

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

1998/24

A WORLD

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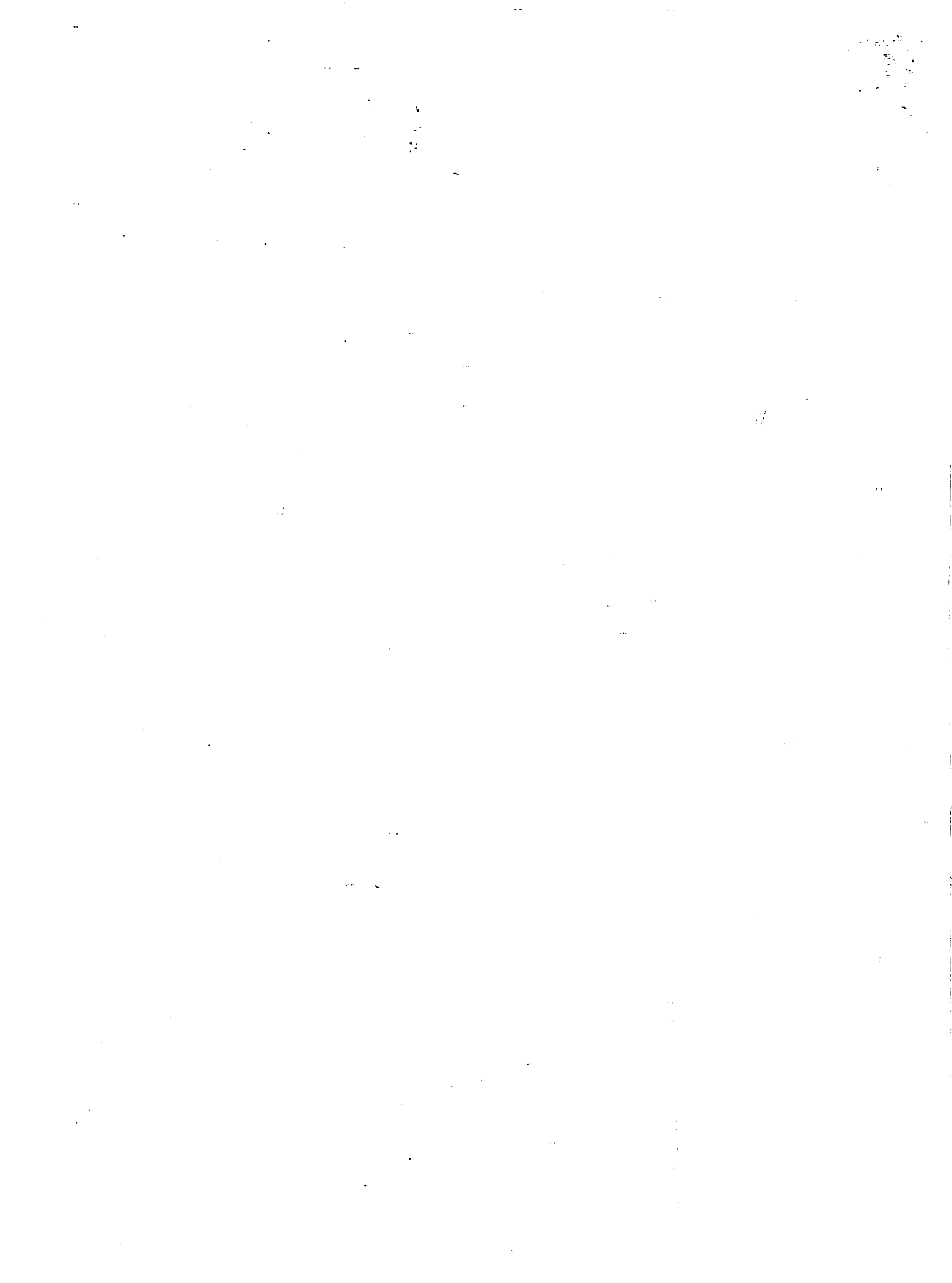
**Women —
Slaves No More!**

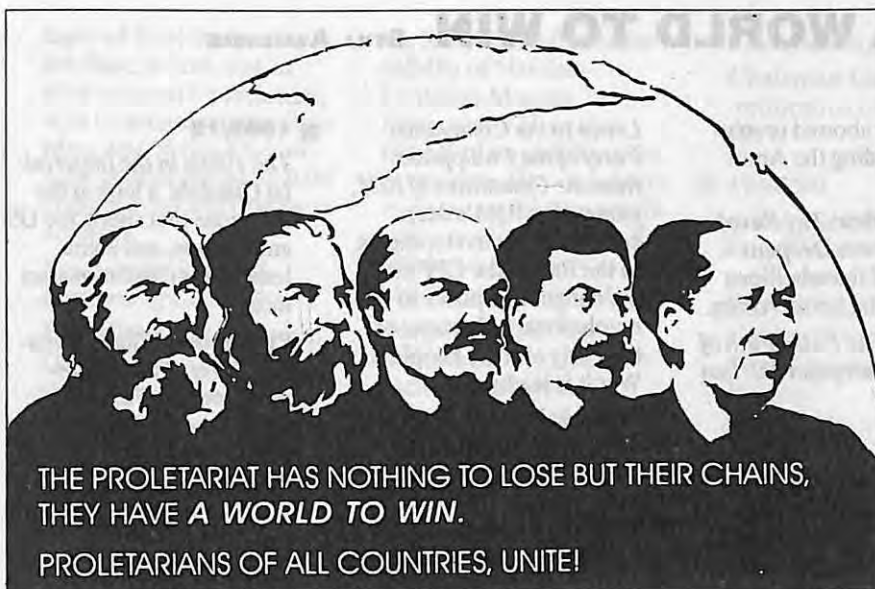
जीतनेके लिए सारा विश्व है UN MONDO DA CONQUISTARE

Inside
**On Nepal People's War
Gen. Sec. Prachanda,
CPN (Maoist)**

جهانی برای فتح EINE WELT ZU GEWINNEN বিশ্ব বিজয়







1998/24

Women - Slaves No More!

An AWTW editorial argues that, for Maoists, the participation of women has everything to do with the character of the revolution being waged. Only a revolution that aims at the abolition of all social divisions and inequalities can unleash women to play a full role in society. Also featured are reprints from Lenin and from the Chinese revolution, a report on an International Women's Day Celebration by women from Afghanistan, and letters from readers.

Cutting Through the Darkness in Afghanistan

The battlefield of Afghanistan offers its own unique opportunities for revolutionary struggle – and the Maoists of the young Communist Party of Afghanistan are determined to seize on the turbulent conflicts ripping apart their country to forge a force capable of offering genuine hope for an alternative to both the medieval practices of the Islamic fundamentalists and the modern exploitation of the imperialists.

Persevering in People's War in Nepal

As the People's War in Nepal faces the biggest military operation in the country's history, General Secretary Prachanda of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) presents an overview of the results and prospects of two years of revolutionary war. Also featured is a document from the RIM Committee explaining why a participant in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, the Nepal Communist Party (Mashal), has been expelled.

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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).

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

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■ **1988/11**

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

■ **1989/13**

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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.

Cuba: *Notes on the Political Economy of Cuba: Burn Down the Cane Fields!* The title 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.

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lapse 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.

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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. 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 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: The initiation of the People's War in Nepal is a daring and glorious step forward for the world revolution."

Peru: Let's Carry the Fight against the Right Opportunist Line through to the End!

■ **1998/23**

Workers of All Countries, Unite!: Section on the International Communist Movement (ICM) reaffirms the unity of the proletariat world-wide and expresses the need for an "international of a new type" based on Maoism. Includes RIM response to "Proposal for the Unification of the ICM."

Naxalbari: How the armed revolt of peasants in Naxalbari transformed the political landscape in India. Includes reprints from Charu Mazumdar as well as Indian Maoists' writings on Naxalbari.

People's War: Includes documents: Strategy and Tactics of Armed Struggle in Nepal by the CPN (M) and Overcome the Bend in the Road by Developing the People's War! by the PCP and articles on developments in Nepal and Peru.

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Once again the development of the People's War in Nepal is proving what has already been shown in Peru and other revolutionary movements as well — the tremendous unleashing of the revolutionary potential of women as a mighty force for revolution. In both of these countries the masses of the poor women, especially the poor peasantry which in both societies make up the main revolutionary force led by the proletariat, have astounded many observers by their massive outpouring of support for the revolutionary cause. In example after example, the downtrodden of yesterday are becoming the gravediggers of the reactionaries and the builders of the future as women join the revolution in every sphere of activity, taking part in guerrilla units or as leaders of mass organisations and members and leaders of the vanguard party itself.

There can be no doubt that this awakening of the women is a great accomplishment of the proletarian revolutionary struggle. Both the absolute numbers and the quality of the participation of women is much greater in the proletarian revolution than in other revolutionary and popular movements.

In today's world all classes and political forces seek to mobilise women behind their banner. This is another expression of Lenin's observation that in our era nothing is possible without the masses. Indeed, the involvement of women in all people's and democratic movements is a striking feature of recent decades.

For example, in Sri Lanka the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam (LTTE) have succeeded in bringing forward a large number of women who have fought with remarkable valour in the battle against the reactionary regime there. In Vietnam, Eritrea and Palestine women played a strong role in the

Break the Chains

UNLEASH THE

AS A MIGHTY FORCE



Women are active in every sphere of the People's Wars in Nepal led by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (photo on left) and Peru (photo on right) led by the Communist Party of Peru.

national liberation movements. All of this goes to illustrate Marx's point that how rooted the revolutionary movement is among the people can be measured by the degree of participation of women.

But there remains a difference, and a fundamental one at that, between the kind of participation of women the LTTE or the Palestinian resistance organisations have brought forward and that found in revolutionary struggles which are led by a proletarian party guided by proletarian ideology. The essential difference is whether the movement itself is able to go beyond the threshold of bourgeois democracy, whether it seeks only to bring about a

capitalist system based on the "free and equal" exchange of commodities, and especially that most important commodity, labour power itself, or whether the movement contains within it the seeds of a society that puts an end to labour as a commodity and goes beyond the very division into classes.

The communist revolutionaries do not see women as simply more soldiers for the people's army or as a vast reservoir of labour. For communists, the participation of women has everything to do with what kind of a revolution they are waging. Frederick Engels in his famous work *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* demonstrated how the oppression of

women arose with the division of primitive society into classes and how the total emancipation of women is completely inseparable from the aim of building a communist society without class distinctions.

The storm centres of the world proletarian revolution have been in the oppressed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the five decades since the end of World War II. This has also meant that, in most countries, the revolution must necessarily pass through a first, new democratic stage before advancing to the socialist revolution.

As we know, the new democratic revolution is itself bourgeois democratic in so far as it has as its immedi-

FURY OF WOMEN FOR REVOLUTION!

ate goal the overthrow of imperialism, feudalism and the domestic capital associated with the former, rather than the overthrow of bourgeois relations. At the same time the new democratic revolution led by the proletariat helps to pave the way for a second, or socialist, stage once the basic bourgeois democratic tasks have been accomplished.

The participation of women in the democratic revolution needs to be

RIGHT: US businessmen inspect women workers at a high-tech plant in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, one of many such factories along the border between the US and Mexico. Of the one million workers in these plants 60% are women.



LEFT: Irish women bang dustbin lids on receiving news of the death of a hunger striker in Britain's prisons.

examined in this light as well.

WOMEN AND DEMOCRACY

It has long been established that communists fight for all democratic rights. And the equality of women is one of those important democratic rights. But communists are also clear that democracy has not and cannot resolve the problems of inequality and oppression. Furthermore, the democracy of even the "freest" republic is always limited and subordinated to the most important bourgeois freedom: the freedom to exploit labour power, to make a profit. As long as society remains divided into classes women will retain the overwhelming responsibility for the upbringing of children and for household work. As long as a so-



BOTTOM: Washington, D.C. demonstration, January 1998, for abortion rights and against the attacks on abortion clinics and the murder of doctors and staff who work there.



Women members of the New People's Army in the Philippines.

cial division exists between men and women this will inevitably mean that women are unequal and subordinated to men in many ways.

We have seen that even in bourgeois-democratic countries such as the United States, France or the United Kingdom, the equality of women has not been achieved. A quick glance at the parliaments, the lists of the heads of states, or at corporate boardrooms in these countries shows that men overwhelmingly dominate them. Despite a general tendency for the equality of wages to be declared by law, it is a well-established fact that wages for women are considerably lower than for men with comparative levels of training and skill.

Furthermore, even in the imperialist countries there is a marked tendency for the desperately poor to be made up of an increasingly higher percentage of women. Late twentieth-century capitalism continues along with its "two-tier" system in which a sizeable minority of the population is ground down into shocking conditions of immiseration. In so many cases this means families are headed by single mothers, women are locked into very low-paying work or out of the job market altogether and completely shackled to the drudgery of domestic work, while faced with the task of bringing up children in desperate conditions. Some Western sociologists have coined the term "feminisation of poverty" to describe this phenomenon.

But the oppression of women cuts across class lines; in other words, in class society women are oppressed generally, giving rise to resistance and important movements among the women of various social classes and strata in both the imperialist and oppressed countries. Throughout the world women are confronted with variants of patriarchy and male chauvinism, as well as the backward ideas and practices that accompany them, rarely censured by and often enshrined in bourgeois-democratic social institutions and laws.

Rebellious women who refuse the role that bourgeois society has allotted them constitute an important stream of the mass resistance against the ruling classes of these countries. The struggle against the oppression of women thus



RIGHT: Woman from Chiapas, Mexico.

brings new and powerful forces into play which the proletarian vanguard needs to learn how to lead as part of the overall struggle for revolution.

OPPRESSED COUNTRIES

In the oppressed countries women are also among the biggest victims of the intensification of exploitation that can be seen throughout the world. In many countries the very conditions of impoverishment are fuelling new rounds of industrialisation as imperialist capital is drawn like a magnet to those countries where the desperation of the people can be turned into a tidy profit. In Indonesia, China, Bangladesh and Zaire reactionary regimes compete in a ghastly auction, each offering the imperialists yet a lower price for access to new pools of blood to suck dry in their factories and sweatshops. And in country after country women are becoming a massive part of these new armies of proletarians.

China itself, whose capitalist rulers have conducted probably the most extreme, unrestricted and radical process of capitalist development ever seen on earth, has provided literally millions of young women and girls from the villages as fodder for the vast "free trade zone" near Hong Kong. In Bangladesh, whole new legions of proletarians, mainly women, have emerged in the last two decades as the workforce in the garment industry has grown to over one million.

In the oppressed countries women are a particularly sharp victim of the backwardness of feudalism, which has been maintained and incorporated in the "modern world". In the carpet industries of Iran, India and other countries modern imperialism has found a cosy reciprocal relationship using traditional forms of oppression as women and children stay chained to their household looms to produce for the world market. This is in part why a great many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America can best be described as "semi-feudal".

There is thus a strong material basis for the outpouring of women. Yet the attraction of women to the revolutionary struggle cannot be explained by, or reduced to, only the immediate exploitation of women at the hands of the reactionary classes as workers or peasants. In addition to this, the masses of labouring women also bear the bur-

den of male domination and stifling social and religious practices and institutions, which falls on women of the more privileged sections as well.

Thousands of years of traditions' chains weigh on women in countless forms. In Afghanistan, the Islamic rulers have returned to the medieval practice of literally locking women inside the house and controlling their every movement, as one example of what has come to be known as "gender apartheid", an extreme case of the feudal form of women's oppression still so prevalent around the globe, alongside mountains of religious superstition. The absolute tyranny and control over women by male family members along with reactionary practices woven into the fabric of the society are still a major feature of life for a huge section of the world's women. Take just a few examples: the hated *chador*, female circumcision and forced sterilisation, arranged marriages of children and men's "ownership" of children, dowry blackmail, wife-beating, men's "right" to divorce and to adultery, either of which is punishable by banishment or death for millions of women.... Yet these conditions of oppression are also giving rise to new waves of resistance.

In addition to these and other feudal or semi-feudal "traditions", women in the oppressed countries suffer alongside women in the "advanced" countries from more "modern" forms of degradation, such as constant sexual harassment of different types, plus pornography, prostitution, and multiple forms of violence, including rape and physical abuse. In many instances feudal and modern forms of oppression co-exist or intermingle, keeping women in an inferior position. (Nor should we forget that even some forms of the most backward ideological expressions of subordinating women exist in the "advanced" countries too — witness the growth of religious obscurantism in the US, where fundamentalist Christians oppose abortion rights and demand a return to traditional reactionary values in the home and in general.)

So women's participation in the revolutionary struggle is a vehicle for striking at the whole underpinning of women's oppression — the social relations which have developed since the emergence of classes themselves — not just at the immediate capitalist or landlord, or the state representing such

class enemies.

DIFFERENT CLASS APPROACHES

Whether in the West or in the oppressed countries, women cannot be considered a "marginalised" or incidental factor in the class struggle. More and more it is clear that they are very much concentrated at the centre of the process of exploitation and oppression. And the inevitable corollary of this is that women are and will increasingly be at the centre of the opposition to the system of imperialism and reaction.

The class enemy has understood very clearly the revolutionary potential of women and has taken significant steps not only to try to crush it but also to try to channel it in such a way as to preserve and protect the world imperialist system. For example, the imperialists, who back the most evil and barbaric reactionaries, now shed crocodile tears for the plight of women. They wage wars to preserve the sheikhs of the Gulf (and their right to restore their harems, like in Kuwait after the Gulf War) and aid regimes like El Salvador whose death squads brutally raped and murdered Catholic nuns in 1980 (recently revealed to have been known to top US officials in that country) and the Taliban of Afghanistan, while they also direct their legions of NGOs (so-called non-governmental organisations) to carry out projects among women, including the rural and poor women in third world countries. However laudable the motivation of some of the fieldworkers in such projects might be, these programmes fit into an overall plan of the imperialists themselves to harness the discontent of women away from revolutionary struggle and into reformist schemes and illusions of greater equality for them. But the fact that the imperialists have directed so much of the attention of the NGOs towards these strata is another indication of the important task of fighting for the allegiance of women.

One of the great differences between the proletarian revolutionary approach to the woman question and that of even the most radical of bourgeois democrats is whether to consciously fan this stream of rebellion or whether to constantly seek to restrict

and narrow the scope of the outpouring of women, to see them as a valuable battering ram against the enemies but to fear their revolutionary yearnings for a completely different society.

How many times have we heard the nationalists and bourgeois-democratic revolutionaries claim that raising the woman question is "divisive" to the struggle? But this is only true if the goal of the "struggle" is itself seen as setting up a national structure complete with exploiters and exploited, male chauvinism, patriarchy and a whole host of other reactionary practices and thinking. And this policy of fear of going "too far" inevitably also puts limits on how thoroughly and effectively women will take part in even those revolutionary activities which are "permitted".

On the contrary, the proletarian revolutionaries welcome and nourish the rebellion of women. For the proletarian revolutionaries, the contradictions engendered by the active participation of women (that is, resistance by men) are a necessary feature of the revolutionary movement. Handling this correctly through education, criticism and self-criticism, as well as promoting conscious struggle, including the rebellion of women, against backward ideas and practices within the revolutionary movement can lead to the advance of the whole movement, both men and women. The contradiction between men and women will not disappear by wishing it away or trying to dissolve it into the general "struggle", as the bourgeois forces and male chauvinists would have it. Such an approach will only mean that the participation of women is throttled and that sooner or later their resistance will emerge in a way that may be less favourable for the revolution.

Communists have been criticised by some feminists and others for having an "ulterior motive" for involving women in the revolutionary struggle. Communist revolutionaries recognise the vast potential that exists among women, especially among the poor. Their fury is indeed a mighty force for revolution, to be unleashed as part of the unleashing of all of the masses against the reactionary system. The "ulterior motive" to which we plead guilty is that communists recognise that thorough-going participation of women in the revolutionary movement today is one of the very important elements that will enable the movement of today,

where it has already reached the stage of people's war, such as in Peru or Nepal or where the all-out struggle for power is still in preparation, to flower into the movement of tomorrow, the socialist revolution, which will attack step by step all old property relations and ideas and institutions based on them, including, as an important focus of this, the oppression of women.

SOCIALISM IN CHINA

In analysing the new democratic revolution, a necessary stage through which the proletarian revolution must pass in the oppressed countries that make up the bulk of the population on earth, Mao Tse-tung stressed the existence of "socialist elements". Indeed, he insisted that the existence of these elements was one of the key features that made this revolution *new* as opposed to old democratic, which made it part of the world proletarian socialist revolution.

China itself illustrates very clearly the "two roads" that are open for women. After the completion of the new democratic revolution in 1949 the proletariat undertook the socialist revolution, waging repeated battles against the remnants of the old society and fighting off recurrent efforts by the those in the party who wanted to call a halt to the revolution and set about building a capitalist society. Throughout those decades of building socialism enormous strides were made in mobilising women in all aspects of the struggle, in fighting the old practices and ideas and bringing forth the new. In the Cultural Revolution this process reached its high point when hundreds of millions of people were involved in a life-and-death battle to keep the revolution moving ahead toward communism. It is well known that this great movement involved women in a way never before seen. This was true among all sections of the people — revolutionary intellectuals making up the Red Guard movement, workers and peasants. It was reflected in the Party itself, including at the highest levels where Comrade Chiang Ching played an historic role as one of the principal leaders of the revolutionary headquarters inside the CCP. And in the important arena of battle against old ideas, under her leadership powerful works were created setting whole new standards in reflecting the image

and mission of the proletariat in the sphere of art and culture. One of the very prominent features of these works was the portrayal of strong revolutionary heroines.

As we know, the Cultural Revolution was eventually defeated by the reactionary onslaught of Deng Xiaoping and the treachery of Hua Kuo-feng. Chiang Ching herself was singled out by the coup-makers as the principal villain for her tireless struggle for the proletariat and for the proletarian revolutionary line of Mao Tse-tung and accused of using her power for purely personal ambitions. Put on trial in 1980, she courageously defended the red flag, admitting only to the crime of making revolution and transformed the courtroom into a trial of her accusers, Deng and Hua.

OLD VS. NEW

And what is the situation for women in today's China of restored capitalism? Of course, some women, like some men, have benefited from the pillage of the previous collective property of the people or from the newly acquired freedom to exploit the workers and labouring masses. But for the majority of women, restored capitalism has meant re-enslavement, not just economically but both physically and socially in the clutches of male domination, whether in the free trade zone of Canton, in the villages which have again become a place of horror and destitution for the great majority of rural dwellers, or in the glittering cities of the new capitalist China. Ancient forms of women's oppression are reappearing like a sore all over the country. Feudal and Confucian ideas about the inferiority of women have re-emerged with a vengeance. Prostitution, which was eradicated in Mao's China, is the inevitable accompaniment to a society in which human labour has again become a commodity to be bought and sold, where "to get rich is glorious" as the Chinese rulers boast so shamelessly. Female infanticide is so widespread that its cruel reality appears even in population statistics. China has again become a hellish place for the majority of women.

Thus we can see that for the masses of women as for society as a whole, the question of "old democracy" ver-

sus "new democracy" is no minor matter. It has everything to do with whether the common feature of all hitherto existing class societies, exploitation and with it the oppression of women, will continue or whether the long and difficult road of creating entirely different relations between men and women will be embarked upon. From Nepal today, just as from Peru and other countries in revolutionary struggle, stories abound of new fighters and leaders emerging from among the most oppressed women, of those who yesterday were the scorned and ridiculed rising to the requirements of being revolutionary heroines. Such women will never be satisfied with a revolution that goes only part way, and they will set powerful examples to others, testing the revolutionary movement and its objectives.

With an eye to the future as well as to the present necessities of the movement, proletarian revolutionaries wholeheartedly strive to fulfil the slogan "Unleash the fury of women as a mighty force for revolution!" As in any great revolutionary undertaking, the proletarian vanguard will learn in the process as it obtains rich new experience and overcomes new problems. As Mao said in his 1927 "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan", it is impossible to correct a wrong without exceeding "proper limits". This is strikingly true of the situation today when the cause of revolution demands that millions of women break all the chains, including those of tradition and male supremacy, hampering their revolutionary initiative.

Correct and vigorous implementation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on this question by any communist party and organisation is bound to bring many women forward as revolutionary leaders and fighters. Guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the stand and practice of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and the parties and organisations that make it up have opened the door wide for such development. Yet we cannot be complacent, as there is a great deal more to be done to fully mobilise women in the revolutionary struggle. Today's progress is just a beginning, just the first act in the unfolding of a great drama that will surely astound the sceptics as women are aroused and unleashed to destroy that which is putrid in this world and start building brick by brick the new one. ■

On 8 March 1998, an important meeting celebrating March 8th was held in Quetta, Pakistan. This meeting was organised and held by Afghanistani women in exile in Pakistan. Similar programs were held in Europe following a call issued by Afghanistani and Iranian women in exile in Europe.

The meeting was held under the open sky in the late winter sun of March 8th. Women of all ages, who were called to the celebration that same morning by trucks circulating in the streets of the city, began pouring in from early afternoon. For most of these women, this was their first time to participate in a meeting organised and chaired by women alone. *Fire in the Mountains* (from the *A World to Win* music tape *We Only Want the World!*) was playing from the loudspeakers, and the walls were decorated with banners and slogans. One banner condemned the inhuman conditions imposed on women, another called for defending the just struggle of women. One slogan read "Breaking the chains requires uncompromising struggle". The other emphasised that women should establish their rights even if by force. Altogether about 600 women participated, and more continued to arrive even as the meeting was coming to an end.

The meeting opened with a woman reciting a poem declaring that without the struggle of women, victory cannot

Women of Afghanistan Celebrate March 8th

be won.

The chairwoman greeted the participants: "Today is March 8th, International Women's Day (IWD). This day is a symbol of the struggle of women against the oppression imposed on them by the relations dominating society and keeping them in chains. The women workers of the US rose up against their bosses to protest difficult working conditions and low wages.... On that day, the active presence of women textile workers in the struggle for their rights showed how the interest of the bosses and rulers is to oppress and exploit people, especially women. The State used its armed forces to defend its interests, but women were not afraid to face them and participated, taking their lives in their hands...."

"We, women of Afghanistan, should also celebrate this day in the most militant way as the day of women's struggle against oppression and against male chauvinist regimes in Afghanistan and around the world." Talking about how in many countries the rulers try to co-opt March 8th, turn it into a state carnival and throw water on the fire of women's struggle, she added: "Women are not fooled by false celebrations by their rulers, and continue their struggle. But celebrating March 8th is illegal in Afghanistan. The present male chauvinist rulers of our country don't even see it necessary



to hold a phoney celebration. This shows the brutal and completely open oppression being carried out. We women of Afghanistan who face such unabashed and open male chauvinism should courageously celebrate this day and carry forward our struggles firmly and boldly.

"Let us once again on this day turn our fury into a fighting force and continue our struggle with perseverance and firmness against the oppression of women and all other oppression...."

One of the organisers took the podium and on behalf of the organising committee called on women to celebrate International Women's Day ever more powerfully. She talked about how on the eve of the 21st century women in Afghanistan are forced to live in medieval conditions. She added: "This situation is not tolerable! We should rise up against it! As was said in the declaration of the Afghanistani women immigrants in Pakistan, the women of Afghanistan have no solution but to boldly struggle against this situation in order to gain our rights...."

"At present there are courageous women who are rising up against the barbaric measures and exclusionist laws of the Taliban and other Jihadis [Islamic fundamentalists]. Women of Afghanistan are even giving their lives to keep the public baths open.... Women have even gone as far as taking up arms and have shed the blood of their aggressors. Women fighters abroad carry out the struggle through meetings, demonstrations, publications and other forms. All these fearless struggles and sacrifices must become deeper and broader in order to become a true social movement." She explained that the oppression of women is not limited to societies like Afghanistan but exists in different forms in advanced capitalist countries also, and that the women's struggle in Afghanistan is part of a broader international struggle against the system ruling the world.

A young woman read a paper she had prepared about the types of oppression women suffered: "Women of Afghanistan are deprived of the most elementary rights of a human being because we are women. At present, even in the cities, we don't have the right to step out of our homes to fend for ourselves, to use the baths, to go to hospital or school. Being forced to wear the veil concentrates the imprisonment of

women. Not even our eyes are supposed to be visible. This veil is not a simple piece of clothing; it impedes our ability to see, move or walk long distances. Those women who have learned to work and were active in society have been forced by the Taliban and other rulers to sit in their homes. Many worked outside to support their families and many have lost their husbands in the anti-Russian resistance war and the present wars and have no choice but to work to support themselves and their kids... but it is forbidden to work now.

"Both in the cities and in the countryside, the women of Afghanistan carry the burden of all the housework.... Housework is never-ending — cooking, washing, cleaning, serving the husband, hosting the guests, raising the children.... The society doesn't value this work... only men's work is valued and merits wages.

"Long hours of housework prevent women from thinking about other things in society. We are not allowed to know or learn and think about important things.... It is always men in the family and society that decide for us, whether or not we have the right to study, work outside the house, think, or participate in political, social and economic activities.... When they want to praise a woman they say she is quiet, shy, obedient.... When she struggles against the oppression she and other women feel they say she is stepping over limits, she is no good, outspoken... Thus they try to silence the voice of women's struggle...."

"In marital relationships a man can own as many women in official and unofficial marriage as his income allows him to. Her feelings as a human being, a partner who can think, are looked down on and ignored. When a man brings in a second or third wife, all these women are oppressed; it is not the fault of any of the women and they should understand the dominant male chauvinist relations...."

"Women in the countryside don't have the right to own land. Their work is not valued even though they work from dawn to dusk at home, on the land... harvesting crops, turning wheat into flour, raising animals, doing the milking, making yoghurt and other dairy products, embroidery and carpet-making are all part of the work women do alone or alongside men. In areas of Nurestan and Jadaran women carry out

all agricultural tasks without any help from men. In the majority of cases women are not paid for their labour and even if there is a wage for things like carpet weaving it is minimal and... is mostly handed over to the men of the family.

"Starting from childhood, girls are forced to do heavy work in the villages and when they are seven they have to do the cooking, baking, sewing, and caring for smaller children to prepare for getting married. After 12 years of age they are barred from going to school — if there are any schools — to keep them from seeing things and from changing and refusing to be obedient...."

"When there are family and tribal disputes and somebody is killed, a girl or a woman is given as a 'blood prize' [to compensate for the life taken] to settle the dispute. In war the victors treat women as war spoils, mistreating and raping them, and women are abused for not complying with medieval laws...."

"We must fight against all of this oppression that is part of the oppressive ruling system in Afghanistan. But we are not alone in this struggle.... Struggle against oppression is carried out by women in different countries...."

Amidst applause she left the podium to a young teenager who read a poem about how the suffering cries of women will turn into thunder that will bring down the prison walls of oppression. Another speaker said: "Spontaneous and individual struggle can be seen in a significant number of cases. But these individual struggles can't do away with oppression in the society and if we get rid of one oppressor we later fall into the hands of another one...."

"The oppression of women is part of the relations dominating society and the rulers defend it. We face these governments and the laws they have written based on backward relations and traditions; we face the armed forces that preserve these relations. Whenever our struggle goes beyond the individual level and targets these oppressive relations and their guardians... they come down hard on us.... The reason is clear, these struggles threaten their very existence...." She gave some examples of spontaneous struggle of women and added, "Women should join hands and strengthen their struggles, they must unite their forces and build a movement that is ever more organised.... The

power of women sends shivers down the spines of the oppressive rulers, that's why they resort to threats and force...." She finished by saluting the just struggle of women in Afghanistan and throughout the world.

After a solidarity message from a girl's school was read, the following speaker introduced herself by saying she was illiterate and could only express herself in simple words. "Our mothers were backward and have not come to gatherings like ours today, so they did things that ruined our futures. I want to recount my sad fate so that you would hear it. When I was seven they gave me into marriage to a 70-year-old man and they ruined my life. In the last nine or ten years I didn't feel like living, I didn't know whether I was alive or in the cemetery. Sisters, mothers, I beg you not to ruin the future of your children. Your daughters are weak and helpless. Nobody recognises our rights, nobody tells us about our rights. When I was seven I was given to a 70-year-old man. But when I was 17 I started to struggle and learned that if I don't do anything to get myself out of my misery there is nobody to do it for me...." The loud applause that greeted her speech indicated she was not the only one in the audience to have suffered such a fate.

Then the next speaker took the podium. "As an oppressed and suffering girl of my country I congratulate this day all the women of the world, especially the suffering sisters and mothers of my country. I'm proud to be here presenting my feelings to you...."

"Sisters and mothers, without women, human society wouldn't exist. Without the participation of women in the affairs of society, society would move towards destruction and could not take the road to happiness. In history there have been women who have struggled for their rights. They have proven that women are not second-class humans and can fight alongside men for the happiness of the people and even give their lives for this cause.

"Sisters and mothers, let us think about ourselves and the oppression we suffer and find a solution. Are we really weak and helpless and unable to free ourselves from this darkness covering our lives? No, it is not true...."

"Sisters and mothers, let us join hands and uproot these superstitions. We must study, we must participate in the affairs of our society, work and

participate in production, and we must have freedom of speech and take part in the political fate of society. If these rights are taken away from us, we will not be complete humans and will always remain miserable and inferior. We must struggle for our human rights and this of course requires effort and sacrifice. There is no time to silently watch our lives miserably go by... it is high time for us to prepare ourselves for the struggle for our human rights and carry out the struggle in an organised fashion."

Another woman addressed the audience in Urdu (the meeting was held in Dari, also called Farsi). She condemned the situation of women in countries like Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan and went on to say: "Here I want to address the very important question of the education of women. We will not let anybody take the right of education away from us."

The chairwoman gave a brief history of the roots of women's oppression. "In Afghanistan, as in any other class society, the oppression of women is an important part of the socio-economic structure of exploitation dominating society. The active participation of women in the struggle against imperialism and reaction is a fundamental necessity in the victory of revolution. Because without the active participation of half of the people the advance of this struggle is inconceivable. But this is not all. More importantly these revolutionary struggles of women will strike serious blows against patriarchy, which is part of the exploiting system dominating the society and will unleash the fury of women as a mighty force for revolution."

A resolution of the meeting that had been drafted by the Committee of Immigrant Afghanistani Women for the Celebration of March 8th — International Women's Day — 1998 was then read, which stated in part: "The successful meeting today proves that the struggle of Afghanistani women against oppression and for rights as individuals and in the family, society and political life can and must continue and develop deeper and broader. Our gathering today, as our previous gathering, is not an isolated event but part of a series of gatherings that are being held by struggling Afghanistani and Iranian women... in different regions and countries. And these too are part of the struggle of

women around the world on March 8th." In approval of the general Call issued for March 8th, the resolution of the gathering announced:

"1. March 8th is International Women's Day, which is accepted widely on an international level. The position of the backward-minded and medieval forces ruling Afghanistan in terms of outlawing the celebration of this day is deeply oppressive and ignorant and deserves condemnation. The women of Afghanistan have as their duty to celebrate this day, every year alongside struggling women in other countries and view this as a struggle against the patriarchal system, and against the ignorant and oppressive rulers of the country."

"2. The struggle against the 'Taliban' and other women-hating forces in Afghanistan is the right of the women as human beings and their responsibility and we will continue this struggle despite any threats and intimidation by backward internal and foreign forces. Our struggle is just and will continue courageously...."

"3. We call on all the revolutionary, democratic and national figures and forces in Afghanistan and other countries to support us in this cause and help us in the successful advance of our struggle."

"Long Live the Just Struggle of the Women of Afghanistan!

"Long Live the Righteous Struggle of Women around the World!"

The chair then opened the floor for debate. One woman promptly stood up to defend the veil. She said women should be helping men in the rear [of the war fronts] instead of complaining about oppression. This unleashed a heated debate over women's oppression in Afghanistan and the supposed "frailty" of women. The meeting ended in an electric atmosphere in song.

We add our voices to the thrill of March 8th,
We fan the fire of our anger.
Let us break the chains and unleash our fury,
We are free women, let us make revolution.
We will kill the oppressors and reclaim our rights,
We will uproot oppression, we will liberate ourselves.
Life is freedom, slavery is death.
Our war is for liberation; it spells doom for the enemy. ■

Worldwide Fundraising Campaign**From One Corner of the Earth to the Other**

In our last issue we printed a letter from the Information Bureau of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement calling on supporters to help organise the Worldwide Campaign to Raise Funds for the RIM. One of the key activities that needs to be stepped up by the world's Maoist forces is the dissemination of revolutionary literature. Groups and individuals have picked up the gauntlet, why not you? 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.

Raise Funds for RIM!**Readers Write...****Mass Outcry over Rape in the Punjab**

The following is based on a report sent from Chamkada Lal Tara, a revolutionary newspaper in the Indian state of Punjab which supports the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

On 29 July 1997 in Barnala, a town in the Punjab in India, Maha Sahib Kaura was abducted, gang-raped and killed on her way home from college. Those responsible for this crime were close to the authorities. The police did little to arrest and punish the culprits and instead arrested some innocent people. This outrageous act and the ensuing police cover-up infuriated the masses and created such turmoil that the authorities in the Punjab will not forget soon. Right after the news of the crime hit the streets an Action Committee was formed of different parties and human rights groups, with *Chamkada Lal Tara* and *Lok Sangram Morcha* as its revolutionary backbone. Thousands of women and

men from Barnala and surrounding villages participated in the funeral held on 12 August.

As the police coverup continued so did the resistance of the masses. Two days after the funeral a demonstration of at least 50,000 was held demanding the hanging of the culprits, serious action against those police officers who had sheltered them and a social boycott of their families. Rs 2 lakhs [200,000 Rupees, or \$5000] were collected by the masses to help the activities. Another demonstration was held on Sept 8 in which also nearly 50,000 angry people participated. 40000 leaflets put out by the Action Committee disappeared in less than an hour as the masses rushed in for bundles to distribute themselves. The school which Maha Sahib Kaura attended adopted her name. The families of the culprits were effectively boycotted by the masses. Local media regularly reported the devel-

opments of the struggle: the papers were filled with articles about the situation of women in India. The news of the struggle resounded throughout India. The authorities, exposed for their ties to the rapists, had to back down. Finally those responsible for the crime were arrested, one policeman was sacked and the local ruling party has been forced to give Rs 10 lakhs (\$25000) for a library in Maha's name.

Crimes against women are common currency in India, estimated to occur every 6 minutes; in addition every 102 minutes a woman becomes a victim of a dowry murder. This struggle was a high point in resisting such crimes in the Punjab, however, and the Action Committee is determined to continue raising awareness on this issue linking the struggle against goons and rapists to the struggle against local tyrants and the state.

On Women in India

The following letter is from a woman reader in Andhra Pradesh, India, reporting on conditions for women in India.

Dear AWTW,

Women hold up half the sky.
They are half of the revolution.

The rise of the revolutionary women's movement is breaking the shackles of women's exploitation in the semi-feudal semi-colonial system

all over the world. The sound of women's bonds cracking is gradually reaching the ears of women in all nooks and corners of the earth. The fight against patriarchy and its manifestations like sexual atrocities, racial and gender discrimination, caste discrimination, dowry murder, eve-teasing, etc., has been on the rise in the recent past. It has become an integral part of the mainstream revolutionary movement, which is fighting against the base of this

economic exploitative system.

The revolutionary movement placed the fundamental issues of women's economic and sexual exploitation on the revolutionary agenda. The exploiting class used patriarchy to treat half the working force, i.e. women, as cheap labour. They also exploit working women for their sexual needs. They try to use gender to divide working class men and women to rule them. This is a universal phenomenon.

Struggle has been going on since the early 20th century against every form of the exploitation of women. After a period of random struggle, now is the era of the women's movements. It is so in Peru. It is so in Germany, in the Philippines, in Sri Lanka, in Kashmir, Nepal, and elsewhere. And so it is in India. While the imperialist countries try to lure the masses with mere economic and welfare programs using funded voluntary organisations, like in any developing country the revolutionary movement in India is developing in its own way and with a clear perspective. It influences the masses of women more and more and brings them onto the path of revolution, and thus of liberation. This letter tries to explain the process in which the revolutionary women's movement in India took a clear shape....

Women in the Telengana armed struggle

The Telengana armed struggle in the 1940s in the state of Andhra Pradesh was a turning point in the history of the revolutionary women's movement in India. Women fought valiantly in this struggle. Poor landless agricultural labourers occupied 10 lakhs [1 lakh = 100,000] of land in this struggle against the feudal landlord system. Forty percent of the land was owned by the landlords and their kin. The people were burdened with taxes. There were no education or medical facilities. Total literacy was 8.5 percent, and for women only 1.5 percent. Women of the poorer castes were slaves in the house of the landlord. Every girl had to go to the landlord immediately after attaining puberty. But the masses rebelled, and women like Ilamma, Narsamma, Chilakamma, and others led the masses heroically under the guidance of the Communist Party of India.

They organised shelter for activists, and other dangerous tasks. They worked as members of the armed squads in the forest areas. The village committees formed during this movement made demands, like the right for women to own property equally with their brothers, a ban on marriages for women under 18, special facilities for women's education, leave for pregnancy, an end to restrictions on women's employment, equal wages, and others. Women laid down their lives in this struggle.

More struggles after the "transfer of power"

15 August 1947, celebrated as the date of Indian independence, was merely a transfer of power from the British to the Indian comprador ruling class. Still today there is no real independence. Economic exploitation and cultural degeneration increased. Patriarchy was firmly upheld by the rulers. Due to economic crisis in India, women had to bear new burdens. They had to give birth to more and more children to increase the available labour power, while, on the other side, infant mortality rates increased. The semi-colonial system needed human labour. So it also encouraged women to get into education. But they were confined to the jobs of nurses and teachers, merely a continuation of the role of women in the feudal patriarchal system. Even today the majority of people in India are in villages. With feudalism intact, exploitation gave rise to further rebellion.

Naxalbari: Spring Thunder

The Naxalbari armed revolt in 1967 in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal came like spring thunder to the Indian revolution. The tribals fought against the plunder of the land-owning Jotedars. Peasants surrounded a plot of land in the Naxalbari region, marked the boundaries with red flags, and began harvesting the crop. A peasant conference called for ending monopoly ownership of land by the landlords and re-distributing it through peasant committees, as well as organising and arming peasants to

resist the landlords and reactionaries.

This was a new understanding that gave Naxalbari a historical place in the Indian revolution. During two months, 60 incidents of land occupation and crop harvesting took place. Land owning and money lending records of the landlords were burned. Up to 20,000 peasants enrolled as full-time activists in the Kisan Sabha. Police coming to arrest the activists met with stiff resistance from the villagers. Later paramilitary forces were deployed and the revolt was suppressed. But for a short while, the open violent revolt shocked the ruling class. A deeper study of the participation of women remains to be made, but they were highly active in this revolt....

Women in the working-class movement

Industrialisation in India was and is only in the economic interests of the imperialist countries. Now multinational companies are even openly investing in India. Nonetheless, although industrialisation has created a section of women workers, they only represent 7.5 percent of India's working women. Most of them are in the unorganised sector.... In the last period, the random struggles of women have gradually moulded into the path of liberation, with a clear perspective. "Land to the tiller" has become the slogan of the hour. Another slogan of the struggle is the right to the forest of the tribals....

In the forest area of Dandakaranya, which is full of natural resources, women in the unorganised sector who are up against the capitalist and feudal system, began to organise. This started with the fight for higher wages for Tendu leaf plucking. Revolutionary armed squads are now in the area, and peasant organisations have been formed, as well as a tribal women's organisation, with membership now in the thousands. It is taking up all sorts of women's issues. The struggles have involved many back and forth battles with the police. Most of the Tendu leaf workers are women. Now religious practices that stand in the way of women's work in production and





In the Indian state of Bihar, women of the lower castes are being organised by what the media call the "Naxalites" for self-defence against the rape and degradation they endure from upper-caste men.

their individual development are coming to be questioned. For example, women have had no choice in selecting their life partner. If a man grabs a woman and takes her to his house, she is forced to become his wife. Bigamy is a normal feature. Women are not allowed to wear jackets after marriage. These practices have now begun to change, as women are organised into revolutionary struggle against the Indian rulers and the imperialists.

In Andhra Pradesh, in North Telengana, the forest movement has developed, and women are participating in the struggle for wages, for the decrease in the rate of liquor, and for the right to land. In the massive upsurge in recent years, around 1,000 activists have been killed in encounters with the police. Due to this heavy repression, women's organisations are being organised secretly.

The following are objectives of

the women's struggle: women must be emancipated from household work. They must become part of social production. Their labour must be recognised. Marriages must be by free choice. A new family based on love, respect, freedom and equality must be formed. Women must be educated and brought into political leadership. Women must be given the right to instruments of production. They must have equal right to hold property. Household work, kitchen work, and child care must be socialised. Overall, women must be part of the new democratic revolution. Communism alone will give total liberation to women.

Women resist the new economic policies

After the General Agreement for Trade and Tariffs (GATT) and the

introduction of "liberalisation policies" by the government of India, women began to be marginalised. Privatisation and cuts in subsidies to health and education affected women directly. They were the first to lose the right to study and to employment. Women workers were re-trenched from public sector companies, which were declared to be sick. The sharp resistance to the Miss World Beauty contest in November 1996 in Bangalore, the centre of the multinationals in India, is a symbol of the consciousness of women. The fact that an Indian contestant was chosen Miss World in 1997 shows that the imperialist plunder of India will increase. They want Indian models to sell their goods. Women are resisting, exposing the interests behind the encouragement of fashion modelling, beauty contests and parlours, etc. They are also determined to expose the funded organisations that act as imperialist agents and mislead the masses.

Another major hurdle to the organising of women is Hindu culture.

The Hindu *dharma*sastras have been very successful in injecting feudalism into the brains of the exploited. By means of caste, gender and the *dalits*, women are held at the mercy of the rich. Women's organisations are gradually educating women about the negative attitude of religion toward the development of women. They also feel that the Muslim and Christian women must be brought out of their confined lives. As a minority in a Hindu state, Muslim women are more deprived of their rights and are suppressed. Christianity has become an instrument of imperialist propaganda. The issues of the *dalit* women, who are exploited by both caste and gender, are also being taken up.

Women as maid servants to the middle and upper classes, those who have migrated to different countries, women who are victims of sexual atrocities, and others, are being identified as new victims in the era of the "New Economic Policies", i.e., the era of imperialism. All these sections of women must be brought together and put on the path of revolution. ■



Siege of Leningrad, 1942. Women's detachment before the Winter Palace just before the German Invasion.

Historical Reprint

Lenin on the

The following excerpts were taken from Clara Zetkin's "My Recollections of Lenin, an Interview on the Woman Question" which she held with Lenin in Moscow in the autumn of 1920. Reprinted from *The Emancipation of Women, From the Writings of Lenin*, International Publishers.

"It is therefore perfectly right for us to put forward demands for the benefit of women. This is not a minimum programme, nor a programme of reform in the Social-Democratic sense, in the sense of the Second International. It does not go to show that we believe the bourgeoisie and its state will last forever, or even for a long time. Nor is it an attempt to pacify the masses of women with reforms and to divert them from the path of revolutionary struggle. It is nothing of the sort, and not any sort of reformist humbug either. Our demands are no more than practical conclusions, drawn by us from the crying

needs and disgraceful humiliations that weak and underprivileged women must bear under the bourgeois system. We demonstrate thereby that we are aware of these needs and of the oppression of women, that we are conscious of the privileged position of the men, and that we hate – yes, hate – and want to remove whatever oppresses and harasses the working woman, the wife of the worker, the peasant woman, the wife of the little man, and even in many respects the woman of the propertied classes. The rights and social measures we demand of bourgeois society for women are proof that we understand the position and interests of women and that we will take note of them under the proletarian dictatorship. Naturally, not as soporific and patronising reformists. No, by no means. But as revolutionaries who call upon the women to take a hand as equals in the reconstruction of the economy and of the ideological superstructure."

I assured Lenin that I was of the same opinion, but that it would no doubt be opposed. Uncertain and timid minds would reject it as suspicious opportunism. Nor could it be denied that our present demands for women might be incorrectly understood and interpreted.

"What of it?" Lenin exclaimed, somewhat annoyed. "This risk exists in everything we say or do. If we are going to let fear of this stop us from doing the advisable and necessary, we might as well turn into Indian stylites. We mustn't budge, we mustn't budge on any account, or we shall tumble from the lofty pillar of our principles! In our case it is not only a matter of what we demand, but also of how we demand. I believe I have made that sufficiently clear. It stands to reason that in our propaganda we must not make a fetish out of our demands for women. No, we must fight now for these and now for other demands, depending on the exist-



Woman conducting songs of resistance in Yen-an, a base area in the 1930s for the People's War in China.

Woman Question

ing conditions, and naturally always in association with the general interests of the proletariat."

"Every tussle of this kind sets us at loggerheads with the respectable bourgeois clique and its no less respectable reformist lackeys. This compels the latter either to fight under our leadership – which they do not want – or to drop their disguise. Thus, the struggle fences us off from them and shows our communist face. It wins us the confidence of the masses of women, who feel themselves exploited, enslaved and crushed by the domination of the man, by the power of their employers and by bourgeois society as a whole. Betrayed and abandoned by all, working women come to realise that they must fight together with us. Must I avow, or make you avow, that the struggle for women's rights must also be linked with our principal aim – the conquest of power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat?"

At present, this is, and will continue to be, our alpha and omega. That is clear, absolutely clear. But the broad masses of working women will not feel irresistibly drawn to the struggle for state power if we harp on this one demand, even though we may blare it forth on the trumpets of Jericho. No, a thousand times no! We must combine our appeal politically in the minds of the female masses with the sufferings, the needs and the wishes of the working women. They should all know what the proletarian dictatorship will mean to them – complete equality of rights with men, both legal and in practice, in the family, the state and in society, and that it also spells the annihilation of the power of the bourgeoisie."

"Soviet Russia proves this," I exclaimed. "This will be our great example!"

Lenin went on:

"Soviet Russia casts a new light on our demands for women. Under the

dictatorship of the proletariat they are no longer an object of struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Once they are carried out, they serve as bricks for the building of communist society. This shows the women on the other side of the border the decisive importance of the conquest of power by the proletariat. The difference between their status here and there must be demonstrated in bold relief in order to win the support of the masses of women in the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat. Mobilisation of the female masses, carried out with a clear understanding of principles and on a firm organisational basis, is a vital question for the communist parties and their victories. But let us not deceive ourselves. Our national sections still lack the proper understanding of this question. They adopt a passive, wait-and-see attitude when it comes to creating a mass movement of working women under communist leadership.

They do not realise that developing and leading such a mass movement is an important part of all Party activity, as much as half of all the Party work. Their occasional recognition of the need and value of a purposeful, strong and numerous communist women's movement is but platonic lip-service rather than a steady concern and task of the Party."

"They regard agitation and propaganda among women and the task of rousing and revolutionising them as of secondary importance, as the job of just the women communists. None but the latter are rebuked because the matter does not move ahead more quickly and strongly. This is wrong, fundamentally wrong! It is outright separatism. It is equality of women *a rebours*, as the French say, i.e., equality reversed. What is at the bottom of the incorrect attitude of our national sections? (I am not speaking of Soviet Russia.) In the final analysis, it is an underestimation of women and of their accomplishments. That's just what it is! Unfortunately, we may still say of many of our comrades, 'Scratch the communist and a philistine appears.' To be sure, you have to scratch the sensitive spots — such as their mentality regarding women. Could there be any more palpable proof than the common sight of a man calmly watching a woman wear herself out with trivial, monotonous, strength- and time-consuming work, such as her housework, and watching her spirit shrinking, her mind growing dull, her heartbeat growing faint, and her will growing slack? It goes without saying that I am not referring to the bourgeois ladies who dump all housework and the care for their children on the hired help. What I say applies to the vast majority of women, including the wives of workers, even if these spend the day at the factory and earn money."

"Very few husbands, not even the proletarians, think of how much they could lighten the burdens and worries of their wives, or relieve them entirely, if they lent a hand in this 'women's work'. But no, that would go against the 'privilege and dignity of the husband'. He demands that he have rest and comfort. The domestic life of the woman is a daily sacrifice of self to a thousand insignificant trifles. The ancient rights of her husband, her lord and master, survive unnoticed. Objectively, his slave takes her revenge. Also in

concealed form.... I know the life of the workers, and not only from books. Our communist work among the masses of women, and our political work in general, involves considerable education among the men. We must root out the old slave-owner's point of view, both in the Party and among the masses. That is one of our political tasks, a task just as urgently necessary as the formation of a staff composed of comrades, men and women, with thorough theoretical and practical training for Party work among working women."

To my question about present-day conditions in Soviet Russia, Lenin replied:

"The government of the proletarian dictatorship - jointly with the Communist Party and the trade unions of course - makes every effort to overcome the backward views of men and women and thus uproot the old, non-communist psychology. It goes without saying that men and women are absolutely equal before the law. A sincere desire to give effect to this equality is evident in all spheres. We are enlisting women to work in the economy, the administration, legislation and government. All courses and educational institutions are open to them, so that they can improve their professional and social training. We are organising community kitchens and public dining-rooms, laundries and repair shops, crèches, kindergartens, children's homes and educational institutions of every kind. In brief, we are quite in earnest about carrying out the requirements of our programme to shift the functions of housekeeping and education from the individual household to society. Woman is thus being relieved from her old domestic slavery and all dependence on her husband. She is enabled to give her capabilities and inclinations full play in society. Children are offered better opportunities for their development than at home. We have the most progressive female labour legislation in the world, and it is enforced by authorised representatives of organised labour. We are establishing maternity homes, mother-and-child homes, mothers' health centres, courses for infant and child care, and the like. We are making every effort to provide for needy and unemployed women."

"We know perfectly well that all this is still too little, considering the needs of the working women, and that

it is still far from sufficient for their real emancipation. Yet it is an immense stride forward from what there was in tsarist and capitalist Russia. Moreover, it is a lot as compared with the state of affairs where capitalism still holds undivided sway. It is a good start in the right direction, and we shall continue to develop it consistently, and with all available energy, too. You abroad may rest assured. Because with each day that passes it becomes clearer that we cannot make progress without the millions of women. Think what this means in a country where the peasants comprise a solid 80% of the population. Small peasant farming implies individual housekeeping and the bondage of women. You will be far better off than we are in this respect, provided your proletarians at last grasp that the time is historically right for seizure of power, for revolution. In the meantime, we are not giving way to despair, despite the great difficulties. Our forces grow as the latter increase. Practical necessity will also impel us to find new ways of emancipating the masses of women. In combination with the Soviet state, comradesly solidarity will accomplish wonders. To be sure, I mean comradesly solidarity in the communist, not in the bourgeois, sense, in which it is preached by the reformists, whose revolutionary enthusiasm has evaporated like the smell of cheap vinegar. Personal initiative, which grows into, and fuses with collective activity, should accompany comradesly solidarity. Under the proletarian dictatorship the emancipation of women through the realisation of communism will proceed also in the countryside. In this respect I expect much from the electrification of our industry and agriculture. That is a grand scheme! The difficulties in its way are great, monstrously great. Powerful forces latent in the masses will have to be released and trained to overcome them. Millions of women must take part in this."

Someone had knocked twice in the last ten minutes, but Lenin had continued to speak. Now he opened the door and shouted:

"I'm coming!"

.... Lenin helped me on with my coat.

"You should dress more warmly," he suggested solicitously. "Moscow is not Stuttgart. You need someone to look after you. Don't catch cold. Good-bye."

He shook my hand firmly. ■

Historical Reprints

Women Hold Up Half the Sky

The following documents from 1948 and from 1973 are from the struggle in revolutionary China over the oppression and role of women. The *People's Daily* editorial of 8 March 1973 in particular was a key article in the struggle within the Communist Party of China over whether the liberation of women was a settled question in socialist China. A conservative trend of intellectuals had been publishing articles to this effect, with the support of the rightist current in the Party; the left considered this part of attempts to deny class struggle and restore capitalism. In mid-1972 calls to pay more attention to the woman question began to appear in the press. The 8 March 1973 editorial was an important weapon in the revolutionary counter-offensive, and helped revive the women's movement.*

Working Women Are a Great Revolutionary Force (1973)



LEFT: Women welders in China.

BELOW: Women on production brigades in the countryside.



Today is March 8, International Working Women's Day. It is the glorious festival of working women the world over in unity for struggle. We convey our high respects to the revolutionary women of all countries and warm greetings to the working women of all nationalities in our country!

Women are a great force on all fronts of China's socialist revolution and construction. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the masses of women in urban and rural areas, including those who seldom participated in political activities, have taken an active part in the fierce struggle between the two lines, denouncing the revisionist line. Never before have women been mobilised on such a scale and to such an extent as in this movement. Their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines has been rising steadily. Large numbers of activists have come to the fore and many outstanding women of worker and peasant origin have become members of leading bodies from national to local levels.

In the mass movements 'In industry learn from Taching' and 'in agriculture learn from Tachai', women have played a role worthy of 'the other

* The documents are reprinted from *Woman Work: Women and the Party in Revolutionary China*, by Delia Davin (London: Cox & Wyman Ltd, 1974). See also *Women's Liberation in China*, by Claudie Broyelle.



Kurdish woman demonstrating on March 8th, International Women's Day.

half'. The overwhelming majority of urban women have left the confines of their homes to take part in communal work and productive labour, and work in 'May 7' productive organisations. The number of women workers and staff members has increased considerably. In many rural areas, women are the main labour force. Many organisations on the industrial and agricultural fronts such as 'March 8 work teams', 'March 8 railway groups', 'iron-willed, girl detachments' and 'red women companies' have become a shock force in production. Women in commercial, financial, cultural, educational, health and other fields, including large numbers of 'barefoot doctors', have achieved new successes in serving the people. The mili-

tant militia women have contributed to the defence of our socialist motherland. The storms of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have tempered the working women of all nationalities, bringing new progress to the women's movement in China and tremendous changes in women's outlook. Women's emancipation is a component part of the cause of liberation of the proletariat. The success of the socialist revolution and construction would have been impossible without the active participation of women, who account for half the population. Likewise, women's emancipation would be out of the question without the victory of the proletarian revolution. The fundamental tasks for the women's movement are to grasp

class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought to educate the masses of women, eliminate the remaining influence of the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and other political swindlers on women's work, and mobilise women to take an active part in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads, and the two lines. It is wrong to look at and handle women's work without taking into consideration class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, for that will make it impossible to lead the women's movement on to a correct path. At present, criticism of revisionism and rectification of the style of work is the task of prime importance to the whole Party and country. Do-



Vietnam: Training to fight US Imperialism.



Zimbabwe: A demonstration against male chauvinist cultural traditions.

ing a good job of it is the key to doing the work well in every department or place. In women's work too, it should be given priority. The masses of women should be mobilised to read and study seriously so that they can grasp and thoroughly criticise the essence of the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-chi and other political swindlers, raise their ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism, and enhance their consciousness of implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

While carrying out criticism of revisionism and the rectification of the style of work, it is necessary to give the women a better understanding of the political situation and use the do-

mestic and international political situation and the new successes achieved by women in various fields to inspire their political and labour enthusiasm. The Chinese revolutionary women should concern themselves not only with the revolution and construction at home but also with the revolutionary struggles of the people and women of all countries, keep the interests of both the motherland and the world at heart, display proletarian internationalism and strive to contribute to the complete emancipation of all mankind.

The victory of China's democratic and socialist revolutions has opened up a broad road for women's emancipation. Women and men hold equal positions in the political, economic and cultural fields and in family life. But

China was under feudal rule for 2,000 years and the exploiting classes left behind deep-rooted ideas discriminating against women and looking upon them as slaves and appendages. Today, classes and class struggle still exist in our society and it is still impossible to eliminate completely the remnants of the old ideas of looking down upon women. Neglecting to train more women cadres, giving men and women unequal pay for equal work in rural areas, showing unwillingness to accept women as workers in some factories, and the remaining feudal influences in marriage - all these are a reflection of such old ideas. It is necessary to wage a protracted struggle against them so as to overcome the idea of looking upon women as inferior. With regard

to remuneration for labour, *men and women must be given equal pay for equal work*. No factory should discriminate against women when recruiting new workers. We must do away with old customs and habits in marriage and establish new socialist standards.

Large numbers of women cadres have come to the fore. This is an important indication of the emancipation of China's women and a demonstration of the superiority of the socialist system. A number of women cadres have tempered themselves and matured in protracted revolutionary struggle; they are a valuable asset to the revolution. But the number is far from meeting the needs of the developing revolutionary situation. More women cadres should be trained so as to give still better leadership to the masses of women in their advance. Leading bodies at all levels should have a certain percentage of women members, and let them temper themselves in the great storms of struggle, use them boldly, train them warm-heartedly, and develop their talent so that they will mature faster.

In order to enable women better to take part in political activities, production, work, and study, it is necessary to help them approach such questions as love, marriage, family, and the education of children from the proletarian point of view and resist the influence of bourgeois and feudal ideas on these questions. Attention should be paid to women's specific characteristics and to showing concern for and solving their special difficulties. Every possible effort should be made to run nurseries, kindergartens, and nursing rooms well and do a good job in maternity and child care. Late marriage and

planned parenthood should be promoted, and men and women encouraged to share the household work. It is important, as Lenin taught us 'to get women to take part in socially productive labour, to liberate them from "domestic slavery", to free them from their stupefying and humiliating subjugation to the eternal drudgery of the kitchen and the nursery.'

Party committees at all levels should pay great attention to women's work and strengthen their leadership over it politically and ideologically. Some of their members should be assigned to take charge of the work. Women's organisations at all levels should be consolidated and their work improved so that they can act as capable assistants to Party Committees in carrying out women's work and as militant organisations in mobilising the masses of women. It is necessary to assign a certain number of cadres to take charge of work concerning women, educate them to foster the idea of doing it well for the revolution, and overcome the erroneous idea of disdaining such work. In planning the central work, it is necessary to take into account women's specific characteristics, make proper arrangements and implement the policy of mobilising both men and women.

Chairman Mao has said: '*Times have changed, and today men and women are equal. Whatever men comrades can accomplish, women comrades can too.*' Chairman Mao has always given great encouragement to women. The women of our country must live up to our great leader's earnest expectations. They should aim high, study hard; and strive to make new and still greater contributions to socialist revolution and socialist construction! 8 March 1973

Decisions of the on Woman-work at

After keeping up the fight against the Japanese for eight years the Chinese people finally defeated Japanese imperialism. Now they have been fighting the People's Liberation War for two and a half years and have won unprecedentedly great victories. The reactionary Kuomintang regime can basically be defeated in about another year. These victories were gained by relying on the Party's correct leadership, the fighting skill of the People's Liberation Army, and the bitter struggles of the ordinary people. Women, who form half the population, have played a big role and have become an indispensable force for defeating the enemy and building a new China. Woman-work has been especially successful since February 1943, when the Central Committee issued 'Decisions of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the present orientation of woman-work in all the anti-Japanese base areas'. This gave a clear direction to woman-work in the liberated areas, and where it was put into practice there were noticeable changes in the work. Ordinary village women of the liberated areas were further mobilised and organised to work in handicrafts, supplementary enterprises, and agriculture, and to contribute to the war effort with all their strength. In land reform all the liberated areas mobilised even more women to take an active part in the sharing out of land and the struggle to eliminate feudalism. In the districts where land reform is already complete there has been a fundamental change in class relations in the villages, land has been distributed to both men and women, young and old, and quite a few women have become district or village representatives, and have even been elected village heads, deputy heads, or cadres above the village level. Women have become much more aware and enthusiastic, and consequently there has been a fundamental change in their political and economic position and in their position in the family and in society, opening the way to complete liberation.

Worldwide Fundraising Campaign

From One Corner of the Earth to the Other

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.

Raise Funds for RIM!

Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Present in the Countryside of the Liberated Areas (1948)

...The whole party, all cadres engaged in woman-work, and women activists must understand that under the New Democratic Government, all the laws of the old society which constrained or mistreated women and forced them into a humiliating position of obedience have ceased to exist. The new laws guaranteeing absolute equality of the sexes in the economy, in politics, and in society have been formulated or basically formulated in the first period of New Democratic power. The question is whether these laws can truly be realised. The attitude of valuing men and despising women handed down from the old society, all kinds of constraining feudal customs, especially the economic dependence of women on men and the handicaps of not excelling at all sorts of labour, and even despising it, have obstructed the rapid realisation by women of the rights already granted to them in law. So if women's rights are to be properly realised, the work must be done.

...As the land reform is completed, all problems connected with women should be solved in accordance with the correct policies of the local government and the directives for dealing with problems left over from land reform, so as to confirm and increase women's enthusiasm for production. There must be government orders to guarantee women's rights to land. When the family is taken as a unit for issuing land deeds, a note must be made on the deeds that the men and the women have equal rights to land. Every member of the family has democratic rights in the disposal of possessions. When necessary, land deeds for women can be issued separately. At the same time there should be a considerable period of publicity and education for all peasants so that both men and women fully understand the importance of protecting women's rights to land.

...Step by step we must purposefully eliminate the feudal thought, constraints, and customs which prevent women's participation in political, cul-

tural and economic activities (of which the most important is production). It should not be thought that once women take part in production all the remnants of feudalism in society which still constrain them will just naturally disappear and there will be no need to do any more work. This way of just letting things drift ignores the special interests of women and is erroneous. In the course of production, at all mass meetings and in the mass organisations, all peasants should be given constant ideological education on the equality of the sexes; feudal thought, constraints, and customs must be criticised, and it should be pointed out that all the feudal customs constraining women must be eliminated. The small number of backward elements who want to preserve old feudal customs and who constantly oppress women must be suitably struggled against where necessary. But it must be understood that this sort of struggle is an ideological struggle amongst the peasants and should be radically different from the class struggle against feudal landlords...

... In accordance with what is necessary to the development of the present revolutionary situation, a large group of party and non-party women cadres must be boldly educated and fully utilised and pushed forward to take up posts of every sort and reinforce the cadres in women's organisations at every level. The same work should be allocated and the same training and educational opportunities given to men and women cadres of equal ability without discrimination. Moreover, taking into account the special position of women cadres, greater attention should be given to raising their political, theoretical, and cultural levels and their ability at work. In order to assist with their special difficulties, crèches and nurseries should be set up and mutual-aid groups of women cadres should be organised to care for children. This will not only lighten the burden of the women cadres, it will also be a start in the nursery care of children by society. The education of the new, labouring women cadres in the

villages, especially those who have already held posts before, should be improved. They should be given patient training and steady encouragement with special attention to increasing the number of Party members. In the new liberated areas, pay special attention to training local women cadres. All levels of Party schools and training classes set up by the government should take in women cadres as students according to a plan. Party organisations and propaganda departments at all levels should include the teaching and training of women cadres in their work. And the women cadres themselves under the leadership and guidance of the Party ought to work with purpose and enthusiasm, plunging really deeply into their work and becoming more unified and more efficient. They should study theory, politics, and general knowledge, and knowledge and skills connected with production industriously, and should initiate criticism and self-criticism, overcome their handicaps as women, resolutely seek to progress and strengthen their ideal of serving the people. This is the basic condition for turning oneself into a cadre valuable to the Party.

... The Party ought further to correct the feudal ideology which values men and despises women that still survives both inside and outside the Party, and to correct the negative idea of cutting woman-work off from all other work, and the mistaken tendency to do woman-work in an isolated, detached way. At all levels Party organisations should intensify their study of Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung and put it into practice more in the way they do woman-work. They should cultivate a complete mass outlook and get a correct grasp of the policy on the women's movement and should overcome lawlessness and anarchy in woman-work. Those who do woman-work should seek truth from reality more often, go right down amongst the masses, plunge into tough work, serve ordinary women with all their hearts and wills and lead the women's movement forward. ■

Cutting through the Darkness in Afghanistan

By M. N. Cham

In a major military thrust in August 1998 the Taliban succeeded in forcing the Northern Alliance out of large sections of the country previously under their control. Although this changed the balance of forces dramatically, the situation is far from settled. Shortly thereafter, the US imperialists launched an air attack on the camp of the Saudi dissident Osama Bin Laden in Khost, Afghanistan, in what they said was retaliation for the bombing of the US Embassies in eastern Africa. This was a case of trying to discipline their own child, however, since the US and the CIA in particular had overseen Bin Laden's rise as one of the Taliban's main recruiters in the Afghanistan resistance war against the Soviet social-imperialists. This article was written before these developments but sheds light on many aspects of the political scene in Afghanistan today. —AWTW

For most of us Afghanistan rhymes with war. Even for those born before the pounding of rockets drowned out all other sounds, the past twenty years of bloodshed have cast an ominous shadow on the memories of the past. In 1979, in a deadly move to re-enforce its lackeys against rising opposition, the Soviet social-imperialists invaded Afghanistan. In the absence of a revolutionary party capable of uniting the people into a people's war against imperialism and feudalism, the resistance of the masses was in the main organised under the leadership of various feudal and bourgeois forces. These forces were unwilling and incapable of unleashing the full potential of the masses in a war that would target not only the invading army, but also the age-old oppressive relations that weigh heavily on the masses. Instead they turned to US imperialism and reactionary states in the



ABOVE: Masthead of *Eternal Flame*, Organ of the Communist Party of Afghanistan

region and became instruments of inter-imperialist rivalry.

The USSR was finally forced to pull out in 1989, leaving behind a faction-ridden government, which in turn was ousted in 1992. The take-over of Kabul by an alliance of Islamic forces was only a realignment of troops in the bloody battlefield of Afghanistan. The forces making up the subsequent government were quickly plagued by infighting and in 1996 were themselves forced out by the newly formed Taliban, a US-backed group; but this was far from the end of the conflict among the reactionary warlords.

Every time an area is captured by one of these armies there are rapes, mass murders and executions. Inhabitants of whole cities have been forced out. Women are excluded from all aspects of social life. The country is saturated with mines, most of its infrastructure is destroyed, food is scarce and so are health-care and other social services. War has ravaged Afghanistan for almost twenty years. Almost 10% of the country's 18 million people have lost their lives, and many more have been mutilated. One third of the country's people live in exile.

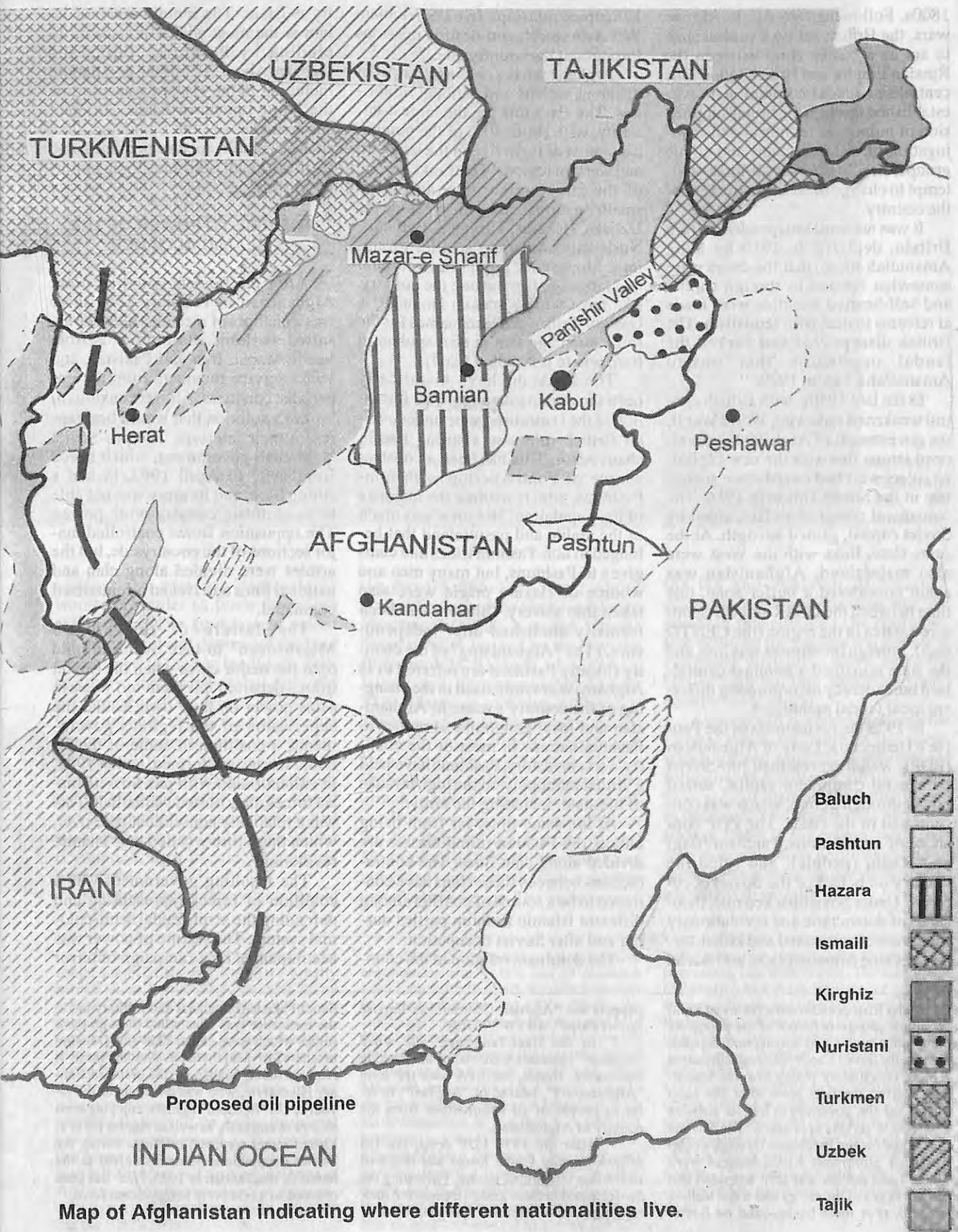
For many, a revolutionary turn in the present situation of Afghanistan

seems impossible. But like any phenomenon, Afghanistan is a unity of opposites, and where there is oppression, there is the possibility for genuine revolutionary change. Different reactionary states in the region such as Iran, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia have been sponsoring one or another Islamic warring party. The US, West European and Russian imperialists have propped up and armed the most backward elements in Afghanistan as weapons in their quest for profit and power. Inter-imperialist rivalry, regional conflicts and the contradictions among various warlords have created a situation where for many years now none of these forces has been able to dominate effectively. They need the masses as cannon fodder for their endless war. But the interests of the vast majority of the people are fundamentally opposed to the semi-feudal, semi-colonial structure these forces are defending, and years of war under their rule have further exposed the true nature of the warlords and their masters, making it more and more difficult for them to mobilise the masses to fight for them. Moreover, in Afghanistan there is a vanguard, the Communist Party of Afghanistan (CPA), a participating party of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), which bases itself on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM). This crucial factor can catalyse the explosive contradictions in the society and unleash and lead the process of revolutionary change.

SOME BACKGROUND

Afghanistan is a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country where before the anti-Soviet war 85% of the population lived and worked in the countryside.

The modern history of Afghanistan begins with British colonisation in the



A WORLD TO WIN 1998/24

Map of Afghanistan indicating where different nationalities live.

1800s. Following two Anglo-Afghan wars, the British set up a central state to act as a buffer zone between the Russian Empire and British India. This centralised feudal-colonial state was established through the brutal suppression of numerous revolts and the subjugation of different clans and ethnic groups; needless to say, it did not attempt to change the feudal structure of the country.

It was not until independence from Britain, declared in 1919 by King Amanullah Khan, that the doors were somewhat opened to foreign capital and half-hearted attempts were made at reforms to deal with feudalism. The British disapproved and backed the feudal opposition that ousted Amanullah Khan in 1929.

In the late 1950s, with British control weakened following World War II, the government of Afghanistan developed strong ties with the new capitalist rulers who had overthrown socialism in the Soviet Union in 1956. The bureaucrat comprador class, aided by Soviet capital, gained strength. At the same time, links with the West were also maintained. Afghanistan was again considered a buffer zone, this time between the USSR and US-sponsored states in the region (the CENTO pact). Foreign investment was low, and the state remained a nominal centralised bureaucracy incorporating different local feudal authorities.

In 1978 the revisionists of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDP), which represented pro-Soviet bureaucrat-comprador capital, seized power through a coup, which was concentrated in the cities. The PDP consisted of two factions, Parcham (flag) and Khalq (people), and ruled the country on behalf of the Soviet occupiers.¹ Under Soviet-backed rule, thousands of democratic and revolutionary forces were imprisoned and killed, torture became commonplace, and Soviet

helicopter gunships led US Vietnam War style search-and-destroy missions throughout the countryside.

Afghanistan is a colourful carpet of different nations and national minorities. The Pashtuns are the largest minority, with about 40% of the population; most of them live in the southern and western regions. The Tajiks are one of the larger minorities, and other smaller national minorities include the Uzbeks, Hazaras, Turkmen, Baluchis, Nuristanis and some smaller groupings. Most ethnic groups have cultural and language ties outside the country. The most widely spoken language is Dari (or Tajik – different names for the same language that is also spoken in Iran, where it is called Farsi).

The Pashtuns have historically been the dominant nation. The formation of the centralised state under overall British rule saw a strong rise in chauvinism. This has been a constant source of contradiction with non-Pashtuns, who constitute the majority of the population. Not only was much of the arable and pastureland that belonged to non-Pashtun tribes and clans given to Pashtuns, but many men and women of Hazara origin were also taken into slavery. (Slavery had been formally abolished after independence.) The "Afghanising" of the country (locally Pashtuns are referred to as Afghans) was symbolised in the changing of the country's name to Afghanistan and local geographical names to Pashtun names. In most of the country's recent history, Pashtuns have held a virtual monopoly on the higher ranks of the state, including the army.²

At the same time, far from being united, the Pashtun ruling classes are divided along clan lines. The contradictions between these clans have continued to be a source of conflict among different Islamic Pashtun parties during and after Soviet occupation.

The dominant religion in the coun-

try is Islam. The Sunni branch of Islam is the most widely practised, including by Pashtuns, Tajiks and Uzbeks. About 20% of the population, including in the Hazara areas, follow the Shiite branch of Islam. Different sub-branches of both Sunni and Shia, such as Ismaili, are also practised, and there is a small Sikh and Hindu minority as well.

THE RISE TO POWER OF THE ISLAMIC ALLIANCE

After the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan in February 1989 there was a plethora of meetings between assorted warlords, state officials from Saudi Arabia, Iran and Pakistan, and secret service members from the imperialist countries. All were anxious to broker a solution that would best represent their interests. The pro-Soviet Najibullah government, which lasted from 1987 to April 1992, lacked a strong base, and its army was not able to consolidate country-wide power. The opposition fronts controlled major sections of the countryside, but the armies were divided along clan and national lines and lacked a centralised command.

The failure of the pro-US Mujahedeen³ to take over and hold onto the major cities when the Soviet troops departed left them too weak to seize power on their own. Under the supervision of the region's governments, a coalition of some of the Islamic forces was formed, and in 1992, in collaboration with pro-Soviet/Russia forces, they ousted Najibullah. This was a relatively non-violent take-over, which these forces called the "Islamic revolution".

The resulting government was a coalition of forces representing and defending the semi-feudal semi-colonial system. The seizure of power was accompanied by a campaign of terror

¹ The Khalqs endorsed a policy of rapid economic change in favour of the bourgeois comprador sector and accelerated dependency on the Soviet Union. Parcham advocated a more conciliatory policy towards feudalism. During the first years after the coup Khalq led the government but its policies gave rise to serious opposition. The Soviets then opted for the Parchamis through a coup in which prominent Khalq leaders were killed. Land reform was then amended and the privileges of the clergy and tribal leaders restored. (For more background on Soviet

puppets see "Afghani Communists Expose Soviet Ploys", *AWTW* 1987/9)

² In the Dari language, the word "Afghani" indicates someone of the Pashtun nationality. Hence, the CPA uses the term "Afghanistani", instead of "Afghani", to refer to people of all nationalities from the country of Afghanistan.

³ After the 1978 PDP coup, the US helped organise feudal forces and religious authorities into armed groups. Following the Soviet invasion these groups transferred their headquarters to Peshawar, Pakistan. Most of

Saudi/Pakistani financial and military aid to the resistance was channelled through these forces which were called Ekhvanis (Muslim brothers) or Mujahedeen. Among these is *Hizb-e Islami*, headed by the arch-reactionary Hikmatyar, who was once one of the favourite US "freedom" fighters, enjoying arms shipment and cash, as well as regular ISI (Pakistani secret services) briefings during the Soviet occupation. Since its defeat at the hands of the Taliban in 1995, *Hizb* has been reduced to a relatively insignificant force.



ABOVE:
Turkmen
silk
workers.

against the masses, particularly women, in order to force them into submission. The government called for foreign aid and demanded the land be returned to the big landlords. Furthermore, this coalition not only did not represent all the armies in the field, it was not even able to mediate its own internal differences. From the very beginning different factions initiated wars, through varying alliances, to gain a bigger share of power. Kabul and its surrounding areas, which had been mainly spared during the Soviet occupation, now became the central battlefield.

Major players at this point included

the pro-US Ekhvani forces; Abdul Rashid Dastom of the National Islamic Movement (NIM), a strong Uzbek-based militia⁴ formed by the Soviets; Burhanuddin Rabbani of Jamaat-e Islami and its commander Ahmed Shah Massoud of Shora-e-Nezar, a Tajik-based feudal-comprador grouping with ties to France, Russia and Iran⁵; and the pro-Iranian Hizb-e Wahdat-e, a Shiite fundamentalist grouping based in the Hazara region.⁶

The government at that time was led by Rabbani (as President) and Massoud (as Defence Minister) and consisted primarily of Tajik and other non-Pashtun forces. The main man of

the US and Pakistan, Hikmatyar, proved incapable of exerting any real power in this alliance. The contradiction between the various warlords was extremely difficult to solve, and none had enough military strength to hold country-wide power.

Afghanistan is situated between the Central Asian republics in the north, which gained nominal independence following the collapse of the Soviet bloc, and Pakistan and the Indian Ocean to the south. The imperialists and reactionary states in the region were anxious to develop new political and commercial ties in this area, and thus needed a solution to end the war.

⁴ This grouping was bred by the Soviet social-imperialists and for years loyally served them in carrying out their many crimes. The Northern Militias, as they are sometimes referred to, were formed as an alternative force so that if the government in place proved incapable of holding the fortress after the Soviet retreat, they could be relied on to defend Soviet interests. In fact when the government was seriously threatened, the majority of the leaders supported this formation and joined it. The leader of this group now is General Dastom, and its base is in the Mazar-e Sharif region. Most of Afghanistan's industries as well as the country's sources of natural gas are in areas under the NIM's control.

⁵ Shora-e Nezar is a political-military organisation and in fact part of Jamaat-e Islami. Jamaat's ties with Western imperialists date back to the mid-1970s. During the anti-Soviet war they received substantial help from Pakistan. Later they developed ties with Iran. Shora co-ordinates the commanders of Jamaat and is headed by Ahmed Shah Massoud, who commands a strong army in the northeastern region of Afghanistan with his headquarters in Panjshir. It is said that he started to form his army as early as 1975. Massoud, who a few years after the Soviet invasion signed a truce with the invading troops, had always maintained ambiguous relations with the Soviet army. In 1990-91 he also received substantial help from the US,

along with other Jamaat commanders. He enjoys strong ties with France. The area under his control has many sources of precious stones (emeralds and lapis lazuli) and includes the opium-growing area of Badakhshan, both of which ensure some income for this group.

⁶ Hizb-e Wahdat-e Islami, headed by Karim Khalili, is a fundamentalist Shiite party, a combination of different forces in the Hazara region who were united in 1988 by Iran. For years, even during the occupation, they have been engaged in internal civil wars in that region, inflicting damage and casualties on the people. The cliques forming this party are mainly led by landlords and Islamic clergy-men

The Taliban (students of religion) appeared on the political scene of Afghanistan soon after a trip by a high-ranking Pakistani delegation to Turkmenistan to negotiate trade between the two countries, which would go through Afghanistan. Supported by Pakistan, the Taliban emerged with the slogan of securing the roads and fighting piracy. The banner of anti-corruption was raised, religious schools were emptied as the "students" joined the struggle, and it was not long before Taliban artillery were pounding the gates of Kabul, finally capturing it in September 1996. The Taliban have their roots in the pro-US Muslim fundamentalist forces, are Wahabi Muslims (a sub-branch of Sunni) and represent Pashtun chauvinism.⁷

The rapid advance of the Taliban was due partly to the co-operation or desertion of various Mujahedeen fronts and to the fact that sections of the military and bureaucracy from the previous regime, many of them Pashtun forces, joined in. They were finally halted in the northern parts of Afghanistan after pitched battles by an alliance of previously warring groupings, the Northern Alliance, composed of Jamaat/Shora, NIM and Hizb-e Wahdat-e. In the present alignment of forces, US imperialism supports the Taliban through Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, both militarily and financially. (Pakistani soldiers have even been arrested while fighting for the Taliban, and higher-ranking Pakistani military men also assist the Taliban.) An axis of Russia and France, along with Iran,

India and the Asian Republics of the ex-USSR, back the Northern Alliance. Russians not only provide them with arms, but Russian officers who had gained a rich knowledge of the country while posted there have now returned as military advisors for the Northern Alliance. The areas of influence of different reactionary forces have been more or less consolidated along national lines, with the Taliban mainly based in Pashtun as well as other regions of the west and south, adding up to two-thirds of the country. As of summer 1998, the components of the Northern Alliance controlled significant parts of the Tajik, Uzbek and Hazara areas in the North.

A 1996 conference of the US Institute of Peace on the future of Afghanistan stated that, "it is in the interests of the neighbouring powers, as well as of the oil companies operating in the region [which see Afghanistan as a passage for pipelines]⁸, to help Afghanistan survive as a country". In the same meeting, Ashraf Ghani of the World Bank suggested that what "Afghanistan needs is an interim government of technocrats who could act as a central authority to prevent the country from collapsing". The imperialists may not find this de facto division of the country and the continuing war to their liking, but inter-imperialist rivalry, as well as the contradictions among the various feudal comprador armies that the imperialists themselves have bolstered, and the conflicting interests of the region's reactionary states are the main factors behind the continuing conflict. This has

created a situation in which no force or alliance has so far been able to establish a stable regime, which could well add to the disorder in that whole region.

ISLAM AS A CLUB AGAINST THE PEOPLE

For years Islam was propped up and used as a banner to mobilise the masses against the Soviet Union. Islam already had solid roots among the masses and was the ideology at hand to organise around. In addition, some of the early PDP attempts at land reform which aimed at reinforcing the comprador bourgeoisie and dependency on social-imperialism had pushed landlords and religious authorities, who historically had ties with the West, into opposition. Portraying the Soviet imperialists as "communists" and hence the anti-imperialist struggle of the Afghanstani people as one between "communism" and the "soldiers of Allah" helped strengthen backward religious feelings amongst the masses and propped up the authority of the feudals and clergy. This was done with the full backing of the Western imperialists, who funded religious propaganda and armed the Mujahedeen as a weapon in their rivalry with the Soviet social-imperialists. In fact, US funding of these forces started at \$30 million in 1980 and climbed to \$630 million in 1987, where it remained through 1989.

But life under religious rule, both in exile in Iran and in the refugee camps in Pakistan (mostly controlled by Islamic forces), as well as in areas under

⁷ The Taliban have their roots in Harekat Enghelab Islami (Movement of Islamic Revolution), the first Ekhvani ("Muslim brothers") group formed in 1979, with the administration of the ISI (Pakistani secret services), SAVAK (Iranian intelligence organisation during the Shah's reign) under the general supervision of the US CIA. Harekat, mainly mullahs and religious students, continued operating in the southern areas during the anti-Soviet war. At the same time, religious schools (funded by US client states in the region) were mushrooming in Pakistan, attracting the flood of Afghanistani youth who took refuge there. The leading core of Taliban, including their main figure, Mullah Mohammed Omar Akhundzadeh, have all been part of the "student" core of Harekat, and the group's backbone consists of the mullahs and students of the religious schools and Harekat along with sections of the military and bureaucracy of the previous regime. Following the fall of Najibullah, Mullah Omar was assigned by the ISI and CIA to an "anti-drug"

mission, and the Taliban was formed. Following the same branch of Islam as Saudi Arabia, the Taliban divide the population into an elite of mullahs and students, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the populace, which they consider an "ignorant flock in need of a shepherd". A myriad of generals, officers and secret service agents of the Soviet puppet regime who previously belonged to the Khalq faction of the PDP are now actively fighting alongside the Taliban.

⁸ The oil companies are a major reason behind much of the atrocity committed in Afghanistan today. It is estimated that within the next 15 years, the Caspian region will become the world's second-largest source of petrol and gas, after the Middle East. The oil-producing countries, along with corporations such as Exxon, Chevron, BP and UNOCAL, have invested heavily in regional energy development and are anxious to upgrade and extend the existing export network. But the development of alternative routes raises issues which are more strategic than

financial. The option of upgrading the existing network of pipelines across Russia would mean Russian control. US policy towards Iran and strategic problems of concentrating most of the world's (petrol-generated) energy flow through the hotbed of the Middle East (and the Gulf region) are factors against building the pipelines through Iran. Thus, the US oil company UNOCAL, one of the main exploiters of Central Asian oil, decided on a pipeline through western Afghanistan. This route was negotiated with the Taliban in 1995, before they even took over Kabul, in a visit to the Taliban's camps by Pakistan's former interior minister and the US ambassador to Pakistan. Economic interest in Afghanistan is not limited to oil. Afghanistan is the biggest producer of opium in the world with a production of about 2800 tons a year, equalling that of the South East Asian "golden triangle". The Taliban took control of the drug-producing areas when they moved into Afghanistan, and now every year they extract millions of dollars on taxes from drug exports.

Mujahedeen command inside the country, has left its mark. For years women were imprisoned in the camps, and even in their tents, so that men they did not know would not see them. Anyone who did not strictly follow religious rites was severely punished on accusations of being a "communist" and a "Soviet spy". People were killed (most often with American bullets) for as much as holding a Western magazine, drinking Coke, and other such "crimes". The sectarianism of Mujahedeen fronts made it difficult for urban youth to join the anti-Soviet resistance, and most had to leave the country. Those who went to Iran believing Iranian propaganda that Islam knows no borders, became targets of systematic anti-Afghani chauvinism there. They also witnessed the hell into which the Islamic rulers have delivered the Iranian people. Many of them have left Iran, also leaving their religious beliefs behind.

At the same time, even during the anti-Soviet resistance war, various Islamic forces have warred amongst themselves. This bloodshed carried out under Islamic flags has not escaped the eyes of the masses. When, after Soviet withdrawal, the armies of Islamic warlords entered the cities, they continued looting the businesses and robbing the people, dismantling the factories, leaving the urban masses with no source of income and with the bitter taste of "divine rule".

Added to this are the purist fundamentalist practices of many followers of Islam, especially the Taliban, who are taking religious practice way beyond the traditional customs of the masses. People's faith in religion and religious authorities is breaking down. Many who still practise Islam have become anti-clergy and are sick and tired of religious propaganda. The situation is such that (according to Communist Party of Afghanistan [CPA] sources), in many Hazara and Uzbek fronts the non-practising no longer see the need to pretend. This is an important change in a climate where only a few years back such boldness could well cost one's life. As the reactionaries have more and more difficulty mobilising the masses under the banner of Islam, they openly complain that Islam is becoming "polluted" and naturally blame each other for this.

Religion as well as other backward beliefs and traditions cannot be swept

away overnight. This requires a long struggle through mobilising the people to overthrow feudalism and imperialism, both in the base and superstructure, and moving on to socialism and communism. But the invading social-imperialist army waved the banner of false communism and phoney internationalism, helping to confuse the people and in fact reinforcing Islam, which was ceded the "national" flag. The practice of the Islamic parties, however, has itself contributed to shattering people's illusions, making the ground more favourable for Maoists to expose religious falsehoods and the repressive class nature of theocracy and mobilise the masses for a people's war against the Islamic rulers and their imperialist backers.

THE NATIONAL QUESTION

During the Soviet occupation, the spontaneous mass movement, particularly in the rural areas, was an important part of the resistance. In the absence of a strong revolutionary force, these struggles took an ethnic and tribal form and led to a situation where reactionary elements of each region (and nationality) took control of the struggle in that area. According to the *Basic Principles* document of the CPA, "the struggle in this period against the occupiers seriously affected all the internal contradictions and the internal national contradictions did not surface in a major way...."

"During the war the main lever of political power remained in the hands of the Pashtuns, but at the same time large areas inhabited by oppressed nationalities fell under local forces, ending direct rule of the Pashtun ruling classes."

The Pashtun comprador bourgeoisie and feudals, who had already lost exclusive control before 1992 and saw themselves almost completely slipping out of power after the fall of Najibullah, found their representatives in the Taliban. Rape and murder accompanied their take-over of Kabul; everywhere they set foot they unleashed a wild chauvinist rampage against the masses of non-Pashtun people. Unfortunately, by fanning chauvinism among the Pashtun population, they have been able to mobilise part of the masses against their brothers and sisters of other nationalities. These atrocities have given rise to strong anti-

Pashtun sentiment and nationalism among other nations, and the warlords of the Northern Alliance, who had lost their credibility to a great extent among the people, are now trying to seize on these feelings to recruit the masses into their ranks and to save their sinking ship. These forces, who have never missed a chance to sell their country and people to various imperialists and reactionary states, are now unabashedly claiming the national cause. Their "national" struggle, however, is nothing but a struggle for power with rival Islamic warlords, and its main brunt is against the Pashtun masses.

Neither of the two warring factions is interested in uniting the people against imperialism; both are fighting for the interests of several reactionary and imperialist countries. They have shamelessly spat on the heroic struggle of the people against the Soviet invaders and are closely working with Russian military advisers or the factions of the old state. The anti-imperialism of these national traitors is limited to the Taliban enthusiastically condemning Russian, French and Iranian interference, while the Northern Alliance are staunch champions of the anti-US, Pakistan and Saudi cause. All they have done is engage the masses in a fratricidal war for the interests of their masters.

Some secular intellectuals have aligned themselves with each of the Islamic parties fighting for power. Those of Pashtun origin are justifying their unity with the Taliban by saying they alone are capable of ending the war and establishing a central government that will unite the country. Others, including some secular-democratic intellectuals among the Hazara nation, are calling on people to rally to the banner of the various Islamic reactionaries of the Northern Alliance, under the pretext of "national unity" and the "anti-Taliban struggle".

This is the same line that caused a lot of damage to the struggle during the Soviet occupation. The USSR's false communism not only left the Islamic forces holding the national banner, but also provided grounds for right opportunism among many so-called left forces and intellectuals. Many of those who were clear about the true nature of the USSR did not go against the anti-communist wind. Instead, under the guise of fighting the foreign army first, they carefully concealed their real

views and picked up the banner of "Allah Akhbar" ("God is great"). So, instead of striving to chart a road to genuine liberation, they assisted the Islamic parties in strengthening backward ideas and ultimately served feudalism and imperialism.

The current situation poses new challenges to the Maoists, who, by getting at the roots of national oppression, are exposing the reactionary nationalism of the Islamic parties and laying the ground for the only way to end this oppression. The CPA holds that the struggle against (internal) national oppression should be based on the unity of the labouring masses of all nationalities against imperialism and reaction, along with the right of each nationality to self-determination. They point out that "national chauvinism is in fact the ideology of the ruling class of the dominant nation and not of all the classes of that nation. This chauvinism obviously affects the petite bourgeoisie, the peasants and even the proletariat, but the national bourgeoisie most of all. Thus the reactionary classes of this nation try to use them as their tools and their social base for oppressing other nations. But national chauvinism and the oppression of other nations does not correspond to the masses' historical interests and will become a means to perpetuate the control of the ruling classes over them." [*Eternal Flame*, CPA central organ, No 16]

The national struggle in an oppressed country like Afghanistan is first and foremost a struggle against imperialism and feudalism. Without this basic orientation, the struggle of the oppressed nationalities will emphasise differences to the detriment of the basic unity of the people of different nations. The proletariat and peasants of one nation, instead of seeking unity among their class sisters and brothers in other nations, would unite rather with the national bourgeoisie (and even feudal and comprador classes) and will ultimately go under their leadership. The struggle against feudalism and imperialism then is taken off the agenda and national oppression will not be done away with. But if the centre of struggle, as the CPA comrades observe, "is that of the unity and interests of the labouring masses of all different nationalities, the ruling classes will be isolated," the labouring masses of the dominant nation will themselves become a force in fighting national chau-

vinism, and strong unity can be forged capable of effectively sweeping away national oppression.

WOMEN AND RESISTANCE BEHIND THE VEIL

The rise of the Taliban was accompanied by savage attacks on women. Women are forced to wear dark veils covering them from head to toe; they are forbidden to work or go to school; they cannot walk in the streets, shop or seek care in hospitals unless accompanied by a *mahram* male (husband, brother or father), and even public baths are barred to them. Women are bought and sold, taken as war spoils, raped and killed. During the Soviet occupation, the Islamic parties prevented women from even taking part in the war against the army that invaded their land, bombed their homes, killed their kin. The Taliban are not alone, however; the other cliques also impose anti-women measures to various degrees, all very brutally, some with the rationale that this is part of the tradition of Afghanistan and so people are used to it.

The women of Afghanistan have strongly opposed this oppressive and patronising doctrine. The resentment accumulated through years of subjugation to male domination enforced by semi-feudal relations has started to surface. During a Taliban attack against Mazar-e-Sharif (at that time under the control of the Northern Alliance), women took up arms to fight them; there have been cases of women attacking the Taliban with kitchen knives. The protests of Afghanistani women in exile have made their way into the Pakistani press. Women have lost their lives in struggles to keep the public baths open, and underground schools are being organised to educate women.

The war has also pushed women into the workforce in order to provide for themselves and their families after the loss of male breadwinners. These women, who were mainly employed in Kabul industries and services, have tasted economic independence and have a passionate hatred for the Taliban, who are forbidding them to work.

It is important to note that without a revolutionary orientation against the real cause of their oppression the struggle of women can be narrowed down to an anti-Taliban struggle by other reactionary forces, some of whom

make pretences of favouring less-severe treatment of women. It is only under proletarian leadership that women can be fully mobilised to uproot the source of their oppression.

The CPA believes that without the active participation of women in the struggle against imperialism and reaction the victory of the new democratic revolution, socialist construction and communism is inconceivable. Moreover, the new democratic revolution must unleash the fury of women as a mighty force for revolution and strike major blows to the patriarchal structure. The contradiction between women and men "is different from the class and national contradictions and requires different methods to solve it. But its existence is one of the main features of Afghanistan's semi-feudal semi-colonial structure. Women's oppression should in no way be considered a secondary question. It not only suppresses the individual and social rights of half of society, but the inhuman relations associated with this oppression... act as a major factor in preserving and strengthening the ruling semi-feudal semi-colonial relations." (From CPA *Basic Principles*)

The CPA's line and practice on this question are beginning to have an impact, as sections of women take up the struggle more consciously.

IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES

At the height of the war during the 1980s, an estimated 3.5 million Afghanistani refugees lived in Pakistan and another 2 million in Iran, while thousands more fled to India and the West. In addition, an estimated 2-3 million people were displaced by the war. After the Soviet withdrawal and the fall of the Najibullah government, refugees began to return. But the continuation of the war has created more internal displacement, and during the battles over Kabul, many left the city for other areas. At present, it is estimated that about 1 million refugees remain in Pakistan and about 1.5 million in Iran.

Even though the refugees belong to all strata of the society, the majority are from rural areas and during the resistance war some would even go back to work the land during planting and harvest seasons.

Most of those in Pakistan lived in the camps controlled by the

Mujahedeem, through whom the bulk of UN aid was channelled, and they were subjected to strict Islamic-feudal rule. These camps were isolated from Pakistani society, and it was not until later that Afghanistani immigrants were able to work. Now many work in the coalmines of Pakistani Baluchistan.

A large number of these Afghanistani immigrants have been in Iran, either in the camps or working. The camps of the Islamic Republic of Iran are notorious for mistreating Afghanistani refugees, and hundreds of people have been massacred there. There have been several protests in Pakistan against the situation in these camps, including one involving several thousand immigrants, indicating the hatred of the inhuman conditions dishd out by the Iranian rulers.

Those who work in Iran hardly have a better life. They mainly work in various cities as seasonal or permanent workers in brick making, construction and services as well as agriculture. They are forbidden to work in the food industry, such as bakeries, because they are considered dirty. Their wages, when they actually get them, are low, and the pay is more often than not confiscated by the Pasdaran (part of the Iranian armed forces) when they cross the borders to return home. The Islamic Republic spews reactionary propaganda against them, and has built up some anti-Afghani chauvinism among Iranians.

The crimes of the Islamic Republic against the refugees have not gone totally unanswered. In the past several years many immigrants have participated in the revolts of the masses in Iran against the state. They also often return with a new hostility towards Islam, and some of the more advanced elements are daring to openly denounce it.

MAOISTS

The formation of the Organisation of Progressive Youth (PYO) in 1964 heralded the dawn of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist movement in Afghanistan. The PYO carried out active struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism, social-imperialism and parliamentarism, upholding that political power grows from the barrel of a gun. The democratic journal the PYO published, the *Eternal Flame*, had such widespread support among the masses

that to this day the genuine revolutionary and democratic forces are often referred to as "Flamists" (*Sholei* in Dari). The crisis prevailing in the international communist movement in the aftermath of the 1976 counter-revolutionary coup in China did not spare the young communist movement in Afghanistan, which at that time was losing many of its leaders and cadres in the execution fields and dungeons of the reactionary pro-Soviet state. Among them was Akram Yari, the founder of this movement.

The communists, however, were not easy to uproot. Individually and acting through various groups, they continued to play an important role in the anti-Soviet resistance war. The political struggle to forge a correct proletarian line continued under the fire of Soviet bombers and Islamic repression, and in the mid-1980s the Revolutionary Cell of Afghanistani Communists was formed. In 1990 the RCAC joined the Union of Marxist-Leninists of Afghanistan to form the Organisation of Revolutionary Communists of Afghanistan, which went on to found the Communist Party of Afghanistan in 1991. The Committee of Propaganda and Agitation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought (PAC) joined the Party soon after its formation. The formation of RIM in 1984 played, from the beginning, an important role in focusing the line questions in the Afghanistan movement.

The CPA *Basic Principles* document declares, "The ideology guiding the thought and action of the Communist Party of Afghanistan is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism...."

"The CPA's programme in the present stage of the revolution in the country is the victory of the new democratic revolution and the establishment of the people's democratic dictatorship. The accomplishment of the political, economic and cultural goals of Afghanistan's new democratic revolution is the necessary precondition for the transition to socialist revolution in the country and the march to communism.

"The strategy of the CPA for the seizure of political power is the initiation and advance of the people's war, a protracted war based on the vast majority of the people, especially the peasantry, under the leadership of the proletariat through its vanguard party.

Up until the initiation of the people's war all the struggles of the Party will serve its preparation, and after the people's war is initiated all the forms of struggle and the fighting force of the Party will serve its advance and victory." The CPA considers that its most important task at present in relation to the initiation is building and strengthening the Party.

The process of organising those "Flamists" who have remained true to the cause of revolution into the Party or as allies in a united front still continues, even though the CPA emphasises the importance of organising fresh revolutionary forces to take up MLM as the only liberating ideology. Besides struggle to strengthen the Party, the CPA have also been engaged in preparatory work for the united front: "It is clear that [a revolutionary united front] is based on worker-peasant unity, and its formation will be basically possible after the initiation of the people's war and the establishment of revolutionary bases. But this does not in any way mean that in the present stage of struggle we should not strive to form a people's revolutionary front or temporary and permanent alliances with freedom-seeking and revolutionary national-democratic forces and individuals against the theocratic rule of reaction." [*Eternal Flame*, No 18]

TWO KINDS OF WAR

The CPA maintains that, "the new democratic revolution is a democratic revolution not only because it is an anti-feudal revolution but also because it is an anti-social-imperialist, anti-imperialist and anti-chauvinist struggle. 'Land to the tiller' is the central slogan of this revolution and the peasantry will benefit from the victory of this revolution more than any other class and strata." The leading force of this revolution is the proletariat. The petite bourgeoisie will be a strong ally and the national bourgeoisie a vacillating ally. The goals of the new democratic revolution are: "to overthrow the feudal and bourgeois comprador classes and establish the democratic rule of the broad masses of all the peoples of the country...; to overthrow imperialist domination and achieve independence...; to overthrow national chauvinism... and recognise the right of self-determination of all

the nationalities; to do away with male-chauvinism and establish equality between men and women...." (CPA *Basic Principles*)

The few attempts so far in subduing feudalism, either after independence or during the first years of the pro-Soviet regime, have not been carried out with the goal of liberating the peasants from the yoke of feudalism but aimed instead at strengthening bureaucrat capitalism, the comprador bourgeoisie and imperialist domination. Thus the peasants were not armed politically or militarily to overthrow feudalism and imperialism themselves. So, in the face of the opposition from strong feudal quarters, these governments have either been overthrown (in the case of Amanullah Khan) or ended up conciliating with the feudals (in the case of the PDP). Those landless peasants who had put their hopes in such reforms later found themselves alone and unarmed in the face of feudal armed gangs. Unlike the Islamic enforcers of feudalism who promise a better life in heaven (and whose heaven also carries all the vestiges of their perverted imagination), the people's war the Maoists are preparing will mobilise the masses to prepare and exercise their own rule from the beginning. "It is only after destroying the armed forces of the counter-revolutionaries that the political rule of reaction can be overthrown, and it is only after the overthrow of their political rule that the political rule of the masses can be established. This process is as protracted as that of the people's war and is realised through it. It starts in small pockets, consolidates and expands, and after the country-wide seizure of political power by the Communist Party and its political allies it spreads throughout the country." (CPA *Basic Principles*)

War-weariness is a serious question for the genuine communists. One reason for the rapid advance of the Taliban was that they were portrayed as a force capable of ending the wars; but reality soon tore into that illusion as the Taliban joined the many armies of warlords roaming Afghanistan. The events since the "Islamic Revolution" of 1992 are testimony to the fact that, as the CPA says, theocratic rule in Afghanistan is characterised by reactionary wars between different Islamic groups. And the warring factions and their foreign backers have thus far had

great difficulty moving for a definitive and successful peace deal among the reactionaries. Any agreement would be inherently unstable and could soon turn into yet another reason for bloodshed.

Moreover, *even if* any of these armies were able to bring peace, this would not be peace for the masses but the silence of the graveyard. Women condemned to forced labour inside the walls of their homes, workers and peasants slaving long hours in backbreaking conditions only to fill the bellies of a bunch of clergymen and feudals; meanwhile they see their children dying of malnutrition, petrol flowing underground and opium and heroin adding to the riches of reactionaries and imperialists.

The people of Afghanistan have fought heroically against an imperialist army and have accepted many sacrifices, but have gained nothing in return, nothing but more imperialism and feudalism. The people of Afghanistan know about war, but they have never had a chance to taste the fruit of their sacrifices, they have never felt the empowering freedom of breaking the chains of tradition. Only a genuine people's war under the leadership of the MLM vanguard party can lay the basis for them to see a way out of the situation, because it is linked for the first time to a liberating programme and struggle to bring in new relations, where the masses themselves exercise political power, and put an end once and for all to the stifling weight of semi-feudalism.

In the battlefield known as Afghanistan, all reactionary forces speak through the barrel of a gun, but the people do not as yet have their own army. Until such a war is started, the voice of the revolutionaries will remain weak. "This in no way means that we do not value different forms of struggle at their present level, because it is by the principled and successful advance of these struggles that we can conclude this initial preparatory stage of our work," the CPA maintains. Indeed, as the communists' experience among women and proletarian youth has shown, boldly mobilising the masses around a revolutionary programme and leading political struggle against reaction's rule is vital in enabling the Maoists to cut through the darkness and gather the necessary force to initiate people's war. ■

Document

By the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP)

The following document is dated February 1998. It includes an analysis of the international and national situations and a summation of the carrying out of the Party's plan. This previous plan referred to here was discussed in the 1995 report "Overcome the Bend in the Road by Developing the People's War" reprinted in our issue no. 23 and the March 1995 document that appears in this current issue. The PCP has kept secret certain parts of this new document, marking them with ellipses ... — AWTW

1. Unite the People Against the Fascist, Genocidal and Country-Selling Dictatorship by Further Developing the People's War — A New Plan within the Great Plan "Build the Seizure of Power"

POLITICAL BASIS

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Imperialism is a colossus with feet of clay that will irremediably collapse; thus Yankee imperialism, which acts like the gendarme of the world, is a paper tiger trying to prolong its death agony by raising the rotten and washed-out banners of "economic neo-liberalism", "human rights" and "bourgeois democracy", the peace of bayonets and eclectic, idealistic pragmatism because it has nothing new to offer. These paper tigers try to lull and intimidate the masses with a deceitful policy, "human rights". This flag they are waving today refers to the rights of imperialism, the bourgeoisie and world reaction. The puny, fake peace they proffer is an attempt to put the masses' consciousness to sleep in order to impose their hegemony as the world's leading superpower, no matter what it takes. It is the peace of bayonets, of grave diggers, of slavery. Yankee imperialism is the world's leading arms merchant; it is a paper tiger, an arrogant blackmailer, ceaselessly promoting the

Unite the People Against the Fascist, Genocidal and Country-Selling Dictatorship by Further Developing the People's War

reactionary and failed theory that arms decide everything.

The economic, commercial and financial crises that constantly shake the imperialist system fully confirm the thesis of Marx and Engels, 150 years after the publication of *The Communist Manifesto*. They are trying to cover up their contention to redivide the world.

The so-called "war against drugs" is another deceitful imperialist policy and a pretext for their counter-revolutionary strategy of "low intensity warfare" on a world level to smother the revolution, especially in the countries of the third world. It is also an instrument for the suppression of the oppressed nations. General Barry McCaffrey [U.S. President Clinton's "Anti-Drug Czar"—translator] is no "victorious general", but simply an invader who was defeated and kicked out of Vietnam.

Thus they pursue their counter-revolutionary offensive, seeking to sweep away all that may imply revolution, but revolution is and will be the historical and political trend, and principally now more than ever we should struggle to make Maoism the commander and guide of the world proletarian revolution, generating militarised Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communist parties, and for them to go over to carrying out People's War throughout the world. These are the requirements for the advance and triumph of the revolution.

NATIONAL POLITICAL SITUATION

Bureaucrat capitalism, faced with the law that the old state must evolve, has only achieved transitory and partial gains that go to the exclusive benefit of a handful of Peruvian and foreign exploiters. The general crisis that is gnawing away at them has only been palliated and its critical essence has in no way been resolved. It is impossible to overcome this crisis. In the interests of this handful of bloodsuckers they have had to go down on their knees before imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism, and throw the entire Pe-

ruvian people into deeper ruin. The government of Fujimori and Hermoza Ríos [Armed Forces head—trans.] is the most unrestrained pro-imperialist government the country has ever seen, the most genocidal and the most country-selling. They have contained inflation and covered it with makeup so that they can have some successes. Regarding the "recession", the recovery has been minimal, with unemployment growing daily, wages and salaries tumbling, and taxes and fees on the public soaring sky-high. Poverty has grown and the response of the government is to give out alms and carry out demagogic civic action schemes.

Poverty has not been reduced. We should keep in mind that we are in the second half of the decade, and a worsening of the crisis of bureaucrat capitalism is foreseeable. Some forces among the bourgeoisie are saying, "This year and next will be hard", "Our problem is the repercussions of the Asian crisis", "foreign debt payments", "falling metal prices" and "El Niño". The people are told to make sacrifices "for a better tomorrow", but it has been seven years now and that tomorrow has never come. It never will under this system, under this landlord-bureaucrat state. The government is carrying out a mass sterilisation campaign, which means even greater genocide, promoted by Yankee imperialism through the Interamerican Agency for Development. The puppet Fujimori is trying to use the masses' problems for his own demagogic and electoral ends; all this should be condemned. As for the "El Niño" weather phenomenon, he wanted to take a few measures to win points in the North but the scope of these problems exploded in his face. This government is responsible because it did not take the necessary precautions, even though it knew in advance that the situation would become critical.

As for the restructuring of the state, they have not been able to advance as they have wanted to since 5 April 1992 [date of Fujimori's "self-coup"—trans.]. Under the aegis of Yankee im-

perialism and with a long-range plan they went over to a fascist dictatorship as part of the overall process of absolute centralization, in order to better carry out "low intensity warfare". This is a fascist dictatorship under the signboard of "democracy". It is fascist because in a disguised form parliament has been negated: on the one hand they discredit parliament and undermine it, while on the other they use it as a sewer pipe to spit out the laws they need, although the most important laws are decreed by the executive. It is fascist because it negates the whole liberal-democratic legal order, stomping on their constitution and all their laws whenever they feel like it. Some opposition factions and even members of the reaction itself are saying, "This is a permanent coup d'etat", "This is not a state of law", etc.

A fascist reorganisation of the judicial branch is being undertaken by an obscure naval officer who was a security official for Velasco [general who ruled in the early 1970s—trans.]. It is no coincidence that other followers of the fascist Velasco regime are working in the shadows under the present government. Rigged and fraudulent elections are an instrument for perpetuating themselves in government, and the so-called "opposition" is a chorus that "legitimises" the ridiculous concoction of "direct democracy". We see corporatism being organised in a militarised form, linked to "low intensity warfare" and carried out mercilessly under the protection of bayonets and genocide, pressuring and compelling the masses through the so-called "Self Defence Committees" and urban and peasant *rondas* [paramilitary organisations—trans.], a corporatism pushed by the office of the president through organisations like COFOPRI, FONCODES, INADE, development committees, etc. As for their ideological basis, it is vulgar pragmatism and bastard eclecticism; they systematically apply Hitler's Big Lie policy. This fascism is principally driven by the fascist, genocidal and country-selling Armed Forces. The backbone of the

old state, today they are acting like a militarised political party, aided by the National Intelligence Service (SIN) and peasant rondas. The Armed Forces are run by a clique headed by Hermoza Ríos and Montesinos, a vulgar CIA agent expelled from the reactionary army for treason to the motherland. These Armed Forces are carrying out a campaign to reelect their puppet.

On the question of the border with Ecuador: Both governments and their armed forces are using this problem to tighten their grip on political power, calling for "national unity" to silence all questioning of their odious plans. We warn the whole people that the fascist, genocidal and country-selling dictatorship, for its own ends and in the face of imperialist pressure, is scheming to once more surrender a part of the territory of our motherland. On the question of "resettlement", first they devastated the countryside applying the three alls ("steal all, burn all, kill all") and genocide to form *mesnada* paramilitary bands and strategic hamlets, seeking to separate the guerrillas from the masses. Now, as part of their "low intensity warfare", they are carrying out a militarised and fascist "resettlement" headed up by *mesnadas* to control the masses. On the so-called "people's defender": this "defender" stabs the people in the back. He is an agent of the fascist dictatorship who must be unmasked, along with his pal Lansier, a foreign priest who is an imperialist agent. He hands out pardons to people who never should have been imprisoned in the first place. If they are freeing some people today, it is an attempt to hide their genocidal essence—when it came to military men, they gave amnesty to abominable butchers and torturers. Their dream was and still is to annihilate the People's War, but despite difficulties and setbacks the People's War is being maintained and advanced, routing reactionary military campaigns and counter-subversive operations, fighting against this so-called "low intensity" warfare and destroying hoaxes of "strategic defeat". The democratic road, the revolutionary situation which is becoming reactivated, is producing an increasing rejection and opposition to the fascist regime. The People's War is the people's road to emancipation and the winning of a new society, the People's New Democratic Republic (PNDR). The masses are an arena of conten-

Document

By the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP)

The following document by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) is dated March 1995 and was made public in mid-1998. It complements the report "Overcome the Bend in the Road by Developing People's War" reprinted in our issue no. 23 — AWTW

I. LONG LIVE THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INVINCIBLE PEOPLE'S WAR!

Next 17 May marks 15 years of the victorious and invincible People's War in Peru, a blazing bonfire of armed rebellion holding out against wind and tide that opened and concretised the road to the true and definitive liberation of our beloved and heroic people.

A People's War watered with the blood of the uncountable martyrs of the Party, the Army and the masses, waged for the seizure of political power and

tion—the reaction crowed about defeat and then had to eat its words. As for their so-called "Operation Aries" [a counter-revolutionary offensive in 1994—trans.], they said the People's War was coming to an end, but their operation failed, just like so many others—"Taurus", "Walker", "Hunter", "Sweep One", "Sweep Two", "Sweep Three", "Sweep Four", "Ene One", "Ene Two", "Ene Three", "Ene Four", "Ene Five", "Hurricane", "Razhuilca", "Vizcatan One", "Vizcatan Two", "Kuruinze", "Exterminator", "Gimp One", "Gimp Two", etc., etc., all beaten back by the People's War. Although the road is difficult and full of twists and turns, we will triumph because we have a superior ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, and a Communist Party to guide us, and because there are People's Committees and base areas that are being heroically maintained—they are the forward fighting trenches of the new state that is flourishing in our motherland. Today the People's War is fully serving the overcoming of the

Against the Genocidal and

persisting for that goal, for the attainment of a new and true democracy, for a People's Republic of Peru in the first stage of the revolution and for the construction of socialism in a second stage.

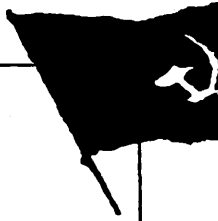
A People's War prepared, initiated and led by our Great Leader, Chairman Gonzalo; supported always by the masses of people; carried out by the People's Liberation Army and led by the Communist Party of Peru. After almost 15 years of development through campaigns and counter-campaigns of "encirclement and annihilation", the principal form of the civil war, today the People's War, is continuing victoriously despite whatever zigzags or transitory reverses that may have occurred. Such a war can only unfold through a process of victories and setbacks, but the setbacks have been completely transitory and partial. We should understand Chairman Mao Tse-tung's teaching, "Strategically speaking, there is a defeat only when a counter-campaign against 'en-

bend and the bright future, drawing lessons from the errors committed in the past. It should be further developed to seize power countrywide.

II. SUMMATION OF THE APPLICATION OF THE PLAN "OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD BY DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR"

The Plan "Overcome the Bend in the Road by Developing the People's War" successfully achieved the objectives set for it. We have begun to emerge from the bend. The masses are gradually becoming active once again. Some reactionary spokespeople are talking about a "fresh outbreak", saying "They have reorganized," "They have expanded their area of operations," "They have put an end to the period of withdrawal." What should be emphasised is that the enemy's "low intensity warfare" has been systematically fought against and their operations and campaigns and counter-campaigns have been defeated both successively and simultaneously.

Country-Selling Dictatorship, Persist in the People's War!



circlement and suppression' fails completely, but even then the defeat is only partial and temporary. For only the total destruction of the Red Army would constitute complete defeat in the civil war; but this has never happened." Thus the crowing and the dark and evil dreams of imperialism, reaction and revisionism turn to smoke before the persistence of the heroic People's War which is now emerging from a difficult and complex bend in the road, and will inevitably triumph.

II. THE PARTY'S BASIS OF UNITY IS THE FOUNDATION OF ALL OUR ACTIONS!

Thus, greeting this new anniversary of the invincible People's War, we wish to reaffirm in its ideological and political foundation, the point of departure of all our actions, the Party's Basis of Unity, which consists of three elements: 1) Our ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. 2) Our Programme, and 3) Our Gen-

The advance is taking place amidst a hard-fought and determined struggle. Our centre is combat. The People's Committees and the base areas have been defended with blood. The grand finale of the plan was successful and resounding. Let us draw the positive and negative lessons, raise the level of selective annihilations and sabotage and step up work in the cities.

UNDER CONSTRUCTION

The Party is fulfilling its role. There is partial advance... a purging... revisionism is fought as the main danger.

The People's Liberation Army is the backbone of the front/new state.

We have advanced in developing our front policy and correcting various errors committed in the past, and in breaking up the mesnadas, selecting targets, avoiding excesses and making advances in the new economy.

III. OBJECTIVES (RESERVED)

....

eral Political Line and its centre, our Military Line, approved by the First Congress of the Party, a Marxist Congress, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought Congress. Such a reaffirmation is necessary today more than ever because not only in our country but on the world level, we continue to face a sinister general counter-revolutionary offensive headed by imperialism, reaction and revisionism, and because concretely, regarding our Party, a new gang of shameful advocates of a revisionist and capitulationist Right Opportunist Line (ROL) have leapt out rabidly and wildly, and are thoroughly and completely negating the Party's Basis of Unity. Suckled and adopted by the armed forces and the puppet Fujimori, they have cackled from their rat-holes for the holding of a so-called "Second Congress" whose purpose would be to repeal the first, belching out that this meeting would take a decision on "the struggle" for a peace accord with the genocidal country-sellers, and thus endorsing the dark hoaxes of "surrender" and "repentance" hatched by their masters and trafficking with the name of Chairman Gonzalo.

We repudiate and condemn these miserable rats, would-be chieftains who have proved incapable of enduring an "occupational hazard" [arrest—trans.], much less of giving their lives for the Party and the Revolution. Today they are selling out for a bowl of porridge, having sought to undermine the morale of the class and the Party, but this they will never achieve.

These traitors have given expression to the splittism that reflects their revisionist essence; incapable of carrying out a debate and expounding their positions in inner-Party struggle, these cowards fled, and from outside the ranks they have raised their dark and rotten banners, while their leaders hide like shameful ostriches. This is how they have acted and continue to act, trying to take the unwary by surprise. We should know them well, because opportunists and revisionists have existed before during the long years of Party life, but apparently never such perfidious and reptilian traitors as

these. They have gone so far as to commit the monstrous crime of facilitating the arrest of our Great Leader, Chairman Gonzalo, and Comrade Miriam and other valuable leaders, cadres, Party members, fighters and masses, many of whom were murdered as soon as they were arrested. But we now declare that the harm they have caused and continue to cause to the revolution will not go unpunished. They are hereby informed that, like their masters, they will pay with interest for all the crimes they have committed.

Finally, something more in this vein. During the Third Plenum of the Central Committee, Chairman Gonzalo warned us of the danger of the rise of a revisionist line and said that there were indications that an opportunist line in opposition to the seizure of political power was already being hatched. He told us that if the Initiation of the Armed Struggle required a hard struggle against the ROL of that period, there was even more reason to think that a still greater struggle, an earth-shaking struggle, would have to occur before there could be a still greater leap such as the seizure of power. Events have once again proven him right, but what we have experienced has been anticlimactic, because this revisionist abortion has been incapable of defending its ideological and political positions in the internal struggle and has simply split the Party with the help of the reaction itself and probably infiltrated agents as well, having bolted in a gallop after the arrest of Chairman Gonzalo.

III. THE CURRENT SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

It has been increasingly confirmed that revolution is the main trend in the world, but this is taking shape through twists and turns. The end of the so-called "cold war" with the collapse of Russian social-imperialism has not meant the "beginning of a new era of peace and stability" as imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism, proclaims, repeating what the Chinese revisionists have been putting forward for years—which is servilely repeated

in our country by the reaction and the revisionists of the ROL. Rather, it has been proven that there is no economic or political stability anywhere. The 20th century is coming to an end amidst wars of all types and a growing militarisation. There is no peace even in Europe, where Yugoslavia continues to disintegrate with more than 200,000 dead in less than three years of war, while in Chechnya Russian imperialism continues to carry out a barbaric genocide. And what can be said about Rwanda, a backward country where over 500,000 people died in only three months? And what happened to the "peace" signed by Israel and the PLO with the endorsement of Yankee imperialism? To say nothing of the problems breaking out in Mexico, on the flank of the "international gendarme" itself, or the war between Peru and Ecuador, etc.

Essentially the situation is as Chairman Mao and the CPC described it in the 1960s: Once more there is a great disorder under heaven, and further, a New Wave of the World Revolution has begun to unfold, and the communist parties must militarise and play their role, putting Maoism in command and applying People's War to the conditions of their own countries.

As for the situation in our country, hunger, poverty, unemployment, repression, genocide, the sale of national sovereignty, etc. are only some of the calamities made even much worse by the genocidal and country-selling dictatorship that is really headed by Pinochet's apprentice, Hermoza Ríos [armed forces head—trans.]. Fujimori is just his puppet, a cheap and vulgar figurehead.

The point is that a revolutionary situation in development is being expressed, strengthened by conditions for revolution that are far more favourable than in 1980 when the People's War was launched; and, furthermore, this situation shows once more that what Chairman Gonzalo and the Party laid out in the General Political Line is clearly coming to pass, particularly with respect to the general crisis of bureaucrat capitalism and its inexorable process of decay. This is a very important question, even more so now that we have entered the second half of the decade in which, as in the latter half of previous decades, their critical situation will necessarily get worse. This objective situation smashes not

only the fantasies of the genocidal gang about the "new Asian tiger" or the "Peruvian miracle", but also the cackling of the shameless partisans of the revisionist and capitulationist ROL about how "bureaucrat capitalism is becoming viable". As always, they are confusing appearance with essence, thus seeking to fool our people by extolling what are no more than ephemeral blossoms within the process of the inevitable collapse of bureaucrat capitalism.

Another aspect of the current situation is the holding of the forthcoming elections, which once again are crucial for the reactionaries because they find themselves riddled with contradictions, particularly the situation with their three tasks, in which they have become bogged down. Thus, in the economic sphere, the greatest general crisis in the history of the republic is unfolding and will continue to unfold, despite fleeting and limited recoveries that cannot even overcome the recession or inflation, to say nothing of unemployment, which, as they themselves admit, "has reached historic levels". We can see how industrial output continues to fall and the cost of living continues to rise, despite what their clever number-crunchers say. Meanwhile, agriculture remains in a state of collapse, made even worse by the multi-million dollar shady deals in food imports negotiated by the ruling clique and its cronies. Furthermore, as everyone knows, under this government foreign debt has grown from \$19 billion to over \$25 billion. The ruling clique talks a lot about how "the economy is growing", but this is false, just as the way almost everything they say is false, because this government has made cynicism and lies the norm in its actions. Growth is not the demagogic and electorally motivated shoddy construction of schools for students and teachers with empty stomachs, to say nothing of the extremely high number of children leaving school under this government; growth is not repairing roads nor opening a few trails with borrowed dollars which will have to be repaid to imperialism at high interest rates; growth is not looting the Peruvian sea to benefit the entourage of a voracious clique; nor is growth the selling off of state enterprises on the cheap, practically giving them away to imperialist capital and firing thousands of workers, and then, even worse, refusing to give an accounting for the money from these bar-

gain sales.

Regarding the restructuring of the old state, towards the end of 1990 Chairman Gonzalo and the Central Committee of the Party said that the current government, compelled by the People's War and in accordance with their counter-subversive war, was carrying out a process of absolute centralisation and presidential absolutism. Today everyone is talking about this as if it were the latest news, "forgetting" what the Party said in 1990. On 5 April 1992, a coup d'état took place as part of this reactionary process and specifically as a response to the strategic equilibrium reached by the People's War, putting into action a sinister plan hatched by imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism and its followers. This coup was led by a military clique with Hermoza Ríos at its head and was carried out as always by the genocidal and country-selling armed forces. Once more we have seen how they trample on their own constitution and rule of law in order to better serve their counter-revolutionary war, adopting more and more clearly fascist positions. Thus yet again we have witnessed a shameless electoral fraud overseen by the dictatorship to garner approval for one of the most reactionary and retrograde constitutions in the history of the Peruvian state, in such a way that although the previous one was called into question by one and all, the current constitution is even more controversial. Even now, in the pre-election contention, representatives of the diverse groups of the factions of the big bourgeoisie are announcing that if they are elected they will modify it again.

And what have they done with their so-called "judicial branch" and their judicial order? Desperate and terrified in the face of the advance of the People's War, not only have they completely abolished their own so-called "universal" judicial principles, but they have gone so far as to annul the right to a legal defence and issue decrees making their laws retroactive. They instituted the imprisonment of minors and abolished freedom of opinion and thought by establishing "apology for terrorism", etc., to say nothing of their draconian military tribunals where these masters of genocide are not content to be plaintiffs and prosecutors, but also act as judges. These dark uniformed men know as much about law as a butcher about sculpture, and the

standard sentence to anyone who falls into their hands is life imprisonment. The violation of their judicial order is so serious that even the UN, a pimp for imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism, has had to recommend that they moderate their barbaric atrocities a bit.

Thus, merely by looking at these issues concerning the restructuring of their state, we can say with certainty that they have become bogged down in this reactionary task as well.

Regarding the reactionaries' third task, annihilating the People's War, with their characteristic fatuous triumphalism they crowed victory too soon, even setting a date for its demise. But in this matter as in many others they have been proven completely wrong, because the People's War continues its unstoppable march after having resisted the evil country-wide offensive unleashed following the 5 April coup, conceived and planned by Yankee imperialism itself as part of their so-called "Low Intensity Warfare" strategy, in response to strategic equilibrium. This offensive by the genocidal and country-selling armed forces is one of the last cards remaining in their hands before more direct U.S. intervention. Thus, putting national sovereignty at grave risk, they mobilised thousands of troops formerly deployed on the border, and throwing them into repeated "encirclement and annihilation" campaigns against the base areas and guerrilla zones, utilising not only 120mm mortars and heavily armed helicopters but also light artillery of the kind used in conventional warfare, such as cannons with a 12-kilometre range and bombs dropped from combat aircraft. At the same time, in the cities they lashed out with a fierce repressive manhunt, rounding up hundreds of the sons and daughters of the people, who were harassed, tortured and imprisoned. Once more they vomited out their genocidal guts, beginning by gorging themselves on the blood of the prisoners of war on 9 May 1992, carrying out a cowardly and merciless massacre. This time the mass graves and the disappearances, like the "La Cantuta" case, were in their own capital, which clearly demonstrated that this dictatorship is more genocidal than that of Belaúnde and García Pérez. Furthermore, they have accompanied this genocide with wily "psychological warfare" hoaxes, promoting capitulation,

an old trick of imperialism, especially Yankee imperialism, launching grotesque farces that have blown up in their faces as was already demonstrated in December 1993 with the earth-shaking and powerful celebration of the centennial of the birth of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. As proof of its power it is only necessary to mention that in Lima alone 16 car bombs were detonated that month. All of this is in addition to the well-known attempts at population control through the formation of *mesnada* paramilitary bands, the increased use of informers and the intensification of the so-called "intelligence" and "civic action" operations already underway.

Thus, in the face of all these sinister offensives and against all the crowing and dark forecasts, the People's War and strategic equilibrium continue on course. If this were not the case, one should ask why Pinochet's apprentice, the puppet Fujimori, the whole swarm of "Senderologists", reactionaries, revisionists, opportunists, hack journalists and even informer priests and promoters of genocide like Cipriani, Durand and Vargas Alzamora among others [bishops and archbishop, respectively—trans.] all never miss an occasion to talk about so-called "terrorism" or "pacification"? Why do they talk so much about how they have "pacified the country"? Why do they maintain the state of emergency in more than 50% of the national territory? Why are thousands of their troops still stuck in the so-called "counter-subversive bases"? Why are they continuing to forcibly enlist—under threat of death—and arm thousands of peasants in the so-called peasant *rondas*? And why do they continue to fill the prisons with hundreds of the sons and daughters of the people under suspicion of "terrorism"?

It is because the People's War persists and will continue to persist, and although it has undergone temporary and partial setbacks it will achieve its glorious objectives, demolishing the Yankee so-called "Low Intensity Warfare" strategy and whatever other strategy it may face, because it bases itself on the greatest ideology the world has ever seen, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. It will succeed because there is a Party which leads it and infuses it with a right and correct political line, and because the masses of our people support it, watering it

with their blood and sweat, since this war is simply a continuation of their struggle with arms in hand.

For all these reasons we reaffirm that the reactionaries have also become bogged down in regard to their third task, just like the other two.

In sum, we can see that bureaucrat capitalism has no way out; its inexorable collapse will continue and it will be totally demolished amidst the genocide with which it is defending itself like a mortally wounded beast. This is the reason why the upcoming elections are shaping up to be so crucial for the reaction, particularly for the current ruling clique so desperate to stay in power. They used whatever means they could to get the holding of the election legally sanctioned, and now they are preparing a shameless fraud and even using the conflict with Ecuador to accomplish their vile objectives. And with respect to the so-called "Union por el Perú", it too serves the interests of the big comprador bourgeoisie, since the pipsqueak who leads it [former UN General Secretary Javier Pérez de Cuellar—trans.] is yet another known quisling of mainly Yankee imperialism. One need only recall his evil role in the UN against the oppressed nations, in approving the monstrous imperialist genocide against Iraq and the Palestinian people, for example.

One issue that needs to be analysed from the point of view of the proletariat is the problem of our country's borders, because the conflict with Ecuador is only part of a larger and extremely precarious situation that has been very badly handled by each successive reactionary government. Further, the reactionary armed forces have never defended the country's integrity and sovereignty; instead, they have always been experts in defeats, as shown by the loss of Arica and Tarapacá in the war with Chile or the robbery of the Leticia region by Colombia. It has always been the masses of people who were the real defenders of our national territory, and we must keep this truth in mind because it is once more being confirmed.

A factor being systematically swept under the rug is the ominous role of imperialism in general and especially Yankee imperialism, whose interests stir up this or that conflict at its convenience. Here, too, it is at work, pulling the strings from behind the scenes like a puppet master. In this respect, in

addition to the ever greater domination that imperialism exercises through the foreign debt and the IMF, IDB, WB, etc., we should also take into account the "advisory" role of the Yankee armed forces. From time to time they send their top brass, like that arrogant head of the Southern Command who came in November 1994 to check up on their lackeys, in addition to their constant "training" of the genocidal hordes, and the insolent intervention of their ambassadors in all the internal matters of Peru, or the cheeky pipsqueak Alexander Watson, U.S. Undersecretary of State for Inter-American affairs, who with total effrontery said that: "Fujimori is a good salesman for the Peruvian brand", which was taken as praise by the puppet.

Today, Peru is at risk of losing a part of its territory once again due to the current dictatorship, because it is the most genocidal and country-selling dictatorship we have seen so far in our history. First they put Peruvian citizenship up for sale for a few miserable dollars; then later they offered South Korea an extraterritorial zone north of Lima; after that they turned over part of the national territory in the province of Ilo to Bolivia; and then they granted Chile a series of concessions in the so-called "Lima Convention", which was not ratified because of popular outcry. Furthermore, their so-called "privatisation" has meant putting a series of state enterprises on the auction block at bargain prices. Little do they care if some are considered of strategic importance, such as the petroleum and electrical industry, the latter even sold to Chilean capital. Who is doing all this? Imperialism behind the scenes and the genocidal and country-selling armed forces, more directly now with the clique headed by Hermoza Ríos, because it is they who have been ruling the country since the coup d'état of 5 April 1992. But this doesn't excuse the puppet Fujimori, because he gleefully dances to whatever tune his masters play for him.

In the case of Ecuador, everyone knows that the ruling classes of that country have systematically carried out a policy of negating the "1942 Protocol", not just recently but for some time now. As far back as 1981, during the second government of Belaúnde, there was the phoney "Paquisha" incident and they were dislodged from Peruvian territory, but the "little viceroy"

[Belaúnde—trans.], far from demanding the final demarcation of the 78 kilometres of the border still pending, opted to look the other way in order to leave a future card to play, to give Yankee imperialism and Peruvian reaction an excuse to create problems for a people's government that might take power through the People's War. But it is during the current government that the genocidal country-sellers gave Ecuador permission to invade Peruvian territory in 1991. Their only reaction to that invasion was to reach a "gentleman's agreement" that obviously our neighbours took advantage of.

Furthermore, the same puppet was commissioned by the military to go to Ecuador and offer them a "sovereign" outlet to the Amazon river. This was revealed by the ex-dictator of Ecuador Rodríguez Borja, who even threatened his partner Fujimori that he would go public with the letters he received. To date Fujimori hasn't even denied this. Even worse, in 1992, in order to unleash their sinister but doomed genocidal offensive against the People's War, they removed troops from the border, leaving them unguarded and at the mercy of any aggressor or invader. This shows what kind of guts these country-sellers have. For them, it is a thousand times preferable to see our country dismembered than to lose their position as blood-suckers and oppressors of the people, and in saying this we refer not only to the guard dog repressive armed forces, but also to their masters, the imperialists, especially Yankee imperialism, and the big bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords.

Thus, by January 1995 the Ecuadoran armed forces had been occupying part of Peru's territory for some time, and had time to prepare to fight off any effort to dislodge them. Why did the genocidal and country-selling dictatorship suddenly decide to unleash this conflict at that moment? Because the military clique was determined to do whatever necessary to be "re-elected" through the puppet Fujimori, but they were not certain of achieving that. Their problems continued to grow and worsen, as we have seen. What made their situation even more critical, we should recall, was the result of the referendum, where they almost suffered a serious setback, despite the open fraud they carried out once again by having members of the armed forces and police vote [which

is illegal—trans.], using thousands of identification cards issued by the National Board of Elections. We should also keep in mind the problem of runaway corruption in their ranks. Hundreds of officers, including some members of their clique, are involved in drug trafficking, and some even face trial for that crime. Add to this the problems between the little puppet and his ex-wife, who aired a lot of his dirty laundry. In the light of all this and other questions we can understand the reasons behind his zeal. Thus the genocidal country-sellers thought they could raise their stock in that which does not belong to them, and feigning to be what they are not, they went into action, dreaming of easy victory and thinking that in the worst case if they did not succeed they could always mount a new hoax to try and fool the people. But like the experts in defeat they are, this has backfired and the hoax did not convince anyone. Furthermore, they aggravated the problem and now they are stuck in a mess from which there is no easy way out, because our people, who today are more conscious than before, will not let themselves be surprised or fooled.

In considering this situation, we should bear in mind the words of Chair-man Gonzalo in his September 1992 speech from prison:

"We clearly say that today the democratic road has begun to proceed as a road of liberation, as the road of people's liberation!

"We believe that the 18th century taught us a very clear lesson. Think about it. There was a dominator. It was Spain, and what was the result of that bloodsucking domination? A very profound crisis, and as a consequence Peru, which at that time was a viceroyalty and today is our motherland, Peru was divided. That was the origin of today's Bolivia. We are not making this up; it is a fact.

"Then, in the last century, English domination. What was the result for us of their rivalry with France? Another big crisis, in 1870. The outcome? The war with Chile. We must not forget it! And what happened? We lost territory. Our motherland suffered an excision, despite the blood shed by heroes and the people. We must draw lessons from this!

"The 20th century. How are we doing? In the 20th century we are dominated by imperialism, principally

American imperialism; this is real, everyone knows it and no one can cover it up. And where has it gotten us? The worst crisis of the entire history of the Peruvian state, even worse than that of the 1920s. What lesson should we draw from past centuries? Once more the nation is at risk, once more the republic is at risk, once more our territory is at risk. It could easily be lost—there are interests that would be served by that. This is what we have to see. This is the situation; this is what it has come to because of them. But we have a fact, a Peruvian revolution, a People's War that burns powerfully, that is advancing, and will continue to do so. Where have we gotten with this? Strategic equilibrium! And we must understand this well. It is Strategic equilibrium! And it is becoming increasingly solid amidst a crucial situation. What have these 12 years served for? To plainly show the Third World and principally the Peruvian people that the Peruvian state, the old Peruvian state, is a paper tiger rotten to the core. That has been proven!

"Since this is how things are, let us consider the danger that the nation, the country, could be divided, that the nation is at risk. They want to dismember it; they want to divide it up. Who wants to do this? As always, imperialism, those who exploit, those who rule. And what should we do? What is our task? Our task is to push forward the People's Liberation Movement and develop it through the People's War, because the people, always the people, have been the ones who defend the country, who have defended the nation.

"Our task is to form a People's Liberation Front, to form and develop a People's Liberation Army from the People's Guerrilla Army..."

And this is being accomplished today. Concretely, Ecuador remains enconced in Peruvian territory and should be dislodged. Other borders are also in danger. Our people must remain alert.

The motherland is at risk and the only fitting thing is to defend it with guns in hand, but precisely because of this imperialism and reaction seek to annihilate the People's War, because it is the real barrier to their dreams and sinister appetites. Our people know that the only path is People's War to establish the People's Republic of Peru. This is even more true under current circumstances where the ruling clique wants

to sell our country to imperialist capital and the capital of their lackeys, opening the dark but real possibility of the motherland being torn apart for the benefit of a coterie that has no patriotic spirit whatsoever. Because of this we reaffirm that we have begun to implement the path of people's liberation for the defence and liberation of our motherland.

Thus, in this complex national and international situation, it falls to the Peruvian proletariat, as always, to lead the revolution and guarantee its path through the Communist Party of Peru, because the Party is its detachment, its conscious and organised vanguard, the leadership of the revolution, of the People's War. Some leaders, cadres or militants might not be with us or they might even pass away, but even with the immense pain and consternation that this would cause, the duty and the obligation of the Party is to continue its unyielding battle. Even if only a faction or in the end only one communist remained, they would have to fulfil their role, struggling to mobilise, if necessary, the best and the new. Because the revolution has an invincible and all-powerful ideology, a proletariat and masses which generate everything, it will inevitably advance and triumph. These things are not new, they are old truths long familiar in the international communist movement, but once again today the rotten revisionists of the ROL are trying to twist and obscure them so that they can make deals and hide under the skirts of imperialism and reaction. Thus, cunningly using the problems that have occurred, they have come to negate the role and capacity of the Party as the leadership of the revolution. For this reason the Central Committee reaffirms that the Communist Party of Peru, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, is a heroic combatant which leads the revolution and guarantees that it is on the right path!

It is within this framework that the tasks of the Party are being accomplished, following the agreements of the First Congress, the First, Second and Third Plenum, and the two Work Sessions of the Central Committee.

Since the problem of the internal struggle is a question of cardinal importance in Party life, it is relevant to add the following point: Revisionism is the principal danger to the Party and the revolution, and for this reason it

must be implacably combated and crushed. Our Party has been purging itself but the struggle must continue. In the final analysis the armed struggle in our country could never have been initiated or developed without first sweeping away the ROL of that time, and today we can say that without totally and completely sweeping away the capitulationist and revisionist ROL we cannot seize power country-wide. We know very well that internal causes are determinant, and for this reason it should be made clear that if since 1992 the reaction has been able to do some damage to the revolution in our country, it is because revisionism helped it, served it and facilitated certain things. This is a very serious lesson and we must never forget it. Therefore, if we totally sweep away revisionism and finish purging our ranks, thoroughly embodying the Party's Basis of Unity amidst the People's War, we will be fortified and we will be invincible.

The People's War has never stopped for a moment, no matter what the imperialists, the reactionaries, the revisionists or the traitors say. Already the celebration of the Chairman Mao Centennial throughout 1993, especially in December of that year, a celebration co-ordinated with RIM, was earthshaking and powerful, carried out with successful armed actions. The reaction dreamed of stopping it by launching the hoax of the supposed "surrender", which exploded in their cynical faces. Subsequently, the Second and Third campaigns of the Sixth Military Plan have been unfolding successfully.

For all these reasons, the Central Committee calls on the Party, the fighters of the People's Liberation Army and the masses of the New State, and all our people, to celebrate the Fifteenth Anniversary of the invincible People's War in a fitting manner.

Finally, in the face of the forthcoming reactionary elections, the only correct political line regarding this fraudulent process is to repudiate it, applying the tactic of the boycott.

**Long Live Chairman Gonzalo!
Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!
Long Live the Open People's Committees!
Build the Seizure of Power!
Elections, No! People's War, Yes!**

May Day 1998
150 Years Since The Communists' First Call

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

Statement by the Committee of the
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Since the Communists' first programme, the *Communist Manifesto*, was written in 1848 and literally haunted the powers of old Europe, the science of revolution has grown by leaps and bounds into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) through many struggles and experiences in making revolution. And the basic truths that Karl Marx and Frederick Engels exploded powerfully onto the pages of this historical document remain as true as ever:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

The need for the oppressed and proletarians in each country to form a revolutionary party — a *communist* party — and to build their unity in the strongest possible way politically *and* organisationally worldwide against the powers of the old imperialist world and their reactionary states is as urgent today as 150 years ago. This is one of the key tasks of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), which groups MLM parties and organisations from around the world.

The imperialists like to talk about the globalisation of their system, as though it were all-powerful. Their aims are still basically the same in this modern era — the vicious pursuit to squeeze profits from the labour of the people of the whole globe, increasingly with the bloody signature of a "multinational". But their crisis is also globalised and their empire is full of cracks, many too wide to glue together.

They strutted and crowed about the miracle economies of the Asian Tiger countries, and how the Third World can "get rich quick" under their control. But the true picture of what imperialist "development" offers these countries is the shattered glass showcase of South Korea and the plunging Asian stock markets, which are sending shivers of panic up corporate spines from Tokyo to New York. This is real-life Mafia drama on an imperialist scale. And after the crash, in exchange for more "rescue" funds, South Korea, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines must at knifepoint follow World Bank/IMF-sponsored strangulation measures, drawing them into even greater dependency on imperialism. As the masses in Latin America and Africa have already seen, far from bringing economic security, this means more suffering, poverty, unemployment and the loss of peasant land, while for the rulers it leads to more political instability.

In Eastern Europe and Russia, the cracks in the system are more like huge divides. In the few short years since the collapse of the state capitalist regimes, the masses have come to learn the

daily living nightmare of Western-style capitalism.

Politically the imperialists also face growing problems in disinfecting and shoring up their rotting social order. Why is the greatest manufacturer and user of weapons of mass destruction, the US ruling class, talking about bombing a small country like Iraq over weapons inspections? Why are they preparing to attack Iraq a second time if not to tighten their control over the Middle East and edge out their European rivals in the pursuit of oil? Isn't this why the US (some call it the "UN") has imposed sanctions? They say it is to punish Saddam Hussein, but the "ransom" these imperialist criminals demand could be well over the 200,000 Iraqi masses' lives they took last time. Besides such a vicious reminder of who gives the orders in today's world, these godfathers have another important mission: they say they "need to test" their new bombs.

They think the people are stupid and passive, that we can't see that when they are massacring our class sisters and brothers in the name of "defending democracy" and regional "peace" that their rule really rests on terror. The U.S.-paid for police state of Israel demonstrates this daily to the Palestinians. In the so-called advanced countries, the rulers build more jails than schools, like in the US. The German rulers have come up with a new law threatening to expel forever any foreigners arrested at a demonstration involving an "insult" against the state.

In addition to encouraging religious obscurantism, both in the oppressed nations and imperialist countries, they use their democratic laws, modern information technology and weaponry to try to intimidate us into believing their empire is unshakable and impossible to overthrow, into losing heart in our struggles and paralyzing us.

But all this sends a different message to millions, embittered, wise and tempered from the experiences of generations of our class who have heroically challenged the insufferable fate that imperialism offers the majority of the world's people. Reactionary terror and ideas *do* create obstacles. But the social laws of "oppression breeds resistance" and "it's right to rebel!" coined by Mao Tse-tung are reaffirmed everyday, with struggle flaring up again and again — sometimes in the same places, sometimes in new places. This underscores in red what the ruling classes try to hide: the immediate and long-range common single interest of a single class, *our class*, the international proletariat, to carry out Marx and Engels' 150-year-old call to wipe out exploitation and oppression from the face of the earth.

From Chile to Indonesia, the masses are rioting against used-up dictators. The blood of the masses spilt by gangsters like Suharto and Pinochet runs in rivers down the arms of their imperialist masters. The lack of a communist party in many places is denying the masses the leadership and ability to take their struggles all the way to liberation.

In Peru and Nepal, People's Wars are continuing to blaze a trail forward, reflecting Marx's still valid point, that the bourgeoisie will not give up power peacefully. The single most important feature of these revolutionary wars is that they are led by Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties, the Communist Party of Peru and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), both participating parties of RIM. Despite many difficulties, the PCP has pursued its 18-year-old war against the reactionary Peruvian ruling class and their Yankee commanders. And in Nepal, the downtrodden, including large numbers of women, have taken up the young People's War — now in its third year — as their own. These People's Wars and those being prepared for or waged by MLM forces around the world represent the only road for the masses that can lead to revolution.

This year, the 150th anniversary of the *Communist Manifesto* written by the founders of communism, let the call *Workers of all countries unite!* ring out loudly on May 1st in the proletarian internationalist tradition of struggle of our class.

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

Break the Chains, Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution!

Build and Strengthen Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Parties United in RIM!

Go all out to Raise Funds for RIM!

Long Live the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement!

मार्क्सवाद-लेनिनवाद-माओवाद - जिन्दावाद ।

प्रतिक्रियावादी राज्यसत्तालाई ध्वंस गर्दै
नयाँ जनवादी राज्यसत्ता स्थापना गर्ने



जनयुद्धको बाटोमा अघि बढौं

विद्रोह जनताको अधिकार हो
जनयुद्ध जिन्दावाद

ने.क.पा. (माओवादी)

Document by
General Secretary Prachanda,
Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

Two Momentous Years of Revolutionary Transformation

The very first poster used on the starting day of the People's War depicts the masses surrounding the local police. The slogans say Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism! Establish the New Democratic State! Destroy the Reactionary State! Forward Along the Path of People's War! It's Right To Rebel! Long Live the People's War! CPN (Maoist)

Nepal News Update

While the world's media is quick to leap on and showcase even the slightest item they consider favours their imperialist masters, such as a paltry and hypocritical charity "hand-out" to those their system is starving in Africa, they are equally adept at burying news that they wish to hide from the eyes of the world's oppressed. Hence it is not surprising that it is hard to find news that for over two years now the people of Nepal have embarked on the path of people's war to overthrow their very system. AWTW is thus proud to present a statement from Comrade Prachanda, the General Secretary of the vanguard of the People's War, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), analysing the situation and tasks of the People's War today.

While the world's media seeks to bury news of this great development, in Nepal itself the strength of the Peo-

ple's War has smashed the media blackout. Headlines regularly report clashes in the countryside and scream for "anti-terrorist laws" and for the army to be brought in, while at the same time holding out the carrot of "peace talks" to try and divert the revolutionary war.

Since Comrade Prachanda's statement was released in spring 1998, a countrywide *bandh* or strike was called by the United People's Front, a revolutionary united front organisation led by the CPN (Maoist). While the People's War is based mainly in the countryside and implements the strategy of mobilising the peasants as the main force in surrounding the cities from the rural areas, the strike showed the strength of the People's War in the urban areas as well. As the *Kathmandu Post* conceded, "The strike paralysed most of public life in the capital and other parts of the king-

dom." Kathmandu was likened to "a ghost town and in many other towns and cities throughout the country shops were closed and traffic came to a halt. The strike was called, as *The Worker*, organ of the CPN (Maoist), clarifies, "...to protest against the state terror, genocide and repression unleashed by the fascist state throughout the country and to press for the 40-point charter of demands put forward by the UPF". The Home Ministry had declared that a huge number of police forces will be deployed in the streets to prevent "unpleasant incidents" and about 2000 people were arrested around the country - but obviously to no avail!

Since August 1997, the CPN (Maoist) has been mobilising to implement the Third Strategic Plan to "Develop Guerrilla Warfare to New Heights", which has entailed raising the military ability of the revolution-

This document by Comrade Prachanda is taken from *The Worker*, organ of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), No. 4, May 1998 – AWTW.

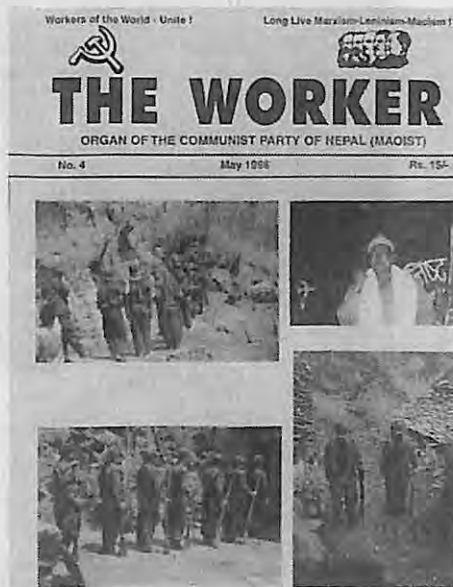
1. INTRODUCTION

The process of the revolutionary transformation of the present semi-feudal and semi-colonial Nepalese society through the People's War has completed two years. Within this period the Party has successfully implemented two strategic plans of initiation and continuation of the People's War and is at present carrying out the Third Strategic Plan. Today the People's War has established itself as the only revolutionary alternative in Nepal by breaking through innumerable cycles of repression by the reactionaries and the opposition of the revisionists. In the process of the destruction of the old state power and the construction of a new one, the People's War has today reached the stage of exercising local democratic state power. Creating a challenging influence and debate in every aspect of national life, from the military point of view the People's War has reached the stage of the development of guerrilla zones. By practically opening the doors of a new state structure in the

form of a Revolutionary United Front of the masses of different classes, nationalities and regions oppressed for centuries, the People's War is showing in the course of development the path of its own preservation, development and victory. In place of the corrupt, immoral, fraudulent and extremely individualistic anarchist culture of the old state, the People's War has developed a new collective and lofty culture based on sacrifice, ideological commitment and self-sacrifice. In totality, amidst the process of intense repression and resistance within the past two years, the People's War has performed a memorable role in revolutionary transformation.

Up to now ninety of the best sons and daughters of the Nepalese people have sacrificed their lives for accomplishing this historic success. Thousands of revolutionary fighters are braving jail, persecution and horrendous torture perpetrated by the reactionary regime. Hundreds of thousands of people are nurturing this historic process through innumerable instances of sacrifice, devotion and self-sacrifice.

The path of development and victory of revolution has never been straight, easy and normal anywhere. The dialectical law of development is



ary forces both qualitatively and quantitatively. As the Editorial in *The Worker* no. 4 explains, in essence this means "the creation of a base for local organs of political power and raising the political, organisational and technical level of the people's guerrilla army so as to be able to contend with the rival army in the prospective guerrilla zones". This effort has forged ahead. The People's War has spread, covering the central hilly region from the west to the east of Nepal. In hundreds of villages the masses have been drawn into new forms of participation in the People's War, including logistics support and making weapons. The *Janadesh Weekly* newspaper reported recently on one of the most successful actions yet in the People's War, in which a team of about 30 guerrillas carried out a surprise attack on a police post, killed its commander and captured rifles and ammunition. There

have been reports that the morale of lower level policemen is down, and that many are resigning. There have been cases where, learning of a large group of guerrillas in the area, the reactionary forces wait until they are sure the guerrillas have left, then come around loudly demanding to know where the guerrillas are and shouting about how they are ready to fight.

One of the key successes of the Third Strategic Plan has been that in several hundred villages across Nepal the local officials have been forced to flee, creating a power vacuum that the revolutionaries have seized on. New organs of local power are being built, called three-in-one combinations since they are formed of representatives of the Party, the army and the local masses

At the same time, in a more ominous development, the government has launched a military operation called "Kilo Sera 2", in which several

tens of thousands of special troops were deployed in May in 20 out of the country's 75 districts. This is the biggest military operation in the history of Nepal. In the two months since then at least 200 people have been killed as the military has unleashed ferocious repression in the countryside. In a typical operation, several thousand troops attempt to surround a given area, cutting off the roads to block efforts to flee, and then methodically enter to carry out house-to-house searches in the hunt for guerrillas.

Although there have only been initial reports from the remote regions of Nepal, it is clear that the revolutionaries had anticipated that the reactionaries would launch an encirclement and suppression campaign. The young guerrilla forces have drawn on their deep roots among the masses to evade the encirclements of the enemy, whose

Continued to page 45

such that everywhere and always the revolution forges ahead by giving birth to intense opposition and counter-revolution and through ascent and descent, ups and downs, and losses and gains. The experience of the last two years of People's War in Nepal is also no exception to that rule. Today, on the occasion of the completion of the two glorious years and of entering into the third challenging year of the People's War it would be relevant to briefly review the past experiences.

2. TWO YEARS OF PEOPLE'S WAR AND THE CONDITION OF THE REACTIONARY STATE

In the initial phase of the historic People's War, the Nepalese reactionary ruling class, like the reactionary classes of the world, tried to play down the great role of the people. Because of their own class outlook the reactionaries everywhere and always tend to "belittle" and "bully" the forces of the people. On the basis of this outlook the Nepalese reactionary ruling classes "declared" that they would wipe out the people's forces within one and a half to two months and resorted to state terrorism with mass arrests, torture, pillage and genocide. The masses, the Party and the revolution-

ary fighters continued to resist this by setting historic examples of devotion and sacrifice.

What was the result? The result was consistent with what happens in genuine revolutionary movements all over the world. The result was as per the prognosis of the invincible ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The reactionary rulers had thought that they could easily extinguish the fire of People's War by resorting to genocide, repression and terror. But, as has been proved by the law of science and the experience of history, the killing of the masses did not extinguish the fire of revolution, but added fuel to the fire. The negative act of the state terrorism was transformed into the positive result of development of the people's revolution. Instead, the state terrorism tore off the mask of the so-called democracy, constitution and human rights donned by the reactionary state and helped the masses to recognise the fascist nature of the state. The fascist repressive drive of the whole year did not only reveal the crisis within the ruling state but deepened the crisis even more. After one year of repression they realised that there was an even bigger wave of people's sympathy and co-operation for

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RIGHT: Khand-Bar weekly market in Kathmandu.

BELOW: Nepalese living in India stage a demonstration supporting an April strike in Nepal near the Nepalese Consulate at Allpur, India.





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troops are not local and hence often find themselves flailing in the dark. With hearts and minds prepared and united, the comrades of the CPN (Maoist) have managed to lead the masses to stave off this attack and to launch some counter-attacks on the enemy.

The military terror was condemned in a press release by Comrade Prachanda on 10 June, which strongly denounced the savage and impudent killing of the masses. In response to the wave of support from women for the People's War, military officers who used to regard women as inconsequential or often as the "booty of war" have now begun mass arrests and attacks on women too. Fourteen women have been killed in the last two months, leading to protest from women's groups and others. There has been mass resistance in the urban areas to

the military repression, as well as a wave of protest by human rights groups. These have included denunciations of the attacks by one of the architects of the Nepali Constitution and a rally in Delhi, India, home to many Nepalese immigrants. The rally was organised by the All-Indian Nepalese Unity Society. Eight thousand people gathered in Delhi to hear statements of protest at the killings in Nepal, given by a wide variety of prominent human rights figures and political leaders, including a former Minister in the Nepal government, the leader of the All-India People's Resistance Forum, the former Chief Justice of Punjab, and many others from both Nepal and India. AWTW has also received a joint statement by 14 human rights organisations in Nepal on the results of a fact-finding mission to the districts affected by "Kilo Sera 2", which gives a clear

picture of how the military repression is even violating Nepal's own constitution in these areas (available upon request).

In a small country, one of the poorest in the world, the people are rising up, defying increasingly fierce repression, to take their destiny into their own hands. The People's War in Nepal deserves the support of all those who long for an end to imperialist oppression, and is a clarion call to intensify the efforts for revolution everywhere.

—AWTW

Worldwide Fundraising Campaign

If you continue to send me your magazine, it will help me to gain knowledge about the world's communist movement.

— A reader from Nepal

Raise Funds for RIM!

On the Expulsion of the Nepal Communist Party (Mashal) from RIM

A WORLD TO WIN 1998/24

The following article by the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (CoRIM) proposed the expulsion of one of RIM'S participant organisations, the Nepal Communist Party (Mashal) [NCP (Mashal)]. The proposal was adopted by RIM in the first part of 1998. - AWTW

"On December 26, 1993, on the occasion of the Mao Tse-tung Centenary, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement took the historic step of adopting Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its ideology. This decision was taken after a long, vigorous debate within RIM, which had gone on over a number of years. In the course of this discussion, the Nepal Communist Party (Mashal) has repeatedly and vociferously argued against this position of our Movement." [CoRIM Letter to NCP (Mashal), 1996] "At the time of the adoption of the document *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism! (LLMLM!)*, the problem of the continuing participation of the NCP (Mashal) in RIM was discussed. Having been assured that your party would review its position and discuss the position adopted by the Movement, it was decided to allow ample time for this review of position and further discussion to take place." [*ibid.*] More than three years had gone by since the adoption of MLM, years of vital importance for the communist movement

in Nepal. A struggle that came to a head in December 1993 started to bear fruit in the form of the initiation of the People's War by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). [CPN (Maoist)]. The NCP (Mashal), however, have persisted in their refusal to regard Maoism as the third and highest stage of development of our science, and opposed the People's War. The differences of our Movement with the NCP (Mashal) are not, however, reducible to their opposition to the People's War; rather, their opposition is a symptom and the inevitable result of the opportunist trajectory they have been on for some time. In the context of today, where the People's War is helping clarify the political landscape in Nepal, it is important that this period of struggle between our Movement and the NCP (Mashal) comes to a conclusion.

ON THE ERA

A key argument the NCP (Mashal) raises against Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) is that Leninism is the Marxism of the era of imperialism and that, since the era has not changed, speaking of MLM as a new and higher stage of our science means negating Leninism. As they say, "All political parties supporting the misleading concept of Maoism admit that the present era is an era of imperial-

ism and socialist revolution. But none of them touches the sensitive issue of the Lenin era". Also: "their concept of a third stage of Maoism clearly presupposes that Leninism... has been replaced or substituted by Maoism." [*On "Maoism"*, Resolution of the NCP (Mashal) COC, 09/92].

The NCP (Mashal) confuses the issues of the era of social development and the stages of development of our science. MLM is the science of revolution, a living and developing science. In the process of wielding it, communists learn more and more about society and classes and their dynamics; and if they care to stay at the forefront of revolutionary struggle, they have to develop their theory to correspond to new understanding acquired through practice. Moreover, situations change and new contradictions arise that previous leaders could not know about, and thus were unable to develop methods for handling. Any attempt to negate the need for continuous advance in the science (which, as any development, goes through leaps and bounds) will reduce it from a sharp weapon into a dogma that is useless or even a hindrance in dealing with the complexities of the class struggle.

To maintain that Leninism covers all the contradictions of the era of imperialism and the building of socialism is to ignore reality and replace

it with some preconceived idea in one's brain. It proceeds from formal definitions, not material developments, and as a result earth-shaking events are treated as trivial and not requiring major efforts to develop our understanding. This is subjective idealism, not Leninism.

As Mao put it in *On Practice*: "In feudal society it was impossible to know the laws of capitalist society in advance because capitalism had not yet emerged, the relevant practice was lacking. Marxism could be the product only of capitalist society. Marx, in the era of laissez-faire capitalism, could not concretely know certain laws peculiar to the era of imperialism beforehand, because imperialism, the last stage of capitalism, had not yet emerged and the relevant practice was lacking; only Lenin and Stalin could undertake this task. Leaving aside their genius, the reason why Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin could work out their theories was mainly that they personally took part in the practice of the class struggle and the scientific experimentation of their time; lacking this condition, no genius could have succeeded." Since the death of Lenin, the world has seen many historic events, including the New Democratic Revolution and the People's War in China, decades of socialist construction in the USSR and China, the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, the battle to prevent it in China, the Cultural Revolution, and finally the restoration of capitalism in China too. All of these posed new problems and unleashed unprecedented battles in theory and practice. And all of these provided fertile ground for the development of our ideology to a qualitatively higher stage, which was MLM. It also raised the revolutionaries' ability to fight for a world without imperialism and oppression to a qualitatively higher level. Maoism represents the highest level of understanding on all these fronts. Without Maoism, the era of imperialism would be here to stay.

The NCP (Mashal) claims that Maoism is the negation of Leninism. But by negating the dialectical relationship between being and knowing, by looking at the world from the prism of subjective idealism, the NCP (Mashal) adopts a philosophy different not only to that of Mao, but also Lenin and Marx.

The differences between our Movement and the NCP (Mashal) over this question of terminology thus reflect important differences in the overall approach to the science of revolution. They also reflect opposing views on the content of Mao's contributions to the body of revolutionary knowledge and practice.

TWO VIEWS ON MAO'S CONTRIBUTIONS

In the context of the ideological debate with the NCP (Mashal), in 1993 CoRIM prepared a Letter addressing an upcoming Mashal Congress. This Letter, referring to the previously cited NCP(Mashal) document *On "Maoism"*, states, "You say that Mao made great contributions in the fields of philosophy, political economy, and scientific socialism of historic importance and in a few paragraphs you list some of these contributions. In every case this list is followed by statements of how this was already accomplished by Lenin, or Stalin had done it better. Your document says Lenin was the basis for Mao's theory on New democratic revolution. Taking your document as a whole, you mainly give lip service to Mao's contributions, downgrading them and rationalising how they are only the consequence of Marx, Lenin and mainly Stalin before him... Your arguments are based on ... wrong pernicious concepts that Mao added nothing qualitatively new to what had already been worked out by Lenin... [and] Mao's contributions are equal to those of Stalin." Let's look at some of the major points of this debate.

NEW DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION AND THE SEIZURE OF POLITICAL POWER

In the NCP (Mashal) document *On "Maoism"*, under a section headed *New Democratic Revolution*, while giving lip service to the "extraordinary contribution of Mao", the NCP (Mashal) downgrade this by extensively quoting Lenin, Stalin and the Comintern and saying, "Lenin's Report [to the Congress of the 3rd International] bears a great theoretical significance and eventually became the fundamental basis of Mao's *New*

Democratic Revolution". As our aforementioned Letter to the NCP (Mashal) Congress points out, "the road Lenin established for imperialist Russia could not be a model for countries such as China.... Stalin firmly grasped that the revolution in China could not go directly to socialism but rather had to first go through a stage where national and democratic tasks were primary. Yet as Stalin himself later acknowledged, Mao had to oppose some errors in Stalin's thinking in order to lead the Chinese revolution to victory. What Mao achieved with the theory of New democratic revolution and the practice of the Chinese revolution had never been done." One of Mao's greatest contributions during the course of the Chinese revolution was "developing the theory and practice of people's war, giving the proletariat, for the very first time, its own complete military doctrine, superior to that of any other class." [CoRIM Letter to NCP (Mashal) Congress]

This point is completely missed by the NCP (Mashal), who in the process of sharpening line struggle and especially with the initiation of the People's War in Nepal, develop some of their thinking on revolutionary war: "The Marxist-Leninist philosophy demands that we always analyse the situation correctly and concretely and examine historically, whenever we are determining policy, program or forms of struggle", and "anarchism considers the idea of taking into account the situation or circumstance as 'anti-revolutionary' and lays emphasis on the need to pursue revolutionary [struggle] in every situation. The ML method stresses the need whether to make revolutionary preparation or advance revolutionary struggle. Accordingly, the Marxist-Leninists pursue various forms of struggle such as legal or illegal, peaceful or armed, parliamentary or non-parliamentary, use or boycott of election, while evaluating the subjective and objective situation. But anarchism rules out such Marxist-Leninist method and stresses the need to follow the policy of revolutionary struggle at every situation...." ["On RIM's Support to the So-called 'People's War' of the Maoists," by NCP (Mashal) leader M.B. Singh]. Of course Maoists analyse concrete situations, and their initiation and support of people's war is also based

on understanding the objective situation. But Maoists analyse the situation with the understanding that without state power all is illusion, and "the seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution" [*Quotations from Mao Tse-tung, "On War and Peace"*]. It is those in the NCP (Mashal) leadership who eclectically mix up all forms of struggle and do away with the revolutionaries' unswerving focus on the need for the armed overthrow of the reactionary state. They fail to sum up the experience of the struggle against the Nepalese state itself, including its repeated repression of the people's struggle, and the Mashal leadership today finds itself in the pathetic situation of adding its voice to the anti-People's War chorus.

Negating the "omnipotence of war" and reducing people's war to a tactic in the oppressed countries that can be used "depending on conditions" is the logical conclusion of refusing to adopt Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the highest stage of the science of revolution achieved so far. This effectively makes the new democratic revolution irrelevant, as it cannot be achieved through the peaceful means the NCP (Mashal) has undertaken. The NCP (Mashal) is on the fast track to pure opportunism, if not already at the finish line.

Recently, a Right Opportunist Line (ROL) broke out from the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) calling for an end to the People's War there. This ROL has been condemned and rejected by the PCP. In one of their first and basic documents, known as *Asumir*, the ROL equates different forms of struggle, asserting that war is only one form of struggle and can be used depending on the situation. *Asumir* says, "The class struggle is a great and constant class war directed by political leaders. It has two forms: bloodless... and bloody. Both are forms of the great political war"; "politics is war without bloodshed, just as war is politics with bloodshed"; "war is initiated and develops according to concrete conditions, and as these change, the forms of struggle must change". Doesn't the logic of *Asumir* strongly resemble that of the NCP (Mashal), with its "legal or illegal, peaceful or armed, parliamentary or non-parliamentary; use or boycott of election"?! Both ne-

gate Mao's teaching that war is the highest form of struggle and that seizing power through revolutionary violence is the central task of communists everywhere.

In denying the universality of Mao's theory of people's war and reducing it to a mere tactic among a myriad of other peaceful and electoral options, the NCP (Mashal), once again, tries to hypocritically wrap itself in Leninism: "Leninism views the question of armed struggle in relation to the objective and subjective conditions and the revolutionary situation and accepts that armed struggle too is an art.... But the anarchist thinking regards all these Leninist principles of armed struggle as non-revolutionary. The anarchist thinking assumes that the ripening of the objective and subjective conditions is not necessary for the armed struggle... the ultra-leftists the world over have been harboring such conceptions. The same conceptions are found to be harboured by most of the parties supporting 'Maoism'." [Foreword to "Critique of the Ultra-Leftist Thought", by NCP (Mashal) leader M.B. Singh] Also: "Lenin has said that armed insurrection is a grave question and one should never play with it. But the UC [referring to the NCP Unity Center, which later became the CPN(Maoist)] has made the question of armed struggle just a matter of toys". [*ibid.*]

There is a two-fold problem here. First of all, the application of people's war in semi-feudal countries dominated by imperialism and its application in imperialist countries (with armed insurrection followed by revolutionary civil war) are different processes. Lenin's approach to this question is based on the dynamics of the latter, where revolutionary situations do not exist generally, and on those rare opportunities when they come seizing them is a matter of life and death. In the oppressed countries like Nepal, on the other hand, as the RIM *Declaration* correctly states, "a continuous revolutionary situation generally exists", and a people's war can usually be initiated as soon as the subjective forces are in a position to launch it. Secondly, and very importantly, Lenin's outlook was not that of avoiding revolutionary violence, quite the contrary. He actively led the Bolshevik Party to leap to the fore of the 1905 (armed) revolution, even though

he could see the possibility of victory was bleak. And in October 1917 it was Lenin who fearlessly charged forward in the face of all sorts of opportunist and vacillating elements who wanted to wait for the Soviet to vote on whether or not to go over to insurrection. He led the party and the proletariat to launch the insurrection that changed the face of earth for decades to come. Lenin pointed out that in such situations there is no guarantee of success, and indeed that waiting for such a guarantee would in fact doom the revolution to failure. As RIM says in *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!*: "Lenin raised the theory and practice of proletarian revolution to a whole new level as he led the proletariat in seizing and consolidating its political power, its revolutionary dictatorship, for the first time with the victory of the October Revolution in formerly Tsarist Russia in 1917."

The NCP (Mashal) is objectively acting to discourage people from going over to armed revolution, and shamelessly trying to implicate Comrade Lenin, who worked all his life for just such a revolution, in this treachery. Isn't Lenin's approach completely clear, when he defiantly proclaimed the 1905 revolution "a dress-rehearsal" for the coming armed revolution? And what about Mao, who called on revolutionaries to plunge boldly ahead and "learn warfare through warfare"? Revolutionary war is an art we will never master while only practicing other forms of struggle.

It is important to note that the opposition of the NCP (Mashal) to revolutionary war (under the pretext of "concrete conditions") is based in part on parliamentary pretensions. In a press statement "On the Parliamentary Elections" they say, "NCP (Mashal) has decided to utilise the forthcoming parliamentary elections through ANNPF.... In this connection our party wants to express its disillusionment for the problem in electoral seat adjustments resulting from the policies of the United Nepal Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) [UML] in particular — but our party will with due honesty make all efforts to make a success of the [electoral] adjustments, wherever and however possible with any of the parties" [*Mashal* Vol. 37]. And: "In spite of the anti-communist and compromising character of the

UML, it is still a patriotic and democratic and an allied force... (our party) has decided to continue with the previously announced policy of supporting the UML government" [April 1995 press statement of the CC of NCP (Mashal)].

The NCP (Mashal) has ceaselessly attacked the Maoists, labeling us "ultra-left" and "anarchist". Yet at the same time, it supports the revisionists of the so-called United Marxist-Leninists who have even led the very state responsible for sucking the blood of the Nepalese masses and who since the start of the People's War have had a hand in massacring the revolutionaries. Mashal's denigration of People's War goes hand in hand with their quibbling over the rules of parliaments "with due honesty". But the line the revolutionary party takes on elections is important not only in the imperialist countries, but also in the oppressed countries, where the revolutionaries cannot lose from sight the overall goal of overthrowing the entire imperialist-dominated semi-feudal set-up, at the heart of which is the reactionary state. It must never be forgotten that whether this state is a constitutional monarchy, a one-person or one-party dictatorship, or a Western-style parliamentary democracy, these are all ultimately different forms of the same reactionary dictatorship.

In sharply defining the approach of communists to the seizure of power, Mao said, "Before the outbreak of war all organisation and struggle are in preparation for the war.... After war breaks out, all organisation and struggle are coordinated with the war either directly or indirectly...." ["Problems of War and Strategy"]

Very clearly, the NCP (Mashal) is not preparing for war to overthrow imperialism and feudalism; their approach to war, as well as to parliamentary elections, at best reflects illusions about the nature of the state. In the absence of a better line, this could have been likened to the situation in Indonesia where the cooperation of communists with the bourgeoisie and their failure to organise for people's war led to the massacre of many hundreds of thousands. But with the sharpening of the two-line struggle in the Nepalese movement and the emergence of the CPN (Maoist), who have embarked on the glorious path of people's war, this has led the NCP (Mashal) into out-

right opposition to revolution. Attempts to cover this with Leninism are in vain. The NCP (Mashal) are hypocritically accusing our Movement of degrading Lenin, but it is they who will never succeed in turning Lenin, whose writings ceaselessly train the revolutionaries in the need for violent revolution, into a commonplace reformist. It is the leaders of Mashal who are refusing to lead the masses in advancing towards the armed overthrow of the old reactionary system and who are standing to the side decrying the bravery and courage of the comrades and masses who have taken to arms.

**THE STRUGGLE AGAINST
MODERN REVISIONISM AND
THE GREAT PROLETARIAN
CULTURAL REVOLUTION**

"Beginning immediately after the coup d'état of Khrushchev, Mao Tse-tung and the Marxist-Leninists in the Chinese Communist Party began to analyse the developments in the Soviet Union and in the international communist movement and to struggle against modern revisionism. In 1963 the publication of *A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement* (the 25-point letter) was an all-round and public condemnation of revisionism and a call to the genuine Marxist-Leninists of all countries." [RIM Declaration] Amidst the confusion caused by the rise of revisionism to power in the Soviet Union, this salvo by the Chinese comrades represented such a breakthrough that, as RIM's *Declaration* continues: "The contemporary Marxist-Leninist movement has as its origin this historic appeal and the polemics that accompanied it."

But with characteristic contempt for Mao, the NCP (Mashal) not only undercuts the importance of these polemics by reducing them to simply extensions of Lenin's understanding; they continue: "We should not overlook the mistake Mao has made during the course of struggle against opportunism. He was keen enough to take a correct stand against right opportunism, but was unable to understand properly the importance of the struggle against *centrist opportunism* upon which Lenin has sufficiently thrown light in his theoretical as well as practical works. The mistake made

by Chairman Mao on the question of *centrism* has definitely caused no less damage to the socialist system in China." [On "Maoism"].

In this utterly irresponsible and opportunist manner, the NCP (Mashal) thus accuses one of the great leaders of the international proletariat of centrism, and holds him responsible for damage to the socialist system in China without even bothering to elaborate. Furthermore, in the context here of dealing with Khrushchev revisionism, just who exactly are the NCP (Mashal) comparing Mao to when they say he caused "no less damage" to the socialist system? This outrageous and arrogant attitude towards a great communist leader who guided humanity to heights never achieved before, and coming from people who are so willing to support revisionists like the UML, clearly does not stem from a desire to deepen our understanding for future advance. Moreover, this unexplained — and wrong — criticism echoes the unfounded criticism leveled at Mao by Albania's Enver Hoxha, who tried to vilify the great significance of Mao Tse-tung's battle against revisionism on the international level. These charges against Mao appearing in the 1992 NCP (Mashal) document, and in the context of the struggle and debate in our Movement over how to evaluate Mao's contributions, reflected a real step backward by the NCP (Mashal) at the very time the Movement was preparing to take an important leap forward.

As the CoRIM Letter to the Mashal Congress continues: "the history of the international communist movement is replete with organisations who took very wrong turns when their leaders did not deeply grasp the principles and contributions, the actual content of Mao's teachings and the struggle against modern revisionism." The struggle over important ideological questions such as this has helped genuine revolutionaries in Nepal to make the advances necessary to be able to lead a real revolution. The NCP (Mashal) leadership, on the other hand, have chosen to slide down into the swamp of revisionism.

Comrade Mao's qualitative contribution to Marxism-Leninism is devalued by the NCP (Mashal) on the basis

(Continued on page 85)

On the 150th Anniversary of the Communist Manifesto

Statement by the Committee of the
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

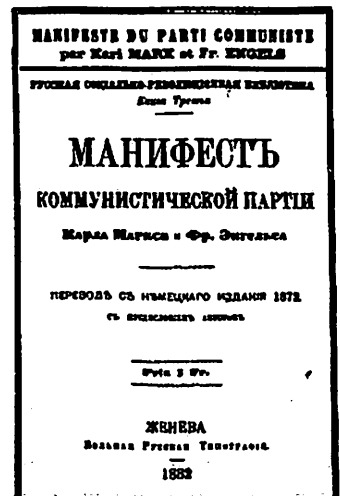
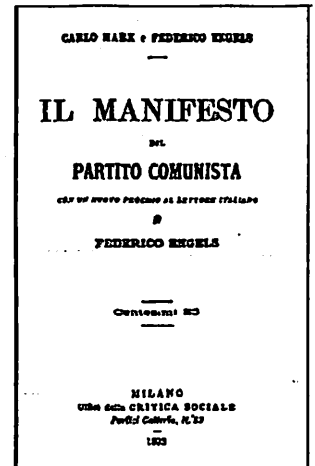
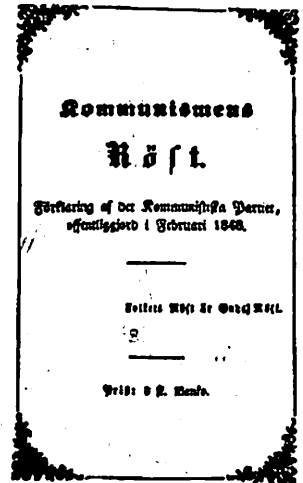
February 1998 marks the 150th anniversary of the publication of the *Communist Manifesto*. Written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the *Manifesto* marks the beginning of the class-conscious proletarian movement. The *Manifesto*, in a broad and sweeping way, revealed the workings of capitalism and the need for the proletariat to overthrow this system and construct a new social system of socialism and communism.

150 years later, the *Manifesto* still strikes us with the power of its denunciation of the capitalist system, the scientific clarity of the causes and solutions of exploitation and oppression, its soaring revolutionary vision of a new society without class divisions, and its resounding optimism and confidence in the revolutionary class and the ultimate triumph of its historic mission.

The course of the proletarian revolution has proven to be protracted and complex, full of twists and turns, of partial victories and temporary defeats in the course of its ultimately triumphant march. The revolutionary science first developed by Marx and Engels has developed through stages and in connection with the struggles of millions of people over the many decades to what we understand as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Yet the *Manifesto* has lost none of its relevance for today.

The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement calls upon the parties and organisations of RIM, together with other Marxist-Leninist-Maoist forces, to use this 150th anniversary to take up the study and promotion of the *Communist Manifesto*, to use this anniversary as an opportunity to boldly promote our communist vision among the masses, and to discuss and deepen our own understanding of our scientific ideology and the historic mission of the proletariat.

A WORLD TO WIN 1998/24





Paris, 1848. "Revolutions are the locomotives of history" – Karl Marx

150th Anniversary

The Story of the Communist Manifesto

Revolutionary Worker (Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA), No. 936, December 14, 1997

In mid-February 1848, a new communist pamphlet rolled off the presses of a small printshop on London's Bishopsgate. It was written in German and entitled *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*. Copies were rushed off to the mainland of Europe. Uprisings and disturbances had broken out in most of the main population

centers of the continent. Small cores of revolutionary activists were waiting for a high-powered declaration that could guide their work and rally the masses of people to a thoroughgoing revolutionary movement.

The bold opening lines of this pamphlet threw down a challenge: "A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of

communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre.... It is high time that Communists should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the spectre of communism with a manifesto of the party itself."

This work was quickly translated into many languages of Europe and the Americas. In English it became known as the *Communist Manifesto*. In one early English version, published in 1850, the previously unknown authors were listed for the first time: Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

While countless other documents and manifestos of those days lie forgotten and dust-covered in library archives, *this* Manifesto lives, studied intensely in ghettos, jungle base areas, and even classrooms all over the world—still inspiring and training one new revolutionary generation after another.

The *Communist Manifesto* is the visionary founding document of the modern communist movement. It is the opening statement of that scientific ideology now known as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In honor of its 150th anniversary, here is the story of how the Manifesto came to be.

Rise, like lions after slumber,
In unvanquishable number,
shake your chains to earth like dew,
Which in sleep has fallen on you.
Ye are many, they are few!

—Percy Shelly's tribute to
Manchester workers who faced
government troops in 1819

The communist movement in the mid-1840s needed a unifying new manifesto—badly. Society was changing rapidly and the old revolutionary doctrines, copied and adapted from the great French bourgeois revolution of 1789, just weren't cutting it anymore. In some ways, these had been difficult times for revolutionaries. The great French revolution had ended in defeat. It was first betrayed from within—by Napoleon Bonaparte who dared crown himself emperor. Then France was crushed from without—in 1815, its armies were defeated by the combined forces of Europe's feudal monarchies. For decades, the "Holy Alliance" of victorious monarchs kept the people in a brutal grip: kings and princes were restored, revolutionary anti-monarchist politics were suppressed, borders were closely watched, spies and snitches were everywhere.

But while the reactionary powers seemed triumphant—intense changes in the economy were undermining their power and creating powerful new dis-

contented forces. Technology and production was being revolutionized. The so-called "factory system" had been developed in a few new industrial areas of England, and its brutal sweatshops were being copied here and there on the mainland of Europe. Children as young as 9 were often pressed into the mills, working 60, or even 72, hours a week. Sharecropping peasants were being driven off their land by new capitalist pressures in agriculture, and some were becoming part of a new, rebellious class—the modern proletariat.

And there were early signs of a new revolutionary upsurge. In July 1830, Paris erupted into street fighting and barricades. In 1831, silk weavers of Lyon marched out of their sweatshops singing:

"When our rule arrives
When your rule shall end
Then we shall weave the shroud of
the old world
Listen! Revolt is rumbling."

Ten years later, there were so many "bread-riots" that the decade started to be called "The Hungry Forties."

Meanwhile, the most radical forces were creating a new movement they called "communism." They dreamed of sharing society's wealth and abolishing class distinctions. This early communism was a mix of brilliant insights, impractical "utopian" wishes and daring deeds. Some early communists thought communal movements could gradually educate humanity in new ways without a violent overthrow of the old order. Others thought that small conspiracies could change society without deep roots among the masses of people.

Increasingly, these plans and methods proved unsatisfying. And two young German revolutionaries started to gain a following because of their powerful new analyses. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels had teamed up in Brussels to figure out a road to communist revolution.

Each brought powerful strengths to their partnership. Karl Marx, born in 1818, had closely and critically investigated all the different revolutionary theories and philosophies of the times. As a journalist for the progressive *Rheinische Zeitung*, he started a detailed analysis of the politics and conflicts of his times—especially the lives of peasants in Germany's Rhine val-

ley. One acquaintance described this young Marx as "domineering, impetuous, passionate, full of boundless self-confidence, but at the same time deeply earnest and learned, a restless dialectician..."

In 1843, after the *Rheinische Zeitung* was suppressed, Marx went into exile in France, which was then the center of revolutionary activity in Europe.

Engels, born in 1820, was a self-educated high school dropout from a wealthy German capitalist family. In 1842, he was sent to Manchester, England to work in his family's thread manufacturing business. In those days, he later wrote, his mind was filled with revolutionary songs of the French revolution and he longed for the reappearance of the guillotine of Paris' famous Red Terror.

In England, Engels saw the most advanced capitalist developments firsthand—the powerful industrial means of production, and the bitter slums and epidemics of the new factory towns. He had studied England's Chartists—one of the first mass movements of workers. Engels hated capitalism and saw clearly that it was rapidly transforming the old world.

Together, Marx and Engels worked to create a new cutting-edge synthesis—based on a deep study of politics, economics, history and philosophy. Their scientific approach lifted communism out of utopian daydreams into the breathtaking world of practical politics.

**NEW COMMUNIST
ORGANIZATION, NEW
COMMUNIST MANIFESTO**

"Propaganda on the quiet has also borne fruit—every time I go to Cologne, or drop into a pub here, I find fresh progress, new converts. The Cologne meeting worked wonders: gradually one discovers separate communist groups which developed quite unnoticed and without direct assistance from us... People's minds are ready and we must strike, because the iron is hot."

—From an 1845 letter written by
Frederick Engels to Karl Marx
during a trip to Germany

Starting in 1846, Marx and Engels worked to hook up with the many different communist groups emerging in Europe. One of the most promising was



Marx and Engels watching the newspaper *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* come off the press.

the "League of the Just" in London, which had a few hundred members, including many revolutionary German exiles. This League was interested in the writings of Marx and Engels and, on their suggestion, reorganized as the Communist League. Marx (who did not attend the founding congress) struggled with them to change their old slogan "All Men are Brothers"—saying that there were men whose brother he did not desire to be. Their new battle cry became "Proletarians of All Countries Unite."

A comrade described Marx and Engels in those days: "Marx was then still a young man, about 28 years old, but he greatly impressed us all. He was of medium height, broad-shouldered, powerful in build and energetic in his deportment.... His speech was brief, convincing and compelling in his logic.... Marx had nothing of the dreamer about him.... Frederick Engels, Marx's spiritual brother, was...slim, agile, with fair hair and mustache, he was more like a smart

young lieutenant of the guard than a scholar."

In September 1847, the new Communist League produced a draft "Communist Confession of Faith." It was an old-style utopian document based on principles divorced from real life, and modeled on a religious catechism. Marx and Engels refused to endorse it. Engels arranged to have himself assigned to write a new draft.

In October, Engels passed this draft on to Marx, and made a suggestion: "I believe that the best thing to do is to do away with the catechism form and give the thing the title: Communist *Manifesto*. We have to bring in a certain amount of history, and the present form does not lend itself to this very well." Engels suggested that the manifesto deal with questions of party organization, but only, he cautioned, "in so far as it should be made public."

Marx and Engels went together to the second congress of the Communist League—and for 10 days in Novem-

ber and December of 1847, the congress debated their startling new approach to communist politics. Their proposals were accepted.

The Communist League replaced their old program of agitating for a "community of goods" and adopted a much more sweeping and hard-edged goal: "The overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the domination of the proletariat, the abolition of the old bourgeois society based on class antagonism, and the establishment of a new society without classes and without private property."

A communist organization had come together along new lines, and Marx was turned loose to finish writing its manifesto. He set to work in Brussels—with his usual painstaking precision and depth. His comrades in London became impatient. Revolution had broken out in Milan and Palermo, and the comrades *needed* their new manifesto out on the streets. In January 1848 they sent Marx a deadline: if he didn't finish the manifesto by Feb-

ruary 1, "further measures will be taken." Marx finished in early February 1848 and rushed the manuscript to London.

A WEAPON FOR THE STRUGGLE

"The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways, the point is to change it."

—Karl Marx, 1845

The *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* appeared in mid-February as the official program of the Communist League. A few days later, an uprising broke out in Paris, driving the French king from power. Within weeks, the revolution the communists had expected spread to Vienna and Berlin. Within months, governments had toppled in an area that stretched across the very core of the continent.

Marx and Engels' *Manifesto* was enthusiastically received. The small communist trend across Europe now had a high caliber weapon to take into battle. The *Manifesto* was quickly translated from German into English, French, Polish and Danish.

The worried Belgian police arrested Karl Marx. Jenny Marx was arrested looking for her husband and jailed on charges of homelessness. They were expelled from Belgium and moved to Paris. Marx and Engels reorganized the central committee of the Communist League, and founded a German Workers' Club which soon had 400 members. Everyone's eyes were turning to Germany. Engels wrote: "things are going very well indeed, riots everywhere..."

In early April, Marx and Engels slipped across the border into Germany—which at that time was made up of many semi-independent states, dominated by the kingdom of Prussia. They smuggled with them 1,000 copies of the *Communist Manifesto* which had just arrived from London.

Marx and Engels set up their operations in Cologne, where the revolutionary movement was most advanced. The local Communist League had grown to 8,000 members in just the last few months—but it was dominated by a rightist line that limited the workers to wage demands, and even supported calls for a constitutional monarchy. Marx founded his own revolutionary organization that soon replaced the fad-

ing Communist League. They set themselves the task of reaching the broad masses and leading them to make revolution. Engels later wrote: "We were no good at crying in the wilderness; we had studied the utopians too well for that."

By June 1, 1848, Marx and Engels were publishing a revolutionary daily, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (NRZ—*New Rhineland Times*). It hounded the monarchies of Europe and roused the masses for a radical democratic revolution against feudalism and the autocracy. This NRZ achieved a circulation of about 5,000, one of the largest in Germany.

In Prussia, the revolution never succeeded in toppling the monarchy. The masses rose up in repeated waves during 1848 and 1849. Government offers of elections coopted the bourgeois opposition, while the Prussian army advanced on revolutionary centers.

In September, a mass meeting elected Marx, Engels and several of their supporters to posts on a "Committee of Public Safety," named after the revolutionary organs of power which had executed the French aristocrats 50 years earlier. On September 25, the authorities sent out troops to arrest key leaders. The NRZ and all allied political organizations were banned. A wanted poster was put out for Engels. He and several other NRZ writers escaped across the border and laid low for a couple of months.

Marx had played a leading role, but had not been a spokesman in the public meetings. The authorities had no evidence to link him with the "conspiracy." So while others had to leave, Marx stayed behind in Cologne and almost single-handedly restarted the NRZ in defiance of the military authorities. Marx was soon put on trial himself. A jury acquitted him after his sweeping political defense, while a powerful crowd in the courtroom threatened to free him by force.

In December, Marx reached a radical new conclusion: The bourgeoisie had proven incapable of leading the revolution to overthrow feudalism and the monarchies. If the working class did not lead the movement forward it would fail.

On March 2, Prussian soldiers came to Marx's home armed with sabers. They demanded that Marx turn over one of his writers, saying that otherwise things would "turn out badly."

Marx answered that their threats "would achieve absolutely nothing with me." The soldiers suddenly realized that Marx had a pistol sticking out of his pocket. They lost their cool and left. Engels later joked that the Prussian garrison had 8,000 armed men—while the "fortress" of the NRZ was armed with only a few bayonets, some cartridges and the red hats of its type-setters.

By late spring of 1849, the Prussian military tightened its occupation of the Rhineland, and people fought back. Engels fought at the barricades in his nearby hometown of Elberfeld. On May 9, Marx got orders from the police chief to leave the country within 24 hours. His legal documents had expired, making him an undocumented foreigner. The police chief accused him of "shamefully violating our hospitality" with his calls "for contempt of the existing government, for its violent overthrow, and for the establishment of a social Republic."

With all its editors facing exile or arrest, the NRZ could not continue. Marx published a last issue on May 18, printed completely in red ink. Marx's last words mocked the authorities who masked their bloody suppression with fancy excuses: "What use are your hypocritical phrases that strain after impossible subterfuges? We are ruthless too and we ask for no consideration from you. When our turn comes we will not offer excuses for our Terror."

Twenty thousand copies of this soon-famous "Red Issue" were printed. For years copies passed from hand to hand among revolutionary workers in Europe and North America—often together with the *Communist Manifesto*.

As the counterrevolution advanced, Marx and Engels retreated south, along the Rhine. Unable to stay any longer without papers, Marx went to Paris where, under a false name, he plunged into the struggle.

Engels stayed in Germany and joined the armed struggle against the advancing Prussian army. He fought in four battles before being driven across the border into Switzerland. In a letter to Jenny Marx, he claimed that "the whistling of bullets is quite a trifling matter," and bragged that no one would be able to say that the communists hadn't stood their ground when the fighting got heavy.

The May events marked the end of

this period of revolution in Germany. Government repression went on for years. One revolutionary poet described how people would be startled in their homes by the sudden gunfire of death squads executing revolutionaries. People found carrying the *Communist Manifesto* were arrested on the spot.

A MANIFESTO FOR A NEW WORLD MOVEMENT

Marx and Engels regrouped in England where they worked to reestablish communist organization and planned a new revolutionary organ. Marx was 31 years old, Engels was not yet 30.

Marx had learned much by the intense revolutionary practice of 1848-49. The proletarian revolutions, he wrote, "criticize themselves constantly, interrupt themselves continually in their own course, come back to the apparently accomplished in order to begin it afresh, deride with unmerciful thoroughness the inadequacies, weaknesses and paltrinesses of their first attempts, seem to throw down their adversary only in order that he may draw new strength from the earth and rise again, more gigantic, before them, recoil ever and anon from the indefinite prodigiousness of their own aims, until a situation has been created which makes all turning back impossible, and the conditions themselves cry out: *Hic Rhodus, hic salta! Here is the rose, here dance!*"

After 1848, communism was no longer a "spectre" but a real flesh-and-blood international movement. And the *Communist Manifesto* emerged as its most prized and influential document. Engels later wrote that the *Manifesto* laid down "the line of action" for communists to fight "as one common army under one and the same flag."

Exactly because the *Manifesto* embodied a materialist analysis, and represented a living synthesis, different parts of the document seemed dated when Marx and Engels looked back on them years later. Over the last 150 years the world has changed in many ways, and there has been a wealth of new revolutionary experience to sum up—extending and deepening the understanding of communists in many qualitative ways.

But still, for all that, the core of this remarkable *Communist Manifesto*—its method of materialist dialectics, its vi-

sionary conclusions about the possibility of abolishing classes, its analysis of the historic mission of the new rising proletarian class—has maintained its freshness, power and truth over 150 years.

In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels had pointedly said: "The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involved the most radical rupture with traditional ideas."

Three years later, in the wake of 1848, Karl Marx returned to this theme, summing up that communism "is the *declaration of the permanence of the revolution*, the class dictatorship of the proletariat as the necessary transition point to the *abolition of class distinctions generally*, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionizing of all the ideas that result from these social relations."

These two Marxist concepts, referred to by Maoists as "the two radical ruptures" and "the four alls," remain central to our understanding of the profound changes involved in the worldwide process of communist revolution.

In 1869, a Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, translated by Bakunin, appeared in Switzerland and was smuggled across borders into the Tsar's kingdom. When the working class seized power for the first time in the brief Paris Commune of 1871, the *Communist Manifesto* became the guide for a new revolutionary generation across Europe and North America. Many communists were now calling themselves "Marxists."

In the U.S., several versions of the *Manifesto* were published in the 1870s, including by Albert Parsons, a leader of Chicago's revolutionary workers who figured prominently in the famous Haymarket events. In 1882, a new Russian edition appeared to train the generation of Marxists who prepared the ground for Lenin's Bolshevik Party.

Seventy years after the *Manifesto* was written, the revolutionary proletariat seized and held power for the first time—in 1917 in Russia. This historic victory proved in practice many of the key ideas of the *Manifesto*. And at the same time, this new state power meant that Marxist works became available

for the first time around the world. A hundred years after the writing of the *Communist Manifesto*, the communist leader Mao Tsetung was about to seize nationwide power in China and wrote: "The salvos of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism."

During the 20th century, the *Communist Manifesto* has been translated into virtually every written language on earth—and eagerly studied by millions seeking a way to liberation. For 150 years, this *Communist Manifesto* has been smuggled and hunted, banned and cherished. It is a living example of ideas transforming material reality. This work has literally shaped human history and influenced the lives of hundreds of millions of people. Its impact is a testimony to the power of the scientific ideology that guides the proletariat's struggle to emancipate humanity. As we approach the end of the 20th century, the closing words of the *Communist Manifesto* still stand out as a credo for all those who hate oppression:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

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Maoism

Lives, Fights, Wins and Keeps Winning!

By the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist) [TKP (ML)]

The following article was first published in 1997 in the September 1-15 and 16-30 issues of *Halkin Gunlugu*, the newspaper of the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist) [TKP (ML)].

On the 9th of September 1976 we physically lost Mao Tse-tung. However, Maoism still lives and fights as the leader of the proletariat and oppressed people in the world. To commemorate Mao means to defend and apply Maoism, which is a principle for each Maoist, otherwise one cannot be a communist and it is not possible to achieve victory.

After Mao's death, the problems of the proletarian revolutionary movement in the world, the international communist movement and the revolutionary movement's position have shown us the importance of Mao's leadership. Those who criticised Mao after his death, such as Enver Hoxha (who never spoke a word of criticism while Mao was still alive), actually saluted Khrushchev. History shows us their true nature and also the importance of the leadership of Maoism.

Maoism is against imperialism, its puppets and every type of reactionary in the world; in the struggle for communism it represents the highest stage. Developments in the world confirm the scientific character of Maoism. We lost our socialist countries, which in itself confirms the scientific character of Maoism - that socialism

is a struggle between two roads and two classes, and that it is not clear which class is going to win in the period of socialism. Because of this, Maoism is the flag of the international proletariat in the struggle for communism. The Cultural Revolution is the starting point in the international struggle for communism and in determining whether communism is actually being defended. Although the forms are different in each country, the essence is the same. Already there is a generation of communists who have struggled against revisionism and opportunism by grasping and wielding this scientific method of Maoism.

After all this, it is clear to anyone who wants to grasp it, both before and after the seizure of power, that it is necessary to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Those who defend the theory that there are no classes and no bourgeoisie under socialism are bankrupt. It has been seen that even socialist ownership of the productive forces has not solved the problem of who is going to win. During the whole period of socialism, which is the struggle from capitalism through to communism, there is the basis for capitalism to be restored, even though there is proletarian power. The bourgeoisie and the basis for its regeneration continue to exist. Under socialism, even though the relations of public ownership have been greatly advanced, be-

cause of the existence of the party and the state the relations of production cannot be completely solved until communism is achieved world-wide. As long as the party and the state control public ownership, this is still a long way from real public ownership. Whatever our desires, this is the unavoidable reality.

The new bourgeoisie under socialism are mainly concentrated in the party and state and gain their strength from the contradictions of socialism. The new bourgeois bureaucrats such as Khrushchev, who hide behind socialist masks, show us this reality.

Now that everyone can see the danger of capitalist restoration and the theory of "no bourgeoisie under socialism" is bankrupt, it is clear that the main danger comes from the newly formed bourgeoisie in the party and the state. To sum up, the state is an instrument of one class over another. This is the case even during socialism and under proletarian power. Unfortunately, the "classless socialism" theory denies the scientific Leninist theory about the state by saying that the proletarian state's task is merely to defend against the imperialists and outside attacks against the socialist country. It is true that the proletarian state defends the socialist country against imperialist invasion, but mainly its task is to solve all the contradictions in socialist society, in particular the antagonistic ones, although

the forms and methods vary. Because of this, proletarian power is an instrument to continue the proletarian revolution. Under the power of the new bourgeoisie, who get their strength from the seeds of capitalism within socialism, there would be a U-turn on the path towards communism. Also there is the danger from the old bourgeoisie who have been overthrown but still exist.

The only guarantee that the power of the oppressed people will be used for communism is the Maoist line. Under socialism, "from each according to their work" is still a kind of bourgeois economy, and the transition to "to each according to their needs" and the withering away of the state require proletarian power and the Maoist line. It is then possible to involve and get the right of control for oppressed people directly. Like other problems, the state and bourgeois right is a result of the nature of socialism as a transitional society. Under socialism, we must not delay the tasks of eliminating class society and placing the state in the museum of antiquities until we reach the stage of "from each according to their ability, to each according to their needs." We cannot leave this aside and say it is not a task for the present. Has not the leadership of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution shown us this? We have nothing to say to the bourgeoisie who do not want to see this. The funeral of the so-called "socialists" has already buried the social-imperialists, social-fascists and bourgeois democrats. What can we say except "God help them!" We understand the revisionist line against Maoism, but we cannot understand revolutionaries and democrats who wallow in a revisionist ideological situation – and we accept our task to liberate them from this. But they themselves have to accept the treatment. As Marx pointed out, nobody can help those who refuse to learn from their experiences and mistakes.

To grasp the rudiments of the scientific method and understand reality it is first necessary to toss aside indecision and prejudice. A picture of the proletarian science demonstrates this to us. Under proletarian leadership, the proletarian power still contains the leadership-led contradiction between the party and the masses. If we want to use the proletarian power as an in-

strument to advance to communism, then the Maoist ideological and political line is indisputably needed. The party and the proletarian power are a result of the old division of labour. Although the party represents the interests of the proletariat and the labouring people, and plays a decisive role as the vehicle in leading the masses to seize power, there is still the leadership-led contradiction between the party and the state on the one hand and the broad masses of people on the other. The contradictions between mental and manual labour, between leadership and led, and between the town and countryside form the reality of socialism as a transitional society for the entire period between capitalism and communism. These contradictions are the result not of chance, but of the economic and social base. This is also the basis of alienation. Even the proletarian power has a bourgeois side to it because of this. During the revolutionary transformation of the economic, political and cultural arenas, the Maoist ideological and political line is important and necessary to transform this bourgeois side.

The Cultural Revolution is our flag in our struggle against all the kinds of bourgeoisie. With the outlook of the Cultural Revolution, it is possible to lead the people in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and their bureaucracy, to lead the masses to supervise the party and state, to enable people to discuss and organise themselves under the leadership of the vanguard, to create a lively political and ideological atmosphere in which to grasp and understand experience under Maoist leadership, and to create great initiative. To be a vanguard leadership requires a science that enables people to see the correct way forward. With the outlook of the Cultural Revolution, the party and state, which are remnants of class society, can serve the broad masses. Bureaucracy chokes people's initiative, but the proletarian vanguard is a lever to break the chains. The role of leading people is not to issue orders but to bring together people's struggles to achieve the goal.

With the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and Maoism:

A: Socialism, as a transitional society, showed that class struggle, the struggle between the two roads and the political, economic and social struggle needed the Great Proletarian

Cultural Revolution.

B: Socialism showed us the role of the party and state and the dangers associated with them, and it showed the importance of ideological and political line and the necessity of the vanguard for revolutionary transformation in practice.

C: Maoists emphasise the masses' role in making revolution and the role of the vanguard, and they fight against the mistakes of those who see the masses' role only in production and who see themselves as experts in politics and economics.

D: The principle and the essence of dialectical materialism stands against those who only have a mechanical grasp of the relationship between consciousness and matter, the transformation of matter into consciousness and of consciousness into matter. Because of this, Maoism is against those who only grasp in a vulgar materialist way the relationship between the superstructure and the economic base and between economics and politics. It criticises the line of "classless socialism" and of the monolithic party and society. It has explained in practice the causes of the contradictions between the vanguard and the masses, between mental and manual labour, and between urban and rural, which are the bourgeois laws and problems operating in society.

E: In his works "On the Ten Great Relationships" and "A Critique of Soviet Economics", Mao criticises and exposes in practice the revisionists who do not understand the relationship between heavy industry, agriculture and light industry, between central planning and local initiative, and the importance of the role of the vanguard in leading the broad masses.

In short, with Maoism, in the fields of economics, philosophy and scientific socialism, our science has reached a qualitatively higher stage. Mao neither tailed behind the masses nor stood in front of them barking orders; neither did he deny the role of the vanguard like a liberal, nor was he a bureaucrat issuing orders; he was not for vulgar central planning, nor did he defend free-market economics, which denies the role of the central united leadership. He was a concrete example of the dialectical relationship between centralisation and decentralisation. He was radically critical of bureaucratic centralisation and anarcho-

trade-unionism. He saw the complex political, social and economic aspects of socialism. When he mentioned the necessity for heavy industry, he did not forget about the need for light industry also. This line did *not* cause chaos in China, with its population of over one billion people. It is only with a Maoist line that it is possible to lead people to participate in production and for the masses of labourers to actively participate in leading society forward and to fully supervise the party and state.

Mao's line towards the People's Army was that it should be a dynamic army that participates in production and carries out revolutionary tasks, not a bureaucratic army that is indifferent to the interests of the people. He knew that an army was a necessity, but not the aim. Mao's leadership did not deny the need for an army yet also organised the masses into people's militias.

**WE SALUTE MAOISM UNDER
THE LEADERSHIP OF THE
GREAT PROLETARIAN
CULTURAL REVOLUTION!**

Each democracy is a class power. Each power is a democracy. There is no democracy that is above class power. This means that every state is an instrument of dictatorship against the other classes, apart from the class it represents. For us, it is clear who the proletarian democracy represents, whom it dictates to and what its aim is. It is a democracy for the labourers. Under Mao's leadership, the aim is to seize power, to supervise and guarantee the power and to continue to make revolution, and it is a total dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. It is a weapon to achieve the final goal of communism. It is most important who controls the organs of power in the period of socialism, which is a means of getting to communism. It is very important to have Maoist leadership to transform society towards communism and to represent the interests and rights of the people. If opportunism and revisionism control and lead the power, they will turn things back and restore capitalism. It is our aim to establish the proletarian power, but it will not happen by itself without a communist vanguard. Those who pit the vanguard and the masses against each other deny Maoist vanguard lead-

ership and use a vulgar materialist philosophy and political economic method. The so-called "left" liberals, who try to send an invoice to our science for the crimes of the "new" bourgeoisie who developed out of the former socialist countries, are vulgar crooks. They attack especially the role of the communist party under the dictatorship of the proletariat, which we cannot abandon. Their world outlook prevents them from seeing the contradictions in socialist society, which is a transitional period between capitalism and communism. Because of their spontaneous outlook, they draw up a profit-and-loss account for our science and even reach the point of those who say, "communism is dead and defeated". Nonetheless, the communists have of course made mistakes.

When Mao explained the contradictions in socialist society he drew lessons from the mistakes of socialists and others on this question. He showed that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was the way to continue the revolution until communism. He explained the basis for the development of the "new" bourgeoisie under socialism. He showed how habits, ideas and customs have caused the masses to degenerate, and he showed that the solution was to persist in carrying out the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, because it has been seen that the bourgeoisie can exist and exercise control from within the organs of the proletarian power. Because of that, it is necessary to revolutionise the whole sphere of the superstructure in the state power and society. Can we make revolution without a party? The importance of the role of the vanguard is demonstrated in leading the people to make revolution with the correct line. The liberal "left" use the mistakes and weaknesses of the communists (such as not understanding well enough the role of the masses or the dialectical materialist relationship between the vanguard and the masses) to exaggerate the masses' role and close their eyes to and turn their back on the vanguard role. In a word, the revolution cannot go forward with this theory because it focuses on the masses only. The initiative of the revolutionary masses needs a vanguard and is not opposed to it. The synthesis that needs to be reached is the unity of the communist vanguard and the masses, not pitting the

one against the other.

The form is important but cannot be put above the essence. Did not Khrushchev make use of the people's ownership in the Soviet form? Yes, the form is important, but the essence is the key factor. This or that form can be used by the Khrushchev or Deng revisionists, which means that if there is no Maoist line and vanguard leadership, the people's interests cannot be represented and guaranteed by the form alone.

In the name of the struggle against bureaucracy, you cannot deny the vanguard role; otherwise, it would be an operation in giving power to the bourgeoisie.

The so-called liberal "left" use the Paris Commune example, but they use its weaknesses that need to be overcome. One of these weaknesses was that there was not a communist vanguard. Those who raise the historical weaknesses of the Commune and enshrine them as theory are inviting us into a tunnel without a light! But Maoism is the sunlight on the road and represents our scientific inheritance. It shows us how to defend the Paris Commune with the people's commune under the leadership of the party, how to exercise power through the method of the revolutionary committee, and how to lead people to participate in production in practice, etc.

Those who promote anarchism are mere chatterboxes who cannot break with the system, but merely keep people tied to it in theory and practice.

Yesterday and today, we defend the Paris Commune as a milestone, but not like the anarchists. It is not enough today just to be a communist, to only defend and accept the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must at the same time be for the continuation of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is very important to grasp, understand and apply this in practice, such as the example of continuing the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Of course dictatorship does not only mean violence. The form of the proletarian dictatorship and whether the bourgeoisie are given any rights at all (such as elections, etc.) is entirely dependent on the specific conditions. We must understand that the differences between the examples in the Soviet Union and China, in form but not in essence, are because of the differences in the spe-

cific conditions.

The principle of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be denied. The remnants of capitalism under socialism are concrete phenomena, as shown by past experience. As Mao said, where the broom does not reach, the dust will remain; the dust does not vanish by itself.

Therefore, it is not enough merely to grasp the class struggle, we have to accept the need for proletarian dictatorship and carry it out in practice, from the perspective of carrying out the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Otherwise, the doctrine or theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat will be distorted.

There are many people who join the communist party and proletarian power organisationally but who get their strength from the habits of the old society and who are not with the proletariat ideologically. These people, especially in the socialist period, use this to their own advantage, especially at leading levels of the party, while still raising the red flag.

Thus, we ourselves cannot avoid using dictatorship to halt the old and "new" bourgeoisie. For us, revolution is a right and a duty. It is right to rebel against reactionaries. But to carry out this right against the working people is to distort this.

There are many attacks against the Cultural Revolution. It is very natural for the reactionaries to attack this great political revolution under Mao's leadership, which has scared to death even the biggest reactionary "Kings of Hell!"

What was expected of the Cultural Revolution? Could the Cultural Revolutionary Movement have ever avoided touching the bourgeoisie who had taken up positions of power in the proletarian state!? It is a revolutionary task to rebel against reactionaries, and the Cultural Revolution has taught us how to do this.

The liberal-left and their tears support the imperialists and their puppets who attack the Cultural Revolution for destroying the "new" bourgeoisie by leading the revolutionary masses with Maoism. It is no surprise for us that the new liberal-left trend swears at the revolution and distorts the essence of the GPCR. In China, the poor peasants, who rebelled against the big landlords and their power, were

looked down upon as rabble and a mob by their opponents. Also, for example, during the 1996 Mayday demonstration in Istanbul, the liberal-left trade-union leader condemned the workers' rebellion against the police (in the same way as in China, ideologically).

As Mao said about those who condemn the rebellion of the masses, they think revolution is a dinner party. Of course, in a revolutionary period, we do not say that there are no extremist or excessive acts or that we have no task to educate people, but any excesses there may be are not the principal factor or the essence of the rebellion.

It is a crime *not* to strike at the reactionaries but to avoid them instead. During the Cultural Revolution period, striking down capitalist-roaders was a means, but it was not the aim. The aim was to change the world outlook of the people, to promote communism. Even Liu Shao-chi and Deng Xiao-Ping, who were the main targets of the Cultural Revolution, were not killed, putting the lie to the image of the Cultural Revolution as excessively violent and bloodthirsty. For the communist, the relation between the aims and the means of achieving them is a question of principle and it must be explained to those who do not understand. We must explain that we have and we will continue to have a *class* enemy and opponents, but we do *not* have any *individual* enemy. Because of this outlook, even within our ranks we cannot make class struggle into an individual struggle. We will not accept anything that is against our aims. For example, inhuman treatment of others, torture, the destruction of the environment, financing struggle against the oppressed people and the proletariat, the drugs trade - all these are the tasks of the bourgeoisie.

To sum up, in order to continue their regime the exploiters defend the reactionary pragmatic philosophy of using any means to continue their rule. The generation of the Cultural Revolution never said, "the party and power above all else". They used the party and state power for the freedom of the oppressed and poor people and as a weapon for achieving a classless society in order to change the world. The people's interest is always and everywhere the guiding principle. The com-

munists struggled with the pragmatist philosophy of Deng Xiao-ping, which stated, "It doesn't matter if it is a black cat or a white cat, as long as it catches mice." To change the opinion of the masses, we cannot avoid ideological struggle. We know that in all societies the dominant culture is that of the dominant class. The Cultural Revolution means breaking with the old habits and customs and it is the key to achieving this.

The revisionists think that the Cultural Revolution was absolute terror. The imperialists and their puppets claim that the revolution was against the people. It is very important not to let anyone mix up who is an enemy and who is a friend in the revolutionary period, and to be able to actually defeat the enemy it is important to have unity with our friends while struggling over their mistakes and applying our class line. This is a question of principle.

Using violence against the people is a crime and it was *not* done in the GPCR. Any obstacle or barrier to unleashing the revolutionary enthusiasm and initiative of the people was cleared out of the way, and the GPCR was the most excellent example of a people's democracy in the history of the proletarian revolution.

The Cultural Revolution cadres were elected and supervised and could be removed from their positions by the people. As we explained before, overturning people is a means, not the aim. Even as applied to the revisionists, this means changing their world outlook, re-educating them, putting them into production, and having them supervised by the people.

For the masses, and for people who have made mistakes, it is very important for Maoist culture to "cure the sickness to save the patient" and to use their mistakes as an opportunity to educate them. For Maoists, apart from those people who cannot be cured or helped to advance, we approach people "like a doctor". Does a doctor have a right to shout at a sick patient? Such a "doctor" would not know his duty and would be stupid. What is this duty? To discover the patient's sickness and then to carry out the appropriate treatment. As a matter of fact, some sectarians, who use force to impose their authority, criticise Mao as a liberal. However, Mao never avoided struggling over mistakes. On the con-

trary, Mao used the method of *unity-struggle-unity*, both within the party and in society, to struggle over mistakes to reach a higher level of unity. The proud "high and mighty" bureaucrats couldn't understand why Mao trusted 95% of the population as good and honest people. The haughty bureaucrats never care about the sources of the mistakes and people's real conditions. Those who think they never make mistakes and who have a furious greed for god-like power become an enemy of all the people and take an aggressive line against the masses. In general, the main mistakes come from them. Lin Piao was a typical concrete example. He organised a gangster clique supposedly to sharply continue the Cultural Revolution against Deng Xiao-ping, but in reality this served the Deng forces. Lin Piao was a "super-Maoist!" with the slogan "smash and burn everything!" Lin Piao carried out cheating and intrigues in his personal fight for power.

Using our science to solve the contradictions in the party and society, what we must do and what we must not do is:

"Practice Marxism, not revisionism. Unite, don't split. Don't intrigue and conspire but be open, honest and above-board."

As Marx said about the character of private property, it is always timid and cowardly because it has no soul.

ON POLITICS

Those who do not say anything about their history and literature cannot learn and take lessons. Didn't "they" say that philosophy is not as simple as Mao explained in "On Contradiction", "On Practice" and his other works on philosophy? The writings of the great Maoist, Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, in the 1972 Manifesto, which includes the Kurecik Area Report and the worker-peasant movement articles, provide a very concrete and important example to be learnt from.

The masses cannot be led by abstract directions. Power can be seized only through the conscious struggle of the people to win power. We cannot avoid leading people ourselves in the class struggle with the correct line. Revolutionary war is a practical example of how to achieve this. People's war and the new democratic revolu-

tion have a dialectical relationship to carrying out these tasks for the new democratic power. When we say the people's war is not only a military task, but also an economic, political and social task to carry out the revolution, we mean this. The relationship between war and politics explains this reality. Revolutionary war is a means of continuing revolutionary politics. We must leave behind our weaknesses and deficiencies very quickly. During the preparation of the GPCR, the slogan was raised to struggle against the "Four Old Things". We must learn from this and bring it into our concrete practice. Weaknesses and difficulties are a unity of opposites with winning and the bright future. Once we analyse these correctly, everything can be solved. We must not be like those who only see the problems and difficulties but do not organise a solution or see the bright future nor like those who are too haughty and proud to see and overcome their own weaknesses. The GPCR cannot accept that there are problems with no solution. It is very clear for us what we must do and what we must not do. We will now discuss this.

FACING THE ATTACKS

The liberal attacks against the proletariat and working people from the weapons of Kautsky and Bernstein are rotten bullets. They can only shoot themselves with these weapons. The liberals applaud democracy in the abstract and swear at the powerful working people under the leadership of the proletariat, while at the same time they shed tears for any restrictions placed on the bourgeois classes. Today we understand better than yesterday the necessity to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We know the damage that the parties of the Second International caused.

As for their Eurocentric view that grows out of the theory of the productive forces, which holds that the proletariat should not try to seize power in countries where it is not the majority of the population - they can keep this suggestion to themselves, to put it politely! Those who explain capitalist restoration in the former socialist countries by this Eurocentric theory are "civilised" ignoramuses, and with this theory they are not going to see

any revolution in their lifetimes!

There are reformist evolutionaries within this system who are examples of how *not* to be revolutionary, i.e., the "new liberal left", who make propaganda for the "New World Order", and who are expecting to receive warmth and support from the imperialists. We congratulate them on their reformism! For us, line is a guide for what we do in practice, and practice is principal. Thus, the Leninist method means:

- ▶ The unity of theory and practice.
- ▶ That the content of actions, not slogans, is the essence.
- ▶ That under the leadership of the party, the masses must be prepared and aroused for revolution.
- ▶ That one must dare to learn from experiences, mistakes and errors.
- ▶ That one must always continue towards communism.

We stand radically opposed to the Parties of the Second International and defend the Leninist understanding of the party, but we are not limited to this, as we have adopted the Maoist understanding of the party, which has opened a new door.

It is through this understanding and line that we fight against the understanding of the party and society as "monolithic". Through unity, struggle and unity, struggle, persuasion and transformation, we can represent this line within the party and the masses and through this the struggle between the two roads and between right and wrong lines can be grasped. It is never possible to achieve absolute total unity within the party and society, and without struggle it is not possible to be strong. We must understand this. Also, with our determination and our unity of action we can co-ordinate the practice in the party and under socialism. The party is not a federation of rulers and landlords! The Maoist party understanding is based on unity between the party and the masses and is a means to enable the people to act in a vanguard way and to advance to a society where there is no further need for a party or state.

MARXISM-LENINISM- MAOISM IS OUR GUIDE!

Mao Tse-tung defended the inheritance of comrades Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and under Mao's leadership the experience of the GPCR

showed that our science had reached a new and qualitatively higher stage. The revisionists who do not understand our proletarian science, which is the universal basis for communism throughout the world, distort the GPCR as if the GPCR were only relevant to China.

When Mao explained the need to make Marxism particular to China, he indicated that we needed to wield our universal ideology and science and apply it to our particular situation. Because of the imbalance in this imperialist world we live in, the division between the oppressed nations and the oppressor nations, and other factors, the forms of the proletarian struggle in each country vary according to the concrete conditions.

Marxism gives "concrete solutions to concrete problems". It is a science of action, and idealists who try to turn our science upside-down inevitably fail because our science has already been proven in practice.

The great Maoist and leader of the proletariat and oppressed peoples in Turkey and Kurdistan, Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, applied Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to our concrete situation and illuminated our path with his red line.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the leader of the international communist movement, who analysed the seizure of power in the Soviet Union by the "new" bourgeoisie, has forged a very sharp weapon for us. The GPCR is the summit of our science. Without this understanding it is not possible to be a proletarian revolutionary.

"Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." With this slogan from Mao Tse-tung we see that although the forms of seizing power are different, revolutionary violence itself is a universal necessity.

The form of revolutionary violence necessary in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is people's war; this is the cornerstone of a revolutionary line. Imperialism and its puppets, who with their theory and practice want to prevent proletarian revolution, attack the people's war as their main target. This fact alone shows us very clearly the necessity of people's war!

Through Mao's strategy of people's war under the leadership of the communist party, all kinds of miracles can be achieved; this stands opposed to those who become enslaved

by and captive to the theory of the productive forces and who believe that guns, not people, are principal. Mao showed that under the leadership of the communist party "people, not weapons, are decisive," and this illuminated our path.

As Mao said, "The East wind will prevail over the West wind." He explained the concrete reality of the world we live in, as opposed to others who refused to recognise that the colonial and semi-colonial countries are the "storm centre" of the world revolution. Look at Peru, Turkey, The Philippines, Nepal and other examples . . . come off it, what more proof is needed!

This Eurocentric so-called socialist understanding which distorts the proletarian world revolutionary struggle also means preventing socialist revolution in the imperialist/capitalist countries.

The GPCR, in the socialist transition from capitalism to communism, is the means to continue the revolution and the dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and under the Maoist vanguard leadership it is the flag of the revolutionary masses' line which is the basis for the revolutionary masses' initiative.

Those who put machines and technology in command naturally do not want to understand Mao and refuse the line of putting revolution in command. The Maoist line is a necessity for those who want to march to communism. On the other hand, even for those who want socialism but who have not yet grasped this understanding, it is a strong possibility that they will sit on the inequalities remaining among the people under socialism and become a "new" bourgeoisie, leading to the restoration of capitalism. Lenin represents real Marxism against those who defend the line of the Second International and hide their economist face with a "Marxist" mask. Lenin's line has illuminated the proletarian revolution in the century of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The Great October Revolution, which opened the way for proletarian revolution this century, has smashed the Second International's revisionist productive forces theory. This inheritance, and the GPCR, which is a qualitative leap in our science, enable us to understand the problems of revolution deeply.

The GPCR has shown us that dur-

ing the period from capitalism to communism classes exist and thus that the class struggle needs to continue. The class struggle does not come from outside but is based on the realities within socialist society. Before Mao, it was not possible to analyse these problems correctly. Knowledge depends on social conditions, it cannot be understood in a straight-line way. The relationship between matter and consciousness cannot and should not be understood in a mechanical materialist way, because in reality they are related dialectically.

The followers of the Second International perspective take a position against Maoism (and all the lessons learnt from socialist transformation, which has taken our science to a higher stage), and fight it with so-called "Marxism". Our science has developed greatly through these experiences, but revisionism does not want to understand this, despite reality.

Even after socialist ownership of the means of production has been established, it is still possible to return to capitalism. History proves it is Maoism that is correct, and not those other views that say such a return is impossible. Who stands against the view that capitalist restoration is possible?

History is a witness for scientific Maoism, not for those "civilised" ignoramuses who look down prejudicially on the revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, which are the driving force for revolution around the world.

History has *not* proven correct those who say socialism is not possible in one country but it *has* proven correct the leadership of Lenin, Stalin and Mao, who have carried out revolution successfully, and it has proven correct the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The Khrushchev coup in the Soviet Union and the other seizures of power by his puppets in Eastern Europe, as well as other problems in China which Mao has explained, show that:

1) Socialism itself is a transitional society, not a stable society. Problems do not cease even after socialist transformation and the establishment of socialist ownership relations. These two steps, socialist transformation and the establishment of socialist ownership relations, are very important in

removing the exploiting forces from the ownership of production. But this does *not* mean that all the problems of the production relations have been solved. There are still contradictions in the relations between the producers, for example, between the leadership and led

Therefore, although the people's ownership is an important step to establish, this is still far from the *real* control of society (by the whole people). This is the reality of socialism, even with these important radical steps. In socialist society, it cannot be any other way. The old class (the bourgeoisie) who have been smashed and the danger they pose for seizing power again can be understood by every ordinary person, but the main dangers and sneaky attacks come from the "new" bourgeoisie who are fed with the contradictions within socialist society. The "new" bourgeoisie amass in the state and the party. Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Deng are real concrete examples of this. Now we would like to ask:

a) Which is correct? The line which claims that the main dangers come from the "new" bourgeoisie who are on the capitalist road? Or, the line that claims the main dangers come only from imperialist invasion and from the old ruling class which has been overthrown? Which line has been proven correct?

Maoism has been proven correct. And as for those who still cling to their rotten revisionist weapons, what can we say except that their revisionist line should be smashed over their heads!

b) The revisionist line defends the "no bourgeoisie under socialism" line. They argue that there is no contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat under socialism. And they do not want to know how this struggle in the party and the state is proceeding, because they do not want themselves to be identified. They portray the bourgeoisie simply as the "old" bourgeoisie with their factory-owner top-hats!

Their class brothers, the modern revisionist, bureaucratic dictators, do not say who won out, but we say that Maoism won out.

c) For years we have explained that the bureaucratic bourgeois dictatorships have used our science as a mask to mislead the masses. But the revisionists did not understand. They con-

tinue to say that these countries are socialist, but Maoism has won out because the modern revisionists have taken their masks off and are now gathering under the flag of free-market, classical capitalism.

2) For years we also explained that the problems of socialism, with its old division of labour, its remaining inequalities and alienation, the contradictions between mental and manual labour, between urban and rural, etc, are remnants of the old society. We have also explained how we can restrict these contradictions. Thus, we have explained many times the key role of ideological and political line, the necessity of controlling the power, and the importance of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. So who won out? Those who say that the old class has been overthrown, and the problem is finished? Or, Maoism? Again, it is clear that Maoism has won out.

As we have said before, the organising principle of distribution under socialism (i.e. from each according to their ability, to each according to their *work*) still has inequality within the apparent equality. By exercising control over the question of whether or not the definition of rights are to be obeyed, the state (as in the case of the economy) had a bourgeois side to it. That is to say: one of the aspects which constituted this state was bourgeois. In any event, this was inescapable. It is therefore necessary to make sure that the revolution which defends the proletarian character of the political power continues without interruption, so as not to allow the bourgeois aspect of the state and of the economy to develop in the wrong direction and act as a bridge towards capitalist restoration. Political power is a weapon to continue the revolution. It is a weapon to lead the people towards communism. The proletarian power does *not* reconcile classes. Our duty was the GPCR, which we carried out in China and which stopped capitalist restoration for 10 years. With what?

With Maoism! . . . But even during the GPCR's successful days, we still said it was not clear who was going to win. So history has again proved that Maoism won out.

3) It was "goulash socialism" that was defeated, but because ordinary people did not understand its nature they reacted to this by reacting against

real socialism also.

Maoist leadership is the flag of all the oppressed in the struggle to change the world to reach classless society. Especially today, when economism comes under the imperialist flag in the imperialist countries, the destiny of social chauvinists is surrender to imperialism. What about Maoism? . . . Who is welcoming the bright future for the world? Aren't Munzur, and Ayacucho in the Andean mountains, the main strongholds?

The Cultural Revolution, as opposed to the economist line, is struggling to change the world. Under the correct line, the masses are the force that is capable of solving any problem. This is the essence of the Maoist mass line.

The metaphysicians, who cover their faces with the mask of dialectical materialism, are in reality completely opposed to it. The essence of dialectical materialism is the unity of opposites in nature and society. The philosophical idealists who distort this essence are far from understanding that things are "lively, conditional and in motion" or the "unity and identity" of objects. Because of this, their thinking is limited to seeing the tactical strength of the reactionary forces, and they are blind to the strategic superiority of the oppressed people. During the time of the Second International, in a "relatively voiceless" situation, they declared that revolution was an imaginary ghost.

**KAYPAKKAYA'S LINE IS
OUR VANGUARD!**

Kaypakkaya was a great Maoist. The TKP (ML), which was a product of the GPCR and its founding leader Kaypakkaya, has deepened its understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and carried it out in practice. Because of this, it has been possible to raise high the TKP (ML) manifesto concerning both the short-term programme of democratic revolution and the long-term programme of achieving communism. Kaypakkaya cannot be defended without defending Maoism. On the contrary, defending any other line is a sham.

Because of their vulgar materialism and their positivist-economist understanding of political-economic relations, some people cannot understand why the revolutionary proletar-

ian vanguard was a result of the GPCR.

The fact that the class struggle objectively comes from class society is not open to discussion. The class struggle is not due to anyone's will but instead is a result of humanity being divided into classes. The formation of the proletariat is a result of a particular stage of development of human society, in which the proletariat will become the gravediggers of the bourgeoisie. The aim of our conscious proletarian class struggle includes finally removing the proletariat (along with all other classes!) from the stage of history. If a proletarian class exists, it explains the objective existence of the proletarian parties. The party of the proletariat cannot be formed spontaneously from the proletarian struggle, but results from the *conscious* proletarian revolutionary struggle. The party is a *conscious* weapon of the revolutionary proletariat. With this weapon the proletariat can guide its struggle on the correct line, and can analyse, grasp, change and light up the future of the world with the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM).

The 15-16 of June Movement had created the objective conditions for taking leaps forward in consciousness. Why didn't the organisations of the People's Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO) and the Turkish People's Liberation Party - Front (THKP-C) draw the necessary lessons and reach the synthesis of MLM? Why couldn't they take up the long-term strategic programme of MLM? The answer to these questions is their outlook. Kaypakkaya was a Maoist because of his Maoist outlook. The favourable objective conditions were an advantage, but if Kaypakkaya had not grasped the GPCR, then it would not have been possible to produce our 1972 Manifesto or our short- and long-term programmes, despite this advantageous situation. There have been many favourable lessons that have proven our science and led to leaps forward in practice in the world (for example, the lessons of capitalist restoration and the necessity of continuing the GPCR under the dictatorship of the proletariat), so why do these forces still not understand Maoism? Because of their outlook.

With our science, which has reached a new and qualitatively higher

stage with the GPCR under Maoist leadership, and with the leadership of Kaypakkaya, a new and qualitatively higher line in Turkey and Kurdistan in Turkey has been achieved. Before Kaypakkaya, the official ideology of the Turkish state, which is Kemalism, was recognised as a progressive inheritance by the forces who call themselves revolutionary democrats and "communists". Furthermore, the Kemalist repressive movement was recognised as a "progressive movement to smash reactionary fundamentalism". Even despite the important radical actions of the THKO and the THKP-C in 1971, they were unable to gain a correct understanding and achieve a correct analysis of the character of the Turkish republic and its army, because of their outlook. In the international arena in the battle between MLM and revisionism, they hold a middle line. This is their other weakness. This movement considered the leadership of the modern revisionist "new" bourgeois dictatorship in the Soviet Union as socialist. But practice has shown the importance of Kaypakkaya's line, which is easy to grasp for anyone who wants to. Those lovers of the Kemalist ideology and Kemalist army, the Turkish Revolutionary Workers and Peasants' Party (TIKP), have nothing at all in common with Mao despite their phrasemongering. Their line is reformist, parliamentarist and state "leftist", and distorts the Maoist new democratic revolution, people's war and other teachings of Mao. Kaypakkaya indicated its character and line even in 1971. After Mustafa Suphi's death, the Turkish Communist Party (TKP) became revisionist and then became a puppet of Soviet social-imperialism. All of these things show us the importance of Kaypakkaya's line, which was a qualitative leap forward in the revolution in Turkey and Kurdistan of Turkey. Now we ask:

1) Before Kaypakkaya, was there anyone who had recognised Kemalist ideology as a fascist movement of the Turkish comprador-bourgeoisie and the big landlords?

2) Before Kaypakkaya, was there anyone who had recognised and supported the democratic character of the Kurdish national movement as well as supported Seyh Sait, Dersim, Agri, Kocgiri and other Kurdish uprisings, and opposed the repression of the

Kemalist military?

3) Because of the errors on the Kemalist question, on the Kurdish national question and other minority questions, could the "left" overcome its chauvinism enough?

4) Before Kaypakkaya, were the positions of others towards the state, the military and the revolution correct? (As for the TKP and the TIKP, since the essence of these organisations has already been exposed, it is not necessary to discuss them further.)

a) Why did they love and applaud the coups of 27 May and 1971?

b) How can their policy of unity in a civilian-military alliance with the Kemalist army command be explained?

c) What does it mean to treat the Turkish state and army on the basis of the Kemalist inheritance?

5) Is there anyone - including the armed struggle in 1971 against pacifism - who grasped the strategy of people's war for revolution in Turkey and Kurdistan of Turkey, which is the line of victory and which has already been scientifically proven in practice, even though some are still debating this? Is there anyone before Kaypakkaya who grasped the new democratic revolution, the new democratic people's power and these strategic weapons: the party, the army and the united front, on the basis of MLM?

We ask:

a) Compared with the revolutionary teaching of MLM, can there be any place for the military's coups, projects, and practice?

b) Can the proletariat support one or another of the cliques in the bourgeois state and army - and, moreover, support and take the side of the Kemalist headquarters?

c) In terms of the proletariat's policy on allying those who want to smash the system, can they in the meantime also have an alliance with the system's army?

6) Before Kaypakkaya, was there anyone who grasped the character of the social-imperialist camp and held a proletarian revolutionary position against it?

These questions can be discussed further, but we think this is enough for those who want to see reality: reality is that with Kaypakkaya, a period of qualitatively higher resistance has begun in Turkey and Kurdistan of Turkey. ■

People's Rage Thunders through Indonesia!

Statement by the Committee of the
Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

18 June 1998

After a mass revolt that engulfed almost the entire Indonesian archipelago, the US-backed dictator Suharto has finally fallen. Suharto's reign lasted 32 years; it began and ended amidst bloody suppression, and his ignominious defeat is a cause for joy for all the world's oppressed.

For the past few months the Western imperialists and their lackeys have been presiding over a deep economic crisis in East Asia. From Thailand to South Korea, Malaysia and Indonesia, the region's comprador regimes have been imposing austerity programmes under the baton of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Suharto's regime, like many others, had raised prices, cut back government services, and opened the country even more to foreign plunder. Currencies plummeted, unemployment spiralled and the effect on the masses was a brutal





ABOVE RIGHT: Jubilant youth on their way to join the occupation of parliament in Jakarta.

LEFT: Angry masses demonstrate against Suharto government.

and extreme intensification of misery, while the ruling regimes and their Western masters struggled to ensure the steady flow of their own channels of wealth.

The masses of Indonesia rose in rebellion and stood up to one of the most vicious forces of repression in the world. Trained and armed by the US and its imperialist allies, the regime's armed forces first sought to do what they had always done, stamping down with the iron boot. But their efforts were in vain, as students were joined by shantytown youth and hundreds of thousands of others. The regime used its monopoly on the media to bluster and to try to divert the people's anger towards Chinese shopkeepers and away from the real centres of reactionary power. But the advanced forces among the masses refused to back down, rallied new support, and targeted the Suharto clan in particular, as well as symbols of Western domination.

As waves of revolt rolled over the country, the imperialists did their best to distance themselves from Suharto, just as they did last year in the case of Zaire's Mobutu. The Western media exposed Suharto's crony style of capitalism, unveiled the intricate links of his family businesses, and decried the billions he had looted from the Indonesian people. And they should know, for they set him up and backed him as long as they could. Suharto was a monster, but, like Mobutu, Haiti's Duvalier and so many others, he was *imperialism's* monster.

Suharto rose to power on the corpses of as many as a half a million people. Many of them were communists and others who had dared to dream of an Indonesia independent of Western imperialism, and peasants who longed for land. Suharto ruthlessly suppressed them in some of the bloodiest months of slaughter since WW II, and imprisoned hundreds of thousands more. But barely a word has been uttered in the reactionary press about this bloody crime. Indeed, the US had hailed Suharto's bloody rise to power, with the

liberal *Time* magazine calling it “the best news for the West in Asia in years”.

Suharto's 1965 coup was part of an overall effort by the imperialists and reactionaries to stem the rising tide of national liberation and revolution in the 1960s. Vietnamese peasants were thrashing the supposedly invincible US military machine, and brushfires of revolt were being fanned throughout Asia and the Third World, supported by the revolutionary bastion of Mao's China. The imperialists needed a servile lackey in Indonesia, an important source of oil and the fourth most populous country – and largest Muslim population – in the world. Suharto was chosen, trained and backed to the hilt by the US and other imperialists to serve this role.

The Suharto coup took advantage of serious errors by the Indonesian revolutionaries. The leadership of the Communist Party of Indonesia [PKI] had tried to steer a “middle course” in the great debate then raging in the international communist movement between Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary line and the revisionist line of capitulation and betrayal preached by the Soviets. The PKI negated the Leninist teaching that the state was a dictatorship of one class over another, and instead argued that, thanks to the then President Sukarno, there was a “people's aspect” in the Indonesian government. While the blood of hundreds of thousands was shed by the imperialist puppet Suharto and his cronies, it was revisionism that paved the path to the slaughter.

Instead of taking the road of people's war, the PKI leadership tied the hands of the people. What had seemed like a mighty party of hundreds of thousands collapsed, and the workers, revolutionary peasants and revolutionary Party members were unable to put up effective resistance. This bitter lesson illustrates once again the truth underlying Mao Tse-tung's forceful dictum that “political power grows out of the barrel of a gun” and that “without a people's army, the people have nothing”.

With its hands still dripping with the blood of the Indonesian people, the Suharto regime launched another crime with its invasion and occupation of East Timor in 1975. Indonesian troops have killed 200,000 people there, one-third of the Timorese population – per capita, the largest genocide since the Holocaust in World War II. Even today, 60,000 Indonesian troops, police and informers are stationed there – one for every 10 Timorese. Yet the people of East Timor fight on valiantly, and their struggle was an integral part of the rising that knocked down Suharto.

Today the imperialists and the Indonesian ruling class are manoeuvring urgently to divert the people's anger and protect the core of Indonesia's reactionary ruling institutions, especially the armed forces. Only a few months ago, they thought Suharto could be salvaged for a while longer and continued to give him support. Indonesian troops, especially the hated KOPASSUS Red Berets, were trained by the US. Tony Blair and his “New Labour” government in Britain continued to sign weapons contracts and supply the regime with arms, and the Australian military even held joint exercises with Indonesian troops this spring. Nonetheless, as wave after wave of revolt poured over Indonesia, the reactionaries and their imperialist backers were forced to yield ground, until the tyrant himself had to go.

This was a great victory – Suharto was indeed a big exploiter and oppressor of the Indonesian people. But he was not the biggest. While his family pillaged billions, behind him the Western imperialists have raked off tens of billions. The Suharto set-up was simply the local agency of the vast tentacles of imperialism that envelop every sector of economic life in Indonesia, sucking the wealth and labour of its people. Suharto and his family were “Mr 10%” but in another sense, they were *only* “Mr 10%”, local flunkies who skim off a bit before the big boss gets the lion's share. It is men with names like Bill Gates, the IMF's Camdessus, Clinton, Blair, Chirac, Kohl, etc, who are the overall masters of this system that has kept Indonesia backward and impoverished. While their so-called Asian tiger had brought some improvement



ABOVE: A Jakarta billboard promises prosperity while in fact the spectre of mass hunger stalks the land.

for sections of the upper and middle classes in Indonesia, the Indonesian “miracle” never alleviated the grinding poverty of the basic masses of the country, and now millions of those who had earlier believed life was changing for the better have been dramatically impoverished and the poor find their very survival threatened. To see that this is due to a world system, one need look no further than neighbouring Malaysia or Thailand, countries where millions of others are being subjected to the same austerity measures as in Indonesia. Their rulers, like Suharto, were petty corrupt tyrants, and, like him, they too are creatures of a bigger, world historic system, imperialism.

Truly changing the face of Indonesia means freeing it from imperialism and thoroughly uprooting the semi-feudal system. It requires breaking the imperialists’ hold on the economic arteries that are pumping the wealth and lifeblood of Indonesia out of the country and into the coffers of the West. This can only be done by overthrowing the imperialist-backed neocolonial regime and its reactionary armed forces – which means revolutionary war, a war based among and rallying the peasants as its main force, along the path of new democratic revolution as charted by Mao Tse-tung. Mao showed not only how a protracted people’s war could defeat the seemingly invincible armies of the reactionaries and imperialists but also how the masses in power could be led to build a self-reliant economy to stand with the people of the world as a beacon of world revolution. This is

what China did up until 1976, and the science of revolution summed up and raised to a new level by Mao, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, today lights the path forward for the oppressed around the world.

Unless the old regime is smashed through such a revolutionary war, the reactionary forces will use their grip on power to ride out the storm, to make temporary concessions to some while brutally suppressing others. Millions of people in Indonesia are yearning for revolution, hoping that today’s overthrow of Suharto will be only a prelude to a deeper, more thoroughgoing change. But for this aspiration to become a reality, the people need leadership, the leadership that only a vanguard party based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism can provide. Without this kind of uncompromising vanguard leadership, the ruling class will reassert its authority over the oppressed masses and keep them shackled.

Only days after Suharto’s departure, the reactionary clique now led by B.J. Habibie is revealing its colours by protecting Suharto’s cronies and keeping in prison those they consider most dangerous. They are refusing to free the many PKI members and sympathisers held for over 30 years, as well as Timorese fighters – while making endless promises that will come to nothing.

Over a century ago, as looming crisis faced Europe, Frederick Engels observed that crowns would soon be rolling on the pavement, the question was, who would pick them up? Today, the crown of the long-standing dictator Suharto of Indonesia has followed that of Zaire’s Mobutu to go tumbling onto the streets, and Engels’ question is posed more urgently than ever. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement salutes the Indonesian people whose fierceness and defiance in the face of the iron fist has given renewed heart to all those around the world fighting against imperialism and reaction. We call upon the most advanced revolutionary elements in Indonesia to make bold efforts to group themselves together on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and link up with RIM, and we call upon Maoist forces in other countries to assist this effort. The debts of the Indonesian reactionaries and their imperialist masters are too heavy and the hopes of the masses too high to do anything less. ■

Self-Criticism of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) – 1966

Starting in October 1965 and continuing into 1966, the pro-US Indonesian military regime presided over by Suharto unleashed a massacre of horrible proportions against the people. Several hundred thousand Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) members and sympathisers as well as many masses not involved in any political activity were murdered in cold blood. The number of people shot in the streets or arrested, tortured and killed in prison is still not known with any accuracy, but estimates range from several hundred thousand up to 2 million. The PKI itself was crushed, the previous nationalistic Sukarno regime was overthrown, and Suharto entrenched himself and his reactionary clique for decades.

The responsibility for this monstrous crime must be laid squarely at the doorsteps of the Indonesian reactionaries and their U.S. imperialist masters. At the same time, it is true that the PKI was extremely vulnerable to such an onslaught, and no effective, organised resistance to Suharto and the massacre was ever built. By the mid-1960s, the core of the PKI leadership had become rotten with years of revisionism. The PKI put forward a wrong view of the state and in practice participated in and glorified Sukarno and the coalition government, which decidedly was not under proletarian leadership. The PKI also went down the revisionist path on the question of the process of revolution, seconding the thesis of a "peaceful road to socialism" advocated by the Soviet revisionists who came to power in 1956.

Following Suharto's bloody coup, these and other serious errors were summarised and criticised by forces who were attempting a revolutionary regroupment of the PKI, most particularly in two documents, one of which is excerpted here, entitled "Self-Criticism by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party" (September 1966). The Chinese revolutionaries, led by Mao, supported this effort by their Indonesian comrades, and their introductory

editorial in *Red Flag* is also reprinted here, along with their summation of the PKI document. The PKI document itself outlines important errors of the Party leadership during the Sukarno years and calls for a thoroughgoing rectification of the ideological and political line of the Party. A central point in this document is the refutation of the treacherous revisionist theory of the "peaceful road to socialism" then adhered to by the Party. The "Self-Criticism..." calls for raising and defending the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tsetung Thought (which RIM now calls Marxism-Leninism-Maoism) in order to rediscover its proletarian ideology and political line and hence its class character. Moreover, it calls for applying Mao Tse-tung's strategy of protracted people's war throughout the far-flung islands of Indonesia in order to seize state power for the people from the Suharto fascist regime.

Today, in the context of the present great upheaval, this call is ever more relevant. Indeed, the crying need of the hour in Indonesia is to turn the current rebellion into a revolutionary process. Revolutionaries around the world need to find ways to put the basic documents of RIM and the teachings of the great leaders of the proletarian class into the hands of Indonesian revolutionaries. There are undoubtedly many there who today are straining to find a way out of the hell of neocolonial society and to fight the imposition of yet another imperialist-backed dictator. Only by arming themselves with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism will the Indonesian revolutionaries be able to rebuild the party of the working class, the indispensable vanguard of the proletariat, so as to guide the long-suffering people of Indonesia to win their liberation, since this alone can arm them to grasp the present social relations based on exploitation, oppression, subordination, inequality and injustice. More than anything else, the absence over the past three decades of a proletarian vanguard armed with this liberating science points to the great void and powerlessness among the

toiling people today. Only Marxism-Leninism-Maoism opens the door wide for the "wretched of the earth" in Indonesia to grasp revolution and begin to remake social relations on new foundations. - AWTW

From: People of Indonesia, Unite and Fight to Overthrow the Fascist Régime (Editorial of *Hongqi* [Red Flag], No.11, 1967)

After staging the counter-revolutionary 1965 coup d'état, the Suharto-Nasution right-wing military clique, faithful lackey of U.S. imperialism and anti-communist ally of Soviet revisionism, established a fascist dictatorship of unprecedented ruthlessness in Indonesia. For the past year or more, it has followed an out-and-out traitorous, dictatorial, anti-communist, anti-China and anti-popular counter-revolutionary policy.

It has imposed a white terror in Indonesia on an unprecedented scale, slaughtered several hundred thousand Communists and revolutionary people and thrown into prison another several hundred thousand fine sons and daughters of the Indonesian people. All Indonesia has been turned into one vast hell. By engaging in bloody suppression, it attempts in vain to wipe out the Indonesian Communist Party and stamp out the Indonesian revolution.

This clique cherishes an inveterate hatred for socialist China, which resolutely supports the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people. It has repeatedly carried out serious provocations against the Chinese people, whipped up anti-China, anti-Chinese campaigns and practised inhuman racist persecution against overseas Chinese. It has vainly tried to sabotage the traditional friendship between the Chinese people and the overseas Chinese in Indonesia on the one hand and the Indonesian people on the other, and to prevent the Chinese people from supporting the Indonesian people's revolution.

In the final analysis, the many kinds of persecution against the Indonesian Communist Party and the Indonesian people by the Suharto-Nasution right-wing military clique will only serve to hasten the arrival of the upsurge in the Indonesian revolution and speed its own doom. The heroic Indonesian Communists and people can neither be cowed, suppressed, nor wiped out. The determination of the Indonesian people to make revolution is unshakeable, so is the Chinese people's determination to support their revolution. No reactionary force on earth can obstruct this.

At present, the Indonesian Communists and revolutionary people are regrouping their forces for a new battle. The 17 August 1966 Statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party and the Self-Criticism it endorsed in September, which were published by the magazine *Indonesian Tribune* not long ago, are a call to the Indonesian Communists and the Indonesian working class, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and all anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary forces to unite and engage in a new struggle.

The two documents of the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party are a telling blow at U.S. imperialism and its flunkies, the Suharto-Nasution fascist military dictatorial regime, and the revisionist leading clique of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and a tremendous encouragement to the revolutionary people of Indonesia.

In these two documents, the Political Bureau of the Indonesian Communist Party sums up the experience and lessons of the Party in leading the Indonesian people's revolutionary struggle, criticises the right opportunist errors committed by the leadership of the Party in the past, points out the road for the Indonesian revolution, and lays down the principles for future struggle.

**From: Self-Criticism by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party
- September 1966**

Indonesian Tribune published in its January issue (No.3) the self-criticism adopted by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indo-

nesian Communist Party (PKI) in September 1966. The self-criticism is entitled "Build the PKI Along the Marxist-Leninist Line to Lead the People's Democratic Revolution in Indonesia".

The self-criticism says that the disaster which has caused such serious losses to the PKI and the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people after the outbreak and the defeat of the September 30th Movement¹ has lifted up the curtain which for a long period has hidden the grave weaknesses of the PKI.

The Political Bureau is aware that it has the greatest responsibility with regard to the grave weaknesses and mistakes of the Party during the period under review. Therefore, the Political Bureau is giving serious attention to and highly appreciates all criticisms from cadres and members of the Party given in a Marxist-Leninist spirit, as well as honest criticism from Party sympathisers that have been expressed in different ways. The Political Bureau is resolved to make self-criticism in a Marxist-Leninist way, putting into practice the teaching of Lenin and the example of Comrade Musso in unfolding Marxist-Leninist criticism and self-criticism.

The self-criticism says that under the situation where the most vicious and cruel white terror is being unleashed by the military dictatorship of the right-wing army generals Nasution and Suharto, it is not easy to make as complete criticism and self-criticism as possible. To meet the urgent necessity, it is necessary to point out the main issues in the ideological, political and organisational fields, in order to facilitate the study of the weaknesses and mistakes of the Party during the current rectification movement.

¹ On 1 October 1965, the September 30th Movement, a group of mid-level officers in the military, kidnapped a number of high-ranking generals of the Indonesian armed forces. The leader of the group said that their aim was to thwart a coup by rightist generals and bring them to account before Sukarno. According to some scholars, the September 30th Movement was infiltrated by agents-provocateurs associated with Suharto. The action by the movement was labeled a PKI "coup attempt," and it served as the immediate pretext for a takeover by a military clique headed by Suharto and Nasution and the massacre of hundreds of thousands.

With all modesty and sincerity the Political Bureau presents this self-criticism. The Political Bureau expects all members to take an active part in the discussions of the weaknesses and mistakes of the Party leadership, critically analyse them, and do their utmost to improve this self-criticism of the Political Bureau by drawing lessons from their respective experiences, collectively or individually. The Political Bureau expects all members to take firm hold of the principle: "unity-criticism-unity" and "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient, in order to achieve the twofold objective of clarity in ideology and unity among comrades"². The Political Bureau is convinced that, by holding firmly to this correct principle, every Party member will take part in the movement to study and surmount these weaknesses and mistakes with the determination to rebuild the PKI along the Marxist-Leninist line, to strengthen communist unity and solidarity, to raise the ideological, political and organisational vigilance, and to heighten the fighting spirit in order to win victory.

THE MAIN WEAKNESSES IN THE IDEOLOGICAL FIELD

The serious weaknesses and mistakes of the Party in the period after 1951, the self-criticism says, certainly had as their source the weaknesses in ideological field, too, especially among the Party leadership. Instead of integrating revolutionary theories with the concrete practice of the Indonesian revolution, the Party leadership adopted the road which was divorced from the guidance of the most advanced theories. This experience shows that the PKI had not succeeded as yet in establishing a core of leadership that was composed of proletarian elements, which really had the most correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism, systematic and not fragmentary, practical and not abstract understanding.

During the period after 1951, subjectivism continued to grow, gradually became greater and greater and gave rise to Right opportunism that merged with the influence of modern revision-

² Mao Tsetung, "Our Study and the Current Situation," *Selected Works*, Vol. III.

ism in the international communist movement. This was the black line of Right opportunism which became the main feature of the mistakes committed by the PKI in this period. The rise and the development of these weaknesses and errors were caused by the following factors:

First, the tradition of criticism and self-criticism in a Marxist-Leninist way was not developed in the Party, especially among the Party leadership.

The rectification and study movements which from time to time were organised in the Party were not carried out seriously and persistently, their results were not summed up in a good manner, and they were not followed by the appropriate measures in the organisational field. Study movements were aimed more at the rank and file, and never at unfolding criticism and self-criticisms among the leadership. Criticism from below, far from being carefully listened to, was even suppressed.

Second, the penetration of the bourgeois ideology along two channels, through contacts with the national bourgeoisie when the Party established a united front with them, and through the bourgeoisification of Party cadres, especially the leadership, after the Party obtained certain positions in governmental and semi-governmental institutions. The increasing number of Party cadres who occupied certain positions in governmental and semi-governmental institutions in the centre and in the regions, created "the rank of bourgeoisified workers" and this constituted "the real channels for reformism".³ Such a situation did not exist before the August Revolution of 1945.

Third, modern revisionism began to penetrate into our Party when the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Fifth Congress uncritically approved a report which supported the lines of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, and adopted the line of "achieving socialism peacefully through parliamentary means" as the line of the PKI. This "peaceful road", one of the characteristics of modern revisionism, was further reaffirmed in the Sixth National Congress of the PKI which approved the following passage in the Party Constitution:

"There is a possibility that a people's democratic system as a transitional stage to socialism in Indonesia can be achieved by peaceful means, in a parliamentary way. The PKI persistently strives to transform this possibility into a reality." This revisionist line was further emphasised in the Seventh National Congress of the PKI and was never corrected, not even when our Party was already aware that since the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the leadership of the CPSU had been following the road of modern revisionism.

The self-criticism stresses that the experience of the PKI provides the lesson that by criticising the modern revisionism of the CPSU leadership alone, it does not mean that the PKI itself will automatically be free from errors of Right opportunism, the same as what the modern revisionists are doing. The experience of the PKI provides the lesson that modern revisionism, the greatest danger in the international communist movement, is also the greatest danger for the PKI. For the PKI, modern revisionism is not "a latent but not an acute danger", but a concrete danger that has brought great damage to the Party and serious losses for the revolutionary movement of the Indonesian people. Therefore, we must not in any way underestimate the danger of modern revisionism and must wage a resolute and ruthless struggle against it. The firm stand against modern revisionism in all fields can be effectively maintained only when our Party abandons the line of "preserving friendship with the modern revisionists".

It is a fact that the PKI, while criticising the modern revisionism of the CPSU leadership, also made revisionist mistakes itself, because it had revised Marxist-Leninist teachings on class struggle, state and revolution. Furthermore, the PKI leadership not only did not wage a struggle in the theoretical field against other "revolutionary" political thoughts which could mislead the proletariat, as Lenin has taught us to do, but had voluntarily given concessions in the theoretical field. The PKI leadership maintained that there was an identity between the three components of Marxism: materialist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism, and the so-called "three components of Sukarno's teachings". They wanted to make Marxism, which is the ideology

of the working class, the property of the whole nation which includes the exploiting classes hostile to the working class.

THE MAIN ERRORS IN THE POLITICAL FIELD

The self-criticism says that the mistakes of Right opportunism in the political field which are now under discussion include three problems: (1) the road to people's democracy in Indonesia, (2) the question of state power, and (3) the implementation of the policy of the national united front.

One of the fundamental differences and problems of disputes between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism lies precisely in the problem of choosing the road to socialism. Marxism-Leninism teaches that socialism can only be achieved through the road of proletarian revolution and that in the case of colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries like Indonesia, socialism can only be achieved by first completing the stage of the people's democratic revolution. On the contrary, revisionism dreams of achieving socialism through the "peaceful road".

During the initial years of this period since 1951, our Party had achieved certain results in the political struggle as well as in the building of the Party. One important achievement of this period was the formulation of the main problems of the Indonesian revolution. It was formulated that the present stage of the Indonesian revolution was a new-type bourgeois democratic revolution, whose tasks were to liquidate imperialism and the vestiges of feudalism and to establish a people's democratic system as a transitional stage to socialism. The driving forces of the revolution were the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie; the leading force of the revolution was the working class and the principal mass strength of the revolution was the peasantry. It was also formulated that the national bourgeoisie was a wavering force of the revolution who might side with the revolution to certain limits and at certain periods but who, at other times, might betray the revolution. The Party furthermore formulated that the working class in order to fulfil its obligation as the leader of the revolution, must forge a revolu-

³ V. I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*.

tionary united front with other revolutionary classes and groups based on worker-peasant alliance and under the leadership of the working class.

However, there was a very important shortcoming which in later days developed into Right opportunism or revisionism, namely, that the Party had not yet come to the clearest unity of minds on the principal means and the main form of struggle of the Indonesian revolution.

The Chinese revolution, the self-criticism says, has provided the lesson concerning the main form of struggle of the revolution in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, namely, the people's armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution. In line with the essence of the revolution as an agrarian revolution, then the essence of the people's armed struggle is the armed struggle of the peasants in an agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class. The practice of the Chinese revolution is first and foremost the application of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of China. At the same time, it has laid down the general law for the revolutions of the peoples in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries.

To achieve its complete victory, it stresses, the Indonesian revolution must also follow the road of the Chinese revolution. This means that the Indonesian revolution must inevitably adopt this main form of struggle, namely, the people's armed struggle against the armed counter-revolution which, in essence, is the armed agrarian revolution of the peasants under the leadership of the proletariat.

All forms of legal and parliamentary work should serve the principal means and the main form of struggle, and must not in any way impede the process of the ripening of armed struggle.

The experience during the last fifteen years has taught us that starting from not explicitly denying the "peaceful road" and not firmly holding to the general law of revolution in colonial or semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, the PKI gradually got bogged down in parliamentary and other forms of legal struggle. The Party leadership even considered this to be the main form of struggle to achieve the strategic aim of the Indonesian revolution. The legality of the

Party was not considered as one method of struggle at a given time and under certain conditions, but was rather regarded as a principle, while other forms of struggle should serve this principle. Even when counter-revolution not only has trampled underfoot the legality of the Party, but has violated the basic human rights of the Communists as well, the Party leadership still tried to defend this "legality" with all their might.

The "peaceful road" was firmly established in the Party when the Fourth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Fifth Congress in 1956 adopted a document which approved the modern revisionist line of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. In such a situation, when the revisionist line was already firmly established in the Party, it was impossible to have a correct Marxist-Leninist line of strategy and tactics. The formulation of the main lines of strategy and tactics of the Party started from a vacillation between the "peaceful road" and the "road of armed revolution", in the process of which the "peaceful road" finally became dominant.

Under such conditions, the General Line of the PKI was formulated, by the Sixth National Congress 1959. It reads, "To continue the forging of the national united front, and to continue the building of the Party, so as to accomplish the demands of the August Revolution of 1945." Based on the General Line of the Party, the slogan "Raise the Three Banners of the Party" was decided. These were: (1) the banner of the national united front, (2) the banner of the building of the Party, and (3) the banner of the 1945 August Revolution. The General Line was meant as the road to people's democracy in Indonesia.

The Party leadership tried to explain that the Three Banners of the Party were the three main weapons to win the people's democratic revolution which, as Comrade Mao Tsetung has said, were "a well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and

all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party".⁴

Thus the second main weapon means that there must be a people's armed struggle against armed counter-revolution under the leadership of the Party. The Party leadership tried to replace this with the slogan "Raise the banner of the 1945 August Revolution".

In order to prove that the road followed was not the opportunist "peaceful road", the Party leadership always spoke of the two possibilities, the possibility of a "peaceful road" and the possibility of a non-peaceful road. They held that the better the Party prepared itself to face the possibility of a non-peaceful road, the greater would be the possibility of a "peaceful road". By doing so the Party leadership cultivated in the minds of Party members, the working class and the masses of the working people the hope for a peaceful road which in reality did not exist.

In practice, the Party leadership did not prepare the whole ranks of the Party, the working class and the masses of the people to face the possibility of a non-peaceful road. The most striking proof of it was the grave tragedy which happened after the outbreak and the failure of the September 30th Movement. Within a very short space of time, the counter-revolution succeeded in massacring and arresting hundreds of thousands of Communists and non-Communist revolutionaries who found themselves in a passive position, paralysing the organisation of the PKI and the revolutionary mass organisations. Such a situation surely would never happen if the Party leadership did not deviate from the revolutionary road.

The Party leadership declared, says the self-criticism that "our Party must not copy the theory of armed struggle abroad, but must carry out the Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle: guerrilla warfare in the countryside (especially by farm labourers and poor peasants), revolutionary actions by the workers (especially transport workers) in the cities, and intensive work among the enemy's armed forces". The Party leadership criticised some comrades who, in studying the experience of the armed struggle of the Chinese people, were considered seeing only its similarities with the conditions in Indo-

⁴ Mao Tsetung, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," *Selected Works*, Vol. IV.

nesia. On the contrary, the Party leadership put forward several allegedly different conditions that must be taken into account, until they arrived at the conclusion that the method typical to the Indonesian revolution was the "Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle".

To fulfil its heavy but great and noble historical mission, to lead the people's revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must firmly reject the revisionist "peaceful road", reject the "theory of the Method of Combining the Three Forms of Struggle" and hold aloft the banner of armed people's revolution. Following the example of the glorious Chinese revolution, the Indonesian Marxist-Leninists must establish revolutionary base areas: they must "turn the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution".

While working for the realisation of this most principal question we must also carry out other forms of struggle: armed struggle will never advance without being coordinated with other forms of struggle.

* * *

The line of Right opportunism followed by the Party leadership was also reflected in their attitude with regard to the state, in particular to the state of the Republic of Indonesia, the self-criticism says.

Based on this Marxist-Leninist teaching on state, the task of the PKI, after the August Revolution of 1945 failed, should have been the education of the Indonesian working class and the rest of the working people, so as to make them understand as clearly as possible the class nature of the state of the Republic of Indonesia as a bourgeois dictatorship. The PKI should have aroused the consciousness of the working class and the working people that their struggle for liberation would inevitably lead to the necessity of "superseding the bourgeois state" by the people's state under the leadership of the working class, through a "violent revolution". But the PKI leadership took the opportunist line that gave rise to the illusion among the people about bourgeois democracy.

The self-criticism says that the cli-

max of the deviation from Marxist-Leninist teaching on state committed by the Party leadership was the formulation of the "theory of the two aspects in the state power of the Republic of Indonesia".

The "two-aspect theory" viewed the state and the state power in the following way.

The state power of the Republic, viewed as contradiction, is a contradiction between two opposing aspects. This first aspect is the aspect which represents the interests of the people (manifested by the progressive stands and policies of President Sukarno that are supported by the PKI and other groups of the people). The second aspect is the aspect that represents the enemies of the people (manifested by the stands and policies of the Right-wing forces and die-hards). The people's aspect has now become the main aspect and takes the leading role in the state power of the Republic.

The "two-aspect theory" obviously is an opportunist or revisionist deviation, because it denies the Marxist-Leninist teaching that "the state is an organ of the rule of a definite class which *cannot* be reconciled with its antipode (the class opposite to it)".⁵ It is unthinkable that the Republic of Indonesia can be jointly ruled by the people and the enemies of the people.

The self-criticism says that the Party leadership who wallowed in the mire of opportunism claimed that the "people's aspect" had become the main aspect and taken the hegemony in the state power of the Republic. It was as if the Indonesian people were nearing the birth of a people's power. And since they considered that the forces of the national bourgeoisie in the state power really constituted the "people's aspect", the Party leadership had done everything to defend and develop this "people's aspect". The Party leadership had altogether merged themselves in the interests of the national bourgeoisie.

By considering the national bourgeoisie the "people's aspect" in the state power of the Republic, and President Sukarno the leader of this aspect, the Party leadership erroneously recognised that the national bourgeoisie was able to lead the new-type democratic revolution. This is contrary to historical necessity and historical facts.

⁵ V. I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution*.

The Party leadership declared that the "two-aspect theory" was completely different from the "theory of structural reform"⁶ of the leadership of the revisionist Italian Communist Party. However, the fact is, theoretically or on the basis of practical realities, there is no difference between the two "theories". Both have for their starting point the "peaceful road" to socialism. Both dream of a gradual change in the internal balance of forces in the state power. Both reject the road of revolution and both are revisionist.

The anti-revolutionary "two-aspect theory" glaringly exposed itself in the statement that "the struggle of the PKI with regard to the state power is to promote the pro-people aspect so as to make it bigger and dominant, and the anti-people force can be driven out from the state power".

The Party leadership even had a name for this anti-revolutionary road: they called it the road of "revolution from above and below". By "revolution from above" they meant that the PKI "must encourage the state power to take revolutionary steps aimed at making the desired changes in the personnel and in the state organs". While by "revolution from below" they meant that the PKI "must arouse, organise and mobilise the people to achieve the same changes". It is indeed an extraordinary fantasy! The Party leadership did not learn from the fact that the concept of President Sukarno on the formation of a co-operation cabinet (the old-type government of national coalition), eight years after its announcement, had not been realised as yet. There was even no sign that it would ever be realised, despite the insistent demands. Let alone a change in the state power!

The self-criticism stresses that to clean itself from the mire of opportunism, our Party must discard this "theory of two-aspect in the state power" and re-establish the Marxist-Leninist teaching on state and revolution.....

(Italics and quotation marks are in the original - AWTW)

⁶ This refers to the revisionist Italian Communist Party's "theory" of pursuing gradual reforms in the present bourgeois state structure through parliamentary means.



Farsi

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

Signatories of the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and Participating Organisations in RIM:

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

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Unearthing the Stalin Era

Stalin's Industrial Revolution:
Politics and Workers, 1928-1932
by Hiroaki Kuromiya
(Cambridge University Press, 1990)

The Best Sons of the
Fatherland: Workers in the
Vanguard of Soviet Collectivization
by Lynne Viola
(Oxford University Press, 1987)

By B.W.

In the last few years, the rulers of the former Soviet Union have openly repudiated the entire period of socialism in the USSR and have adopted nakedly capitalist political and economic forms for their rule in the various republics. An important part of this evolution has been rewriting history to justify and promote these changes, to convince the oppressed there and around the world that socialism was a failure, and that they have no alternative to capitalism. The period of Tsarism is now portrayed as a golden age whose great potential was thrown away by the "aberration" of the Bolshevik Revolution which led to what is now called the "dark days" of Stalin's rule.

These developments underscore the importance of a new trend of Western historians known in academic circles as "revisionists", not because they "revise" Marxism-Leninism but because they revise the "totalitarian" histories of the USSR which have long dominated in the West.¹ Whereas the totalitarian historians depict the USSR under Lenin and especially Stalin as being subjected to the iron will of a single despot, with the masses simply silent victims, the "revisionists" point

out the role of different class forces in the USSR in the socialist period, including a number of accomplishments of the Soviet revolutionaries. One of these authors, H Kuromiya, describes this trend: "The revolution appears in these [revisionist] works not merely as a revolution from above but also as one that was to some extent politically pressed and supported 'from below'. So uncritically have Western historians assumed that Stalin intimidated and terrorised the whole society that the question of popular support has largely escaped them." These historians do not claim to be revolutionary, and they are not. As is implied in Kuromiya's statement, they view the state not as dictatorship of one class

or another, but as an arena where different classes have varying amounts of influence. Nor is their goal to analyse how capitalist society can be superseded; rather, they are trying to be faithful to a static view of society as an ensemble of differing and often conflicting social interests - a model that they consider to be more truthful than the dominant totalitarian school of history. Yet despite their fundamentally erroneous view, this historical school has taken a fresh look at many of the crucial events in the building of socialism in the USSR. This review will deal with two of these recent texts.

■ ■ ■



ant masses in the backward countryside, to unite with the revolutionary peasants and help lead their struggle to build socialism and create a whole new world.

The 25 000ers campaign was launched following a great crisis which confronted the USSR in 1927-28 when, despite a good harvest, the amount of grain sent to the cities declined dramatically. At the same time, the urban population was growing rapidly. Moreover instead of revolution elsewhere in Europe coming to their aid, as most Bolsheviks had anticipated, there was a renewed menace of war. While some leaders of the CPSU gave up revolution and sought ways to make their peace with the old order, the dominant section, led by Stalin, resolved to push ahead and build socialism, to increase Soviet economic and military strength and to ensure the supply of grain for the Red Army in case of war.

The campaign of the 25 000ers itself grew out of the frustration of the Party centre in its initial efforts to carry the revolution to the countryside by relying on the rural officials already in place.

Though the 25 000ers had the support of the Party centre, the local situation was often difficult. In 1926 there was approximately one Bolshevik for every 400 rural inhabitants; most were new members who joined during the NEP period, and, besides the politically untested, many were often wealthier peasants whose real motive for joining the Party was to keep their privileged position in the village.

Calling on the advanced workers to send 25 000 from their ranks to the countryside, for what was initially expected to be a campaign of a year or two, was part of an effort to go over the heads of this conservative rural officialdom and mobilise the party's proletarian social base. The workers were chosen as the culmination of a mass campaign in the factories, with many times more volunteers than the number needed - factories sponsored the workers and tried to aid them with material and moral support. Of the factory directors, who were all members of the Communist Party, a few supported the campaign, but many resisted. They too were facing the need to industrialise rapidly, as part of the First Five Year Plan, and, according to Viola, wanted neither to

lose some of their best workers and activists nor to have a major political campaign going on and "distracting" from work. Many argued openly that the quotas of workers demanded were too high; others adopted different tactics and tried to send raw, inexperienced youth with no particular political dedication to carry out this complicated and dangerous task. Articles appeared in the press stating that the workers could expect a hostile reception - hardly meant to encourage participation.

Led by Stalin, Bolshevik party forces mobilised from below to overcome this resistance, to implement the campaign and then persevere in supporting the workers once they were in the countryside. The workers who went were not motivated by personal interest: the conditions of life in the countryside were far worse than in the cities - the 25 000ers could expect an immediate, dramatic decline in their income and general conditions of life, including food, cultural activity, and so forth. They went for other reasons: most of the volunteers were veterans of the civil war against the bourgeoisie and the imperialist interventionist armies, and political activists in the years since - they were dedicated to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and the Communist Party. Viola gives the example of a worker from Rostov, F.Z. Drozd, who declared to his fellow factory workers that it was his duty to fight for collectivisation just as he had served in the civil war: "I am an old partisan. Earlier, not even stopping to think, I cast aside my family and went to defend the party and Soviet power. Now when the slogan is 'transform the North Caucasus to 100 percent collectivisation in one and one half years', I, with satisfaction, go to the countryside in order again to fulfil my duty before the party and Soviet power."

Viola notes the frustration found among many workers with the period of the New Economic Policy (NEP) - the temporary retreat in the early and mid-1920s which was called by Lenin in the face of the ravages of the imperialist intervention against the newborn revolutionary power. NEP had allowed a certain revival of capitalism in the cities and especially the countryside, where the Bolsheviks were still too weak to effectively revolutionise the society and economy. With collectivisation, the workers saw

themselves as renewing the offensive and reinvigorating the revolution by taking it to the peasantry, especially the poor peasants. Veteran workers of 60 and over volunteered, recalling how they fought in the civil war at the front, and inspiring the younger workers to take their own positions on the front lines. Workers who knew the countryside spoke out too; one declared, "I am from the peasantry myself. For a long time, I not only had to observe the life of the peasant but myself tasted all of the superstitions by which all of our old pre-revolutionary peasantry was nourished. I saw that the only way for the peasantry to break out of its indigent condition was to enter the collective farm."

The 25 000ers saw themselves as a necessary aid to the weak Party forces in the rural areas, indispensable for ensuring that collectivisation was carried out and that the cities, and the revolution itself, were not cut off and strangled by rural bourgeois forces in the countryside. But they saw themselves as far more than simply brawn added to ensure the enforcement of party policy. They also saw themselves as standard-bearers of proletarian culture and consciousness, fighting against illiteracy, drunkenness, lack of discipline, and in general taking an awareness of the Soviet revolution to hitherto unreached areas. Though many of them eventually returned to the cities, many others settled down to their new life among the peasantry.

The workers went in spite of material deprivation, hostility and danger from the kulak enemy - many were murdered, hundreds were beaten, arrested and purged from the party by rural party committees run by the rural elite and their cronies. Many went hungry and virtually all of them lived in conditions far more difficult than those they left behind in the cities. Yet the majority of the 25 000ers persevered and carried on collectivisation, rallying allies in the villages, generally the poorer peasants, schoolteachers and youth.

In part due to the efforts of self-sacrificing proletarian revolutionaries like these, for the first time in the history of mankind the toilers themselves wrenched the land out of the hands of private owners who had controlled it for countless generations. This was a truly earth-shaking victory that inspired millions of workers and peas-

ants around the world with hope and shamefully exposed the capitulation of those leaders of the Soviet party like Trotsky and Bukharin who proclaimed such a victory impossible. It is true that, as Mao analysed later, there were serious mistakes in this campaign, and when the revisionists seized power in the 1950s, they turned the collective and state farms into factories of oppression and degradation. Mao analysed that though collectivisation in the USSR was a great victory, it had excessively squeezed the peasants, and was part of a policy that overemphasised heavy industry to the detriment of agriculture and light industry. Nonetheless, such errors on the part of Stalin and the Soviet revolutionaries do not take away from the fact that this was a first path-breaking step, and part of the basis on which Mao and the Chinese comrades learned to advance better and higher.

Stalin's Industrial Revolution, by Hiroaki Kuromiya, is a work of economic history, not easily accessible, which focuses on the First Five Year Plan in the USSR, from 1928 to 1932, and especially on the role of the workers in carrying out industrialisation. Kuromiya briefly goes over the objective conditions at the time of the decision to end NEP and launch the drives for industrialisation and collectivisation. International tension was mounting and the Soviet leaders were growing concerned at the possibility of renewed imperialist intervention. The grain crisis that erupted in 1926-27, mentioned above, posed an acute challenge to the line of Stalin and those determined to go ahead and build socialism in the USSR. These factors gave rise to a crisis of confidence in the revolutionary regime.

Kuromiya is not concerned with attempting an overall summary of the period of the First Five Year plan, but limits the book to describing the role of the workers in carrying out industrialisation. In doing so, his account of this period brings welcome relief from the mountains of garbage churned out by the "totalitarian" school of history which interests itself almost exclusively in the suppression of reactionary intellectuals and kulaks. Kuromiya shows vividly not only that Stalin's policies had significant popular support but that they answered deeply felt frustrations of broad strata in Soviet society, particularly the

young proletarians, with the NEP period. Mao, looking at this period from the point of view of the acute class struggle in Soviet society, summed up that this campaign was urgent and necessary.

Yet who was the party to count on in carrying out the drive? Revolutionaries had never faced such a problem before and the revolution's very success now posed new dilemmas: veteran workers often had moved up in the factory into the better-paying, skilled jobs and enjoyed a certain status as acknowledged leaders of the workers. Almost all the factory administrators were themselves higher-ranking members of the Communist Party. Would they lead the mass movements that would be required to build socialism?

Huge industrial projects were launched which drew in hundreds of thousands of unemployed youth from the cities and young migrants from the countryside. In the vanguard of these giant projects for socialist construction were the shock movements, often spearheaded by the youth. At the time, this was not so evident a policy as it might seem to revolutionaries today: the shock movements meant constantly increasing production norms, and this often met reluctance from sections of the workers themselves, especially the older, more highly skilled workers and including many of the veterans of the revolution and civil war.

Some in the CPSU leadership had to be in the forefront of this movement, but most youth in the factories were fresh from the countryside and unschooled in class struggle and industrial life, and were looked on with suspicion by workers on whom the party relied. One party leader, for example, argued that, "For them [younger workers from the countryside], the factory is neither the property of the working class that was taken by the working class from the capitalists, nor the creation of the proletariat that has been erected by Soviet power, but rather a place in which they can earn a little extra to strengthen their own farms."

Yet the party leadership put great confidence in these youth, especially from the working class itself. Stalin called on the Komsomol youth "to put themselves in the front ranks" of the movement to industrialise. And they

did. An American engineer in the USSR, who was not sympathetic to the Soviet regime, nonetheless recorded in his diary at the time that, "a present-day observer can easily overlook... the genuine upsurge of messianic hopes and revolutionary self-sacrifice... and the welcome release from the psychological doldrums of NEP, with its undramatic goals and its petit-bourgeois comfort.... The force of this emotion was great among a part of the first post-revolutionary generation, especially among many sons and daughters of the previously underprivileged peasants and factory workers." For them, the purpose of the new challenge "was not merely to advance their own careers, but to create a new society, never known before, in which injustice and inherited social inequities would dissolve in a brotherhood of the proletariat and eventually all people".

The shock movements and workers' planning sessions saw party cadres on the shop floors mobilise the workers to surpass the plan norms set in the centre. The factory managers, though nearly always members of the party, not infrequently resisted, for movements of the masses inevitably posed new challenges to them: when workers insisted on doubling output, where were they to obtain the new raw materials, and how would they pay for them? What was the role of the trade unions, who were supposed to defend the conditions of the workers? Many managers vehemently complained about the time lost to the constant meetings held by the workers: an average of half an hour every day.

According to Kuromiya, the renewed upsurge of revolutionary elan in the USSR brought along with it a growth in egalitarian trends. Mutual aid teams and other collective work forms were set up by the workers, including, for a certain period, a "brigade system", where large groups with varying skill categories joined together and pooled their efforts and wages, which they then split up equally. For a while, differentials in wages were reduced throughout Soviet society, and in many factories skilled workers came to be paid no more than unskilled ones. Kuromiya notes that this development "was incomprehensible from a market point of view", for it was taking place amidst dramatic shortages of skilled labour. The "wage-levelling trends", he notes,

"had a heroic tone of fighting against the spontaneity of the market". One source of support for these wage-levelling policies was, according to Kuromiya, Stalin's view that such egalitarianism would insulate the core of the working class from the dangers of labour aristocratic viewpoints.

Nonetheless, the egalitarian trends gave rise to new problems. Many of the skilled workers simply moved on to factories where the revolutionary movement among the workers was less powerful and thus egalitarianism weaker, so that they could command better wages and working conditions. This seriously disrupted production. Ultimately, the party leadership concluded that it was impossible to sustain the "brigade system".

In summing up socialist construction in the USSR, Mao Tsetung pointed out that as time went on Stalin tended to rely less and less on the masses. Kuromiya is not a Marxist. His analysis is certainly not informed by the experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution when the Chinese revolutionaries were able to rectify many of the Soviet revolutionaries' errors. Yet the details he provides about what the Soviet leaders and masses actually did do and why support Mao's analysis. One case of this is Kuromiya's account of the Soviet policy of one-man management.

It is doubtless that in unleashing the drives for industrialisation and collectivisation, Stalin knew of and was prepared to do battle with powerful bureaucratic interests in Soviet society. An example of this can be seen in his fierce rebuke of the managers and others who resisted the planning initiatives of the workers and the shock movement, particularly the method of socialist competition: "Socialist competition is a manifestation of a practical revolutionary *self-criticism* by the masses, springing from the creative *initiative* of millions of workers.... The bureaucratic danger manifests itself concretely above all in that it shackles the energy, initiative and independent activity of workers, keeps concealed the colossal reserves latent in the depths of our system, deep down in the working class and peasantry, and prevents these resources from being utilised in the struggle against our class enemies. It is the task of socialist competition to smash these bureau-

cratic shackles, to afford broad scope for the unfolding of the energy and creative initiative of workers, to bring to light the colossal reserves latent in the depths of our system and to throw them into the scale in the struggle against our class enemies both inside and outside our country."

Yet even as Stalin led the Soviet people into uncharted waters, in transforming the economy of the country in a way unprecedented in history, he increasingly came to rely on methods that were in contradiction with the cause for which he fought. Not the least of these was the policy of one-man management. It seems that Stalin saw this policy as an inherent part of increased centralisation, which in turn he considered essential to industrialise and collectivise rapidly in order to put the Soviet Union on a war footing. Centralisation was supposed to counteract the chaos that would inevitably arise in this process.

But the method of one-man management, which walled workers off from the management of the factories, was not the only possible solution to such a problem. It is true that the CPSU tried to counterbalance one-man management with a system of "workers' control", which was effective enough to provoke frequent howls of protest from administrators - often because the workers upset routine with "storming sessions" in which they raised plans for production and the like. Kuromiya gathers evidence that there was immediate, widespread protest among the workers themselves at adopting one-man management. Mao Tsetung considered this policy an error, and argued that "there should be a basic distinction between the principles governing socialist and capitalist enterprises". In fact, the Chinese went on in the Cultural Revolution to develop revolutionary committees, which were combinations that included representatives chosen "from below". Sometimes they were made up of representatives of the party, military and masses; sometimes old, middle-aged and young; and especially "red and expert", with red being the determining factor. Such combinations made use of various experiences to guide factories, schools, and other institutions; they also helped break down the division of labour inherited from class society and mobilised the enthusiasm of the masses.

Stalin's support for one-man management formed part of a tendency that grew within the ranks of the Soviet leadership to become less fully reliant on the masses - a tendency which later had serious adverse results. And even within the great moments of the First Year Plan and the drive to collectivise, these tendencies expressed themselves - Kuromiya records not only the adoption of one-man management, despite resistance from many workers, but also the growing use of piece rates, material incentives and other such policies.

Moreover, the upsurge of the workers in the First Five Year Plan, though genuinely revolutionary in both its spirit and achievements, was constrained even from the beginning by a too narrow focus on production. Truly millions of workers, for example, were brought into the ranks of the management and scientific and technical personnel of the new society. This astonished many observers at the time, yet the way it was carried out did not strike as deeply as possible at the roots of the established division of labour in society. So while it could be said that for this generation, there was truth in the statement that the workers were stepping onto the stage in nearly every sphere of society, they were doing so in large part *by moving out of the working class*; in other words, by moving higher up in the social division of labour. The notion that the division of labour could be overcome by more and more workers becoming administrators, scientists and the like went hand in hand with Stalin's ever more pronounced view that building socialism meant developing the productive forces. The more awesome challenge of gradually digging up the very roots of the social division of labour characteristic of class society by mobilising the masses to seize and transform the superstructure had to await Mao Tsetung and the Cultural Revolution. There, for example, the educated youth were called on to go to the countryside where they not only took their book knowledge to the peasants, but more importantly, learned from the peasants such things as what knowledge was needed and for whom and to do what.

Parting ways with the dominant "totalitarian" school of historians, Kuromiya considers that important struggles continued in the top ranks

of the CPSU well into the 1930s and that the success of what he calls "the Stalin group" was far from certain. He points to the strength of opponents of Stalin who gathered first around Trotsky and later Bukharin in the mid- and late-1920s, including within the trade unions and other important institutions, and takes seriously the possibility that they were prepared even in the early 1930s to seize on any major setback to "the Stalin group" in order to grab power. K.B. Radek, for example, who was a member of the Politburo, stated in regards to the industrialisation drive that, "If this general offensive were not slowed down it would, as we defined it by a catch-phrase, 'end like the march on Warsaw'" (referring to a campaign involving Stalin during the revolutionary civil war in which the Red Army suffered a serious defeat). Others thought that the failure of Stalin's policy and the rise of the Right were virtually "a foregone conclusion". Kuromiya shows that there was support for these rightist lines broadly throughout the party hierarchy. For example, a meeting of "shock workers on the financial front" in 1932 saw significant open support for a proposal that the profit motive should be restored to a determining position in the financial affairs of the Soviet state - and these were supposedly the politically advanced finance workers!

Kuromiya sums up the period of the First Year Plan by observing that, by seriously underestimating the actual role of ideology and politics in CPSU policy, Western historians tend to overstate the monolithic character of Soviet society: "Stalin, far from rallying the entire nation, even split it. Unlike Witte [a reformer in the pre-World War 1 period], who had merely dreamed of a strong autocracy that would not have had to rely on any particular class, but stand above all classes, Stalin deliberately sought the support of particular political constituencies, the Communists, Komsomols and industrial workers, by pitting them against the alleged class enemy."

A later generation of revolutionaries led by Mao Tsetung have, while upholding Stalin's contributions, made serious criticisms of the line guiding both these great campaigns². They were nonetheless tremendous

achievements by the Soviet people in building socialism. The very many observers such as Anna Louise Strong, Maurice Hindus, the Durants, Dr. Norman Bethune and others who travelled the length and breadth of the USSR in this period took back countless stories of the miracles worked by the previously downtrodden workers and peasants of backward Russia - in books that today are, of course, all out of print. Indeed, while the advanced imperialist powers of Germany, Great Britain, France and the US floundered in the Great Depression, with millions living in the streets and begging for food in these richest countries on earth, in the formerly backward area of the USSR the most rapid economic development witnessed in the 20th century was taking place and the old way of life was being overturned. The Chinese masses led by Mao advanced further along the path to communism than Stalin and the Soviet people were able, in no small part by correcting their errors - indeed, their progress was only possible by standing on the shoulders of those generations of Soviet people who truly set out to build the earth on new foundations. ■

Endnotes

¹In Chapter 6 of *Democracy: Can't We Do Better Than That?* (Chicago: Banner Press, 1986), Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP, USA, analyses the theory of the "totalitarian state" and the way in which Western, and especially social-democratic, theorists have used it as "one of the main weapons in the ideological arsenal of Western imperialism in its conflict with the Soviet bloc" following World War 2. In fact, no such thing as the "totalitarian state" has ever existed. Avakian dissects the main tenets of this theory: that the "totalitarian state" rests on all-pervasive terror, that its goal is world domination, that it seeks to control every sphere of life, etc., and shows in what ways this theory served imperialism. This thesis especially hides the division of society into classes and the role the state plays as the organ of rule of a class.

²In particular, Mao criticised Stalin's one-sided emphasis on industrialisation and modernisation. He discusses this at length in *A Critique of Soviet Economics* (Monthly Review Press, 1977). The Maoist position is summarised briefly in the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*.

Two Momentous Years...

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the People's War. That thousands are replacing the hundreds, and hundreds of thousands are replacing the thousands! They realised that People's War cannot be easily wished away, that it was a fundamentally new type of war.

Along with aggravating the crisis within the rotten state of the reactionary class this great process of People's War intensified the contradictions within its different political factions. Among the various parliamentary cliques which serve as stooges for different imperialist and expansionist plunderers, the process of manoeuvring for power was intensified. Under the background of the above crisis and immediately after the celebration of the first glorious anniversary and commencement of the second year of People's War, a new coalition within the reactionary state was installed, demonstrating naked perversion; immorality, hypocrisy and flunkeyism. The new government, with the participation of the renegade United Nepal Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) [UML] clique under the leadership of the Panchayati butchers was a mockery of even the limited achievements of the 1990 historic people's movement. It adopted a new strategy of repression combined with diplomatic intrigue against the People's War. Under this strategy in the beginning it was pronounced that the People's War was a "political problem" and that it could be solved through "dialogue". However, in practice preparations were made for even more intense suppression by constituting different commissions, particularly an intelligence commission. The people grasped the overall conspiracy of the new government when it decided to introduce an anti-terrorist bill and to mobilise the military against the people even when there was no change in the objective conditions.

By reflecting upon the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the universal principle of the development of revolutionary war and the specificities of the development of the People's War in Nepal, the Party had already visualised the possibility of the enemy mobilising its army against the People's War. To resist this, the Party had prepared its entire rank and file, the combatants and the masses to a certain extent, with a series of political and military strate-

gies and tactics. Postulating the mobilisation of the army against the People's War as a sign of the victory of People's War from the military point of view, the Party had already prepared itself for the great prospects and grave challenges.

The great Nepalese masses launched a countrywide protest campaign against the reactionary government's decision to introduce the so-called anti-terrorist bill and to mobilise the army against the People's War, thus rendering it dormant for the time being. Within the short period of one and a half months, the fascist nature of the new government got exposed. More importantly, for the first time the broader masses of people got the opportunity of identifying and understanding the reactionary nature of the revisionist renegade UML clique. Against the wrath of the people the government was forced to retreat. To a certain extent, the Nepalese people rightly experienced it as a form of victory for their initiative.

Alarmed by this kind of development, the feudalists and the imperialists started looking for another equation for maintaining their state. In this context started the much hated process of the buying and selling, confining and kidnapping of parliamentarians mainly under the intervention and for the interests of the Indian expansionists! The hypocrisy of parliamentary democracy got even more exposed. It became once more clear to everyone that the parliament and the parliamentarians are nothing but the sheepfold and sheep of imperialism and feudalism.

Ultimately a coalition government was formed, consisting of the past fascist Panchas and the Congress, infamous as traitors, mass-murderers and stooges of the Indian expansionists. This new government, most hated and shunned by the people, in its first public declaration made known its policy of containing the People's War. They declared that they would "wipe out" the People's War within a period of three months. The new government is proceeding ahead with the strategic policy of using government-sponsored goons under the name of the People's Defence Committee, killing revolutionary cadres with surprise attacks, making false and vicious propaganda against the leadership of the People's War, mobilising huge commando police and mili-

tary forces through an unannounced, countrywide campaign of repression, arrest and torture, and making armed interventions against peaceful programmes of different mass organisations. In this way nine revolutionary combatants, including Comrades Dhanraj Pun, Suk Bahadur Rokka, Prem Bahadur Rokka, Bhim Prasad Oharti of Rolpa district, a woman Comrade, Kamala Bhatt, of Gorkha district, and Com. Padam Bahadur Rokaya of Jajarkot district, have been murdered by this government of Indian stooges (up till January 1998).

However, the more important aspect is the new and unprecedented wave of people's support in favour of the People's War that has been increasing together with such declarations and activities of the government. The peasants, women, students and intellectuals in their thousands are forging ahead at greater speed in the process of militant struggle. The military actions of people's guerrillas have not only expanded widely but also attained newer heights. This has been confirmed by the recent success of higher forms of guerrilla action accomplished in Rukum and Dhading, among other parts of the country.

Amidst this people's hatred, wrath and resistance, another drama of the formation of a new coalition within the reactionary state has begun. In the form of a meaningless debate of whether to hold a mid-term election or a special session of parliament, power struggles between the Royal palace, the USA and India are taking place. For their own exclusive domination and plunder, the Indian expansionists and the American imperialists are today openly penetrating into the reactionary groups, including the Royal palace, Nepali Congress, UML and the Rastriya Prajatantra Party (RPP). It is now as clear as the daylight that various contradictions and conflicts within the different reactionary cliques of the country are in essence the reflection of power struggles between different imperialist and expansionist camps.

From the above scenario of the People's War and the reactionary state it becomes clear that the reactionary state is sliding towards its doom and the great process of the People's War is heading towards its victory. The present reactionary state is the root cause of the downfall of the country

and the people, and the People's War represents the banner of the safeguard and liberation of the country and the people.

Today, the feudalists, the expansionists and the imperialists are conspiring through their Nepalese stooges, the Nepali Congress, UML, the Royal palace, RPP, etc., to let loose more intense repression against the Nepalese people and the People's War. It is not possible to attain easy victory in People's War. For this, wider participation and the more unified efforts of the masses is warranted. There are great possibilities and at the same time serious challenges, too, ahead of the People's War.

Up to now the reactionary class has been adopting the strategy of disinformation campaigns politically and that of encirclement and suppression militarily against the People's War. To counter this the People's War is adopting the strategy of "demystifying rumour" politically and "breaking encirclement and mounting resistance" militarily.

We should not assume the failure of different reactionary political groups as the failure of the overall reactionary state. If need be, the reactionary state can do away with the present political groups as the failure of exercising extreme despotism against the people. It is only by preparing themselves to face the worst state that the revolutionaries can fulfill their historic role. The main point is to dare to win over the fear of death, through adherence to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and commitment for the sake of the people. However arduous the path may be, the destruction of the reactionary state and the victory of the people is for sure.

3. ROLE OF PEOPLE'S WAR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THREE INSTRUMENTS OF REVOLUTION

A. THE PARTY

Comrade Mao has synthesised that the three magic instruments of the new democratic revolution are the party, the revolutionary united front and the people's army. Even though the theory may remain the same, the specific development of these instruments de-

pend upon the specificities of historical development of different countries. Here there is no question of accommodating mechanistic thinking. It is well known that amongst the three instruments, the party is the main instrument which will give leadership to the other two.

The People's War which has been forging ahead for the past two years has played a historic role in developing and transforming the Party itself. In a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country like ours and in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution the process of the protracted nature of the people's war is also a process of the revolutionary transformation of the party. We are realising with our own experience that in comparison to tens of years of idealistic talking and sermoning, the two years experience of the People's War has played an amazing role in the revolutionary transformation of the Party.

The People's War has played an important role in the transformation and development of the Party, such as: by strengthening the ideological unity of the Party through emotional unity; by raising the ideological and political awareness and level of the Party to a newer height through unfolding specific characteristics of the Nepalese revolution; by leading the whole Party towards the development of a proletarian revolutionary culture of renunciation, devotion and sacrifice essential for giving leadership to the people's revolution; by raising consciousness about the dialectical relationship and the correct handling of class struggle and inner struggle; by qualitatively consolidating and expanding the relationship between the mass, class, Party and the leaders; by increasing the role, responsibility and recognition of the Party in the national and international field, etc.

It was the process of resisting against the reactionary state's fascist repression and facing the venomous attacks of the old and the new revisionists that sped up the revolutionary transformation process of the Party. The fact that the development of the Party as the revolutionary representative of the proletarian class takes place through an intense process of class struggle and ideological struggle has been proved correct in Nepal too.

Based on the synthesis of the ex-

periences, achievements and limits of People's War, the Party is today stressing making lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) its point of departure so as to prevent the Party from changing its colour and to be more revolutionary and matured in the face of repressive, conspiratorial and splittist activities of the reactionaries and the opportunists. For a continuous transformation of the Party as the leader of the revolution, for defending it physically and ideologically and for expanding and strengthening its relationship with the masses there is no other scientific method in the present-day world than the teachings of the GPCR. The Party is the unity of opposites; as long as the Party exists the phenomena of unity and struggle between the opposites will also remain. The more developed and the more complex the class struggle becomes the more the Party also necessarily becomes developed and complex. In that context a maximum and continuous practice of democracy both within and outside the Party becomes necessary so as to preserve the revolutionary quality of the Party and to defeat different manifestations of revisionism and opportunism. To ensure the maximum participation of the general cadres and the labouring masses in the internal affairs of the Party is the only guarantee to save it against revisionism. Hence, the Party is able to visualise clearly through the experiences of the two years of People's War that unless one adopts a system of generating innumerable revolutionary successors from the rank and file cadres and the masses, it will be impossible to defeat feudalism, imperialism and revisionism. The important achievement of today is the realisation of the necessity of developing consciousness and initiatives among the cadres and the masses to "bombard the headquarters" of opportunism so as to fulfill the role of giving leadership to the great revolution of the people against the exploitation and oppression of feudalism and imperialism and the betrayal and treachery of revisionism.

B. THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT

Theoretically, it is obvious that the success of democratic revolution is impossible without the broad revolu-

tionary united front between different anti-feudal and anti-imperialist classes, sections, and levels of people under the leadership of the proletariat. Similarly, it is clear that the basis of such a form of united front will be and should be the unity between workers and peasants.

However, the process of initiation and development of the revolutionary united front will be different, depending upon the situation of different countries. In Nepal, the greatest manifestation of opportunism has been on the question of the united front.

Although theoretically our Party had been forwarding a revolutionary line on this question for a long time, it was not able to put it into practice and it was also not possible without initiating the People's War. Today the experiences of the People's War have given a clear picture of the tactical and strategic aspects of the revolutionary united front. Looking at the historical specificities of Nepal and the experiences of the two years of People's War, the broad united front of oppressed classes and masses, oppressed nationalities and the people of the oppressed regions will be the concrete manifestation of our revolutionary united front. This conclusion has an immense historical importance.

This will smash the present "unity" imposed by the Hindu feudal state power based on class, national and regional inequality and oppression and open the door for building a new unity based on democratic values. Today the People's War has had maximum impact on the oppressed classes and masses of workers, peasants, women, etc., on different oppressed nationalities and untouchable *dalit* castes and on the people of the oppressed regions of the far West and the Terai.

The Party regards it as a historical necessity of Nepal to give maximum importance to the question of the struggle against national and regional oppression as an integral part of class struggle and democratic revolution. Until the political, economic, linguistic, religious and cultural rights of different nationalities usurped in the course of formation of the centralised feudal state of Nepal are reinstated democratically and they are guaranteed full participation in the new democratic state, and until a great force of national unity based on democracy

is created, it will be impossible to smash feudalism and imperialism.

In order to achieve that great national unity there is no proletarian outlook other than to recognise the right of self-determination, including the right to secede politically, for the oppressed nationalities. Hence our Party has firmly accepted the right of self-determination of different oppressed nationalities in order to ensure their participation as a necessary part of the revolutionary united front. Accordingly the Party has been undertaking initiatives to put into practice national autonomy as the concrete programme for the present.

In the present stage of the development of the People's War, wherever there is an exercise of the local democratic state the Party has been trying to practically apply the concept of the united front in it, and at the central level to build the united front as an instrument of struggle against class, national and regional oppression. In order to ensure the victory of the Nepalese revolution, the relevance of the Party's concept of the united front should be propagated amongst the workers, peasants, different nationalities, oppressed castes and the people of the oppressed regions and it should be given an organisational form as fast as possible and as best as possible. At the ideological level, it is necessary to launch a more vigorous struggle against the rightist revisionists who hanker after opportunistic alliances in the name of the united front.

C. PEOPLE'S ARMY

The People's War, which is forging ahead with Marxist-Leninist-Maoist slogans such as: "The people without an army have nothing of their own", "The main instrument of the state is the army", "In New Democratic Revolution the main form of organisation is the army and the main form of struggle is the war", etc., is playing an important role in the formation of the people's army. Today unarmed masses are systematically transforming themselves into armed masses relying on the revolutionary theory that war teaches war. Using the strategy and tactics of total war in the face of the extreme unbalanced condition of the military forces of the enemy and the people, the People's War has been moving forward the process

of building the army with the Nepalese specificities.

By-unfolding many concrete laws of dialectical relations between open and secret work, rural and urban activities, legal and illegal struggle, political and military activities, and mass actions and mobilisation, the People's War has been developing military consciousness and the power of the people.

4. ROLE OF PEOPLE'S WAR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY MASS ORGANISATION AND THE MASS MOVEMENT

The historic initiation of People's War and its successive development has opened a new door to the development of revolutionary mass organisation and the revolutionary mass movement. First of all, it has created new waves of revolutionary mass organisation and revolutionary mass movement by making a mockery of the revisionist cowards who refuse to see the possibilities of developing the mass movements and mass organisations beyond the limits of reformism and parliamentarism and who were indulging in the self-gratification of their monopoly over that area after the initiation of the People's War.

Today the workers, peasants, women, students, teachers, intellectuals, *dalits*, oppressed nationalities and cultural activists are fueling the fire of organisation and struggle as allies of the People's War with a new zest and zeal. The waves of the revolutionary mass movements and revolutionary mass organisations have been created throughout the country, chiefly in the principal areas of struggle, by challenging the severe state terrorism perpetrated by the reactionary state and the cowardly twaddle of the revisionist renegades.

Has the modern history of Nepal ever seen such amazing initiative of the thousands of the labouring women of the rural areas of the country who have raised the flag of revolt, defying all kinds of difficulties? Can the revisionist cowards ever imagine the great surge of women's participation in the form of guerrilla fighters and commanders who defy death consciously and willingly? Amidst terror unleashed by government-sponsored goons, the police and the army, today thousands

of labouring women from each and every remote district are participating in women's meetings and conferences, shaking heaven and earth and fighting for their due rights. These have proved the new relationship between the People's War and the mass movement. The fact that women are the most inspired group in the last two years of People's War itself is indicating definite victory for the Nepalese revolution.

Today a new horizon of the peasant's meetings, conferences and struggles has opened up throughout the country. The way the poor peasants are taking great initiative in capturing thousands of quintals of grains, crops and lands and in destroying forged bond papers of different feudal landlords of the country — behind all these the People's War has definitely played a great role. Hundreds of thousands of peasants from the main areas of struggle are attempting to exercise new democratic power by systematically resisting the enemy's mass killing, looting and terrorising. Have such scenes ever before been observed by the Nepalese communist movement? It is definite that by taking the path of revolutionary land reform consciously and in a planned manner in different parts of the country, the flames of the revolutionary peasant struggles will in future reduce to ashes the whole feudal relations of production. Similarly the revolutionary youths and students are marching forward, spreading organisation and struggles throughout the country, defying killing, repression, arrest and torture by the enemy. The People's War has given new energy for sacrifice and initiative to the students by qualitatively developing among them a sense of responsibility towards their country and the people.

Along with the development of the People's War a new consciousness for fighting for their own rights and liberation is spreading amongst many oppressed nationalities of the country such as Magars, Gurungs, Tamangs, Newars, Tharns, Rais, Limbus and Madhises. People's War has speeded up the process of the formation of various national liberation fronts and expansion of nationality organisations. Similarly, today along with the development of People's War, a wave of organisation and struggle has been created among dalit castes at a greater speed and on a wider scale. The dalits are today rebelling against the inhu-

man tyranny perpetrated upon them by the feudal state of high caste Hindus.

Similarly, the People's War has made teachers, professors and intellectuals more conscious and active with regards to their responsibilities towards the country and the people. It is a significant change that thousands of intellectuals are coming forward to give moral support to the great historic process of People's War and are organising against the social evils and the degeneration and tyranny of the reactionary state.

In the field of the cultural front, the People's War is helping the revolutionary cultural activists in their initiative and alignment against the present capitalist, revisionist and neo-revisionist hypocrisy. In the field of literature, art and culture, the People's War is directly helping in the formation of a countrywide new cultural army. The role played by the cultural front in making hundreds of thousands of people participate in the People's War has been unprecedented.

It is not only within the country but also outside the country, particularly in India, that the People's War has created a new spirit and confidence among the expatriate Nepalese to get themselves organised and participating in the People's War in Nepal. The Party's influence and work among hundreds of thousands of expatriate Nepalese has increased.

Similarly today the People's War is playing an important role in attracting agricultural technicians, doctors, engineers, lawyers, human rights activists, etc., towards the new democratic revolution.

From these facts it becomes clear that the People's War does not weaken mass movement and mass organisation but instead strengthens them and opens the door for their qualitative expansion and development. From the experience of the past two years, it has become clear that it is the revisionists who have been hampering the revolutionary development of mass organisation and the mass movement by parroting mass movementism but worshipping reformism and parliamentarism.

5. ROLE OF PEOPLE'S WAR IN EXPOSING THE REVISIONISTS

Nowhere in the world proletarian movement has the success of the revo-

lution been achieved without waging intense ideological struggle against revisionism. One of the essential conditions for the development and victory of the Nepalese revolution is also to liberate the people of Nepal from the fatal poison of revisionism. Comrade Lenin has poignantly expressed that it is foolish to try to fight against modern revisionism only with theoretical debate. Together with ideological debate it is mainly through the development of class struggle that revisionism can be defeated. It is not so simple and trivial to fight against Nepalese revisionism, which has deeply penetrated within the Nepalese communist movement in the past five decades and poisoned the minds of hundreds of genuine people.

As has been said by Lenin, it is mainly the development of class struggle, here in the form of people's war, along with ideological debate, that has started burning Nepalese revisionism (in Engels' words: "colossal heap of garbage").

That today the new and the old revisionists have become more terrorised by the ghost of the People's War than even the old reactionaries and are madly assailing it proves that the revisionist heap of garbage is on fire. Immediately after the initiation of the People's War, the new and the old revisionist pundits violated the common morality of class solidarity and showed their true character by putting their faith in the feudalist and imperialist propaganda and by doubting and dishonouring the great sacrifice and initiative of the masses. They exposed their true self by lending their voice to the reactionary state and by trumpeting the charge of terrorism and extremism against the People's War. It is not only the leadership of the UML that has degenerated into reaction, but also the new revisionist ringleaders who claim themselves as the upholders of "New Democracy" and "Mao Thought" that have been serving the reactionary state against the People's War and thus revealing their true character. In this context it is worth recollecting Mohan Bikram, who is getting degenerated and marginalised due to his own immoral, hypocritical and revisionist character, who outwitted all others by announcing that the People's War would be wiped out within ten months. However, when the old and the new

revisionists saw that the People's War was spreading more and more against their wishes, they started parroting that there was a reactionary hand in promoting the People's War, just as the Congress and the Royal palace have been accusing each other of the same. They lamented that the reactionaries were not able to repress the People's War, which in fact has been resisting reactionary massacres and state terror.

When the People's War entered the second year, it was transformed into the life process of hundreds of thousands of people, and it started challenging the ruling reactionary state all the more, and it also triggered the process of genuine cadres from the revisionist camp joining and supporting the People's War overtly or covertly. Seeing this, the old revisionists openly went to give leadership to the reactionary state in order to suppress the People's War. The new revisionist ring leaders, in order to fight for their survival, went nakedly to play into the reactionaries' hands. They instigated the reactionaries against the People's War by making mountains out of mole hills of insignificant events at a local level.

The People's War has now entered the third year, after completing two years. It has established itself as the only revolutionary alternative in the country. For the reactionary state today the People's War has become the greatest obstacle. It sounds ironic that along with the imperialists, expansionists, Nepali Congress, Rastriya Prajatantra Party and United Marxist-Leninist group, even the leaders of Mashal and the Unity Centre should be branding the People's War as terrorism. But this is a fact. Nowhere and never have the elements that have degenerated into reformism and parliamentarism ideologically and politically ever helped the revolutionary movement. Even after the success of people's revolution in the future, such kinds of people will continue to oppose it. It is well known that the Bolsheviks in Russia and the Maoists in China were attacked even after the revolution by the revisionists who described themselves as communists.

Today the People's War is scaling ever greater heights while exposing all the rubbish of the new and the old revisionists. So long as the revolutionaries are guided by Marxism-Lenin-

ism-Maoism and so long as they remain loyal to the Nepalese people and march forward to liberate the country and the people, the venomous attacks of the revisionists will not be able to stop the development of the People's War. Rather, with the passage of time the revisionists will get thoroughly exposed. The revolution will triumph. The development of two years of People's War has sufficiently proved this.

6. PEOPLE'S WAR AND THE EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Before the historic initiation of People's War the Party had pledged that "the Nepalese revolution is an integral part of the world proletarian revolution and will serve the world revolution". Today with two years of experience this pledge has been proved absolutely correct. It is already known to all that our Party is a participating member of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), which is striving for the building of a "New International". Within this period our relationship with the RIM Committee and all other participating fraternal Parties of RIM has become qualitatively alive and strengthened. The initiation of the People's War and its successive development has, at one end, given new inspiration to the participating parties of RIM, and at the other end, the Nepalese People's War has received moral support from all the Parties. In the course of development, today, the international responsibility of our Party and the revolutionary Nepalese people has increased qualitatively.

Today our relations are not only spreading among the participating members of RIM but also among those revolutionary Marxist Parties and organisations who are outside RIM. Similarly, relations with revolutionary organisations waging national liberation struggles against imperialism and expansionism are also expanding along with the development of the People's War in Nepal. The way the Nepalese People's War, which is of a protracted nature, has expanded its international relations and its influence has itself become a specific manifestation of the Nepalese revolution. It is a matter of pride that the Nepalese People's War is getting warm support, love and in-

spiration from millions of revolutionary masses all over the world within such a short period.

Also, just as the Nepalese People's War is speeding up its relations with international revolutionaries, at the same speed the imperialists, expansionists and various reactionaries are hatching conspiracies and intrigues against it. In this regard the comments of particularly the ruling classes of India and the American imperialists, the world gendarmes, are worth noting. Many conspiratorial and repressive moves by these powers against the Nepalese People's War and the Party leading it have come to the surface. These elements are mainly instigating their stooges, the ruling class and various reactionary groups of Nepal, to suppress the People's War. This way the Nepalese People's War has proved to be a big slap to the world imperialist system which is undergoing new economic and political crises. It is now becoming clear that the Nepalese People's War will have a historic role in developing the new wave of world revolution in the near future.

The continuous development of the Nepalese People's War has not only started exposing Nepalese revisionism but also world revisionism. The People's War has been a major blow to the old and the new revisionists who have been swimming in the dirty pools of reformism and parliamentarism and have betrayed the people's revolutionary movement all over the world. In this regard the attacks of the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the Communist Party of India and other revisionist renegades against the Maoist People's War in Nepal are particularly noteworthy.

Today, in many other countries of the world, final preparations for launching a Maoist People's War are taking place. It is a matter of pleasure for all the Nepalese revolutionaries to know that the experiences of the initiation and continuation of the People's War in Nepal are directly helping in these preparations. Today requests have been received from revolutionary workers in different parts of the world to come to Nepal and to participate in the warfront in order to safeguard and develop the Nepalese People's War and to learn practical lessons from it. These are the highest manifestations of the international

impact of the two years of the development of the People's War.

This way, at one end, the Nepalese People's War has become a new challenge to international imperialism and revisionism, and at the other end, a new source of inspiration for the communist revolutionaries and the masses of the people. This situation has definitely placed more international responsibility on the shoulders of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), the revolutionary fighters and the general masses of Nepal. The leading districts, the great martyrs and all the revolutionary fighters of the People's War in Nepal have now been transformed into the common assets of communist revolutionaries all over the world. It is this sense of seriousness and responsibility that has inspired the Nepalese revolutionaries to develop the People's War to greater heights and to set living examples of devotion and sacrifice.

7. CONCLUSION

The great process of the People's War is marching forward by giving birth to powerful forces of revolutionary transformation in all areas of Nepalese society. The enemies and the opportunists within and outside the country are conniving with each other to repress and thwart this great process of revolutionary transformation. The revolutionary communists and the masses of the people within and outside the country are getting all the more organised on a bigger scale to safeguard and develop this great process. Thus, at one end, the two years of People's War have opened the doors of historic possibilities, while at the other end, a situation of bigger challenges from the enemies and the opportunists has also been created.

The revolution is not following the subjective wishes of anyone, but the dialectical path of its own development. The two years of People's War have inspired the Party to fulfil its historic responsibility of liberating the people with greater firmness, devotion and responsibility while remaining committed to the invincible principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Let us unite in the service of and for the liberation of the great Nepalese people! However difficult and challenging the path may be the people's victory is certain. ■

On the Explusion...

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that Lenin had already struggled against revisionism. This, once again, shows Mashal's lack of understanding of the Marxist theory of knowledge and the law of dialectics. The struggle with the bourgeoisie is a protracted one, constantly bringing new elements to the fore, and capitalism itself brings about changes in the world. All this gives rise to new contradictions, including new forms of revisionism, which in turn require new analysis. Marx's struggle against Proudhon or Bakunin no more negates the importance of Lenin's struggle against Kautsky than does Lenin's struggle against revisionism negate Mao's fight against modern revisionism. It is also important to note that phenomena develop through struggle; and as the *RIM Declaration* puts it, "History has shown that real creative developments of Marxism (and not phoney revisionist distortions) have always been inseparably linked with a fierce struggle to defend and uphold basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin's two-fold struggle against the open revisionists and against those, like Kautsky, who opposed revolution under the guise of 'Marxist orthodoxy' and Mao Tse-tung's great battle to oppose the modern revisionists and their negation of the experience of building socialism in the USSR under Lenin and Stalin while carrying out a thorough and scientific criticism of the roots of revisionism are evidence of this."

Mao's struggle against modern revisionism was a prelude to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR). The NCP (Mashal) says, "The question of continuing class struggle or revolution in the socialist period under the dictatorship of proletariat is a fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism. Mao, in the form of the GPCR, has further developed it to a new height. At the same time, we should not forget that the GPCR is a continuation of this principle propounded by Marx, developed by Lenin, and practiced by Stalin." [*On "Maoism"*] First of all, Mao's summation was based on experience previous leaders simply did not have. Marx had no experience building socialism, and Lenin's own experience was very short-lived. How could they

have possibly understood and drawn out the laws and contradictions of socialist society? The idealism at the heart of this claim is anti-Marxist. Secondly, the core of the GPCR cannot be reduced to just continuing the class struggle, but involves the nature of this struggle, including especially who the bourgeoisie in socialist society are, their roots, the locus of their power, and how to fight and uproot them. Understanding all this required not only the historical experience of the USSR and China, but also Mao's dialectical materialist analysis of this. And third, for anybody really determined to bring about a classless society, a good look at socialism in the USSR and China would clearly reveal stark differences. The way the class struggle was continued in China in the GPCR involved the development of forms of struggle involving the masses in every sphere in a way that simply did not happen in Soviet society under Lenin and Stalin. This itself reflected the great leap in understanding achieved by Mao and the Chinese revolutionaries.

The NCP (Mashal) tries to devalue the GPCR by saying it was a continuation of what was practiced by Stalin. Of course it was a continuation, in that China too was building socialism; but it was not *merely* a continuation, it was also a *rupture*. Mao not only built on Stalin's achievements, he also had to criticise and refute a lot of what had been done in the Soviet Union.

As the *RIM Declaration* says, "While waging a fierce struggle against the old exploiting classes, Stalin denied in theory the emergence of a new bourgeoisie from within the socialist society itself, reflected and concentrated by the revisionists within the ruling communist party, hence his erroneous claim that 'antagonistic class contradictions' had been eliminated in the Soviet Union as a result of the basic establishment of socialist ownership in industry and agriculture. Similarly, a failure to thoroughly apply dialectics to the analysis of socialist society led the Soviet leadership to conclude that there was no longer a contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production under socialism."

"This incorrect understanding of the nature of socialist society also contributed to Stalin's failure to adequately distinguish the contradictions

between the people and the enemy and the contradictions among the people themselves. This in turn contributed to a marked tendency to resort to bureaucratic methods of handling these contradictions and gave more openings to the enemy."

These are great lessons without which it is impossible to keep on the path of socialism and march towards communism. And even though Mao was at a historical advantage, theoretical and political errors on Stalin's part hampered him in analysing the contradictions and solving them. The *RIM Declaration* aptly quotes Mao, "Stalin had a fair amount of metaphysics in him and he taught many people to follow metaphysics...." However, as presented in *On "Maoism"*: "The NCP (Mashal) fundamentally differs from a criticism made against Stalin by Chairman Mao.... The *Declaration* has not put forward any convincing argument in this connection."

Despite their claim to uphold the *RIM Declaration* and their accusations that our Movement has deviated from the *Declaration* by adopting Maoism, by rejecting Mao's advances over Stalin and insisting on upholding Stalin's mistakes, the NCP (Mashal) ultimately winds up even rejecting Stalin's correct side, which was principal. Moreover, by devaluing the significance of the GPCR, and therefore of Maoism, the NCP (Mashal) goes against a fundamental point of unity of our Movement that separates us from all sorts of revisionists.

PARTICULARITIES OF NEPAL

As we said before, the NCP (Mashal) ties the possibility of armed struggle to "concrete conditions". A brief examination of the objective situation in Nepal in the light of Mao's teachings will help clarify the debate.

Nepal is a semi-feudal country long dominated by imperialism. As is said in *The Worker* no. 1, the organ of the CPN (Maoist), "The present Nepalese state was created about two hundred years ago and is presided over by a small clique of moribund feudal and comprador and bureaucratic capitalist classes. These exploiting classes have made life hell on earth for the masses of peasants and workers and have driven the country to the verge

of collapse. Nepal is now the second poorest country in the world after Ethiopia; there is economic inequality, the richest 10% gobbling up 46.5% of the national income while 71% of the population is forced to live below the absolute poverty line. 90% of the population lives in rural areas in primitive conditions and 81% of the work-force is engaged in backward agriculture....” A backward economy and localised agriculture implies the existence of a peasantry crushed under the yoke of semi-feudal relations and burning with the desire for land. This is one of the conditions for the emergence and survival of red political power in the oppressed countries. This element is of course only visible to revolutionaries who believe that the masses are the makers of history. In the equations of revisionists and opportunists, the masses never count except as a bargaining chip in their dealings with reaction.

Furthermore, the ruling classes, being the bloodsucking tyrants they are, cannot count on the strategic and long-term support of most of the population of Nepal, and on top of that they are mired in contradictions amongst themselves. An example of this was their inability to decide what to do in the face of the initiation of the People's War. The objective situation in Nepal is not fundamentally different from that in other oppressed countries, and it is on this basis that the RIM Declaration [which the NCP (Mashal) demagogically claims to uphold!] says, “In the oppressed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America a continuous revolutionary situation generally exists.”

The NCP (Mashal) saw only the difficulties facing the revolutionaries there, and not the favourable aspects. Thus their leadership considered that it was impossible for a people's war to be successfully conducted in Nepal unless one were to break out in India first. They saw Nepal's land-locked situation (with the Himalayas/China in the north and India surrounding the rest of the country) as another impediment to the possibility of carrying a people's war to victory. This approach was indicative of whether the NCP (Mashal) was trying to apply revolutionary theory in order to hasten preparations for revolution, or instead inventing and distorting the “objective situation” in order to justify not

applying MLM.

Mao taught that everything divides into two, and in any situation, however bad, a good aspect exists too. But when one has given up on making revolution, even positive aspects will come to seem negative. The infrastructure of Nepal is very underdeveloped, and most of the country's population is only accessible by foot. The Himalayas, where the masses of Nepal know the ground like the palm of their hand and foreign (Indian) soldiers can hardly breathe in the thin air, can be very favourable ground for waging a people's war. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) have been fighting a guerrilla war for many years in Sri Lanka in geographical conditions less favourable than those of Nepal. (It is true that the fact that the LTTE is a nationalist force creates some advantages for them, because of their ability to unite larger forces to start with, but their bourgeois politics has turned that into its opposite as they are not able to fully unleash the masses.) Just how much being land-locked influences the continuity of the People's War in Nepal remains to be seen, but it is obvious that what has sustained the LTTE is not the ability of their fighters to swim!

India is a big country with a strong army. An Indian invasion would cost a lot of lives to the revolution. But the strength of the Indian army is relative. And by looking a little harder, we can see that it has major and strategic weaknesses, for India is a country wracked by contradictions. As Comrade Bhattarai, a Nepalese revolutionary leader, has remarked, “The majority of the population in India suffers from hunger, illiteracy and deprivation, and the ethnic and national issues have remained unresolved or rather aggravated over the years”; and, “the factors that compel poor peasants and tribals in Bihar and Andhra Pradesh to revolt under the banner of Naxalism or compel various nationalities like Punjab, Kashmir, Assam, Naga and others to fight for their national rights” are those that unite them with the masses of Nepal and against the Indian state. India cannot even clean its own house. If India attacks Nepal to help crush the revolution, the revolutionaries can rely on many elements to turn this into its opposite. Sentiments against

Indian domination are so strong in Nepal that such an invasion would inevitably unite even a lot of middle forces against it and against any reactionaries who support it. This dynamic can be used to forge a strong united front and wage a true war of liberation. A correct policy towards the Indian nationality peoples in the Terai region will also unite them against India, if they are awakened to their class interests and are mobilised to fight against the common oppressors of the labouring masses of Nepal. The masses of India also have sharp contradictions with the Indian state and will not go along with such an invasion. Indeed, the reality that people in Nepal have risen up to take their destiny into their hands will come to inspire the masses in India, thus weakening the Indian state. Since the arrival of the British in Asia, India has always determined the fate of Nepal; this time let it be the masses of Nepal who help ignite the fires of liberation throughout South Asia.

Moreover, imperialist intervention does not come only through neighbouring countries or in the form of direct military intervention. The experience of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), where its Chairman and a large part of its leading members were arrested through a CIA-backed intelligence operation, is testimony to that. We are living in an increasingly internationalised world. A revolution in any part of the globe affects the rule not only of that particular state but also of world imperialism – and is viewed accordingly. It is with the knowledge of these dangers that the comrades of the CPN (Maoist) set forth on the glorious path of People's War.

In addition to the general criteria for the start of the people's war, the present, particularly sharp, contradictions among the ruling classes and the fact that Nepal has been in a state of tremendous turmoil since 1990 created an especially favourable situation for the launching of the revolutionary war. M.B. Singh's allegations that the Maoists consider the concrete conditions irrelevant and are thus “anarchists”, etc., call to mind the Peruvian United Left attacks against the PCP at the initial stages of the People's War there. They called the PCP comrades “roaming bands” with no connection

to the masses and accused them of not taking the objective situation into account. (Indeed, here Mashal's false support for the People's War in Peru must be exposed. The PCP have long upheld Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and are thus in Mashal's eyes inevitably guilty of "anarchism", etc. But because of the popularity of the Peruvian People's War the NCP (Mashal) prefer not to make a direct attack.)

The objective reality of Nepal shows that the initiation of the People's War had long been overdue and the only reason it had not started, as in most countries, was the opportunism dominating its left movement. From the time of Vim Dutta Panmtha in the early 1950s, to the Naxalbari-inspired struggles in the 1970s and down until recent years, the main impediment to launching a people's war had been the dominant lines that paid lip-service to the need for people's war but in actuality reconciled themselves to peaceful forms of struggle in practice. [For a more detailed account of this history, see *AWTW 1996/22*] As the leadership of the CPN (Maoist) summed up: "There are specific weaknesses in the understanding of communists in Nepal. Mostly we have been influenced by gradualism. This means mass struggle, and that some time in the distant future the mass struggle will itself transition to armed struggle. This is wrong and goes against Marxist dialectics...."

"Basically we see that philosophy and ideology and organisation are crucial to initiating people's war to break out of the vicious circle of reformism — the school of revolution in words and reformism in deeds that marked the old NCP (Mashal). There needed to be radical rupture in thinking, deeds, and style of organisation. Otherwise we cannot initiate people's war." [AWTW 1996/22]

In an article entitled "On Ultra-left deviation in Nepalese Communist Movement", NCP (Mashal) supporters say, "The Marxist-Leninists have the experience of the present NCP(UML) which went to the other extreme from the ultra-'left' line adopted by the Marxist-Leninist movement of the 1960s and 1970s. The ultra-left line put forward by the present NCP[sic](Maoist) is only a means to pave its way for scoring success in rightist politics". [from *Red Star*, Oc-

tober 1996]. Isn't there consistency in the way the NCP (Mashal) reduces the people's war to a mere question of tactics, engages the party and the masses in reformist politics, defends the reactionary UML-led government, and warns that the initiators of the People's War will become rightist? We don't have to wait for some imaginary future, we can see who is setting their sights on "scoring success in rightist politics" right now!

The comrades of the CPN (Maoist) have fought against revisionism and courageously picked up the gun and pledged to bring imperialism and reaction down in Nepal. By doing this, they have brought hope not only to the masses of Nepal but to the oppressed all over the world, including our comrades in Peru who have rejoiced in the initiation of the People's War in Nepal. As was said in *El Diario*, the revolutionary underground newspaper in Lima, in June 1996, "We salute proletarian internationalism and the launching of the People's War in Nepal by the CPN (Maoist), brandishing the invincible ideology of MLM. 13 Feb 1996 ripped through the black night of oppression and set forth amidst tumultuous people's war... The organised violence of the oppressed in Nepal exposes the revisionism of UML who practice parliamentary cretinism and demand respect for the legal and constitutional road." The NCP (Mashal) tries to separate line from action by defending the People's War in Peru but directly attacking PCP's ideology. This is idealism. In fact, Mashal's own experience is testimony to how ideology bears on practice; their opposition to people's war and their gradualist politics has everything to do with their abandoning of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the third and highest stage of our science.

The NCP (Mashal) also demagogically muddles the difference between the necessary situation for starting a people's war and the conditions of victory. As said before, the objective situation is generally ripe for the initiation of people's war in the oppressed countries. This does not, however, mean that a people's war is automatically going to be victorious, or that victory will come within any given time. The advance of revolution is not a straightforward process and will go through twists and turns. It is

always possible that the reactionaries can drown a revolution in blood, but the oppressed will always rise up against reaction. MLM is the only guarantee that these uprisings will lead to the demise of imperialism. When talking about the initiation of the People's War in Peru, the PCP said it was like throwing oneself into the void, and Lenin said that if you waited for a guarantee of victory, you'd never start an insurrection.

Instead of being elated by the initiation of the People's War, the NCP (Mashal) has shown nothing but contempt for the masses who have risen up in arms. The NCP (Mashal) has prophesied the defeat of this People's War as if wishing for its defeat. This People's War will indeed go through twists and turns, but Mashal's prophecy of its failure is its own straight-line plunge into the quagmire of revisionism.

SUPPORT THE PEOPLE'S WAR IN NEPAL!

As was said at the beginning of this article, after the struggles leading to the adoption of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, it was decided that there would be a period of struggle with the NCP (Mashal). A Letter was submitted to the NCP (Mashal) Congress developing CoRIM's views on some of the questions involved. In the meantime, however, not a single document, not even a page, has been sent by the NCP (Mashal) attempting to engage in constructive, principled struggle over these crucial differences. Instead, their representatives have made public statements and interviews attacking our Movement as "ultra-left extremism".

"Although for many Marxist-Leninists of the world the difference between Mao Tse-tung Thought and 'Maoism' seems that of terminology, only in the context of RIM 'Maoism' represents an opportunist trend to drag the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement as a whole to the path of opportunism and Trotskyism. The Committee is doing its best pulling down Leninism from the position of leading ideology of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and distorting Mao..." [Resolution of the NCP (Mashal) CC of 1996]. As we say in our Letter of August 1996 and we attempt to show

here, "The dispute between RIM and the NCP (Mashal) is by no means limited to a question of terminology. The debate concentrates a whole series of political and ideological questions." These questions include important teachings of Mao Tse-tung on the question of the path of protracted people's war in the oppressed countries, Mao's summation of the experience of building socialism in the Soviet Union and China, the lessons of the GPCR, and more. Despite their hypocritical assertion that they are, as opposed to RIM, the true upholders of Leninism, the recent struggle also shows that by discarding Mao the NCP (Mashal) are also discarding Lenin, including very importantly on the question of political power and the state.

Mashal's opposition to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has resulted in the untenable situation where one of the participating parties of RIM has publicly, fixedly and repeatedly rejected the very foundation of our Movement itself.

In its August 1996 Letter, CoRIM demanded that, "If your party continues to maintain its opposition to the ideological foundation of RIM the correct and principled response on your part would be your voluntary resignation from our Movement." In response, the above-mentioned NCP (Mashal) CC Resolution calls this a threat to expel it from RIM, and continues: "However, CC unanimously decided to continue its position on Mao Tse-tung Thought or 'Maoism', not to render resignation from RIM and continues to defend Marxist-Leninist ideology against 'leftist', opportunist, sectarian, splittist, despotic, illegitimate and arbitrary, left opportunist unprincipled policies and style of work of CoRIM."

They continue: "The consequence of the Maoist People's War has proved the policies of both Maoists and RIM wrong." ["On RIM's Support"] The opposite is indeed the case: the initiation of the People's War was a great development in the class struggle in Nepal, and a great material force helping polarise and clarify the political field in Nepal and further exposing the seriously wrong nature of the NCP (Mashal) line, and opportunism more generally. On the other hand, it has also proved the strength and vitality of Maoism. To reiterate, RIM's deci-

sion on the NCP (Mashal) is not simply based on its opposition to the People's War; rather, the opposition by the NCP (Mashal) to the People's War is a symptom and the inevitable result of the opportunist trajectory it has been on for many years.

Furthermore, in relation to their divergence from RIM the NCP (Mashal) leadership says: "What is needed to be clear about is the fact that RIM is not an authoritative organisation to issue certificates of revolution, instead, it is merely an international forum of Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations for exchanging ideas and experiences." And any party has the "right to enjoy a view different and free from that of RIM". "Moreover at a time when RIM is itself deviating from ML principles and/or thoughts of Mao there is no doubt that CoRIM cannot play any guiding or leading role in the communist Movements... Nevertheless, we cannot rule out its utility for exchanging the ideas and the experiences of the parties and organisations in various countries of the world, but RIM encroaches the border or circle. Its utility is more likely negative."

Here the NCP (Mashal) is reducing the role of our Movement to that of an international forum or a debating society. RIM's tasks, however, are defined quite differently in the RIM *Declaration* the NCP (Mashal) so hypocritically pretends to uphold: "At the present juncture of world history, the international proletariat has to take up the challenge of forming its own organisation, an International of a new type." "The function of such a new International will be to continue and deepen the summation of experiences, develop the general line on which it is founded, and serve as an overall guiding political centre." It is in the spirit of moving towards such an organisation to lead our international fight for communism that the RIM Founding Conference called for setting up "An interim committee - an embryonic political centre" to further the ideological, political and organisational unity of the communists... a task that is being successfully and proudly carried out, as is reflected in the document *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!* and the leap it represents. Any attempt to reduce our Movement to a debating society will rob the prole-

tariat of our fighting unity and our international centre and inevitably hinder the worldwide march to communism.

Another task conferred on the Committee by RIM is as follows: "helping the formation of new MLM parties and the strengthening of existing ones is the common task of the international communist movement."

After seriously evaluating the situation in Nepal, the RIM Committee has come to the conclusion that the continued participation of the NCP (Mashal) in our Movement no longer helps the advance of the vanguard in Nepal. Rather, allowing RIM's prestige to be used by a party that has chosen to depart from the ideological foundations of our Movement and the cause of communism would be creating confusion among the masses. It harms the revolutionary cause, and lowers the combativity of our Movement as a whole. Therefore, in accordance with the organisational principles of our Movement and the duties and authority conferred on it, the Committee has come to the grave decision to propose to the participating parties and organisations the expulsion of the NCP (Mashal) from the ranks of our Movement.

The initiation of the People's War has changed the political landscape in Nepal. The masses of Nepal have embarked on a glorious path that will inevitably be tortuous, but it is the only path that will lead to true liberation. It is vital that all the revolutionary and progressive forces support this cause and defend it against the ever-mounting attacks of reaction. The ideological stand of the NCP (Mashal) makes it impossible for them to be in RIM, but to support the just war of the Nepalese masses against imperialism and feudalism one need not be a Maoist. We call on the rank-and-file of the NCP (Mashal) to dissociate themselves from M.B. Singh's attacks against the revolution and join the proud ranks of the People's War in Nepal in the advancing battle for a world free of exploitation and oppression. ■

