

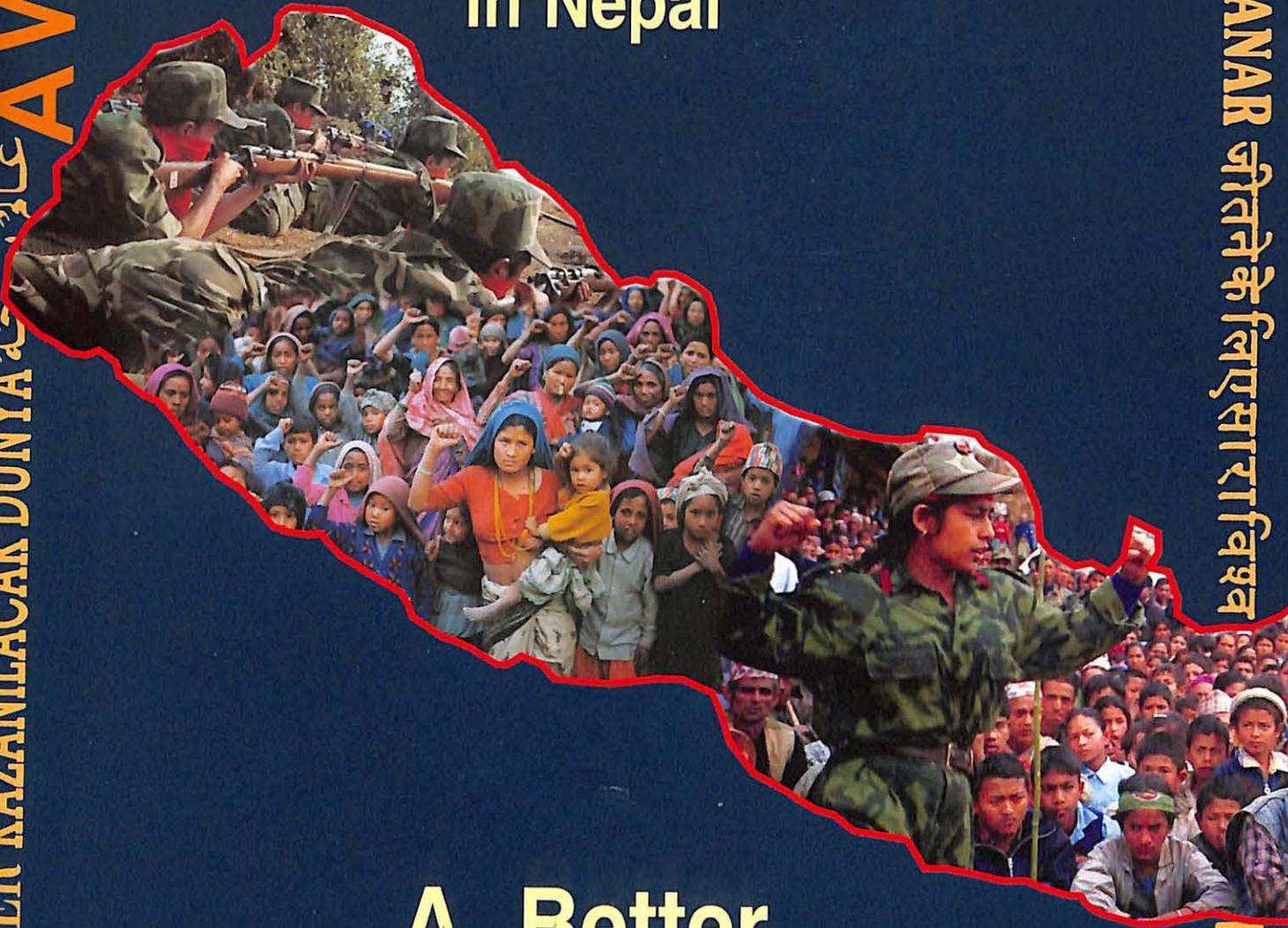
TO WIN 獲得的將是整個世界 2002/29

UN MUNDO QUE GANAR जीतनेके लिए सारा विश्व

A WORLD

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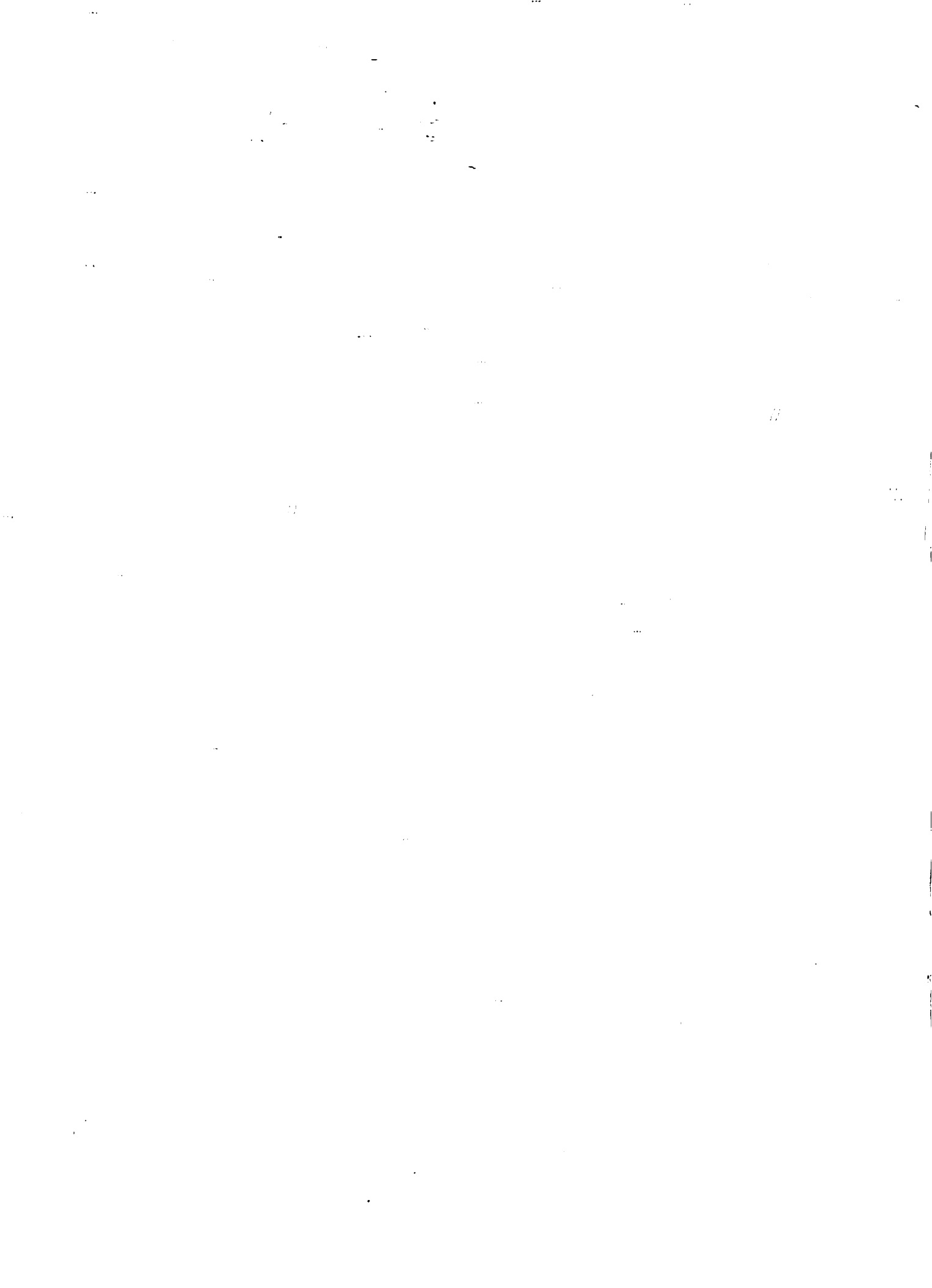
# Revolution in Nepal

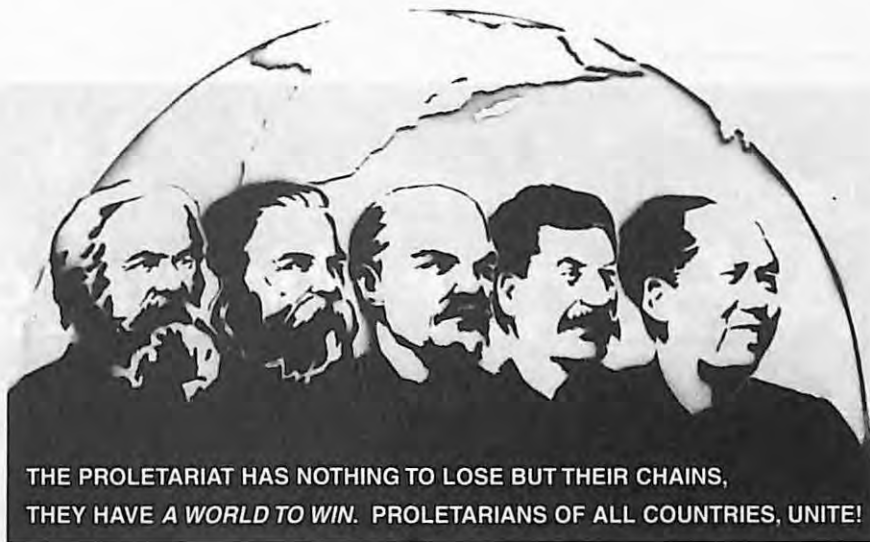


# A Better World's in Birth!

DA CONQUISTARE

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2002/29 English edition

## Nepal: A Better World's in Birth!

People's War in Nepal: Seven years ago the Maoist guerrilla forces who launched people's war in this poor Himalayan country began with a few captured rifles - now they are defeating hundreds-strong units of the Nepalese army and threatening country-wide victory. A comprehensive overview of how they grew and how red political power of the masses is being built in the countryside. A look at the line-up of forces today as decisive battles loom immediately ahead.

## Oppose, Resist and Defeat US Aggression against Iraq!

Why Iraq, why now? An analysis of why US imperialism is lashing out, unveiling its hidden agendas and zeroing in on the potential flash points that could upset its plans and unleash outbreaks of resistance.

## US After September 11th

Bob Avakian, leader of the Maoist vanguard in the US, analyses the new situation there following the events of 11 September, and considers the prospects for revolution in the "belly of the beast".

## Turkey: First Congress of the Maoist Communist Party

A brief summary of the First Congress of the MCP, the continuation of the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist), a founding participant of RIM. Maoism is upheld as the dividing line in the international communist movement and as the key to leading people's war.

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**Front cover** is based on the poster developed by the World People's Resistance Movement. The cover headline is taken from the first stanza of *The Internationale*: "Arise ye prisoners of starvation, Arise ye wretched of the earth, For justice thunders condemnation, A better world's in birth!"

**Back cover** graphic is a photo of anti-globalisation demonstrations in Genoa, Italy July 2001.

## Nepal

Revolution in Nepal:  
A Better World's in Birth! 2

## Iraq

War on Iraq - Gateway to an American  
"Greater Middle East" or to  
a New Wave of Resistance  
to America? 14

Excerpts from Bob Avakian,  
Chairman of the RCP,USA  
On the US after 11 September 18

Palestine Still Unbowed 22

Resolutions of the Joint Conference of  
MLM Parties and Organisations of  
Iran and Afghanistan 26

US-Occupied Afghanistan,  
One Year On 29

José-Maria Sison: Filipino Revolutionary  
Leader in US Crosshairs 33

CCOMPOSA: South Asia's Maoists  
Analyse the Current Situation 34

## World-wide the People Protest 36

On the World People's Resistance  
Movement 44

WPRM South Asia Statement 47

On the 10th Anniversary of Communist  
Party of Peru Chairman Gonzalo's  
Historic Speech 48

## Weapon of Criticism

Our Guernica: The Spanish Civil War  
and the War Today 50

## RIM

Oppose, Resist and Defeat  
US Aggression in Iraq! 12

Beat Back the Attacks on  
José-Maria Sison! 32

RIM Committee Message to MKP  
Congress 56

First Congress of the Maoist  
Communist Party (MKP) (Turkey) 58

As we go to press end November, the class struggle in Nepal is becoming even more acute. Starting on 10 November 2002, a three-day nationwide bandh or general strike under the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) paralysed the capital Kathmandu and the increasingly few areas of the country still in the hands of the reactionaries. Right after the bandh was completed, at 10 pm on 13 November, simultaneous military offensives of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) took place in Khalanga, the headquarters of the Jumla district, and at a police post in Takukot in the Gorkha district simultaneously.

In Khalanga, the fighting went on for seven hours as the PLA kept 1,000 soldiers of the Royal Nepal Army pinned down in their barracks. 33 enemy were killed, including a number of officers. The Kathmandu press claims 55 PLA soldiers were killed by two night-vision-equipped helicopters.

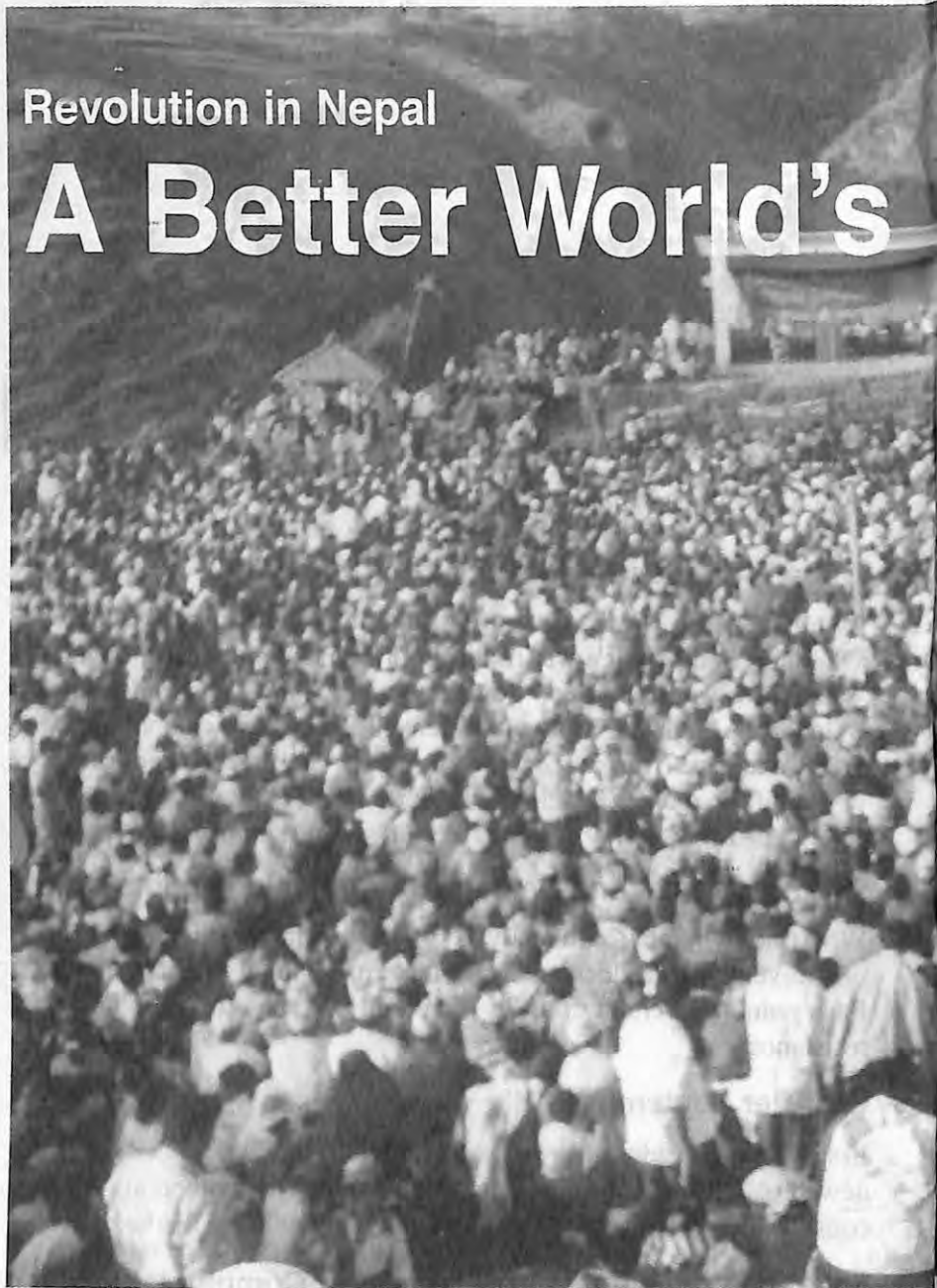
The Gorkha district in central Nepal is only 95 kilometres from Kathmandu and the birthplace of the monarchy. In the police post in Takukot, the security forces were defeated, of whom 26 were killed in a one and a half-hour battle.

Reports from the Kathmandu press in late November also expressed alarm at the advances of the PLA in Eastern Nepal, openly bemoaning the loss of the Nepal government's prestige if the approaches to Sagarmatha (Mount Everest) were to fall into Maoist hands.

The parliamentary parties and the royal palace are bitterly divided as the Nepalese state staggers under the blows of the PLA and the reactionary political system is thrown further into disarray by the silent coup by King Gyanendra, who in October dissolved Parliament and dismissed the government. - AWTW

## Revolution in Nepal

# A Better World's



Mass meeting in a main base area of the People's War in Western Nepal

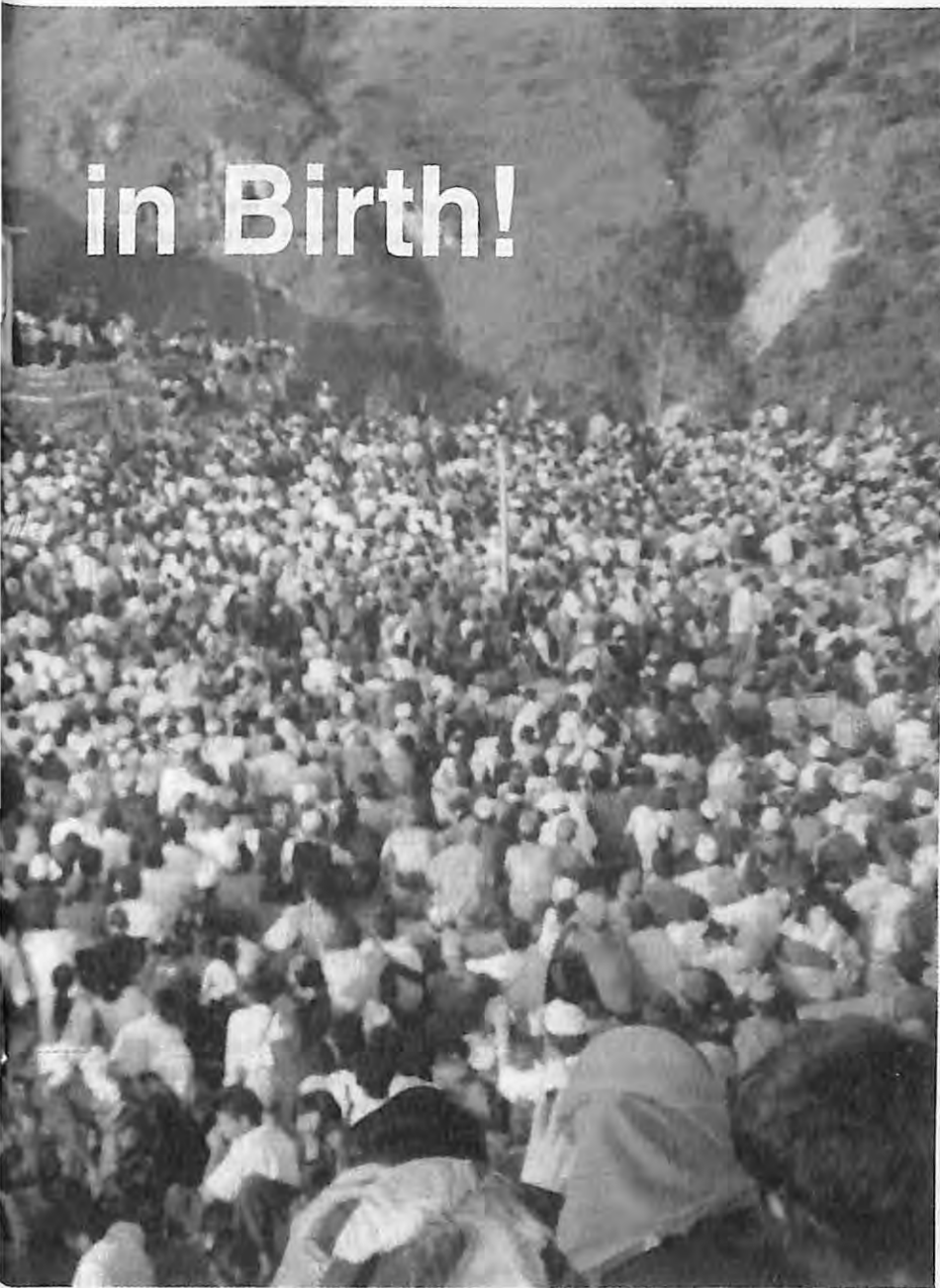
### I. INTRODUCTION

The poor, the deprived and the downtrodden of Nepal, who have been waging a People's War for seven years to change the face of the country, are hoisting the red flag of revolution up onto the "roof of the world". This country, once known as a land for churning out mercenary soldiers for foreign armies, has now been transformed into a land giving birth to soldiers of the international proletariat. The women of Nepal,

fettered for centuries under feudal domination, have stood up and seized arms to take their destiny into their own hands, thus ushering in the twenty-first century. A country once simply known the world over as a haven for vacationers has now become a country of strategic importance for the imperialists as well as for the revolutionary people of the whole world.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (CPN[M]), an invaluable arm of the

# in Birth!



Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), an army of a new type, now called the People's Liberation Army, Nepal (PLA), has been developed and organised. In the course of fighting the enemy and uniting and mobilising the masses, it has now risen to the level of fighting in units of brigade strength (several hundred soldiers). In the face of this, the reactionary government has been forced to flee from large portions of the countryside where it could muster only small forces. Red

political power, where the masses are rupturing with centuries-old traditions, is blossoming throughout the width and breadth of Nepal, and the whole society is facing the fact that the revolution is advancing towards country-wide victory. All this in a world where the lack of a single country under the rule of the people is so desperately felt.

For centuries, life for the basic masses in Nepal had changed little. The economic and social relations of the country were shaped by Nepal's

dependence on India and the West. Its people serve as a reservoir of cheap labour for India, and its natural resources fuel the Indian economy. The country's natural beauty has made it an "unspoilt" panorama for Western tourists, who could gaze up at Mt Sagarmatha (Everest) and wonder at the lifestyle of a land seemingly bypassed by the chaos and turmoil of industrial life and all the money-grubbing, dog-eat-dog social relations so typical of modern capitalist societies. But this placid exterior harboured a life of wretchedness and misery for Nepal's people, whose labour was siphoned off into the coffers of feudal landlords, the Kathmandu elite and their Indian backers, and whose children were swept into a life of backbreaking toil, often as migrants to the lowest jobs in India.

The political system in Nepal was the appropriate shell for such a backward social reality. For several centuries a monarch had ruled over the feudal system. Decades of reform efforts since the 1950s had only made cosmetic changes and left the oppressive system intact. In short, Nepal stood in need of a democratic revolution to liberate its people and unchain its productive forces. As Mao Tsetung taught, in the era of imperialism it is up to the proletariat, represented by its vanguard communist party, to step to the fore of the people and lead in accomplishing this new-democratic revolution, which would not only clear away the medieval cob webs and dependence on foreign powers but would open the door for Nepal to advance toward socialism and communism as part of the world proletarian revolution.

On 13 February 1996, the CPN(M) dared to launch a People's War, a clarion call for a new future. It broke out in a carefully planned wave of attacks that swept the country, but that was belittled and scorned by the country's Westernised elite in Kathmandu. For several years, small units of scattered guerrilla forces agitated and organised in the countryside. Armed at first with primitive local weapons and an occasional modern rifle

seized from the class enemy, they fought skirmishes with the police forces and the bands of goons and thugs tied to feudal landlords who maintain the peasants in a state of submission. But the revolutionaries' programme of agrarian revolution and social, economic and political transformation won the hearts of increasing numbers of supporters and fired the minds of the youth, the women and the poor, and they steadily gained strength.

In the more than six years since, the revolution has made big leaps forward as it confronted and eventually defeated successive waves of counter-revolutionary repression and terror by reactionary goons and militarised police forces, and most recently by the government's Royal Nepal Army (RNA) itself.

The situation today, in Autumn 2002, is that the Kathmandu government has virtually no presence in the great bulk of the countryside. The armed forces of the old state have taken a series of major defeats, not only in the Western region, the stronghold of the revolution, but also in the Eastern and Central regions.

Outside the capital of Kathmandu, the RNA controls little but its barracks in district headquarters and some parts of the Terai region, a fertile plain lying along the southern border with India. Ten million people live in areas where red power dominates, out of a total population of 23 million. The ruling elite is torn between despair and vengeful fury.

Politically, the enemy is isolated and crisis-ridden. The strength of the revolution has prevented the Nepalese government from carrying out the elections planned for November 2002. As this article is being prepared, King Gyanendra has dismissed the prime minister and essentially taken power into his own hands, thus rolling back even the meagre reforms that had been granted to the people after the mass upsurge of 1990. Even in enemy-held areas, support for the revolution is manifested by massive participation in *bandhs* (general strikes) and other forms of struggle.

The future of Nepal is now poised

between the two headquarters: the capital city of Kathmandu, and the rural areas gathered around the revolutionary heartland, the western district of Rolpa. Nepal's traditional Indian and imperialist masters are stepping up their aid to the reactionary regime, in the hope that it can re-take the initiative. And, at the same time, the revolutionaries are mobilising the forces of the people for the coming decisive trials of strength. The outcome of these battles will have a profound impact not only on the country itself, but also on the destiny of the revolution in India and world-wide.

## 2. THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION

### AN UNSPOILED PICTURESQUE LIFE - OR HARSH FEUDAL OPPRESSION?

Imperialism and feudalism have maintained the life of the Nepalese people in conditions that appear medieval in comparison with life in Europe. There are still tribes, the Raute and Kusunda, carrying out a nomadic existence in the forests and leading a life mainly dependent on hunting animals. The country's abundance of water stands in stark mockery of the people, who are forced to share drinking water with cattle in ponds where water collects from rainfall. In the countryside, women have to fetch water in jars or pots from the nearest river or spring, often up to three hours away, climbing up and down steep foot trails.

According to *The Worker*, the organ of the CPN(M), gross domestic product per capita in Nepal is 180 US dollars, the second lowest level in the world. About 70 percent of the population live below the absolute poverty line. The country is desperately poor as a whole, but it is further scarred by class polarisation and inequality. Ten percent of the population gobble up 46.5 per cent of the national income and own 65 per cent of the cultivable land.

The situation of Nepal's women is especially oppressive. Daughters are virtually marginalised from education, they are not the heir of the family property and are obliged to

handle household life. Some are married even before the age of thirteen. The general life expectancy of the Nepalese is only 56 years, but the life expectancy of women, who hold up "half the sky", is even lower. Nepal is one of the few countries in the world where a woman's life expectancy is less than a man's - a stark reflection of the weight of patriarchy. Huge numbers of women die in childbirth, and many children die of malnutrition, cholera and influenza; the infant mortality rate is more than 75 per thousand, about 10 times the rate of countries like Japan and Sweden.

Modern health care in the countryside is almost non-existent. Only a few villages have medical outpost facilities, let alone hospitals. In most of the villages a sick person has only two choices: either get better by themselves by using herbs and the methods of traditional healers, or face an untimely death. Malaria, typhoid, cholera and tuberculosis are prevalent. Because of the commercialisation of health care, health treatment is very expensive in the major cities, and even the Nepalese middle class find it very difficult to afford medication. Nepal has a very low literacy rate; according to government data, the rate is less than 50 percent, and an educated youth has to go to India or other countries for a job opportunity. (Data obtained from *The Worker* number 3, 1997; the Third UN Conference on the Least Developed Countries, Nepal Country paper, Brussels, 14-20 May 2001; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*)

The misery of the peasant lies in their daily life of simply gathering basic necessities and selling the herbals, ghee and fruits that they produce in the countryside. Some people in remote areas have to get necessities such as salt, black pepper, medicines and clothing from the market places, load them on their back, and carry them a distance of more than fifteen days of walking. Mules and horses are the basic means of transport in the hilly region. This kind of system makes the life of the people in these areas very expensive; for instance, the price of imported goods can be up

to fifteen to twenty times higher than in the market places.

The imperialists do not now and never have touted Nepal as an "Asian tiger". For decades they have looked indifferently on the suffering and impoverishment of the masses of Nepalese people and maintained the country in the conditions of an undeveloped "backwater" Third World country.

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#### A COUNTRY IN CHAINS TO INDIA AND THE WEST

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These bitter conditions of life reflect Nepal's position within the global imperialist system. Most fundamentally, Nepal has been heavily dominated by India for generations. Several million Nepalese migrants work in the worst, lowest-paid jobs throughout India's cities. Most of them are young or middle-aged males, ordinarily a key source of growth for a country's economy, but their labour is now harnessed to serve the wealthy of India. This also partly explains the particularly harsh conditions faced by Nepal's women, for they are left on their own at home to tend small farms and raise the children.

Nepal is also a source of raw materials for India, such as timber, and in particular provides it with massive amounts of cheap hydroelectric power. Nepal has the third largest hydroelectric resources in the world, after Brazil and China, but these have not been developed for the masses of people, large numbers of whom live by the light of firewood and in some places paraffin lamps. Ironically, then, the country does not have the power it needs, and in the cities and villages where an electric supply does exist, powering radios and TVs is considered a luxury.

Nepal is also a captive market for Indian goods. Indeed, the so-called 1950 "peace and friendship treaty" between Nepal and India ties the hands of the Nepalese people and prevents them from establishing and developing national industry. According to the treaty, all industrial production needed by the Nepalese people should be supplied from

India, keeping Nepal a safe market for Indian goods.

Western tourism is one of the country's most important sources of foreign earnings, alongside the remittances from Nepal's other main export, the labour of its young people in India. Yet the vast majority of what is spent on the heart of its tourist attractions, namely mountain climbing in the Himalayas, goes into the pockets of Western middlemen (as much as 90 per cent of the cost of a climbing expedition), not into the economy of the country itself.

The Indian ruling class has made several secret treaties with the Nepalese ruling classes that make the country heavily dependent on India even for its national security. According to a treaty in 1965, India is to provide the weapons and munitions needed by the Nepalese army. If India fails to provide any arms, Nepal must purchase them only from third countries recommended by India.

All these treaties have strangled economic growth, and especially a self-reliant economy. Plainly, the intention of the Indian ruling class is to treat Nepal as part of India under the pretext of a treaty of equality and friendship, and to subjugate the Nepalese people by controlling arms and industry. In short, Nepal, under Indian domination in the imperialist global set-up, is designed to continue in abject poverty, with no development and no education, and wholly reliant simply on the tourism brought in by the country's beautiful landscapes and on the export of its youth.

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#### THE INTERNAL CHAINS SHACKLING THE PEOPLE

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Nepal is a multinational multilingual country, but it is dominated by the Brahmin and Chetries castes, whereas the national minorities known as *janajatis* (collectively the majority of the population) have been living under class and caste domination, plunder and humiliation. These upper castes have grabbed most of the fertile lands in the valleys and the more prosperous Terai regions, as well as most government posts

and most of the important trades and enterprises. The quality of the Nepalese land is divided into four kinds: the best (*abbal*), better (*doyem*), good (*sim*) and normal (*char*). Most land of *abbal* and *doyem* quality is controlled by the landlords. The peasants hold *sim* and *char* quality.

Nepalese rural society is divided essentially among landlords, rich peasants, middle and lower-middle peasants, poor peasants and landless peasants. Because of the semi-feudal relations of production, a lower-grade Nepali landlord may have barely as much wealth as a jobless European who simply enjoys reliable social security. A Nepali landlord generally is a person with more than enough land to survive, and his own house, cattle and fowl for fertilizer and food, and he does not himself work in his field or tend his cattle. A rich peasant is someone who has two yokes of oxen (4 oxen), cattle and fowl for milk and meat, as well as for fertiliser, and works in the field partly with hired labour and partly with shared labour (where people aid each other, particularly with seasonal work), and employs a servant in the house. Middle and lower-middle peasants are those who have one yoke of oxen, land enough to share labour, and production from the land is scarcely enough to eat for a year. The poor peasants are those who have a small plot of land with no cattle, and the production barely yields food for half the year or so. He does not share his labour but sells it. The landless peasants sell their labour all the time, and the life of the family amounts to a form of bonded slavery.

Because of the semi-colonial relations of production and Nepal's dependence on India, there is little industrial production. The handful of industries that have been established by the multinational companies and Indian bourgeoisie, with the collaboration of the Nepalese comprador capitalist class, mainly consist of alcohol spirits, wine and drug companies. These companies are often set up to make profit from cheap child labour. The bulk of the industrial goods that are stamped "made in Nepal", such as watches,



radios and televisions, are not actually manufactured in Nepal itself, but are assembled from parts imported from India, Japan and other countries.

As a hybrid of feudalism and comprador capitalism, bureaucrat

capitalism has developed and put down deep roots in the society. This bureaucrat capital has brought the people under the yoke of many-sided exploitation. For example, if a peasant wants to start a poultry farm, he has to bribe the government official

concerned, as well as the industry concerned. Similarly, in many cases bureaucrats in the land registration offices can be bribed to transfer the title of a peasant's land to a landlord. In the particular situation of Nepal, where there is no full-time



**TOP LEFT: On the eve of declaring people's government in Shankhuwa Shabha district, Eastern Nepal.**

**BOTTOM FAR LEFT: People's Liberation Army company carrying out military exercise before the masses. In District Tehrathum.**

**BOTTOM LEFT: Martyr's memorial Pillar at Thawang in Rolpa.**

**TOP RIGHT: Collective farming in mid-west Nepal.**

**BOTTOM LEFT: People's Liberation Army in the higher reaches of the Himalayas.**



production work in any sector, a landlord simultaneously is an industrialist, a parliament member or minister, and a bureaucrat capitalist. Similarly, a peasant is a farm worker, an industrial labourer and a labour-seller.

This old rotten society, a prison house of different nationalities, is protected by the reactionary state power, by the force of the police and army and by the system of reactionary rules and laws.

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### **3. THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE (A BRIEF OVERVIEW)**

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#### **CRISIS IN THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM: THE FALL OF THE ABSOLUTE MONARCHY**

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In 1990, a great mass uprising against these oppressive conditions arose in Nepal. This was the outcome of a long-standing struggle against the feudal monarchy, which grew

much sharper in the 1970s and 1980s. Before 1990 all political parties were outlawed under the feudal Panchayat system, in which the country was run by councils of notables known as panchayats, with the king as the ultimate authority. The upheaval of 1990 finally forced the ruling classes to accept changes to the ruling system, and a parliamentary system was re-established. The Nepalese people expected that after the re-establishment of the parliamentary system they would have a better life. Highways would reach to the niches and corners of the country, houses would be electrified, the sick would get medicine, and overall the country would be developed. The people's miseries would be eliminated. Their children would get an education and better jobs. Moreover, the livelihood and living conditions of the people would be guaranteed by the new government. People expected the abolition of the many forms of social injustice, such as the unequal position of women and their oppression, caste oppression, the subordination of national minorities and the discrimination against them in government services. With the new government, people hoped that corruption and nepotism would become things of the past.

Yet the many ills of Nepalese society became even worse, bitterly dashing people's hopes and expectations. Despite tremendous struggle and sacrifice, the establishment of the parliamentary system ended up being merely a change of regime. The downtrodden people found that these "changes" came to no more than "old wine in a new bottle". The social system and social relations were the same as those under the previous regime, and the many forms of exploitation, oppression and backwardness remained in place. Establishing a parliamentary system, even one in which there was one of the broadest ranges of political forces in the world, could not bring about the new-democratic revolution that Nepal so urgently needs. It failed to break with imperialism, it allowed the monarchy and Royal Army, the backbone of the state, to remain intact and it failed to bring about agrarian revolution, and thus preserved semi-feudalism. In other words, there was no change in the class character of the state or society.

Since the establishment of the parliamentary system in 1990 and the first elections in 1991, Parliament has failed to address the problems of the people. A political tug-of-war has ensued between the main rival parties to seize power for themselves. All the parties in Parliament are engaged in a marathon competition, with a view to ripping off the people. With this motive, they are all busy hatching conspiracies to outmanoeuvre and overthrow each other. Unbridled and extremely hideous forms of corruption and nepotism are rife in the government. Moreover, blatant and ruthless suppression of legitimate protest and opposition goes on unchecked. In the meantime, questions relating to nationality, democracy and livelihood are at stake.

Furthermore, on the southern border India has continued to interfere in Nepalese domestic affairs, and increasingly encroached in the economic, political and even geological spheres. Parliament, instead of addressing these questions, revealed

itself to be merely a rubber-stamp. Successive governments in Nepal were neither willing nor able to abrogate the one-sided treaties securing Indian domination. Moreover, they have been more and more inclined to serve as puppets of the Indian ruling class, thereby betraying the people. Amidst the strong protests of the people, the Mahakali Treaty was negotiated and signed with the Indian government in 1996, whereby the Mahakali water resources were handed over to India. In fact, the forces that went on to form the CPN(M) criticised the tripartite conspiracy of the King, the Congress Party and the so-called Left Front, but the people were presented a shimmering mirage by domestic and foreign propaganda. As events proceeded in the country, and a growing number of people have come to realise the facts, this mirage has evaporated. In the course of these developments, the Maoists have been constantly and consistently leading the masses of people through a series of political struggles to unveil these conspiracies.

Despite the new parliamentary façade, the government viciously suppressed its opponents. Hundreds of people who protested against the government's position were arrested, tortured and imprisoned. In 1993, three people were killed in Kathmandu protesting against the government. On the whole, the notion of the democratic process has become reduced to dropping ballot papers into ballot boxes. While the regime, from time to time, prepared data to show miraculous economic growth, the country became ever more impoverished, and the livelihood of the people deteriorated with each passing day.

Some people have asked why the parliamentary system failed in Nepal. They spontaneously come up with the answer that the young democracy has not sunk its roots deeply enough. But the more this so-called democracy sinks its roots, the more it carries out plunder, repression and country-selling, and the more it generates crisis. Nepalese revolutionaries witnessed how, just across the border, Maoist China

brought about major, undeniable improvement in the people's living conditions and, step-by-step, reduced the crying inequities that had marked that country. In the decades of existence of socialist China, it showed how millions of poor and oppressed could seize power and stand up to imperialism. And after the coup d'état that put Deng Xiaoping in power, people have also seen that socialist China is no more, and that under bourgeois revisionist rule the Chinese people are once again experiencing the misery of capitalist exploitation. Across the other border, the world's "largest democracy" exists in India. People have seen the misery of the people there, the plunder of the Indian bourgeoisie and great mass upheavals time and again. Where is parliamentary democracy successful? The reactionary ruling class relies on the method of holding elections to sink the roots of their "democracy", but all this amounts to is giving a licence to the reactionary bourgeoisie and feudal autocrats to sell the country, to allow them to plunder and suppress the people even more.

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#### A NEW FUTURE DAWNS

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In a situation that was thus marked by the growing discontent and disillusionment of broad numbers of people with the "peaceful road" of change so beloved of liberal theoreticians, and where the conditions of life of millions called out urgently for dramatic change, the Party carried out the preparations needed for the bold step of launching the highest form of revolutionary struggle: armed warfare.

The CPN(M) initiated the People's War in Nepal (1996) in a quite different way to those initiated by proletarian vanguard parties in other countries: it led many thousands of people in unleashing a wave of uprisings. The first targets of attack were the representatives of feudalism, comprador-bureaucrat capitalism and the organs of the state power. Around 5,500 large and small-scale actions were carried out against the enemy in this initial wave. This triggered a great political

debate amongst the different classes, and amongst intellectuals and political parties inside and outside Parliament. Immediately after these actions, the enemy resorted to increased police suppression of the people: country-wide arrests, mass murders and all sorts of atrocities. (For more on the developments leading to the launch of the People's War and the first year of warfare, see AWTW 1996/22 and 1998/23.)

With the initiation of the People's War the political landscape underwent a sea change. Initially the enemy became perplexed, not knowing how to deal with the new situation, but circumstances gave them no time to pause and think. The more the People's War developed, the Parliament fell more into crisis. The people's guerrillas constantly harassed the reactionary police forces. The enemy's agents and the rural gentry were being driven out of the villages, first in the hilly regions, and especially in the more backward Western portion of the country. As the police forces weakened, the government of the Nepali Congress Party let loose its vigilantes, and armed them to kill people. Some of these hoodlums set out to loot the people's property, rape the women and spy on the Maoist revolutionaries so as to set them up for ambushes. These armed thugs then tried to turn around and attribute their foul deeds to the revolutionaries. Yet when the Maoists punish these criminals, the ruling class propagates that the Maoists are killing "innocent civilians". The Maoist-led guerrillas seized the arms of these vigilantes, and first tried to force them to cease their activities by taking punitive actions against them, warning them against continuing to prey on the people. Some die-hard reactionaries who were involved with the police in arresting and killing people and who persisted in their actions despite warnings were annihilated.

As the People's War continued to advance, the activity of these vigilantes increased, and the government unleashed police commandos in order to carry out even greater suppression, broadly targeting revolutionary

supporters and sympathisers. The revolutionary forces conducted a campaign to "make the elephant blind". This means destroying the "eyes of the elephant", which in fact meant the Nepali Congress Party-run vigilantes who were the eyes of the police commando "elephants". Reducing the activity of these vigilantes gave the revolutionary armed forces greater freedom to fight the police commandos.

The people's armed forces intensified their military assaults on the weak links of the enemy, mainly the less fortified police posts. This was advantageous politically, as the enemy could be pushed into a tactical defensive position, and thence from the tactical defensive to the strategic defensive. This means, as Mao put it, tactically pitting "ten against one" and strategically "one against ten". While the people's forces were and remain outnumbered by the enemy on a nation-wide level and thus have to pit "one against ten" in an overall strategic sense, it is possible to concentrate an overwhelming superiority tactically to wipe out enemy concentrations ("ten against one"). To accomplish this, larger and larger units of the people's forces were developed, first by bringing together three platoons (about 30 soldiers) to make a company (100-strong) and later three companies to make a brigade. A battalion, made up of three brigades, or about 1,000 soldiers, was first seen in the fighting in 2002. Some of these larger formations are permanently constituted, while in other circumstances the larger groupings are maintained only for the period of a specific campaign. As a consequence of applying the strategy and tactics of revolutionary warfare, the enemy was compelled to reduce its police posts to a limited number of big stations. In Rolpa, for instance, a total of 39 police posts were reduced to eight. In the adjacent Rukum district twenty-nine police posts were merged into six. Similarly, in the Jajarkot district (also in the Western stronghold) 15 police posts were reduced to six. And so on throughout the country. At the same time, the

enemy was losing political power at local levels, as government in these areas ceased to perform any role at all. These successful military actions against the reactionary militarised police force also cracked the morale of the police and the government itself, and led to many desertions among the rank-and-file of the reactionary forces.

Because of the anti-monarchy psychology of the Nepalese people, as well as deep-rooted social problems, economic backwardness and the unbridled corruption prevalent in the reactionary government, many police personnel fled during their training period. True to the reactionary character of the state, 83 police personnel were punished for seeking leave in the year 2000, and eight police inspectors were fined for refusing to go to the war zone. Similarly, two inspectors, relatively high-level officers, tendered their resignations.

The CPN(M) time and again called on the government to respect the Geneva Convention in dealing with prisoners of war. At that time, those captured by the Maoists were either released or convinced to take part in the great process of revolution. The Maoists captured a deputy superintendent of police, Thule Rai, who was released after three months in healthy condition. But when he went to report for duty in Kathmandu, the reactionary state arrested him and put him in a mental hospital. Having seen the differences between the reactionary and revolutionary state, and having begun to realise that the Maoist war is a war to liberate the people, there is a growing trend among police and army personnel to desert the government forces and join the revolutionary guerrilla army. Comrade Ramesh (from Rolpa) is one such martyr who left the Royal Army. He emulated the heroic deeds of his comrades and in the course of one such action fell in combat against the reactionary state.

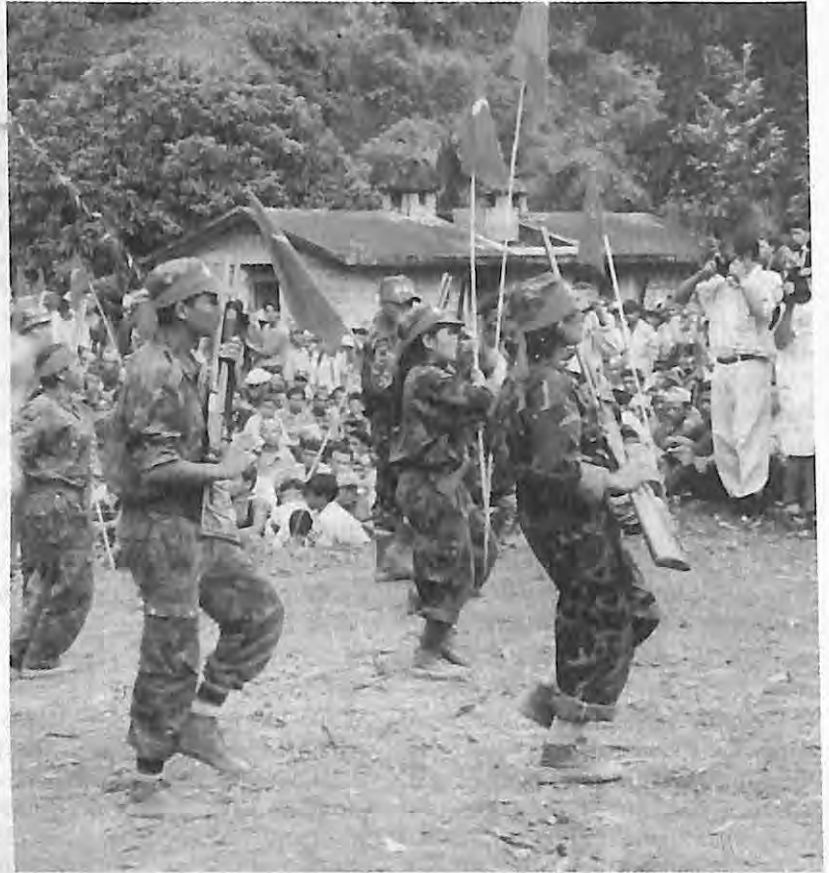
The Party provides political argumentation for the military actions, and the armed assaults in turn enhance the political offensive of the revolution. Also, as Mao observed, it

is a law of war that the reactionaries try to provoke the revolutionary side to try to fight to the finish at one fell swoop. The reactionary state in Nepal tried to take this approach several times, and the party of the proletariat responded to these provocations by the Maoist way of fighting: luring the enemy deep into the red areas, encircling it and delivering deathblows at its weakest links.

In April 2000, the Maoist-led guerrillas successfully raided the Rukumkot police station. This police station was located in what the police believed was a very safe area strategically. It had a high-level military standard of fortification, and was a decisive outpost of the paramilitary, a commando force. The successful raid at this outpost was not simply a military victory, but also a crucial political victory for the revolutionaries. The enemy had been sure that this strong, well-fortified force, with its sophisticated weapons, would bring success in keeping up the morale of the reactionary police force. This successful raid by the guerrillas boosted the people's morale and dealt the enemy a serious blow, both militarily and politically.

The Congress government launched several operations against the people, but each time met with humiliating defeat. The development of the People's War was rocking the old state repeatedly, as the Party dealt the enemy ever-mightier blows, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The qualitatively higher level of actions, such as the destruction of the Rukumkot police post and the capture in September 2000 of Dunai, the Dolpa district headquarters, not only pushed the enemy into an extremely defensive position, but also drew the attention of the imperialist powers, the overlords of the Nepalese reactionary state.

The Party leadership analysed that a situation of stalemate between the two sides was emerging. But much greater challenges lay ahead. In particular, even though the militarised police had been mainly defeated and were being forced to stay holed up in their barracks, the revolution had not yet directly confronted the main



forces of the reactionary state: the Royal Nepal Army.

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**RULING REGIME: BLOODY  
INFIGHTING, MOUNTING ATTACKS**

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US imperialism and Indian expansionism, as well as the domestic reactionary classes, were exerting pressure on the royal palace to mobilise the Royal Nepal Army against the people. But thanks to the internal contradictions within the palace and the power struggle between the palace and Parliament, the king at that time, King Birendra, did not unleash the army. King Birendra also held back from carrying out the genocidal policies advocated by many within the ruling class. There was an emphatic demand by the government and enormous pressure from the imperialists to deploy the army against the revolution. The palace permitted the army chief to put out a statement that the army would not be mobilised to quell the internal violence, but rather that it was the responsibility of the government to

deal with this using its police force. The army would act, but not to save its opponents in parliament. The ultimate motive of the palace was undoubtedly to regain the constitutional powers that it had lost in 1990.

The blows of the revolution, coupled with the intensification of the internal conflict among the reactionaries, led to yet another governmental crisis and the resignation of Prime Minister Girija Koirala. Amidst this internal turmoil and with a secretive conspiracy to crush the People's War brewing, the King, Queen and most of the royal family were massacred on 1 June 2001. The die-hard reactionary Gyanendra, Birendra's brother, took over a throne now devoid of all legitimacy in the eyes of the people.

With the palace massacre, the century-old feudal system of monarchy in Nepal virtually imploded. A class of comprador-capitalist businessmen, headed by the former drug-dealer, idle brigand and notorious bureaucrat-capitalist Gyanendra Shah, has emerged as the



**FAR LEFT:** People's Liberation Army perform at a cultural event. District Shankhuwa Shabha, Eastern Nepal.

**LEFT:** People's Liberation Army perform at cultural programme.

**Bottom:** Sherpas, a minority nationality, performing cultural programme at a mass meeting. They reside in high altitudes, including around the edge of Mount Everest.



new rulers. Gyanendra Shah, who, for good reason, is believed to be the designer of the palace carnage, with the help of US imperialism and Indian expansionism, declared himself King of Nepal overnight. A large number of people took to the streets all over the country and denounced this suspected murderer, but the parliamentary political parties, including the so-called communists, haplessly stamped

their support for him. Indeed, one important source of support for the monarchy has been the revisionists of the Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist-Leninist), popularly known as the "UML", the largest of the revisionist "communist" parties in Nepal.

The great philosopher of the proletariat Karl Marx remarked that a forceful revolution engenders a forceful counter-revolution. And

indeed, shortly after the palace massacre, the capture of 62 armed-police personnel from the Holleri police post in July 2001 by the people's armed forces forced the Royal Nepalese Army to come out of its barracks. For the first time, the king's army was pitted directly against the guerrilla forces in a test of

*Continued to page 73*

# **Oppose, Resist and Defeat US Aggression in Iraq!**

November 2002

By the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Rarely has any crime been so premeditated or so loudly broadcast in advance. The US imperialists have brazenly declared their intention to invade Iraq, kill or capture its state leaders, seize Iraq's oil fields and occupy the country with a large military force for a minimum of "several years". The future military governor of Iraq, US General Tommy Franks, has already been chosen. In proceeding along this path of naked aggression, the US imperialists are running roughshod over the opinion of people all over the world, even most of their allies, who for various reasons are opposed to such an adventure. The US has even declared its intention to ignore the United Nations or go so far as effectively to dissolve it if it refuses to give the US a blank cheque to carry through its attack. The flimsy pretext for this crime, that Iraq may be producing weapons of mass destruction, fools almost no one.

In fact, the war-in-the-making against Iraq is a reflection of the heightening tension in the international situation since 11 September 2001 and of the US declaration of a "war on terrorism" directed against any persons, organisation or state that the US considers a threat to its interests, while the US terrorism of yesterday, today and tomorrow goes wild. Although they claim they are targeting Saddam Hussein's reactionary clique, in fact the US goal is to subjugate the peoples of Iraq and of the whole region. It is a reflection particularly of the sharpening conflict between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the principal contradiction in the world today. US imperialism, as the leader and lynchpin of the world imperialist system, is obliged to be the global policeman and directly intervene militarily often and in many places. They have chosen to make Iraq the showcase for this new doctrine of unrestricted US authority.

The arrogance of the US imperialists and their announced crime has already led to widespread opposition throughout the world. In the Middle East, Europe and in the United States itself hundreds of thousands of people have demonstrated against the US war plans. If the US proceeds with this war of aggression it is likely to ignite a world-wide storm of resistance such as has not been seen for many years.

We must harbour no illusions – the US is a powerful and vicious enemy that will not be easily dissuaded from its criminal plans. The other imperialist powers will either go along gleefully with the US (like Britain) or are likely to go along even while kicking and screaming (like France). Former socialist states such as China have long ago changed colour and will not resist the US. It is only the people of the world, including the masses in the US itself, who can prevent or stop US aggression in Iraq and ultimately destroy the imperialist system itself.

However well armed the US is, however much money it has, and however much support or servility it can count on from its allies and lackeys around the world, the US ruling class has a fundamental weakness that can never be removed — it represents only a relatively small handful and its interests are in conflict with those of the large majority of people in the world. The US is like a knife-wielding thug in a marketplace: for a while it can intimidate the peaceful crowd, temporarily stunned by its weapon and brutish manner, but once the victims unite their ranks even the biggest of bullies can be subdued.

History has shown again and again that, although the weapons of mass destruction and terror in the hands of the imperialists are very real, it is the people who are truly strong. Even some of the imperialists themselves have been warning George Bush of the dangers created by his wild ambitions. But the imperialists, blinded by their arrogance and contempt for the masses and compelled by their greed for ever-greater profits, are unable to learn the lessons of history. Only when their reactionary violence is countered by resistance and ultimately revolution can it be stopped. Even as the dark clouds of imperialist war are gathering, the bright hopes for a different future are shining from the Himalayas, where the People's War in Nepal is soaring to new heights, as well as from the people's wars and revolutionary armed struggles being waged in Peru, the Philippines, India, Turkey and other countries, and from the powerful mass movements of resistance that are arising in the imperialist citadels.

The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement calls upon all communist, revolutionary and progressive forces to oppose, resist and defeat the US imperialist aggression against Iraq and to step up the revolutionary struggle. ■

## War on Iraq

# Gateway to an American or to a New Wave of

By Fatima Resolucao

As we go to press, preparations for a US-led assault on Iraq are in high gear. Although it is impossible to predict the exact course of events, the US imperialists have made their intentions to go to war crystal clear and there is every reason to believe they will proceed with their criminal plans. — AWTW

### WHY THIS WAR, WHY NOW?

What is the purpose, the aim, of the impending war against Iraq? The

answer is important for two reasons.

The first is so that we can best oppose, resist and if possible, defeat what the US and its allies are trying to accomplish. As of this writing the invasion has not yet been unleashed, and already the opposition has been enormous in some countries. But twists and turns doubtlessly lie ahead. As the darkness of war gathers and the light of reason in public discourse and faint hearts goes dim, it will be hard for people to resist deception, keep their bearings

and struggle effectively unless they become increasingly clear on the interests of all the governments involved. The unity of the interests of the people of the world, including the Iraqi people, against this war and the US-led gang of murderers and thieves behind it will need to be brought out at every turn, exactly because the enemy will do their best to hide it. This unity must be constantly expanded and brought to bear in many different kinds of battles.

The second is that, without trying

## A War for Oil?

Many people are saying this war is about oil. That is true, but not in a narrow sense. Two caveats must be added.

First, it is about oil not only in the sense of who gets it, but also under what conditions - and who doesn't get it at all or only gets it as long as they go along with the American "mission". It is about oil as the lifeblood of empires.

This is even more criminal - you could ask, "What planet are they living on?" - since unless alternatives to fossil fuels are brought into use within the next few decades, much of the world and its people face climatic catastrophes, rising sea levels and other calamitous consequences of global warming. But the problem goes beyond the fact that Bush is "deep in the oil companies' pockets", as some people say. Oil and power go together; the oil business was part of what trained him and his cabinet for power.

It is not entirely an accident that

all five members of the UN Security Council have oil companies with major stakes in Iraq. This is not just because they are profit-hungry, although in the end they are driven by nothing but profits. Possession of oil is a strategic advantage, crucial to the kind of profits that come when you're not just in business but also in control - monopoly capitalism.

Second, it's not just about Iraqi oil, as important as that is to Bush's plans. It is also about all the oil in the Middle East, and not just that either.

The US imports slightly more than half of the oil it uses at present and that percentage is expected to rise to about two-thirds by 2020. To diversify sources, American oil companies and the US military are aggressively moving into the Caspian Sea and Asian regions of the former USSR. Pipelines are popping up like mushrooms in the shadow of US bases. The US has also begun to take an interest in West Africa, both major proven petroleum exporters

like Nigeria, Angola and Gabon and potential ones like Equatorial Guinea. Not even Bush's supporters bother to argue that Bush sent Secretary of State Colin Powell to Angola and Gabon and re-opened the long-dusty consulate in Equatorial Guinea for humanitarian reasons.

Oil is also a core concern in US policies toward Mexico and Venezuela. The dispatching of US Green Berets, 10 helicopters and \$94 million for counter-insurgency aid to Colombia is avowedly for the purpose of securing oil and pipelines, both from guerrilla movements and European countries like Germany that have occasionally made deals with the guerrillas.

Yet because of both declining production and increasing demand in the US, oil from these countries is not expected to play more than a secondary role in assuaging American's thirst. But there is another, less obvious factor. The other European powers and Japan are almost

# "Greater Middle East" Resistance to America?

to predict the unpredictable, an examination of what has happened so far gives us some framework for understanding events as they develop and for guiding our struggles and aims. This must be based not just on what our enemies have done but also on the possibilities and goals of the people in this stormy interplay of contradictions.

The US is seeking to transform Iraq from a country economically and politically dependent on imperialism but able to negotiate with several

entirely dependent on Middle Eastern oil. The decline of North Sea oil production is one of several factors likely to increase that dependency even more. (From this angle, the US's efforts to grab up non-Middle Eastern resources has a pre-emptory aspect.) Whoever controls Middle Eastern oil has an enormous leverage over Europe.

Bush's Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, likes to talk about "force multipliers", combinations of different qualities (such as accuracy and explosiveness in munitions) that increase "lethality" many times over. Bush's war aims in Iraq are to achieve a similar mix to bring the Middle East under almost exclusive American political and economic control, based on military power, in a way that multiplies American power in all three domains and gives it a lethality the world has never seen before. Once again, we're back to "big sticks" and "places to stand". ■

imperialist powers, to a neocolony entirely beholden to the US, an impotent US puppet on the model of Afghanistan's current President Karzai, or perhaps an outright colony, run by a governor appointed in Washington, just as Britain once ruled India through its Raj. This is what Bush plans for "the day after" he wins this war.

The "New Iraq" (some people in Washington are already giving it a brand name) would be a lynchpin in a newly configured Middle East, a "Greater Middle East from North Africa to Afghanistan and Pakistan", as a recent article by two former Clinton advisers turned Bush theorists put it. In this new configuration, economically, Iraq's vast oil reserves would give the US a stranglehold on the oil needs of any would-be rivals. Militarily, the vast permanent military build-up there, virtually converting Iraq into a gigantic military base, could bend and smash any wayward regimes. This new "Greater Middle East" would in turn be key to a newly configured world - an American world. With the war on Afghanistan the US grabbed one end of this part of the global map; with a war on Iraq it means to nail down the other even more crucial part.

It is important to be very clear what Bush means and does not mean by "regime change". Bush's Secretary of State, Colin Powell, said that the US was studying the historical models of the US occupation of Germany and Japan. This idea has been widely and correctly scoffed at because, despite losing a world war, those two countries were and are highly developed, imperialist societies feeding on the people of the world,

with little resemblance to a country like Iraq that has for so long been fed upon. Yet there are parallels, as well as differences. A major difference is that after the Second World War the US did everything it could to re-float Germany and Japan as partners (albeit junior) against the USSR, whilst Bush plans to turn Iraq into a US protectorate. But the way the US treated the German and Japanese ruling classes may have some application in Iraq. The aim of the "de-Nazification" of Germany and the trials of top Japanese generals (never the emperor) was to reduce US enemies to a tiny handful and dispose of them, whilst at the same time declaring the immense majority of the capitalists, military, judiciary, bureaucrats and other pillars of power "clean", despite their crimes against their own and other peoples, so that they could serve US interests.

The Bush gang has announced plans to try a dozen people closely linked to Saddam (including his family), whilst at the same time reassuring almost the entirety of the Iraqi power structure that they will be welcomed as servants of the new masters. "You want to get into Iraq the message that you're not going to kill everybody in the Ba'ath party [the ruling party]", a US official said. When the US takes over, the torture chambers will not shut down. How else can it ensure the loyalty of the Iraqis, whose labour will make the oil flow for the occupiers of their nation? Few people in Iraq or anywhere else will miss Saddam, but the burden on the Iraqi people will only be heavier and their contradiction with imperialism increasingly fierce.

Iraq is a prize and more. The

Greek philosopher Archimedes said that with a lever long enough and a place to stand, he could move the world. Iraq is supposed to provide the US with both, at least in regional terms. This is why, unlike the first Gulf War, when the US aim was to smash Iraq's military and economic

power, its oil fields and facilities, this time the US wants to take over an economy that is as intact as possible.

Iraq's proven oil reserves are ranked second only to Saudi Arabia by many oil analysts, who say that its as yet unproven reserves may turn out to be even greater. If instead of a

US-led blockade, Iraq was under a US-led occupation, whose main interest was pumping oil, it might quickly become the world's biggest supplier. That makes Iraq a potential economic lever. If Iraq fell entirely into US hands, it would give America the equivalent of veto power over the

## Just Who "Gassed Their Own People" and

A few Bushite (and Blair-backed) pretexts for this war need to be dispensed with, not just because they fool some confused people, but also because they bring up past experiences that reveal the criminality of this evil axis, even in advance of what they do in Iraq.

Tony "the poodle" Blair seems to be the only head of state anywhere in the world (and one of the few in his own party) willing to publicly support Bush's contention that there is some connection between Saddam and al-Qaeda. Actually, after being criticised for getting caught at obvious lies by the American press, Bush mainly left this issue to his advisors. Perhaps to protect herself from the same charges, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice prefers to lie by implication: "There's no evidence so far but we're learning more every day." Earlier Defence Secretary Rumsfeld and Rice tried to link the "war on terror" to the war on Iraq by asserting that 11 September suspect Mohammed Atta secretly met with an Iraqi intelligence operative in Prague. The Czech government, supposedly the source of that report, says it never happened. The head of the CIA, George Tenet, told the US Congress the same thing. In the spirit of *Alice in Wonderland*, the Bushite answer seems to be, "First the sentence, then the trial."

If we were to follow Rice's logic, we could say that while there is no proof and the whole story may never be told, the trail of incongruities laid down by many things that are known about the attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon seems to

lead a lot more in the direction of the American establishment and perhaps President Bush himself than Saddam Hussein, as the German weekly *Die Zeit*, France's *Le Monde* and the British press, among many others, have pointed out.

Then there is the pretext of "weapons of mass destruction" as the *casus belli*, the reason for this war. Rumsfeld is said (by his admirers, no less) to be "obsessed" with the thought that Saddam has such weapons. He should know, because he was personally involved in giving chemical and biological weapons to Saddam during the days when the US was backing Iraq against Iran in the 1980-88 war. (Later, as famously revealed in the "Iran-Contra" scandal, the US also gave weapons to Iran to prolong the war and make sure that there was as much killing and mutual weakening of both regimes as possible.)

The US first sent anthrax stock to Iraq in 1978, with seven shipments in all in the following decade. President Reagan sent Rumsfeld as his special envoy to meet with Saddam in December 1983, and re-opened the US embassy in Baghdad. In March 1984, the day that the UN released a report condemning Iraq's use of poisonous gas against Iranian troops, Rumsfeld was meeting with Saddam's foreign minister, Tariq Aziz. In 1986, the Pentagon assigned officers to work with their Iraqi counterparts to increase the killing power of Saddam's air forces. In March 1988, that air force dropped gas bombs on Halabja, an Iraqi village under the control of rebel Kurds,

killing several thousand civilians. German companies provided the gas itself. Amidst world uproar and protest, US officials claimed that they had reviewed the evidence and found it "inconclusive". That year, under the presidency of Bush the father, Washington approved the export of virus cultures for military use to Iraq, as well as a \$1 billion private contract to build a petrochemical plant designed to be equally usable to make mustard gas. Bush senior also approved sending Iraq \$500 million in aid (in the form of subsidies to buy American farm products) and doubled that the following year. The UK, too, sent Iraq weapons-related equipment after the Halabja attack. US advisors helped plan Iraq's poison gas assaults on Iranian troops in the desperate fight over Iraq's strategic Fao peninsula in 1986 and again in 1988.

Eventually, the Iranian regime became more "reasonable" by US standards and Saddam's ambitions proved to be a less than perfect fit with those of the American imperialists; so Bush the father set out to destroy Iraqi power in 1991. After 40 days of bombings and seven years of so-called "UN inspectors" rampaging through Iraq destroying whatever they wanted, the US achieved this aim. Iraq's once very large and powerful military (paid for and equipped by the US and its allies) was almost completely gone. An estimated 100,000 Iraqis were killed by US bombs and a million more, many of them children, are thought to have died from the decade of vicious sanctions that followed.

world oil market and prices. But even more, that could very significantly decrease the economic importance of oil from Saudi Arabia and Iran. When you put this together with Bush's military plans, which reportedly include stationing 100,000 American troops or more in

"American Iraq" for the near future, making it "a place to stand", then it's hard to see how neighbouring Saudi Arabia could resist any US demands. In Whitehall, British foreign policy pundits are chattering about how the UK created the Saudi kingdom and could dismantle it just as easily.

The US occupation of Iraq and a military lockdown of the Gulf could mean that Iran may also have to give up any pretence of being independent. Then there's Iraq's northern neighbour Syria.... Further, some

*Continued to page 66*

## Used Nukes on Civilians?

Scott Ritter, a former US Marines officer, who, as chief of the UN "concealment inspections team", took part in wreaking havoc on Iraqi facilities, recently published a book entitled *War on Iraq*. He contends that "90-95%" of Iraq's advanced weaponry was destroyed. He also says that the nuclear programme and its manufacturing and research infrastructure and the chemical and biological weapons laboratories and production facilities were wiped out down to the last pipe and brick. Radiation detectors planted on the ground and operating from the sky have failed to detect any uranium or plutonium enrichment since then. Even if some biological weapons were hidden - and Ritter says he is sure they were not - most deteriorate quickly and would no longer be usable. An equally important factor is that Iraq is said to be down to about a dozen intermediate-range Scud missiles and a relative handful of ageing aircraft held together with glue and wires.

When the Blair government finally released the long-promised dossier that was supposed to so thoroughly document the Iraqi threat that all of Europe would be convinced, it was trashed by no less than Israel's chief of military intelligence, Major General Aharon Frakash. For his own reasons (probably to cool heads in Israel who might mistakenly buy the Bush/Blair line and thus act precipitously), Frakash said that there was no chance of Iraq acquiring nuclear weapons in the near future and that militarily Iran and even Syria were far more of a threat to Israel than was Iraq.

Even if every word Bush and Blair say were true, what right would these imperialists have to attack Iraq? Iraq has already been devastated by one Bush and another is promising to do even worse this time, so what gives them the right to dictate what kind of weapons Iraq can develop? The people of Iraq, of course, have their own score to settle with Saddam, but what right has the US to step in? Bush claims that the US can violate Iraqi sovereignty because Saddam has used biological and chemical weapons "against his own people". So have the US, Russia, the UK and Canada, just to mention a few known recent culprits.

After the Second World War, the US took over the data produced by Japan's biological and chemical warfare programme, just as they also appropriated the Nazi German rocket programme and scientists to make American missiles. The Chinese and North Korean governments and American newsmen charged that the US used these biological weapons in Korea. In subsequent decades, the US military conducted bio-warfare tests on civilians in several US cities, including spraying weak pathogens in the New York City subway system. During the 1960s and early 1970s, Canada and the UK took part in joint tests with the US that involved spraying two of the deadliest agents that Saddam is accused of possessing, sarin and VX, on their own unwitting soldiers, sailors and civilians. Are such tests still being conducted? The US has blocked the enforcement of an international treaty against germ warfare weapons. Bush declared that

no international inspectors will ever be allowed to step foot in the US, let alone do anything like what America demands that Iraq submit to, so we may never know. But it is indisputable that the US has by far the world's biggest stockpile of "weapons of mass destruction" and it has used them at home and abroad ever since Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Russia, along with the US, possesses the world's most extensive stockpiles of chemical and biological agents. Just recently they also made use of them "against their own people", when at least 123 people were gassed to death by Russian troops when they stormed a Moscow theatre taken by Chechen rebels. Bush praised Putin for this act. Is he planning to follow suit?

Remember the reports during the 1991 Gulf War about how Iraqi troops rampaged through Kuwaiti hospitals and unplugged incubators so that babies would die? That turned out to be a complete lie invented by a publicist and accepted as fact by much of the world's press, especially in the "democratic" West. Or how about the Iraqi chemical weapons factory destroyed by US bombs that turned out to make baby formula? In the First World War, the Bushes and Blairs of that day made up the lie that German troops were raping Belgian nuns. The rules of war publicists have not changed. The ruling classes still invent pretexts hoping that their control of the media will enable them to make some people believe them until too late - or until new lies overshadow the old ones. ■

Excerpts from Bob Avakian,  
Chairman of the RCP,USA

# On the US after 11 September

As the US imperialist ruling class intensifies its onslaught against the people of the world, what they call "the homeland front" has also become a sharp arena of struggle. Throughout the world, revolutionary and progressive-minded people are eagerly following these developments and drawing hope from the rapid growth of opposition to imperialism within what US revolutionaries often refer to as "the belly of the beast". The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, a participating party in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, has been vigorously working to build this new movement as part of the Party's overall revolutionary work. The following excerpts are drawn from writings and talks by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP,USA, entitled "The New Situation and the Great Challenges" and "Grasp Revolution, Promote Production" and from an interview with Comrade Avakian by Carl Dix, National Spokesperson of the RCP,USA, which have been published in the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper, the voice of the RCP,USA. The interview is also available in audio on CD format. These excerpts have been edited for publication here. — AWTW

I want to speak first of all to the strategic dimension involved in the current and developing situation since September 11, 2001. I think we have to look at it in terms of a very wide range of possibilities connected with what the imperialists are up to



Los Angeles rebellion, April 1992.

and the whole cauldron of contradictions that are involved. To put it in stark terms, the range of possibilities involves everything from, on the one hand, on the negative side, devastating defeats for the proletariat and the proletarian revolution internationally, of a character that would set us back for decades. It could even lead to devastation organizationally, if not politically, for the international communist movement and its vanguard forces, and at the same time to very great advances and consolidations by the imperialists, the US imperialists in particular.

Or, on the other extreme, on the positive side — and this too is possible — the whole course that the imperialists are embarking on could

turn into its opposite for them in a profound, and perhaps even an unprecedented, way — it could lead to tremendous advances for the revolutionary struggle of the people all over the globe, for the world proletarian revolution — it could even lead to the possibility of a revolutionary situation and a successful revolution coming into being within what's now the United States. That's how we have to view the range of possibilities and the depth of the contradictions that are at play here and are being further unleashed and accentuated by what the imperialists are doing. One of those two extremes or the other, and everything in between, is possible as a resolution of — as what results or



Washington, D.C. 20 April 2002.

comes to the fore through — this whole cauldron of contradictions.

As can be seen in many ways, including in the major speeches by Bush since September 11, 2001, these imperialists — the US imperialists in particular — certainly have wild ambitions. But they also have a great deal of necessity they're facing. And we need to look at both.

They have ambitions of essentially reshuffling the whole deck, reordering the whole situation — beginning with the strategic areas of Central and South Asia and the Middle East that are more immediately involved now — but, even beyond that, on a world scale. This is "New World Order Revisited" or New World Order 2 that they're trying to carry out on a deeper and more sweeping level than what they set out to do with their war against Iraq a decade ago. They've set themselves a very far-reaching agenda with gigantic implications.

■ ■ ■

Occasionally you see some expressions of "pious doubts and petty amendments" coming from the State Department — or from other representatives of the powers-that-be — warnings or worries that "if we get too aggressive, or take on too many adversaries all at once, it's going to alienate some of our allies." But the answer comes back from the "hard core" imperialist strategists: "Never mind about that — we can't let these 'coalition partners' set the terms of what we are going to do." (This has been explicitly said by Donald Rumsfeld, who said in a speech (in late 2001) that the mission must determine the coalition, and not the other way around, or else "the mission will get dumbed down to the lowest common denominator.")....

And this "mission," once again, is essentially to reshuffle the whole

deck, reorder the whole world more in line with how they are perceiving their strategic interests....

But there is inherent in what they're doing the great possibility for them of overreaching and overstepping themselves, or unleashing forces that they can't control. And even the use of nuclear weapons by the US imperialists, which is a real possibility through the course of this whole thing, is not any guarantee that they're going to be able to resolve everything in a way that's favorable to them — it could just unleash a whole other level of forces wildly out of control. And within all this, to whatever perverse and monstrous extent the imperialists' unleashing of destruction is carried and whatever forms it takes, the forces of the people, worldwide — and in particular the revolutionary forces of the international proletariat and the international communist movement — will have to be working to wrench



Both photos: Anti-police brutality march in Los Angeles, 22 October 2002.

something radically different and better out of all this.

■ ■ ■

One thing that is becoming more and more clear and is standing out more and more acutely as events have unfolded since September 11th is the fact that the objectives of the US imperialists relate only secondarily and decreasingly to the events of September 11th themselves....

Take, for example, the situation with Iraq and Saddam Hussein. Political leaders and representatives of the US imperialists are openly saying, "Saddam Hussein was a problem before September 11th, and he's a problem after September 11th." And while there will undoubtedly be further attempts on their part to concoct certain connections between Iraq/Saddam Hussein and the September 11th events, in the main that's not what they're going to do — not only because it's very likely not true, which wouldn't bother them, but also because even their own objectives don't necessarily lie in the direction of linking it that closely.

They've declared an open-ended war and their right to make war on anybody, basically for any reason, at any time, anywhere, by any means — including nuclear weapons. So, even though they may concoct some connection with September 11th, it also serves their purposes to at least have another track going where they are basically saying: it's not because of September 11th; it's because he's a problem for us. For public consumption, they try to relate this to his alleged development of weapons of mass destruction, even though, during the many years that the UN in-

spectors were there, it was clear that they had overseen the destruction of most of the facility and ability to produce those weapons, and it's certainly credible when the Iraqis say that the conflict with the inspectors reached the breaking point in 1998 because these inspectors were being used as spies for a heightened attack on Iraq — which, it now becomes all the more clear, the US has been wanting to do all along....

The point is that, on the one hand, they are attempting to seize on the freedom they see in the situation, to reorder things in the Middle East, and in fact worldwide, more firmly under their domination; but, because there are many other forces that are "at play" in that part of the world, and in the world at large, which could undermine, further "destabilize" and even unravel important parts of the structure of power relations, threatening and perhaps even toppling regimes that are part of the present imperialist world order, the US imperialists also have real necessity to act to recast things in this way. (Besides Palestine, think of places like Saudi Arabia, or Egypt, or Pakistan, for example.) And, while this juggernaut will have an aspect in which the US imperialists will be aggressively seeking to bludgeon things into an order even more firmly under their hegemony, this will also set into motion, or intensify, forces and conflicts, in many parts of the world, which could get out of the control of these imperialists, even wildly out of their control.



#### **THE ROOT OF THIS — THE NATURE OF THEIR SYSTEM**

It is also important to stress that this is rooted in their nature as imperialists and in the nature of the imperialist system. It's not just a matter that you've got madmen in there ....it's not just that you have these gleeful butchers like Rumsfeld, who seems to be most happy, as do Bush and the rest of them, when they're talking about how they're destroying and killing people. It's not just that there is a certain group like that in power, or even just that they are drunk with power in a certain way and gleefully going about these horrendous objectives they have. More fundamentally, this is rooted in the very nature of the system. And, while we shouldn't be insisting, as a basis of unity, that everyone unite with this viewpoint on the nature of the system, we should be striving to bring people this understanding through all the work that we're doing....



Mexican day labor queuing up in Dallas, Texas

This whole juggernaut and its unfolding precisely illustrates the actual nature of the imperialist system, in contrast to a number of mistaken and illusory notions about the nature of the beast that people are up against....What's clearly being demonstrated is that these imperialists have interests as a class and that they are driven by the dynamics of their own system and the ways this assumes concentrated form through the state and the contention among imperialist states. This is also in the nature of their system. It's not one undifferentiated imperialist system. There's a great divide in the world between the imperialist countries and the oppressed nations of the world (or what's broadly referred to as the Third World); and there is also very sharp division and contention between the different imperialist countries, even when the US has, at this point, a dominating position in relation to the rest of them (or a clearly superior position)....

Even these international institutions like the IMF (International Monetary Fund), the World Bank, the WTO (World Trade Organisation), etc., are not supranational in the sense that they've done

away with the influence or role of the nation state—nor are they tending toward doing so, certainly not in any immediate or short-term sense, or even looking quite a ways into the future. To the contrary, all these institutions are, at one and the same time, instruments of imperialist domination and arenas of imperialist contention. Generally speaking, in all these international forums and vehicles and instrumentalities, the US imperialists have the upper hand and play the dominant role, but there is contention among the imperialists over this—they contend in and through these things for their particular interests as imperialists while they also collude in another sense to carry out their general interests vis a vis particularly the oppressed nations of the world. And these two things obviously interpenetrate, that is, the way in which they are instruments of imperialist domination exists in dialectical relation with the ways in which they are arenas of inter-imperialist contention.

This is the way we have to understand things, this is the reality of what these particular institutions are and the way that they function,

but also the reality in general of the nature of the beast that we're actually up against.

■ ■ ■

Something that has been pointed to, something whose relevance and importance has stood out, in relation to this whole crisis and war and the developing accentuation of all these contradictions, is the statement in the *Draft Programme* of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, in the Appendix on Central Task, where it emphasises that: "The Party does not overall determine the political challenges it faces, but how it meets those challenges can have a huge effect on the political terrain itself." In other words, we don't get to choose the necessity that we're confronted with — the objective situation at any given time is generally determined largely by factors other than our own efforts — but we do have some choice in how we respond to that situation, we can take initiative and seize freedom out of that necessity, transforming to the greatest degree possible the objective conditions that we're confronted with.

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**BEING PUT TO THE TEST—  
MAINTAINING OUR  
STRATEGIC ORIENTATION**

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This is an extremely important point of strategic orientation because, after all, what is it that we communists are all about and what is it we live for? We live for — and our whole orientation is geared toward — situations in which the contradictions of imperialism *do* reach their most acute expressions. And one of the things that is being driven home to us — this is something we have always known theoretically and have lived through on a certain level, certainly in the period, particularly during the 1980s, when world war was a very real possibility — is that the increasingly acute and explosive expression of

*Continued to p. 62*

# Palestine Still Unbowed



The last issue of *AWTW* featured a lengthy analysis of the situation of Palestine as the Palestinian people went into year two of what is known as the Second Intifada. The intensity and turbulence of the situation in Palestine has continued throughout 2002. At the heart of events has been the continuing refusal of the Palestinian people to surrender their struggle and acquiesce to the dictates of the US imperialists and their Zionist underlings. In June, US President Bush, who is vigorously promoting US aggression under the signboard of the “war against terrorism”, openly demanded that the Palestinian people get rid of Yasir Arafat and elect a leader acceptable to the US ... or else. The entire world was thus treated to the sight of these so-called champions of democracy contemptuously trying to overturn the results of the most recent Palestinian elections, which were widely declared legitimate by international observers, including former US President Jimmy Carter, because the outcome no longer conforms to their imperial interests. This is in line with the long history of these arrogant overlords, who try to overthrow democratically elected leaders who

do not conform with their interests – like Chile’s Salvador Allende, or most recently Venezuela’s Chavez – and then turn around and try to overthrow other political leaders they don’t like on the grounds that they are not “democratically elected”.

Bush’s two-faced bullying also says a great deal about the US’s “mini-state” solution. First, this is a solution designed to keep the Palestinian people in impotent South African apartheid-style bantustans [see *AWTW* 28/2002]. Now the US is also making it perfectly clear that the key criterion for US acceptance of this plan is that the Palestinian leadership accept being a cog in the wheel of a US-dominated Middle East in which Israel, built on the expropriation of the national rights of the Palestinian people, will play the central role.

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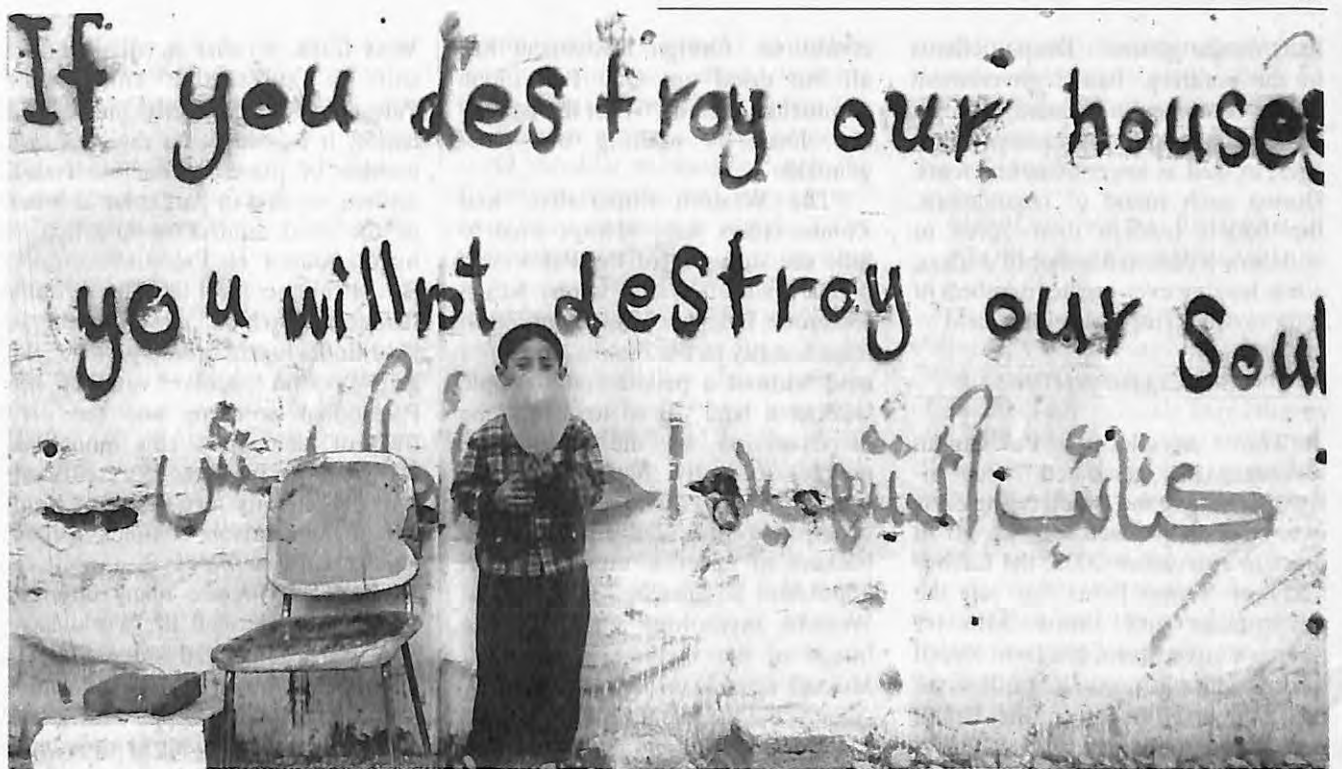
## IMPERIALIST HYPOCRISY

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The world is also now being treated to the sight of the US rulers invoking Iraqi violations of UN resolutions as justification for a large-scale war, while studiously ignoring the fact that their client state of Israel is itself in flagrant violation of

numerous United Nations resolutions starting in 1948. But the blatant hypocrisy of this stand is in fact of no great concern to the US or Israeli rulers. They are making only the slightest pretence these days of abiding by international law or any kind of internationally recognised universal standards, and instead are adopting the age-old tact of bullies everywhere: “might makes right”. For Bush and the US media, terrorism is whatever they say it is, never mind the reality. Israeli bulldozers and tanks have destroyed some 20,000 homes in blatant violation of international law, Israel’s helicopters fire on crowds and its jets bomb cities, it has been condemned over and over again by human rights groups for torture in the prisons – yet in the eyes of the US rulers and media, none of this has anything to do with “terrorism”, while every incident of Palestinian resistance is loudly condemned.

In the current situation, the continuing resistance of the Palestinian people has been an especially sharp thorn in the side of the US. Their struggle punctures the lie that US war moves in Iraq have anything to do with “justice” and “human rights” by showing the brutal reality of life



**ABOVE LEFT:** Youth on the front lines, Jenin.

**ABOVE:** Jenin.

**RIGHT:** Israeli troops search for militants at a shop in Hebron, West Bank. 11 November 2002.

**BELOW RIGHT:** Sharon's walls around Palestinian cities greatly exceed in size the former Berlin Wall in Germany.

under the US client regime of Israel.

Indeed, Israel has been doing its utmost to further tighten its grip on Palestine and enforce peace at gunpoint. One of the ways it is doing this is through the ongoing expansion of what are termed the "illegal" settlements (because they violate international law and UN resolutions against settling in militarily occupied territories). They have continued to set up these illegal settlements at more or less the same pace under Labour and Likud government alike. The ever greater presence of Israeli settlers scattered at strategic points throughout the territories has meant stepped-up vigilante actions against the Palestinians, as every incident involving Palestinians leads to multiple acts of revenge against Palestinian civilians. The increasing number of settlers is also being used by the Israeli government to "create



facts on the ground". Despite claims to the contrary, Israeli government policy continues to encourage illegal settlement by offering certain privileges, as well as lower taxes and rents. During each round of negotiations, the Israeli leaders then agree to withdraw a certain number of settlers, while leaving ever-greater numbers of settlers occupying Palestinian land.

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### ISRAELI INFIGHTING

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The unyielding Palestinian resistance has generated fierce infighting among the Israeli ruling class over how to proceed. As we go to press in November 2002, the Labour Party of Simon Perez has left the government and Prime Minister Sharon's government has been forced to call new elections. Regardless of their outcome, however, the Israeli state is sure to intensify its attacks on the Palestinians and to seek to institutionalise new levels of repression. Where once every incursion of Israeli troops into the territory that had been allotted the Palestinian Authority under the Oslo "peace accords" provoked an international outcry, now the Israeli armed forces routinely go in and out of what is internationally recognised as Palestinian territory, and have even begun to set up a semi-permanent military base there.

The heightened Israeli repression has had dramatic consequences on the life of the Palestinian people. The vice-like grip of the Israeli occupiers on the West Bank and Gaza Strip is strangling the Palestinian economy and the people themselves. Living conditions are steadily being eroded. It is estimated that today almost half the children in the West Bank and Gaza are malnourished. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians have been pushed down below the official poverty line in the wake of Israeli attempts to crush the Second Intifada. The impoverishment of the Palestinians is in part because the Israelis are closing down transport and communications at random intervals and an increasing pace, making it impossible to carry on business and trade. In these

conditions, foreign investment has all but dried up. One Palestinian commentator said, "What the Israelis are doing is nothing but slow genocide".

The Western imperialists and Zionist rulers have always tried to hide the suffering of the Palestinian people caused by the unjust Israeli seizure of Palestine. This is reflected most notably in the Zionist slogan, "a land without a people for a people without a land", used to justify the dispossession of the Palestinian people. Recently, however, Israeli willingness to use the military superiority provided by their US backers to terrorise the Palestinian population has reached new depths. Western mythology eulogises the image of the methodical, efficient Mossad agent who kills cleanly and silently, but the real face of how Israel ensures its domination is revealed every day in the tanks that blow away 10-year-old boys with slingshots and the F-16s that screech overhead and rain down bombs on ghettos. In one recent incident, a US-supplied jet dropped a one-tonne bomb on Gaza City, one of the most densely populated areas in the world, in an effort to kill a Hamas leader. The inevitable result: 10 people killed, including children as well as innocent men and women. Sharon publicly hailed this as "a big success".

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### THE BIGGEST PRISON WALL ON EARTH

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In Autumn 2002, the Israeli government began to build a gigantic steel and cement wall to enclose the West Bank. At eight metres high, this wall is three times higher than the infamous wall that once separated east and west Berlin that the Western imperialists so loudly denounced. There is also a three metre deep trench running alongside it. The Israelis are claiming this wall is an effort to separate the two peoples, and that "good fences make good neighbours". But this fence line represents a further Israeli encroachment on Palestinian land. Indeed, much of the wall is being constructed some 200-600 metres inside the territory of the

West Bank, so that it will in effect shift a substantial amount of Palestinian land directly into Israeli hands. It is also being diverted in a number of places to enclose Israeli settlements and in particular to fence in the vital aquifer at Q'aaliya, a major source of Palestinian water. Establishing control over these water resources, which have been in Palestinian hands, would give Israel a grip on the jugular vein of the Palestinian economy and the very lives of its people. This monstrous fortification in fact represents an effort to literally turn the West Bank into a huge prison complex for the Palestinians.

In recent months many different social forces around the world have adamantly demanded some kind of fundamental change in the situation of the Palestinian people. Protests of tens and even hundreds of thousands in defence of the Palestinian people have been held not only in the Arab world, but also in the streets of London and other Western capitals. Yet the US rulers have contemptuously ignored the pressure.

There is no reason to believe that the situation of the Palestinian people might somehow improve as the US closes in on Saddam Hussein. On the contrary. The basic premise of US policy is that by "taking out" the Iraqi regime and replacing it with US puppets, as they have in Afghanistan, they will achieve a major transformation of power relations in the Middle East and secure themselves unprecedented hegemony there. By their brutal display of force, and by taking over direct control of Iraq and its oil resources themselves, they hope to use their heightened power to intimidate, roll over and outright crush other recalcitrant forces and regimes in the region, not least of all the Palestinian resistance.

The Israeli reactionaries are already gearing up for this new situation. An important section of the Israeli ruling class believes that the US imperialists' grab for power in the region will offer them an unprecedented opportunity to "solve the Palestinian problem" in a more lasting and favourable way than ever.

Exactly what this means remains to be seen, and developments in Palestine will depend greatly on what happens as the US steps up its aggression against Iraq. But it is clear that at the top of the Zionists' agenda is "regime change" for the Palestinian people too. This means setting up a more compliant Palestinian governmental façade, intensified repression of the Palestinian people and legitimisation of a large part of the "illegal settlements" in the West Bank and Gaza. It might even possibly include an attempt to expel large numbers of Palestinian people from historic Palestine.

Expulsion has long been on the agenda of the "extreme right" in Israel. But in recent years these forces have gained greater power in the Israeli government, in parallel with the rise of a more aggressive, repressive agenda within the US ruling class as well. Such forces have recently been elevated to Cabinet level. The ultra-right wing Benjamin Netanyahu, who was just brought into the Sharon government as Foreign Minister, has declared that war on Iraq would give the Israelis "a good opportunity to get rid of Arafat". Even more shamelessly, the option of "expulsion" is now being treated as a respectable topic of debate in Israeli society and even in the pages of the Western press. Consider the Israeli historian Benny Morris, who came to prominence when he used his access to Israeli archives to document Zionist violence employed to drive out the original Palestinian inhabitants when Israel was created in 1948. Now he has taken a reactionary turn and argues in the British "left of centre" daily *Guardian* that expulsion would at least bring a halt to the "cycle of violence" that has engulfed both peoples. While the imperialist media still tries to portray Israel as a tiny "democratic outpost of Western civilisation" surrounded by a sea of backward Arab fundamentalists – even though it now has the fourth strongest military in the world, thanks overwhelmingly to US aid – the following is worth contemplating: what other country

would be allowed to make an explicit argument for mass ethnic cleansing in the pages of the Western press?!

There is a need as never before to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Palestinian people and oppose any imperialist-sponsored attacks. The imperialists and Zionists are seeking any excuse for escalation, and if a suitable one does not appear, they may well fabricate something to justify the bloody crimes they have already planned. The Zionists have long used the crimes committed by the Nazis against Jews in the Second World War as a blank cheque to give themselves the right to carry out towering crimes against the Palestinians – much as the US is trying to use the 11 September events to legitimise a whole series of attacks on the people of the world and reshape the world in its interests. It is worth noting that Marek Edelman, one of the two main military leaders of the 1943 Warsaw ghetto uprising, recently wrote an open letter comparing the Palestinian people's struggle to that of the Jews against the Nazis.

The escalating Israeli attacks on the Palestinian people have not only been met by unyielding Palestinian resistance, but have also brought forth resistance from within Israeli society itself. Some 500 Israeli reservists have now signed a declaration that they will not serve in the West Bank or Gaza, and 40 of them are currently being held in jail. The large official Israeli "peace camp" Peace Now has also stepped up its activity, and recently held a series of large protests under a slogan calling for finding a way to "end the occupation" and "return to ourselves". But what does it mean for Israeli society to "return to ourselves"? To what point in Israel's history would Peace Now like to return – the 1950s, just after the Zionists drove almost a million Palestinians out of their homes and land at gunpoint? Or how about 1967, when with the aid of US jets and tanks Israel seized the Golan Heights, the West Bank and Gaza? The myth of the kibbutz (co-operative) farmer who peacefully tills his own land without harming a soul hides the same dark truth as the myth of the US

southern gentlemen did in the days of slavery – that their society is built on the expropriation of another people. No amount of myth making can hide this cold truth.

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#### SUPPORT THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE'S JUST STRUGGLE

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The challenges facing the Palestinian people today are unprecedented and the danger of some kind of attempt at large-scale expulsion is real. But this is not the nineteenth century, where the reactionary powers could wage bloody campaigns against isolated peoples and deal with them largely away from the gaze of the world. Today there are a million threads that bind the struggle of the Palestinian people to that of the rest of the world's oppressed, and these the imperialists can never break. The struggle of the Palestinian people today can only advance by going up against imperialism, and it is thus tightly bound up with the advance of the world proletarian revolution.

As the US imperialists gear up for war against Iraq, they are puffed up and seeking to secure unprecedented global hegemony, and the Israelis are eagerly marching alongside to claim their share of the spoils of war – which for them means first of all achieving a longer-term "solution" to the "Palestinian problem". But in stretching for new heights of regional and global domination, the US, along with its faithful Zionist attack dog, may well be over-reaching their actual capabilities. The Palestinian cause and its symbols such as wearing the *keffiyeh* chequered scarf have been already taken up by a great many young people as their own. The imperialists' aggression against the Iraqi people and the heightening attacks on the Palestinians that are sure to go along with it will provoke rage and opposition throughout the world and will surely bring into being new conditions for advancing the struggle for revolution and national liberation in Palestine and elsewhere in the region. ■

# Resolutions of the Joint Conference of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Parties and Organisations of Iran and Afghanistan on the Current Situation in the World and Region and Specifically on the Situation in Afghanistan

We are reprinting below the bulk of the resolutions issued by the recent Joint Conference of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Parties and Organisations of Iran and Afghanistan. This Conference was held at the initiative of the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) and was intended to further the effort to develop unity among the Maoist forces in the region, and especially in Afghanistan itself. A key task was to take stock of the new situation in the region created by the US imperialists' war on Afghanistan and, in particular, to develop a more unified understanding not only of the dangers posed by the increased, permanent US military presence but also of the heightened opportunities for revolutionary struggle. This means above all to hasten preparations for building a united vanguard party and launching people's war.

The Conference was largely successful in gathering the forces grouped around the banner of Maoism in Afghanistan. These included the following:

- The Communist Party of Afghanistan, which was formed on 1 May 1991 and has been a participant in RIM since its formation.
- The Unity Committee of the Communist Movement of Afghanistan (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) – this consists of three organisations, the Organisation of Struggle for the Salvation of Afghanistan, the Circle of Progressive Youth of Afghanistan, and the Combatants of the Path to Liberate the People of Afghanistan. These groups have been working together since 1994. Recently, in

2001, on the basis of their common work and political and ideological struggle, they came together to form the Unity Committee, which takes Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) as its ideological basis.

- The Revolutionary Unity of the Workers of Afghanistan, which also takes MLM as its ideological basis, and which has carried out continuous active resistance for many years against the different reactionary regimes in Afghanistan.

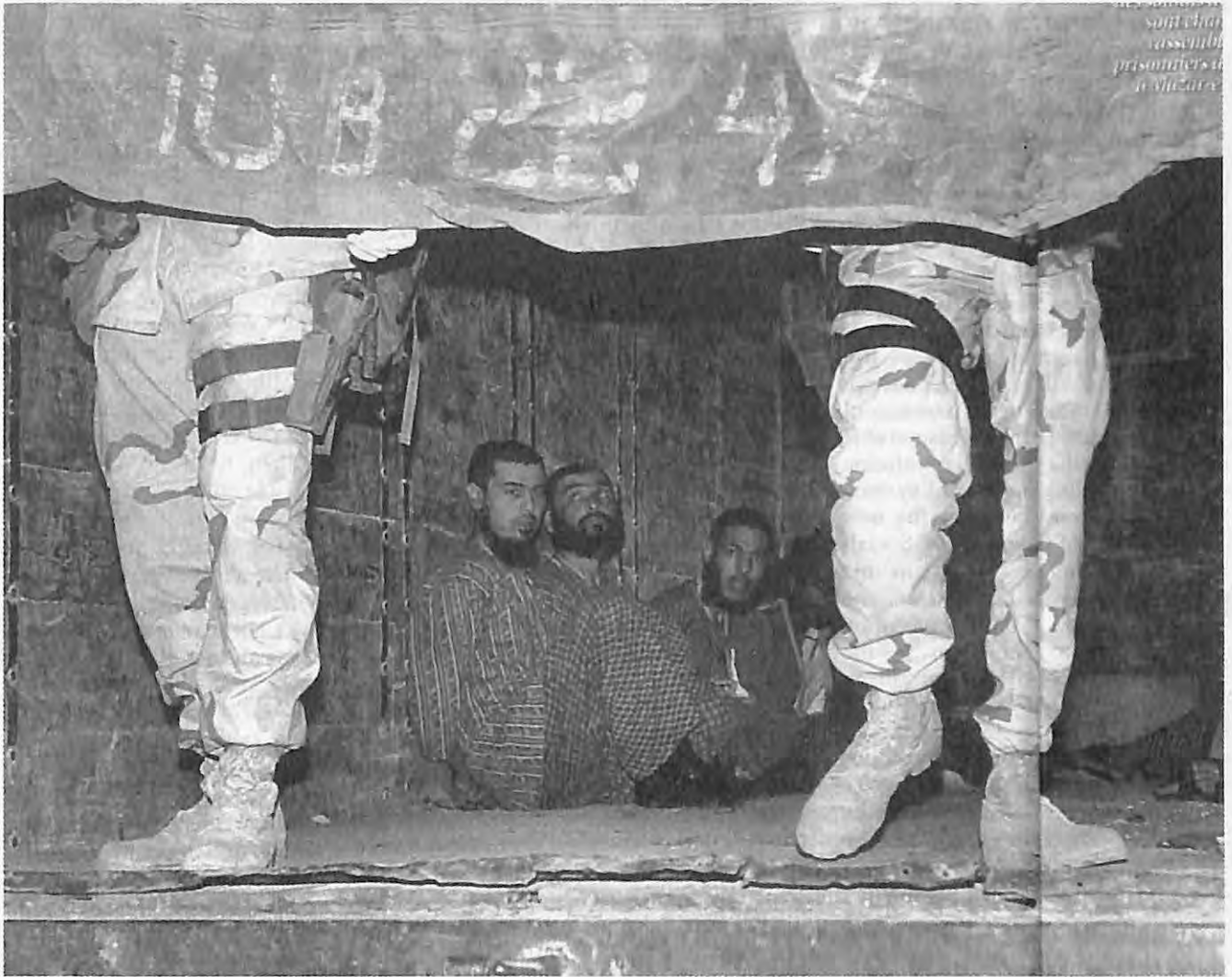
Also taking part in the Conference was the Communist Party of Iran (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist), a RIM participant. The Conference succeeded in raising the level of understanding and unity among the Afghanistani comrades in particular, and represented an important step along the

path of uniting all the MLM forces in that country into a single vanguard party, which is a goal shared by all present. – *A World To Win*

The events of 11 September gave imperialism, headed by US imperialism, the opportunity to begin a campaign of aggression in the name of the "war on terrorism". Whilst this campaign was initially aimed at the imperialists' own reactionary creations, such as al-Qaeda and the Taliban, it is the proletariat and oppressed people of the world and their revolutionary struggle that is the real target. That is why, sooner or later, the revolutionary struggle of the people, particularly people's war under the leadership of Maoists, will in practice become the real target of attack.

**Afghanistani wedding bombed by US.**





US special forces stood by while many hundreds of captured soldiers were suffocated in containers like these while being transported to Sheberghan Prison in northern Afghanistan.

At this point in time, the attacks of world imperialism are mainly concentrated in the regions of Asia and the Middle East, with Afghanistan at the centre of this nasty tornado. US imperialism and its allies not only attacked and occupied Afghanistan, they also promoted the work of mocking-up a new puppet regime to install in the country. This process began with the summit held by national traitors in Bonn (Germany) that established a "Provisional Administration" followed by the reactionary project of calling the "Emergency Loya Jirga", which has led to the establishment of the "Transitional Administration".

The purpose of the imperialist aggressors in initiating this process is

to preserve the reactionary, colonial, semi-feudal relations. They want to prolong their military presence in the country, protect their political dominance and permanently stabilise the rule of the reactionary, anti-democratic, women-hating, criminal Islamic groups. The imperialist aggression and assault, along with the ever-increasing vicious crimes committed against the oppressed people of the world, to strengthen the rotten imperialist system, is creating, in potential and in fact, an ever-increasing wave of resistance. This presents all the world's Marxist-Leninist-Maoist forces with a situation that is greatly favourable for struggle, along with risks.

The imperialist aggression that

brought the jihadi warlords back into power did not cure the ideological, organisational and military crises of the ruling Islamic groups - in fact it has prolonged the crises. The imperialists are facing numerous problems in stabilising the power of the central puppet government over the rest of the country. The crises and chaos in the rank and file of the reactionary rulers, which is caused by the internal contradictions and competition amongst the imperialist powers, present a uniquely favourable condition that should actively and creatively be utilised for revolutionary struggle.

To respond appropriately to the situation in this country, to clearly define the tasks of the communist

movement based on principles, the communist (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) parties and organisations of Afghanistan and the Communist Party of Iran (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) held a regional conference. The Conference, which was held at the initiative of the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (CoRIM), and in the presence of a CoRIM representative, was concluded successfully and passed on the following resolutions:

1) The Conference emphasised that the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) is responsible for leading the world revolution against the ruling imperialist system, so that humanity achieves the new system of world communism. Socialist proletarian revolution in the capitalist imperialist countries, and new-democratic revolution transitioning to socialism in the countries oppressed by imperialism, are the two axes of world revolution. These revolutions - in the form of protracted people's war in countries oppressed by imperialism, and in the form of insurrections followed by civil war in imperialist countries - are the two types of people's war that take place in countries around the world.

All Maoists around the world must be armed with the three weapons of revolution - the communist party, the people's army and a revolutionary united front headed by the communist party - to provide courageous strategic leadership. At the present time, organising and leading the resistance movement of people around the world against the US imperialist aggressors and their allies is one of the most important tasks.

2) The communist movement of Afghanistan is an inseparable part of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. Within this framework, at the present time the Maoists of Afghanistan must deem rendering the process of uniting in a single Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party their main task. After accomplishing this main task, it is possible to prepare, initiate and sustain people's war as the concrete form of people's revolutionary resistance against imperialist

aggression.

3) The Conference fully supports the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. We expect the Movement not only to link the current struggle of Maoists victoriously in various countries, but also triumphantly and militantly proceed on the way to forming a new communist international of Marxist-Leninist-Maoists. The Conference resolutely supports CoRIM as an embryonic international leadership. This Conference that is cherished by us is held at the initiative of CoRIM, and it is regarded as an achievement of our international class.

The Conference supports all participants of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, particularly our vanguard detachments in Peru and Nepal that are leading people's war. The imperialists are, in particular, conspiring against the People's War in Nepal and turning it into their real target. We fully support the courageous masses of Nepal in their People's War. In this regard, the Conference proposes to CoRIM to initiate an international campaign to defend the People's War in Nepal against the criminal plots of imperialism.

US imperialism is heading world imperialism in the pursuit of its criminal campaign against the people of the world. The active presence of a vanguard proletarian party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, in the belly of the imperialist beast, is the hope, inspiration, and pride of all Marxist-Leninist-Maoists of the world. We announce our solidarity with this Party, and we would like to have an ever-increasing mutual collaboration with these comrades. The Conference hopes for, and emphasises the need for, making serious efforts to strengthen the solidarity amongst the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists in the region.

4) We support the struggle and resistance of the oppressed people of the world against imperialism. The heroic resistance of the Palestinian people against the Zionist invaders and imperialism is especially inspiring. We hope the rising masses of Palestine will soon create a vanguard

proletarian leadership in order to lead the courageous struggle of the people towards achieving their goal.

Based on the agreements we have already achieved, at this Conference the participants of the Unity Movement of Marxist-Leninist-Maoists of Afghanistan decided the following:

A) A "Joint Committee" takes charge of working on the Programme and Joint Constitution as its main responsibility. The Committee will render the Programme and Constitution to the rank and file of the Unity Movement and ultimately submit them to the Congress for adoption. At the same time, the Committee will lead the collaborative struggle and activities of the Unity Movement. These activities include organising the joint struggle of participants of the Unity Movement against the imperialists and their lackeys....

C) ...Active participation in the campaigns initiated by RIM is a necessary and indispensable task. Fulfilling the responsibilities of active struggle not only impacts on the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist movement and its revolutionary struggle in Afghanistan, but would also have a vividly important influence on the struggle in the region.

After constructive discussions, the Conference assigned the tasks and responsibilities accordingly. The Conference concluded with great optimism and love for the people and proletariat with the singing of the proletarian anthem, the Internationale.

**The Unity Committee of the Communist Movement of Afghanistan (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist)**

**The Communist Party of Afghanistan**

**The Revolutionary Unity of the Workers of Afghanistan**

**The Communist Party of Iran (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist)**

20 June 2002 ■



**US soldier arrogantly searches a young girl, with utter disregard for the sensibilities of the people.**

The US imperialists invaded Afghanistan in the autumn of 2001 as the first chapter in their "war on terrorism". A series of articles in *AWTW* 28/2002 exposed the true intentions behind the US-British aggression against Afghanistan and the hypocrisy of their public opinion campaign about women's oppression, the "democratic" regime change and Islamic fundamentalism. Since October 2002, British and US planes pounded over 10,000 tonnes of bombs on the heads of the Afghanistani people, murdering several thousand civilians. Most of these people died in air strikes. Nearly twice as many soldiers were killed, either on the battlefield or as prisoners of war in transit. An estimated 3,000 of the 8,000 prisoners who were sealed in metal containers en route to Sheberghan prison died from asphyxiation or shots fired into the containers; another 500 to 800 prisoners were slaughtered at Mazar-i-Sharif, most by US warplanes - one of US Defence Secretary Rumsfeld's "proudest moments". Countless villages and thousands of homes were destroyed. According to the British daily, the *Guardian*, nearly a quarter of a million Afghanistanis fled to Iran

and Pakistan after 11 September, an unknown number of whom died on the way. Another 200,000 people fled the bombing of their home areas but remained in Afghanistan. The US refuses to publish an accurate report of the vengeful devastation they have wrought against the people there.

By sowing fear and terror amongst the population, the US aimed to secure the rule of its puppet regime

## US-Occupied Afghanistan, One Year On

over the people and establish the basis for medium to long-term occupation in the country and region. Mention of al-Qaeda has practically disappeared from the imperialists' political discourse, reflecting once again that countering the Taliban's armed Islamic regime with more sophisticated state-sponsored Western terror was always more motivated by gaining a more secure foothold in the



**In mid-November, police opened fire and killed four Afghanistani students at Kabul University trying to break a blockade by riot police during a protest over the food shortages since the US invasion.**

area than any other of its promises. The US has long had the desire to increase its influence over central Asia and gain control of its vast oil and natural gas reserves, as well as carving out a path for that oil to the world market mainly through a stable Afghanistan.

But political stability in Afghanistan is not likely to be achieved through greater force; the repeated terroristic operations of the US and allied forces only succeeded in turning more and more people against them. The US bombing of a wedding party in July 2002 resulted in the massacre of at least 120 people, provoking widespread anger throughout the country. The hatred of the Taliban's primitive and despotic fundamentalism has turned into a hatred of the US occupation. And in addition to living under another foreign occupation, which Afghanistan's history is littered with, the latest Made-in-Washington solution hasn't changed the daily misery and semi-feudal oppression that make life hell for the population as a whole and women in particular. In some ways it has reinforced it.

#### **THE LOYA JIRGA REINFORCES A FUNDAMENTALIST REGIME**

The reality is that the Taliban's extreme fundamentalist regime has been replaced by a different fundamentalist one. The "new" political power represents a compromise between various Islamic forces (*jihadi*) that fought the Russians and, following their withdrawal in the early 1990s, established the Islamic state of Afghanistan, imposing the oppressive set of Islamic rules known as *sharia* as the law of the country. Now these same political forces are an important component of the new regime. Mr Karzai, the favourite of the West whom the US chose as head of the government, is no better: not only did he work with the Islamic state before the Taliban, he was involved in the Taliban's rise to power, providing them with both Western money and arms - they considered him for the post of international spokesman.

Karzai lived in the United States for several years and served as an advisor to the Unocal oil company.

After the emergency *loya jirga* in June 2002 (a feudal council of chiefs from different regions) the composition of political power shifted slightly, - but in the direction of strengthening rather than weakening fundamentalism. Before the *loya jirga* a circle of people close to Zahir Shah (king of Afghanistan before the 1973 coup) had been included in the new government who would have acted more as technocrats, representing the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, and would not have been such hard-line fundamentalists. In the power struggle on the eve of and throughout the *loya jirga*, these forces closer to Zahir Shah were eliminated or weakened. Although originally Zahir Shah was considered as a candidate for head of state, he was instead excluded altogether. Then a campaign against secularism and against even limited freedom for women was launched by powerful figures in the government. The minister for women's affairs in the interim government, Sima Samar, was also removed from the new cabinet following the *loya jirga*. After she hinted that she did not support *sharia*, a campaign was immediately conducted against her to force her to apologise for her comments.

The US imperialists' heavy shadow hung over the *loya jirga*. Zalmay Khalilzad, George Bush's advisor on Afghanistan, was active behind the scenes. The powerful commanders so hated by the masses sat in the front row of the assembly, with the backbenches packed with their reactionary supporters. The US imperialists sought a broad alliance with the feudal landlord class, which find their political expression in the fundamentalist warlords, in order to further develop them as bureaucrat capitalists. The US's approval of a new religious dictatorship is done with full awareness that fundamentalism aggressively enforces the most backward traditions of the society, which in turn strengthens the semi-colonial, semi-feudal relations.

Sixty per cent of the population are women, but their participation in the

*loya jirga* was only symbolic: a group of 15 women (or 1% of the representatives) were carefully selected and approved by the authorities. There are reports that some participants were threatened and sexually abused during the *loya jirga* itself.

#### **ISLAMIC LAW STIFLES WOMEN**

Formally women now have the "right" to wear a *chador* (allowing their faces to be seen) instead of the suffocating *burka* that makes them invisible. However, in Kabul almost all young women still wear the *burka*, mainly out of fear. When the fundamentalists in the new government first came to power back in the early 1990s, they expelled women from their government jobs and from the political life of the country as a whole, imposing many of the intolerable norms of tradition, such as arranged marriages. They also made the *hijab* (Islamic covering) compulsory, threatened women who were working and separated the education of boys and girls. In 1994, the Supreme Court of the Islamic State of Afghanistan issued an "Ordinance on Women's Veils" which demanded that women be fully covered by the *burka* anywhere outside their homes. The Northern Alliance forces carried out systematic gang-rape of women of other nationalities and are deeply hated and feared for that reason.

Today, women are allowed to work if there is a job possibility for them, if they dare to withstand the threats and the consequences. However, only a small number of women in the large cities, with skills needed in hospitals or schools, are able to find work. For the majority of women nothing has changed, or their prospects are even bleaker. One woman stated in front of a Kabul office, "for four months I have been coming here every day to beg for work ... My children are starving and nobody here will do anything for me", is typical of the situation of many women in Afghanistan, and in the countryside it is worse.

Where they are able to, girls are returning to school with great

enthusiasm, but in many areas they face threats of being set on fire. Several girls' schools have been bombed in the past few months.

The government not only does not take steps to restrict such actions but, through various anti-women measures, encourages them. Within a few days of taking power the new government issued the decree of *hijab* for women in the workplace. Today, even the Western papers cannot hide the reality of how the new government is perpetuating the formal oppression of women institutionalised by the Islamic state. In many ways, they are even continuing the work of the Taliban itself. The US magazine *Newsweek* recounted the story of how a prisoner, who was falsely accused of adultery under Taliban rule on the sole basis of her former husband's testimony, is being prosecuted and jailed by the new government. In the state of Herat women are forbidden to join their families who walk in the city parks in the evening for relief from the heat and they are not allowed to wear colourful clothes in public.

While the US deceitfully proclaimed they would liberate women, what they have achieved by putting their own puppets in power does not come close to even a bourgeois-democratic concept of gender equality. The irony is that the situation (of urban women) is more backward than in the 1980s and before, at which time 40 per cent of doctors and 50 per cent of university students in Kabul were women.

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#### STABILITY, SECURITY AND PROSPERITY FOR WHOM?

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One of the imperialists' main aims in Afghanistan has been "stability", but as they defined it, which meant stability in order to make Afghanistan a safe place for their strategic plans for the region and a safe route for the oil and natural gas pipeline from central Asia. One year after the US declared victory in Afghanistan, the situation is anything but stable. The puppet government and security forces have no control outside Kabul, which itself can hardly be considered

"secure". For example, Karzai depends fully on US soldiers for his own personal protection. Some figures within imperialist circles argue that a full-scale invasion and occupation is necessary in order to take complete control into their own hands, instead of leaving it to a puppet regime.

The unreliability of the regional commanders and chiefs is also linked to their historical role in defending one or another colonial invader in the "great games" the big powers have been waging amongst themselves for nearly two centuries over the strategically important Afghanistan. Clearly one source of instability and a reason that pure US military might has not prevailed, as the US announced it would, is that today the various reactionary forces in Afghanistan and within the government have the particular feature of having changed political allegiance many times in the past two decades. But the reality is that the present situation of extreme insecurity and poverty for the masses has been developed by the rivalry of the big powers over gaining influence over central Asia and not by the warlords or smaller neighbouring countries, which have merely served as pawns in the imperialist contention. The *Guardian* recounts that within two weeks of 11 September CIA paramilitary troops were parachuted in to deliver suitcases bulging with money to local warlords in order to buy their co-operation, in one instance as much as \$3 million.

Although there has been much talk about reconstruction in Afghanistan, for the imperialists this primarily means how to shape the country in order to dominate it more. The large amounts of reconstruction aid promised by Western states must be seen within their overall goal of tying Afghanistan more closely into the world market, which will place it in a more favourable position for the imperialists to extract profitable returns in the long run. In the meantime, their aim is to fuse and build up a small class of loyal political rulers to develop some degree of stability. However, mostly this political solution leaves out the

masses, as the intense poverty and desperation of people's lives show.

Reconstruction has little to do with improving the living standard of the masses of Afghanistan. In Tokyo the imperialists promised \$5.2 billion over 5 years, but only half of the \$1.8bn for the first year has actually been delivered. Even if part of these donations are spent on building roads or purchasing aircraft, communications and other modern equipment, their objective is to facilitate military transport and capital flow. Military operations alone are estimated to have cost above \$10bn in the past year. Much of the aid is allocated to building an army, trained by several Western countries. A British investigative reporter describes the intense local resentment towards the more than one thousand UN agencies and non-governmental organisations clogging up the one-third of Kabul that was left standing, driving rents sky high and squandering huge amounts of aid money on bloated salaries and fleets of Land Cruisers.

Since the US invasion the economic situation for the masses, especially the poor, has worsened, with no prospects of work or other sources of income. According to the World Food Programme, more than half of Afghanistani families need emergency food supplies. Some poor peasants had no choice but to return to opium production. Many people who have not lost their life have lost everything they owned in US air raids. There is increasing pressure on existing shelter, forcing the poor out of low-rental housing. A common remark to journalists is that, "At first, when the Americans came, I was happy. I thought, 'our lives will get better'. But there is nothing for us."

The disastrous living conditions and devastation caused by the savage imperialist war to install the new puppet regime over the past year, which have shattered the lives of so many Afghanistani people, are only a foretaste of what lies in store for the Iraqi people once the US fully unleashes its dogs of war in the next round of its empire-building crusade. ■

# **Beat Back the Attacks on José-Maria Sison!**



Guerrilla  
fighters in the  
Philippines.

4 November 2002

**By the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement**

The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement strongly condemns the attacks directed against José-Maria Sison, a long-standing leader of the communist movement in the Philippines. After years of struggle, Comrade Sison was recognised as a political refugee by the authorities of the Netherlands. Now the government of the United States has declared the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), of which Comrade Sison was the founding chairman, a “terrorist” organisation because the CPP, with the support of millions of workers, peasants, intellectuals and middle-class city dwellers, has been leading armed resistance against the US-backed reactionary Filipino state for more than three decades. Having placed the “terrorist” label on this esteemed communist leader, the US has threatened to raise a formal demand that the Netherlands government turn Comrade Sison over to the US.

In their frenzy to carve out their “new world order”, the US imperialists must not be allowed to overthrow the system of political asylum that has been built up on the basis of struggle and formalised in international treaties in Europe and elsewhere. The right to asylum, like other democratic rights now under assault, must be defended.

But there are other, even more far-reaching reasons why it is crucial that these attacks against Comrade Sison be defeated. Not only do these attacks represent yet another attempt by the US overlord to protect its grip over its Filipino neo-colony, they are also a direct menace to the whole international communist movement and all other revolutionary and progressive forces. It is further proof that the ultimate target of the so-called “war on terrorism” is anyone who refuses to buckle under to the imperialists’ dictates.

The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement calls upon all communist and progressive organisations to rally to the support of Comrade Sison and the Communist Party of the Philippines, who are currently in the crosshairs of the US imperialist crusade against the peoples of the world. ■

## José-Maria Sison: Filipino Revolutionary Leader in US Crosshairs

In August 2002, as an extension of its "war on terrorism", the US government outrageously aimed its fire at José-Maria Sison, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the New People's Army (NPA) and designated them "foreign terrorists". José-Maria Sison, the founder of the CPP (1968-69) and Chairman until his capture (1977), has played the role of chief political consultant to the National Democratic Front in the Philippines (NDFP) during the 14 years he has spent in the Netherlands as a political refugee.

The US rulers approached the Netherlands government, which quickly agreed to do the US's bidding by freezing the assets of anyone associated with the Philippine revolutionary movement living in the Netherlands. Moving to the US baton, the Dutch government froze José-Maria Sison's bank account and took away his housing, health and social benefits. Most ominously, the US is pushing for the extradition of Sison for the murder of Colonel John Rowe, the chief of a Joint US Military Advisory Group, who was killed 13 years ago in Manila, the Philippine capital. This US group trained the Philippines armed forces in counter-insurgency techniques and worked with the CIA on a strategy to infiltrate the CPP and the NPA. Rowe appears to have been the control officer of those infiltrators. While some people have been charged with Rowe's killing and are already being held in a Philippine prison, the US is using this as a pretext to extradite Comrade Sison to wherever they want.

The Netherlands' collaboration in this ambush on Comrade Sison represents a counter-revolutionary attack on all those fighting for revolution or against imperialist domination of the Third World nations. It also represents the ugly face of "fortress Europe" that is turning against the immigrants and political refugees who are fleeing repressive regimes. After the CIA coup that brought Pinochet to power, Chileans sought refuge in France; Arabs fleeing the repressive Saudi government were admitted into the

UK; after Lumumba was killed in the Congo, and during the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines, revolutionaries and other liberation fighters escaping persecution went to the Netherlands. The attack on José-Maria Sison is another episode in the accelerating reversal of this long-standing tradition in Europe of providing political asylum.

### GROWING SUPPORT

In response to the US-orchestrated attack, widespread support has come in from revolutionaries and democratic organisations, and religious leaders in the Netherlands and parliamentarians in Sweden have spoken out on his behalf. This outrageous attack on Sison is an effort to silence a leader who has devoted his life to opposing imperialism and uprooting the semi-feudal and semi-colonial system that has kept the Philippines backward and prey to US domination.

Despite the high-profile involvement of US military forces against the Abu Sayyaf group in the Philippines, the National Security Council and military consider the CPP-NPA the "number one threat to national security". That is because after declaring the Maoist insurgency dead in the 1990s – a period when guerrilla activity had weakened considerably – military leaders have grudgingly acknowledged that it has bounced back and is growing with a vengeance. An *Asia Times* article describes the recent growth of the People's War in the Philippines' countryside: "From a low of 2,000 armed guerrillas in the mid-1990s, it has grown to 12,000, says the National Security Council. It was present in 445 *barangay* or villages in 1995, but this grew to 1,671 *barangay* in 2000." The *Asia Times* recounts "the steady growth as having been fueled by poverty and landlessness in the rural areas as well as the 'rectification' campaign initiated by Party leaders..."

The historical role of the US in the Philippines is as long as it is insidious. According to a study by a group of scholars and researchers in the

History Department of the University of the Philippines, between 1899 and 1914 the US military killed more than 1,400,000 Filipinos! After the Philippines gained formal independence in 1946, it became a US neocolony and a strategic staging ground for US military "projection" in Asia. In the 1950s, the US government joined forces with the Philippine army to crush the revolutionary movement. During the 1960s and 1970s, US bombers loaded up in the Philippines to go attack Vietnam. It was during that period of the US-Marcos dictatorship that young revolutionaries, influenced by the then-revolutionary China led by Mao Tsetung, formed the CPP and NPA and launched people's war in the Philippines.

The Philippines has long been a source of cheap labour and natural resources for the US imperialists. In the Sulu Sea area, US corporations are exploring for major oil, gold and deuterium (used in nuclear production). Militarily the United States needs the Philippines as a forward base, as a second front in its "war on terrorism". It has been pushing for a Mutual Logistics Support Agreement with the Philippines, which would allow the construction of supply depots and the other more permanent structures that they deem necessary for controlling South-east Asia. The US has also been pumping new money into equipping the Philippine military with state-of-the-art equipment and war-fighting techniques and troop training.

Comrade Sison has responded to US threats by saying, "The CPP, NPA and NDFP cannot be intimidated. They dared to fight the Marcos fascist dictatorship and in the process grew in strength even while the US military bases were still in the Philippines and were used for delivering war materiel and training Filipino puppet troops.... I will continue to use the freedom of expression to speak for national liberation and democracy. And it is the word liberation that the US hates most, because it means freedom from its imperialist system of exploitation." ■

# CCOMPOSA on the

**(Adopted by the Second Annual Conference of the Co-ordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organisations of South Asia – 15 September 2002)**

Since the Inaugural Conference, which established the Co-ordinating Committee of Maoist Parties and Organisations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA) in June 2001, the world has undergone dramatic changes. The attack on key strategic targets in the US on 11 September has transformed the political landscape internationally, presenting mortal dangers and challenges, as well as historic revolutionary opportunities to the proletariat and the oppressed people of the world.

In the face of a spiralling crisis of the world imperialist system, under the guise of a so-called global war against terrorism, the imperialist powers, led by the US, have exploited these attacks as a justification to unleash a global terrorist war of aggression against the oppressed people and nations of the world. These dogs of international terror have combined to maintain and further consolidate their control over the resources and markets of the world and to sink their fangs deeper to bleed the labour power of the workers and rob the masses in a desperate-compulsion to defend and expand their rival empires of profit and plunder. At the same time, the dogs of terror are at each other's throats to grab a larger share of the profit and plunder. In this general context, seizing decisive control and exercising dominance over the vast oil resources of the Middle East and the Caspian region have become critical in maintaining imperialist global hegemony.

In the pursuit of these imperialist objectives, the US-led imperialist alliance has already bombarded the people of Afghanistan and reduced their lives, livelihood, cities and villages and all social and economic infrastructure to dust. This brutal and cowardly war of aggression was aimed not only at destroying the al

Qaeda network and the Taliban regime – both of which owe their origins and growth to US imperialism – to install an even more loyal feudal comprador regime, but more fundamentally to establish a military base in Afghanistan through which to dominate Central and South Asia. However, the Afghanistani people are mounting stiff resistance to US-British-imperialist aggression and occupation.

The US has unleashed the fascist-Zionist state of Israel, its number one attack dog in the Middle East, to wage a sustained war of genocidal terror to crush the Palestinian resistance. The US president, George Bush, has vowed to unleash a holy war in the manner of a barbaric crusade against a host of states that have no connection to the 11 September attacks, including Iraq, Iran, Sudan, Somalia, Libya, Yemen and North Korea. It is presently preparing contingency plans to bomb the Iraqi regime and people in an even more ruthless and destructive war than before.

The US has entered into a strategic alliance with India in order to extend and consolidate hegemonic dominance in the South Asian region. In this context, this strategic alliance has set out to assist the feudal comprador autocratic monarchist state in Nepal in its desperate attempt to militarily crush the blazing protracted people's war led by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) [CPN(M)]. Since November 2001, under a state of emergency, the Nepalese state has carried out a genocidal war against the people, where on average a dozen people are killed every day. In the period of one year, more than 3,000 people have been killed. The Nepalese state has carried out mass massacres, gang-rapes and inhuman torture on an expanding scale, whilst carrying out a campaign of disinformation to cover its trail of blood. The Nepalese state has suspended all fundamental human and democratic rights, whilst killing and arresting progressive journalists and activists. In its effort to centralise, concentrate and monopolise state

power, the monarchy has marginalised the parliament and all other institutions and agencies of the state, whilst strengthening the role of lackey forces such as the "United Marxist-Leninists" (UML).

The Indian expansionist state, backed by US imperialism, has collaborated in these fascist genocidal policies by capturing oppositional journalists and deporting them to Nepal. People who have come to India seeking medical treatment have been abducted and delivered to the torture chambers of the Nepalese state.

The strategic alliance between the US and India has led to the establishment of an FBI office in Delhi to better facilitate and co-ordinate this counter-revolutionary strategy throughout South Asia. The political machinations of the imperialists global terrorist war agenda has brought India and Pakistan to the brink of a nuclear confrontation that would have the most devastating consequences for the people of the region. Through the machinations of a peace process and the active connivance of the Sri Lankan ruling class, both the US and India have gained access to strategic military facilities in Sri Lanka and penetrated the political life of the island as never before. These moves have violated the sovereignty of the people and the country and introduced even more intensive forms of domination and control.

The Indian expansionist state has been militarised on a new level and its repressive and ideological apparatus has been geared up to crush all resistance and opposition by revolutionary forces and the people, which is bound to increase and intensify in the face of the combined strategy of globalisation and counter-revolution. The central state has established a new mechanism to co-ordinate the counter-revolution at the state and district level. Under the heinous Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA), the Indian state has banned the Communist Party of India –

# Present Political Situation

Marxist-Leninist – People’s War (CPI-ML-PW) and the Maoist Communist Center (MCC) in a desperate bid to stop the rising tide of people’s democratic revolution and protracted people’s war led by Maoist vanguard detachments. True to their class character, the revisionist parliamentarist “left” parties have all colluded in this counter-revolutionary agenda. The Indian ruling class is whipping up big-nation chauvinism to aggressively push their reactionary counter-revolutionary agenda. This has been accompanied by anti-Pakistani war hysteria and by unleashing fascist Hindu chauvinism. These have now taken an extreme and dangerous form by the ruling BJP and their fascist goons. The policy of targeting minorities in general, and Muslims in particular, has become routine and institutionalized within the state. The Conference specifically condemns the recent state-sponsored anti-Muslim pogroms in Gujarat unleashed by the BJP rulers in the state.

The combined strategy of globalisation and counter-revolution has also intensified the exploitation, oppression and repression of the masses in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.

However, as Mao had said, “where there is oppression there will be resistance”. All these counter-revolutionary repressive policies and actions of the imperialists have served to further ignite mass protest and rebellion and to spread the flames of people’s revolutionary war.

The oppressed peoples of Palestine have resisted the wave of genocidal aggression by the Israeli state with characteristic courage, sacrifice and determination. They are standing in the front lines of the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of the world. As each day passes, through their own experience, they see through the veils of deception, illusions and betrayal of the feudal-bourgeois leadership and will come to demand genuine proletarian leadership based on the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. All over the world tens of thousands of broad progressive forces

have come together to denounce and resist the increasing aggression and domination by international finance capital. Protracted people’s wars are being waged in Peru, Nepal, India, the Philippines and Turkey, whilst Maoist organisations and parties across the world are accelerating their preparation to initiate and lead people’s war in their countries.

The South Asian sub-continent is being transformed into one of the most volatile storm centres of world revolution. The new-democratic revolution led by the CPN(M) has, through the path of protracted people’s war, turned every challenge and danger into opportunities and advances and has developed in qualitative leaps to a new turning point towards seizing political power on a higher level. It provides the dynamic of building a South Asian proletarian revolutionary process based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. CCOMPOSA is an expression of this logic and necessity. The CPI(ML)(PW) and the MCC are making new important advances ideologically, politically and militarily. Other participating parties in India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are also making new important advances in building their capacity to initiate and lead protracted people’s war based on the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In India, serious efforts are going on by the genuine Maoist parties and organisations to build a single revolutionary centre. In Bangladesh, the genuine Maoist forces are also striving to build a unified party based on a correct revolutionary line. So we can say “the path is tortuous, but the future is bright”. In this context, the Second Annual Conference of CCOMPOSA constitutes another historic milestone on the path of reaffirming Naxalbari and giving rise to a new and higher level of expression to the South Asian revolutionary process in the context of advancing the world proletarian socialist revolution and achieving the final victory of communism worldwide upon the ashes and ruins of

world imperialism.

The Second Annual Conference of CCOMPOSA reaffirms its dedication and commitment to uphold and apply the invincible science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of the South Asian revolution as realised within the particular countries. This Conference reaffirms its commitment and dedication to unite with and support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people and nations in the region and in the world against imperialist oppression and domination. In this context, it defends and upholds the struggle of the Palestinian people against the fascist-Zionist Israeli state openly and brazenly backed by US imperialism. It calls on all the genuine Maoist revolutionary forces in the region to combine and co-ordinate their collective political will and fighting capacity in order to turn South Asia into an advanced liberated red fortress of world revolution and to hasten the final destruction of imperialism and reaction and the achievement of communism worldwide.

## **Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organisations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA)**

Purba Bangla Sarbohara Party, PBSP CC [Bangladesh]

Maobadi Punorgathan Kendro (MPK) of PBSP [Bangladesh]

Bangladesh Samyabadi Dal (Marxist-Leninist), (BSD (ML)) [Bangladesh]

Communist Party of East Bengal (ML) (CPEB(ML)) [Bangladesh]

Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist) (CCP(M)) [Sri Lanka]

Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) India Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (People’s War) (CPI(ML)(PW)) [India]

Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (Naxalbari) (CPI(ML)(N)) [India]

Revolutionary Communist Centre India (Maoist) (RCCI(M))

Revolutionary Communist Centre India (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) (RCCI(MLM))

Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (CPN(M))

# *Worldwide the people resist....*



Florence, Italy—between 500,000 and a million people demonstrated against the war in Iraq and globalisation on 11 November 2002, during a weekend of activities on the occasion of the European Social Forum.

The people's resistance to imperialism's criminal appetite for another murderous war is growing broader and spreading throughout the globe in numerous ways and in new places. Demonstrations rarely have single targets these days and are characterised by crowds of people of many nationalities. Anti-globalisation protests also support the Palestinian people and oppose another unjust war aimed at Iraq. Anti-war demonstrators in Buenos Aires, Argentina torching the US flag cover their faces with kaffiyehs. Bush and Blair's names are scorned and despised in a myriad of ways and in slogans in every language.



Calgary, Canada at the anti-G8 Summit protest on 26 June 2002.

The emerging new wave of revolution is stretching throughout the world and the struggles of the people are increasingly intertwined. New mass organisations are sprouting, some of which, such as the World People's Resistance Movement active now in Europe and South Asia, are consciously linking the fight against imperialism and support the just liberation struggles of the peoples of the world, from Palestine and Iraq to Peru and Nepal.



Near the US embassy in Seoul, S. Korea, 13 August 2002.



London—one-half million people took to the streets on 28 September 2002 against waging war on Iraq in one of the biggest demonstrations in the UK since the Vietnam war.



Madrid, Spain. Demonstrations took place in cities throughout the world on 26 October against US aggression in Iraq.



Istanbul, Turkey.





Buenos Aires, Argentina. 8 October 2002 against the impending US war on Iraq.

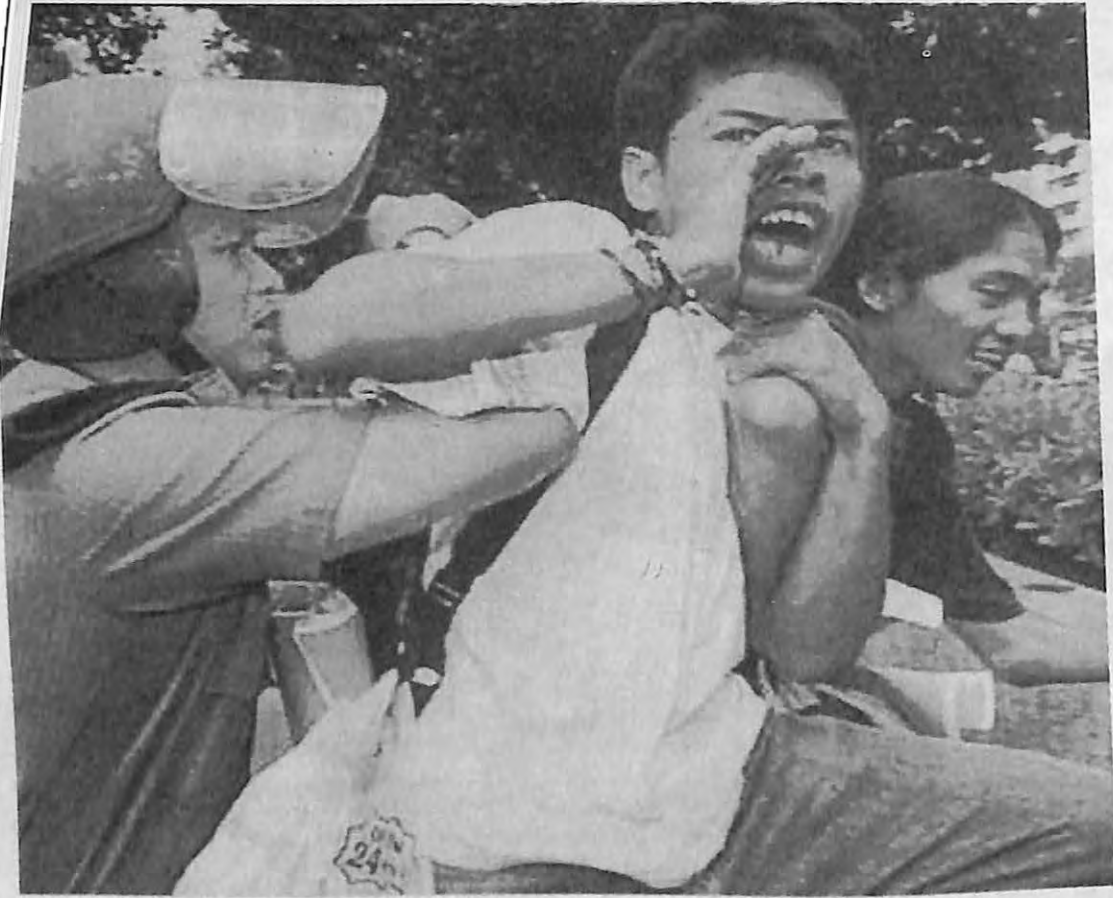


Left: Protestors targeting Bush's European tour in Berlin, Germany. 22 May 2002 .



Right: Anti-war protest in San Jose, Costa Rica on 31 August 2002.





Manila: Students protest in front of the US embassy against new US troop maneuvers in the Philippines.



30 March 2002 in Cairo,



Over a million people in the streets of Rabat, Morocco demonstrating against Israel.



Egypt.

Indigenous Ecuadorans demonstrate in late October 2002 against "Free Trade Area of the Americas" summit in Quito.



During the United Nations World Summit on Sustainable Development (alternatively dubbed the summit on Sickness and Death by Aids activists and the summit on Sustainable Destruction by others), the Landless People's Movement organised a week of activities to highlight the plight of the poor and landless in South Africa and the world. On 31 August 2002, the Social Movement Indaba brought together a wide array of causes and anti-privatisation and anti-globalisation groups as 10,000 people marched from the tin-roofed shacks of dusty Alexandra township to the posh tree-lined Johannesburg suburb of Sandton chanting "Hands off Iraq", "Down with Capitalism", "Stop Israeli-US terror," and "Amandla! Intifada! People United will never be defeated!"



Chanting "Resistance from Iraq to Palestine!", hundreds of thousands came out to support the Intifada in the Yemeni capital of Sanaa on 26 March 2002.



## Not in Our Name: The Pledge to Resist

We believe that as people living  
in the United States it is our  
responsibility to resist the injustices  
done by our government, in our names

Not in our name  
will you wage endless war  
there can be no more deaths  
no more transfusions of blood for oil

Not in our name  
will you invade countries  
bomb civilians, kill more children  
letting history take its course  
over the graves of the nameless

Not in our name  
will you erode the very freedoms  
you have claimed to fight for

Not by our hands  
will we supply weapons and funding  
for the annihilation of families  
on foreign soil

Not by our mouths  
will we let fear silence us

Not by our hearts  
will we allow whole peoples  
or countries to be deemed evil

Not by our will  
and Not in our name

We pledge resistance  
We pledge alliance with those  
who have come under attack  
for voicing opposition to the war  
or for their religion or ethnicity

We pledge to make common cause  
with the people of the world  
to bring about justice freedom and peace  
Another world is possible  
and we pledge to make it real.



10,000 in Los Angeles, US. 6 October 2002.

In the heart of the US empire  
itself a broad initiative called  
Not in Our Name achieved a  
turning point on 6 October 2002  
in large demonstrations against  
the US war machine reaching  
nearly 100,000 people  
nationwide, from New York to  
Chicago, San Francisco and  
Los Angeles and many other  
cities. A significant number of  
leading cultural, artistic and  
political personalities along with  
thousands of others took the  
pledge shown here and joined  
forces with the growing people's  
opposition worldwide.



Los Angeles youth making the pledge.



25,000 people in New York's Central Park oppose the US war on Iraq.

# Initial Steps in Building the World People's Resistance Movement

As the US imperialists erect their juggernaut of war and global domination, they are mobilising more and more of the resources under their control, not least of all the global media and the vast wealth they have plundered from the world's oppressed. The masses face an unrelenting onslaught of lies, distortion and manipulation from every organ of bourgeois power. To meet this, new forms of organisation are needed, organisation that brings together the strengths of the world's oppressed and mobilises them to concentrate their forces at key points so as to give maximum support to the rising shoots of people's resistance and deal the strongest blows possible to the enemy's weak points. The initial steps taken in building the World People's Resistance Movement show that it is such an organisation,

The WPRM, formed in April 2002, arose as the US imperialists lashed out in the wake of 11 September, and it has immediately faced the task of organising resistance on a number of different, vital fronts. Provisional Organising Committees have been formed in both Europe and South Asia to take the initial steps. Within the first couple of months of its existence, WPRM - Europe took part in a powerful protest against the imperialist chieftain himself in Berlin, and denounced the US war against Afghanistan; it organised a series of demonstrations around Europe in solidarity with the Palestinian resistance to the US-Israeli regime; it began to gear up against US imperialist aggression against Iraq; and it set in motion plans for a series of meetings in Europe to learn about and promote solidarity with the People's War in Nepal. An important meeting to build WPRM - South Asia has also

recently been held (see the accompanying statement). A WPRM branch has also been organised in Colombia.

The WPRM has no choice but to fight on these many battlegrounds if it is to be true to its calling: "to help the struggles all over the globe flow together into a mighty torrent" and "to provide an international vehicle to promote and facilitate the world-wide unity against our common foe". This is a tall order. But the feeling of the core of WPRM activists who have taken responsibility for these initial actions is not only that it must be done, but that it can be.

The WPRM has already accomplished a great deal. On the occasion of its creation tens of thousands of leaflets were distributed calling for people to step forward and join up. In Europe, following the demonstration in May in Berlin against Bush, the WPRM held co-ordinated demonstrations in support of the Palestinian people's just struggle in London, Berlin, Hamburg and Frankfurt in Germany, and Dhaka, Bangladesh. Though these initial demonstrations were not large in number, they did mobilise hundreds, and many thousands of other people were reached in the course of preparing for and holding the demonstrations. This activity put WPRM activists in contact with Palestinian resisters and gave them a greater sense of the need to establish a clear pole targeting the role of the US imperialists in Palestine, but also pointed to the need to get a better understanding of the complex issues involved in that struggle.

WPRM activists in Europe then launched into a campaign of opposition to the mounting US threats against Iraq. Tens of thousands of leaflets were distributed calling on

people to step forward against "the global war for empire", and concluding that, "We cannot wait for the bombs to begin to fall. Resistance is needed now." This message was especially vital in continental Europe, where the governments have created the deceptive appearance of distancing themselves from the US war machine while maintaining a web of economic, political and military alliances which will pull them into the US-led aggression in one form or another. WPRM contingents have made their presence felt through banners and through distributing tens of thousands of leaflets that not only target US imperialism but also expose the more hidden hand of the old-line European colonialists for their complicity in the US-led aggression.

Even while this activity was being carried on, activists were preparing for a major speaking tour of Europe in autumn 2002 to give revolutionary-minded and progressive people a clear picture of the great advances and real story of the People's War in Nepal and to promote solidarity with it. Sometimes it was necessary to have more than one focus at once. This presented a challenge of drawing links between the necessity of fighting imperialist control and aggression in "our own countries" and the necessity of supporting people's resistance to imperialism in a distant part of the globe. Indeed, this is a major challenge for the revolutionary movement in all countries - for the communists and other progressive activists, to make internationalism more than just a phrase but a real pillar of the opposition to imperialism and reaction and a defining feature of the most enlightened and revolutionary sections of the movement as opposed

to the narrow-minded nationalism (or worse) among other sections of the people.

A programme of meetings was scheduled for the major cities of Europe - an ambitious agenda for a newly formed organisation. The problems that immediately confronted activists were frustrating and sometimes costly - but they were problems that were rooted in the nature of this organisation, what it was trying to do, and what it was trying to become. More than one logistics arrangement in the course of organising the tour fell into disarray because of a simple misunderstanding of language. But what else could be expected when any time a dozen people got together there were almost as many nationalities represented! The flyer simply for the programme in London was issued in English, Spanish, Farsi, Baluchi, Nepalese and Turkish - not to speak of the half a dozen other languages used for programmes on the continent. This was something new, something

precious, an organisation fighting imperialism in which people from every corner of the world stood shoulder to shoulder in their everyday battles. And what people found out very quickly was that, however difficult it might be to organise a meeting place when one person spoke Turkish and another Spanish, what these people shared was far more profound than what held them apart.

The determination to embrace all struggles against imperialism and to fight every division imposed by imperialism - and the internationalist character of the organisation that flows from this stand - is one of the features that distinguishes the WPRM. Another characteristic of the WPRM is that it is being built through the course of its militant actions and programs and not mainly through internal conferences and discussion. It is establishing simple rules for functioning in the course of waging struggle as opposed to spending months or years debating rules and guidelines before joining battle with

the enemy. As this initial experience is accumulated, the stage is being set for further internal consolidation on a solid basis, grounded in the understanding and mutual respect that grows out of standing shoulder to shoulder in fighting the common enemy. We should mention that it has Provisional Organising Committees, one in Europe and the other in SA.

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#### SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE'S WAR IN NEPAL

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The meetings in solidarity with the Nepal revolution featured a slide show and presentation by Li Onesto, a revolutionary journalist from the US who spent several months in the base areas of the People's War. Her show vividly depicted the conditions in the countryside of Nepal; her voice gave voice to their hopes, their fears, their struggles. Programmes were held in Hamburg and Berlin in Germany; Antwerp, Belgium; Paris, France; London, England; Geneva, Switzerland; Milan, Italy; and

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Rotterdam, in the Netherlands. Attendance was in the range of 50-80 in the smaller meetings, 100 in Paris and 150-200 in London, Berlin and Antwerp.

The talk and discussion covered many issues: did the revolutionary Maoists have any choice but to carry out armed struggle, or were they too getting caught up in a cycle of violence? How far could they get in improving the people's lives in a country as poor as Nepal? How were people changing their lives in the liberated areas? What would India - and the US - do? How would the Nepalese communists prevent the kind of reversal of the revolution that took place in China and the USSR? In most cases the enthusiastic discussion went on for several hours, despite an already lengthy program.

In most places the WPRM activists include people from many different nationalities. The meetings too brought together a great variety of people. There was a large turnout from Nepalese living in Europe, reflecting the fact that no one from that country can remain indifferent to the events taking place there today. There was strong support for the PW among many, and also many questions about the policies of the revolutionary forces. There were also large numbers of Turkish, Iranians, Kurds, and other political refugees and foreign residents in addition to the people of the different countries in which the programs were held. People from countries suffering under the yoke of imperialism were hungry to hear how the masses of Nepal had taken such powerful strides forward in such a short time.

The WPRM also had some initial success in bringing together a variety of political forces - progressive organisations of immigrants, and different trends among the left-wing forces in the respective countries. Some were mobilised to carry support for the struggle in Nepal into their own organisations - in the UK the Socialist Labour Party, associated with former mineworkers leader Arthur Scargill, who became an object of vicious attack by then UK PM Maggie Thatcher, passed a

resolution defending the People's War against imperialist attack. In Antwerp and Rotterdam representatives of the International League of People's Struggle spoke out in favour of the People's War in Nepal, and representatives of the communist movement in the Philippines spoke about the attacks on José Maria Sison (see p. 33).

One of the particular challenges the WPRM will face is co-ordinating the struggles of the masses in such diverse areas as Europe and South Asia, the two main regions in which WPRM branches have already been formed. Yet this international scope is also one of the organisation's great strengths. Imagine the strength that is infused into the efforts of an activist in Milan or Frankfurt building for a meeting against US aggression when she or he considers the fact that halfway around the world there are people taking out the same uncompromising anti-imperialist politics to the masses there, on the streets of Delhi or Dhaka, or the villages of Sri Lanka or Jarkhand in India, in languages he or she might not even have heard of. Similarly, the enthusiasm of the masses in South Asia will be unleashed when they learn that in the imperialist citadels of Europe serious efforts are underway to unite in a common battlefield.

The WPRM in Europe has scheduled important events in the months to come. It is taking part in the mass protest planned on the occasion of the next European Summit in Copenhagen on 12-14 December 2002. It is also calling for a mass demonstration in Brussels to mark the 7th anniversary of the People's War in Nepal, to be held on 15 February 2003. All its activities will be planned to take full account of the need to link its actions with the crucial battle to oppose US aggression against Iraq.

There is still a great deal to be done before the WPRM can fulfil its goals and meet the growing and urgent needs of the revolutionary movement in different countries around the world. Nevertheless, it can be confidently stated that the WPRM has got off to an important start. ■

# Statement of Movement - Committee

Under the pretext of waging a "War Against International Terrorism", the imperialist powers led by the US have unleashed a permanent war of genocidal terror against the peoples of the world. The attacks on key targets in the US on 11 September 2001 have been exploited by the US ruling class as a justification for unleashing a global war of aggression and conquest. US imperialism has declared a permanent state of war against all states, regimes, nations, movements and struggles that stand in the way of defending and expanding its empire. This is as a way of resolving a spiral of deepening recession and intensifying crisis. The only way out of this crisis for the US is to re-establish undisputed global hegemony in order to exercise decisive control over the resources, labour power and markets of the world. In essence and in effect, the US has declared a permanent state of war against the peoples of the world. The policy of US imperialism is to redraw the political map and restructure the international order, where it alone can exercise unipolar global hegemony. These developments are an explosive expression of the confrontation between imperialism and the oppressed nations and the people of the world.

US imperialism has announced its intention to deploy weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons, against any force it considers its enemy any time and any where. It has already demonstrated this intention and capability against the people of Afghanistan, and it is now preparing to attack Iraq with ever more destructive violence and

# the World People's Resistance

## South Asia Provisional Organising

terror than before. It is also supporting Israel in waging a sustained genocidal offensive aimed at crushing the heroic national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people. The immediate aim of US imperialism is to crush all resistance and opposition, entrench puppet regimes and establish military-strategic supremacy in the Middle East and the Caspian region in order to gain decisive access and control over the vast oil resources of the area and to drive out all its rivals. The rivalry and contention among the various imperialist powers, all of whom face recession and crisis simultaneously, is bound to intensify and propel the imperialist system towards ever more destructive crisis and violent upheaval on a global scale. This logic of destruction of imperialism stands in direct opposition to the very real possibility of the people of the world rising up to claim the earth and a bright new world without domination, exploitation, oppression and WAR.

Already, across the world, there is mounting opposition and resistance to imperialist globalisation and to the US-led crusade. Sustained people's struggles against mounting repression in Peru, the Philippines, Palestine, Turkey, Nepal, India and elsewhere provide living testimony to a rising tide of anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle on a world scale that is bound to develop in waves.

South Asia is a concentration of imperialist domination, exploitation and oppression and a focal point of revolutionary struggle and people's resistance. This struggle and resistance is directed against the most brutal and intensifying imperialist domination, neo-colonial exploitation and plunder, feudal oppression and national subjugation. The vast

majority of the people of South Asia have been thrown into desperate poverty and intolerable misery and have waged the most sustained struggle for liberation, independence and freedom from this system of domination, exploitation, oppression and state terrorist repression. The People's War in Nepal against the autocratic-feudal-monarchical regime backed by imperialism, particularly US imperialism, which has advanced in leaps and waves against intensifying state terrorist repression, is a concentrated expression of this struggle and resistance and provides a beacon of hope and inspiration to the people of the world. We shall resist with our all combined strength against the efforts of the US and India to intervene to crush the People's War in Nepal. In the same manner we shall defend the people's wars being prepared, initiated and waged in India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, particularly the people's war waged in Dandakaranya, Bihar, West Bengal and elsewhere in India.

All the states of the region function as junior partners in this domination, exploitation, subjugation and plunder, with India occupying a hegemonic position and playing an expansionist role. The US is moving into a strategic partnership with the Indian State in order to exercise joint regional hegemony in South Asia with the aim of crushing all revolutionary struggles and resistance. The US has penetrated the region politically, economically, culturally and militarily in order to advance its agenda of waging a permanent global war and intensifying exploitation and plunder in the region. US strategic penetration in Nepal, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka has endangered

independence and fatally threatened the life and livelihood of the people of South Asia.

In the face of this grave challenge posed by the US-led crusade, anti-imperialist forces from India, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka have united to form the World People's Resistance Movement - South Asia (WPRM-SA). Our aim is to unite, mobilise and lead the masses to oppose the US-led global terrorist crusade and to support all just struggles, including revolutionary struggle and people's wars led by Maoist forces, as part of building and advancing the world-wide anti-imperialist resistance movement.

Only such a world people's resistance movement can oppose and defeat the US-led crusade. Through this it can contribute in building the political foundations for achieving a world without domination, exploitation, oppression and war. We call upon all anti-imperialist, democratic, progressive organisations, forces, and individuals of South Asia who see the need to oppose the US-led global terrorist war and to uphold all people's struggle against imperialism to join and build the WPRM-SA. This way together we shall build up a tidal wave of resistance to imperialism that will shake the system to its foundations and pave the way for a world without domination and war.

October 2002 ■



It has been ten years since Chairman Gonzalo of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) made the following speech, whose impact was felt around the world. Although he was in the clutches of the government that presented him to the press several weeks after his capture in an attempt to mock the revolution, Chairman Gonzalo turned the tables on his captors and issued a call for the People's War to continue. This call remains as timely and relevant today as it was on 24 September 1992. The ruthless dictator Fujimori, who pledged to wipe out the People's War launched by the PCP in 1980, is now discredited and gone, and his replacement has had no greater success in restoring reactionary stability to this country. As Chairman Gonzalo pointed out, Peru can never free itself of the burdens of imperialism, semi-feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism except through new-democratic revolution and people's war. On the eve of elections in November, a new wave of PCP-led attacks on government targets was reported in the mountain highlands of Ayacucho, the birthplace of the People's War. Fujimori attributed certain political positions to Chairman Gonzalo while holding him in isolation in an underground

# Comrades of the Fighters of the People

dungeon where he has remained for a decade. Revolutionaries and progressive-minded people around the world have demanded that Chairman Gonzalo be allowed to freely and publicly present his own views. Over the past decade, a world-wide movement has sent seven international delegations to Peru to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo. Today we continue to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo, Comrade Feliciano and other imprisoned PCP leaders and members and demand that he be given free and direct access to relatives, friends, lawyers and the international press.

The following is a translation of Chairman Gonzalo's speech from prison, taken from the version signed by the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) Lima Base. -AWTW

We are living through historic events, each one of us knows this to be the case. Let us not deceive ourselves. At this moment we must be ready! Our forces in order to face the difficulties and to continue accomplishing our tasks! To win new victories and finally triumph! This must be done.

We are here as the sons and daughters of the people and we are fighting in the trenches, this is also combat, and we do this because we are communist! Because here we defend the people's interest, the principles of the Party and the People's War! That is what we have been doing, what we are doing, what we will continue to do!

We are here in these circumstances. Some think that this is a great defeat. They are dreaming! We say let them dream on. This is

merely a bend in the road. Nothing more! A bend along the road. The road is long and we will travel it to the end. We will reach our goal and we will win! You will see it! You will see it!

We must continue with the tasks laid down in the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee, a glorious event! Let it be known, these resolutions are already being carried out. We will continue to apply the Fourth Plan for Strategic Development of the People's War for the Seizure of Power. We will continue to develop the Sixth Military Plan to Build Towards the Seizure of Power. That will continue! That is our task! We will carry it out because of who we are! Because of our responsibility to the proletariat and the people!

We clearly state that today, the democratic road has begun to unfold as a road to liberation, as a road to people's liberation. These are the circumstances in which we are developing. We should examine this with a sense of history. Let us stop closing our eyes. Let us look at the truth. Let us look at the history of Peru. Let us look at the last three centuries in Peru. This is what we should examine, the eighteenth century, the nineteenth century, the twentieth century, and understand their lessons! Whoever does not understand this history will remain blind. And this blindness cannot serve the country, cannot serve Peru!

We see that the eighteenth century offers a very clear lesson. Let us examine this. There was one dominator, it was Spain, and that domination sucked our lifeblood. Where did it lead us? To an extremely deep crisis. As a consequence, Peru was divided up.

# Communist Party of Peru! People's Guerrilla Army! of Peru!

From this came the origins of today's Bolivia. This is not our invention, this is history.

Then, in the last [nineteenth] century: British domination. Where did their contention with France lead us? To another great crisis, the 1870s. The result? War with Chile. Let us not forget this! What happened? We lost territory. Our country suffered a great split, in spite of the blood spilled by the heroes and the people. We must draw a lesson!

The twentieth century. How are we faring? In this twentieth century there is an imperialism dominating us, principally US imperialism. This is something real and everyone knows it. Where has this led us? Except for the 1920s, here and now is the worst crisis of the entire history of the Peruvian people. Taking a lesson from the past centuries, what are we to sum up? Once again the nation is in danger, once again the republic is in danger, once again the territory is in danger, it could easily be lost to foreign interest. This is the situation. They have brought us to this point. But we have a new reality, a Peruvian revolution, a People's War, it continues and will continue to advance. How far have we advanced? To strategic equilibrium! This we must understand well. It is a strategic equilibrium that is being consolidated in a very critical situation. Twelve years [of people's war - AWTW] has demonstrated what? It has clearly shown to the world, and especially to the Peruvian people, that the Peruvian state, the old Peruvian state, is a paper tiger. It is rotten to the core. This is what has been demonstrated!

This being the case, we should

think about the danger that the nation, the country, may be divided. The nation is at risk, they want to tear it to pieces, they want to divide it up. Who wants to do this? Like always, imperialism, those who exploit, those who dominate. What should we do? What is correct today? It is time to make a leap in strengthening the People's Liberation Movement and we must develop this while directing the People's War. Because the people, it has always been the people, who have defended the country, who have defended the nation.

The time to set up the People's Liberation Front has arrived. It is time to constitute and develop a People's Liberation Army starting from the People's Guerrilla Army. This is what is correct today! We will do this! It is what we are doing now! It is what we are going to follow through on! You, sirs, shall be witness.

Finally, listen to this. We see world-wide Maoism is marching relentlessly forward in its task of leading the new wave of the world proletarian revolution. Listen well and understand. Those who have ears, use them. Those who have understanding, and we all have it, use it well. Enough nonsense! Enough confusion! Understand this! What is happening in the world? What do we need? We need Maoism to be a living force, and this is happening. We need Maoism to generate new communist parties to direct this next great wave of world proletarian revolution that is upon us.

All that they told us, their empty and stubbornly ignorant chattering about the famous "new stage of peace" - where has this ended up? What about Yugoslavia? What about

other places? It all was politicised, it was a lie. Today there is only one reality. The same contending powers behind the First and Second World Wars are now preparing the Third World War. This we should know, and we as the sons and daughters of an oppressed country are part of the loot. We cannot let this happen! Enough of this imperialist exploitation! We should finish them off! We are part of the Third World, and the Third World is the base for world proletarian revolution, with one condition: that the communist parties develop and direct it. This is what we must do!

Here is what we think: next year will be the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Chairman Mao. We must celebrate the centenary! And we are organising this with the communist parties. We want a new kind of celebration, a celebration that recognises the conscious understanding of the importance of Chairman Mao in the world revolution. We will start the celebration this year and it will culminate next year. It will be a great programme of celebration. I want to take this opportunity to salute the international proletariat, the oppressed nations of the world and the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

**Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!**

**The People's War will Inevitably be Victorious!**

**We Salute the Future Birth of the People's Republic of Peru!**

**We say: Glory to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!!**

**Finally we say: Honour and Glory to the People of Peru!! ■**

## The Spanish Civil War and the War Today

# Our Guernica



Guernica, painting by Pablo Picasso, 1937, after the German bombing of the town by that name during the Spanish Civil War.

By S.K.

### The Spanish Civil War — Dreams + Nightmares

An exhibition at the Imperial War  
Museum in London, 18 October  
2001 to 28 April 2002

A recent exhibition at the Imperial War Museum in London covered one of the most inspiring internationalist events of the twentieth century - the Spanish civil war, when men and women from around the world came to Spain to fight side-by-side with its people against a fascist coup that was meant to crush their revolutionary upsurge and aspirations.

The power of this important exhibition was plain to see, not only in the huge and highly varied crowds it attracted, but in their faces as well. Maybe the most fitting praise one could give the organisers is that visitors' excitement, awe, animated conversation and tears were in proportion with the historic importance of the events themselves.

There could be no doubt that the battles of 1936-1939 in Spain are still part of many lives today, no longer as memory, except for a handful, but in the different summaries, conscious and otherwise, that play an important part in people's ideas about politics. It is worth pondering why that period, so apparently far from us now, has such persistent resonance.

The main figure associated with this show, historian Paul Preston, wrote a catalogue essay attempting to fit together all the elements that made up the exhibition, including photos, film footage, audio recordings, posters, letters, documents and the innumerable artefacts, the soldiers' kit bags, flags, buttons and other souvenirs that in the context provided by the displays turn out to be surprisingly moving. Because of Preston's close association with this exhibition, his essay makes explicit the thinking in the choice and layout of displays.

He begins by quoting Albert Camus: "It was in Spain that men learned that one can be right and still be beaten, that force can vanquish

spirit, that there are times when courage is not its own reward. It is this, without a doubt, which explains why so many men throughout the world regard the Spanish drama as a personal tragedy." It was in the end, Preston tells us, "the last great cause".

Of course it was nothing like the last great cause, but it was great, not because it was lost but because of what it was a part of and represented. This exhibition's greatest strength was that it brought out just how much that cause meant to the people of Spain and the millions of people around the world who in one way or another came to their defence.

A thorough political (including military) summation of the Spanish civil war is a task still pending for the international communist movement. Some comrades have made a significant initial investigation. Here we will sketch out only some broad outlines and concentrate on the issues best served by the show itself. Far from being only of historical concern, they involve vital lessons for the great struggles we need to be building right now.



Both photos by Robert Capa, a renowned photographer who took many memorable photos of this war. Above, two comrades relax in the sun. Left, the American writer Ernest Hemingway helping a Republican soldier to unjam his rifle during the battle of Teruel, December 1937.



After all, today's Guernica may be a village wedding party in Afghanistan or almost anywhere in Iraq. (Guernica, the iconic image of the Spanish Civil War thanks to Picasso's famous painting, was a Basque village devastated by Nazi bombers on 26 April 1937 in the first massive use of airpower against civilians in history.) It is always misleading to transpose the past onto the present. Neither the Taliban nor Saddam Hussein are the Spanish Republic; in fact, there is nothing good about them at all. But the bombings the US and its accomplices have carried out and are preparing for in the near future are not smaller crimes, and the need for impassioned, organised, fighting outrage today is no less either.

The Spanish armed forces rose up on 17 July 1936 because the elected government failed to repress a mass upsurge that threatened the Catholic Church, the Army, the big landown-

ers and the monopoly capitalists. The Popular Front government elected on 16 February was not at all revolutionary and never claimed to be. But the electoral defeat of the Church-backed fascist party and the victory of a coalition whose most popular promise was to free the prisoners from the 1934 miners' revolt in Asturias gave encouragement to land seizures, demonstrations and other radical activities that the government itself hated and feared. Preston writes that one of the main reasons why the generals were out to overthrow the Republic, less than five years old, and replace it with an open military dictatorship was that, "The new regime raised inordinate hopes among the most humble members of society."

The core of the fascist insurrection was the Army of Africa, based in the Spanish-controlled part of Morocco. Army garrisons on the peninsula itself had some initial successes in southwestern, north-western and central Spain, and controlled a third of the country. But that was not enough to effect what the US today calls a "regime change". The coup plotters, with Generalissimo Francisco Franco soon their undisputed leader, failed to take the main industrial cities and much

of the countryside. Revolutionary sailors in Spain's Mediterranean fleet mutinied, arrested and in some cases executed their officers and took over the ships. The bulk of the fascist forces, both Spaniards and Moroccans, were bottled up in North Africa. But the Republican government opposed offensive naval action. Why? Because that would not be tolerated by Britain, which considered itself master of the Mediterranean. As for the idea that the Republic should side with the nationalist movements and sentiments in Morocco against the Spanish army and declare that Spain would renounce all its colonies, that was considered out of the question because it would enrage France, the master of North Africa, including the rest of Morocco. Nazi Germany and Mussolini's fascist government in Italy provided aircraft to ferry Spanish troops across the straits and save what Preston calls "a coup gone wrong". The Spanish ruling classes could count above all on the support of Italy, which sought to extend its influence in North Africa and Europe against its French and British rivals. The Popular Front government counted on help from Britain and France to put down the fascist rebellion. Here we can see one of the

fascists' greatest strengths and one of the Republic's greatest weaknesses.

The British ruling class was pro-Franco almost down to the last man. That was true of both those then in office, like Prime Minister Baldwin, who were trying to negotiate a deal with Germany and Italy to turn them against the then socialist Soviet Union, and those, like Churchill, who believed that a showdown between Britain and its main rival Germany could not be avoided. France, with its own Popular Front newly installed in government, at first made the Spanish Republic some promises and then broke them. In the guise of ensuring Spain's "neutrality", Britain imposed an Atlantic naval blockade to stop arms supplies to the Republic. Franco could receive all the support he needed from Germany and especially Italy, which sent 50,000 troops. The Republic got help from only two countries, Mexico and the USSR. The US supported the blockade wholeheartedly and did everything it could to make things difficult for supplies or volunteers to reach the Republic. After the Second World War the US became Franco's main backer.

The Spanish generals expected the whole thing to be over in a few days. Wherever they were able to seize control they executed workers, poor and landless peasants and intellectuals by the thousands. People from these classes were considered potential terrorists unless proven otherwise. But Franco was unable to inflict a decisive blow on the Republic. Troops loyal to the government were joined overnight by militias organised by the unions and political parties. The Republican government, based on weak pro-British Spanish bourgeois forces and the bourgeoisies of oppressed nationalities within Spain in the Basque region and especially Catalonia, was ready to concede defeat again and again. When Madrid was surrounded the ministers fled, until an anarchist column intercepted them and dragged them back to the capital. Then, for a while, the tide seemed about to turn.

The battle for Madrid in Novem-

ber was only one of many breathtaking battles fought in the civil war, but it was certainly one of the most telling. The Republican forces stopped Franco's advancing troops in the city's western suburbs. There was hand-to-hand fighting from one building to another on the university campus and in a park popular for Sunday picnics. Factory workers, railwaymen, laundry workers, barbers, waiters, men and women took streetcars or walked to the front lines straight from work. Miners came from the region of Asturias with dynamite charges and formed anti-tank units. Taxi drivers climbed into tanks sent by the USSR. The Communist Party organised a regiment of its own troops and led in organising the entire population for defence and support work.

They were joined by something new in history – the International Brigades, organised by the Communist International (Comintern). They came illegally across the French border, only a trickle at first, mainly revolutionary refugees from Germany, Eastern Europe and Italy, and then very soon a torrent. There were 40,000 people from more than 50 different countries in all over the next few years, half of them workers, according to Preston's statistics. They were more than just willing arms. Many of them were veterans of revolutionary street battles and insurrections, and of First World War or peacetime military service. They taught the militia men and women how to use ammunition sparingly, how best to deploy machine guns, how to take advantage of cover and above all how to fight as organised units. They were invaluable in many ways, not least in the vision and spirit they brought with them. Although on the whole they fought in separate battalions according to nationality and language, in Madrid, Preston points out, they were sprinkled among the defenders at the rate of one to 30.

At that moment the government had little more than the people's determination to fight, and the people gave full proof of their courage and creativity. In the

following months, the International Brigades played a major role in beating back several offensives at the approaches to the capital. Their losses were terrible. More than half of the members of the British and American battalions were killed, many of them in the fighting at the battle of the Jarama River in February 1937, and almost all of the rest were wounded at least once. The Republican army grew stronger. But so did the fascist armed forces.

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### THE COMMUNISTS

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Few people who have studied the Spanish civil war have disputed the fact that the Communist Party was the mainstay of the war against Franco. Preston does not do that, but he does say that his sympathy lies with "the antifascist struggle of the Spanish Republic" and not "the crimes of Stalinism". This is not a tenable position. He himself would probably admit that if it hadn't been for the Communist International under Stalin's leadership and for the Spanish Communist Party that was a part of the Comintern, the Spanish Republic would have collapsed almost immediately.

In the same eclectic spirit perhaps, Preston also points out that the civil war was an overlay of many different contradictions: "It was not one but many wars. It was a war of landless peasants against rich landowners, of anti-clericals against Catholics, of regional nationalists against military centralists, of industrial workers against factory owners." This is true. But the fact was that the war, as wars tend to do, tied all these contradictions up in one knot. This was an enormous advantage for the Spanish proletariat.

Those who saw the working class as only capable of fighting for its own immediate interests against "the bosses", such as the Trotskyists and anarchists in Spain, never grasped this point. If the proletariat united most closely with all the masses of people whose interests favoured thoroughgoing revolution and also with all those opposed to Franco, it could lead the war and the revolution

through whatever necessary steps or stages and transform both the people and itself.

In his succinct essay, Preston refers to "opposing beliefs over whether to give priority to the war or revolution". (This idea is also prominent in *Land and Freedom*, British film director Ken Loach's movie about the Spanish civil war.) If the question is posed this way, it cannot really be answered – you end up with the idea that "the good fight" is always lost. That is in fact the lesson many people draw from the Spanish civil war, a view that is often disguised as romanticism but is basically cynical and paralysing.

In Spain, if there was to be a revolution, it had to take the form of a war against Franco, and everything had to be subordinated to winning that war. The Spanish Communist Party and the Communist International were the only forces determined to fight war through to the end. That is why the Communist Party grew so mightily in numbers and influence. The Trotskyists were not revolutionary at all, even though they tried to appear more "left" than the Communist Party by focusing on workers' economic demands against the Catalonian capitalists and farm owners who were actually allies against Franco. Nor were those anarchists (by no means all of them) who let their quest for personal freedom blind them to the need for military discipline and organisation, including not only militias but an army capable of taking the offensive and actually winning the war, not just defending some territory. Political power was up for grabs and war would decide the issue.

But if the main form of the revolution had to be war – and that is true for all revolutions at some point, since no revolutionary state can be established without smashing the state and the armed forces of reaction – then the politics of this war had to determine the way it was fought. At the same time as the Spanish civil war, and also as a part of the Communist International, Mao Tsetung was leading the Chinese revolution through another

revolutionary war. It was in summing up both Chinese and international experience that Mao drew the lesson that "people, not weapons, are decisive in waging war". He pointed out that each class has its own specific forms of war, with its specific character, goals and means. He remarked that all military logic can be boiled down to the principle 'you fight your way, I'll fight my way', and that the proletariat must forge military strategy and tactics which can bring into play its particular advantages, by unleashing and relying on the initiative and enthusiasm of the masses.

This is not the kind of people's war that was fought in Spain.

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### CONFUSED STANCE

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Following the line of the Communist International, the Spanish Party took a confused stance on the content of the civil war, tending to make an absolute of the difference between bourgeois democracy and fascism instead of recognising them as, ultimately, two forms of bourgeois dictatorship, and subordinating itself to vacillating big bourgeois allies. In Spain, the communists also increasingly subordinated their efforts to the attempt to protect socialism in the USSR, by drawing Britain and France into an alliance against the Axis powers. The conduct of the war as a whole, including where and when to fight, was waged on the basis of what might please England and France, whose duplicitous and often contradictory designs were often hard to guess. The communists built a new bourgeois army that waged conventional warfare. Soldiers fought with enormous heroism (or at least men soldiers – women were sent back from the front lines after the initial fighting), an enthusiasm in the face of death that could not be matched by fighters for a reactionary cause, but they were not utilised in a fully revolutionary manner that could draw on all their resources, including their initiative, creativity, military insights and ability to oversee the politics of their own officers. The civilian population found itself left out and

increasingly demoralised. Top officers often became paralysed and many eventually deserted.

It may have been correct for the Communist Party to carry the banner of the Republic and the alliance against Franco it represented, and this certainly would make adjustments in the class struggle necessary, but why did it mean that the proletariat had to subordinate its fundamental interests to those of the bourgeoisie? The fatal weakness of the Communist Party's military line flowed from its wrong political understanding.

A particularly painful moment in the war came with a famous incident in Barcelona in 1937, where what Preston calls "a mini-civil war" within the civil war broke out. (Again, *Land and Freedom* takes this as a central moment.) Barcelona had been a hotbed of workplace seizures, revolutionary committees and militias, and it became a focus for discontent with the government's attempts to return social life to its pre-war order. When workers led by the more or less Trotskyite POUM and some anarchists took over the telephone exchange that controlled communications between Barcelona and the rest of Spain, the local government run by the Communists and other Republicans simply sent in troops to clear them out. (Many other anarchists denounced the takeover as helpful to Franco.) Because the Communists relied on the Catalan and international bourgeoisie rather than enlightening the workers and relying on them to play their leading role in a united front, a dangerous situation was created, and the reactionaries took advantage of it. The result was a further dampening of the mass movement in Barcelona and throughout Republican Spain.

By March 1939, as Franco's forces moved to finally crush Madrid, two and a half years after their initial attempt failed, Republican generals and ministers fled or tried to capitulate. According to Preston's figures, in addition to the 400,000 people killed in the war, Franco had another 200,000 shot after the war was over and a million

were imprisoned or put in labour camps. Hundreds of thousands of refugees faced bombardment and strafing as they trudged into exile in France, where they were also interned in camps, although in less harsh circumstances. Many ended up in Mexico or the USSR, the only countries that welcomed them.

Speaking of the experiences of the international proletariat as a whole, Mao said that there were experiences that we should praise and experiences that make us weep. There were plenty of both in Spain. It was not a "lost cause" any more than it was "the last great cause". As events themselves so dramatically illustrated, Spain was not an isolated country but a weak link in the world imperialist system. The weaknesses of reactionary rule and opportunities for revolution were integrally linked with the tumultuous unfolding of global contradictions, both the contradictions between the imperialists and the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution. But it is not helpful to see the Spanish civil war as "a rehearsal for a bigger world war to come", as if everything that happened was inevitable or as if the war was not revolutionary in content. Whether it was won or even if it was lost, the advance of the greatest revolutionary upsurge in Europe since the Russian revolution would have had an inestimable impact on the international class struggle and its subsequent unfolding as world war approached against a background of crisis in all the imperialist countries.

Again, in opposition to the pseudo-romanticism of lost causes, the point is that things might have gone differently and that, at any rate, more could have been won. The revolutionaries might have lost no matter what, but unfortunately the way the war was fought and the line associated with it left a confused legacy for the people at that time and in the future.

Those of us who are the heirs of the Comintern and are working to unite the workers of the world once again in a communist international of a new type have a responsibility to draw all the necessary lessons and act accordingly.

While this exhibition would not be particularly helpful to someone seeking an understanding of some of the knottier issues involved, it did succeed in strongly spotlighting the glorious aspects of the Spanish civil war by the simple and effective method of letting the masses and others who gave their hearts to the masses speak. This was done using film footage, documents and most powerfully "oral history", audio recordings of first-hand accounts that visitors paused to listen to on telephone handsets installed amongst the displays. This was a history museum at its best. When you hear Spanish working men and women concretely describe their treatment as beasts of burden and how they began to raise their heads in the war, you begin to get a concrete sense that no matter what else was going on, this really was a clash between a murderous old world and a new one struggling for its life. The war photography on view was also remarkable, reflecting not only the development of lighter cameras and faster shutter speeds and film, which allowed the action to be captured "live", but also the stand and courage of a generation of photographers who set a moral as well as a technical standard for decades to come.

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#### GLOBAL SOLIDARITY

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Probably because of the exhibition organisers' own views, as well as for practical reasons, the exhibition was particularly strong on describing the solidarity movement in the UK. In fact, in many ways the question of world solidarity and what that really meant was a core theme here. The interviews with people who organised material support for Spain in factories, neighbourhoods and pubs create an amazing picture of the extent to which working people gave their food, money and lives for this cause. There were 150 groups in the UK dedicated to helping the Spanish Republic and almost none to aiding Franco's forces. They filled 29 chartered ships with food, clothing, medical supplies and ambulances and other vehicles.

They also sent ambulance drivers and medical personnel, as well as fighters, men and women who did not worry about how they would get home. An aged widower describes how in his youth he and his wife went to Spain to fight for their ideals, leaving their children behind with relatives. After hearing him describe their experiences and her death there and then conclude that it was all worth it, you begin to understand more clearly what a powerful force revolutionary internationalism can be.

This is also brought out in a stunning way by the artwork, written documents, recordings and other material produced in support of the Spanish Republic by artists and intellectuals of that day. The international proletariat was not only leading the Spanish civil war, it was also leading, to one degree or another, and not always directly, a vast contingent of painters, sculptors, poets, actors, musicians, composers and artists of every kind. They produced both works needed immediately to popularise the cause and works of enduring, timeless quality.

Never before in all of history had the world seen such a global movement. It could not have existed without the Comintern and its parties and the masses who gave so unstintingly in every country.

Of course it is true that many of those involved had confused ideas, spontaneously as well as due to mistakes on the part of leaders, but we need to see the essence of what was happening. There is a letter to his mother by a young English musician. He writes that he and his wife have seen "unemployed lads from the Clyde, and frightened clerks from Willesden stand up (without fortified positions) against an artillery barrage that professional soldiers could not stand up to. And they did this because to hold the line here and now means that we can prevent this battle being fought again later on Hampstead Heath or the hills of Derbyshire..." Many people felt that way, or at least thought it was necessary to argue like that to win

others over. It certainly was an illusion to think that victory against Franco could avoid a world war that Britain's rulers were determined to wage in the most favourable circumstances for themselves. In fact, Britain needed (and still needs) a revolutionary civil war on Hampstead Heath and the hills of Derbyshire, amongst other places. But that is only one side of the question.

This letter writer may have posed his participation in the civil war as if it were motivated by self-interest or at least simply the desire to protect family, friends and compatriots, but in fact he gave his life for something much broader. The civil war in Spain was rooted in a revolutionary upsurge and linked to the socialist USSR and the Comintern and other revolutionary struggles, including the revolutionary war in China. The Republic and its supporters were up against cynical manoeuvres on the part of both the Axis and Allied powers in preparation for a world war that would turn out to be one of the most towering crimes of capitalism. The masses in Britain, like the people of the world, shared common enemies with the Spanish people, including not only Hitler and Mussolini but the entire British ruling class. Some writers today like to claim that the Spanish Republic enjoyed so much support *despite* the role of the Communists. The point has already been made here that without the Communists, very quickly there wouldn't have been any Republic to support, but there is a deeper point too. Without their role, the civil war would not have had the same revolutionary and anti-imperialist component, and the sense that this was somehow a struggle between the forces of light and darkness would not have had as much basis in fact. There was confusion, but there was also a basic sense of right and wrong sides.

The show moves towards a conclusion with a poem by a civil war veteran: "Madrid in these days of our planet's anguish/wrought by the men whose mock morality/begins and ends with the tape of the Stock exchange," referring to the ticker tape that record-

ed transactions in those days. Couldn't this just as easily be written about our world now? Also at the end of the exhibition, a song by a young contemporary band contrasts those days to our times, when, "The future teaches you to be alone/The present to be afraid and cold/Gravity keeps your head down...." Now, no less than in the 1930s, the Spanish civil war continues to represent aspirations for a better world, and no less than then these aspirations can be organised and tempered in the people's struggle.

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#### POETRY AND ROMANCE

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Today the storm centres of the world revolution are in the Third World countries. There is certainly as much poetry and indeed the romance of revolutionary transformation where people's war has brought forth the embryos of people's power as there was in the days of the Spanish civil war. While for various reasons we face a more uphill battle in popularising those struggles, there are other factors at work as well. It is impossible to hear the slogan of Franco's Foreign Legion, "Down with intelligence, long live Death!" and not think of the religious fundamentalists and fascistic freaks grouped around George W. Bush. When we think of the global cauldron of war that Spain prefigured, it seems not so very far away from us in time at all. Why can't we, today, as part of our leadership of the revolutionary struggle, build very broad and dynamic unity with all sorts of people around the world, including in the imperialist countries, to oppose the world the imperialists have imposed on us all and especially to fight the global rampage that imperialism, with the US at its head, is launching right now?

One of the lessons of the Spanish civil war that bears keeping in mind today is this: when the ruling classes find themselves rent with contradictions and crisis, they may resort to the most desperate and brutal measures to unify their own ranks and crush the people at home by force of arms, whilst they strive for a redivision of the colonies and the world. But such moves can be a

desperate gamble and bring into motion forces they cannot control. Franco's move to reimpose order created more disorder and drew the "ordinary" people, who in ordinary times often seem almost immune to politics, into unbridled political life and unbottled their enthusiasm for revolutionary change. It created more conditions for uniting the people and defeating their enemies. If we look at the current world situation in this light, we can better grasp both the dangers and the opportunities that it presents.

Another lesson from Spain is the tremendous possibilities for a real world movement of solidarity and resistance against our common enemies, and, no less importantly, the need to organise it so that it can become a material force. It was a complicated world in the 1930s and it still is, though the world has certainly changed in many ways, including the general class configuration in the imperialist countries. Today we have no socialist countries or Comintern yet, and we face other limitations, but what we have done so far is not nearly what world events require and make possible.

A poem in this show refers to weeping for the Spanish civil war's "dead young poets". This is a core image many people have of that war. Indeed, as this exhibition shows so well, poets from all over the world, including some of that century's finest, took part in this struggle, mostly on the side of the people, while the few that consciously chose the other side mainly stayed home. Two very great ones, Federico Garcia Lorca and Miguel Hernandez, were executed by Franco's unpoetic legions. (By the way, some of those poets, including Hernandez, were also Communists.) Today, we would unite the people's poets, to put it metaphorically, and all the people, but we would also reject the idea of beautiful losers "fighting the good fight". We want to fight good, in accordance with the proletariat's sweeping vision and ability to unite and rely on the broadest masses of people, and we want to win. ■

# **Message to the of the Maoist**

By the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

Dear Comrades,

It is with great joy and with great expectations that we greet this Congress of your Party, the first such Congress to be held in the history of the Party since its founding in 1972 (as the Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist) and one that comes at a critical juncture for the advance of the revolution in Turkey and in the world.

Your Party has a long and glorious tradition of sacrifice and revolutionary struggle since Ibrahim Kaypakkaya set out to apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the conditions of Turkey and kindle the flame of People's War. Despite the martyrdom of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya and large numbers of other Party leaders and cadres, despite the attacks by a strong enemy armed by US imperialism, the ruling class was never able to extinguish the armed struggle, and millions of workers, peasants and other progressive people in Turkey see your Party and the struggle you are leading as the hope for liberation.

The struggle in your country has gone through a difficult period in the international communist movement after the overthrow of revolutionary China by the Hua-Deng clique following the death of Comrade Mao Tsetung. A section of the previous communist movement openly demand that others follow Deng down the path of capitulation and betrayal. Others took advantage of this big defeat to slander Mao Tsetung and refused or denigrated his development of our scientific ideology to a whole new level. As we know, these tendencies did considerable damage to the revolutionary movement in Turkey as elsewhere, and your Party has had to wage repeated struggles against these tendencies in one form or another. In this light we salute the struggle you have been waging against all wrong tendencies including that represented by the TKP/ML. We are confident that this struggle will further deepen the grasp of the whole Party of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and lead to the unity of all of the genuine Maoist revolutionaries on the basis of the correct line.

Your Party played an important role in the formation of our Movement in 1984. But as we know for many years our relations were impeded by differ-

# **Congress Communist Party**

ent factors. Over the last several years this has changed qualitatively and your Party is again playing a role in the forefront of our Movement. This can only bring joy to the hearts of the genuine communists around the world just as it frightens and infuriates the class enemy and the opportunists. We are sure that in the period ahead our bonds will grow still tighter and your Party will make even greater contributions to the growth of our Movement internationally.

Comrades, we know you face a formidable enemy in the form of the reactionary Turkish regime and its US backers. Sustaining and developing a people's war against such an enemy is no easy matter. Today your Party faces the task of summing up the rich experience of revolutionary armed struggle in Turkey and on the basis of this as well as studying the experience of our class internationally it will surely draw the appropriate lessons that will enable the Party to lead a powerful new stage of people's war.

The international enemy, the world imperialist system led by US imperialism, has declared an open-ended war on the peoples of the world. The Middle East is a key area in which they are carrying out their criminal activities, which are certain to increase in the period ahead. But as Mao said, the imperialists pick up a rock and drop it on their own feet. The communists of the region are faced with the challenge of leading the people to resist the renewed imperialist aggression. The difficulties of today can be transformed through struggle into openings for the further advance of the world proletarian revolution.

The class enemy understands very well the danger that your Party represents to them. They have never ceased to attack the Party and its leadership. We are confident that you will be able to foil the plots of the enemy and strengthen and preserve the Party leadership. Armed with an ever-deepening grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, with deep links to the masses in your country and a rich history of revolutionary struggle, with a closer and closer relationship with the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and the vanguard MLM parties internationally, the Maoist Communist Party is sure to win new victories and make even greater contributions to the world proletarian revolution.

Our revolutionary communist salute. ■

# First Congress of the Maoist (Formerly the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist))

By the International Bureau, MKP

"We have had  
several Conferences  
before...  
But this Congress  
is the first in the  
history of our  
Party"

This First Congress concluded with the victory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism... The documents of the Congress will be presented to the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world; to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, the embryonic centre of the international communist movement today; and to all the Maoist parties and organisations and other revolutionary forces. This statement will briefly report some of the results of the Congress.

The title will attract the interest of all our comrades and the revolutionary masses. First of all, let's explain this point briefly.

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## MAOIST COMMUNIST PARTY

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The Maoist Communist Party [MKP] is the ideological, political and organisational continuation of the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist) [TKP(ML)], which was founded in April 1972 under the leadership of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, and was a product of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It represents a new stage in our Maoist understanding in the theoretical and practical spheres, based on analysing 30 years of experience in our Party's history using the method of two-line struggle.

Communism is our final goal.

From the beginning we have been openly declaring our ideas about this goal and the ways of achieving it. The state will be overthrown by force, just as it has been throughout history. This is a universal law of revolution. Our Party is fighting for a society without classes. New-democratic revolution is our minimum program. Advancing towards socialism continuously, without stopping, continuing the revolution till communism with Great Proletarian Cultural Revolutions again and again, this is our Maoist understanding. New-democratic revolution and socialism are the stages that we pass through because of historical necessity, they are not the final goal. So the name of our Party should certainly include our final goal, communism.

We should draw a bold, sharp line separating us from every kind of modern, dogmatic revisionism, those spuriously using a communist label. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) is the common, universal ideology guiding the march of the international proletariat towards communism. Communism cannot be reached inside any "national" borders. Communism will be won by the international proletariat world-wide and all together.

Of course, in this common march, the proletariat of each link in this chain will primarily settle accounts with its own ruling classes. Proletarian internationalism demands making revolution in each country in the service of communism. The proletarian revolutions, which differ in form due to tasks that differ according to concrete conditions, are international in essence. Wherever a proletarian organisation is, it is MLM that leads it. Proletarian internationalism is the essence of the struggle of the proletariat at every link. Differences arising from the

concrete circumstances conditioning the tasks at every link are formal. At each link the proletariat is organised as a platoon of the world proletariat. It is of course not wrong to indicate the political geography of a party within its name, but nor is this absolutely necessary.

Maoism is not separate from Marxism-Leninism (ML), but is a qualitatively new stage of it. ML can neither be adopted nor defended without Maoism... Adding Maoism to the name of the communist party is especially important. It is the cutting edge. The Congress has changed the name "TKP(ML)" to "Maoist Communist Party". While doing this, it has underlined that it indicates and declares that the MKP is the continuation of the TKP(ML), as well as advancing and deepening on a Maoist basis.

As is well known, the name of the Army led by our Party was the Workers and Peasants Liberation Army of Turkey ("TIKKO"). The worker-peasant (especially poor peasant) alliance under the leadership of the proletariat is the axis of our policy on revolutionary alliances. In addition, our revolutionary army will include other forces of the people, too. The name of our Army has been changed to People's Liberation Army ("HKO"). It was decided that the name of our youth organisation, formerly the Marxist-Leninist Youth Association of Turkey ("TMLGB"), will be the Maoist Youth Association ("MGB"), in accordance with the name of our Party.

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## THE MAOIST COMMUNIST PARTY IS A MONUMENT OF MLM

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Our science reached the level of Maoism with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Even though at each link the Maoist generation faced

# Communist Party

different economic, political and social conditions, it was born under the decisive influence of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. If there were no Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, that is, Maoism, there would be no TKP(ML) nor any other genuine Maoist communist parties. So-called communist parties would exist, and so-called ML could have been adopted and defended, but it would have been impossible to be Maoist. Proletarian parties are not simply the fruit of the objective conditions alone. The proletariat is the objective basis of the communist party. But objective conditions do not automatically give rise to a communist party, which is a conscious, subjective element. Because of their nature, vulgar materialists and economists fail to understand this. The communist party cannot be considered to be established without creating the concrete road and the leading line of the revolution, which means arming itself with Maoism, the universal common ideology of the international proletariat, and creatively applying it to each part of the world. Our Party was born amidst the rapid spread of the works of our science and the heroic struggles of the people, particularly the working class of our country, and it was a product of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Comrade Kaypakkaya pointed out this reality. Without being armed with MLM, objective facts alone would never automatically and directly lead to a communist party. The TKP(ML) was the monument of MLM, achieved with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The Maoist Communist Party, which represents the continuation and advance of the TKP(ML), is consciously aware of the fact that it was created by Maoism and the path

of Kaypakkaya, our general strategic-political line, that is the application of Maoism to the concrete conditions of Turkey and north Kurdistan.

Marxism today cannot be a repetition of Marx. Nor can Leninism be represented and applied as a repetition of Lenin. The science of the proletariat is a living, vigorous weapon. It is neither static nor a dogma, but a guide to action. Without being a Maoist, one cannot be a communist. Being a communist cannot be limited only to the defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat any more. This is a lesson of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Class struggle continues during the whole period of socialism because classes continue to exist. The class struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie is a fact during the entire period of socialism. This is not some arbitrary choice, but a necessity arising out of the reality of socialism, which can never be analysed without classes and the bourgeoisie. To advance the proletarian revolution continuously till communism under the power of proletarian cultural revolution represents the summit of the collective experience of the international proletariat today.

Maoism arose in the course of relying on ML. However, it is not a vulgar repetition of ML. It brought our science to a new qualitative stage, based on the specific analysis of what was actually happening. Maoism pointed to the need for cultural revolutions, which are of universal significance in the march to communism. Maoism is the main point to be grasped. Our historical experiences have shown that deviations on this point have led to splits.

Left and right lines followed by Party leaderships and an inability to genuinely integrate Maoism have led to splits and deviations from the

MLM basis that our Party was founded on. All past crises have arisen due to departing from MLM, not to MLM itself. Grasping, understanding and applying MLM is the principal aspect. If this is not done, discussing this or that mistake or result and even taking some correct and positive steps will not be enough to reach a radical solution. The main question is Maoism. The Party and masses cannot be armed through a struggle on results instead of on the main issue.

The First Congress has deepened our understanding of our guiding ideology, MLM. On this basis, this has led to a strong movement by the Party to settle accounts and expose our mistakes and the reasons for them. The First Congress has doomed centrist eclecticism. It has adopted and confirmed the scientific criticisms of Stalin and the Comintern made by Comrade Mao Tsetung. It has exposed the common basis of modern and dogmatic revisionism that takes up the faults of Comrade Stalin, the teacher of the international proletariat, while rejecting his principally scientific immortal doctrine. Maoism has completely raised the level of ML to a new third stage, and represents the new qualitative contributions by Comrade Mao Tsetung to the proletarian science. Marxism, Leninism and Maoism are not separate from each other. Our science has reached the stage of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the basis of class struggle, production and scientific experiment, and, through the synthesis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, has proved a scientific guide as the ideology of the proletariat.

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## REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT

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The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) represents a

qualitative step forward in the march towards the new communist international. It has been built on the basis of MLM. In conditions today, RIM is the embryonic centre of the international communist movement. RIM is not a coalition, but instead has been making qualitative contributions to the struggle to create a new communist international on the basis of two-line struggle, on a Maoist basis, together with all the MLM forces. This is in an effort to put MLM in command of the emerging new wave of proletarian world revolution by people's wars.

In practice RIM is raising the banner of people's war, with participants like the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), the Communist Party of Peru, and the Maoist Communist Party, along with the Communist Party of India (ML, Naxalbari), Maoist Communist Centre (India) and Communist Party of Iran (MLM), and with its other forces as well. It is trying to unite with other MLM forces on a Maoist basis, which can be seen in the practice of CCOMPOSA in South Asia. It is an important experience to fight against the enemy in close headquarters alongside MLM forces, whilst continuing the two-line struggle.

The *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*, which announced RIM's formation in 1984, with our Party as one of the founding participants, is an MLM document. Some of its weaknesses were corrected by *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!* Our Congress, which has confirmed the MLM character of the RIM documents, has also pointed out the importance of the need to handle the two-line struggle in a comradely way in accordance with the rules and organisational principles of RIM. It has gone over the relevant faults of our Party by self-criticism.

The letters from the Committee of RIM and Comrade Prachanda, Chairman of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) [CPN(M)], have given added meaning to our Congress. It has given serious consideration to the experiences of RIM, learnt from them and grown stronger. Our First

Congress gives the proletarian internationalist salute of our Party to all the participating parties and organisations of RIM and to other MLM forces, via the Committee of RIM. It declares that it considers the flag of the glorious People's War led by the CPN(Maoist) as its own flag. It shares the enthusiasm of the 24 September [1992] speech by Chairman Gonzalo [reprinted in this issue of AWTW], and declares its determined struggle against the imprisonment and isolation of Comrade Gonzalo by the ruling classes and dooms the right opportunist, liquidationist and capitulationist lines wherever they are.

### INSISTENCE ON PEOPLE'S WAR

As a contingent of the international proletariat, our Party insists on making the contributions needed to make the twenty-first century become the Century of Maoism and Maoist-led people's wars.

People's war is one of the vital weapons given to the oppressed by Comrade Mao Tsetung, who also made qualitative contributions to our science in philosophy, political economy and socialism. The scientific character of the strategy of surrounding the cities from the countryside in the oppressed countries has been proven in practice. Nor is this Mao's only contribution to the proletariat's military science. His development of other principles is also a great treasure: people are the main factor in revolutionary war; the starting point is relying on the masses; the Party's leadership is the principal aspect; the principle of self-reliance; the decisive importance of a correct political and ideological line, and especially the question of the new political power; and revolutionary violence as a law without exception, as indispensable to seizing political power, which is the main law of every revolution.

Our First Congress has challenged spontaneity, which is contrary to the spirit of people's war, and learnt from the experiences of Nepal and Peru, which reflect a great application of the

ideological and political contributions of Mao in practice. It has pointed out the Tactic of Advancing with Deliberation, with a Strategic War Plan.

There are some people who believe that because of the tactical superiority of imperialism, its great advantage in weapons and technology and its bloody suppression operations, it is impossible to wage people's war. This is total nonsense. It is a fact that the "global" imperialist system has made the world smaller. But contrary to these claims, technological advances and the extreme centralisation of capital have been deepening class differences, not eliminating them. Imperialism has been globalising poverty, preparing a more favourable arena for revolution and helping bring about a more mature material base for the struggle and advance to communism. It has become clearer today that Asia, Africa and Latin America are the storm centres of revolution. This is related to the principal contradiction of the world, that is, the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations.

Chairman Mao's saying that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" is a universal principle. The line of submission put forth by the theoreticians of "productive forces", which is ultimately based on weapons and technology, and proclaims that "imperialism cannot be defeated", can be crushed with a scientific understanding of the principles of the Maoist Communist Party and by relying on the masses.

Revolution does not automatically arise from some particular level of development of the productive forces. We must rupture with Second International opportunism, which revises revolution. What is needed is the practice of Mao. This practice calls for taking class struggle as principal. We salute Maoism, which calls not for technical cadres, weapons and experts, but instead for the correct line, the Party and the masses.

The Party is a unity of opposites. Two-line struggle is an undeniable reality of the Party. Adopting and

practising two-line struggle does not mean rejecting that the Party will be directed by a single centre. In a Maoist Party, power cannot be a justification for ruling by the cane, but nor can opposition be a justification for splitting.

Our Congress has doomed every kind of eclectic international line. Our Congress, which has a line of unity with the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist, has pointed out that exercising this line should be based on two-line struggle and Maoism. It has underlined the importance of carrying out the discussions based on the principles of two-line struggle between communist forces. It has stressed the Maoist line, with particular emphasis on the policy of unity on Maoist principles. The splits in the history of our Party can only be overcome by Maoism. Our Congress has raised the flag of understanding, helping understanding and applying Maoism.

The path of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya was the basis of the programmatic views of our Party. On this basis our Congress has announced our Party Programme. It has renewed the Statutes of the Party, overcoming their weaknesses. It has deepened our understanding of questions of ideology, general strategic political and military line and programme.

Our First Congress has made a serious evaluation of the current situation in the world and our country - Turkey and north Kurdistan - and particularly in the Middle East. It has put forward a plan for our tasks.

Afghanistan was invaded as part of the US's strategic plan for global hegemony. Iraq is also included in the US's plan of intervention, based on its rich oil resources and strategic importance. The Turkish and Israeli states are the regional gendarmes of the US. Our Congress has exposed these reactionary imperialist strategies. It has pointed out the importance of the unity of the international proletariat, the oppressed peoples and nations under the flag of world proletarian revolution.

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### SOLUTION: PROLETARIAN WORLD REVOLUTION

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"Globalisation" is not something qualitatively different from imperialism, the world-wide organisation of capitalism, even though imperialism has been deepened in comparison with the past. The continuously intensifying and expanding dynamic of capitalism has transformed the needs of the more concentrated world-wide capitalist system, and led to brutal applications. Integration with the imperialist centres and "privatisation" are its concrete policies. These have deepened the crisis of capitalism. The crisis is not local, but strikes the whole world. The macroeconomic policies of the IMF and the World Bank represent the direct interventions of imperialism. The basic contradictions of imperialism have been deepening more and more. The principal contradiction world-wide, between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations, has been deepening.

Neither the class struggle nor revolution are mere "history", but the motor driving advance.

This crisis is being further intensified by the world-wide sovereignty plan of the US.

The only solution to the crisis is world proletarian revolution.

The imperialist "New World Order", which is no different in essence from the "old" one, is giving rise to a wave of revolution of the oppressed. The US sovereignty plan is not only intensifying the contradictions with the oppressed, but also leading to sharper conflict between the rival imperialists. The crisis of imperialism throws oil on the fire of the inter-imperialist contradictions.

Revolution is the main trend.

The Maoist Communist Party, fully conscious of this situation, raises the flag of world proletarian revolution.

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### CONCLUSION

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We believe that all comrades will understand how difficult it is to present a full report of all the documents of our Congress - which has achieved an MLM synthesis of 30 years of experience in our Party's history - in this brief summary. As already mentioned, the Congress documents - Ideology, General Political and Military Line, Programme, Historical Evaluation, Historical Lessons of the International Communist Movement, International Line and RIM, Leadership and Cadre Policy, National Question, Unity Policy of Maoists, Evaluation of the Current Situation in the World and in Turkey and North Kurdistan, and Our Tasks - will be presented for review by the comrades and masses.

Higher levels of unity will be achieved using the method of two-line struggle, and our tasks will be carried out in the service of world revolution, with a spirit of leaping forward on a Maoist basis.

The red flag that is flying over Mount Sagarmatha [Everest] and the Andes, the Himalayas and the Philippines, is our own flag! It is the same flag that flies in Turkey and north Kurdistan, over the Munzur mountains. The road is tortuous but the future is bright. Because we have MLM, we have revolutionary masses. This is the reason for our enthusiasm and our hope.

**We March Not Just to Political Power but to Communism!**

**By Arming Ourselves with Maoism, Victory is Certain!**

**Long Live MLM!**

**Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!**

**Long Live RIM!**

**Long Live the Maoist Communist Party!**

**Forward to Transform the Twenty-first Century into a Century of People's Wars Led by MLM! ■**

## Bob Avakian on New Situation

*Continued from page 23*

these profound major contradictions of the imperialist epoch is not going to come to the fore without tremendous upheaval, without tremendous destruction, without tremendous volatility throughout the world, without there being many factors that are unfavorable for the proletarian revolution as well as factors that are strategically favorable. But, on the other hand, as I said, this is what we live for; this is what our whole orientation is geared toward. Otherwise, what are we doing? We are not going to slide neatly into the proletarian revolution. We're not going to oust from power these most monstrous and powerful exploiters and oppressors and mass murderers on a world scale and think that somehow it's all going to be easy, neat, clean, and without much sacrifice, without much upheaval, without much volatility, without much volcanic eruption all over the world, including in the US itself.

So this is putting us to the test, and in fact people all over the world as well as within the US are going to be put to the test in one way or another — we are going to be confronted with the consequences of what these contradictions give rise to, and in particular the horrors that these imperialists unleash. Where are you going to stand in relation to this? Are you going to stand with the great majority of people in the world who have been going through great horrors every day for decades and centuries, as a result of the workings of this system; or, in the hope that you can somehow escape these horrors, are you going to stand with the imperialists who have been inflicting this on masses of people, right within the US itself, and on an even greater scale throughout other parts of the world — and are preparing to inflict this on a much more monstrous scale?....

A crucial point to emphasize here again is the imperialists have set things in motion that can't be easily reversed, and may not be easily

controlled. And we can say with a great deal of certainty that at the end of all this — whenever and however what has been set in motion is finally resolved — things are bound to be and will be vastly different, not only internationally, but also within what has been the United States. Whether in a very terrible way, or in a very positive way in terms of the advance of the proletarian revolution worldwide, and perhaps even getting to the point where power is seized by the masses of the people in the US itself — things will be radically different and the America we have known will not exist in the same way anymore.



Within all the countries and all these regions of the world, there are different class forces, with different and conflicting class interests — there is not one large, amorphous bunch of people who, while they may be divided into classes, have this overriding commonality with people of the same Islamic or Hindu or Christian civilisation, etc. There are very acute class contradictions within all these countries and regions (and "civilisations"); and, as I've pointed to in my writings, even before 11 September, some of the ways in which these underlying material and social factors are finding expression right now are not actually in line with the real objective class and social interests of the people involved.

Masses of people, particularly those who have been uprooted from the peasant countryside and thrown into the urban shantytowns, for example, have sought out many different solutions — some of which do, but some of which do not, correspond to their real interests. In some cases, they've sought out, or been attracted to, MLM (Marxism-Leninism-Maoism). But in other situations, especially where the MLM forces have been weak and other forces such as religious fundamentalists, have been stronger, masses of people have, in the short term, gravitated toward religious fundamentalist movements in

various places. In Iran, even in Turkey (which is regarded as and has a certain history as one of the more secular of the "Islamic countries") and certainly in countries like Egypt and other places, there has been this phenomenon of masses being drawn to Islamic fundamentalism. But, in the more profound and ultimate sense, this doesn't override, nor certainly eliminate, the actual material situation and actual objective interests of these masses.

Obviously, the challenge for the MLM vanguards in these areas, and throughout the world, is to transform this situation — which means we do need to dig into it more fully. We need to do more than just go back to the basics of MLM, or even just to go back to the basics and then try to creatively apply them in all these different places. While we must remain firm in certain bedrock principles of MLM — and apply them creatively, not dogmatically — at the same time we actually need to do some work theoretically and in terms of analysis (and synthesis) to more deeply grasp what's going on with this whole massive "demographic upheaval" in these countries, with the uprooting of masses of the peasantry, with the transformation of much of the peasantry into a sort of shantytown semi-proletariat. There is a lot of work to be done. This challenge is being taken up by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), including our Party, and other communist forces, but there is much more that needs to be done. While maintaining our fundamental orientation with regard to the different revolutionary roads in the two different types of countries (imperialist countries and the oppressed countries of the Third World), and while continuing to recognize the fundamental importance of the road of protracted people's war to surround the cities from the countryside in the Third World generally (as discussed in our Party's *Draft Programme*), we need to understand the tactical and even in certain aspects the strategic implications of these major transformations going on in many countries, particularly countries of the Third World.

We need to confront and "engage" reality. What is driving masses of people in many countries into the arms of these religious fundamentalists? What are the underlying material as well as the political and ideological factors? What failures or shortcomings of secular forces, including Marxist forces, have contributed to this in what ways, and how do we learn to overcome this? How do we address the material but also the political and ideological concerns of the people? What are the factors that are favorable and must be built on in dealing with this? These are tremendous challenges confronting our movement internationally to which we all, including our Party, have to contribute as much as we possibly can and in the various ways that we can.

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It's wrong to look at what line-up the ruling class, with all of its organs of power and public opinion and influence, is able to create at any given time and look at that as if that's the limits of what you can do. The point I'm making is that our objective has to be to transform the political terrain and transform the outlook of many, many people on it and therefore the way they act in relation to it. The Vietnam War didn't start out as sometimes people think, with massive opposition to that war. It started out with smaller scale opposition mainly based on the campuses, (although not only), and then it developed partly as the war itself ran into the difficulties that the US imperialists had in their inability to defeat the Vietnamese in that war, but also as people carried forward work to build opposition to that war.

So the question is not "What's the political terrain like at a given time and what is the alignment, so to speak, and what people think about this war and are doing about it now," but "What's the potential?" What are the ways in which that can be — the current terrain and the climate and the political alignment and the forces who are active can be—radically changed? And that begins with

people who have an understanding of the need to resist rallying together as forcefully as possible, bringing forward open manifestations of opposition as some are already doing, but also bringing that together on an even more powerful level and putting it out openly, and openly taking a stance, as we've said, "No, Not In Our Name" — we're going to stand up and oppose this [imperialist juggernaut of war and repression]. We're going to draw a line and say that this cannot be done in our name and in fact we don't accept it being done at all, and we're going to rally forth the opposition to it and we're going to change people's minds through education but also through mobilising people openly to oppose this so that people can see that there are other people out there who are opposing it.

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**Carl Dix:** So, what kind of movement is it going to take to take on and beat back this juggernaut of war and repression that's been unleashed on the people of the world?

**Bob Avakian:** Well, I think we've been talking about elements of that, and you've been talking about some of your experience in building that movement. It's got to be one that unites...people as broadly as possible and brings forward all the many people who are even just questioning or have concerns now and brings them forward to active opposition, and it has to be one that makes room and gives rise to many diverse forms of struggle and mobilisation in opposition to this juggernaut around many different aspects of it — obviously the war, but also the attacks within the US on immigrants, the profiling of people from Arab and Islamic countries, the attacks on people's rights within the US, the heightening repression. It has to include all those fronts and it has to unite people of a broad diversity...in opposition to all this, and into the various fronts of it. And it has to include unity-struggle-unity among its ranks about what are the key things to be taking up at any given time and

how to mobilise people around them, but it also has to have a very clear basis of unity that draws the lines correctly so that the greatest number of people can be potentially mobilised — not so that it appeals to the greatest number right now, but so that it provides the basis to mobilise and win over and activate the broadest number of people to...actually direct their spearhead of struggle against the US government and the US imperialists — or however people conceive of it and call it, but the US government in its whole warfare, open-ended warfare, and its whole juggernaut of war and repression....

And this movement will contain many diverse streams, many different kinds of activities, many different opinions and points of view about many questions, including the ultimate solution to all this, as well as obviously healthy contention and struggle and debate and engagement and dialogue about all these questions and also about how to build this movement most effectively and how to deal with different questions that arise in the course of building this movement. But it's got to be a vibrant movement that has this potential to unite people very broadly and call forth people. At the same time, it has to have a clear-cut stand and particularly this is important for people in the US. The September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center were not done in the name of the American people. What the US government has done in response is being done in the name of the American people, so that emphasises all the more where the people in the US have to direct their energy and their struggle in terms of who has to be the target politically of that struggle...as I said, where the spearhead of that struggle has to be directed against — along with the fact that the US government is in reality the major perpetrator of oppression and devastation and destruction of the environment and of people throughout the world.

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## **STOPPING THE JUGGERNAUT AND MAKING REVOLUTION**

Another question I want to touch on relatively briefly here, although obviously it's a decisive question, is the relation between stopping or derailing this juggernaut and actually making revolution to overthrow imperialism, in particular in the US itself. Here again, we have to grasp and handle this contradiction in a dialectical, as opposed to a mechanical, way.

A fundamental and essential question poses itself: Is it actually possible to stop this whole juggernaut without carrying out proletarian revolution? Well, we'll learn that in the event, as things actually develop, but certainly we can't say at this point that it would be impossible to stop this juggernaut without achieving the actual overthrow of the whole system — that only through revolution, to put it simply, could this juggernaut be derailed. Now, that may turn out to be the case, but that's not something we can determine at this point. So when we put forward the objective of actually stopping this juggernaut, it's not a gimmick; it's not a way to get people on a train, an express train with no local stops that goes only to revolution. It's an orientation toward actually uniting with people with a real objective in mind. We're not promising people that this is going to happen one way or the other, or pretending that we know the whole outcome of this. What we *are* saying is that we must have this as an objective — to stop this juggernaut — and we're serious in seeking to stop it, even if it means that it gets derailed short of revolution, because that will contribute greatly to revolution in any case, besides the fact that...in terms of the interests of the people of the world and their revolutionary struggles, it's important to stop this juggernaut.

But, at the same time, if we're not bringing forward, through the course of all this, the need for proletarian revolution, if we're not showing in a living way how this juggernaut is rooted in the very nature of this sys-

tem — that it's one particular, concentrated expression of the nature of the beast and why we need to do in this beast — then we're not meeting what we need to be meeting in terms of the needs of the people and in terms of our revolutionary objectives. So this is another contradiction we're going to have to handle, once again, not in a linear or mechanical way but in a dialectical way, in accordance with the complexity of how these contradictions play out.

I also want to speak to...the relation between building opposition to this juggernaut and developing all around struggles against the system — and, in turn, the relation of all this to strategic revolutionary objectives....In a very real sense, we do have a whole new situation. That's why we titled the [Revolutionary Worker] Supplement "The New Situation and the Great Challenges".... The terms of things have been recast by what's been unleashed — not so much by the September 11th events themselves, but by the imperialist juggernaut and all the wild ambitions and objectives they have, but also all the craziness and volcanic character of everything that they have already unleashed and even more what will be unleashed through the course of this open-ended war that they're declaring. So everything has changed in *that* sense. The terms of things have been recast, and even ongoing events and struggles take place in a new context.

But here again it's important to correctly handle this, to handle it dialectically and not in a linear or mechanical way. This doesn't mean that all the other struggles should either be abandoned, because everything should be concentrated in the struggle against the juggernaut, or they should all be mechanically linked to, or reduced to, how they directly, one-to-one, relate to this juggernaut and to the struggle against it. These other struggles still have their own life and dynamic in a relative (not in an absolute) sense. This applies to the anti-globalisation struggle, for example. The struggle against capitalist globalisation is important to continue and deepen and broaden in its own right, and it's

heartening to see that this struggle is continuing, but obviously this closely interpenetrates with the question of war — and this is being broadly recognised by people, which is a very powerful positive factor to be fully mobilising and building on. But there's a need, even while that's true, to also continue with the struggle against capitalist globalisation "in its own right," to develop that even while we win more and more people within that movement and its broadening ranks to take up, and even to take up centrally, the struggle against the imperialist juggernaut. So this is another relation we're going to have to handle correctly.

The same thing is true with regard to many other movements and fronts of resistance, whether you're talking about the struggle around the environment or, for example, the battle around abortion or more broadly around the oppression of women, or the struggle against national oppression and certain acute manifestations of that, like police brutality. And the line from the bourgeoisie that "everything is different"...doesn't seem to have stopped the police from continuing to brutalise and murder people. So things have not changed — everything is not different — in that sense....We should, on the one hand, recognize the new context in which [these struggles are] taking place but at the same time grasp the importance of building them in their own right and according to their own dynamic and the forces they call into motion and unleash, even while we continue to make the struggle against the juggernaut the main thing, and even while we work to *correctly* link these other struggles with the resistance to the juggernaut — *and*, in turn, to link all this to our strategic revolutionary objectives.

Another dimension to this which is very important is work among the proletarians and other basic masses. The Party has been carrying out concentrated work to build revolutionary strongholds (what we refer to as political base areas) among these masses and to bring forward especially the advanced among them

as a class-conscious force....There are various forms of the exploitation and oppression of different sections of the proletariat and basic masses, and the oppression and exploitation they suffer calls forth different kinds of struggles. It is extremely important for us to continue to work in relation to this, to apply the mass line, to bring forward all positive factors out of all this, and above all to bring forward a class-conscious revolutionary force among these masses....We need to bring forward a class-conscious force of proletarians and other basic masses to add strength and vitality and a driving force to the different struggles and in particular the struggle against the juggernaut now; but we also need to be bringing it forward in order to advance toward our strategic revolutionary objectives.

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**Carl Dix:** How could a situation come down within which you could really make a try for revolution [in the US]? I wonder if you could speak to that some?

**Bob Avakian:** .... If you sit here and look at things now when there's still relative stability....if you just look at it right now and judge things only by this standard, and don't or can't envision any other set of conditions, well then it would seem that revolution would be impossible.

But if you see bringing those objective conditions and the conflicts and eruptions and revolts and protests that they call forth together with the work of revolutionary forces — then [you envision] a whole change where then the question of the whole direction of society and the resolution of acute conflicts and contradictions is posed sharply — then you can envision how a revolutionary struggle could in fact come forth and actually succeed in seizing power from these imperialists. And the key element, or certainly one of the key elements, within that is the bringing forward of what we call a revolutionary people, masses of people, millions of people, in upheaval and determined struggle against the powers-that-be, and in a

revolutionary mood — willing and determined to make radical change, even at the cost of great sacrifice.

So all these different sections of people or movements and struggles that are called forth, with the Party working among all of them — working among all the different strata while basing itself fundamentally among the proletarians and people who have the most fundamental interests in overturning and transforming all of society — this enables the party to both know when things are approaching a revolutionary situation, or know it more clearly, have a more clear sense of that, and also to rally the people to the revolutionary position when these kind of volatile conditions come together to constitute a revolutionary situation.

No one can say exactly when that's going to happen, but we can say that the possibility of it lies within the very nature of the system itself and also even within the things that are being unleashed now. We can't say the revolutionary situation will definitely emerge out of the things being unleashed now, but we also can't say that it won't, and there is the potential, as I said, for things to get wildly out of their control, to give rise to all kinds of factors and forces in motion that is difficult for these imperialists to stay on top of and to suppress or channel into the directions that they want to....There are a lot of wild cards in the situation, and from the point of view of the ruling class — and also in a certain sense from our standpoint — the masses of people are the big wild card. They're the big force that can change the whole direction of things as these objective contradictions are accentuated and made more acute, including by the things that the imperialists themselves do and pursue.

And this is a very important point that we go back to — the basic point that Mao made — wherever there's oppression, there's resistance. This is the history of any country, any society, including the US. Long before 11 September there was all kinds of resistance to different things....There are all these forms of oppression, and the program of the imperialists to

develop a whole juggernaut, to ram through and intensify a lot of this repression, is going to call forth resistance in various forms — that's always been the way it is and it's always the way it will be.

Now, they may stifle or suppress dissent, rebellion, resistance, upheaval for a short time, but eventually it will burst forth, and eventually will burst forth all the more powerfully, and all this creates the basis for the work of the vanguard party such as our Party and for revolutionary forces in general to mobilise people and win them increasingly to the revolutionary banner. And when this does come together with the development of these acute objective contradictions, then a revolutionary people emerges on the scene, and if there's a vanguard working among all these different expressions of a revolutionary people, then you have a real chance at revolution.

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In conclusion, then, we are called on to rise to the challenges that are posed with both a sense of real urgency and with a broad overview. To approach this not just in terms of the crucial tasks more immediately before us but to put this in an even larger strategic perspective. To see this not only in its very real negative dimension, but also in its positive potential, to recognise not only the increased horrors that the imperialists are moving to bring about, but also the possibilities for qualitative advance that can be wrenched out of this, for the emancipation of the masses of people all over the globe — for the world proletarian revolution and perhaps even the sweeping aside of this monstrous imperialist system in its most powerful bastion itself. ■

## Iraq

*Continued from page 17*

American reactionary theorists see the occupation of Iraq as the key to resolving the Palestinian question. They argue that "the road to Jerusalem passes through Baghdad" because they hope that direct US control over Iraq and Middle Eastern oil, the subjugation or intimidation of the other regimes in the Middle East and the stranglehold this would give the US on Europe (more on this later) would make it possible to isolate, intimidate and contain the Palestinian people through apartheid or a more massive expulsion.

But why start with Iraq? The infamous Bushite declaration about "the axis of evil" (Iraq, North Korea

and Iran), while making clear the global scope of US military ambitions, may have been mis-representative. War with North Korea is plainly not on Bush's agenda right now (the US government even concealed its knowledge of a North Korean nuclear programme). This could have to do with increasing rapprochement between the US and China. But why not attack Iran? One reason is that Saddam has been painted as resisting the US (we say "painted" because the US has repeatedly refused to accept Saddam's surrender). Saddam has survived anyway, to a large degree because of trade and political support from France, Russia, Italy and China, and the toppling of his regime is meant to bring these countries into line as well. Further, Iraq is a far more

attractive target for the US precisely because Saddam has been so weakened militarily. Today's George Bush faces a far, far less powerful Saddam than did his father, with less than half the number of soldiers, fewer tanks and other heavy weapons and practically no air force left. Iran, by contrast, might be too big a mouthful for the US to start with in the region. The prospect of easy victory is as key to American calculations as Iraqi oil. In a sense the answer to the question "Why Iraq" comes from the very conditions the US itself has created since the first Gulf War.

But if an important part of the answer to "why Iraq" is because they hope the war will be easy, then we can see how this war could be transformed from a source of strength

## Guantanamo - One Year On, Decades to Go

The "Camp X-ray" tiger cages for prisoners on the US Navy base in Guantanamo, Cuba have been closed down and replaced by "Camp Delta", a permanent installation a few kilometres away. This is a bad sign for the 625 men from 43 countries interned there. Although interrogations have continued day and night for over a year, only five have been released, most of whom were very old and/or very ill. The rest are being kept in shipping containers that have been converted into tiny (2.07 x 2.43 metre) one-man cells. Their identity is secret. The outside world only knows 40 of them by name.

Over the last year the number of prisoners has doubled. Camp authorities told reporters that they are building cells for several thousand in all. Asked how long this prison camp will be in operation, the base commander replied, "We're talking years rather than months." He said that the prison was already included in his budget for the base through 2005, but he expected to include it in his 20-year plan.

The High Commissioner of the UN Human Rights Commission said that the camp is understandable as

"an exceptional measure". It is no such thing. Bush declared that these men would be held until "the cessation of hostilities" but that the US would not recognise them as prisoners of war with certain rights no matter what international law requires. In other words, the US is planning to kidnap people around the world and hold them illegally for a long time to come.

Despite its revolutionary pretensions, the Cuban government has basically gone along with the Bush government. A Cuban government-sponsored mass demonstration in Havana "against terrorism and for peace" had the particular twist of pointing out that the US carried out or backed many terrorist attacks against the island (including blowing up a Cuban airliner), but proclaimed Cuba's solidarity with the US "war on terror". The Cuban government has had very little to say about the US internment camp in Guantanamo, which is, after all, Cuban territory leased by the US (an arrangement forced on Cuba early in the twentieth century - the Castro government refuses to cash the paltry rent cheques). An official Cuban

government diplomatic note to the American government on 12 January 2002 explicitly reassured the US that Cuba did not consider the camp "a threat to the security of our country" and would not interfere in any way but rather seek to maintain, as Radio Havana described it, "the climate of détente and mutual respect that has prevailed in the area around the base for the last few years."

The men being held in Guantanamo are the ones who survived. Many soldiers captured in Afghanistan were simply murdered by gunfire and bombs or by deliberate starvation. In a particularly gruesome war crime, hundreds were asphyxiated in sealed shipping containers. In November, an American Predator (unmanned drone) missile killed six men in a car in Yemen. This kind of explicitly-acknowledged, spectacular hit represents a dramatic change from the long-standing American policy of assassination by stealth and with plausible deniability. It is a declaration that the US will kill whomever it wants, wherever it wants - the policy is as deliberately provocative as the name of the weapon used. ■

into a source of weakness. The American government is betting everything on this war, and it is a gamble. Not in many years have the stakes been higher. If the US wins in Iraq, and that means not only launching a war and winning it but winning it quickly, decisively and at minimum cost to the imperialists, then it will have achieved a major step toward its goal. But that is not the only possible outcome.

What if the war doesn't go as easily as planned? What if the planned US occupation of Iraq turns out to bring the American armed forces into direct conflict with the Iraqi people more broadly? No less than Henry Kissinger himself, a main architect of the Vietnam war, recently warned Bush of the dangers

of a "prolonged occupation". The replacement of Saddam's boot on the neck of the people of Iraq by the far heavier and even more humiliating boot of American generals, soldiers and corporate profiteers in a foreign occupation is not likely to bring stability to Iraq or the region.

Whether Bush's plans succeed or fail, they will very likely bring the US government and US troops into direct conflict with the people of a region where hatred for the US is an enormously powerful and potentially unifying force. Hundreds of millions of Middle Eastern peoples, who burn with hatred for the oppression, exploitation and national humiliation they suffer at the hands of America and its lackey Israel, may find their chief enemy no longer safely an ocean away. Bringing American troops to the Middle East could turn out to be a serious mistake.

Until now imperialism has enjoyed the great advantage of operating indirectly through puppets and flunkies and all sorts of oil and imperialist-dependent tyrants and dictators in Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, etc. Most of the time these regimes prevent and punish any kind of mass protest and outburst, especially anything really threatening to America and its allies. The only political alternatives for the peoples of these countries are seething discontent below the

surface or popular explosion; imperialist domination has left them with few other forms of political expression. Now these governments are called upon to either support the US-Israeli crusade or face being replaced by regimes directly installed by the US. Is this a source of strength for imperialism or, in explosive times, a huge potential weakness?

Worry in Washington about "the Arab street" (by which they seem to mean the Arab middle classes) has given way to far darker thoughts about the dangerous "Arab basement" (the workers, peasants and poor who make up the vast majority of the region, taking the Arab countries as a whole), not to mention the non-Arab peoples and countries - of which Iran and Turkey are two volatile examples. Further, as we have already seen, the war on Iraq has already been met with mass opposition within the US, Britain, Italy and Spain, as well as other countries, and it could expose and destabilise the other European governments that are joining in.

In 1991, the imperialists contemptuously disregarded mass opposition to war against Iraq and fought anyway. Their ability to do so, without paying a higher price, had much to do with the fact that they were able to win quickly and without serious losses. This time they face even greater opposition, not only in the Arab world but at home too.

This time, too, while they boast that they will take Baghdad in four or five days, they know it is no Kabul - instead Baghdad is a sprawling city of five million. And they are still imperialists - while they have made great fanfare about their latest generation, super-smart, ultra-clean bombs and elite high-tech troops, the US military still has every intention of sitting off at a safe distance, thousands of meters up, and bombing the hell out of major population centres for days on end. Even when in 1991 the great bulk of the fighting was hundreds of miles away, they still killed thousands of civilians, including most notoriously the hundreds who died in an underground bomb shelter hit by a special concrete-piercing "bunker buster".

Their censorship this time will be tighter than ever, their lies and denials told with the straightest faces imaginable - but the magnitude of the bloody crimes they are preparing against the people of Baghdad means they will find it virtually impossible to conceal this slaughter from the world's people. The anger and resistance



Guantanamo prison.

that has already broken out may pour forth in unprecedented ways.

There is another cardinal point to be kept in mind. As important as Iraq is, it is not the world, and the sole superpower has a whole globe to deal with. New US military doctrines and Rumsfeld's reorganisation of the American armed forces are avowedly meant to make it possible to wage several wars at once. But difficulties or disasters in an American occupation of Iraq could make that doctrine a pipe dream. The US has chosen a showdown in Iraq and adopted a strategy of concentrating overwhelming force there. But if they do not get the quick results they seek, and especially if they are tied down in Iraq or the region, then instead of an American breakthrough, the world could see a different kind of turning point, as fierce struggle breaks out

against those concentrated forces themselves and/or in other regions.

This is not a war that has been brewing for years, the outcome of a developing stand-off between Saddam and the UN. Before 11 September 2001, Iraq wasn't much of an international issue anymore. Even the US seemed to be losing interest and considered suspending its flyovers. Yet suddenly America changed its mind and imposed its agenda on the world. Why, and why now?

In fact, Bush junior is reversing the course set by his father, who halted the American military advance at a certain point out of fear of fatally tearing the fabric of Middle Eastern power relations, which seemed to be the dominant line in the American ruling class at the time. Bush junior is out to rip the whole thing up, not because he is different than his father

but because much of the US ruling class has reached a new consensus about what is possible and necessary in today's world.

In the era of imperialism, when the world's people and resources have already been divided up among the great powers, the military strength to challenge and recast the existing order is an essential factor in the quest for profits. Not just the kind of profits that come from being in business, but the kind of super-profits that come when industries, countries, regions and the planet are under the control of a single handful of monopoly capitalists. As analysed in the previous issue of *AWTW*, the US can (because it has the unrivalled military strength) and must (because it is driven by economic necessity) take advantage of this moment of both opportunity and peril.

## "Mr Power" and the "Eurowimps" versus the

As an astute reader wrote in a letter to the editor of the *London Guardian*, "How ironic it would be if the verdict of history is that the cold war kept in check not Russia - the Evil Empire - but the US?" With the fall of the other imperialist superpower, America's campaign for world hegemony has become a common point of unity for most of the US ruling class, despite some differences in how to pursue it. Now it can be talked about. In fact it has to be talked about, because no big change and certainly no world-historical shift can be effected without the guidance of overall theory. Whereas a few years ago best-selling scribblers were proclaiming the end of history and ideology, a whole spate of reactionary writers have rushed to the fore with their own ideological offerings and high-sounding references to history. The comparison to imperial Rome is not considered offensive - in fact, it is often cited as a positive model.

One of today's most notorious new Roman wannabes is Robert Kagan, whose essay in *Foreign*

*Policy* magazine is said to be required reading in the Bush inner circle. To put it briefly, in "Power and Weakness" Kagan picks up the pop psychology argument that "men are from Mars and women from Venus", that is, they are different kinds of animals (remember, this passes for brilliance in Bushland), and applies it to the US ("Mr Power") and Europe ("Miss Weakness", or "Eurowimps", as the Bush boys like to put it). Because of its own historical experience, Kagan argues, the US understands that this is a "Hobbesian world" - a reference to the doctrines of the seventeenth-century philosopher Thomas Hobbes, i.e. a dangerous jungle where raw force is the only thing that matters. The European powers, he continues, have been so traumatised by war that they are foolishly seeking Kant's "perpetual peace". That may be very well for relations between the European states, but, he continues, choosing to quote a British colleague (Robert Copper) to make the point that Brits are not "from Venus" like unmanly continentals, "when dealing with the

world outside Europe, we need to revert to the rougher efforts of an earlier era - force, pre-emptive attack, deception, whatever is necessary." The problem, from this viewpoint, is that because of European passivity, the US has been "left to deal with the Saddams and the ayatollahs, the Kim Jong IIs and the Jian Zemins, leaving the happy benefits to others."

The solution to this impasse is simple, he concludes with dripping condescension, "Is this situation tolerable for the United States? In many ways, it is. Contrary to what many believe, the United States can shoulder the burden of maintaining global security without much help from Europe." Europe can have all the peace it wants, as long as it accepts that, as he wrote in an earlier article, "(T)he benevolent hegemony exercised by the US is good for a vast portion of the world's population. It is certainly a better international arrangement than all realistic alternatives." But "some Britons still remember empire, some Frenchmen still yearn for *la gloire*, some Germans still want their place in the

The Committee of the Revolutionary-Internationalist Movement stated, "Although they claim they are targeting Saddam Hussein's reactionary clique, in fact the US goal is to subjugate the peoples of Iraq and of the whole region. It is a reflection particularly of the sharpening conflict between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the principal contradiction in the world today." All the imperialists need the US to be the "policeman of the world" whether they like it or not, because their system's drive for profit is squeezing the world's people as never before. American war aims in Iraq and the Middle East and its increasing military presence in the Philippines and other places are one manifestation of this; famine and proxy wars in Africa, the sudden

impoverishment of Argentina and mass protests in Mexico and Ecuador are some others. More and more of the world requires "policing".

Can the US military really take on Afghanistan, the Middle East, the Philippines, Colombia and other peoples all at once? The contradictions of the imperialist system are getting wound up tighter and in some places revolution has already broken out. One thing that is certain is that we have entered an era of warfare. The American ruling class gathered around Bush has exhibited a taste and preparedness for endless war, but these wars may not unfold exactly when and where or how they want or can handle.

Finally, is it possible for US imperialism to embark on a military recasting of the world without attempting to recast American society

itself? Could such an effort endanger domestic stability and even the whole system of alliances and acquiescence on which it rests and even hasten revolution? Which war will be the "war too far"? What will be the fate of junior partners like the UK, which join in the blood-feast and clampdown, but whose people become more bitterly divided than ever?

The US means for its conquest of Iraq to be the gateway to world domination. But it seems most likely that the stage is being set for warfare on an even grander scale - wars of different types, wars against oppressed countries, nations and peoples, wars of national resistance and revolutionary civil wars and even, in the future, wars between the imperialists - for a long time to come. ■

## "Barbarians"

sun." That might not be a problem if "Europeans could move beyond fear and anger at the rogue colossus and remember, again, the vital necessity of having a strong America - for the world and especially for Europe."

There is actually some truth to this view, especially if instead of US hegemony being good for "a vast portion of the world's population" we substitute "a vast portion of the world's imperialist ruling classes and their retainers and acolytes". This is, after all, clearly what Kagan means and it is his intended audience. The last issue of *AWTW* argued that globalised capitalism - the present worldwide web of exploitative relations - cannot persist without guns to back it up. As a statement from the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement put it, "US imperialism, as the leader and lynchpin of the whole world imperialist system, is obliged to be the global policeman and directly intervene militarily often and in many places. They have chosen to make Iraq the showcase for this new doctrine of unrestricted US authority."

How long will the other

imperialist powers stand for this arrangement? As long as they have to. The US stance is explicitly stated in Bush's *Mein Kampf*, a document released in September called *The National Security Strategy of the US*, which Bush says he personally edited. (The comparison is not just scurrilous. This is an outline plan for world domination just like Hitler's infamous book.) "The president has no intention of allowing any foreign power to catch up with the huge lead the US has opened up since the fall of the Soviet Union more than a decade ago.... Our forces will be strong enough to dissuade a military build-up in hopes of surpassing or equalling the power of the US." In other words, US military might will be used to prevent any other power from rivalling it - a direct threat to Europe, as well as to Russia and China.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, formerly President Carter's national security advisor, put this contradiction more bluntly. The US, he declared, should seek to "prevent collusion and maintain dependence among the vassals [Europe], keep tributaries ["the Saddams and the ayatollahs, the

Kim Jong IIs and the Jian Zemins"] pliant and protected, and keep the barbarians [the people of the world] from coming together."

The word "barbarian" comes from the Latin word for anyone who was not Roman. For today's would-be Caesars who murder millions and endanger the whole planet for profit as if that were the epitome of civilisation, the word apparently means the people of the world and anyone who will not go along with their mad, criminal dreams and their system of slavery, including in their own countries. Doesn't that describe the immense majority of the people on this planet?

Actually, however, these pundits, in their arrogance, have missed another important relationship between the vassals and tributaries and the world's people. A major reason why the other imperialist powers are reluctant at best about this war is that, for their own selfish reasons, they are worried that Bush might fail. In that case, Bush's book might have an even shorter shelf life than that of his role model. ■

# The UN - An Imperialist Club

As the US war juggernaut began to move into place, a clamour rose from politicians and media from around the world that Bush should not lead the US to war unilaterally, but should "go through the UN". Which he did. This has now been summed up in many quarters as showing that the US rulers are still a little bit "reasonable" and that they still "know how to compromise"... and in any case, that at least war was put off, and perhaps there is still a glimmer of hope that the United Nations will somehow succeed in restraining the Bush gang from taking the final step. Is there any truth to this?

Even the most abject capitulation by the Saddam regime might not be enough to stop it. In a word. Whether or not the UN Security Council winds up issuing a resolution specifically approving a US-led war, its role differs in important ways from the 1991 Gulf War. The US imperialists have succeeded in reducing the UN from a forum where they played a pre-eminent role among the broader ranks of the imperialist powers, but where there was a substantial degree of negotiation and compromise, to an institution that either does what the US says or else gets marginalised by US power - in Bush's terms, "becomes irrelevant". Making this kind of adjustment to US relations with international institutions is an important part of the efforts of the Bush gang to achieve their vision of institutionalising and eternalising US global hegemony. But even unparalleled US hegemony does not mean it can dispense with junior partners completely. International organisations, from the UN to NATO, the international courts and so forth, will be given US backing, but only to the extent that they are fully compatible with US imperial interests.

Also importantly, Bush and Blair may tout their democratic credentials but it is common knowledge that if

you were to take a vote amongst the world's people today on whether war against Iraq is just and necessary, the result would be an overwhelmingly no. This would also be true within almost every individual country as well. Yet the US and British imperialists are proceeding nonetheless, and are fully aware that they will come out of this with their hands covered with the blood of innocent people. In this context, going to the UN was a trick designed to undermine opposition and lull important sections of the world's people, especially in the US and Europe, by convincing them that if war is indeed fought, it will be something other than a war for oil and empire. The UN disguises the class rule and interests of the imperialists in much the same way as national parliaments, which Lenin described as "talk shops", designed to lull the masses into passivity and conceal naked imperial interest in a fog of impotent, meaningless wordplay.

The other imperialist countries have been dragging their feet, quibbling with the US, not over whether or not to wage this war but when and how (as a French official told a *Washington Post* reporter), and, above all, who will get what when the fighting is over. Two months of sometimes obscure diplomatic squabbles at the UN and especially behind the scenes produced a resolution that exposes a great deal about all the powers.

The resolution represents a compromise between the US and the French-led UN opposition, but little compromise at all with Iraq. That country is damned if it goes along and damned if it doesn't. In a nutshell, Iraq is summoned to surrender its national sovereignty, as if it had already been totally defeated in war and no longer had any rights whatsoever as an independent nation. In return it would get nothing, not

even a promise that economic sanctions will be removed when Iraq fully complies. If Iraq refuses to accept these conditions, then Bush will have the excuse he needs. But even if Iraq accepts the conditions, that may not change the outcome. The US has already announced that if the inspectors find nothing, that would only prove that Saddam Hussein is hiding something!

Among the more flagrantly gangster requirements in this resolution is the fact that the inspectors have the right to make surprise raids anywhere, including mosques and Saddam Hussein's residences, which were previously considered private by UN consensus. Until recently, France argued that the only purpose of such a clause would be to present Iraq with a demand it could not accept. These intrusions are not intended to find any nuclear weapons production units or chemical weapons facilities hidden in a closet or under a bed, but they could be useful for loading precise co-ordinates into a killing cruise missile.

The resolution also orders that Iraq permit UN inspectors to "facilitate" the removal from the country of anyone they want, along with their families, for "interviews", supposedly to reveal Iraqi weapons schemes. The word "facilitate" is one of the few concessions the US made to international sensibilities, since the original American draft called for the inspectors to be armed and allowed to literally kidnap Iraqis at gunpoint, dragging them and their families abroad, whether they agreed or not. But even if people grabbed up by the UN inspectors appear to consent, how voluntary can it be when the choice is between delivering yourself and your family to the hands of the US now or risk having the Americans kill you and all your family when they invade if you refuse the offer? It will be no surprise if Bush gets whatever he

wants from these interviews.

The record should be set straight on these inspectors. It was not Saddam who put an end to inspections. The UN itself withdrew its personnel for their own safety in 1998 hours before US/UK bombing raids. In fact, according to former leading weapons inspector Scott Ritter, the inspectors helped provide targeting data for those raids. By that time, according to Ritter, the foreign teams had already verified the destruction of or themselves destroyed almost all the arms the UN had complained about. President Clinton unleashed bombs on Iraq again anyway.

The great UN diplomatic battle, led by France, to prevent the Security Council from being used as a rubber stamp for American ambition petered out ignominiously in a trail of commas and other petty changes. The version unanimously approved retains the formulation that Iraq is now "in material breach of its obligations", which Bush long ago said was sufficient authorisation for the US to attack. But both sides got some useful ambiguity. In an announcement marked by boundless cynicism, French President Jacques Chirac crowed that France had won the essence of the demands it made of the US: "France has never had but one aim in this negotiation, that Iraq be given the chance to disarm in peace." France can claim that it preserved its honour because the resolution does not explicitly authorise the US to unleash Armageddon automatically when the inspectors make their report but calls for further UN discussion, while Bush points out that all 15 members of the Security Council agreed not to insert any language that would impede the US from going ahead at whatever point it wants to. Nor does this criminal accord prevent France from doing what it did when diplomacy failed to protect its interests in the first Gulf War - joining it, whether Iraq disarms or not.

This is diplomacy at its finest.

Even Syria, the lone Arab state on the Security Council, unexpectedly went along with the tide. Asked who had negotiated this deal with the Syrians and what had been said to them, an unnamed senior US official replied, "I think Syria just ultimately saw where their interests were in this matter." The US ambassador to the UN, John Negroponte, undoubtedly responsible for making Syria "see reason", was in charge of terror attacks and torture raids on civilians in Nicaragua from across the border in Honduras during Reagan's "Contra" war on the Sandinista government. (Anyone who saw the film *Carla's Song* and remembers the schoolteacher who was crippled and had his tongue cut out by the Contras knows his work.) Syria may be about to become the neighbour of an American-occupied Iraq. Negroponte understands how to be persuasive.

The reasons for France's opposition to the US are as plain as could be. They have nothing to do with international law and respect for the UN, both of which France has previously brazenly defied when it came to its own colonial interests. Once excluded from the Gulf oil bonanza by US, UK and Dutch oil companies, France was an early supporter of Saddam Hussein. It has been said that in terms of building their respective geostrategic anchors for imperialist influence in the Middle East, Saddam was to France as the Shah of Iran was to the US. Each power built up its "own" regime against the other, although who was Saddam's master became a complicated question. France made it possible for Iraq to build a nuclear reactor, destroyed by Israel in a 1981 bombing raid that was certainly cleared by the US. In return for Iraqi oil, France shipped much of the advanced weapons Iraq used against Iran in the 1980-1988 war.

The US, too, encouraged and armed Saddam in that war and then

made sure neither side won. In 1991, when the US invaded Iraq, France protested at first, but then sent in 10,000 troops with tanks and combat aircraft to fight as part of the US-led coalition. France couldn't afford to stand aside and have no bargaining chips on the table. Then after the war, France once again tried to rebuild its relationship with Saddam, opposing the US over trade sanctions, reopening its Baghdad embassy in 1998 and condemning the US/UK escalation of air attacks at the end of that year.

Obviously France prefers the status quo in Iraq to the prospects of what Bush has in mind. But it also knows that it cannot stand up to the US. Diplomacy, in the end, is only a matter of getting what your guns could get you anyway, and France, as yet, does not have the guns. An unnamed "senior French official" told a reporter, "In a sense, we're trapped.... We have to choose our camp. Ultimately we will want to re-engage in Iraq. We have a strategic relationship there. We have a market." Former CIA director James Woolsey explained it like this: "It's pretty straightforward. France and Russia have oil companies and interests in Iraq. They should be told that if they are of assistance in moving Iraq toward decent government, we'll do the best we can to assure that the new government and American companies work closely with them. If they throw in their lot with Saddam, it will be difficult to the point of impossible to persuade the new Iraqi government to work with them."

Whilst so far bowing to the inevitable in an apparent repeat of its performance in the 1991 Gulf War, France is also madly upping spending to make it second only to the US in overseas "force projection", including building a second nuclear carrier. On the eve of the UN vote, the Bush government leaked a report about France's current world-class bio-warfare programme. Whether true or not (and why not, since the

US has the same), this was intended as a warning that no one is immune from being Saddamised by America.

Russia is in the same boat. France doesn't need the \$5 billion due to it from Iraq nearly as badly as Russia needs the almost \$8 billion it is owed. Lukoil, Russia's leading oil company (a private concern, but just as surely tied in to the government as America's oil giants), concluded major agreements for Iraqi oil in 1997. The company recently reported that the Putin government gave it "guarantees" that it will have access to Iraqi oil in the future. Moreover, because Russia has been excluded from the exploitation of the Third World since the fall of the USSR, Iraq has been even more important to Putin's plans.

Germany also deserves a word, since it has been so shabbily slandered as pacifist by the Bushites. As a loser of the Second World War that is particularly anxious to get back into the oil game, Germany has conducted extensive trade with both Iran and Iraq. Once again, oil explains a lot about foreign policy. But Germany's opposition to Bush has been greatly exaggerated. German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder apparently had to mouth opposition to the coming war to win the election, but that seems to be an old story. His ex-radical, Green Party Foreign Minister, Joscha Fischer, tried to smooth over the US-Germany dispute by saying that, "Sometimes you have to live with differences in the family." Schroeder and Fischer reversed previously-announced German policy and said that Germany's small contingent of troops and tanks would stay in

Kuwait even if the US used it as a base for war. Germany and the Netherlands also agreed to take on the leadership and some of the burden of the US-led occupation of Afghanistan to free up US resources in the Gulf. Most importantly, even at the height of the public exchange of words, when Schroeder's Justice Minister was fired for comparing Bush to Hitler, the German government gave absolute assurances that it would not obstruct US use of its army base in Heidelberg, Germany, the headquarters for the US forces presently in Kuwait and a key component in US war plans. Yet Bush was so offended by even this empty opposition that a senior Pentagon advisor said that Germany could forget about winning a seat in the UN Security Council for the next generation and called for "regime change" in Berlin.

China is a special case in all this. A new capitalist ruling class seized power through a coup d'état after Mao's death, and it has become increasingly prey to imperialist depredations and dependent on foreign capital. It has little prospect of becoming a monopoly capitalist/imperialist country, and seeks to combine servility to imperialism with regional bullying on the model of India. China was given a seat in the victors' club (the Security Council) after the Second World War, but that seat was never intended for a socialist country. The US maintained the fiction that Chiang Kai-shek's Taiwan was the legitimate government in China until a period in the Cold War when Nixon tried to pull China into an alliance against the USSR.

From the start of the UN negotiations, China's opposition was the weakest. US officials told reporters off the record that China would be no obstacle. Chinese oil companies, now active in overseas investment, have entered into agreements for Iraqi oil, but China never had any intention of going up against the US. One of the consequences of capitalism in China has been a shift from oil self-sufficiency (necessary if a country is to maintain its independence from imperialism) to increasing dependence on oil imports. With that has come an increasing military vulnerability to the US; the latter would only need to block China's sea lanes, not even attack the mainland, in order to bring China's new rulers to their knees. (Or lower - if Blair is Bush's poodle, Jiang Zimen is his lap dog, grinning for the cameras on Bush's ranch when most other statesmen were at least yipping at Bush's heels in a show of defiance.) What a change from Mao's day, when socialist China was a bulwark in the world-wide struggle against imperialism, enthusiastically supporting the Vietnamese against the US at great cost to China itself, along with the Palestinians and other peoples of the Middle East and everywhere else.

What the ruling classes of these countries and others have in common is not any regard whatsoever for Saddam Hussein or an ounce of concern for the people of Iraq, or even any real opposition to the end of Saddam's regime, but their own thirst for oil and exploitation and a fear that they might be forced out of the looting of the Middle East and the world. ■

### ERRATUM

[Page: 60, column: 1]

*The following paragraph was omitted by error from the announcement of the results of the First Congress of the Maoist Communist Party [of Turkey and North Kurdistan - formerly the TKP(ML)]. The following paragraph should be inserted into the section entitled Revolutionary Internationalist Movement after the paragraph that ends "whilst continuing the two-line struggle". - AWTW*

Our Congress salutes the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, under the leadership of Comrade Bob Avakian, which, in the heart of the centre of world counter-revolution, the imperialist USA, is raising the flag of proletarian internationalism and persevering in the fight for communism. To our class detachments in Colombia, the comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Group, and in Afghanistan, the Communist Party of Afghanistan, and to the Maoist Communist Party in Italy as well as revolutionary Maoists in Germany and Mexico and elsewhere, we send our salutes.

**International Bureau of the Maoist Communist Party**

**Altitude in metres**

- Above 5000
- Up to 5000
- Up to 3000
- 500 Terai Region



## Nepal

*Continued from page 13*

strength. The RNA was initially given a threefold mission: to rescue the 62 captured armed police personnel, to recapture the arms seized by the Maoist guerrillas and to disarm the revolutionary fighting force. The RNA not only totally failed in its mission, but also suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Maoists. However, none of the RNA personnel were killed in the fighting, though several were injured, and finally the Royal Army retreated with a promise that its troops would never attack the people on the orders of the regime. This battle indeed became symbolic of the struggle that was looming between the real contending rivals in Nepal: the RNA, the essence of the state power of the feudal

autocracy, with the king as its head on the one hand, and the revolutionary army, the backbone of the emerging red power, with the CPN(M) at its head, on the other.

### NEGOTIATIONS INTERLUDE

The royal family massacre came at a crossroads in the revolutionary process in Nepal. The militarised police forces had been routed by the revolutionary armed forces and, as we have seen, the first engagement of the Royal Nepal Army had ended in fiasco. With the reactionaries in disarray, Gyanendra chose a new prime minister, Deuba, who ordered the government armed forces back to their barracks and called for negotiations with the CPN(M). The Party accepted this call and entered into several rounds of negotiations with

the government, while maintaining a ceasefire during this period.

The period of negotiations saw both of the contending camps carry out intense preparations for the resumption of hostilities. For the reactionaries it was necessary to try to install some order into their armed forces, which had been badly battered by the revolution and demoralised by the palace massacre. They also stepped up their efforts to procure modern weapons and foreign aid. The revolutionaries, too, used the ceasefire to accelerate their work and mobilise the masses in favour of the People's War throughout the country and step up their military preparations for carrying the war to a higher level. It was during this time that the armed forces under the leadership of the CPN(M) were organised on a higher level at a national convention in



September 2001, where the People's Liberation Army was formally founded. The revolutionary united front was also upgraded and consolidated by forming a central organising committee, the United People's Revolutionary Council.

The Party felt that participating in the negotiations was necessary to win the battle of public opinion with the enemy. The CPN(M) believes that this front of struggle is one that any successful revolutionary force is likely to face. Indeed, historically few reactionary forces have been able to win war against rebel fighters by military means alone. Yet when insurgents are brought to the table for talks they have almost always lost there. The great proletarian thinkers Lenin and Mao analysed when negotiating—or refusing to negotiate—would serve the overall advance of the revolution.

The CPN(M) believes that two wrong tendencies can emerge in relation to negotiations: one is the absolute rejection of all negotiations

and the other is a capitulationist line. No revolutionary party can afford to compromise on party line, the people's army, the base areas or the political power the people have gained from the struggle. Mao Tsetung summarised that, "How to give 'tit-for-tat' depends on the situation. Sometimes, not going to negotiations is tit-for-tat; and sometimes, going to negotiations is also tit-for-tat. We were right not to go before, and also right to go this time; in both cases we have given tit-for-tat. We did well to go this time, for we exploded the rumour spread by the Kuomintang that the Communist Party did not want peace and unity." (Mao Tsetung, "On the Chungking Negotiations", *Selected Works*, Vol. IV). Also see *AWTW* 1995/21 for an elaboration of the thinking of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement on this subject.)

In Nepal, the enemy's aim has always been to liquidate the revolutionary movement. To this

end, it time and again calculates how it could attain the upper hand, the means of taking the initiative to destroy the Maoists; whereas the tactic of the Maoists is to isolate the enemy to the maximum degree, keep the initiative in the hands of the people and fight the enemy tit-for-tat. People in the revolutionary movement the world over are closely following and struggling over this experience.

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#### A NEW INITIATION

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In late 2001-early 2002, the situation changed dramatically. Having concluded that the enemy had been exposed and isolated and that prolonging the negotiations would serve no further purpose, the revolutionary forces struck hard at three district headquarters. One of them, in the Dang district, was not only the location of an important army barracks, but also where the Royal Nepal Army stored the armaments required to carry out operations



**FAR LEFT:** The masses gathered for a people's court.

**LEFT:** Five women who made a daring escape from prison by tunneling underground.

**ABOVE:** Bridge built to connect Rolpa and Rukum.

**Below:** Mass meeting on the day of declaring people's government. Shankhuwa Shabha district, Eastern Nepal.

throughout the Western region (where the revolution has been the strongest). Three district headquarters were attacked after the CPN(M) notified the reactionary government of their withdrawal from the negotiations. The headquarters of the Syangja district of the Central region came under attack at 10:00 hours. In Ghorahi, the Dang district headquarters, the attack began one hour later, so the enemy was already on alert. The Dang action was a complete success and electrified the whole country. The following is an account received from comrades in the CPN(M):

“There were 175 enemy soldiers and 30 additional well-trained commandos (205 in total, including officers). The forces led by the CPN(M) included one battalion, two additional companies and some platoons—a total of 1,335 from the PLA and 700 militia (more than 2,000 in all). The Dang headquarters included the RNA barracks, the office of the District Superintendent of Police



(DSP), a police station (*thana*), the Chief District Office (CDO, the main administrative office), and one armed police training camp, as well as a bank, a district court, a land registration office and all the other district-level offices. In the DSP office there were 150 armed forces; in the thana, 45; and in the CDO there were 35 armed personnel. We captured the whole thing. The enemy was alerted. In the Central region the attack began at a given time. The attack was one hour later in Dang; and the army headquarters had ordered them to be ready to fight, envisaging the possible attack by the Maoists. We attacked at 23:00 hours. The fighting took two hours. The major was killed. Sixteen others were killed. Seven comrades were martyred. The rest of the soldiers surrendered and were left alone—some fled.

“We captured enormous amounts. Previously, we had in mind to mobilise thousands of people to carry out the captured material. But it became apparent that this was not adequate. We used buses, jeeps, tractors and captured army trucks. There were a total of thirty vehicles to remove the material.

“Ninety-two self-loading rifles, 12 light machine guns, two heavy machine guns, five 81mm artillery pieces, three rocket launchers, three two-inch mortars, 48 sub-machine guns, 40,000 rounds of ammunition and nine 9mm pistols. A hundred and fifty bolt-action .306 rifles were also seized. And some weapons that we have not mastered yet. The vehicles could be driven some distance, after which it was necessary to carry out all the material either by people or by mules. All the captured vehicles and the material too heavy to carry were destroyed, although the enemy claimed with great fanfare to have recovered it.”

These unprecedented actions represented not only a clap of “spring thunder” for the people but also the opening of a new chapter in the country’s revolutionary history. Party comrades, looking back to the wrenching process the Party had gone through in 1996 when it took determination, daring and sacrifice to

initiate the People’s War, referred to this as “a new initiation”.

This new wave of struggle was also in keeping with the Party’s understanding that the revolution cannot stand still, that it will periodically be confronted with the need to accomplish new leaps or face the possibility of suffering a setback. The successful wave of attacks and the success in confronting the full fury of the Royal Nepalese Army represented another breakthrough and a great leap forward in the history of the Nepalese communist movement.

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#### THE DEATH THROES OF A MORIBUND MONARCHY

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After the collapse of the negotiations and the spectacular attacks by the revolutionary forces, the Gyanendra clique suspended many clauses of the so-called constitution and imposed a state of emergency. In the capital, progressive personalities were arrested, gatherings of more than two persons forbidden and people’s newspapers suppressed. Once the country-wide emergency was imposed, the new US-sponsored reactionary clique boasted that the Maoists would be finished off within three months. But the PLA, through several successful country-wide military operations, succeeded in putting the lie to this propaganda. In the last eight months of the state of emergency, and particularly in 2002, there have been bigger and bigger engagements between the PLA and the RNA. Through these encounters, the PLA has attained qualitatively higher achievements.

In the course of the seven-year-long war, development has been uneven in the different regions, and the state of advance is still uneven between the mountainous and the Terai regions. But overall, the People’s Liberation Army has been seizing the initiative both militarily and politically.

From the very inception of Gyanendra’s state of emergency, the enemy tried to encircle the main area of the insurgency in Western Nepal from three directions. It tried to invade from Baglung in the east and

from Dang and Salyan in the south. Likewise, it moved in from Surkhēt in the west. The aim of this encirclement campaign was mainly to destroy the three revolutionary districts of Rukum, Rolpa and Jajarkot.

The RNA’s policy was to go into villages where the Maoist forces had been reported to be absent. It adopted the cruel and barbaric policy of killing people at random, that is, “one for ten”, and labelling the victims Maoists. This means that in order to kill one Maoist, the army kills ten people. Their reactionary logic is that if there are ten people, there must be at least one Maoist among them.

The People’s Liberation Army carried out a historic attack on Achham district headquarters and Sanfebagar airport on 16 February 2002 and destroyed the entire army and police force there. Similarly, it made another heroic attack on the Lamahi and Satbaria base camps of the reactionary army. These historic attacks pushed the reactionary regime further into crisis. The reactionary forces then retreated and turned to killing civilians again.

In May 2002, two other key battles took place. The comrades of the CPN(M) report:

“In Lisme our forces were concentrated according to the plan of capturing the district headquarters of Pyuthan. The enemy was alerted (when there are 2,500 people amassing it is very difficult to keep them from getting wind of it). They sent three companies, one from Pyuthan, one from Rolpa and a third from the base camp. They encircled us from three directions. So when we heard this we changed the plan; instead of attacking the district headquarters, comrades decided to confront the approaching enemy forces right at the battleground. We decided to divide our forces and take on each of the three attacking RNA companies. So we used the principle of fighting on interior lines to encircle them.

“Our forces discerned, by using communications sets, that the enemy was marching towards Lisme to encircle and smash us. One section of our forces chased the company that

came from Pyuthan. They fled and never tried to return. The remaining two RNA companies captured a nearby village. They ruthlessly cut a 10-year-old boy into pieces and raped the women. They forced one woman to show the route. When they were very close, the woman came running to us. The rapists were captured and punished with death according to the demand of the victim. So we encircled them in a U-shaped formation – it was 9:00 hours. The enemy fled and we chased them. They abandoned their uniforms and threw down their arms. The masses killed five escapees by throwing rocks. It also appears that, unknown to the PLA, there was one American advisor present among the RNA forces. It appears that he was among those who escaped by abandoning their uniforms and fleeing.

“The other attacking company also tried to flee, abandoning arms and uniforms and jumping into the streams. They were crying in the road about their failure. The masses were applauding and celebrating. Even we ourselves were not so clear at first about the magnitude of their defeat, because it is a remote area. Later on we found out the real situation. The RNA fled after only one-half hour of fighting.

“Right after the two days of the Lise battle, the PLA captured Gam, one of the best-fortified camps of the RNA. It seems that the fortification was prepared according to the plan of US military advisors. Most of the RNA forces were smashed and all their arms and ammunition captured. The RNA was badly demoralised after these two big defeats.

“The defeat of three companies of the RNA in broad daylight and the big defeat at Gam were considered by the Party as an example of a whole new stage of fighting in which, while guerrilla war remains a constant factor, the PLA has carried out mobile and also even positional warfare. This confirms the formulation of the Party regarding the present stage of the People’s War.”

Towards the end of August 2002, another important encounter took place between the RNA and PLA at

Chalabang Rolpa. In this battle, the Royal Army was completely defeated. Out of 500 RNA and 450 PLA troops, 13 army men were killed and seven guerrillas were martyred. In the first week of September, the CPN(M) launched a series of attacks. In the first, Sandhikharka, the district headquarter of Arghakhanchi, was totally destroyed, around 69 army and police were killed and hundreds were arrested. On the day before, a police station in Bhiman of the Sindhuli district of the Eastern region was raided and 59 police killed. All the arms and ammunition, including 60.1 million rupees, were captured by the PLA in these daring raids.

In the face of these developments, and in desperation, the regime has been carrying out campaigns, both politically and militarily, against the people. Politically, it enacted the Prevention and Punitive Ordinance against terrorism and labelled the Maoists “terrorists”. It suspended even the nominal rights of the people. Dozens of journalists and revolutionary, progressive and even non-progressive people were arrested or harassed. Krishna Sen, the revolutionary poet, artist and the editor of the well-known weekly *Janadesh* and the news daily *Janaahwan*, both closely connected with the CPN(M), was tortured to death in a government army camp. The aim of this blatant dastardly act was to prevent the Maoist message from reaching the people, to send out the regime’s message of “no mercy” for revolutionary supporters and to stop the people’s protests against the RNA’s brutality.

One of the reactionaries’ aims is to cut off relations between the Party and the people and “decapitate” the revolution. They hope to separate the people from the Party, capture activists, isolate the leadership and arrest and eliminate the leaders. For this purpose they have even placed a bounty on the heads of several dozen Party leaders, in the same “Wild West Wanted Dead or Alive” style as their model, US President George Bush.

At the same time, through their innumerable crimes against the people, they are trying to provoke the

People’s Liberation Army to engage in fight-to-the-finish confrontations. Under the sinister design of this war against the people, the RNA committed the heinous crime of chopping off the heads of a number of people and burying them in mass graves. Just as in Peru, they killed several political prisoners, who had been brought to Lamahi from different jails in the country, and also Maoist sympathisers from nearby villages. After killing them, the Army propagated that the Maoists had been killed in encounters. Having decapitated the prisoners, the RNA stuffed their heads into jute sacks and attributed these deeds to the Maoists, and fabricated that the Maoists had mutilated their comrades and friends in order to hide their identities.

In the countryside, the RNA avoids patrolling openly wherever it believes the PLA forces to be present. One high-ranking RNA officer, Dipak Gurung, admitted that the war against the Maoists would be protracted. This is because, according to him, if the 50,000-strong revolutionary militia converts into an army it will be very difficult for the RNA to achieve a quick victory. Nevertheless, the enemy keeps dreaming of victory against the people, till its final demise.

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#### CRISIS REACHES NEW HEIGHTS

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The resounding successes of the PLA on the battlefield have sent shockwaves not only throughout the Nepalese ruling classes but among their imperialist masters as well. The US and especially the UK, which has taken a front-line role in opposing the People’s War, stepped up their support for the embattled Gyanendra clique.

On 4 October 2002, Gyanendra invoked the Nepalese constitution and, clasping all executive power, dismissed the Deuba government and indefinitely postponed the national elections that were originally scheduled for November. This represents a rapid qualitative change in Nepalese politics. It puts a complete end to the nominal achievements of the Nepalese people during the course of the 1990 uprising. It has also unveiled

the mask of the UML revisionist clique, which is still working overtime to prop up the monarchy in Nepal.

Yet the more the enemy tries to clamp down on the revolutionaries, the more it provokes outbursts of resistance. This is a law of dialectics. After the enemy conducted Operation Romio, the Party succeeded in initiating the People's War. After they launched their Kilo Sera 2 operation, the revolution established guerrilla zones and afterwards base areas. And after they imposed a state of emergency, the strength of the Maoist forces reached the stage of strategic equilibrium. The enemy is bound to lift another rock only to drop it on its own feet – that is, the defeat of the state's intensified suppression could well lead the revolutionaries to declare a new-democratic revolutionary government of Nepal.

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**ON THE STRATEGY BEING  
APPLIED IN NEPAL**

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One of the important characteristics of the People's War being waged under the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) is that it has been advancing by leaps and bounds successively, in a rapid motion. Yet the People's War is a protracted one, of the type propounded by Chairman Mao, which is applicable in countries with semi-feudal and semi-colonial characteristics like Nepal. Eighty percent of the population live in the countryside, and the production relations of the country are semi-feudal. Most of the people are dependent on agriculture. Because of semi-colonial relations, industrial development is lopsided and is integrated not with Nepal's native economy, but with the Indian and global imperialist economy. Another feature of Nepal is that the bureaucrat-capitalist class is the "hybrid" of the feudal landlords and the comprador-capitalist class.

The strategy of protracted people's war is to surround the cities from the countryside by establishing rural base areas, seizing power from the oppressor classes bit by bit, and finally seizing country-wide political

power. This process develops through three stages. The first is the strategic defensive, the second strategic equilibrium, and the third the strategic offensive. In the first stage it is necessary to go through guerrilla warfare, and, in the course of fighting, the people's army develops mobile and positional warfare. Similarly, along with the development of the strength of the new political power in the hands of the people, the development of the people's army advances to higher levels of formation, from the initial squads and platoons of the early years to the companies, brigades and battalions of today organised in the People's Liberation Army, which are concentrated so as to be able to fight large and well-armed enemy forces as the strategic stages of the war develop.

In the historic Third Plenum document of the CPN(M) Central Committee, which outlined the military strategy and tactics of the Nepalese revolution, it is stated that Nepal has its own particularities, which means that the development of the People's War also has to go through its own particular course. Many people had argued that in a small landlocked country like Nepal protracted people's war could not proceed and advance, nor could base areas be established. The CPN(M) outlined the characteristics of the country that are specific to Nepal, and, precisely because of these particularities, the revolution has advanced successfully. These specificities include a centralised feudal state power; favourable terrain, where large parts of the population live in remote areas with a weak government presence; the people's abject poverty; the widespread influence of communism and the revolutionary spirit among the people; and the fact that large numbers of Nepalese are employed in India, and have been exposed to revolutionary ideas and can act as a kind of rear support area. (This historic CPN(M) document is reprinted in *AWTW* 1998/23 and *The Worker* number 3, 1997.) The Party has determined that the principal contradiction in Nepal is that between

the people and the reactionary state, made up of feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capitalism buttressed by imperialism. It was the representatives of these reactionary institutions that were the first to be targeted at the launch of the People's War, which gave rise to a nation-wide political debate.

From the very beginning of the People's War, the Party has stressed the interrelation between the political and military struggle, that is, when there is a military attack by the enemy, the Party not only must deal with the attack militarily but also may respond with political attacks, and when there is a political attack by the enemy, the Party may also respond with military attacks. In synthesis, military attacks are justified by the political, and vice versa. Indeed, "political intervention at the centre", by which the Party refers to its political initiatives at a country-wide level, is based on military attacks from below.

There are two basic strategies for carrying out the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism, developed respectively by Lenin and Mao: the strategy of insurrection and the strategy of protracted people's war. Lenin applied the strategy of insurrection in Russia, which had developed capitalist production relations and a working class and where the main contradiction was between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The characteristic of insurrection is that the working-class leadership plans the strategy and tactics for insurrection, the working class and other sections of the masses take up arms and seize political power in certain centres, or seize power at the political centre, and then launch a civil war against the enemy throughout the rest of the country so that, by seizing territory bit by bit, the proletariat finally conquers country-wide political power. In the semi-feudal, semi-colonial countries, the characteristic of protracted people's war is that the proletariat seizes political power starting from the countryside by carrying out civil war from the very beginning.

The CPN(M) argues that in the present context of world

development, that is, the maximum polarisation of property through the International Monetary Fund, globalisation and structural adjustment programmes, the unhealable gap between rich and poor, the development of electronics and communications, and, along with the internationalisation of capital and the capitalist class, the internationalisation of the working class and the poor people, and in essence at a time when the whole world is squeezed into a small village, the application of a single strategy is not sufficient to make revolution in today's world. While the fundamental differences between the two basic kinds of countries remain, the CPN(M) stresses that it is necessary to incorporate aspects of the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary road in the imperialist countries into the overall strategy of protracted people's war applied in Nepal and similar countries, and vice versa. Thus, the Party has formulated this as the "fusion of insurrection and people's war".

The CPN(M) comrades are very aware that Nepal is a small country on the map of the world. Yet in the past seven years, since 1996, it has been a powerful attraction, rousing the hopes of the world proletariat, hoisting the red flag on the roof of the world and advancing as a base area for world proletarian revolution. In the age of imperialism and proletarian revolution, and in the twenty-first century, whether in a large country or small, no truly revolutionary force can be considered weak. As Mao put it, if we are fighting a just war, no matter how much bigger the enemy is, a small country or a small force can defeat a much larger enemy fighting an unjust war. The war in Nepal is an internationalist war, a war of the international proletariat.

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**THE SITUATION TODAY:  
STRATEGIC EQUILIBRIUM**

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The defeat being inflicted by the revolutionary fighting force, the PLA, on the old state epitomised by the RNA, symbolises the victory of the people over the enemy. The

defeat of the government troops is simply the reflection of the defeat of the morale of the old state, caused by several "debacles" inflicted on the police and commando forces in their well-fortified, military-type camps. This situation has created a stalemate between the reactionary state and the revolution. This means that the People's War has leaped to a higher stage, to the balance of power between the Party and the enemy, from the stage of the strategic defensive to strategic equilibrium.

In June 2002, following an important meeting of the CPN(M) Central Committee, the Party released an important document that stated, "in spite of the uneven development in the People's War in accordance with the uneven state of development of the country, it has reached the stage of strategic equilibrium through the viewpoint of development of the People's War, and it is necessary to understand that it is making preparations for the strategic offensive through tactical offensives." This state of stalemate cannot remain static for long; the enemy will desperately try to regain its lost positions and the Party has to go on the tactical offensive to move over to the strategic offensive. This is a situation of equilibrium, a decisive turning point, in which the revolutionary and reactionary forces both try to shift the situation in their own favour and push the other side onto the defensive.

How have the Maoist revolutionaries arrived at an evaluation of the strength of the people and the enemy? And how have the Party and revolutionary forces reached the level of strategic equilibrium? Does it mean that the numbers of soldiers and amounts of armaments are equal between the Party and the enemy? No. The reactionary army still possesses greater strength in armed forces, and it still has a larger amount of arms. And as the People's War has advanced, the enemy has been receiving greater military support and financial aid from the imperialist forces from around the world. But the Maoist revolutionaries, despite fewer soldiers and armaments, are

exploiting their political and military supremacy on the ground. What is important to note here is the political power the Maoist revolutionaries have been able to create and sustain with the People's Liberation Army and the mobilisation of the masses of people. This power stands head-to-head with the power of the reactionary system. This is a crucial juncture in the revolutionary movement.

The fact that there is a strategic equilibrium in the war does not mean that the situation is the same everywhere in the country. The Party analyses that while the country as a whole is in an overall situation of strategic equilibrium, the reactionary army in the Western region is on the defensive and the revolutionary army is on the offensive both politically and militarily. In the Central region of the country it is still the reactionary army that is on the offensive, whereas in the Eastern region a kind of equilibrium prevails.

It is also important to note that the country is divided into three fighting zones, namely, the main zones, guerrilla zones and propaganda zones. The main zones are areas that have developed an embryo of red political power; the guerrilla zones are areas where the enemy concentrates its forces and where fighting, blocking operations and armed resistance take place; and the propaganda zones are areas where political propaganda, open, mass activities, and the mobilisation of the middle classes are the main forms of struggle in support of the People's War. The dialectics of successful actions in both spheres, armed attacks in the guerrilla zones and successful mass strikes in the propaganda zones, are enmeshing the enemy in a series of very difficult political crises. In the recent period guerrilla actions have become one of the main forms of struggle in the former propaganda zones. Urban guerrilla war is being carried out in the capital, Kathmandu, as a dress rehearsal for the future insurrection to seize country-wide power.

The CPN(M) is striving hard to break the stalemate by taking the war to a qualitatively higher level. The Party had long been weighted down

by the mechanical understanding prevalent in the communist movement that quantitative development automatically leaps over to qualitative development. "In the course of struggle against the reformist and evolutionary concept of development prevalent in the Nepalese Communist movement," Chairman Prachanda writes, "the Party did its bit specially to sharpen the science of development of Marxist dialectics regarding collision, rupture, leap and catastrophe". (*The Worker*, no. 6, page 10.) Experience has shown that further advances to new stages have required new leaps and new ruptures. The need for making these ruptures in the first place, and continuing to take qualitative leaps as the revolution progresses, is an important experience for a party in RIM, and the entire Movement is eagerly learning from the experience of the Nepalese comrades.

#### EXERCISING RED POLITICAL POWER

The growth of the people's power means the growth of red base areas. These represent the "bone marrow of the revolution", as Chairman Gonzalo of the Communist Party of Peru explained with regard to the People's War in Peru. As no enemy of the people could, or would, allow red base areas to flourish, likewise the Nepalese reactionary state tried to nip the People's War in the bud. But despite the enemy's wishes, the revolution has sunk roots ever more deeply among the masses of the people.

The concept of political power and base areas has been carried in the knapsack of Party cadres from the very beginning. As the police and armed forces were driven out of the countryside, people faced a new situation, where even the rudimentary functions of government had ceased to operate. Yet people need power to function, to organise the conditions of life and obtain their daily necessities. Hence, under the leadership of the Party, they set themselves the task of setting up new political bodies, which have become the embryo of red political power in

the countryside.

People's power means empowerment of the people, a combination of social, political and military capabilities to lead the day-to-day administration of life in the liberated areas, especially in the areas of administration, legislation and judiciary. The major tasks that the new political power has to meet include social security, development projects, and setting the framework for economic transactions among the villagers and their educational and cultural development, as well as politicising and militarising the people to carry on the revolutionary struggle. The CPN(M) takes a dialectical approach to the relationship between destruction and construction. The principal aspect during the current phase is indeed the destruction of the old state, and the construction of the new political power is secondary, but the latter too must be undertaken and is, in fact, essential to the advance of the principal aspect.

At the point of completing the fifth year of the People's War in 2001, the expansion and consolidation of the primary form of the base areas in different parts of the country gathered pace. Rukum, Rolpa, Jajarkot and Salyan are districts in the western region of Nepal where United Revolutionary People's Committees now openly exercise red political power and function as the main organs of administration. The major newspapers published in Kathmandu regularly cover news from these areas. Some of the People's Committees, which are popularly called the people's government, invited journalists from around the country to participate and report on mammoth open rallies. On 26 August 2000, the Korchawang village committee held a big open rally just three hours walking distance from Liwang, the district headquarters of Rolpa, where the Committee held a press conference the following day. The aim of the press conference was to make it known throughout the country that the People's Committees have been functioning as the embryo of the new-democratic government at local levels. These committees at local

levels carry out political, economic, social, cultural and educational activities and exercise coercive powers through organs like the people's armed forces, people's courts and people's jails. Advances in political power go hand in hand with advances in the war. Without developing military power, which is the core of the people's power, to qualitatively and quantitatively higher levels, consolidating these base areas and expanding them to relatively stable bases of the revolution would be impossible.

The People's Committees, which usually contain 11 members, are elected in general elections called by the Party on the basis of the three-in-one combination system. This is a form of organisation developed under Mao's leadership in China's Cultural Revolution, which brings together representatives of different sections of society. In Nepal this means a combination of representatives of the Party, the People's Liberation Army and other forces like democratic and nationalist personages and elements from the petite bourgeoisie who take part as representatives of various parties, such as local rebel cadres from Nepali Congress or the UML. In these elections, candidates, including independent persons, but also elements who supported and worked previously for such parties as the Rashtriya Prajatantra Party (RPP) and who go against the reactionary policies of their Party, as well as other forces, take part, and are eligible to be elected.

These committees run different departments. Some of the main ones are the administrative, economic, social, cultural, education and development departments. Administrative development, in general, takes care of legal activities, such as matters concerning land issues, business and financial transactions and issues relating to the people's court. Minimum rates for all types of goods are fixed for transactions.

One important aspect of exercising red political power in the base areas is providing for the people's security. Now that base areas have come into existence, the People's Committees run their own mobile

prisons and labour camps, where captured police personnel, corrupt administrative officials and arrested hooligans, vandals and vigilantes are held. While right now protecting the new society from these oppressors is the principal aspect of these camps, they are run on principles that stand in direct opposition to the torture chambers of the old society, and instead genuinely seek to transform the thinking of those held and teach them to become useful members of the new society.

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**SELF-RELIANCE AND LAND  
TO THE TILLER**

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One of the key challenges the revolutionary forces face is that, while confronting the enemy on the battlefield, they must also restructure economic relations in order not only to provide for the needs of the People's War, but also to lay the foundations for a self-reliant economy that serves the people's interests. Doing this means rupturing with the economic relations that have shackled the Nepali economy and shaped it to the needs of the Indian market and the global imperialist system. This will prove impossible unless the Nepalese people are unleashed in this sphere to create new forms of economic organisation that not only support the further advance of the People's War today, but also ensure that a revolutionary Nepal could withstand a counter-revolutionary economic embargo or even outright invasion on the morrow.

At the heart of Nepal's economy is the land question. Most of the fertile land, the flat lowlands, is known as the Terai. These are the plains found in southern Nepal running east to west along the border with India. These and the valleys, including the inner Terai, have long been held by the royal family and its numerous relatives (the Ranas). Most of the rest of the land cultivated by the people has been grabbed by high-ranking bureaucrats. The Party's policy is to expropriate the land from these landlords and distribute it to the peasants based on the principle of "land to the tiller". In the course of advancing the People's War and

developing the base areas, most of the local feudal landlords have abandoned their land and fled to the cities. Some land is also captured directly from the enemy. All these parcels of land and other properties are turned over to the peasants, principally to the landless peasants, who have priority over others, and to the poor peasants, while the rest of the expropriated land is earmarked for co-operative production. This means that the production systems on these lands are established on a co-operative basis.

Along with the application of the co-operative farming method, the People's Committees have also begun to institute collective production. Villagers have settled for the collective farming system, and the "Juni Commune" has been established as a model of collective farming.

In the Western Terai region, most of the land is cultivated by the Tharus, a Nepalese community dwelling in the southern plains. The reactionary feudal landlords grabbed their land and made them bonded slaves, *kamaiyas*, on their very own property. Now these *kamaiyas* have stood up under the leadership of the CPN(M) and are struggling to overthrow landlordism and retake their land.

Just as this Terai movement was underway and reaching a high point, Parliament declared the "eradication of the Kamaiya Pratha slave system". But real change does not come from the banquet halls of the rich and powerful, nor did these gentlemen produce some magical plan. Without solving the problems rooted in the production relations of society, the problem of the Tharus cannot be solved. Merely abolishing the *kamaiya* system on paper without creating a viable alternative simply added new problems for the landless and homeless peasants. This reactionary attempt to sow confusion among the large majority of the Tharu people and divert them from the path of Maoist revolution completely failed, as the contradictions between the landlords and landless peasants continued to intensify. Currently, almost the

whole of this community is fervently rallying to the Maoist call of "land to the tiller", thanks to the correct handling of the land question, as well as the mass line of persistently politicising and arming these peasants.

Since the present task of the Party is to overturn the reactionary relations of production, the main thrust of production policy has been to develop a self-reliant economic system by mobilising all local resources. It is from this perspective that in the base areas small industries are being set up and supplied with the raw materials available in the countryside. Production is geared to meeting the immediate and basic needs of the people. In particular, these types of enterprise are mainly based on producing the materials needed for the people's army, as well as personal and household goods, such as caps, socks, gloves, sweaters, shawls, bed sheets, bags and paper.

Many problems are being looked at from new perspectives, in ways that were never considered before. The production of alcohol has now generally been banned, not only because it is associated with drunkenness and the abuse of women, but also because it consumes especially large quantities of grain. The first priority for grain is now feeding the people and the soldiers of the liberation army.

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**"NO MORE TRADITION'S CHAINS  
SHALL BIND US"**

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The culture of the people is a very important factor in transforming and revolutionising society. Unless cultural revolution is carried out from the very beginning, it would be impossible to raise the consciousness of the masses and change their world outlook to a relatively equal wavelength with those of revolutionary activists. For this, the Maoist revolutionaries need to teach and mobilise the masses ideologically, politically and culturally from the very beginning of the movement, and most importantly right from when the revolutionary society has begun to be established. In this field, great changes are taking

place in the base areas. Revolutionary masses are breaking with the old, rotten and oppressive customs and traditions (such as arranged marriages and sexual harassment) and establishing new emancipatory practices. The long-prevalent taboos on widow remarriage, inter-caste marriage and love marriage are today being challenged and combated in the base areas of Nepal.

In the red areas, revolutionary festivals are superseding the old, reactionary festivals based on different religions. In Hindu tradition, there are innumerable religious rites and rituals. *Dasain* and the *Tij* were the major festivals that people celebrated before red political power was established. With the growing prestige of the revolutionary festivals, the celebrations of old festivals have sharply declined. People are abandoning these now and creating a new culture. The First of May, the day of the international proletariat, as well as the birth anniversaries of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao have become very important celebrations in the base areas. Similarly, the Historic Initiation Day of the People's War (13 February), Martyrs' Day and International Women's Day have also become very important days there. Having lost their old backward-looking cultures, the reactionaries have been ranting and raving that "women are being raised to the rooftops", that "the cordial relations of brothers and sisters are being shattered because the parents' property is being divided amongst them" and that "untouchable elements are being brought into the kitchen". Angered by these reactionary rants, the masses are hammering more and more upon the old social relations and practices until they are completely done away with.

More and more people are coming to understand that religion is the "opium of the people", as Marx observed, and moreover that Hindu beliefs ideologically and politically support the feudal monarchy. They are also beginning to see that all sorts of religious fundamentalist practices, especially those with inhuman char-

acteristics such as the breaking up of society into caste divisions, are reproduced and reinforced through religion. The Hindu religion is particularly cruel and cunning on this point. It holds that the misery and oppression of the downtrodden is punishment for sins committed in past lives, whereas the luxury and privileges of the upper castes is a reward for their past goodness. By nurturing such divisions, the exploiting classes have been perpetuating the downtrodden condition of the basic masses. Since the beginning of the People's War, and through the development of the base areas, the people have begun to cast away religion and rediscover the human race in themselves.

In the course of mobilising the masses, the fighters of the People's Liberation Army take part in production and politics, as well as in military activities. Whilst carrying out these activities, illiteracy is an enemy that needs to be eradicated in the course of the revolution. There have been adult literacy campaigns among the masses, as well as campaigns concerning health and hygiene awareness.

From the very emergence of this embryo of red political power in the countryside, the CPN(M) has paid serious attention to the rights of the national minorities. Hence, the principle of the right of nations to self-determination is applied. Wherever the national minorities (*janajatis*) have been living and the old state has been driven out, they now exercise power. So for the first time since power was snatched from them, that is, since the unification of the country into a single nation-state in the late eighteenth century, the people themselves are involved in building their own future. Indeed, *janajati* comrades play leading roles in Party affairs. From this practice, the domination of the Khash nation (the dominant caste group in Nepal, originally the inhabitants of the Khashan region of western Nepal) over the national minorities is beginning to be ended. The "three-in-one" combination, referred to above, is being applied in the People's Committees to build red political

power. The People's Committees are built on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. Here, representatives from nationalist and democratic forces are active, as well as representatives from the Party and the people's army.

The CPN(M) has led in establishing people's courts in the areas of red political power. In the old society, people suffered at the hands of government officers and the feudal lords and their usury capital. Land belonging to poor peasants was seized by landlords, and many people were forced into indebtedness and misery. Even though the people have always known the truth – that the exploiters have been ripping them off – they were unable to utter a word against them, since the landlords used to enjoy complete state protection. Now, wherever power is in the hands of the people, injustices imposed by the reactionaries are being overturned through people's courts. In areas under people's control, peasants have been able to retake their land previously seized by the landlords, including by raiding and capturing the banks in which landlords had deposited their mortgage papers which had put them into lifelong servitude, and destroying those papers.

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#### WOMEN THROW OFF THE FOUR MOUNTAINS

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While Nepalese society has been dominated by three mountains of oppression – feudalism, bureaucrat-capitalism and imperialism – Nepalese women carry an additional burden, that is, patriarchy, or male domination. Furthermore, Hindu women of the so-called lower castes experience untold brutalities and immense social suffering.

Women in feudal society are absolutely denied property rights. Even in well-to-do or wealthy families among the bourgeoisie, holding property in the name of a woman is only occasional.

Women have to accept as their husband any man arranged by their parents. Child-marriage and the marriage of young women to much older

men is commonplace, both because Hindu custom allows this and because of poverty. Women are not allowed to divorce, but men can marry more than one wife. Widows are not allowed to re-marry, and they are obliged to serve their husband's family as slaves for their entire lives. But a man can re-marry if his wife dies.

In the base areas of the revolution, such unjust and unreasonable social practices have become things of the past. Since the establishment of people's political power, land entitlement is granted to women as well as men. This has shattered one of the major fetters on women, which has forced them to lead lives of absolute subordination and servitude to their men and hence to society at large. As this process is initiated, many women have gained enthusiasm and the strength to demand and attain social respect. This is one of their biggest social achievements, along with actively taking part on the political and military front. This is an accomplishment borne out of Nepalese women's active participation in exercising red political power and through their passionate involvement in the People's War.

The participation of women in the Party, the People's Liberation Army and the new political power has increased with each passing day, and to ever-higher levels. Growing numbers of women have begun to organise themselves into the Maoist-led armed forces. Armed with Maoist ideology and guns in hand, they have unleashed their fury against the hated exploiters and the reactionary state that safeguards the notorious enemies of the people. Nepalese women, who are born as virtual slaves of men in this patriarchal system, who have endured countless reactionary feudal rites and who have been treated as no more than ornaments and objects of men's sexual gratification, have now begun to challenge such outlooks and violently shake these social relations. These changes are taking place very many times faster in the few years of People's War than in decades of reform.

Women fighters, on several

occasions, have expressed their own surprise at the extent of their newfound daring and power to overturn their conditions and punish their enemies in society. Indeed, they are guided by the bright red proletarian ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and are applying this science of revolution to the harsh realities of Nepal today. They have become conscious of their own interests and those of the enemy in the class and caste-ridden society, and this is the source of their courage and power, their love for the people and their hatred of the enemy.

The courage of women in the revolutionary movement is truly inspiring, if not awesome. When some of them were captured by the enemy, they did not beg for their lives, even though the enemy troops brutally tortured and gang-raped them and even gouged their eyes out before pouring petrol on their bodies and setting them alight.

The commitment of many women to the great process of revolution has truly awakened the whole of Nepal. A case in point is the story of a 50-year-old woman in the Western region who sought to avenge the death of her husband, who had been martyred by the notorious army during the state of emergency after having been compelled to lead an underground life for many years. This news of her cold determination to join the Party and the people's army struck fear among the enemy troops, just as it inspired many people to join the revolution. This reaction was so great that voices arose, even from a section of the middle classes, arguing that military suppression of the People's War alone could not lead to a lasting solution of the social-political conflict. The country was also electrified by the daring escape of five women Maoist political prisoners who bit by bit painstakingly dug an underground tunnel from inside the prison where they were being held.

The rise of women means the rise of half the population. Reactionaries of all types never consider women to be a force capable of epoch-making events. They cannot but treat them as simple powerless beings. But like

revolutionary women the world over, women rebels in Nepal have shown that they can make history by conquering political power and remaking social relations on new foundations.

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#### A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE NEPALESE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

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The rumble of people's power throughout the Mahabharat and the Chure Hill ranges of Nepal reflects not only an upsurge of the people but also a long battle on the ideological and political front within the communist party, that is to say, a fierce line struggle that went on until a correct ideological and political line was established. Once the kernel of the genuine Maoist leadership was developed, through both line struggle within the Party and class struggle in society, the cause of the people has progressed uninterruptedly against the enemy, albeit through twists and turns.

From the very beginning the Nepalese communist movement was greatly influenced by the revolutionary process in neighbouring countries. The CPN(M) stresses that the Maoist line that has been developed in Nepal by this contingent of the international proletariat is a synthesis of the most advanced wars that our class has launched, historically in China and Russia, and also more recently in Peru. It is also the synthesis of the deep study and fierce struggle of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) within the international communist movement. A brief history of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) has been published in a past issue of our journal (See AWTW 22/1996).

In its historic Second Conference in 2001 (see AWTW 27/2001), the CPN(M) devoted serious attention to the history of proletarian ideology and its development in Nepal. The development of the People's War in Nepal flows from the Party's ideological development, and, as Lenin put it, ideology is the decisive factor in the revolution. Mao further clarified that if a party has a correct line it can

build a people's army, base areas and finally win political power, and if it has an incorrect line it will lose everything that it has. Every revolution is the product of a correct line; this line develops along with the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of a country. This has been proved yet again in Nepal, where the forging of a correct line by the CPN(M) has been the key to the advances of the revolution.

Of particular importance in the struggle to initiate the People's War in Nepal was the long struggle against the opportunist group led by Mohan Bikram Singh. Singh had fallen into an eclectic variation of Hoxhaite dogmatism (a revisionist trend that arose immediately following the death of Mao in 1976, which sought to reverse correct verdicts within the international communist movement on Mao's contributions to revolutionary theory). In particular, Singh argued that it was wrong to use the term Maoism or consider it a third stage in the development of proletarian ideology, using the pretext that we remained in the era of imperialism. Further, Singh clung to the errors of Stalin and the previous communist movement to deny and fight against Mao's further developments of proletarian ideology. He concluded that people's war could not be carried out successfully in Nepal. The Maoist revolutionary line developed in Nepal through fighting against the dogmato-revisionism of the "Singh School of Thought".

Of course, there have been many other important two-line struggles in the course of developing the communist movement in Nepal. As mentioned earlier, the Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist-Leninist), known as UML, has played a particularly despicable role in trying to prop up the faltering reactionary regime. In 1998, the UML was a leading partner in government for nine months and held, amongst other posts, the ministry directly responsible for the repression of revolutionaries. In the recent past, as the monarchy has become an empty and discredited institution, the UML has tried to

breathe new life into it by swearing allegiance to the king. The UML has even received the US Ambassador in its offices, where the photos of Lenin, Stalin and Mao were conveniently put away so as not to offend the "honoured guest". The Maoists have also been compelled to fight other reformist lines, such as the "insurrectionism" of Nirmal Lama. One important lesson of the fight against all these tendencies was the understanding that without bringing into being a revolutionary alternative, no revolutionary organisation can truly prevail over revisionism.

In the course of these line struggles, the CPN(M) has tried not only to uphold revolutionary principles but also to apply them in practice. It has further developed the Maoist understanding that "a party is a unity of opposites" and emphasised that the path of revolution goes through collision, rupture, leap and catastrophe. Guided by these Marxist-Leninist-Maoist principles, the CPN(M) went for unity with different trends that were found mainly within the revolutionary arena, and thus further polarised the revolutionary and reformist camps. Similarly, in order to initiate the People's War, the CPN(M) itself had to rupture with prevailing traditions and thinking in the Nepal communist movement, including parliamentarism. (The forerunner of the CPN(M) had had thirteen representatives in parliament.) Having safeguarded the basic revolutionary principles, that is, the party, the revolutionary line and the revolutionary forces, four preparations were simultaneously carried out. These were ideological-political preparation, organisational preparation, logistical preparation and preparation for war. The Party believes that these preparations are still valid for further developing the war, and the Party carries out these preparations to achieve a certain level of war qualitatively and quantitatively and to make breakthroughs and further leaps.

The CPN(M) calls its synthesis of the revolutionary process in Nepal, which developed through twists and turns and great challenges, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Prachanda

Path. According to this understanding, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the basic ideology and political theory, the science of revolution, and Prachanda Path is the set of ideas relating to the specificities of the Nepalese revolution, which serve as guiding principles. In this process of correctly applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and making further advances militarily and politically, the Party's understanding is that there have been ever more contributions to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the course of advancing the People's War in Nepal.

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**IMPERIALIST AND EXPANSIONIST  
INTERVENTION IN NEPAL**

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As a result of the advances of the People's War and the all-out, deepening crisis of the reactionary ruling class, and especially as the feudal monarchical system is being effaced from Nepal, US imperialism and Indian expansionism have been actively stepping up their role against the Nepalese people. Because the reactionary regime is desperate and increasingly unable to face the challenges posed by the people's power, the US is making serious preparations for more direct intervention. The situation has become even more unstable in the wake of the recent changes in the political scene, including the dismissal of the prime minister, the usurpation of executive power by the monarchy and the installation of a government that consists of people who either do not belong to any political party or have not been recommended by any party, including some faces infamous for their loyalty to the Panchayat system, which is the form of monarchy that prevailed in Nepal before 1990.

In February 2002, US Secretary of State Colin Powell visited Nepal. Sometime later, in May 2002, Prime Minister Deuba visited the US and European Union. The UK and US have provided, respectively, \$40 million and \$22 million in aid. The US also sent a dozen military experts who surveyed all three parts of the country in order to map out general operational plans. Two US army

personnel were witnessed in the Lishne cordon action. It is evident that imperialist forces are already moving into Nepal.

US aggression world-wide is now climaxing, threatening the security and stability of countries everywhere. The US is lashing out in the Middle East, and its emissaries are roaming the Asian region and baring their teeth like mad dogs. In this regard, the US rulers are wielding the 11 September incident as "a magic weapon" to intervene anywhere and anytime they like. The general strategy of US imperialism today is to suppress every kind of struggle against its interests, such as anti-feudal anti-imperialist struggles, national liberation movements and democratic and socialist movements. It puts a "terrorist" label on them all in order to justify its own counter-revolutionary efforts to crush all opposition and intensify its exploitation of the billions of people the world over.

But the US imperialists' fantasy of using their military might to establish the US as a perpetual unipolar superpower is calling forth increasing resistance all over the world. Because of the enormous misery caused by the imperialists' plunder of Asia, Africa and Latin America, these countries have been the epicentre of this uprising, what Mao called the "storm centre of world revolution". The emerging red political power in the Himalayas, set amidst such a turbulent global backdrop, has profound implications for South Asia as a whole, and beyond.

To counter the potential for wider regional upheaval, the US has already taken the unprecedented step of setting up an FBI spy agency right in Delhi, the capital of India. When the CPN(M) led the historic raid on the Achham district headquarters, the US administration disclosed its intention of putting a military outpost in Nepal itself, asserting that, "Nepal is a country of strategic importance". Even though the US imperialists' actions seem to be coming from a position of strength, in essence they are the manifestation of the compulsions of the contradictions of the world imperialist system.

However hard US imperialism tries to clampdown on the revolutionary movements, it will only succeed in further intensifying and sharpening the principal contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and people, whilst also intensifying inter-imperialist contradictions.

Alongside this US aggression, India has been taking increasingly fascist action against the people of South Asia. The Indian rulers have been suppressing the revolutionary movements and national liberation movements throughout the region. They have enacted several draconian laws, including the Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA), to maintain their heaven of plundering the Indian masses. Under this law, they have arrested Nepalese journalists and social workers and extradited them to Nepal without even a trial or other democratic "niceties". They have also arrested wounded Maoists from Nepal who were being treated at private hospitals in India and handed them over to the Nepalese police. This reflects India's determination to maintain its long-standing domination over Nepal.

The Indian hegemonic state will never accept seeing the Nepalese people win liberation and determine their own fate. India's rulers are haunted by the spectre that the Nepalese government could be overthrown by new-democratic revolution and the country converted into a base area for world revolution. They are also seriously concerned that the revolutionary advances in Nepal could further stir up the discontent already boiling up in India itself. At a time when India's rulers have been forced to tie down a million troops along the borders with Pakistan, and when Maoist insurgency is rife in a number of states in India itself, the prospect of having to turn their attention to Nepal is not one that they relish.

Moreover, war with the Maoist revolutionaries could be several times more costly than the war India has already been fighting against the Kashmir and Bodo national liberation movements. L. K. Advani, the home minister of India, expressed alarm over the

vision of a South Asian Soviet Federation proposed by the CPN(M), in which the liberated peoples of South Asia would join together in a voluntary union. Following the formation of the Co-ordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organisation in South Asia (CCOMPOSA), the Indian ruling class has been putting its bully eyes on Nepal and preparing a juggernaut campaign to repress the Maoist movement.

There is a possibility that the Indian government may intervene in Nepal at any time. In response to a Nepalese government request, it immediately supplied weapons and ammunition. It has also sent a number of helicopters to help the Royal Nepalese Army fight the Maoists. The arrest and extradition of a CPN(M) Central Committee member, who was handed over to the government of Nepal, is the latest effort in this regard.

From the other side of the border, revisionist China is closely monitoring events in Nepal. The Chinese bourgeoisie, still horrified by the memory of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, would be most unwilling to see a Maoist Nepal rise on their own southern borders. Yet they would also be extremely concerned at any outright attempt by India to occupy Nepal, as this would upset the long-standing and fragile balance of power on the China-India border, where serious warfare has broken out before. The Chinese rulers would look with great unease on any attempt by the Indian government to send its troops into Nepal in collaboration with the US-British combine.

It is not possible to conclude a discussion of the role of the imperialists without mentioning one other force that has unfortunately been only too willing to do some of the dirty work of their propaganda machine. Here we are speaking of the domestic and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that have received enormous amounts of money to help thwart the revolutionaries. These forces have emerged like seasonal mushrooms

and propagated hundreds of lies, such as "the revolutionaries are violating human rights" and "recruiting children into the PLA". If they were to witness events with their own eyes, they would definitely see who the actual terrorists are and who is violating human rights.

Were these people in deep slumber while their masters were killing thousands of people these past seven years?! Wasn't it "terror" when the government killed peasants working their farms in western Nepal? Wasn't it "terror" when the reactionary army killed political prisoners in different parts of the country, and when it brought dozens of political prisoners from different prisons and massacred them in cold blood in Lamahi? Wasn't it "terror" when the government killed the school children Dil Bahadur Ramtel, Subhadra Sapkota, Jamuna Chaudhary and others who were simply protesting the arrest of their teachers? Whilst these forces have been shouting themselves hoarse about "human rights violations" by the revolutionaries, they were silent as lambs when the fascist Gyanendra-Paras clique put huge cash bounties on the heads of the Maoist leaders and cadres who have been fighting for dramatic change to bring Nepalese society into the twenty-first century, and they see "human rights violations" whenever the people rise up to resist the genocidal army. They have simply been playing the role of a fig leaf for the reactionary state and the imperialist powers by attributing legitimacy to the state while it murders the people.

As the people's power develops in the country, the imperialists and reactionaries will work overtime to smash it. In this situation, it is crucial that the Maoist revolutionaries develop world-wide solidarity with the People's War. As the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement has put it, we must weave support for the Nepalese revolution into all of the activity aimed against US aggression in Iraq, and elsewhere. The recent tour of Europe sponsored by the World People's Resistance Movement to promote solidarity with the People's War in Nepal succeeded in

reaching thousands of people, and showed the potential for greater actions in the future.

The time has most urgently come for the Maoist revolutionaries to carry out their internationalist duty, which Lenin defined as, "...working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy and material aid) this struggle, this, and only this, line, in every country without exception." ("The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution")

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**RED POLITICAL POWER  
SHINING ON THE HORIZON**

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Nepalese society is passing through a merciless test of fire. Unprecedented violent encounters are taking place between the forward-going and backward-going forces. Under the leadership of the CPN(M), the most advanced, forward-going forces have united throughout the country and launched their offensive against the rotten old feudal state. The most backward-going and reactionary elements have united under the medieval barbaric Gyanendra-Paras clique, which is surviving on the blessings of US imperialism and Indian expansionism. The forward-going current of the People's War, being waged by the great heroes of the Nepalese people for their complete liberation from all kinds of exploitation of man by man, has developed into the People's Liberation Army and founded base areas and red political power, and it is posing an historic challenge to the autocratic feudal regime. In contrast, the feudal regime, in order to safeguard the interests of the reactionary system, has degenerated into the Gyanendra fascist clique, and further declined into Royal Nepalese Army fascism to suppress the movement of the great Nepalese people.

No one today can deny that the country has divided into two poles, that it is split between the Royal Palace and the Rolpa headquarters. These two poles stand in opposition to each other as the manifestations of

two ideologies, two epochs and two armies on the battlefield. Millions of the country's people, from all sections of the community, whether peasants or labourers, proletariat or middle class or national bourgeoisie, have already risen to the side of the new society, rejecting the old reactionary rotten society. Now is the historic time for people of all sections of the country urgently to choose between the nascent forward-going scientific Maoist revolutionary power and the imperialist backed medieval feudal autocratic system.

In the history of the Nepalese revolutionary movement, there have been many times when a correct understanding was lacking, when the weaknesses of the revolutionary forces gave the reactionaries room to inflict their interests on the masses. But under the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), the Nepalese people now have a People's Liberation Army, base areas and country-wide mass bases. In contrast, the reactionary system has become totally isolated from the people, has a rotten base and superstructure and is held up only by the reactionary army and imperialist aid and support. And even though the reactionary regime is getting support from the imperialists, this does not reflect the will of the people of these countries either. The proletariat the world over naturally has a class obligation to smash the reactionary states and build red bases of the world proletarian revolution, and in general the people of the imperialist countries have every interest in standing with the revolutionaries and the people of Nepal. The resignation of the Vice Prime Minister of Belgium, Mrs Magda of the Green Party, in protest at the delivery of arms to Nepal, is an expression of the contradictions amongst the governing circles in the imperialist countries, and it also reflects sentiment amongst the masses of those countries against intervening on behalf of reactionary regimes like the monarchy in Nepal.

Some people still argue that the revolution in Nepal will not be successful. They hold that neither the

objective nor subjective conditions are ripe for revolution. According to them, even if the revolution is successful, there would be no other revolutionary states to support the new Nepalese state. In these circumstances, unless revolution takes place in India or other big countries, they believe, the revolution in Nepal will simply prove premature. But their logic does not conform with objective reality.

First of all, if one has nothing to do with revolution and revolutionary war, the subjective and objective conditions will never be ready for them. For Maoist revolutionaries, the maturity of the subjective and objective conditions is relative. It was Mao who argued that the objective conditions in the world as a whole are ripe for revolution, and that what the revolutionaries have to develop is the subjective conditions. Since then, a great many political developments have taken place. Imperialism has been tightening its grip on the masses of the world, and the contradictions between imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples have further intensified. This situation has further prepared the conditions for revolution the world over.

Secondly, no revolution can advance from banquet halls; it requires practice based on the scientific ideology and politics of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. If the subjective conditions were really lacking, the People's War would never have developed to the level it has. But the fact is that the subjective conditions are being developed *through the process of war* led by the Maoist revolutionary party. In Nepal, the people had neither base areas nor political power before the initiation of the People's War, and neither the people's militia nor the People's Liberation Army were formed at that time. As Mao said, we learn warfare through warfare.

Thirdly, even if there are currently no revolutionary states in the world, the process of revolution throughout the world is on the rise. In the neighbouring country of India, the revolutionary struggle being led by the Maoist parties – the

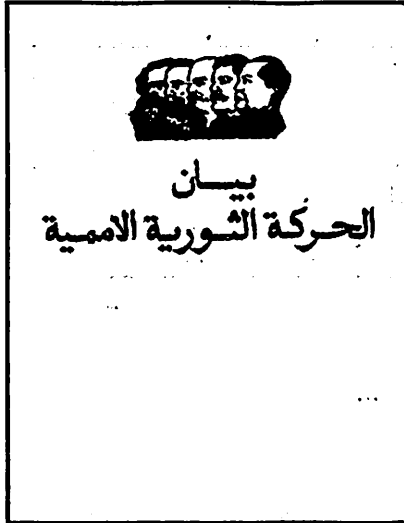
Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (People's War) and the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) – is advancing in important parts of the country, and the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (Naxalbari) and other Maoist forces are preparing to open new fronts of struggle. Furthermore, the whole of South Asia is simmering with national liberation movements. Likewise, the growing number of mass movements developing qualitatively and quantitatively in revolutionary character against imperialism in Europe and America, and the forceful resistance against imperialism in the Middle East, indicate that the rage smouldering under the surface of society has reached an explosive point. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) has been linking the Maoist movements, providing ideological leadership to the international communist movement, and is developing as an embryo of the communist international of a new type. In South Asia, CCOMPOSA is serving to help co-ordinate the struggles of the Maoist parties and organisations in the region. All this provides powerful backing to the struggle of Nepal's people.

Imagine, too, the impact a victorious Maoist-led revolution in Nepal would have on the downtrodden peasants of neighbouring India, and the clarity such a victory would introduce into the line struggles raging in the Indian revolutionary movement. Discontent and rebellion are already seething across large parts of the country, and there are millions of Nepalese scattered across India's urban centres. Nepal borders some of India's most inflammatory regions, which have been centres of revolutionary discontent in the past and present – Bihar, West Bengal and nearby Jarkhand. The historic village of Naxalbari, from which the armed struggle began in India in the 1960s, is located right alongside India's border with Nepal.

The importance of the battle being fought out in Nepal is not lost on the imperialists, and it should not be lost on the proletarian revolutionaries

either. At stake is the possibility of a much-needed and long-awaited breakthrough for the proletariat, at a time when the imperialists are stepping up their intervention and aggression the world over. This is a struggle being waged clearly under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party determined to liberate Nepal in the service of the world proletarian revolution. The revolution in Nepal requires and deserves the support of all those who are fighting against the current masters of the old world and struggling to bring about a new one.

The destiny of the 23 million people of Nepal will be decided in the times ahead. On the one hand lies a future that is shackled to the past, a world of oppression and misery only too familiar to anyone who has lived or seen life at the bottom of the imperialist global order. On the other lies a vision that could not be more different: one where the Himalayan Mountains are beaming red and Mount Sagarmatha is smiling with the advance of new days, with the dawning of a new-democratic Nepal. The day is indeed coming when a section of the planet's most downtrodden people stand up, hoisting the red flag once again on the earth, and continue along the path of history hewed by the Paris Commune, the great October Revolution and the great Chinese Revolution. It will be the day the international proletariat advances one more step in making socialist revolution and advancing toward transforming the world to classless society, communism. ■



Arabic

## *The Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement*

# &

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

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

- Ceylon Communist Party (Maoist)
- Communist Party of Afghanistan
- Communist Party of Bangladesh (Marxist-Leninist) [BSD(ML)]
- Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (Naxalbari)
- Communist Party of Iran (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist)
- Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)
- Communist Party of Peru
- Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist
- Maoist Communist Centre [India]
- Maoist Communist Party [Italy]
- Marxist-Leninist Communist Organisation of Tunisia
- Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (PBSP) [Bangladesh]
- Revolutionary Communist Group of Colombia
- Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

In addition to the above list of participating parties and organisations of RIM, there are candidate participants of RIM in a number of countries struggling to form vanguard Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties. A new edition of the *Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement* including *Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!* is now available in English and Spanish.

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