

**The path of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism remains the only road to genuine liberation :
TKP-ML**

“The revolution is not a sprint but a protracted struggle. Persist, persevere, and never lose sight of the ultimate goal: the establishment of socialism and the eventual realization of a classless, stateless society. History is on our side. Comrades, march forward with confidence, for the future belongs to the people!”

Comrade, you accepted the invitation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal and now you are closely watching the closed sessions as well. How are you feeling?

We are honored to be invited by the Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal to attend the Unity Congress and observe the closed sessions. Observing the unification congress of communist parties is a deeply profound moment, not just for those involved in the struggle, but for the broader trajectory of the international revolutionary movements. Historically, the unity of revolutionary forces has always been a critical turning point in the fight against capitalism, imperialism, and all forms of exploitation. It signals the overcoming of ideological divisions and a step forward in building a cohesive, disciplined force capable of leading the masses in their struggle for liberation.

The unification of communist parties must be seen as a continuation of the proletariat's historical struggle against capitalism and imperialism. The teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Mao remind us that the fragmentation of revolutionary forces only serves the interests of the ruling class. From the Paris Commune to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, history has shown that only through principled unity, rooted in ideological clarity, can the proletariat and oppressed masses consolidate their power and move toward the construction of socialism.

In today's global context, the unification of these forces carries an even deeper significance. As fascist tendencies surge worldwide and imperialist wars escalate, the working class and oppressed nations find themselves under relentless attack. The unity of Maoist parties is a counterbalance to this reactionary tide, offering not just hope but a concrete pathway to resistance. It is a reaffirmation that revolution is not only necessary but also possible, provided that revolutionary forces are disciplined, ideologically sound, and connected to the masses.

We are witnessing a period where the contradictions of global capitalism have reached a boiling point. The economic crisis, exacerbated by neoliberal policies, has deepened inequality and widened the gap between the imperialists and the oppressed. At the same time, imperialist wars, whether through direct intervention or proxy conflicts, continue to devastate nations, displace millions, and extract enormous human and material wealth. In such a conjuncture, the resurgence of fascism is no coincidence. Fascism is the last resort of the ruling class when the capitalist system can no longer sustain itself without resorting to outright violence and suppression. The rise of far-right movements, coupled with state repression against progressive and revolutionary forces, is a reaction to the growing unrest among the masses. It is a desperate attempt to maintain the status quo by sowing division, promoting chauvinism, and crushing organized dissent.

The unification of Maoist parties directly challenges this trajectory. It symbolizes the synthesis of revolutionary theory and practice, as well as the commitment to organize the working class and oppressed peoples against the dual threats of fascism and imperialism. It is an assertion of the universal relevance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in addressing the crises of our time.

While the unification congress is a historic event, its success will ultimately depend on its ability to translate unity into action. The global working class does not need abstract slogans but a revolutionary program that addresses their material conditions. This means intensifying class struggle, building united fronts, and developing strategies to counter imperialist aggression and fascist violence.

Moreover, the unification of Maoist parties must serve as a beacon of international solidarity. As imperialism wages wars of domination, it is crucial for revolutionary forces to stand in solidarity with all peoples fighting for self-determination and liberation. From the Palestinian resistance to the struggles of indigenous peoples and workers and toilers worldwide, the international proletariat must see its own future in the collective fight against imperialism.

Observing this unification congress is not merely witnessing history; it is bearing witness to a responsibility. The responsibility to carry forward the torch of revolution in a time of crisis. The unification of Maoist/communist parties is not just a victory for those directly involved; it is a victory for the oppressed everywhere. It is a reminder that even in the darkest moments, the seeds of revolution can take root, and a brighter future can be built through collective struggle.

In a world dominated by imperialist exploitation and the growing shadow of fascism, this congress is a reminder of the revolutionary potential that lies in unity. It is a call to intensify our struggles, to deepen our solidarity, and to never waver in the fight for socialism and the liberation of all humanity.

Please, tell us something about the fraternal relationship between TKP-ML and RCPN

Fraternal relationships between communist parties are a cornerstone of proletarian internationalism, reflecting the shared struggle of the working class across borders against capitalism, imperialism, and reactionary forces. These relationships are built not merely on ideological alignment but on the mutual recognition of the need for solidarity, collective learning, and coordinated action in the face of a global system of exploitation.

In today's context of heightened imperialist aggression, environmental catastrophe, and growing fascism, fraternal relations between communist/Maoist parties are more urgent than ever. Capitalism's global nature requires an equally global response, where communist parties coordinate their efforts to expose and combat the system's contradictions.

The rise of neoliberal globalization has further deepened the interconnectedness of oppression. From exploitative labor practices in the Global South to austerity policies in the imperialist core, workers across the world face a common enemy. In this global battlefield, fraternal relationships are essential to build bridges between struggles, ensuring that no revolutionary movement is isolated, and no working-class community is left to face repression alone.

The fraternal relationship between TKP-ML and RCPN stems from this deep understanding of proletarian internationalism and the historical necessity of Maoist parties to work closely together. Through bilateral discussions focusing on the essential ideological matters, the parties have come to recognize the joint ideological roots and the long-term tasks ahead that require the resolve to strengthen the relationship.

Fraternal relationships between communist parties are not an abstract ideal; they are a necessity for the global working class. In a world dominated by imperialism, only a united front of revolutionary forces can challenge the system and pave the way for socialism. These relationships are a living expression of proletarian internationalism, embodying the belief that the liberation of one is tied to the liberation of all.

As Lenin reminded us, "We must not only unite within our own countries but must unite internationally with the comrades of other countries. This is an essential condition for the victory of the working class." The task before us is immense, but with fraternal solidarity, the communist movement can rise to meet it, turning the tide against capitalism and building a future of equality, justice, and peace. Within this context, we deeply value and appreciate the fraternal relationship our party has with the RCPN and are positive to continue to strengthen this fraternal relationship.

If you don't mind, please briefly give some information about TKP-ML. How many communist parties are there in Turkey? Why is TKP-ML different from others?

TKP-ML; founded by Ibrahim Kaypakkaya on 24 April 1972, is the political vanguard of the proletariat of Turkey of various nationalities which has accepted Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a guide.

TKP-ML is the continuation of Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) founded in September 1920 at the first congress in Baku with the participation of delegates from communist movements formed in Balkans, Istanbul and Anatolia as a result of arise of communist movements due to the development of working class in the Ottoman lands. There were also delegates from communist movements in Russia which was created by the imprisoned soldiers and asylum seekers following the October revolution of 1917.

TKP-ML has no connection with revisionist "Communist" Party of Turkey following the death of Mustafa Suphi.

One of the most fundamental factors in the emergence of the TKP-ML is that the working class and mass movement in Turkey after the 1960s and its encounter with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) in China and its shattering effects. After the assassination of Mustafa Suphi and his comrades in the black sea, the communist movement has into a revisionist silence for 50 years. GPCR has played a decisive influence in breaking the silence and restoring the communist movement in Turkey.

Following the death of Stalin, the revolutionary movement in Turkey split into two ideological lines, those that were following the ALP (Hoxa) and those that were closer to the Chinese ideological line.

After the military coup d'etat on 12th September 1980 the revolutionary movement in Turkey suffered great losses and was dispersed severely. This state of military rule, brought about the deviation in lines, as well as the weakening of physical power of revolutionary/communist parties. During and after this period, even though the party was weakened in material force, it persisted in it's struggle and in People's War.

The party has held 8 Conferences, following a joint operation by multiple European countries in collaboration with Turkey against our party leadership in 2015, this Congress was held in 2019. During this time, our party had a split in 2017.

Due to this split our party had to focus on reorganising the party structure and building the unity. The 1st Party Congress was mainly focused on this important task. The 2nd. Congress of our party was recently concluded in the summer months of 2024 where the important topic of the analysis of the socio-economic structure of Turkey was discussed. Till our 2nd Congress our Party has analysed the social formation on the country to be semi-colonial, semi-feudal. Our 2nd Congress also analyzed the economic and social structure of Turkey, which is an important topic of discussion in the history of our party's more than half a century of struggle and reached certain conclusions. The 2nd Congress of our party has determined,

Turkey's social formation to be of comprador capitalist and feudal remnants of the economic and social structure dominated by an economic and social structure, accordingly, the nature and path of the revolution in Turkey has changed.

Based on the unique characteristics of the People's Democratic Revolution, our Party has updated the program and statute of our party. It determined that the principal contradiction among the main contradictions today is the contradiction between imperialism, comprador capitalism, feudal remnants and the broad masses of the people; In the process of the People's Democratic Revolution, the main contradiction is the contradiction between comprador capitalism, feudal remnants and the broad masses of the people.

The understanding that "Our revolution will have its own specificities. People's War in Turkey, guerrilla warfare will not be the same as previous examples. Turkey has its own characteristics, differences in terms of the region in which it is located" which was decided at the 7th Conference of our Party (2002) and continued to be discussed at the 8th Conference (2007) was advanced by the party will and the current situation was analysed correctly.

Our Congress determined that in the struggle for the People's Democratic Revolution, work within the cities and the working class is primary; that work in the countryside and among the poor peasants has become secondary; that the revolutionary struggle will rise on the basis of armed struggle from the beginning to the end; that the guerrilla struggle, which aims at armed popular uprising but on the basis of "small groups, great daring", is applicable from the beginning to the end of the revolution.

With regards to the second part of your question, there are many revolutionary organisations and parties in Turkey. However, our position on these is that these are not communist movement or parties. There are 3 parties, from the heritage of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, that are considered communist.

There are a multitude of parties that refer to themselves as Marxist- Leninist- Maoist, however the ideological, organisation and practical implementations do not align with the ideology. Our Party has differentiated itself on how we analyse the socio-economic structure of Turkey, the National question, Women's Question and the path to revolution. Our positions on these are a clear reflection to our guiding principles. This is one of the essential difference between our party and others.

What do you see as the challenges of the world communist revolution? What do you see as the main reason for the world communist movement to be on the defensive?

If we begin by describing the situation of the communist movement around the world today, it is necessary to speak of a state of decline, disorganization and defense. Especially under conditions such as the continuing exploitation and aggression of the imperialist capitalist system against the working class and oppressed peoples, the contradictions among themselves bringing the world to the brink of war, the continuity of the revolutionary situation in colonial and semi-colonial countries, etc., the fact that the whole world is not turned upside down by a revolution is directly related to the strength or weakness of the communist parties in these countries and the international communist movement. Especially if we look only at the last 15-20 years, when there have been spontaneous movements, revolts, etc. around the world on the basis of objections to the problems created by capitalism, we must correctly analyze the reasons for this retreat of the communist movements. We must concentrate on the reasons for the state of defense of the international communist movement against the attacks of imperialism. This is why your question is very important and points to a point that we think the ICM needs to have a joint discussion on.

We think that the most important reason for this situation is the ideological inadequacies and ideological deviations of the communist movement in some parts. As we stated in our 1st Congress, "This state of defense in the ICM, the inability to respond to the attacks of the imperialist-capitalist system, the inability to relate to the struggle of the working class and working people on the right basis creates a certain oppression and different paths are taken in the name of "solution". "New" things come to the agenda; old revisionist theses that are not actually new are put on the agenda. On the other extreme, as can be seen in the last process of our Party, the inability to be a solution to the problems experienced, the inability to respond to the current problems of the class struggle gives birth to dogmatism, creating the ground for a line that tries to substitute its own subjectivity for objective reality. This, in turn, leads to the emergence and development of lines that strike communist parties from within and tend towards liquidation.

Both lines must be condemned from the point of view of the ICM. If the science of MLM is a guide to action, then the solution of the problems of the moment and the answer to the problems of the class struggle can be realized neither by revising the basic concepts of MLM science nor by dogmatically defending these basic concepts."

To elaborate on this point: ideological competence or solidity is not a frozen repetition of the basic line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism or a template for quoting the writings of communist masters. Without the scientific method, we can neither correctly analyze the world we want to change, nor can we engage in the practice of change (i.e. revolution) in line with our ideological line based on these correct analyses. Even if we do, we are doomed to failure. First of all, the international communist movement has to look at both its own country and the whole world with the scientific method (so to speak, like a scientist who enters the laboratory by leaving all his ideas, ideologies, desires, etc. outside the door). Just like the communist masters did, it must reach knowledge and analyze the concrete with the dialectical historical materialist method. This does not necessarily mean "rediscovering America", of course. Nor is it something that can be done by ignoring everything we know, ignoring historical processes and forgetting the experiences gained. To do so would be to go beyond the scientific method. On the basis of this concrete knowledge, it is necessary to put forward a thesis on the nature, path, means, etc. of the revolution necessary to reach communism. We can say that the world communist movement has experienced blockage, freezing or deviation from the goal at two points. Either the current reality is not analyzed concretely with the scientific method, dogmatism is adopted and/or revisionism is adopted on the road to revolution. Of course, one can talk about dozens of deviations from dogmatism to revisionism, the "wrong path" that makes revolution impossible.

There is undoubtedly an intense attack by the imperialist capitalist system at every level. However, the area where it carries out its most fundamental attacks is its ideological attacks, which are also the key to the success of the revolution, and it must be stated frankly that it has achieved significant success in this regard. The communist parties, which are struggling to survive, are also struggling "on their own" to stand against ideological deviations under the physical attack of the ruling classes. And it goes without saying how difficult it is to achieve success in this way. For this, we think that the international communist movement must debate on a common platform, debate on theoretical and ideological issues. As a matter of fact, we attach importance to Article 2 in the section where we summarize our tasks in the document titled "A brief overview of internationalism and international activities from yesterday to today", which we presented to the public in August 2001 and which we also forwarded to you, our comrades, and we think that we should make a joint effort to fulfill it. In this article we stated: "Today the international communist movement is organizationally disorganized and ideologically under an intense siege. In order to break this siege, there is a

need for the existence of an organizational unity based on a minimum level of ideological-political unity. This organizational unity should not exclude the internal ideological struggle, on the contrary, it should include it. Undoubtedly, we should not hide, not only our principles but also our tactical differences. The main problem here is to show the ability to use the weapon of unity and criticism comradely to the end. This is not a question of intentions. On the contrary, it is an internationalist task that must be fulfilled to ensure the unity of the international communist movement. Therefore, we must create platforms for discussion based on mutual respect and the act of listening and understanding each other, where we can discuss our differences and find common ground.”

How do you take the revolutionary communist movement of Nepal? What are your expectations from this unity convention of RCPN?

The revolutionary communist movement of Nepal holds a unique and significant place in the global history of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Nepal’s communist struggle, particularly through the People’s War initiated in 1996, was an inspiring demonstration of the proletariat’s capacity to mobilize, organize, and challenge the feudal and comprador capitalist systems that oppressed the people. The successes achieved, including the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic, were historic victories, not only for the Nepalese people but also for revolutionary movements worldwide.

However, like many revolutionary movements, it has faced complex challenges, including internal divisions, strategic deviations, and the influence of opportunism and revisionism. These setbacks have underscored the critical importance of maintaining ideological clarity, organizational discipline, and a commitment to the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in advancing the revolution.

Nepal’s revolutionary movement provides several critical lessons for the global communist movement. The ability of the Communist Party to engage and mobilize the peasantry, particularly in a semi-feudal society, reaffirmed the revolutionary potential of rural mass movements. The strategy of protracted people’s war, uniting the countryside and eventually encircling the cities, proved its relevance in Nepal’s specific conditions.

However, the setbacks also highlight the dangers of reformism and the abandonment of revolutionary principles. The transition into parliamentary politics, while tactically understandable at one stage, ultimately revealed the limits of attempting to merge revolutionary goals with bourgeois democracy. These lessons are invaluable for revolutionaries worldwide in understanding the balance between tactical flexibility and ideological steadfastness.

The unity convention of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal (RCPN) is a historic opportunity to rejuvenate the revolutionary communist movement in Nepal. At its core, unity must not be a superficial coming together of factions, but a principled ideological consolidation rooted in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is not enough to unite; unity must be built on a revolutionary line capable of addressing both the successes and the shortcomings of the past.

In the current global conjuncture, where imperialism intensifies its exploitation, and fascist forces rise across continents, the unity of revolutionary forces in Nepal is not just a local or national matter, it is an event of international significance. A revitalized revolutionary movement in Nepal can serve as a beacon for the oppressed worldwide, proving that even in the face of setbacks, the flame of revolution can be rekindled.

The unity convention of the RCPN, therefore, carries enormous potential. It is an opportunity to once again place Nepal at the forefront of the global revolutionary movement, to inspire communists everywhere, and to prove that the path of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism remains the only road to genuine liberation.

We look at this convention with great hope and solidarity, expecting it to reinvigorate the Nepalese revolutionary movement and provide valuable lessons for all who fight for socialism and the ultimate liberation of humanity.

Do you see a revolution possible only in one country in today's era of globalized imperialism?

As is well known, the debate on the possibility of revolution in one country has a very long history. Even before the October Revolution, this question became a subject of polemic between Lenin and Trotsky, but the realization of the October Revolution, the deepening capitalist depression and the expectation of a European revolution pushed this debate to the background. However, Lenin's death, the decline of the revolutionary wave and the disappointment of the expectation of a European revolution in this context quickly brought this debate back to the political agenda. And in the mid-1920s it was discussed again. Here, too, it was Stalin who defended Lenin's thesis that revolution could be realized, and socialism built in one country. Since then, various organizations and parties have continued to debate this issue at various times. As far as we know, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), at its 2nd Conference, had resolved that revolution in one country was very difficult and impossible to sustain. As TKP-ML, we had criticized this decision in our evaluations and analyses at that time

Our views on this thesis are still the same. To put it briefly, it is a reality that political and economic inequality is the fundamental law of capitalism, and that this inequality becomes even more pronounced in the stage of imperialism. Before the stage of imperialism, that is, when capitalism was rising through free competition, the division of the world had not yet been completed and Comrade Lenin described this period as "relatively calm, civilized, peaceful capitalism, constantly developing and gradually spreading to new countries". Under monopoly capitalism, this situation has completely changed. International capitalist monopolies that divided the world between them were born and the division of world markets was completed. As a result, the contradictions between the imperialists have become sharper and intervention in each other's markets has become inevitable. This leads to the reality that wars of division are inevitable as long as imperialism exists. These wars of division open gaps in the domination of imperialism over the world and offer the possibility of revolution for the proletariat and oppressed peoples of one or several countries – not only in times of war but also in relatively peaceful periods. This possibility can be realized in those countries where the structural crises of the existing system are the most intense, where the state is correspondingly weakened (i.e. the objective conditions for revolution are ripe) and where the organized forces led by the proletariat are strengthened (the subjective conditions for revolution are developed).

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Finally, let us emphasize that the possibility of revolution in one country and the world revolution are not opposites. Defending the possibility of revolution in one country does not exclude the world revolution. On the contrary, it points to the necessity, moreover the necessity, of internationalism. Let us not forget that the practice envisaged by this theory made the victorious socialist foundation in the Soviet Union the lever of the world revolution. A victorious socialist Soviet Union served as a foothold, a base, a center of impulse.

What kind of collaborations can TKP-ML do with RCPN in the future?

The answer to this question is present in the answer we gave to the 4th question. Moving from the reality that the International Communist Movement is organizationally dispersed, and under severe ideological siege, we value the relationship we have been able to establish with the RCPN as important.

At this point, it will be an important step for us to take joint initiative to bring the International Communist Movement together to form a discussion platform. However, we are aware that this will be time consuming and that it can be accomplished with a broader framework and participation. We believe that through putting the work in with this initiative on one hand and on the other hand, having discussions on certain ideological and theoretical matters and through learning from each other we will contribute to the revolutions of our countries on many levels.

Till now, we have held several bilateral talks where we have discussed the realities of our countries and have shared important matters on our parties. Our proposal for the future is that we hold meetings that are planned on certain discussion points and to advance our fraternal relationship further. We are confident that we can create the conditions for these.

At last, what message do you want to give to the revolutionary communists of Nepal ?

Comrades, the path to revolution is arduous and fraught with challenges, yet it is illuminated by the guiding principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Nepal, with its rich history of people's struggles and the legacy of the People's War, stands as a testament to the revolutionary zeal of its proletariat, peasantry, and oppressed masses.

The revolution is not a sprint but a protracted struggle. Persist, persevere, and never lose sight of the ultimate goal: the establishment of socialism and the eventual realization of a classless, stateless society. History is on our side. Comrades, march forward with confidence, for the future belongs to the people!

**Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!
Long live the Nepali proletariat and peasantry!
Long live Proletarian Internationalism!**

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