After a pitched battle that lasted for several hours, they succeeded in overpowering the enemy. Two policemen were killed and two others seriously injured, and the guerrillas seized

four rifles and hundreds of rounds of ammunition. Comrade Gautam and two other fighters (including a woman) lost their lives as their blood flowed to water the soil of revolution.

Another form of action is what the Party calls acts of sabotage. These include attacks (for example in Kabre and Baglun) against such targets as the Agricultural Development Banks which are a pillar of comprador and feudal domination in the countryside. During these attacks loan papers are often burned. Premises of NGOs and INGOs (International Non-Governmental Organizations) that play a role in perpetuating poverty in the countryside as well as premises of comprador capitalists have also been raided, and on some occasions weapons and grain have been seized. Such actions as burning the loan papers, apart from actually destroying the records of unjust and back-breaking loans, point towards the new class relations the Party is fighting for.

One form of military action has been the selective annihilation of local tyrants and other elements hated by the masses, among whom are informers as well as police officers responsible for the arrests and killings of comrades. For generations, the heavy burden of the caste system, feudal oppression and tradition have weighed heavily on the backs of the people. Now the time has come for the masses to have their say and throw their wrath upon those who personify and enforce these oppressive relations.

The revolutionaries also regularly organize armed propaganda in the form of torch processions and corner meetings (these are meetings held in neighbourhoods that disperse when the authorities come and then gather again in a different spot). In the course of all these actions the fighters always explain their politics to the masses, expose the enemy and call on people to join and help the revolution. The CPN(M) has several publications that appear regularly, but the distribution of leaflets, graffiti, posters and shouting slogans are other methods the Party uses to train the masses in revolutionary politics.

In coordination with military actions, the Second Plan also integrated political, economic, social and cultural activities. These were organized to further educate the masses on the aims of the People's War. They also

serve to mobilize a wider range of people, including from those sections of the population who, even though not the most oppressed, can be won over in a united front against imperialism and feudalism. One key arena of these united front activities has been the cities.

In this context the Kathmandu Valley Bandh (general strike) and Nepal Bandh, 21 August and 12 December 1996 respectively, were carried out under the banner of the National Mass Movement Coordination Committee (NMMCC), a pro-people organization.

The Nepal Bandh was called in protest against the Mahakali Treaty, border encroachment, corruption, murder and suppression, according to a press release by the NMMCC. With nearly 2.27 per cent of the world's water resources, Nepal is one of the richest countries in water resources in the world and has a capacity to produce electricity equivalent to that of Mexico, the USA and Canada combined, yet 40 per cent of the rural population still lack regular supplies of potable water. To the extent this capacity is tapped, it has been through unequal treaties for the benefit of India, which plays the role of the big regional power. In the particular case of the Mahakali Integrated Development Project, Nepal has taken up a project which will cost it a foreign debt of Rs 250 billion (the equivalent of five years of the annual budget), but according to the agreement the electricity generated will be sold to India at give-away prices for years to come. The theft of Nepal's resources by India is one feature of a long-standing unequal relationship, which all the Nepalese ruling parties have given their stamp of approval. This has created a strong sense of nationalism and anti-Indian/anti-imperialist feeling among the masses, as well as sections of the national bourgeoisie.

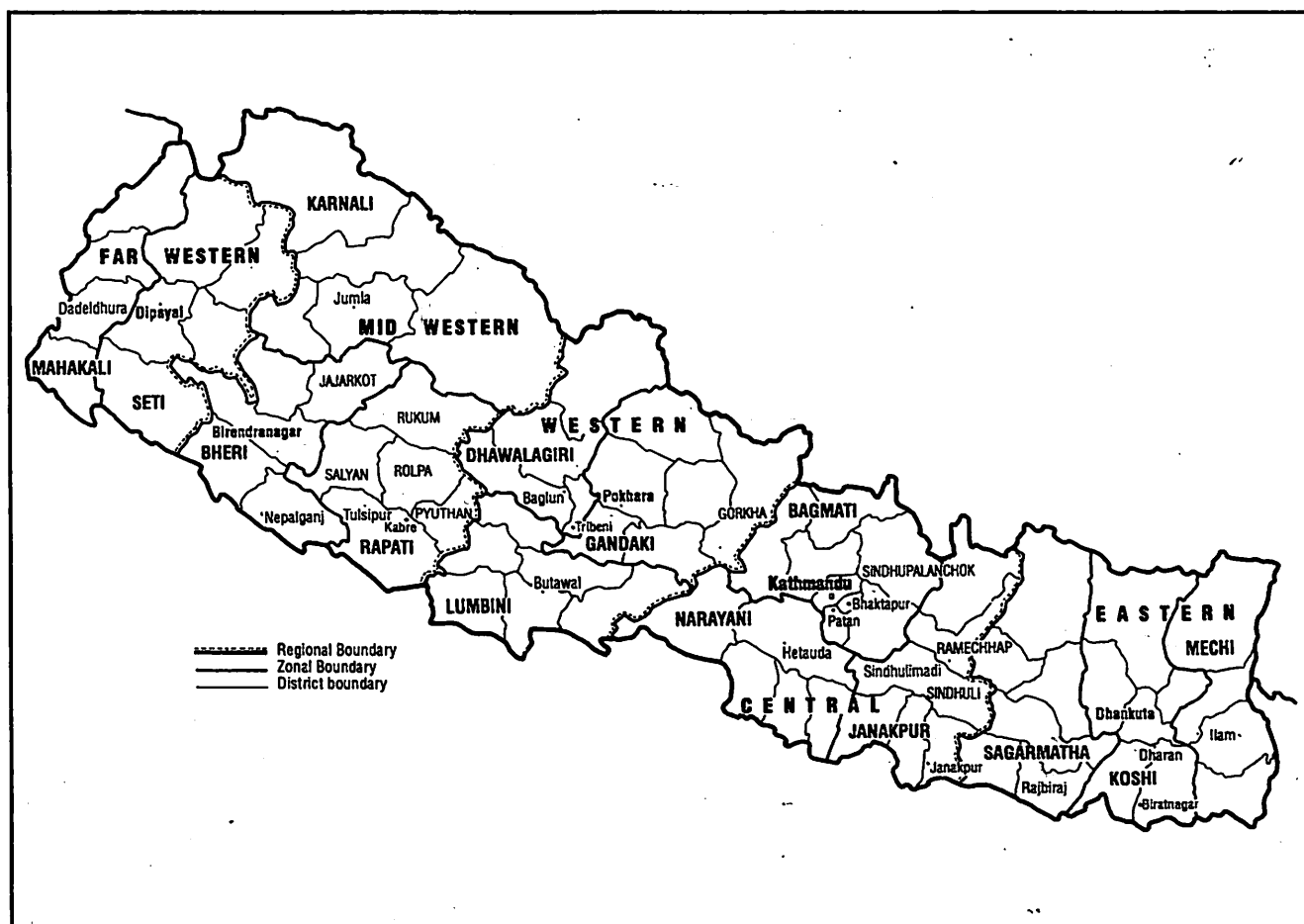
During the Bandh, transport, educational institutions, factories and markets of major cities were closed. Hundreds of vehicles were burned by petrol bombs and thousands of people demonstrated in the streets of the Kathmandu Valley. Major cities including Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, Patan, Hetauda, Pokhara, Biratnagar and Nepalganj saw torch-light processions attended by thousands. Three hundred thousand leaflets were

distributed all over the country during the Bandh.

The Celebration of the first anniversary of the People's War was part of the Second Plan. In a burst of activity on this day the Party and the people reaffirmed their determination to continue on the path they have chosen. [See Celebrations of the First Anniversary of the People's War, p. 58.]

THE STATE RESPONDS

In response to the People's War, the state has unleashed frenzied terror on the masses. In areas where support for revolution is widespread, the police attack and arrest all the young men. As a result, young men have been forced to go into hiding in the nearby mountains and the women have taken over their part of production. A team of human rights activists who visited the village of Kot Gaon in Rolpa during a tour of Western Nepal reported, "When the team arrived at the village it looked quiet and almost desolate. It was found that there were 20 police personnel at the police post located at Madichaur, 10 of them riot police.... The reason why the village looked so desolate was that most of the family members of the village had been to the rice field to work and many of the young boys and men had been compelled to go into hiding due to police terror." [Human Rights Bulletin, Vol. 8, No. 18, May 1996, published by Forum for Protection of Human Rights, Nepal] Other reports indicate that when attacking villages in the search for activists, the police shoot unarmed people, and when the person they are looking for is not found, they arrest, torture, rape and sometimes kill their family members. The above-mentioned human rights team also reported that the drunken police forces looted the local inhabitants' chickens and goats. Amnesty International's March '97 report also condemns "the torture and deliberate killing of prisoners or other defenseless individuals" by the state. According to this report, as of November 1996, 1358 people had been arrested and although many were released about 600 remained in detention awaiting trial. Among them are many members of the Magar tribal community and members of lower Hindu castes. As early as March 1997, more than 70 people had been killed in the hands of



the enemy.

One atrocious example of state terrorism is the killings in Mirul, a small village in Rolpa inhabited by poor peasants of the Kham Magar oppressed nationality, and a stronghold of the CPN(M). On 17 November 1996 the armed police forces and goons from neighbouring areas descended on Mirul, ransacked the peasants' houses and took almost the whole adult population into custody. After interrogation and threats, they released most, but five people were taken to nearby jungle and shot dead. Among these were a 70-year-old and a 65-year-old. The body of a young revolutionary woman was set on fire while she was still alive. In the coming weeks the oppression and killing continued. But emboldened by the ongoing People's War the people of Mirul did not submit quietly. They took it upon themselves to eliminate the enemy agents in the village and virtually seized the local power in their own hands, and in doing so they set a bright example for other villages.

ELECTION BOYCOTT

Nepal was ruled for a long time through a partyless Panchayat system of monarchy, but shifted to a constitutional monarchy in the wake of a massive uprising in 1990. The constitutional monarchy, which was established to spread the seeds of reformism and parliamentary illusions among different strata, far from bringing about any real changes continued to serve the semi-colonial, semi-feudal social formation in Nepal. In early 1997 the government began preparing for local elections to be held on 17 May. These are held at the village level, through Village Development Committees (VDCs) and District Development Committees (DDCs) as well as municipalities, to form the local government.

The elections provide legitimacy to the feudal and comprador forces and are used by the reactionaries to maintain their rule. With this understanding, the CPN(M) called on people to

boycott the elections and thus to reject the old regime while at the same time to fight to build the basis for a new state through the People's War.

The Party's call for boycott was accompanied by a campaign of agitation and propaganda, using posters, leaflets and door-to-door visits to expose the election farce and to call on people to take up the revolutionary struggle instead. Rallies were also organized in major cities, even though pro-Maoist rallies were banned. The processions that were held in support of the boycott policy were attacked by the police and many were arrested.

In response to the Party's call, hundreds of thousands of people decided not to vote, and in about 40 VDCs nobody even filed for nominations. Soon after, in other VDCs where partial lists had been presented, the nominees pulled out. By the time of the vote 75 VDCs (out of about 4000) did not even have candidates for the election. (This was mainly in Rolpa, Jajarkot, Rukum, Salyan, Gorkha, Baglun and Lamjun as well as Humla, Jumla,

Bjura and Dolpa — areas where Party influence is relatively strong.) The elections for these areas were postponed to an undecided date.

The overwhelming positive response to the CPN(M)'s call for a boycott came as a shock to the ruling classes, who were accusing each other of incompetence in dealing with the war. For weeks, Nepali papers carried front page articles voicing the need for the regime to bring in new rules and regulations to defeat the People's War. Forces from within the state were criticizing the government for "soft peddling over such grave issues", and this at the same time that police forces were on a rampage in the countryside, arresting, raping and killing villagers on suspicion of Maoism. There were requests for members of the ruling parties to be armed at the grassroots level and to join in with the armed forces in fighting the Maoists: A *Kathmandu Post* editorial in May said, "If the government does not act now, people in the affected areas will lose faith not only in the Government's ability but also in the democratic process itself [sic]. Then there is also the very strong possibility that the ideological fires of class struggle the Maoists are fanning will spread to other parts."

During the elections the state introduced a security plan involving 20,000 policemen who were mainly concentrated in areas most affected by the People's War. The police staged regular raids to intimidate the masses and curb the boycott campaign of the Party. Three types of reserve forces were brought in to strengthen the police, and in addition there were plans for a quick reaction army team to be deployed in every constituency.

So far, the reactionary state has relied mainly on the police (who are not the best trained and equipped forces at the enemy's disposal) to suppress the revolution, but as the flames of the war spread, the state is concocting new schemes to drown the revolution in blood. Soon after the elections the government started reviewing a new "anti-terrorist" bill (Terrorism and Disruptive Crime [Prevention and Punishment] Bill) which will grant sweeping powers to the police and the administration. This has given rise to outrage among people of all walks of life in Nepal, and the Party has launched a politi-

Celebrations of the First Anniversary of the People's War

From *The Worker*, Organ of the CPN(M), No. 3

The first anniversary of the historic initiation of the People's War in Nepal was celebrated with profound revolutionary zeal and gusto on February 12, 1997, all over the country, with various activities, including guerrilla actions, sabotage and propaganda.

In Rukum, in Western Nepal, the house of the State Minister of Industry, Gopalji Jung Shah, the main person responsible for the indiscriminate killing of Maoist revolutionaries in Rukum, was bombed. On the same day the main gate of the Rukum district headquarters of the government was also bombed. Pamphlets warning the police not to participate in repression and torture of the people were distributed.

In the heart of the Kathmandu valley, the house of inspector of police, Jeet Bahadur Basnet, was bombed to warn him for his role in repressing Maoist revolutionaries in Rolpa, particularly the killing of a dozen villagers in Mirul village alone.

Similarly in Janakpur, in Eastern Nepal, the main gate of the office of Senior Superintendent of Police was bombed to warn against sending policemen to villages to raid them. In Salyan and Pyuthan, both in the western part of Nepal, bombs exploded in different places. The bus park was blasted with a time bomb in Salyan and the Agriculture Development Bank situated between Khalanga Royal Army barrack and district police office was bombed in Pyuthan. In Gorkha, central Nepal, a distillery owned by a comprador bourgeois was blasted. In Nuwakot, the house belonging to Sumna Shah working in CID department was bombed to warn him against his espionage activities and his roles in charging people under false cases.

In Chitwan, the Maoist guerrillas captured the Small Farmers Development Bank located in Korang Swamitar. Similarly in Sindhuli (Eastern Nepal) the Small Farmers Development Bank was captured. Shouting, "Down with Agricultural Development Bank which robs the farmers" they destroyed debt bonds. Massive propaganda works from Mechi (Eastern-most Nepal) to Mahakali (Western-most Nepal) were carried with messages such as "March ahead with people's war", "Take revenge against the murderers!" etc, and cultural programmes, corner meetings were also conducted.

In Rolpa, Jajarkot, along with sabotage activities, new programmes of cooperative farming, construction and developmental works also took place. Throughout the country, souvenirs bearing the names of the martyrs were distributed and the family members of the martyrs were given gifts.

National media gave prominent coverage to the anniversary celebrations and carried articles and interviews by the leaders of the CPN(Maoist). ■

cal offensive against the bill. Under the leadership of the NMMCC, 9 political parties and fronts launched a series of Nepal Bandhs, the first on 29 August 1997, and several more were to follow. Tens of thousands of people, from human rights activists and lawyers to writers and artists, have been mobilized, and a broad united front has been established.

It should be mentioned that the United Nepal Communist Party

(Marxist-Leninist) (UML), a revisionist grouping who in summer '97 was playing a major role in the government, has been pushing for this "anti-terrorist" bill through one of its leaders, the deputy prime minister Gautam. He was quoted in the *Kathmandu Post* in August '97 as saying "they [CPN(M)] are terrorists and need to be dealt with sternly by enacting a strong anti-terrorism law." In response to some inside his party who

have raised questions about the need for this bill, he said, "Those who argue that tough laws are not needed can be accused of promoting terrorism." The revisionist monarchists of UML sound more and more like Peru's Fujimori.

At the same time, the government has been reinforcing its military presence by setting up military camps at Rolpa, Rukum, Jajarkot and Dang. Two army battalions have been sent to Western Nepal and are preparing a suppression campaign. When in Peru, in 1984 the army entered to replace the police in fighting the PCP, our comrades and the masses faced unspeakable cruelty and genocide and according to the PCP comrades themselves, it was a time of unprecedented difficulty for the People's War. The introduction of the better armed and trained army to the battlefield in Nepal would pose new dangers and challenges to the revolution.

THE PEOPLE'S WAR ADVANCES

In May, the Party announced that the Second Plan was coming to a conclusion and the Party was preparing the initial stage of the third phase. The Party's assessment was that during the first stages of the People's War (First and Second Plans) the fighting ability of the Party had grown and the Party was developing a professional guerrilla force. The Third Plan started from 17 August under the slogan "Develop Guerrilla War to the Next Higher Stage". One of the aims of this third stage is to expand the areas of influence, especially to the Terai region. (This is the rice-growing southern plains where Nepal borders India; it is the most populated part of the country, with many inhabitants of Indian origin.) The mobilization against the proposed "anti-terrorist" act is also part of the Third Plan.

The activities of the guerrillas are mainly concentrated on the historic strongholds of the Party, mostly the mid-Western hills and some parts of the Eastern hills. Having consolidated some of its base and in response to the enthusiasm expressed by the masses in other areas to join the People's War, the Party is set to expand to new areas. One example is given in a report printed in the pro-people *Janadesh Weekly*, July '97, from Dang, in Rapti

zone, an area of extreme polarization where Maoist activity is spreading gradually. This was an area of peasant uprisings in the '60s where the movement was defeated because of a wrong line. This area is inhabited by people of the Tharu nationality who are exploited by one big landlord (who is also a leading person in the Nepal Congress Party). Guerrillas took over the local market where they made speeches telling people about the People's War and Maoism, called on them to support the revolution and asked for donations from villagers. Many people, including small shopkeepers, donated willingly. During this action the guerrillas also set the landlord's house on fire (landlords typically live in the capital so he wasn't there). Stung by this, the reactionaries retaliated by harassing the masses for their support for the guerrillas.

TWISTS AND TURNS

Nepalese society is marked by the contradiction between a handful of ruling feudal and comprador bureaucratic capitalist classes and the overwhelming majority of the oppressed masses. This contradiction is getting more acute and polarization is intensifying. The crisis gripping the Nepalese regime has been sharpened by the upsurge of the masses since 1990. There have been five different governments in the last seven years since the restoration of the multi-party parliamentary system. The coalition that was forming the government until October '97 included the Rastriya Prajantantra Party (RPR), a reincarnation of the reactionary royalist forces who still control the army, the police and the bureaucracy. Another member of the coalition was the Sadbhavana Party (SP), a regional party of pro-Indian landlords and bourgeoisie of the Terai region. And finally, the United Nepal Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist). The UML, with its Marxist-Leninist trademark and its organizational network (the largest among the ruling classes), has become a handy tool to confuse the masses. (This coalition collapsed in October to be replaced by another one headed by RPP leader Surya Bahadur Thapa and supported, among others, by the Nepali Congress Party).

The new government's plans to join in the World Trade Organization

will further polarize the economy, as Nepal tunes its economy to WTO obligations to qualify for membership. Among these conditions is that member nations need to cut tariffs and dismantle non-tariff barriers to trade, measures that would open up the country even more to imperialist capital. This will have a devastating affect on small-scale and home-based production units such as in the garment field. All this will help isolate the puppet regime and strengthen the basis for continuing the People's War.

One reason the People's War is said to be a clarifying factor is that many self-proclaimed "revolutionary" forces are forced to show their true colours in opposing the rising masses. Most notable among these has been the UML who, despite their claim to be Marxist-Leninists, are one of the main forces in a government that is brutally suppressing the masses and their revolution. There are also other forces such as the Nepal Communist Party (Mashal) who instead of rectifying their mistakes and welcoming the People's War have decided instead to turn their backs on revolution.

The People's War has brought the fundamental weakness of the old state in Nepal to the light of day and has awakened hope among the masses of the oppressed, even beyond the borders of the country. This will not go unnoticed by the imperialists and the other reactionaries in the region, particularly India, which historically has been the dominating force in Nepal. The experience of the People's War in Peru is proof that the imperialists and reactionaries will not spare a single effort to crush the revolution. But the same contradictions that gave rise to the revolution in Nepal are brewing also in India, and any attempt by India to intervene will cause fierce opposition not only in Nepal but in India itself. It is impossible to predict the course of events in Nepal, and as the CPN(M) says (quoting Lenin), the revolution always creates in its course of development an unusual and complex situation. The road to victory will no doubt be full of twists and turns but the downtrodden of Nepal are coming forward as active creators of a new social order, and a whole new generation of youth is being trained in the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. ■

Strategy and Tactics of Armed Struggle in Nepal

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) — March 1995

Strategy and Tactics of Armed Struggle in Nepal was adopted by the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) [CPN(M)] in March 1995. This is a historic document representing a break with wrong lines dominating the Nepalese communist movement for decades. The understanding forged in this document laid the basis for the initiation of the People's War in Nepal in February 1996. This document is reprinted from *The Worker*, organ of the CPN(M), No. 3 — AWTW

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

When analyzing Nepal's history from a historical materialistic perspective, it can be easily inferred that the Nepalese people have been struggling against the complexities of natural forces and various man-made problems for their own survival and development. Modern Nepal was evolved through the struggle between and the intermingling of, on the one hand, simple, innocent people struggling to live peacefully on steep slopes with their natural economic system and tribal culture, and on the other hand, against the Hindus who had periodically intruded into this country from the south, especially about 1,000 years ago, with their superior technology of production and art of war, after they were defeated by the Muslims. In this historical process the rise of princes and chieftains and the continuing struggle between them has forced the people to be trained in vio-

lent struggle, which has been proved by history. The Nepalese people who had acquired military and fighting prowess in the course of their historical development were able to fight bravely against the Britishers in the south and the Chinese in the north, who were well equipped with modern knowledge, techniques and weapons, during the later period. In the battles fought for their own sovereignty, the children, old men, women and youths have demonstrated unprecedented sacrifices, bravery and cleverness on the basis of arms and equipment made in their own country. This frightened and terrorized even large imperialist armies and their commanders and established the Nepalese (Gorkhali) people as one of the greatest fighters in the world. Even today any independent Nepalese would feel proud when they remember the fighting prowess, bravery and sacrifice of the Nepalese people in the past history. It is a matter of no lesser pride that even Karl Marx, the proponent of communist ideology and the leader of the world proletariat, had also appreciated the sacrifice, bravery and skill shown by the Nepalese people in those wars.

However, from the point of view of the leadership, even yesterday and today foreign imperialism and its running dog, the domestic reactionary ruling class, have conspiratorially turned the brave Nepalese into mercenary soldiers. For us it is necessary to pass this historical legacy to the people through the struggle and encourage them to take their fate in their own hands.

Here, even after the development

of the centralized Nepalese state, the Nepalese people have been fighting and opposing in their own way the atrocities let loose by the ruling classes, especially the Ranas and the Shahas. Notable among these are many clashes within the different ruling classes and the rebellion of Laxan Thapa against the Ranas. Against the background of the growing people's consciousness and rebellion worldwide around the period of the Second World War, the Nepalese people too began to fight violently against the oppression perpetrated by the ruling classes. In this process, the Communist Party was born in Nepal and Nepal entered into the stage of new democratic revolution against feudalism and imperialism. The people from different parts of the country rose to fight with arms against the Indian expansionist ruling classes, their stooge the Nepali Congress, and the feudal king, who had conspired to crush the people's movement through the Delhi Accord. In this connection the armed rebellion that took place in the Bhairahawa area is notable. Even after that the people continued to be involved in small or big struggles breaking the reactionary law and administration. Armed conflicts against the local feudal tyrants in different places started taking place.

Among this kind of armed rebellion against feudalism and expansionism, the armed rebellion that took place under the leadership of Bhim Datta Pant in the western part of Nepal is historically important — in the year 1952-53 alone, the way Bhim Datta Patta Pant formed hundreds of

armed squads, the way he was able to annihilate corrupt government officials, the way he was able to capture grain from the government granaries and other essentials and distribute them among the poor and famine-stricken peasants, the way he was able to attack the feudal tyrants one after another, was not unimportant. The very fact that it was beyond the capacity of the Nepalese Government to quell this rebellion itself proves clearly how popular and powerful it was. Thousands of Indian troops were called inside to quell this rebellion and the leader was killed in a most gruesome and inhuman manner. It was from that period onwards that the present ruling class had shown its anti-national, capitulationist and fascist nature.

During this period peasants in league with the Communist Party started fighting against feudal exploitation in different districts of the country. Amongst them the peasant rebellion developed in Bara, Parsa and especially in Rautahat which was of special importance. Thousands of peasants defied the law and administration to destroy the bond papers of the local feudal tyrants, to break their granaries, to start a cultural movement to snub the pride of the feudals, thus spearheading the violent struggles. The peasants nearly captured local political power, leading to panic flights by local feudal landlords. However, it is a matter of sad concern that the then leadership of the Communist Party — instead of analyzing the peasant class war and armed rebellions that were taking place in different parts of Nepal and without exploring the potentiality of waging a guerrilla war — condemned them as extremist, and went to surrender before the king. It tried to limit itself into legal, peaceful struggle and to work within the parliamentary system. This was a historical betrayal in the direction of revisionism that would have a long-term impact in the Nepalese communist movement.

Even after that the people's rebellion went ahead. Peasant rebellions of different kinds continued. In this period, the peasants' long struggle against the feudals in Khaniyavas of Dhading and that of Dang are worth mentioning. Illegal struggles of a small and big nature continued against the signing of the Gandak Treaty by

the so-called elected Nepali Congress Government in the year 1959 and against the bootlickers of the Indian expansionists. Violent struggles in different places against the Royal coup of 1960 and against the partyless Panchayat system were also seen. In this period, the leftist youth and student movement continued despite the imprisonment, repression and terror unleashed on them.

The armed struggle of 1972-73 in Jhapa, in line with the protracted people's war waged in rebellion against the right revisionism prevalent in the communist movement, is the most noteworthy struggle. That rebellion certainly represents the revolutionary trend and spirit. Those who have been martyred in the process of consciously establishing a new democratic republic are immortal martyrs. Although there were deep shortcomings in the leadership in terms of petit-bourgeois mechanistic and "leftist" adventurist tendencies, it was however an important far-reaching rebellion against the autocratic feudal rule of the king and against the rightist reformist tendencies that had become deeply entrenched in the Nepalese communist movement. In the armed struggle to pursue the new democratic revolution the martyrs of the Jhapa rebellion will remain in the forefront.

Around this time, the intense struggles against the feudals and exploiters in the Eastern Terai consisting of Sarlahi, Mahottari, Siraha, Dhanusha and Sindhuli have established a new record in the history of the peasant movement. In this process, too, hundreds of thousands of farmers under the leadership of the Party were involved in the class struggle resulting in a kind of power vacuum in the villages. It can be clearly seen that there was a possibility of initiating the process of guerrilla war from the foundation of the peasants' struggle of that period. However, because of the reformist line and the petit-bourgeois pretensions of the Party, the peasants became helpless under the onslaught of the reactionary military operation. During that time many brave sons of the Nepalese revolutionary movement got martyred.

Amidst this, in Chitawan, the peasants' struggle, including the Juggedji struggle, took place. Even in that rebellion many peasant youths got martyred. The historic students'

movement of 1979 took the form of the people's movement throughout the country. In this process the development of the countrywide violent peasant struggle took place. This brought in the waves of the big peasant struggle in the Eastern Terai districts, mentioned above, and others including in Chitawan, Dang and Bardiya. Different sections of the people including peasants got involved in the countrywide struggle against the Panchayat and the monarchy by defying the reactionary law and administration. The king was forced to concede an alternative choice against the so-called choiceless Panchayat because of the strength of the violent struggle for people's power, although behind it there was an inherent conspiracy plotted by the king and the monarchical forces. Even after that the trend of people's struggle forged ahead by becoming stronger day after day for the sake of nationalism, democracy and the livelihood of the people.

The historical people's movement of 1990 became the central expression of all these movements. Here, along with the countless violent conflicts all over Nepal including in the capital city, the movement began to forge ahead to end the monarchical system. In this historic struggle, hundreds of brave sons and daughters of Nepal had to lose their lives. However the domestic and foreign reactionaries, including the right reformists in order to get limited reforms, went ahead to compromise with the king against the (high) level and spirit of the movement and succeeded in their conspiracy to derail the movement. It is clear that the end of the partyless Panchayat and the establishment of the multi-party system under the leadership of the king is also the result of the people's violent struggle.

Even after the establishment of the multi-party system, many people are still in the process of the struggle for nationality, democracy and the livelihood of the people. In this period we have also clearly seen in the course of the general legal movements under our leadership that people are willing to extend them full help and support with great enthusiasm when there are direct attacks against the reactionary state and there are violent clashes. Within a short period of the establishment of the multi-party system hundreds of Nepalese have lost their lives

for the sake of liberation and their rights, in which an important leader of our Party from Dhanusha and other cadres throughout the country have also fallen.

The conscious peasant class struggle developed in the western hilly districts, particularly in Rolpa and Rukum, representing a high level of anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle. Despite severe reactionary repression and terror, the movement not only remains sustained but also is going ahead as a resistance movement with a qualitative leap. That struggle has given birth to some new factors in the Nepalese communist movement which have inspired us to be more serious about the business of armed struggle.

From the above historical review it can be concluded that:

1. The reactionary propaganda that the Nepalese people are peace-loving and that they don't like violence is absolutely false. It is an incontrovertible fact that the Nepalese people have been waging violent struggle for their rights since historical times.
2. Until today whatever general reforms have been achieved by the Nepalese people, behind them was the force of the violent and illegal struggle of the people.
3. The Nepalese people are very conscious and sensitive about the question of nationalism and that they feel proud to lay down their lives while fighting rather than submit to the pressures of the foreigners.
4. From the year 1951 onwards until today, mainly the Nepalese peasants, and other sections of the people, have been joining in countless numbers of violent and armed conflicts against the reactionary state, and the anti-establishment feeling among the Nepalese people is very strong.
5. The Nepalese people are the great warriors of the world who are known for their ability to bear the severe material and bodily hardships while fighting.
6. The domestic and foreign reactionaries including the revisionist elements have been time and again ditching and conspiring against the fighting tendency of the Nepalese people. Today the greatest responsibility has fallen upon the

revolutionaries to initiate armed struggle methodically and consciously against feudalism and imperialism and to complete the new democratic revolution by representing that great historical legacy.

THE NEPALESE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND THE QUESTION OF ARMED STRUGGLE

In the development of class struggle in Nepalese society the establishment of the Communist Party in the year 1949 represents an important historic achievement for the proletarian class of Nepal. Even though the Party was not able to grasp the essence and importance of armed struggle, it was able to take a clear political stand to fight for new democratic revolution against feudalism and imperialism. Thus with all its qualities of childhood (immaturity), it waged propaganda and agitation from the communist point of view on the question of nationality, democracy and people's livelihood and it attempted to arouse the masses mainly in the rural areas against feudalism. Because of this process within a short period people from different parts of the country became attracted towards communist politics and the peasants' struggle started spreading in different places. Amongst them the peasants' movement in the Terai has special importance. Because of the development of the peasants' struggle the question of the correct political line in concrete terms arose in the Party. But the then Party leadership not only completely failed to lead the struggle in a revolutionary direction but also in the year 1955 it decided to limit itself to peaceful propaganda activities for socialism under the feudal monarchy. From this point onwards the Nepalese communist movement got openly dominated by the right revisionist line. After this for a long time the Party was completely submerged into peaceful, parliamentary and reformist activities.

Even when in the year 1960 the king imposed autocratic rule in the country by banning all the political parties, the leadership of the Party, which had been submerged into reformism, limited itself to various types of parliamentary slogans resembling those of other reactionary par-

ties instead of advancing revolutionary political slogans and forms of struggle. At this very juncture the great debate between China and Russia and the development of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution under the leadership of Comrade Mao initiated a debate in its own way about the necessity of armed struggle and the importance of fighting against revisionism. One section of the Party nakedly followed Russian revisionism and it began to get exposed thoroughly amongst the people. The larger part of the old generation of Party leadership supported Comrade Mao and China and the path of new democratic revolution against the Russian revisionism. Pushpa Lal in his document in the Gorakhpur conference even wrote, "It is impossible to establish this kind of system without waging protracted armed revolution." (Moolbato, p.66)

However, even then, the leadership of the old generation of that period were not able to evolve even from a tactical point of view the concrete political line of revolution and failed completely to determine the revolutionary forms of struggle to achieve them. In this regard the leadership of the Fourth Congress demonstrated extreme haziness about the basic path of the revolution by bringing in even more illusive and clearly reformist political slogans and by talking of "armed peasant rebellion". In essence in terms of political line, this section talked of some revolution; however in practice it assumed a reformist character and moved along in a pseudo-reformist direction.

In this regard after the Naxalbari armed peasant struggle began under the leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar in India after rebelling against the reformist CPI-M, its clear influence was seen among the revolutionary youths of Jhapa in the eastern part of Nepal. Similarly even here some enthusiastic and revolutionary youths of the eastern region went ahead with armed actions declaring armed struggle under the protracted people's war strategy by rebelling against the revisionism that had taken deep root in the Party. Despite serious shortcomings due to petit-bourgeois mechanistic thought and "left" adventurism, the armed action was a historic rebellion which created flutters amongst the revisionists in the

Nepalese communist movement and the feudal state structure of the king. At least the question of armed struggle became a topic of great debate in the Communist movement. The Jhapa struggle played an important role in intensifying inner struggle between the revolutionaries and the newly emerging opportunists within the pseudo-reformist groups following a reformist line. The debate on whether to accept the line of armed struggle or not started taking place in their own ways within the Fourth Congress, Pushpa Lal, Manmohan, Rohit and the rest of the groups.

Most of the reformist leaders of these groups provided illusions for a large section of the revolutionary left forces by accepting the necessity of armed struggle in abstract terms and for the future, but they kept on mounting antagonistic attacks against the present spark of revolution kindled by the armed actions. On this question, the Fourth Congress group headed by Mohan Bikram was in the forefront of those attacking it viciously. The revisionist essence of Mohan Bikram — known for mounting a destructive attack on the leftist revolutionaries of the Jhapa struggle and giving preference to make Man Mohan Adhikari, the pro-king renegade, as the Chairman of the Central Nucleus — is unchanged and well reflected even today in his analysis of the UML as a friendly force, even when it has degenerated into reaction and in his antagonism in practice towards our Party.

Because of intense repression by the reactionary forces, vicious attacks by the known pseudo-reformists and mainly due to the leadership's petit-bourgeois, mechanistic and "left" adventurist thoughts, the Jhapa rebellion could not develop into a people's war. As a result of the infiltration of incompatible forces from different groups, together with the slow degeneration of the leadership of the Jhapa rebellion into right revisionism, today they have even gone to the extent of sitting in the reactionary ministry of the king. However, the process of building a revolutionary trend by rectifying past mistakes is still on. Some leaders of that period are even today raising the banner of rebellion against reformism and reaction despite long jail sentences, torture and enticement.

Because of the contemporary na-

tional and international situation and the influence of the Jhapa struggle, the debate and inner struggle within the Fourth Congress increased in regards to the question of political slogans and the line of armed struggle. Despite theoretical and political unclarity relating to armed struggle, the immortal martyr Comrade Azad also played a role in this debate. Ultimately, after a long and complex struggle the genuine revolutionary forces within the Party managed to save it from the representatives of pseudo-reformism, Mohan Bikram and Nirmal Lama, by advancing revolutionary slogans for political power and the inevitability of protracted people's war for achieving it. Today it has become successful in forging the revolutionary alternative in the country by assimilating all the past revolutionary activities (including the Jhapa struggle) of the Nepalese communist movement. The Unity Congress of the Party has developed a clear outlook on this issue. In this hour of history we must admit in unequivocal terms that we have yet to materialize in practice what we have correctly formulated in theory regarding the general political slogans and the path to be followed. The reason behind this is, besides the complexities of the situation and the inner struggle, the Party is yet to be cured of the petit-bourgeois disease of revolution in words but opportunism in practice. It is necessary to make a concrete plan of going ahead with the task of armed struggle by doing this kind of self-criticism.

THE NATURE, TARGET AND MOTIVATING FORCE OF ARMED STRUGGLE IN NEPAL

According to the theoretical directives of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the general specificities of the Nepalese society our Party has formulated a political strategy of completing new democratic revolution with a people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat based on the unity of the workers and peasants against feudalism and imperialism. The long-term aim of the Party is to move towards socialist revolution after the successful completion of the new democratic revolution as an integral part of the world proletarian socialist

revolution and to achieve communism by waging cultural revolutions based upon the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is clear that the nature and orientation of the Nepalese armed struggle will be directed by and committed to the aim of this political strategy. Accordingly the nature and orientation of the Nepalese armed struggle has been clearly specified by the National Unity Congress of the Party as, "The line of protracted people's war based upon the strategy of surrounding the city from the countryside".

THE TARGET OF ARMED STRUGGLE

The aim of the armed struggle is to solve the basic contradictions between feudalism and the Nepalese people, imperialism (mainly Indian expansionism) and the Nepalese people, comprador and bureaucrat capitalism and the Nepalese people, and in the immediate term the contradiction between domestic reaction which is made up of a combination of feudal and comprador and bureaucratic capitalist classes backed by Indian expansionism and the Nepalese people. This way it is clear the target of the armed struggle will be confiscating the lands of feudals and landlords and distributing them amongst the landless and poor peasants on the basis of the land to the tiller theory and to attack them for this purpose; and in order to cut the roots of imperialist exploitation through projects such as industries, banks, etc., in the hands of comprador and bureaucratic capitalists and projects run by government and non-government organizations and to attack them for the same purpose.

This way it is clear that the target of armed struggle will be against feudals, landlords, comprador and bureaucratic capitalists.

MOTIVATING FORCE

(A) The Proletariat: It is the fundamental motivating force of new democratic revolution. Although the numeric strength of proletarian workers in the modern industries and factories of Nepal is small, it is, however, increasing. Even though the number is small,

this class, which is completely alienated from the modern production processes and productive forces, is the most revolutionary class of the society. For the success of new democratic revolution, this class has the historical responsibility of identifying and giving leadership to other allied classes.

- (B) The farm workers, bonded labourers, landless peasants, porters and poor peasants, and in our case in the cities the cart pullers, rickshaw pullers, drivers of tempos, taxis, and the transport and hotel workers etc., are the most reliable, consisting of a big section of the population, and the main motivating force for the Nepalese new democratic revolution. (Here, by "poor peasants" is generally meant those peasants who cannot make their livelihood from their land alone.)
- (C) Middle peasants: Those who live with difficulty even after working hard on their land throughout the year and who also take some land on a contract or on a share-cropping basis. In the hilly regions of Nepal these peasants outnumber other classes. For the new democratic revolution this class is an important motivating force.
- (D) Rich peasants: Those who can have a good livelihood from their land; they are able to employ one or two labourers in their work despite their own participation in their farm work and are able to accumulate part of their income through exploitation. This class is a vacillating ally for the new democratic revolution.
- (E) Petit-bourgeois class: In this class are included the teachers of schools and colleges, students, doctors, engineers, lawyers, junior office workers, petty traders of towns, retail traders, craftsmen, etc. Because of the nature and conditions of its production process this class remains vacillating. Despite this, this class can play an important auxiliary role for the new democratic revolution. Today the imperialists and the reactionary forces are focusing their attention to keep the intellectuals of this class away from the revolution.
- (F) National bourgeoisie: In Nepal although it (i.e. the national bourgeoisie) doesn't have an independ-

ent role it is slowly taking form. These kinds of capitalists who are involved in small handicrafts and modern industries and trade are at one end dreaming of amassing the wealth by exploiting the workers, and at the other end they are being run over by the monopolist comprador and bureaucratic capitalists. Hence they naturally show a contradictory character towards the revolution. Used to changing its character according to the situation, this class will remain a vacillating ally of the revolution.

It is obvious that the Nepalese armed struggle should formulate its strategy and factors by taking into consideration the above general condition and character of the enemy and the motivating forces of the new democratic revolution.

THE PROBLEM OF STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF ARMED STRUGGLE IN NEPAL

In the present era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the enemy class is practicing various forms of conspiratorial strategies to stop revolution in countries like ours. Amongst them we must focus our attention on the following because we can't arrive at a correct strategy without understanding the strategy of the enemy.

1. Because of its monopolistic hold over the communication over the whole world at this time, the enemy is launching a disinformation campaign with the deliberate propaganda of "terrorism", "fall of socialism" and the "superiority and success" of capitalism and attempting to lower the morale of people through the strategy of psychological warfare.
2. It is unleashing a vicious cultural war through the flooding of vulgar culture and literature in order to distort the minds and souls of the people.
3. All the imperialist forces and the reactionary ruling classes of each country are campaigning strategically by spreading the network of well trained and technically equipped spies and attempting to infiltrate into the revolutionary Party in order to collect information, to create illusions inside the Party, to do destructive activities

and to arrest or kill the genuine revolutionary leaders or activists of the Party.

4. They are inventing new forms of reforms and democracy in order to confuse the people politically.
 5. Under the strategy of preventing revolution in a country like ours the network of Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) have been spread in order to engage some educated middle class people, to prevent them from falling below the middle class and to entrap the people in a petty reformist mirage.
 6. They are encouraging unemployed youths to get scattered all over the world and to wander into India in the name of employment. The youths are being used as mercenary soldiers in foreign armies.
 7. The imperialists are polluting the minds of the people through the propagation of religion and other means after entering into rural areas with attractive slogans.
 8. If despite all these and other innumerable traps the revolutionary movement rises up then they start a campaign of heinous genocide through their powerful permanent army. In short, in the present era, the strategy of the enemy of the people is that of total war.
- In such a situation the strategy of a revolutionary party that wants to go ahead with armed struggle to make a revolution should also be clearly based on total war. It is necessary for us to adopt the strategy and tactics of tit for tat against the imperialist and reactionary forces by uniting with the people in all spheres of national and international life. The ideological weapon of MLM which has proved successful in destroying the enemy is an invincible weapon of the proletarian class. In this light it is necessary to determine the strategy and tactics of the Nepalese armed struggle by focusing on the overall state of the enemies together with the basic specificities of Nepal and Nepalese society.
1. Nepal is a landlocked country which is surrounded on three sides by expansionist India and in the north by reformist China. Although it is small in terms of area, however except for 17% of the Terai plain lands, the rest of the country is geographically replete with remote hills and Himalayan moun-

- tains with different climates, ethnic groups, cultures and languages.
2. In Nepal for a long period, a centralized reactionary state equipped with a modern and powerful permanent army and bureaucracy has been in existence. This is especially centralized in the cities. The enemies of the Nepalese people are not only within the country but also present outside of it in the form of imperialists, especially the Indian expansionists.
 3. The economic and political development of Nepal has been uneven. Nepal is predominantly rural and the exploited peasants who represent 90% of the total people are spread throughout the villages. The process of urbanization is on the rise; however we must say it is still small.
 4. The Nepalese peasants and other sections of the masses have passed through a process of different forms of struggle both local and countrywide for a long time. There is a widespread attraction towards communism among the people. However, here the influence of reformism and right revisionism is also strong. In Nepal there has been virtually no direct experience of armed struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party.
 5. The reactionary ruling class of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial Nepal, where the medieval monarchy system exists, is undergoing intense crisis and this crisis has started manifesting politically as well as in a serious manner.
 6. A big section of the Nepalese people are spread in different countries for employment, mainly in India for the army and other kinds of work.

It is through the above specificities that the orientation and politics and tactics of the Nepalese armed struggle can be discerned. From the first specificity it can be seen that for waging war in Nepal it has neither a large area, or any possibility of using any sea; nor is there a widespread forest nor is there any possibility of direct help or support from any other neighbouring country. However, the geographical situation is most favourable for waging guerrilla war with a direct link with the people. And because of the struggle against the national oppression of the majority of the nation-

alities this will also provide a good mass base for the guerrilla war. The second specificity shows that there is no situation of a direct military clash between the enemy forces for political power, which the armed forces of the people could take advantage of to seize a definite area. This clearly proves that the Nepalese armed struggle cannot take the form of direct or positional warfare against the enemy at the beginning. It is necessary to expand the people's armed strength by attacking the enemy's weak spots piecemeal and by weakening it through attacks in guerrilla style in favourable areas for the people. When the first and second specificities are viewed together it is found possible to establish and survive independently in certain specific areas just as in China's Ching Kang-shan and to be able to expand from these onwards. The third specificity shows the possibility of starting guerrilla wars in different parts of the country and developing them by taking peasant revolution as the backbone by centralizing in the rural areas and by relying on and uniting with the peasants. The fourth specificity clearly shows that people's support will go on increasing if the right revisionists are thoroughly exposed and the tactics of armed struggle are pursued vigilantly. The fifth specificity indicates that the pace of development of the armed struggle to establish the people's alternative revolutionary power would be faster and inspires undertaking bold actions to achieve it. And the sixth specificity demonstrates the necessity of mobilizing the Nepalese people working in foreign countries — mainly those Nepalese working in India — by conducting political work among them and using the area for the supplying of various necessities for the success of the armed struggle in Nepal.

The synthesis of all the specificities shows clearly that it is impossible for the armed struggle in Nepal to make a quick leap into an insurrection and defeat the enemy. However, it is fully possible to finally crush the enemy through systematic development of the Nepalese armed struggle. It can be derived clearly from this that the Nepalese armed struggle must necessarily adopt a protracted people's war strategy of surrounding the city from the countryside. It is also clear that that path can be trod only

after paying attention to our own specificities of the country.

The fundamental principles of this path are: To grasp firmly the fact that the people's war is the war of the masses, that it can be developed only by relying on the masses and principally on the peasants and that the masses are the creators of history; to acknowledge the need and importance of the stages of strategic defence, stalemate and offence of the people's war and to make plans accordingly by accepting the strategic role of guerrilla war as it is the principal form of war in the initial stage of strategic defence; to grasp the importance of developing guerrilla warfare into positional warfare and of establishing base areas to capture central power; and above all, in the ideological directives of MLM to establish the leadership of the party over the army and not to permit at any cost to arise a situation where the gun would control the party. It is by practicing the main strategic principles of protracted people's war and by refraining from making mistakes that one can unfold the laws of the Nepalese people's war. It is important to note the truth that the laws of war can only be learnt by participating in war. The overall strategic and tactical aim of war is to preserve one's force and to destroy the enemy's force. That is why it is important to be clear right in the beginning about the policies needed to develop the Nepalese people's war by understanding the overall national and international situation and the specificities mentioned above.

In our situation — give priority to the rural work, but do not leave urban work; give priority to illegal struggle, but do not leave legal struggle too; give priority to specific strategic areas, but do not leave work related to the mass movement too; give priority to class struggle in the villages, but do not leave countrywide struggle too; give priority to guerrilla actions, but do not leave political exposure and propaganda too; give priority to propaganda work within the country but do not leave worldwide propaganda too; give priority to building the army organization, but do not leave building front organizations too; give priority to rely on one's own organization and force, but do not miss forging unity in action, to take support and help from the international arena; it is only by

applying these policies carefully that the armed struggle can be initiated, preserved and developed. Neither by being one-sided, nor by giving equal emphasis to all work, can in the present context the people's war be initiated, preserved and developed. From this point of view the people's war will go ahead as a total war.

The successful development of the Nepalese people's war will be determined by decentralizing actions based on central policy, by launching actions at different isolated spots of the enemy and by applying a large force against small forces in order to get quick victory, by adopting hit-and-run tactics, by going ahead with guerrilla actions under the centralized plan from different parts of the country but also by giving special attention to specific strategic areas, and as Mao has said, by organizing and mobilizing as many people as possible and as fast as possible and as good as possible by placing the question of capturing political power at the centre.

**SOME IMPORTANT
QUESTIONS REGARDING
THE INITIATION OF THE
ARMED STRUGGLE**

How to transform a Party like ours which has been for a long period used to the reformist and parliamentary activities despite a clear political line, favourable material conditions, an appropriate and increasing mass base, into a Party for armed struggle? Is it possible to transform gradually through study, training, reformist struggle, and a small-scale resistance struggle? Or for that any leap, a rupture with the past, a decisive step or any big push is necessary? Will our Party be able to enter into armed struggle smoothly, without causing any damage to the fundamental class organizational structure? After the start of the guerrilla war what will be its consequence and the process of its development? Regarding this, what do Marxist dialectics, the experience of the International Communist Movement and our own experience show? Without being clear about these questions we can't start guerrilla war.

Marxism is a philosophy of struggle. The law of development according to Marxist dialectics is that each process of development in nature, society and human thought takes place

through the struggle of opposites and its obvious result will take the form of a leap. Any thought that sees any kind of development process as an ordinary addition-subtraction scheme and as gradual evolution should be exposed as bourgeois evolutionism by the Marxists. It is clear that transformation from one process to another process does not take place gradually, but through leaps, through qualitative change, through revolution.

In this regard Lenin says development is the struggle of opposites; there are basically two outlooks regarding development, the development in the form of increase and decrease and the development as a unity of opposites. Mao has given the name of vulgar evolutionism to the thought that looks at development as increase and decrease or as repetition, and said instead that the inevitable result of the unity and struggle of opposites is a qualitative change — or leap. This he formulated as unity-struggle-transformation.

In regards to the theory of knowledge, Mao developed the theory of two leaps, i.e. from perceptual knowledge to rational knowledge, and from rational knowledge to revolutionary practice. Among these Mao has termed the phenomenon of leap from rational knowledge to revolutionary practice as "extremely important". On this Mao says: "Only this leap — the first leap of acquiring knowledge, or the thoughts, theories, policies, plans and means crystallized as a reflection of the objective external world, verifies the right from the wrong. Not only this — the only intention of the proletariat to know the world is to change it".

Thus Mao has emphasized on the need and importance of the leap in the process of transformation of thought into practice.

Leap, qualitative change and revolution is not gradual evolution but a state of rupture, or a state of transformation of the opposites into each other as Mao, while talking of revolution as not being polite, restrained, etc., had mentioned about qualitative change, its process, etc.

From this it is clear that the essence of Marxist dialectics on this issue is to transform thought into practice. The conscious side has to make a plan of not gradual evolution but that of a leap. After having formed an opinion about the character of the Nepalese revolution, ways of achiev-

ing it on the basis of understanding the material conditions of development of the class struggle in the Nepalese society and the international situation, it would not be revolutionary Marxism and will be mere vulgar evolutionism or petit-bourgeois reformism if we continue to repeat in practice the ways of gradual evolution or of reform. It is impossible to transform from one process to another in a gradual manner, for that it is necessary to have a qualitative leap. Hence it is only through the process of push, leap and qualitative change that our Party, which has not taken to armed struggle even after developing thoughts about it, will be transformed into a Party capable of leading armed struggle. This matches with the past and the present experiences of the International Communist Movement.

Besides this we must also be clear that this leap will bring a big change in the structure of a Party like ours which has a predominance of representatives of the petit-bourgeois class and which has been used to a reformist work style. That is also not going to be smooth and easy; there will be a big change in the overall class structure of the Party because of the process of the coming and going of its members. This process will unfold amidst big losses and achievements. In this process, many mistakes, weaknesses and inadequacies of the Party will have to be paid for by blood.

After the guerrilla war has started, it will go ahead with the process of rise and fall, victory and defeat according to the law of war. But it is important to pay attention to the fact that once one has raised the banner of rebellion one should be determined to not lower it until the end, and if done without such a determination it will mean sinning against the people and it will be against the theory of MLM.

After having a Communist Party with an ideological weapon, political line and means of achieving it, the remaining problem is actually the problem of starting people's war. Lacking clarity on this question, it is not possible to get liberated from reformism. It has been verified by history that the people will judge positively all the historical deeds done for the sake of the people and when done with a profound belief in the principle of "the masses are the makers of history". ■

On the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Foundation of the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist

Statement by the Committee of the Revolutionary
Internationalist Movement

“It should be emphatically said that our movement is a product of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.”

— Ibrahim Kaypakkaya. “Critique of the Programme of Shafak”.

In these words Comrade Kaypakkaya, the founder of the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist (TKP ML), pointed to the historic context and the soil which gave rise to this party. The TKP ML under the leadership of Comrade Kaypakkaya was founded as part of the new international communist movement, which was born in the great struggle against modern revisionism led by Comrade Mao Tsetung at the time of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). From its inception the TKP ML was based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought (which today we call Marxism-Leninism-Maoism).

In 1985, the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (CoRIM) wrote in a message on the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the cowardly assassination of Comrade Kaypakkaya by the reactionary Turkish regime in 1973, “Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung and inspired to a large degree by the GPCR that Comrade Mao Tsetung had initiated, revolutionaries throughout the world launched a fierce struggle against revisionism on the ideological, political and organizational fronts. In most cases this meant a rupture with the old revisionist parties, which had long abandoned even the pretence of revolution, and the creation of new revolutionary parties based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.” The message continued, “In Turkey, it was Comrade Kaypakkaya who led this process in all its aspects. He developed a lucid and devastating critique of revisionism on a whole series of fronts and, furthermore, took the lead in putting this political line into practice — specifically by initiating the first serious attempt to launch a genuine people’s war in the history of Turkey.” [A World to Win 1985/3]

Since the birth of the TKP ML, more than once the ideological and political foundations laid down by Comrade Kaypakkaya have come under attack by

forces who have raised their heads right from both within the party and without. After the coup in China in 1976 and the ensuing crisis in the International Communist Movement (ICM), centrist trends grew in the Party, and the ideological basis of the Party, especially the grasp of Mao's development of our ideology to a qualitatively higher third stage, came under attack. Some, such as the self-proclaimed "Bolsheviks" and other renegades, tried to exploit the high prestige of Comrade Kaypakkaya and hypocritically claimed to defend his legacy while launching an all-out attack against Kaypakkaya's ideological and political line.

The formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) based on its *Declaration*, a process which the TKP ML was part of, was a great victory for the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist (MLM) forces worldwide. It marked a major turning point in the crisis of the ICM and laid the basis for ending the dynamic of disintegration and collapse and moving towards higher unity and the growth of the revolutionary forces. As we wrote in our message of 1985, "Comrade Kaypakkaya did not live to see the great advance and great victory for the world proletariat that is represented by the creation of RIM. RIM, together with other Maoist forces, are the inheritors of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung, and the formation of this Movement is a precious fruit of the struggle of the proletariat and oppressed people throughout the world. The experience of the proletariat and oppressed peoples of Turkey, of the struggle of Ibrahim and of his successors, is reflected, along with the struggle in different corners of the world, in the *Declaration of RIM* (and since 1993 also in the RIM document *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!*) to which the TKP ML is a signatory.... Comrades, the most important way of honouring the memory of Comrade Kaypakkaya is by persevering and advancing along the revolutionary road. [Marxism-Leninism-Maoism] is the basic compass which charts the road ahead. It is this basic orientation that is embodied by the *Declaration of RIM*. By persevering on this path, strengthening the unity of the proletariat on a world scale as well as its contingents in each country, by striving to correctly assimilate the lessons of the past, we can march ahead victoriously!" [*A World to Win* 1985/3]

A WORLD TO WIN 1998/23

The TKP ML under the leadership of Comrade Kaypakkaya not only defended Mao and his development of the proletarian ideology but also ruthlessly exposed all false defenders of Mao who tried to take away Mao's proletarian revolutionary essence and leave it as a hollow shell to be used to hoodwink the revolutionary masses. As CoRIM emphasized in its message on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Comrade Kaypakkaya's martyrdom [*A World to Win* 1993/19], Kaypakkaya exposed the reformist, legalist and economist activities of the "Shafak" group who imposed these activities on the masses as "revolutionary mass work". Comrade Kaypakkaya ruthlessly uncovered their poisonous revisionist eclecticism and convincingly argued that "these gentlemen think that by changing the name they can change the content". Comrade Kaypakkaya's observations on revisionist deception are still valid today for understanding political struggles.

Under the leadership of Comrade Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, the TKP ML was founded on the basis of drawing sharp lines of demarcation with revisionism. His method of crushing eclecticism and making the correct stand out in sharp relief from the incorrect was a result of his thorough-going revolutionary ideology. Without this firm orientation based on the teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tsetung, the TKP ML could not have come into existence as a party and a trend.

A firm MLM stand has been called dogmatic and extremist and ridiculed and considered a burden and source of problems by some forces. But the reality is that a lack of sharp political and ideological clarity will eat away at the strengths of any revolutionary party; a diffused and eclectic line will leave the rank and file confused; it will erode the

line and practice of the party on all other fronts including the organizational and military fronts; it will push wrong solutions and answers to complicated problems and constantly emerging contradictions in the process of revolutions — problems and contradictions that every revolutionary party will face again and again in its history. Maoism teaches us that we should fight for a correct and clear ideological, political, organizational and military line. And Comrade Kaypakkaya has left a great legacy on this front. This is very important for forging a single strong revolutionary party united in RIM and capable of launching and developing a People's War in Turkey. To lead the masses of Turkey to liberation it is necessary to have a correct political and ideological line, a revolutionary party united around this line, and a revolutionary army to wage a people's war and a revolutionary united front. In the struggle to forge these weapons, the TKP ML can count on RIM to do its utmost to assist.

Our Movement has advanced experiences on these fronts which all Maoists worldwide should learn from. For example, the experience of the Communist Party of Peru and of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), both part of RIM, show how the restructuring of the party on the basis of a correct political and ideological line has been the decisive factor for being able to initiate a people's war.

The revolutionary optimism of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya is needed very much today to answer defeatist trends in Turkey and around the globe that try to thrive on the problems that revolutions face in order to claim that revolution is not possible. Comrade Kaypakkaya was able not only to recognize the favourable revolutionary situation, but also to develop the line and practice to unleash the revolutionary potential of the masses.

The proletariat and oppressed masses of Turkey are waging heroic struggles and resistance against the reactionary comprador and feudal classes and their state, which is groomed and protected by the imperialist powers. These reactionaries want to suppress the masses. As part of doing so they hound, torture and kill revolutionary communists as well as try to corrupt them and move them away from the revolutionary interests of the masses. Attempts to undermine the line and heritage of Comrade Kaypakkaya as well as the ideological and political foundations of the TKP ML and RIM would only strengthen the chains that continue to shackle the masses of Turkey. To uphold the struggle of the basic masses of Turkey for liberation is inseparable from upholding the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary line which represents their political interests.

The foundation of the TKP ML was a great achievement for the proletariat and oppressed masses in Turkey and worldwide. We are confident that the proletarian revolutionaries of the TKP ML will safeguard this achievement and will boldly face present problems and challenges in order to conquer still higher peaks. In this struggle the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement stands shoulder to shoulder with our comrades of the TKP ML.

Develop and Strengthen the TKP ML along the Road Charted by Comrade Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, Tightly United in RIM!

Unite Around a Correct Line and Develop a Strong Revolutionary Organization Capable of Launching and Developing People's War as Part of the World Revolution!

Strengthen the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!

Long Live the Memory of the Comrades who Have Fallen in Battle Against the Reactionary Turkish State!

Let Red May Day 1997 Thunder Around the World!

— Statement by the Committee of the Revolutionary
Internationalist Movement

May First — the traditional day when the international proletariat thunders its political manifesto against the imperialist and reactionary classes all over the world and reaffirms its unshaking determination to violently overthrow the oppressive rule of these bloodsuckers everywhere on earth and build a new society, free of exploitation and oppression. On this day revolutionary proletarians join in streets, neighbourhoods, factories and base areas of revolutionary armed struggle to once again reaffirm their world historic mission and call upon all oppressed to join in this liberating life-and-death struggle. On this day, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) calls upon all revolutionary communists around the world to carry forward a red May Day which powerfully and unambiguously conveys this message — in contrast to all the reformist views, which in one form or another counsel the proletariat and oppressed to make peace with class exploitation.

Across five continents, our class and the rest of the labouring classes produce all the food and wealth on the earth. But while enormous resources are accumulated in the hands of the exploiting classes, poverty and hunger grow among the producers. The increasing number of electronic gadgets cannot hide the fact that never in the history of the earth has there been greater inequality. The imperialist ruling classes of a handful of rich capitalist countries dominate whole nations and peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America and, together with local big capitalists and landlords, seek to suck ever more blood-soaked profits out of the labouring people. And while some sections of the middle classes in developing countries may enjoy fleeting prosperity, others from among these same classes are cast unceremoniously to the bottom of society. Even in the citadels of imperialism itself, millions lack basic necessities and millions more see their standard of living driven downward. In the former East bloc countries, the same old ruling elite (like Yeltsin) dropped their previous hollow profession of “communism” (actually revisionism). They have changed uniforms, while retaining their capitalist soul, and become “market-oriented democrats”. They have accumulated mind-boggling wealth, while tens of millions have been thrown out of factories and off the land.



PHOTO: May 1st 1997 — Germany. The banner reads: Burn Down German Imperialism in the Flames of Revolution, Revolutionary Communists (BRD).

Approximately 3000 people took part in the spirited and militant Revolutionary May First demonstration in Oranienplatz in Berlin, Germany, which celebrated the 10th anniversary of the 1987 rebellion in Kreuzberg. The mainly Kurdish, Turkish and German participants came from a variety of political groups and social movements, from feminists, to autonomen, squatters, punks, anar-

chists, communists as well as a large number of proletarian youth. Of particular significance in 1997 was the participation of groups and individuals supporting RIM in the international Maoist contingent, with people from several nationalities travelling from Sweden, Denmark, Italy, Portugal, England and Holland.

The ruling class tried in many ways to prevent a revolutionary celebration of the rebellion of Turkish youth ten years ago. On May 1st itself, helicopters swarmed overhead and thousands of police invaded Kreuzberg like an occupying army, with riot equipment, water cannons and special anti-barricade tanks. They set up I.D. controls to try to intimidate people from coming.

In the weeks before, the German rulers had organized a major press campaign of misinformation, slandering the demonstration as led by only one "dogmatic" violence-prone group. They hoped to prepare public opinion for the use of massive force and to further confuse and divide the already complicated political scene in Berlin. Questions over the participation of immigrants, upholding the "non-

German" Kreuzberg rebellion and the need to oppose the German ruling class in a revolutionary way were being hotly debated in the political movements, including some of those directly connected to parliamentary politics.

In addition the ugly climate of racist immigrant bashing was stirred up again leading up to May 1st, with Nazi terms like "rats and scum" coming directly from the mouths of ruling parliamentarians. They threw the "left-wing lumpen proletariat" (the Oranienplatz revolutionaries) in the same category and vowed to stamp them out.

Tremendous technological advances have been built upon the labour of the proletariat and the accumulated knowledge of mankind. But in the hands of the imperialists, these advances are transformed into private "intellectual property" and used as one more link in their system of modern-day slavery. The capitalists turn every technological advance into a man-eating horror, kicking people out of work and onto the streets, sucking further wealth out of the oppressed nations and increasing the gap between the backward and rich countries.

This is not all. The Cold War between the Western imperialists and their East bloc counterparts is over, but the aftershocks of their beast-like rivalry for world domination are still taking victims from amongst the masses. While the crumbling of their Cold War set-up is still a cause of instability and suffering for the masses of many countries in Africa and Eastern Europe, newly intensifying contention among the Western

imperialist powers is adding salt to the wounds. Imperialism is indirectly and often directly responsible for the killings and horrendous human suffering in Rwanda, Afghanistan, Bosnia and elsewhere. Then the imperialists use these situations as justification to send their reactionary armies and use reactionary violence to establish order and so-called human rights (the most important right for them is their "right" to exploit the masses). The imperialists' actions are not aimed at saving the Kurds from Saddam Hussein or the Bosnian Muslims from Serb fascist rapists and killers or the Tutsis from Hutu warlords. Their only concern is to keep their shaky empires together. They use their guns to dominate and exploit the oppressed peoples. Every big-time reactionary in the oppressed countries has been their faithful servant for decades, including the now tottering Mobutu of Zaire. Every killer party from Africa to Afghanistan is financed, armed and politically advised by the US, European (France, Germany, Belgium, etc.) or Russian imperialists individually or together. Political forces who beg the imperialists to provide a solution to the many crises in the world are either deliberately hiding the truth or fooling themselves.

The world situation today and the repeated outbreaks of crisis cry out for a clear revolutionary vision that is boldly and persistently implemented. Oppression is giving rise to many forms of resistance and protest by the masses around the world. The majority of them desperately need change. Leading these masses away from illusory roads and obsolete ideologies and onto the liberating path of proletarian revolution is the tremendous challenge facing revolutionary Maoists throughout the world.

History has shown that only a proletarian revolution can bring the masses the power to control their human and other resources in the service of building a new world free of all oppression. This was powerfully shown by our class in waging revolution and building socialism in the USSR (1917-1956) and China (1949-1976). The fact that capitalism was restored in those countries cannot wipe out this profound truth and historical reality. These historic experiences have shown that the proletariat and the masses, having established their power by revolutionary means, can make giant strides in eliminating the relations of oppression and exploitation established over thousands of years and the reactionary and stultifying ideas which correspond to those relations. Today the proletariat does not hold state power in any country. But these tremendous historical achievements are exactly the ground we must build on to carry to victory new proletarian revolutions in various parts of the world, and to build new socialist societies on even higher levels. There is no other way to liberation. This truth must be brought home to more and more proletarian masses.

History has also shown the bankruptcy of other views claiming to change the world: religious obscurantism, nationalism, reformism and imperialist "democracy". We have seen how the Islamic forces in Iran immediately after the fall of the Shah turned against the masses and drowned their revolution in blood. We see now how the Islamic forces in Afghanistan have allied with US imperialism and other reactionary powers to enslave the masses there. We have seen in the past few years how the introduction of Western market reforms in the former East bloc countries has only intensified the suffering of the masses and how the much-heralded electoral democracy has not empowered them a bit. We have seen how the imperialist-sponsored reforms in South Africa have been nothing but the "changing of the guard" of the oppressive system, while the black masses, the great majority, are yet to be liberated. We see before our eyes how the imperialist "peace process" in the Middle East is being built on the basis of betraying the Palestinian masses and their national aspirations. Nor can ex-rebels turned Western (or market) oriented "democrats" take us to liberation. All of these false prophets can only lead the masses back to the same misery. Even the few states which today are out of favour with one or another imperialist power do not express the political interests of the proletariat.

In contrast to all these reactionary and reformist views of "improving" the world while leaving its basic class distinctions in place stand the revolutions waged or being prepared by the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties. People's wars are being carried out in Peru led by the Communist Party of Peru and in Nepal led by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) — both participating parties in RIM. Also, revolutionary armed struggles are being waged by other Maoist forces, such as in the Philippines and in India. Although the revolutionary struggle led by MLM parties and organizations does not yet occupy the centre of the political scene internationally, these struggles are the sharpest expressions of the interests of our class. They are the early birds of future waves of class struggle.

In the face of vicious attacks by the reactionary US-backed Fujimori regime, the People's War in Peru has carried on, and the Communist Party of Peru has remained steadfast in the face of a right opportunist line which raised its head inside the Party, proposing to surrender the People's War. This is an inspiring example of the determination of our class internationally. The launching of a People's War in Nepal by initially unarmed masses is a powerful echo of the international proletariat's view of how this world must and can be changed arms-in-hand by class-conscious workers and peasants. In both Peru and Nepal, the revolutionary road of the Maoists has been bitterly opposed by phony communists (revisionists) who have helped the reactionaries try to suppress the armed uprisings.

While the imperialists and reactionaries of the world crowed about the "death of communism", the parties and organizations of RIM and other Maoist forces have led revolutionary struggles and gained in strength. Our Movement has uncompromisingly spread a revolutionary communist view of changing the world and has worked to help form Maoist parties and organizations wherever they do not yet exist and strengthen those already in existence. Because in a world where the ruling structures in many countries are tottering with instability and the masses cannot live like before, what is most often lacking is a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist vanguard capable of leading the struggle and sacrifices of the masses to victory.

The international proletariat needs to unite its ranks around a clear revolutionary communist vision and programme and build an international centre for pushing forward the process of the world proletarian revolution. This is why RIM has been formed as a stepping-stone towards forming a Communist International of a new type, based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This is how Marx and Engels' historic call, "Workers of all countries, unite!" can and must be realized at this time. Only this kind of a centre can bring to bear the collective strength of our class worldwide to aid the revolutionary process at key junctures and places, while pushing the overall process of world proletarian revolution forward. Only this kind of centre can galvanize the potential allies of the proletariat internationally in order to shore up the revolutionary front against imperialism in the world.

Let us express this view of the world even more resoundingly and uncompromisingly in different parts of the world, train the proletarian masses with it, and lead them in revolution, so that the earth shall indeed rise on new foundations.

Long Live Red May First!

Long Live People's War in Peru, Nepal and around the World!

Step up the Struggle for a New Communist International!

Build and Strengthen Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Parties United in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!

Workers of All Countries...

Continued from page 13

zational structure and for it to justly claim to represent the embryonic centre of the world's Maoist forces. In fact, in those years, the main tendency of communist forces outside of RIM was to run rapidly away from any identification with the revolutionary line of Mao Tsetung and the experience of carrying out proletarian revolution and socialist construction in China under Mao's leadership. In particular, the experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, personified in the leadership of Chang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao and other heroes who had been violently overthrown by the capitalist-roaders in China, was misunderstood or even rejected and vilified by most of the former Maoist forces.

In the period since 1984, RIM has continued to advance. The most important development has been the adoption of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism by RIM in December 1993. This decision resulted from a long process of debate and struggle inside RIM as well as from advances being made in applying Maoism in the practice of making revolution – most notably in

Peru, where the Communist Party of Peru, a participant in RIM, has been leading a genuine People's War, but also in other countries as well.

As the political and ideological unity of RIM increased with the adoption of the document *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!*, appropriate organizational measures were taken to further solidify RIM and to enable RIM to advance further still in the direction of a Communist International of a new type, based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Of course, there have always been genuine Maoist forces outside RIM. Over the past few years in particular, as part of the intensified repolarization of the international communist movement, a number of parties and organizations have demonstrated a rekindled interest in the need to unite the Maoist forces worldwide. To uphold RIM as the embryonic centre of the world's Maoists does not at all mean taking a "hands off" attitude toward these forces. Together, the whole Maoist movement must and will advance further in the direction of the New Communist International, which will, in a qualitative way, represent the unity of the whole world's Maoist forces. But this process of advance and unification will take place on the basis of a line –

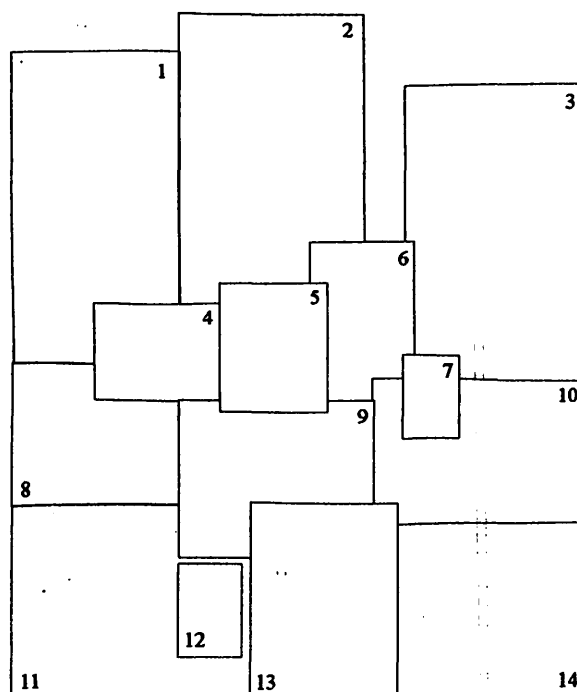
it must be led, it cannot be otherwise.

There is no doubt that the struggle for a new Communist International will be protracted and complex. There are a number of important questions still to be summed up from the earlier international experience, positive and negative, of uniting communists internationally. The class struggle and international developments are constantly posing new problems for resolution. The revolutionary communist forces are still relatively weak, and our experience in waging revolutionary struggle is, with a few exceptions, still rather limited. Our organizational unity cannot outstrip the level of ideological and political unity obtained. Today we see both the need for a common platform for the world's proletarian revolutionaries as well as the difficulties in forging such a General Line for the international communist movement. All of this is reason to march ahead boldly but carefully in the struggle to unite the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists of the world. The interests of the international proletariat demand nothing less.

"The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!" ■

Photos from the Cover:

1. Armed Workers during October Revolution
2. A soldier of the Eight Route Army during the People's War in China
3. Cultural Revolution in China
4. Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao at 10th Congress of CCP, 1973
5. Lenin at the 2nd Congress of the IIIrd International
6. A guerrilla fighter in Peru
7. RIM Declaration
8. Demonstration in China after the death of Stalin
9. Engels leads the building of barricades during the 1848 revolution in Germany
10. During the Naxalbari rebellion
11. The Paris Commune
12. The first edition of Communist Manifesto, 1848
13. Karl Marx
14. Women in International Brigade training for combat during the Spanish Civil War



Putting Mao...

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militance of the Chinese party in the world anti-imperialist movement. Albeit, the Chinese Communist Party did not attack Mao for his teachings on the new democratic revolution and the socialist transformation of Chinese society. These teachings continue to be valid and enlightening to the Philippine revolutionary movement.

The dogmatic ambush was not only on the appropriate structure of our theoretical education but also on what should be our efforts to sum up our own rich experience of people's war and raise it to the level of theory. Instead, there is the preference to go back to a single foreign example or to a part of it in an attempt to validate an erroneous line — the line of urban insurrectionism — and to superimpose it on our living practice of people's war.

Even while total victory has not yet been achieved in the new democratic stage of the Philippine revolution, the Party has acquired a lot of experience which can be studied and raised to the level of theory. It has created various forms of revolutionary forces. It has built red political power in a considerable portion of Philippine territory. It has yielded writings that are significant. But petit-bourgeois faddists get bored with the line of the Party and see no great achievement unless the cities are seized.

Even at the present stage, the development of the Philippine revolutionary movement is of a level higher than that of other revolutionary movements which are better known in the international press mainly because of the more backward forms of oppression (like outright colonialism and racism) that they contend with or because their national status has gained recognition in United Nations resolutions. But those who do not seriously study theory, under-rate the achievements of the Philippine revolution and over-rate foreign models on the basis of mere coverage in the world mass media and not on the basis of the potential and actual advances on the path of the two-stage revolution.

LINE AGAINST REVISIONISM

Since the early 1980s, the deviation from the anti-revisionist line of the Party has been prompted by a desire

for rapid military advances, be these the Jose Lava-type of quick military victory or the "strategic counteroffensive" within the strategic defensive. The National Democratic Front, like the Palestinian Liberation Organization and other liberation movements, could try to establish friendly relations with the revisionist ruling parties and regimes in the early 1980s. However, some elements wished to over-ride the pre-emptive relations between the Lava group and the revisionist ruling parties and even wanted to repudiate the anti-revisionist line of the Party in order to establish "fraternal" relations with these revisionist ruling parties and secure material assistance.

In 1984, there was already the draft of a policy paper on the international situation and line on international relations, which toadied up to the Brezhnev ruling clique and unnecessarily attacked China even if the Soviet Union and its flunkies in the Lava group were collaborating even more closely with the Marcos fascist regime. In 1985, this paper was read to the Central Committee plenum, which decided to subject it to further study.

At any rate, it was circulated and promoted by the International Liaison Department until it was counteracted in 1987 and replaced in 1988 by a new policy paper which upheld the correct principles of party-to-party relations and the basic principles of socialism but accepted at face value the avowals of Gorbachov, with some amount of tactful critical observations.

Thus, even beyond 1989 (collapse of revisionist regimes in Eastern Europe), the 28th CPSU Congress in 1990 and August 1991 (the coup and the banning of the CPSU), there are elements within the Party who continue to adulate Gorbachov on a simplistic notion of anti-Stalinism (which holds Stalin responsible even for the revisionist ruling parties and regimes since 1956) and do not believe that the revisionist ruling parties and regimes have collapsed and their "fallen" leaders (misleaders) and their relatives have characteristically become ex-communists and anti-communists, business entrepreneurs, openly milking the state enterprises and privatizing the social wealth of the proletariat and the people in collaboration with the flagrant anti-communist regimes which oppress and exploit the proletariat and people and persecute the genuine communists.

The criticism and repudiation of modern revisionism are a basic component of the theoretical foundation and re-establishment of our Party. No leading organ can do away with the basic documents of the Congress of Re-establishment, short of a new congress. And why should anyone at this point consider doing away with the critique of modern revisionism or capitalist restoration when in fact it has been vindicated and proven by the blatant restoration of the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and capitalism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union? The shame that properly belongs to the Lava revisionist group should not be shifted to or shared by the Party.

Inside and outside the Party, there are a few but articulate elements espousing ideas of insurrectionism, populism, liberalism, social democracy and the like who have been influenced by the swindling and wrecking operations of the Gorbachovite crew in the Soviet Union and who have derided, denigrated and attacked the basic principles of the Party. Just as it is important to take the most responsible among them to account for celebrating Aquino in the past as the champion of democracy and economic recovery, let us take them to account for continuing to celebrate Gorbachov as the ideologist of "socialist renewal and democracy" (in fact the restoration of capitalism, bourgeois class dictatorship and disintegration of the Soviet Union).

The glib advertising job of Gorbachov drummed up the total negation of Marxism-Leninism and the entire course of Bolshevik history; the accelerated capitalist restructuring and the breakdown of production; the rise of the bourgeois class dictatorship; the unleashing of nationalism, ethnic conflicts and civil war; and the emergence of all kinds of monsters, including racism, fascism and rampant criminality.

The imperialists and those who echo them wish the proletarian revolutionaries in the Philippines to become shamed and demoralized by the collapse of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes and to give up Marxism-Leninism and the Philippine revolution. Let it be stated forthrightly that the theory of Marxism-Leninism has proven to be the correct guide in the making of the new democratic revolution and in laying the political and economic foundation of the socialist system.

THE NEW GREAT CHALLENGE

At the same time, the Party recognizes that the truly new great challenge for Marxist-Leninist theoretical and practical work is the problem of combating modern revisionism, preventing the restoration of capitalism and continuing the socialist revolution. The greatest contribution of Mao to Marxist-Leninist theory is the recognition of this problem and his attempt to solve it. That attempt met with temporary success for a number of years but eventually failed. The Paris Commune of 1871 succeeded briefly and failed. But the theory of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship was not invalidated by the failure of the Paris Commune. After 46 years, the first proletarian state would arise.

It took thirty to forty years to build socialism, proletarian dictatorship and socialist economic construction among more than a billion people and it took another thirty to forty years for modern revisionism to peacefully evolve into blatant capitalism and the full restoration of bourgeois class dictatorship in several countries.

It is an advantage for the Philippine revolution that while it is still at the new democratic stage it has seen how socialism was built elsewhere

only to be subverted and destroyed. We, as proletarian revolutionaries, have the advantage of availing ourselves of proven Marxist-Leninist theory in the new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and construction as well as of learning lessons from the peaceful evolution of socialism to capitalism and prospectively from an inevitable resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement. By learning positive and negative lessons in revolutionary history, the Philippine revolution will have the opportunity to contribute to the effort of building socialism and preventing the restoration of capitalism in more effective ways.

In the meantime, especially after the bourgeois euphoria over the downfall and disintegration of the revisionist ruling parties and regimes, we witness today the aggravated problems of the world capitalist system. The most developed capitalist countries are increasingly in contradiction with each other over economic, financial, trade and security matters. High technology is accelerating the insoluble capitalist crisis of overproduction. High productivity is in contradiction with the shrinking of the world market. The monopoly capitalist sale of goods and services to the client states can be maintained only by loans that cannot be paid back. The client states are

debt-ridden and are squeezing each other out in the export trade, yielding no surplus to save them from further indebtedness but incurring more budgetary and trade deficits.

In fact social turmoil and violent upheavals are occurring with increasing frequency throughout the world, despite the peace rhetoric of the "new world order". Food riots, coups and countercoups, ethnic strife, civil wars, and various types of violence are bursting out in the third world and in the new client states of imperialism in the East. Even in the capitalist countries, the economic recession is causing unemployment, cutting down social welfare measures, generating social tensions and breeding racism and racist violence, against workers from the third world.

In due time, from the new world disorder, the anti-imperialist and socialist movements will resurge. By force of circumstances, the Marxist-Leninist parties that retain their proletarian revolutionary integrity and continue to wage revolutionary struggles and some parties that will re-emerge in countries where revisionist parties have disintegrated or degenerated will spring up once more to wage revolutionary struggles at a new and higher level under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism and under the banner of proletarian internationalism.... ■

The Situation of the Rectification Movement and the Revolutionary Movement

Assessment by the Executive Committee of the Central Committee, July 1995

The Party's rectification movement, its consolidation on the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and its revitalization under the guidance of the general line of the people's democratic revolution are advancing vigorously.

As a result, the reactionary U.S.-Ramos regime's total war and psychological warfare scheme to crush the revolutionary movement have collapsed. Totally defeated as well were the desperate attempts of the revisionist renegades to liquidate the revolution from within after the extreme harm that they had inflicted by being the main promoters of military adventurism and urban insur-

rectionism. By repudiating the grave deviations and disorientation, by consciously upholding the proletarian revolutionary line and setting tasks firmly based on concrete conditions, the Party has rid itself of serious vulnerabilities to frontal and outflanking attacks from open and concealed enemies.

The Party has identified and repudiated the worst and principal forms of deviation and error of the past. "Left" opportunism was identified and exposed and so was Right opportunism which further surfaced after "Left" adventurism had taken a big beating in practice.

The revolutionary organizations

have expanded vigorously. We have stopped the trend of contraction of the guerrilla fronts and reversed it towards renewed expansion. But the adverse effects of past deviations, weaknesses and losses continue to linger. Though less than before, there is still some decrease in the total number of the organized mass base and full-time forces.

There is unevenness in advancing the work of rectification and recovery among the regions. The process has been more complicated, difficult and prolonged than we had previously estimated. The actual damage is bigger and more severe and its full extent was revealed only in the process of sum-

ming-up and rectification. The Party's understanding of the rectification movement, as in other big battles, went through a process of deepening and widening, of twists and turns, and of struggles.

The rectification movement has been encumbered not only by the unremitting attacks of the reactionary U.S.-Ramos regime, the revisionism and opportunism peddled by the revisionist renegades and the reformist wind whipped up by the reactionary and anti-communist petit-bourgeois groups which have joined the imperialist ideological offensive. Another big obstacle was the accumulation of internal weaknesses resulting from longstanding and serious disorientation, shortcomings and losses.

We must wage the struggle painstakingly to overcome the damage and advance anew. We must have the determination to deepen the rectification movement and strengthen the foundation for renewed advance. Likely, we shall need the rest of this year and next year for completing the process of rectification and totally overcoming the damage. Likely also within next year, our advances in the struggle and expansion of organized strength will become solid.

The rectification movement must be carried through to the end and the Party further consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally. The reactionary ruling system is wracked by a severe political and economic crisis. When the situation of the Party improves through the rectification movement, its revolutionary leadership will surely be enhanced among the people and the armed revolution will surely advance.

I. IDEOLOGICAL RECTIFICATION AND STRENGTHENING

The Party has regained strength in the course of intense struggles against the total war and reactionary rule of the U.S.-Ramos regime, against the revisionism and capitulationism peddled by the revisionist traitors, and against petit-bourgeois reformism, as well as against its own grave internal weaknesses and shortcomings. Its commitment and unity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, on the general line

of the people's democratic revolution and on the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside, is firmer and clearer. Revisionism, dogmatism and empiricism, Right and "Left" opportunism, bureaucratism, ultra-democracy and liquidationism are steadfastly being repudiated. The internal foundations for resolutely advancing the revolution are stronger.

In the last few years, the rectification movement itself is our most important victory in upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and integrating it with our concrete practice. It is a proof of our Party's enduring Marxist-Leninist foundation and its capability to unreservedly and self-critically analyze its own practice from a thoroughly proletarian-revolutionary viewpoint. While the revisionist traitors are wallowing ever deeper in the rut of capitulationism and decay, the Party is resolutely repudiating the past errors and shortcomings and is persevering along the revolutionary path.

The basic documents of the second thorough-going rectification movement present a comprehensive analysis of the crucial questions in the theory and practice of the Philippine revolution over the past decade and a half. These questions on line, strategy and policies stem primarily from the positive and negative experiences of the Philippine revolution. At the same time, the big struggles that shook the international proletarian movement from the rise and eventual collapse of modern revisionism have a strong bearing on these questions. Thus, the rectification movement fosters the understanding of the Party and the working class of the Marxist-Leninist line of advance not only in the present but also in the subsequent stages of the revolution.

The Party actively leads in defending and upholding the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought against modern revisionism, opportunism and other bourgeois and petit-bourgeois lines. Aside from efforts inside the country, the Party participates and leads in convening international conferences to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We are undertaking theoretical and historical researches and publishing works contributing to the study of experiences in socialist revolution and in the struggle against modern revisionism. The Party is vig-

orously propagating the anti-revisionist line and the theory of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship in order to combat the systematic anti-socialist propaganda of the imperialists, echoed by the revisionist renegades in anti-Stalin, anti-Mao and anti-communist attacks.

To guide the study and practice of its units and members, the Party publishes in *Rebolusyon* and *Ang Bayan* timely analyses and explanation of outstanding national and international issues. The Party militantly combats pro-imperialist and reformist lines and views in dealing with such issues as peace, environment, development, women, national minorities and human rights as well as the reformist use of these issues in attempting to cover up the fundamental and principal issues of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Thus, the class stand and correct revolutionary orientation in dealing with principal national and international issues are strengthened anew and previous strong influences of subjectivism and petit-bourgeois opportunism are repudiated.

SUMMING UP AND SELF-CRITICISM

The rectification movement consists mainly of summing up and criticism and self-criticism. Its propagation and deepening consists of a widespread study of the central documents of rectification and, guided by these, summings-up of experiences at the lower levels and spheres. Basic revolutionary principles are being studied through a comprehensive understanding of concrete experiences over the past decade and a half.

Comprehensive summings-up at the regional level and of main lines of work are important to enable these to thoroughly grasp the conclusions and lessons drawn by the central rectification documents. These are necessary especially because the longstanding and serious deviations, errors and shortcomings have resulted in disorientation seeping down to the basic levels. So as to be able to thoroughly repudiate the deviations and errors and lay a firm foundation for renewed advance, we must make rectification and self-criticism permeate the entire Party.

At first impact after the Tenth Plenum of the Central Committee, the

outstanding question in the rectification movement was the correct view of the entire experience of the Party in the last decade and a half. The focus was on national policies and programs decided by the Party's central leadership. These questions were further sharpened by the all-out anti-rectification and anti-Party campaign launched by the revisionist traitors.

As the process of summing-up reached the regions and the main lines of work in 1993 and 1994, the Party's comprehension of its past experiences was further enriched. We could then focus more attention on experiences with regard to applying the line, policies and national plans at the intermediate and basic levels. The deviations and damage as well as their manifestations at the lower levels, in the localities and in the direct relations of the Party and the people's army with the masses were identified even more concretely, thoroughly and sharply.

All regional committees have already taken a correct stand on the principal issues and events of the past, in accordance with the rectification movement and basic revolutionary principles. Almost all units have completed their comprehensive summings-up. Regional committees and national staff organs which have yet to complete comprehensive summings-up have undertaken a thorough assessment of their forces and work, or have taken a stand on the outstanding issues of line and principles concerning the struggle against the revisionist renegades.

Among certain units, summing-up has been delayed and the rectification movement has yet to go into full swing due to the urgency of having to confront the sabotage and trouble-making of the revisionist traitors. However, in some other units, the delay also comes from the impact of disorientation and wrong views. For instance, some are still influenced by centrism, bourgeois liberalism and sentimentalism and continue to deny the existence of a two-line struggle within the Party and the centrality of such a struggle in building a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. They refuse to recognize or they cannot comprehend the simultaneous existence and struggle of the proletarian and bourgeois lines in the past and even in

the present circumstances of the Party. Thus, they continue to question, though not forthrightly, the need for a rectification movement.

There are also some units that stood firmly against the worst manifestations of the deviations and errors peddled by the revisionist renegades but easily became complacent or satisfied with the superficial analysis of their experience and the situation within their own sphere. They reject and repudiate the errors of others but they fall short when it comes to critically analyzing and criticizing themselves.

In some units, erroneous views continue to arise regarding the dialectical interaction between the summing-up of the whole and of its parts and between the self-criticism of the higher organs and that of the lower organs. Some hold the view that they are not involved or responsible for the serious deviations carried into the program of action implemented by the entire Party for almost a decade. They tend to overemphasize the particularity of their spheres of work, look only at how they differ from those who committed the most severe manifestations of deviation and overlook the fact that, like the latter, they too had committed serious violations of the line and basic principles, though not extremely.

There are also those who put the blame on the higher organs and regard themselves as merely having been "swayed", "victimized" or having "followed" the errors from above. They reduce the practice of the Party, people's army and the masses in one locality or line of work into a mere organizational question regarding the relation between higher and lower levels, instead of analyzing and fully comprehending their practice at their own level, with its particularity and integrity, as products of the integration of the line and policies of the Party with their own concrete situation and practice. By blaming the higher organs, especially concerning the practice of more than one decade, they in fact deny responsibility at their own level and within their particular area.

These erroneous views result in the chopping up of our past experiences, selectivity in criticism and rectification of deviations and errors, or avoidance of raising issues to the level of questions of line and principle. Efforts

at rectification do not go beyond the superficial criticism of the worst deviations of others. The desire to avoid blame and pass it on to others distorts the summing-up and rectification, which is the scientific and critical study of concrete experience to raise our understanding of the principles and theory of making revolution. Instead of earnestly upholding the principles and unity of the Party, such a desire breeds distrust, narrow localism and departmentalism. Thus, efforts at rectification are haphazard and consolidation work is hampered; the internal foundation for decisively recovering from our grave losses and advancing firmly are not laid.

Thorough-going rectification demands the correct, critical and comprehensive analysis of concrete experiences at all levels and important lines of work. We must identify and rectify the primary forms and manifestations of deviations, errors and shortcomings at all levels and lines of work. We must also raise our understanding of our experiences to the level of the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois counterrevolutionary line within the Party. We must finish the summings-up of all the regions and improve our comprehension and summing-up of the rich experiences at the intermediate and basic levels. We must also finish the summings-up of principal lines of work, especially united front work, army building and mass work in the countryside, to enable us to consolidate and sharpen our summing-up of experiences and further develop the particular policies and methods of work.

Because the cadres and members of the Party have started to uphold the basic principles and rectify past errors and shortcomings, we will certainly surmount the remaining internal obstacles and arrive at a higher level of unity on the principal questions. Still, we must continue to be vigilant, uphold the spirit of thoroughness in rectification and resoluteness in struggle so as to decisively overcome the most serious deviations, errors and shortcomings. We must continue to be steadfast in our principles and have a broad view so as to thoroughly get rid of erroneous concepts, harmful habits, corruption and various forms of bureaucratism left over by serious deviations and short-

comings of the past.

Empiricism and revisionism took big blows from the rectification movement and Party cadres and members are combating these with heightened consciousness. But we must continue to be vigilant. Empiricism and revisionism will continue to pose a big danger for as long as theoretical education on the three-level Party course is not firmly being carried out; the study and propagation of the theory and history of scientific socialism, the international communist movement and the struggle against revisionism are not sustained and thorough-going; and haphazardness and eclecticism in theory and principles are not thoroughly overcome. While we are still reeling from the impact of the damage and we have not firmed up our renewed advance, there will be tremendous difficulties in the revolution on which empiricism and revisionism can flourish.

Dogmatism continues to pose a big danger due to the widespread influence of the previous dogmatic style of study and work. The penchant for seeking foreign models and formulas to impose uncritically upon our concrete conditions and practice existed for a long time. In studying the experiences from other countries and the concrete situation of the Philippine revolution, many comrades had the propensity to simply draw parallels, often very arbitrarily. The previous healthy practice of giving importance to social investigation and class analysis had long been neglected and swamped by the craving for formulas and schemes for a shortcut to victory. Dogmatism was fostered by, and in turn fostered, bureaucratism and commandism.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONIST TRAITORS

In 1994, the revisionist renegades were further exposed and isolated and this accelerated the disintegration of the groups they were able to deceive and sway. We completed the expulsion of their active operators from organizations led and influenced by the revolutionary movement and thus removed the biggest internal obstacle to the further strengthening of these organizations. In the main, although still intense, the struggle against the sabo-

tage work of the revisionist traitors is now only secondary to undertaking thorough-going rectification and consolidation of the organizations and the tasks of the Party.

The revisionist renegades were quickly isolated as soon as their complete ideological, political and organizational bankruptcy became exposed. Until the early part of 1993, the renegades tried to pose as loyal Party members and instigated an anti-rectification and anti-Party barrage through a campaign of lies and venom against the central leadership. But before long, after the vast majority of Party members denounced them, they were compelled to totally reveal their revisionist, capitulationist and collaborationist line in their bid to consolidate the groups they had deceived. They poured out their hostility towards Marxism-Leninism, the people's democratic revolution and people's war. From their previous insistence on military adventurism and urban insurrectionism, they turned to blatant anti-communism and capitulationism, and thus, completely exposed the single revisionist core of their old and current bourgeois line.

Apart from their revisionism and capitulationism, the revisionist traitors are wallowing ever deeper in corruption. While the chief traitors luxuriate and indulge themselves in the cities, the small bands whom they have misled in the countryside are being completely mired in gangsterism and roving rebel practices. Whether in the cities or in the countryside, the masses despise them for being saboteurs and wreckers.

The revisionist renegades and their counter-revolutionary line and wrecking operations are the worst representations and consequences of the grave deviations and shortcomings in the past. They stand as negative examples, underscoring the reality and intensity of the struggle between the proletarian line and bourgeois line within the Party. If we do not resolutely advance the ideological, political and organizational consolidation of the Party, if we do not heighten proletarian vigilance, the bourgeois and petit-bourgeois line will gain ground and strength, mislead and cause severe damage. This lesson, for which we have paid dearly, should never be forgotten.

THREE-LEVEL PARTY EDUCATION COURSE

Next to summings-up and self-criticism, the most important component of the rectification movement is advancing the Party's three-level course for theoretical education. The long-standing gross negligence in conducting the three-level education course and as a consequence the poor theoretical level of Party cadres and leading committees set the basic conditions for the outgrowth and worsening of disorientation and errors in the past.

Since the Tenth Plenum of the Central Committee, there has been a marked improvement in the propagation of the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao within the Party. The dissemination of Party documents — from the documents of re-establishment, the first comprehensive rectification movement, up to the second rectification movement and the current Party publications — has also markedly improved. The initiative to propagate Marxist-Leninist-Maoist writings come from the central leadership and from the leading committees in the regions. The translation of these into Pilipino and various local languages have also been revitalized in order to address the needs of the overwhelming majority of the Party members who are unable to read the English texts. There is a marked increase of and heightened enthusiasm for collective and individual reading and study within the Party.

However, attention on the three-level Party course based on the outline approved by the Tenth Plenum was delayed. At the outset, time and attention of leading cadres and committees was focused mainly on combating the all-out anti-Party campaign and, subsequently, on the summings-up of the regional committees and main lines of work. The setting up of the machinery for education and instruction was also delayed.

At the current stage of the rectification movement, the main emphasis is on completing and propagating the three-level course. The courses are being improved and targeted for completion and propagation within the current year. The Party is determined to tackle the problem of having a poor theoretical grounding. It is the Party's fundamental task to arm the cadres and

members of the Party with sufficient knowledge of the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This is the requisite for enabling them to improve and understand — at the level of theory and principles — their positive and negative experiences in the past, more effectively combat revisionism and other forms of opportunism and actively contribute to the development of the Party's revolutionary study and practice.

National organs and most regions have their respective cadre core with the capability to lead the theoretical education at their levels and areas. But long neglect has considerably diminished their ranks. A large bulk of the Party's cadres was recruited towards the end of the '70s and throughout the '80s, that is, at a time that serious disorientation and neglect of theoretical education and ideological building prevailed. A majority of leading committee members in the regions have a superficial acquaintance even of Mao's writings which are closest to the situation and problems of the Philippine revolution. Many cadres and members lack knowledge even of the history of the Philippine revolution. Their knowledge with regard to the theory of scientific socialism, modern revisionism and the history of the international communist movement is even more lacking.

Neglect of the study of theory and principles had prevailed for a long time and bred a bad style in study and work which we must uproot with all our might and replace with the scientific and militant style of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

We must provide the necessary time, personnel and resources for education work. All capable leading cadres must directly lead and participate in this work. We must have a plan for producing and training many more instructors at the different levels. We must systematically and constantly promote the translation, reproduction and distribution, as well as collective and individual reading, of our Party publications and other Marxist-Leninist-Maoist works at various levels and scopes.

FURTHER DEEPENING THE RECTIFICATION MOVEMENT

Deepening the rectification movement means more thorough-going re-

putation of the serious deviations and errors through the repudiation of their principal forms and manifestations at different levels, areas and lines of work. It also means decisively overcoming the serious deviations and errors at the theoretical level and deepening and broadening the entire Party's knowledge of the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and of the history of the Philippine revolution and the international communist movement. Concurrently, we must further consolidate the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally, set the correct tasks and with all our might reinvigorate our revolutionary work and struggles.

To further advance and deepen the rectification movement and ideological consolidation, let us set ourselves to accomplish the following tasks:

1. Complete the summings-up of the regional committees and main lines of work. Let the spirit of self-criticism and rectification prevail at all levels and in all areas.

2. Raise the entire Party's level of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist consciousness and vigilantly oppose revisionism, subjectivism and other manifestations of the bourgeois and petit-bourgeois line.

3. Complete the three-level Party course and give the highest priority to its propagation and study.

4. Broaden the efforts to translate, reproduce and distribute Marxist-Leninist-Maoist writings as well as our Party publications.

5. Step up research work and studies on theory and history. Encourage more research and studies on the history and current situation of Philippine society, specific characteristics of our people's war and the history of the international communist movement and the struggle against revisionism.

6. Step up propaganda within and outside the Party on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the line of the people's democratic revolution and scientific socialism.

7. Raise the entire Party's understanding of the particular characteristics and requirements of our people's war by drawing on the knowledge of the history and the experiences of the past decade and more as enriched several times over through the rectification movement.... ■

A New October...

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was only restored in 1991, Andreeva & Co wind up attributing the policies carried out during the preceding 35 years to "socialism", however deformed, corrupt and stagnant they say it might have been becoming. This view ultimately whitewashes these criminal policies and the state capitalist criminals behind them. In fact, not one of the dozen or so AUCPB publications available abroad, including the Party programme, utters a word of criticism of the Soviet invasions of Czechoslovakia or Afghanistan.

Andreeva's portrayal of capitalist restoration would have it that workers are bit-by-bit alienated from state power, opportunists gradually rise, the shadow economy slowly grows, the CPSU becomes more and more demoralized, etc., all of this taking place gradually over the 35 years from 1956 to 1991. She sums all this up as a process of the "revisionist erosion" of socialism.

This view transforms the real class struggle under socialism from a fierce life-and-death battle between revolution and counter-revolution into a calm evolutionary process. Khrushchev's speech did not begin a long process of erosion, it was the ideological salvo accompanying the 1956 coup d'etat and the brutal seizure of power by the new bourgeois class in the USSR. The proletarian revolutionaries in the USSR had already been severely weakened, by imperialist encirclement, the Nazi invasion, and, it must be said, by their own errors as well. But what happened in 1956 was a coup de grace that finished off proletarian power and changed the colour of the USSR. Khrushchev's revisionist power grab did not gradually erode the workers' hold on power over the next 35 years, as the AUCPB would have it. Instead, it expropriated them and reduced them once again to propertyless proletarians, and turned the Soviet state, including the Soviet Red Army, into organs of bourgeois dictatorship.

It was Mao Tsetung who analyzed this process of capitalist restoration in the USSR and drew the crucial lessons on the nature of the class struggle under socialism that inform the

line of revolutionary communists today. Mao concisely summed up that, "The rise to power of revisionism is the rise to power of the bourgeoisie." This is a point that the AUCPB fails to understand: for them, Khrushchev and other revisionists grabbed the top positions in the CPSU in 1956, but somehow the USSR remained socialist for the next 35 years.

This has much in common with the Trotskyites' view of socialism and of the USSR in particular. They generally hold that the CPSU leadership became bureaucratic and reactionary in the 1920s when Stalin became CPSU General Secretary, but that the USSR remained socialist because of its "socialist economic forms". This view divorces politics from economics and liquidates the matter of the *content* of the economic forms. It fails to grasp that under socialism the class struggle is concentrated within the party itself. When the party holds the reins of power, the capture of the party leadership by a revisionist political line and the suppression of the revolutionary headquarters and the crushing of the revolutionary forces within the party has been the decisive moment in the restoration of capitalist power both in the USSR and China. The revisionists are representatives of the new bourgeoisie and the capitalist relations of production that persist in socialist society.

Mao also analyzed how it is the task of the revolutionary communists to rouse the masses to dig up the soil of the old society, to continue to transform the social relations and ideas in the direction of communism — but that at every step of the way, and particularly at key junctures, revisionist capitalist roaders high in the party and state apparatus will leap out to oppose the forward advance, turn back the revolution and restore capitalism. Whether socialism will win out and advance further towards communism, or whether the new bourgeoisie will seize back power, is determined by a series of life-and-death battles between the revolutionary headquarters in the party, mobilizing the masses, and the bourgeois headquarters, relying on both its international connections and its own social base in socialist society. This battle is fought out over the political and ideological line of the party: the proletarian revolutionaries try to strengthen the revolutionary line

of the party in the course of advancing towards communism, while the capitalist roaders inevitably leap out to fight to change the line of the party so as to halt the advance of the revolution and reconsolidate capitalist relations. The character of the political and ideological line leading the party is *decisive* for determining whether the society remains on the socialist road or capitalism is restored. Hence, Khrushchev's coup d'etat and the consolidation of the revisionist line in the CPSU did not merely "introduce" elements of revisionism into the USSR, it represented the decisive victory of the capitalist roaders.

From that point on what was required to restore socialism in the USSR was a *revolution from below*.

It is true, as the AUCPB has repeatedly pointed out, that Stalin himself, in the course of the great achievement of leading and defending the construction of socialism in the USSR, analyzed that the class struggle continued to exist under socialism. He fought hard against the revisionists in the CPSU and defended socialism from their attacks. And all this provided rich experience for Mao and the Chinese revolutionaries to learn from. Nonetheless, Stalin failed to understand that a bourgeois class itself continued to exist and was regenerated in socialist society, and in fact he wrongly concluded that it did not.¹ However, it is also important to point out that it was one thing to maintain this kind of thinking 50 years ago, and quite another to repeat it today, as the AUCPB do, when this means going against the qualitatively higher understanding achieved by Mao and upheld by revolutionary communists worldwide.

The AUCPB is in essence upholding Stalin's erroneous conclusions regarding the class struggle under socialism against this qualitatively more advanced understanding. Stalin's incorrect assessment that the bourgeoisie had ceased to exist as a class to some extent disarmed the revolutionary forces in the CPSU. While this might be chalked up in part as due to historical limitations, in that Stalin was leading the first socialist state,

1. Later in his life in *Economic Problems of Socialism*, Stalin recognized, although still incompletely, the possible growth of capitalist elements in socialist society.

Mao pointed out that this error was also related to tendencies towards metaphysics in Stalin, i.e., a lack of a thoroughly dialectical view of socialist society. The AUCPB's persistence in enshrining this erroneous approach goes hand in hand with their targeting of forces outside the Party as the main agents of capitalist restoration, and letting the top capitalist roaders in the party off the hook.

THE AGENTS OF CAPITALIST RESTORATION

The main social forces Andreeva points to in the supposed "revisionist erosion" are not the top party officials taking the capitalist road, but the "rising middle bourgeoisie". Other articles by her, including, for example, "On Current Questions", go into this more explicitly and show that by the "rising middle bourgeoisie" the AUCPB is referring to forces outside the CPSU itself, in particular the "mafia-capitalists" and black market "entrepreneurs" and "businessmen" who have been functioning as an integral but officially disapproved part of Soviet society since the 1950s.

It is true that Lenin pointed out long ago that the existence of a mass of petite bourgeoisie posed a long-term danger to the socialist state. But Mao Tsetung qualitatively raised this understanding on the basis of summing up the rich experience of socialism both in the USSR and China itself to conclude that the main danger of capitalist restoration lay in the top party people taking the capitalist road, the capitalist roaders. It is they who head up the new bourgeois class, as they are the ones with the position and power to play the key role in setting the party line that is decisive for determining whether class divisions will be expanded or narrowed, whether the masses will be mobilized to dig up the soil of capitalism and class society or will be shoved back under the authority of managers and bureaucrats, and of whether the socialist country will serve the world revolution or be transformed into a reactionary power.

By situating the representatives of the capitalist relations of production outside the party and state apparatus, the AUCPB turns the attention of the proletariat and the masses away from the main battleground between the proletariat and bourgeoisie over ques-

tions of power, most of all the burning questions marking the direction and nature of the society in both the superstructure and base, nationally and internationally. Instead, the key questions are reduced to such matters as whether the "black" economy is expanding and encroaching on socialist forms such as "state ownership". Although these phenomena are reflections of the restoration of capitalism, this methodology makes "state ownership" itself appear to be the litmus test of socialism — no matter whether it is the proletariat running the state and revolutionizing society, or bureaucrat bosses like Brezhnev, who are doing virtually everything all other capitalists do, except openly functioning as capitalists.

Without the Maoist analysis, Nina Andreeva & Co are only capable of recognizing the bourgeoisie when it sets up stock markets and the like and proclaims itself in its conventional Western form. They see Brezhnev & Co as corrupt and "stagnant", opportunists or bureaucrats, or even as degenerating Marxist-Leninists, but not as the leading representatives of state monopoly capitalism and as bourgeoisie themselves. In this way the proletariat's spearhead is turned downwards away from the Soviet bureaucrat bourgeoisie and their leading henchmen like the KGB and Red Army generals. Having ignored the lessons of the Cultural Revolution, it is no wonder that, though the Soviet revisionists viciously attacked the Cultural Revolution in China, Nina Andreeva and the AUCPB have not said a word in its defence and, as we shall see, essentially call on revolutionaries to forget it.

ON THE NATURE OF THE CPSU

Linked to the AUCPB's mistaken portrayal of the process of capitalist restoration and the forces behind it is their view that the CPSU somehow represented all the different classes in Soviet society, or, as Andreeva puts it: "... during the last three decades, several tendencies have coexisted in the CPSU: Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, Trotskyists and Bukharinists, nationalists and internationalists, patriots and cosmopolitans, future anarchists, monarchists, Cossack commanders and Yeltsin lieutenants — in a word,

the entire spectrum of current politics." — From "Some Current Questions", Nina Andreeva, April 1992

Whatever its actual membership, the CPSU was not a party with some sort of mixed class character, as is argued here, but a social-imperialist party ruling a reactionary imperialist power. Here we would like to ask Andreeva: What is so different between this view of the CPSU and the way that the US Democratic Party or British "New" Labour Party promote themselves as a "party of the people", because they have members who are women, Blacks, workers and so forth — even though these parties have faithfully represented imperialism for many generations?

Further examination of the AUCPB programme will show that however "mixed" they consider the CPSU, they firmly hold to the view that the CPSU and the USSR remained in essence socialist throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s — and that consequently the core Soviet institutions and policies, including the CPSU itself, must be upheld. This is revealed most clearly in the AUCPB view of what Lenin considered to be the key part of any state, its armed forces.

ON THE KGB, THE RED ARMY AND THE IMPERIALIST CHARACTER OF THE USSR

"Currently [in 1991] the organized and planned destruction of the economic, political and ideological foundations of the constitutional order, with the participation of agents of influence and foreign secret services, directly affects all communists and all honest Soviet citizens who have not given in to the tricks of anti-communist propaganda. And, of course, this concerns above all those who are in the police forces and the secret police ('tchekists'), who do not have the right under any circumstances to forget their political class role, inherited from Lenin and Dzerzhinski.... The 'tchekist' symbol, the sword and the shield, is known the world over — its significance is the defense of the victories of October and the socialist system, and not of any kind of personal honour... It is inadmissible that the sword and shield of socialism should be transformed into mere theatre

props. It is even more inadmissible that anti-communist presidents use them against the people. The elimination of party leadership is the first step towards 'depoliticizing' the armies and the KGB organs in the USSR. Yeltsin is vigorously insisting on this point. 'Depoliticizing' means *destroying the most important institution defending the State* which, along with the Armed Forces and the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], *has up to now been an invincible rampart against the enemies of socialism.*" From "For Our Soviet Fatherland! Arise, Great Country...." 13 July 1991, Minsk, Belorus (italics added)

"Arise, Great Country" — this title itself sounds ominously like a battle call to those former Soviet social-imperialist forces who are not reconciled to their loss of superpower status and of subsequent integration into a US-imperialist-dominated world order.

What has been the actual content of "Soviet patriotism" over the last four decades? Today the vast majority of people in the former USSR and around the world know this country for its reactionary invasion of Czechoslovakia and then of Afghanistan and the mass murder of thousands opposing it there, including many Maoists, and for training and propping up reactionary regimes in Ethiopia and Angola.² And of course it viciously repressed internal opposition. It is indispensable to draw a sharp line of demarcation between the actions of the Soviet armed forces over the last few decades and the previous years of socialist rule, including the heroic defense of socialism against the Nazi imperialist invasion during World War II under Stalin. In the current context, Andreeva's praise of the "invincible rampart against the enemies of socialism" ultimately can only mean a defense of arch-criminals of social-imperialism, of the same KGB that viciously purged genuine proletarian revolutionaries from the CPSU during the 1950s and then smashed any dissent for long years thereafter, and

2. Soviet social-imperialism took part in classical neocolonial-style exploitation, too, of countries in or outside its bloc, like India, and it developed an "international division of labour" within its bloc, where it took the dominant role.

that were key in trying to behead opposition to Soviet social-imperialism at home and abroad.

This support for the reactionary secret police of the KGB is a concrete expression of the line of the AUCPB on the nature of the USSR and the repressive apparatus of the Soviet state more generally. Here is an extract from the Party Programme:

"The main international objective [of the AUCPB] is restoring the integrity and reinforcing the sovereignty of the country, *so that it can once again be a great world power*. Today the policy of peaceful coexistence is not a gift that the capitalist world is giving us but is very much the result of the development of the worldwide struggle of the international working class and of the socialist countries against the monopoly capital of the 'civilized' countries that exploit the 150 countries of the third world. The probable price of the defeat of socialism in this struggle may well be a third world war which will lead to the destruction of humanity.

"For 70 years the Soviet armed forces, who come from the working class and are founded to protect the workers, have been the solid guarantee of the independence of the State and of the protection of its citizens. The current reform of the military aims not only at *transforming* the armed forces, the troops of the Defence Ministry and the KGB into an army of mercenaries, alienated from the people, but also to put them in different national quarters. This can only lead to civil wars.

"The main duty of communists in uniform is to guarantee the integrity and 'backbone role' of the worker and peasant cadres in the Soviet army and navy and to prevent the restorationists from transforming them into a repressive force against the people. It is not excluded that in the near future the armed forces will have to fulfill a dual patriotic task: to prevent the possible interference of imperialism under various pretexts in the internal affairs of our country and to prevent our own criminal bourgeoisie from unleashing war against the workers, who cannot stand the excessive burden of the restoration of 'savage' capitalism.

"The armed forces today need the support of the whole people as never before, in particular to find a solution to the social problems that the soldiers

and their families are facing. The destruction of military-industrial strength is treason. Only a transformation — and not the weakening of defence capacity — can strengthen the unity of the people and the army. *Any attack on our army, on the honour and dignity of the defenders of the Fatherland, should be punishable by law.*" — From the AUCPB Programme, 1991 (Italics added)

As for the AUCPB's "main international objective" of restoring the Soviet Union to its previous status as a "great world power", Lenin's criteria for evaluating the political questions of his day springs immediately to mind: *for whom, on behalf of what class?* A great world power for Brezhnev-style imperialists to ride on the backs of the world's masses yet again and try and intimidate revolutionary struggle with their nuclear weapons, as they tried against Mao and revolutionary China? The AUCPB claim to uphold Marxism-Leninism, but they still shamelessly and even proudly defend this reactionary army whose crimes went far beyond its border.

In a country like Russia, which except for the four decades of proletarian rule has been a reactionary great European power for several centuries, the AUCPB's "main international objective" of restoring the country as a "great world power" smacks of imperialist chauvinism. Even if everything else in their programme were genuinely revolutionary — which it most definitely is not — still this stand on such a central question would be like a drop of poison in a jar of honey.³

In the name of "socialism", the oppressed masses of the former USSR are told that their duty is not to smash these reactionary armed forces, but to support them! These "revolutionaries" even want to pass a law making it a

3. The extent to which the AUCPB follows in the footsteps of the CPSU itself is seen in their threat that the "defeat of socialism" will lead to a third world war and the "destruction of humanity". Doesn't this echo the Soviet revisionists' own longstanding claim that their nuclear weapons were "weapons of peace" and the only thing that was stopping US imperialism from launching World War III — in the same way that many so-called Marxist-Leninists apologized for US imperialism and claimed their own masters' weapons ensured peace.

crime to attack the "honour and dignity" of the Soviet nuclear-equipped armed forces! True proletarian revolutionaries in Russia would have denounced this army and done everything possible to rouse the people against it and to teach the need to destroy it along with every other prop of the social-imperialist state. The AUCPB claim to be Leninist — they would do well to study Lenin's teachings on revolutionary defeatism in World War I, where he told the revolutionaries of his day that the working class movement "will remain true to itself only if it joins neither one nor the other imperialist bourgeoisie, only if it says that both sides are equally bad, and if it wishes the defeat of the imperialist bourgeoisie in every country." (from "Under a False Flag")

ON THE AUGUST 1991 COUP

The August 1991 coup represented a decisive showdown between the faction of the Soviet ruling class headquartered in the "State Committee for the Emergency" that sought to retain significant elements of the old revisionist order, and another faction led by Yeltsin that wished to abandon them more completely and adopt Western forms of rule and collaborate openly with the Western imperialists. The State Committee, rooted in sections of the KGB and the military, arrested Gorbachev and tried to oust the "Westernizers", but seemed to lack decisiveness and were defeated and arrested by the Yeltsin-led forces. They were later released and many are active today. Maoist revolutionaries around the world denounced both sets of plotters; Nina Andreeva and the AUCPB, instead, hailed the coup attempt, and rose to defend the old-style revisionist coup plotters upon their capture.

"One of the revolting expressions of arbitrariness and anarchy which is continually doing violence to the truth is the charging of the members of the former State Committee for the Emergency and a series of other Soviet citizens under Article 64 of Russia's Constitution ("treason to the country").

"Isn't it an aberration to charge with treason Generals Varennikov and Kryuchkov and Marshall Yazov [leading members of the State Emergency Committee], whose lives are an exam-

ple of real service to the fatherland?

"In their youth, comrades Varennikov and Yazov fought in the ranks of the Red Army against the German fascist aggressors, for the honour, liberty and independence of our fatherland, and *since then they have linked their lives with the defence of the fatherland and the strengthening of the Soviet fighting forces.* Comrade Kryuchkov has devoted his career to *strengthening the Soviet State Security forces and the reinforcement of its international position.* There is no basis for suspecting them of betraying Soviet state interests...." — From the "Declaration to the Soviet and World Community" adopted at the AUCPB Founding Congress (italics added)

Indeed, there is *no basis whatsoever* for suspecting any of these men of betraying Soviet *social-imperialist interests* or of doing anything at all but fighting to promote them for many long years! Nina Andreeva's "Comrade" Kryuchkov, it should be noted, was the *head of the KGB!* He was a young KGB officer in Prague in 1968 and then won advancement helping to supervise the declaration of martial law in Poland in 1981. He was later responsible for KGB coordination with the Red Army during the Afghanistan war. Marshall Yazov was none other than Defense Minister of the Soviet Union — and during Afghanistan had key responsibilities, as Andreeva says, in "the strengthening of the Soviet fighting forces" — so they could better commit their ugly crimes! He was the top military commander overseeing the general repression in Georgia under Gorbachev, which included the infamous incident in 1989 where the secret police savagely beat several dozen Georgian demonstrators to death with shovels. Yazov was one of the three men in the USSR with their finger on the nuclear button. The fact that such monsters had initially joined the Red Army

when it was under proletarian rule decades ago is only further proof of the Maoist analysis that the new bourgeoisie rises right in the heart of the revolutionary party and state, which must purge itself repeatedly through continuing the class struggle under socialism.⁴

The AUCPB's active support for these imperialist butchers indicates how deeply they are mired in the swampy legacy of Soviet revisionism; it is also revealing of their aims in mobilizing the masses, and who would actually come out on top in their scheme of things.

**THE AUCPB STRATEGY:
REVOLUTION OR
RESTORATION OF
REVISIONISM?**

"The Communist Party Bolshevik considers that the 'key link' in its activity is the politicization of every aspect of the workers' struggle by means of strikes. The essence, then, in these strikes is the establishment of political relations with the strikers' collectives: it is necessary to advance political and economic demands collaterally and to organize aid for the strike collectives in order to fuse these diverse actions into a general process which can reflect the discontent of the people with the anti-popular politics of the restorationist government.

"The highest form of political resistance of the workers will be the general political strike which must be organized under favourable conditions, under the direction of an appropriate organization, *able to eject from power those who have tricked the people with false promises,* those who have executed the counter-revolutionary and anti-constitutional coup and those who have destroyed the USSR.... Only the general political strike and the call to civil disobedience *can halt civil war,* that is to say, massacres between nations, general catastrophe, foreign in-

terference in the solutions of the internal problems of our fatherland. The political general strike can generate a good state of mind among the working people, raise the level of their political consciousness and also regenerate the soviets as organs of worker and peasant power. *These soviets will render inoperable* the presidency, the general government, the governors and other counter-revolutionary organs in becoming the power of the people for the people.

"The general political strike is the last and only real possibility *to throw out of power* all those who have betrayed the national and social interests of the Soviet people. This is the 'key link' in the chain of developments, which will lead to the final defeat of the counter-revolution." From "We Must Begin All Over Again" (1991) (italics added)

It is remarkable how the "Leninist" AUCPB invoke the same economist watchwords that Lenin so vehemently attacked in *What Is To Be Done?*: "the politicization of the workers' struggle by means of strikes", "advancing political and economic demands collaterally", etc. — all of which Lenin showed can only lead to a subordination of the workers' struggle to bourgeois ideology and reformism.

These are, however, not deviations from a programme for revolution. For the goal of the AUCPB does not seem to be smashing the current state, to overthrow it by revolutionary civil war, as Lenin led the masses to do in 1917, and as would be required for any real "new October" today. Indeed, the strategy of the AUCPB is presented as the only hope for *avoiding* civil war! The AUCPB seems to have a different programme, and it is aptly expressed in terms like "ejecting from power" or "throwing out of power" "all those who have tricked the people", or reviving the soviets so that they "render inoperable" the government. This amounts to a programme of militant reform, to mobilize the masses as a pressure group to help force the powers that be to allow them to have a share of power. It goes hand-in-glove with their appeals to the generals and upper strata to restore the USSR to great power status.

The key planks of the AUCPB programme — their "main international objective" of restoring the USSR as a

4. The fact that Andreeva in particular should rally to the support of these henchmen of the Soviet regime should come as no surprise. She spectacularly rose to national and even worldwide prominence in 1988 with the publication of an article in one of the leading Soviet newspapers, *Sovietskaya Rossiya*. The article was sponsored by Gorbachev's arch-rival at the time, the Brezhnevite Ligachev. Andreeva, then a professor in Leningrad, denounced the "pacifist erosion of defence and patriotic consciousness, as well as a desire to categorize the slightest expressions of Great Russian national pride as manifestations of great power chauvinism". She called for a renewal of military strength, ideological "discipline", stiffer penalties for criminals and more aggressively promoting the interests of Russia. While repeatedly invoking Stalin, the article objectively amounted to a call for "law and order".

"great world power"; their support for the high-ranking revisionist chieftains who lost in the August showdown with the Yeltsin faction; their opposition to a revolutionary civil war and backing for a general strike to "throw out" those currently in power, etc. — amount to a programme for one bourgeois faction replacing another. It is carefully crafted to appeal to former powerful revisionists in the CPSU like Kryuchkov and his cronies on the basis of restoring what they once had both internally and internationally and mobilizing sections of the masses as a battering ram to help achieve this.

All this is similar to the classic Soviet revisionist formula in the Third World. It was used to appeal to dissatisfied sections of the armed forces, mobilizing the workers as a pressure group on an economist basis, in order to expel pro-Western sections of the ruling classes and establish the revisionist form of rule, centered on state forms of ownership and control (dominated by Soviet social-imperialism, as in Angola, Ethiopia, and elsewhere).⁵

The programme of Andreeva and Co is not for a new October, it is for a "better Brezhnev".

ON AUCPB "SUPPORT" FOR STALIN

It is in this context that the AUCPB's much-publicized "support" for Stalin should be evaluated. A survey of their comments on Stalin shows that, first of all, they seem to have made no serious analysis of the Stalin era and instead have contented themselves with occasional brief phrases of support for Stalin and the achievements during the period he led the CPSU, and especially for victory in WWII. They have little or nothing to say about Stalin's leadership in the battle to build socialism in one country, or to mobilize the workers and peasants to collectivize agriculture. Even the Soviet victory in WWII is upheld in terms that never go beyond patriotism, and Andreeva focuses repeatedly on the "great sacrifices of the Russian people".

It is true and an important part of the heritage of the international communist movement that the masses of

Russia and the entire USSR made great sacrifices in defeating the German fascists, and that this helped contribute to advances in the world revolution, including in China. Stalin led this and is upheld by revolutionaries worldwide for this great accomplishment. But what Nina Andreeva & Co uphold in all this is not its *revolutionary* content but the form: what is important for them is not that it was the proletarian dictatorship that won, but the "great country" of the USSR, which they want to emerge as "a great power" once again. "Soviet patriotism" is all they see in the socialist era, not proletarian internationalism.

By robbing Stalin's achievements of their revolutionary content, and even more fundamentally by mixing up the advance of the Soviet Union when it was socialist with the period when it was social-imperialist, Andreeva and the AUCPB do not raise the banner of Stalin to oppose revisionism. Instead, they wind up trying to enlist Comrade Stalin as part of an effort that would ultimately restore the revisionist form of bourgeois rule in the former USSR instead of the current undisputed form. It should be recalled that Brezhnev himself paid occasional lip service to Stalin, although to a lesser extent (and this is undoubtedly one of the reasons the AUCPB does not come down so hard on him as it does on Khrushchev).

It is difficult if not impossible to conceive of any genuine revolutionary force emerging in the former USSR that does not repudiate the revisionism of the post-Stalin CPSU leaders, and denounce social-imperialist rule. Having failed to break with them and take up the banner of Mao, Nina Andreeva & Co wind up in an ugly situation, including one of support for vicious counter-insurgency wars against the peoples of the world. Maoists, while recognizing and opposing the imperialist machinations of the US in countries like Afghanistan, firmly stood on the side of the Afghan people in fighting the Soviet social-imperialists, and upheld and applied Lenin's calls for revolutionaries in the imperialist countries to be revolutionary defeatists. Hence such a stand is expected especially of communists in imperialist countries in respect to "their own" fatherland — it was crucial for Maoists in the US, for example, to welcome the blows dealt to the

US war machine by the Vietnamese people. Lenin firmly stated that training in such a stand is indispensable for genuine internationalism, for teaching the masses who are their real friends and who their real enemies.

Nina Andreeva and the AUCPB do not promote Stalin *because* he was a proletarian revolutionary, nor do they criticize Khrushchev and Gorbachev *because* they are capitalists. What they like about Stalin is that "he won" WWII and the USSR was strong, and what they don't like about Gorbachev is that ultimately "he lost". This same chauvinist logic is at the heart of why the AUCPB go so easy on Brezhnev (his worst crime in their eyes seems to be "economic stagnation"), although he was the quintessence of the revisionist bureaucrat bourgeois: because, in terms of advancing Russian power, he didn't do so badly!

It is difficult to be certain whether the AUCPB are simply unable to raise their sights beyond the narrow bounds of Russian national interests, or whether they have a more worked-out programme for uniting with sections of the ruling elite to restore social-imperialism in its revisionist form. But in either case the AUCPB line would lead to the same result: restoration of the revisionist form of rule on a social-imperialist basis. It is a line that revolutionaries cannot support.

It is only by taking up Mao and on that basis going back to Lenin that revolution can be advanced in Russia and the countries of the former USSR. Even if Andreeva and the AUCPB were genuinely trying to take up Stalin and use his understanding to advance to revolution, this would not succeed. This is not only or even mainly because of the weaknesses in Stalin's line described above. It is not possible to turn one's back on the most advanced understanding of proletarian revolution and go back to some previous stage and begin from there. It would be like a scientist trying to stand firm on defending Newtonian mechanics while rejecting the leap represented by quantum mechanics or Einstein's theory of relativity. This would be impossible and lead to idealism, and the effort itself would lead into all kinds of erroneous methodology — and this is all the more so in the field of social analysis, where the weight of history and the domination of the bourgeois class means that those

5. For more on this point see the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*.

who turn away from the most advanced proletarian understanding will find themselves swept by powerful currents back into the bourgeois fold. In other words, while it was enough 80 years ago to have the understanding of Marx and Lenin to make proletarian revolution in Tsarist Russia, today this is no longer the case. Without Mao, there will be no "new October".

This is not simply a matter of whether you term the science of revolution Marxism-Leninism or Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Mao's contributions have practical consequences for how revolutionaries analyze the enemy, build strategic alliances, carry out the struggle for power, including militarily, and wield that power once won — and this is true in the imperialist countries as well as the oppressed countries. Indeed, maintaining a view that Mao is only relevant for semi-feudal semi-colonial countries, or only after seizing power, will inexorably push a party into reformism in America or Russia as well as in India or Brazil.⁶

Here, in turning to the question of the scientific character of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, a word must be said about the question of how much the AUCPB's stands might be due to ignorance of Mao's contributions. Many revolutionaries who noticed the appearance of these forces on the Soviet scene initially held out hope that aspects of their line that sounded like leftovers from the revisionist era might be solved over time as these forces were introduced to the teachings of Mao, from which they were to some extent isolated. However, while it is true that the masses in the USSR had little exposure to Mao, it is also the case that the Soviet revisionists themselves produced voluminous writings against Mao, including scathing attacks on the Cultural Revolution, racist slurs against Mao's "Asiatic deviousness", ugly arrogant diatribes against the peasant character of the Chinese revolution, and so forth.⁷ Most if not all of the people in the leadership of these parties were CPSU

members of some rank and certainly had ready access to this literature. It might be presumed that they have some responsibility to right the wrongs of this verdict from their former party, especially since to some extent they continue to uphold the CPSU during this period. Furthermore, they themselves used to speak of the need to study Mao. Yet, even today, faced with the pathetic collapse of Soviet revisionism, and knowing that the leader of the Chinese revolution led the worldwide attack on Soviet revisionism, which they too claim to oppose, the most important initiative by the AUCPB concerning Mao has been their efforts to persuade the international communist movement that it is time to "heal the wounds" between revisionism and Maoism. This can only mean to forget and obliterate the line of demarcation Mao drew between revolution and revisionism. And mention of Mao has almost disappeared from their literature in the last few years. Their earlier pronouncements of their openness to Mao unfortunately seem to have remained a dead letter.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

"The restoration of capitalism in the USSR and in the socialist countries of Europe has profoundly changed the balance of forces in favour of imperialism and reaction. This has provoked a crisis in the international workers' and communists' movements. A blow has been dealt to the three fundamental pillars of the international revolutionary process: the system of socialist states, the struggle of the communist parties in the capitalist countries and the movements for national liberation. The temporary defeat of socialism in Europe and the USSR has shifted the centre of world socialism and the revolutionary movement to the countries of Asia and Latin America, which are today being pressured from all sides by international capital. In these circumstances, the progressive forces of the world must mobilize their joint sup-

port for the communist parties of China, Korea, Cuba, Vietnam and Laos. Today the communist parties that were swept along by the tide of the 20th Congress of the CPSU are experiencing a deep crisis and are irrevocably losing their authority among the masses. It is the Marxist-Leninist parties that rejected the revisionist decisions of the 20th Congress who are now winning this authority. For more than thirty years the opportunists treated them as 'Stalinists', 'Maoists' and 'pro-Albanians'. The events of this last decade have shown that their basic political and ideological positions were correct. What is needed today is their cohesion, their united action against the common enemy, the development of a common strategy and tactics of the class struggle, the reorganization of the structures for coordinating the international communist movement so as to ensure the heritage, the traditions and the experience of international communism. The first step on this complex and difficult road was taken with the Declaration of Pyongyang (April 1992) signed at that time by 70 parties." — From "The Class Struggle in the USSR Today" 14 July 1992.

"The theoretical basis of the party must become, not in words but in deeds, the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, taken as its philosophical, sociological, economic and political basis, the world historic mission of the working class: To create a society without classes, where there is neither exploitation nor oppression nor wars nor social injustice. Marxism-Leninism purified of its opportunist remnants, and creatively developed to suit current conditions. Not developed as Gorbachev did, incorporating 'world humanitarian ideals', 'the enrichment of proletarian scientific theory' by the ideas of Bernstein, Kautsky, Berdiaev and Martov, Trotsky and Bukharin, Djilas and Lefèvre, Willy Brandt and the Fathers of the Socialist International, who can only transform Marxism into a petit-bourgeois anti-communist concept. In the conditions of capitalist restoration in our country what is especially important is the communist outlook and political experience as summed up and developed in the works of Stalin, Mao Tsetung, Dimitrov, Thälmann, Thorez, Togliatti, Ho Chi Minh, Ibarruri, Kim Il Sung, Castro and other eminent

6. For more on this see the special issue on Mao, AWTW7/1986.

7. One typical polemic published by the CPSU sums up that, "It would be hard to exaggerate the harm that has been done to the world communist movement by the ideology and practices of the 'cultural revolution' in China." (*A Critique of Mao Tsetung's Theoretical Conceptions*, Progress Publishers, 1972)

politicians of the international movement, at the source of which is Lenin.” — From “The Current Situation and Our Tasks”, Speech to the Founding Congress of the CPBSU, Nina Andreeva (November 1991).

Let us take these points one by one. First, have the events in the former Soviet bloc “profoundly changed the balance of forces in favour of imperialism and reaction”? In a word, no. The AUCPB viewpoint on this question is generally held by all those who looked to the Soviet Union as socialist. Even those who viewed it as a “bad” socialist country argued that it still gave them “room to manoeuvre” versus the US imperialists. But as can be seen from the tragic history of Cuba, Angola, Vietnam, Ethiopia, Afghanistan and many other places, the main room they gained to manoeuvre was from the claws of one imperialist exploiter into those of another. The people of the world lost *nothing* from the collapse of Soviet social-imperialism and the change in the form of the bourgeois dictatorship there.

Maoists point out instead that the collapse of the revisionist form of rule was due to the deep protracted crisis of the world imperialist system. Although no one can sympathize with the reasons the *Western imperialists* had for rejoicing at the revisionists’ fall — the collapse of their rivals — from the point of view of the masses, this was no tragedy. First of all, the Soviet rulers were exploiters and oppressors, and secondly, their fall reflects divisions and a weakening in the camp of the enemy classes, and the disappearance of ugly exploitative societies posing as socialist and spreading confusion among the masses. While the weakening of its main rival might give the US imperialists certain *tactical* advantages, this has not and cannot resolve the world imperialist crisis. The situation poses new challenges for Maoist revolutionaries but it also offers new opportunities to step forward as the genuine representatives of communism, not least of all in the former Soviet bloc itself. Furthermore, as is pointed out in “On the World Situation” (*AWTW* 21/1995), the contradictions between the imperialist countries and the oppressed nations and between the proletariat and bourgeoisie within the imperialist countries are both intensifying.

The AUCPB’s assessment of the balance of forces in the world is bound up with their view that the “three fundamental pillars of the international revolutionary process” have been hit hard. Yet the blows dealt to the first of these pillars, the “socialist” states, were not blows against the masses of people because these states did not at all represent the masses. Instead, this represented a weakening of important pillars of the world imperialist system. The same goes for Nina Andreeva’s so-called communist parties in the capitalist countries, by which she means big, revisionist parties like the French and Italian pro-Soviet communist parties, who have done everything to smother revolutionary struggle in their countries, for example, in May ’68 in France.

As for the national liberation movements like those which came to power in Cuba, Nicaragua and so forth, and which had come under the wing of Soviet social-imperialism, the collapse of Soviet imperialism has indeed demoralized and weakened the comprador classes running these countries as well as various national bourgeois forces influenced by Soviet revisionism. Many of these forces are using their positions of authority over the masses to cut a deal with the Western imperialists. But this does not change the fact that the basic masses, the great majority, live in great misery and are suffering more under the effects of the deepening crisis, including in the former Soviet bloc itself, and that, as Mao Tsetung concisely pointed out, where there is oppression there is resistance. The continued treachery of a handful of bourgeois forces like the ANC in South Africa, the PLO in Palestine, or the FMLN in El Salvador should not be cause for *genuine revolutionaries* to lose heart.

The AUCPB exaggerates the strength of the imperialists and tries to trade on the continued weakness of the communist forces to set the scene for their appeal to put aside past divisions in the International Communist Movement (ICM) and come together, Hoxhaites, Maoists, Castroites, former CPSUers, etc., in a sort of defensive united front against the imperialists. Indeed, the AUCPB’s Andreeva co-drafted a Proposal for the Unification of the ICM with the Belgian Labour Party (PTB) calling on the ICM to “overcome the

historic divisions” and “heal the wounds” (reprinted on page 30). This call for unity obliterates the lines of demarcation between revolution and counter-revolution. In this case, it means unity with forces that are far from renouncing their revisionist heritage. They claim to be open to learning from Mao’s criticisms of the Soviet revisionists, but then put Mao Tsetung alongside forces like Castro that fought tooth and nail against everything Mao stood for, and upheld every bloody crime of the social-imperialists, or old-time revisionists like the Italian CP’s Togliatti, or Maurice Thorez of the French CP who played a key role in leading the French party to throw away any revolutionary opportunities rising out of WWII and to come to terms with the French bourgeoisie afterwards.

This is the kind of international alignment the AUCPB programme would lead to — one where the lack of principle typical of revisionism dominates, and where the only place for genuine revolutionaries is under the revisionist wing. This is the implication of their call for all the revolutionaries in the world to “come to the support” of the “Communist” Parties of China, Korea, Cuba, Vietnam and Laos, none of which has had anything to do with genuine revolution for many years. And against *whom* is, for example, the Communist Party of China to be supported? Since it is wholeheartedly embracing the US and other Western imperialists, this can only wind up meaning supporting it *against the masses of China* who increasingly long for a return to the Maoist period and whom the revisionists have shown they will shoot down in cold blood.

The heart of the AUCPB appeal is this effort to obliterate the dividing line that has been fought for over the last 30 years between Maoism and revisionism. What else were these “old divisions” except Mao’s battle against the attempts by the Soviet revisionists to bury revolution and portray exploitative and oppressive former East bloc countries as “socialist”?

This is the implication of the conclusion that Nina Andreeva draws: that what *can* be united around today is defense of Stalin and especially Lenin. Hence the concluding comment above that at the “source” of all the various forces whose communist ex-

perience is needed lies Lenin.

Leninism does indeed form part of the dividing line in the ICM — but what Andreeva wants to obliterate is that today there can be no Leninism without Mao. Mao's contributions were made on the basis of developing and extending *Marxism-Leninism*, which was raised to the new stage of *Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*. Trying to go back to Leninism today without Mao would be like someone in, say, the 1920s or 1930s trying to go back to *Marxism* without Lenin. (Such people do exist — they are called social democrats.) And not only does Maoism comprehend *Marxism-Leninism*, but, as the second basic document of RIM, *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!*, points out, on the basis of Mao's development of *Marxism-Leninism* the contributions of Marx and Lenin themselves can be seen in a new light, and their essential contributions more sharply appreciated.

Finally, trying to return to Lenin as the line of demarcation would lead to burying Mao's decisive analysis of the class struggle under socialism. Lenin didn't even live to witness capitalist restoration, and neither did Stalin. How could anyone seriously pretend that they thoroughly analyzed this extremely complex phenomena? Yet, standing on their shoulders, Mao did make such an analysis, and even more, he led a pathbreaking struggle to prevent capitalist restoration in the Cultural Revolution, which represents the highest point of advance by the world proletarian revolution.

In fact, what the Andreeva-type forces call the "divisions in the ICM" ceased very quickly to be seen as divisions *within* the ICM, for what they really amounted to was a *class struggle* between the representatives of the new bourgeoisie in the USSR, led by Khrushchev, and the representatives of the international proletariat, led by Mao Tsetung. This was not sectarian in-fighting, this was Khrushchev defending his class and Mao defending his class. What Mao proceeded from was the interests of the international proletariat and world revolution, of continuing the revolution under socialism and never losing sight of the goal of achieving communism worldwide. From that point on he became the

foremost leader of the international proletariat — *including the proletarians of the Soviet Union*. To be perfectly clear, the attempt to do away with Mao's verdicts is not about "healing wounds" within the ICM, because the Soviet revisionists were no longer part of the ICM, they were counter-revolutionaries trying to crush the ICM. Trying to "heal these wounds" today is trying to reconcile revolution and counter-revolution. It won't work any more now than it did 30 years ago. There will be more on the ongoing struggle in the ICM in upcoming issues of *AWTW*.

The AUCPB and other similar forces have been strengthening their links recently with many of the centrist forces who had tended to die away in the past decade or so. But the genuine Maoists are not seeking bureaucratic alliances with forces whose dreams can fly no higher than making the best of Brezhnev; instead they are stepping up their efforts to spread the influence of MLM around the world, even in the former Soviet bloc countries, and to build and strengthen Maoist parties united in RIM, in order to launch and lead revolutionary people's wars as soon as possible with the aim of establishing new socialist countries, as base areas for revolution worldwide. While the older generation of revolutionaries from different countries are important to these efforts, the Maoists are paying specific attention to the young fresh forces rising in struggle out of the deepening imperialist world crisis, so as to lead a new generation of communists to march fearlessly and unflinchingly into a future filled with stormy revolutionary struggle.

CONCLUSION

Nina Andreeva and her party have failed to break with many of the deepest roots of the revisionism that characterized the CPSU during the three and a half decades when it presided over the social-imperialist USSR. It will be impossible for new forces to advance to revolution there without grasping the qualitative leap in the science of revolution forged by Mao Tsetung, rupturing thoroughly with revisionism and on that basis launching a struggle for all-out revolution to

overthrow the ruling bourgeoisie in Russia through revolutionary people's war, as part of the world proletarian revolution.

Today, when the Soviet revisionists have collapsed and the ugly features of their rule have been shouted to the world by the Western and Russian imperialists, Nina Andreeva and the AUCPB could not even get a hearing internationally or domestically without making at least some criticisms of the post-1956 period. And so they do, and they even say a few polite things about Mao Tsetung. But they limit themselves to criticisms of secondary features of Soviet social-imperialism under Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Andropov, etc., and they limit any talk supporting Mao to non-essential features, and carefully guard against any attack on the imperialist essence of the revisionist USSR.

Their stand is not mainly due to ignorance, but to the fact that they are still held tightly in the grip of revisionism. The tens of millions of real proletarians who suffered at the hands of the revisionist Soviet bourgeoisie and burn with hatred of them and whose conditions under Western-style rule have only worsened urgently need better than this. They need young revolutionaries who fear neither going against the enemy's open weapons nor tossing off the smothering weight of the revisionist dogma prevalent on the ex-Soviet "left". A "new October" cannot be made without *Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*. ■

[All translations are the responsibility of *AWTW*]

Erratum: *AWTW* 1996/22 *Nepal: Hoisting the Red Flag to the Roof of the World* p 6. The CPM was not in power when Charu Mazumdar was murdered by the state. Yet its political complicity in supporting this darstardly act of the Congress government is evident. After returning to power in 1977, it has persistently refused demands for an enquiry into the circumstances of Charu Mazumdar's death in police custody.



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