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# Two Lines Struggle

INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST-MAOIST JOURNAL



04

**Proletarians and peoples of the world,  
united against imperialism!**



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# Editorial

In this new issue of the magazine we reaffirm the editorial of the first issue with which we began this adventure. The magazine *Two Lines Struggle*:

“It is not the magazine of a party, nor of a bloc, nor of a particular faction or tendency within the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, but the decision of different parties and organizations to promote the two-line struggle within the communists, as the name and slogan indicate, and to contribute to their unity, in particular, with the preparation of a Unified Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Conference.

“The need for a magazine like *Two Lines Struggle* lies in the urgency for the International Communist Movement to respond to the challenges posed by the world situation, in the face of the extreme sharpening of the most important contradictions of imperialist capitalism: that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, that which exists between the imperialist countries and the oppressed peoples and nations, the one that exists between the different imperialist countries and the monopolies.

“Contradictions which in turn provoke an upsurge of the world revolution expressed by the uprisings of the masses of people throughout the world, the aggression against the oppressed countries and their wars of resistance, the growing preparations for a world war for a new division of the world, to which is added the scandalous destruction of nature... facts that indicate the advanced state of agony of imperialist capitalism and the excellent conditions for the advance of the revolution that demand that the communists unify their efforts to constitute a centre of international revolutionary leadership and advance in the construction of the Party of the working class in each country, essential to guarantee the triumph of the World Proletarian Revolution.”

The three previous issues of the magazine presented the first texts prepared by the parties and organizations that created the magazine; In addition to other important documents, we highlight the one by the comrades in India, “The position of the CPI (Maoist) on the International Communist League”.

It is clear that it is necessary to combine the struggle between the two lines with the development of the debate in order to continue on the path of the objective of this 2LS, which is the creation of a genuine unified international conference of MLM that can, on the basis of unity of principles and actually achieved action, form a new International Organization that will be a second step on this path after the first step constituted by the foundation of the RIM, of which we celebrate this year the 40th anniversary, and a real way out of the crisis of the international communist movement caused by the collapse of the RIM. A crisis that has generated dispersion, fragmentation instead of unity, nationalism instead of internationalism, weakness instead of strength, to face the great challenges and opportunities that the international and national situation offers to the ICM today.

The ideological, theoretical and programmatic work that we have done is still insufficient to achieve unity in an International MLM Conference; it is necessary to advance in the struggle against both revisionism and “leftism”; that line, extremist in words but opportunist in deeds, which in appearance elevates principles but distorts them in such a way that it replaces Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with empty phraseology.

We have a lot of work to do on this, with a dialectical method.

The second question is one of theoretical-practical conception. This 2LS must be

realized in the fire of the class struggle in close connection with the masses. And, therefore, a demand that must be accompanied and fused with the battle against the political positions that derive from the ideological and theoretical positions of that fraction on the great issues that characterize the struggle of the communists in the mass proletarian movement in the countries oppressed by imperialism, the heart of the storm that the world is going through, as in the imperialist countries, the heart of the clash in the belly of the beast. Because there is no doubt that the consequences of these theoretical and ideological positions are an incorrect tactical and strategic line in the face of imperialist war, reaction and the new (modern) fascism, the organization and trade union and social policy of the proletariat and the popular masses, both in the countries oppressed by imperialism and in the imperialist countries, which in the end will determine the victory and advance of the ICM and the fate of the proletarian and socialist revolution in the world.

This work corresponds to the proletarian internationalism pointed out by Lenin, on the basis of Marxism, and to which Chairman Mao firmly adhered.

Precisely for this reason 2LS is nourished by the effort to unite all the MLM communist parties and organizations of the world in the May 1 Declarations, both in the diversity of accents, positions and practices that remain, and in the work of all communists in supporting the spearhead of the revolution in the world represented by the people's wars, in the first place the most advanced in our field such as the People's War in India, led by the Communist Party of India (Maoist).

The 2LS marches towards unity for an MLM International Conference, striving to establish the line of action in the face of the current situation at the international level, supporting the people's wars in a joint work, carrying it out with different methods in different fields and between different forces, based on the concrete analysis of the concrete situation; all of which requires the management of the relationship between unity and struggle, between joint steps forward and knots untied and to be untied, which is based on the effective advance of the communists and on the proletarian and mass movements, in the tactical and strategic aspects, and not on self-propaganda, the repetition of stereotyped phrases, the self-representation of linear and surprising advances, which are objectively the characteristics of the subjectivist fraction represented by the LCI.

This new issue shows that the struggle of the two lines is advancing in the service



**PCm Italy**

# For the Unified International Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Conference

Today, in order to arrive at a true Unified International Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Conference (UIC), it is necessary to unite openly against the revisionism represented by the organizations that call themselves “communist” but are old and new forms of revisionist parties, born from the great split in the ICM of the 60s in which two camps were defined, that of Khrushchevian revisionism and that of Mao Tse Tung’s ML, that over the years has become Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

In our camp, however, today we must fight the spirit of fractionalism, today organized in the International Communist League (ICL), which in the name of a “mainly Maoism” identified substantially with “mainly contributions of President Gonzalo”, has divided the MLM communist movement and breaking the path and the necessary course to arrive at a real UIC.

Therefore, it is in criticism, in struggle with this fraction that the path of unity must be re-established.

At the centre of the new UIC there can only be the Communist Parties that lead and conduct the protracted people’s war; without the presence and role of these Parties it is impossible in the present phase to build a unified Conference and to reach a level of unity in it that allows the effective reconstruction of an international organization, as the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) has been for 20 years.

Clearly it is necessary to make a shared balance of the splendours and limits of the RIM, so that this organization could be one step ahead of it.

The fractionalism of “mainly Maoism”, in the name of Maoism, on the other hand, works for the liquidationist erasure of the history of the RIM and to take a step back, which far from overcoming division and fragmentation, crystallizes and feeds them.

Re-establishing the interrupted path requires discussion, confrontation, two lines struggle, together with the development of an updated analysis of the world situation, combined with the coordination and unity of action, necessary for the MLM Parties and Organizations, to have a role of orientation and direction in the current international situation characterized on the one hand by the advance of imperialist war, modern fascism and the intensification of oppression, misery and

exploitation of the proletarians and peoples of the world, and on the other hand by proletarian and anti-imperialist struggles in the world, by the resistance of people’s wars, in the countries in which they develop and in those that are being prepared by building communist parties of a new type, Marxist-Leninist-Maoists.

To this second task serve the necessary Joint Declarations, unified campaigns, support for people’s wars in the world, mainly the people’s war in India led by the Communist Party of India (Maoist).

The new Unified International Conference demands that a new Joint Declaration be drawn up as the basis for its convocation, which will then be discussed, deepened and approved in the Conference, and that it will become the basis of the new international organization in the elaboration of a new General Line of the International Communist Movement, at a stage in progress but still far from the construction of a new Communist International.

Everyone can see that the work of the International Communist League goes in the opposite direction to all this, both in content and in methods.

The Icl denies the entirety of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the analysis of capitalist society on the scientific basis of Marx, the Leninist analysis of imperialism still in force and the universal parts of Mao Tse tung’s contributions embodied in the critical assessment of the construction of socialism in Russia and of the figure of Stalin, who is still considered a great Marxist-Leninist, in the continuation of the revolution in the phase of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR), and its basic objective: the working class must lead everything, in the developments made in philosophy, in the conception of the two lines struggle, in the enrichment of the military strategy of the proletariat - to distort everything in a substantial dogmato-revisionist replacement of Maoism, transformed into a variant of the ‘new synthesis’.

In this sense it is a wrong response to **the necessary progresses of the MLM to make more and more advancements**, the sole and indispensable guide of the world proletarian revolution.

As International Communist Movement we have the task of advancing the economic, political analysis of

the world capitalist/imperialist system; we must treasure the lessons of the victories and above all of the defeats of the ICL that have affected the socialist states, the revolutions of new democracy in the countries oppressed by imperialism and the struggles for the proletarian revolution within the imperialist countries. The ICL takes for granted a work that is in progress and for the most part still to be done and that certainly starts from fully restoring the MLM principles, their entirety, the historical heritage of the I, II and III Internationals and the positive legacies of the battle for the construction/reconstruction of the communist parties in the long cycle that goes from the Cultural Revolution to the RIM.

Only in this way can the International Conference be a second step, towards a new International Organization MLM adapted to the phase and able to operate in the fire of the class struggle and in close connection with the masses, for a general line necessary to the challenges of the current phase of the world clash between capitalism/imperialism and the proletariat and oppressed peoples.

An important task is to reaffirm, re-establish and apply the MLM conception of the Party. Rejecting what is presented, by the ICL, as “development and innovation”, where instead it is deviation.

In the imperialist countries, the ICL denies in theory and above all in practice the construction of the Party as a workers’ vanguard unit of the proletariat and only in this form capable of becoming the leader of the popular masses. Without this party it is impossible to organize, to lead the working class on the path of proletarian revolution.

It is clear to everyone that the groups and organizations belonging to the ICL in the imperialist countries, while conducting combative propaganda and agitation, are absolutely incapable, either ideologically or politically, or on the level of mass work in the class and the proletariat, to build such a party; Far from being a remnant of the past, it is the weapon today to unite the MLM with the class, socialism with the workers’ movement and to wage a real battle against the persistence of revisionism and the parties and organizations that represent it and bourgeois syndicalism that are its operational arm in the class and among the masses. Without a party of this nature, it is impossible to really transform the real movement of the class and the masses towards the revolutionary path, the armed struggle, **the revolutionary struggle for the seizure of political power** and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The same profound innovations in the countries

oppressed by imperialism demand that the development of the path of people’s war in these countries be carried out in updated and different forms with respect to the great experience of the People’s China, always on the basis of the essentials Mao’s contributions and teachings.

It is quite evident that, on the contrary, re-proposing them in dogmatic, stereotyped forms, far from favouring and **contributing to the development of people’s wars, makes them theoretically, ideologically, programmatically losing and backward with respect to the needs of their development and advancement.**

It is necessary to work in the fire of the class struggle in close connection with the masses in order to really contribute to placing the MLM in command and guidance of the indispensable future new wave of the world proletarian revolution.

It is up to all of us, as parties and MLM organizations, to take a step forward in cooperation, with humility, clarity, science, to respond on the international level and in every country where we are present to the tasks that the proletariat and the popular masses call and ask of us.

### **Some notes on which we are working to deepen the criticism**

- **Subjectivism in the analysis of the world situation contrasts with objective analysis, and therefore reduces to superficial, the tasks of communists which are complex.**

- **It is necessary to criticize those forces such as the TKP/ML that have declared in meetings and writings that they do not share the discriminating factor on the universality of the people’s war, nor the concept of “mainly Maoism” and its translation into the recognition as universal of the “guiding thought of President Gonzalo”; yet they are in the ICL that bases itself exactly on these two concepts; And denying it is pure hypocrisy.**

- **We must work not only to express correct positions, theses, but to advance on the practical level the construction of ideological political organizational conditions for an International Conference of MLMs. And this requires a work of relations, bilateral and multilateral meetings in the whole MLM movement. A work in the fire of the class struggle in close connection with the masses that unites the national work of each party and organization to the international work.**

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- Joint Declarations must have the ability to address and link with real movements of solidarity with Palestine, of the struggle against imperialist war, of struggle against repression, of solidarity with political prisoners, of trade union and popular struggles against exploitation, misery and oppression.

So there is no need for declarations made of statements that are correct in the abstract, that are not based on the concrete analysis of the concrete situation of the movements, situation that should not be distorted in the name of subjectivism, exaggerations that are always a form of ‘cult of spontaneity’.

- In the conception and method of this work, it is necessary to serve the general interest of the ICM and not the affirmation, always of a sectarian and Trotskyist nature, of one’s own fraction.

The people’s war of which the dogmato/revisionists speak is self-referential and abstract, it is an affirmation of the idea that creates reality.

The parties and groups of “mainly Maoism”, with the leading role of the comrades of Brazil, have actively sabotaged and attacked the International Committee for the Support of the People’s War in India, which in recent years has conducted campaigns always in close connection with the Communist Party of India (Maoist) and

the real needs of support for the people’s war. It is quite evident that sabotaging the action of the Committee to affirm a propaganda type of action in support of its own fraction, was an objective damage not only to the Committee, but to the people’s war in India and to the CPI (Maoist) in India, which is supported in words, while in all internal meetings it is attacked.

- The revisionist dogmatic vision of the “mainly Maoism” fraction was expressed in clear forms on the occasion of the war in Ukraine, where in the name of the centrality of the struggle of the oppressed peoples, Zelensky’s Ukraine was openly supported and the character of an inter-imperialist war, a proxy war in Ukraine, was obscured; Bringing a right-wing position to the MLM movement, which has damaged the proletarian and anti-imperialist struggle.

- The parties and organizations of the ICL oppose Bolshevization, principled character, method and founding work of the MLM parties all over the world, in the imperialist countries as well as in the countries oppressed by imperialism, in order to oppose it with the deformed concept of “militarization” which does not correspond to the MLM nor ideologically, theoretically, politically, or organizationally.



## Maoist Communist Committee - Brazil

# Marxism-Leninism-Maoism: The Cornerstone of Proletarian Revolution in Our Time

### Critique of the Subjectivism in the Leadership of the P.C.B.

*“It must be emphasized that the absence of a scientific attitude, that is, the absence of the Marxist-Leninist attitude that unites theory and practice, signifies a lack or insufficiency of party spirit.”*

(Chairman Mao, “Let Us Reform Our Study,” 1941).

*“A communist must always ask the reasons behind everything, use their own mind to think through all aspects, see whether or not they correspond to reality, and whether they are truly well-founded. Under no circumstances should a communist blindly follow others or encourage servile obedience.”*

(Chairman Mao, “Rectify the Party’s Work Style,” 1942).

*“Dogmatic, empty, and dry formulas destroy creative initiative, and not only that, they first and foremost destroy Marxism itself. A ‘dogmatic Marxism’ is not Marxism; it is anti-Marxism.”*

(Chairman Mao, “Talks at the Yan’an Forum on Literature and Art,” 1943).

## LEARN FROM CHAIRMAN MAO! (Introduction)

Comrades,

As Chairman Mao Tse tung teaches, when analyzing any problem, it is crucial to establish a correct ideological-political line, which can only be achieved by starting from objective reality. The precision of this line, born from life and verified by life, is the indispensable condition for overcoming all the challenges imposed by the class struggle. This flexible and non-rigid attitude, dialectical and not mechanistic, is a principle of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. As Marx said, fidelity to principles is not judged by what an organization, or its leaders, say about themselves, but by their actions. For Chairman Mao, the ability to formulate correct guidelines was rooted in the party’s ability to link theory with practice, leadership with the masses, and to practice criticism and self-criticism. The understanding consolidated by Chairman Mao in the midst of the revolutionary war, in the immortal documents “Against the Cliché Style of the Party”, “Interventions at the Jen-an Colloquia on Literature and Art”, “Let’s Reform Our Study,” “Let’s Rectify the Party’s Work Style”, and others of the same carat, constituted a valuable development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the communist party, a consistent application of materialist dialectics to the field of relations within the vanguard and between the vanguard and the broad masses. Chairman Mao never strayed from these

formulations, based on the definition of contradiction as the only fundamental law of dialectics; rather, he extended and deepened them during the period of socialist construction: this is what enabled him to critique modern revisionism and to envision more concretely the transition from socialism to communism, through successive proletarian cultural revolutions.

These issues — dialectical materialist worldview, methods of work and leadership style of the Communist Party, and the path to transition from capitalism to communism—form an indivisible whole within this valuable development that marked the transition to a new stage of Marxism-Leninism, the Maoism. To isolate Maoism from Marxism-Leninism, or to isolate a single aspect of Chairman Mao’s broad developments to the detriment of the others, would not be a creative application of it but, on the contrary, a regression.

Forty-eight years after the dramatic events that culminated in the triumph of the counter-revolutionary coup in China in 1976, which inaugurated a complex period of counter-revolution (in decline but still operative), Chairman Mao’s advice remains highly relevant: once again, return to Jen-an. In this case, “returning to Jen-an” means LEARNING FROM CHAIRMAN MAO, the highest point of unity, universally valid for communists worldwide, in all countries. But this “learning from Chairman Mao” does not mean repeating his sayings like a profession of faith, for this would not be

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learning from Chairman Mao, but rather tearing apart all of his teachings.

Learning from Chairman Mao means, in accordance with Marx and Lenin, viewing Marxism not as a dogma but as a guide to action;

Learning from Chairman Mao means starting from practice as the criterion of truth;

Learning from Chairman Mao means understanding that contradiction, and not unanimity, is the driving force of the world's process, and therefore also of the Party's process;

Learning from Chairman Mao means striving at every step to link theory with practice, leadership with the masses, and to practice criticism and self-criticism continuously;

Learning from Chairman Mao means recognizing that no correct line can be born or enriched unless it arises "from the masses";

Learning from Chairman Mao means always drawing a clear line between revolution and counter-revolution, distinguishing contradictions among the people from contradictions between us and the enemy;

Learning from Chairman Mao means affirming the correctness of rebellion, of people's war, and that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers; Learning from Chairman Mao means upholding that going against the current is a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist principle.

LET US LEARN FROM CHAIRMAN MAO!

### **FIRST SECTION: PROBLEMS OF IDEOLOGY AND THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION**

#### **Chapter 1: Universality and Particularity in the Development of Proletarian Ideology**

In recent decades, there have been developments that must be systematized. We highlight, in particular, the work of prominent leaders such as Charu Mazumdar and Kanhai Chatterjee in India; Ibrahim Kaypakkaya in Turkey; José Maria Sison in the Philippines; and Abimael Guzmán, Comrade Gonzalo, in Peru. These communists dared to raise the banner of people's war, leading processes that spanned decades and continue to inspire successive generations of proletarian revolutionaries across the globe. It is also essential to highlight the heroism of the Nepalese Maoists, whose legacy will never be erased despite the treacherous betrayal by Prachanda-Bhattarai and their cronies. All of them contributed to the arsenal of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and the assessment of these contributions must be systematized not only by their

respective parties but also within the framework of the International Communist Movement (ICM). It is crucial to emphasize, among these historical leaders, the role of Comrade Gonzalo in the resolute defense and systematization of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the third stage of Marxism-Leninism, not merely as "Mao Tse-tung Thought".

However, the primary source of Maoism, the foundation for unifying communists within a given country and between different organizations internationally, is the work of Chairman Mao himself, proven in the fire of revolutionary war and the leadership of the socialist state in People's China. This universality, which must be applied consistently (that is, creatively) to concrete reality, is the common measure that guides the unity efforts of revolutionary organizations. In short, the source of Maoism, not only the primary but also the principal one, is the work of Chairman Mao. The fact that we must emphasize this almost tautological statement indicates the prevailing state of affairs within part of the communist movement, both globally and, particularly, here in Brazil.

While it is true that all revolutions produce leaders, it is equally true that revolutionary processes develop — like everything else — in an uneven manner, and there are leaders and leaders. Commenting on the correspondence between Marx and Engels, Lenin noted its specific importance, stating: "*The editorial of Neue Zeit is completely right in saying 'it is uplifting to become acquainted with men whose thought and will were shaped under the conditions of great revolutions'*"<sup>1</sup>. Just as even the most capable of parties cannot, on its own, "create" a revolutionary situation, the most committed party leader cannot, through sheer will or personal dedication, claim to "develop" communism by themselves, because this depends on the historical context in which they act and their ability to reflect and transcend it. This is a historical process — rich, multifaceted, and... collective. It is true that in the Soviet Union and China, later extended to the international communist movement, the figures of Lenin, Stalin, and Mao came to be fully identified with scientific communism, but this occurred after undeniable historical verification in the unparalleled task of leading victorious wars and 1 "Preface to the Russian Translation of the Letters of K. Marx to L. Kugelmann," 1907. revolutions. Hastening this condition without due verification carries a series of dangers, such as replacing democratic centralism with the will of an individual; unification around "leaders" — who themselves must be subject to control and verification by the Party's collective organs — rather than principles; the re-establishment of a kind of "theory of geniuses," so vehemently fought against in the Great Proletarian

Cultural Revolution (GPCR); and the very practical impossibility of unifying the ICM, which lacks a common foundation with unequivocal verification that serves as a measure to compare distinct interpretations on specific issues. These are highly complex questions that cannot be resolved by decree, nor overnight.

One cannot infer from what was stated above that merely achieving political and military victories suffices to prove the universally valid character of a certain application. This would be mere pragmatism. Take, for example, the case of the liberation war of the Vietnamese people. Although it has contributed numerous lessons to the arsenal of revolutionary struggle (precisely because it draws from the teachings of the prolonged people's war of the Communist Party of China, creatively applied to the realities of Vietnam), this "quantity did not transform into quality." This is to say that, due to the influence of Soviet revisionism and the limitations of Ho Chi Minh's leadership, a series of misunderstandings and errors regarding the conception of the Party, State, and the character of the revolution persisted. Verification is essential; more than that, a consequential verification is necessary, guided by or reflected in a comprehensive theoretical development that, while addressing the acute problems of class struggle in a given period, elevates the revolutionary theory-practice as a whole. One might say: but this is a rare occurrence. Naturally, Marxism is a science, the most developed science that exists, as it encompasses as a unity the realms of nature, society, and thought, and scientific development is not something that can be achieved at the cost of liquidation. To trivialize the **identification** of this science, which is also the worldview of the proletariat, with specific leaders ultimately vulgarizes the scientific character of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the role, so insistently emphasized by Chairman Mao, of practice and investigation in the process of knowledge.

Therefore, the formulations of the Communist Party of Brazil (P.C.B.) and the camp of which it has become a herald in recent years, describing the ideology of the international proletariat as "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, primarily Maoism — contributions of universal validity from President Gonzalo", are erroneous. As comrades from the Communist Party of India (Maoist) aptly underline in their critique of the International Communist League (ICL), published in issue 2 of the magazine "Two Lines Struggles", such terminology, "primarily Maoism", is "contrary to the understanding that proletarian ideology is a living indivisible entity and that all that has been achieved so far universally through revolutionary proletarian practice is integral to it". Why did it never occur to Stalin to speak of "Marxism-Leninism, primarily Leninism"? On the contrary, he

defined Leninism as the "Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution". This was stated in the early 1920s, when both the imperialist war and the October Revolution — the first victorious proletarian revolution in history — were a reality.

The formulations of the P.C.B. go even further and, in practice, prioritize Comrade Gonzalo over Chairman Mao in characterizing Maoism. The fact that the P.C.B. allocates three letters to the stages of Marxism (mlm) and five letters to the contributions of "President Gonzalo" (avupg) indicates that, for all intents and purposes, under the slogan of "primarily Maoism", there is in fact a premature secondary positioning of Chairman Mao's role. Here, "primarily" equals "secondarily". This is also evident in the fact that they refer to Comrade Gonzalo, for the entire International Communist Movement, as "President Gonzalo," when he was president of the CPP and head of the Peruvian revolution *specifically*. In this regard, the comrades of the CPI(M) are correct to assert that it is not right to do this while highlighting the significant role played by Comrade Gonzalo. This is not rightism from the Indian comrades; it is adhering to the criteria defined within the very framework of scientific socialism, which Gonzalo himself would agree with, as he always emphasized that, for him, "*in essence, Gonzalo Thought is nothing but the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to our concrete reality*" — "Interview with El Diario, 1988."

## **Chapter 2: Historical Optimism or Revolutionary Phrase?**

In the intervention commemorating the 130th anniversary of Chairman Mao's birth, the Revolutionary Front for the Defense of People's Rights (whose statements seem to align ideologically with the formulations of the P.C.B.) defined mlm-avupg as "*the Marxism of the present, of the era of popular wars and global people's war*". As can be seen, it employs the structure established by Comrade Stalin when defining **Leninism as a new stage of Marxism** to characterize the "contributions of universal validity from President Gonzalo". The very definition provided by President Gonzalo of Maoism as the third, new, and superior stage of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is, in fact, "overcome" by the formulation above; after all, what would remain of the "superior" if it were no longer sufficient to characterize the overall historical situation? This definition is reiterated in several other documents, and it is evident that in all of them, typically, the works of Comrade Gonzalo are mentioned far more than those of President Mao. Given all this, it would be more honest, from the perspective of the Revolutionary Front, to defend the "contributions" as a new "stage", as this

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is where their approach to the ideology of the international proletariat *truly* leads.

Comrades should reflect on these considerations, which were made in a fraternal tone by the comrades of the CPI (M), regarding the relationship of universality and particularity within the formulation of “universal validity contributions of President Gonzalo”. Even criticisms that may initially seem unjust should be taken into account and not dismissed outright, especially when they come from forces with a significant revolutionary tradition. In fact, the haste to label any divergence, whether external or internal, as “rightist line” is harmful and, far from being unprecedented, has always been one of the most negative traits of the leadership style of revisionist leaders.

As for the merit of the matter, if we can even speak of a separation between merit and method in this case, let’s revisit the characterization defended by the intervention of the Revolutionary Front: *“In turn, Maoism, contributions of universal validity from President Gonzalo, is the Marxism of the era of Popular Wars and global people’s war”*. Isn’t it abundantly clear that only by replacing the concrete analysis of the concrete situation — the living essence of Marxism — with a staunch subjectivism can one accept such a definition as valid? No, definitively, the “global people’s war” is not the distinguishing feature of our era! On the contrary, this era is characterized by the predominance of a prolonged counterrevolution, with intensified aggression against oppressed peoples, an exacerbation of the exploitation of the proletariat both in imperialist countries and in the Third World, and the worsening of inter-imperialist tensions that points toward a new world war. In the superstructure, this is expressed in the reactivation of fascism, the ongoing influence of religions and superstitions over the masses, and the exacerbation of chauvinism and racism. Underestimating this situation would be a mistake, and ultimately, a betrayal, as it would leave the masses unarmed to confront the vengeful fury of the reaction and its intrinsic tendency (inherent to imperialism) toward reaction and violence across the board.

These conditions, undoubtedly, create fertile ground for the actions of revolutionaries, and ultimately only bring closer the moment (from a historical perspective) when the peoples of the world will tighten the noose around the necks of the imperialists. They have also triggered mass explosions in various parts of the globe, as well as indomitable wars of resistance in the Third World, prominently highlighted by the Glorious Palestinian Resistance. However, these are distinct matters because mass initiative alone is not enough; it needs to find a communist direction that practices what Lenin referred to as the “fusion” of the labor movement

with socialist consciousness. This perspective should inspire all our efforts and serves as a guarantee that, no matter how small a process may be, it can grow and succeed if armed with a correct line, providing ample reason to foster our materialist optimism. Nonetheless, possibility does not equate to effectiveness: for the former to transform into the latter, politics plays a decisive role, understood as the ability of communists to orient themselves at every moment, creatively applying general principles to the abrupt and, in many respects, unpredictable turns of class struggle, as well as their success in connecting with the masses. In the end, a difficult path is shorter and less painful than a misguided one; hence, a bitter truth is preferable to its replacement by revolutionary rhetoric, which the great Lenin defined as: *“Slogans are magnificent, attractive, intoxicating, but they lack a foundation—such is the essence of revolutionary phraseology”* - V.I. Lenin, “On the Revolutionary Phrase,” 1918.

During the anti-Japanese war, Chairman Mao also combated both the theory of national subjugation and the theory of quick victory, which led, albeit through seemingly different paths, to the same dead end.

### Chapter. 3: History and Politics, Strategy and Tactics

At the international level, the definition that our ideology should be described as “mlm-avupg” is based, as seen, on the idea that we live in the era of the “world people’s war” and the “strategic offensive of the world proletarian revolution.” The strategic offensive is defined in the aforementioned Revolutionary Front’s Intervention on the occasion of the 130th anniversary of Chairman Mao:

“The definition of the Strategic Offensive of the World Proletarian Revolution (SOWPR) **expressed**, on one hand, in its objective basis, the deepening condition of the general crisis of imperialism’s decomposition, and on the other, in the subjective sphere, mainly the BAS [Beginning of the Armed Struggle] in Peru, the beginning of the powerful wave of the WPR [World Proletarian Revolution], which, with Militarized Communist Parties, **will sweep** imperialism and all reaction from the face of the earth”. (Our emphasis).

Certainly, it is not just poor writing style that explains the use of different tenses to describe the same phenomenon: the SOWPR is spoken of as a concluded fact (“expressed”), whose evidence is a potential situation (“will sweep”). This is a mistaken conception of subjective action, confusing history and politics, strategy and tactics. As for the aforementioned objective basis, since Lenin, imperialism has been characterized as the highest and final stage of capitalism, parasitic, decomposing, and dying. The International Communist

Movement has always emphasized that the October Revolution inaugurated a complex era of wars and revolutions, which will undoubtedly culminate in the victory of socialism. This is a structural condition of imperialism, not a specific situation that occurred in 1980 or 2020 — because, to this definition, the said intervention still adds that we are living in a “new period of revolutions”, which it states without explaining at any point, except to say it was characterized between 2019-2022. Could it be, according to the comrades, that the Covid-19 pandemic was a kind of October of the 21st century?

Undoubtedly, the general crisis of capitalism in its imperialist phase is the basis on which communists operate. It stirs all the fundamental contradictions of the era and throws the masses into the whirlwind of class struggle. But this does not mean that the political situation in the world and in each country does not undergo changes, nor that the triumph of the revolution can be predicted for tomorrow. Chairman Mao himself spoke of the need to differentiate periods of developing or stagnant revolutionary situations and that applying identical tactics to different moments would be disastrous for revolutionaries. In the same place, he says: *“For Red power to exist for a long time and to develop, besides the above-mentioned conditions, another important condition is required: the Communist Party’s organization must be strong, and its policy correct”* - Chairman Mao, “Why Can Red Power Exist in China,” Volume I.

Here, “politics” is the key word. It was not the method of Marx, Lenin, nor Mao to directly derive revolutionary tactics from abstract principles, but rather to start from the concrete situation. It was Lenin who, quoting Marx, emphasized a passage where Marx stated that *“in great historical processes, twenty years amount to a day, although there may later be days that concentrate within them twenty years”* - V.I. Lenin, “Karl Marx (A Brief Biographical Sketch with an Exposition of Marxism),” 1914. Here, a distinction is made between historical time and political time, between preparatory periods and the direct assault. Lenin also emphasized, regarding the establishment of slogans, that: *“Every specific slogan must derive from the totality of the peculiarities of a given political situation”* - V.I. Lenin, “On Slogans,” 1917, which has nothing in common with merely repeating general principles to “solve” the problems of the revolution. In “Letters on Tactics,” also from 1917, Lenin objectively distinguished, and demanded the same distinction, between possibility and reality: *“Answer— this is fully possible. But a Marxist, when considering the moment, must not start from the possible but from the real”*.

Substituting reality for possibility, and, based on possibilities, deriving an entire line of action for the ICM (International Communist Movement) and in each country, is a demonstration of subjectivism and a departure from the guidance of the classics that the concrete analysis of the concrete situation is the living soul of Marxism. Another important point is that this confusion between principles and slogans, strategy and tactics, leads to treating revolutionary action and the transition to higher forms of class struggle as mere continuity of routine, in a gradualism that has not been able to fulfill its own definitions. Such subjectivism is indeed based on the **idea** of people’s war — so perfect and precise in every detail, like everything that inhabits the realm of ideas — a standard by which the positions of communist parties that adopt it are even measured.

Regarding Comrade Gonzalo’s definition that, from 1980, the “strategic offensive of the world proletarian revolution” was inaugurated, we believe it has not proven to be correct, either internationally or even in Peru. Even if a triumphant revolution were to erupt tomorrow — which, unfortunately, does not seem eminent — it would be separated by forty-four years from that formulation. Decades that, in fact, marked a resurgence of counter-revolution on a global scale, the most complex ever faced by the communist movement in its history, as it occurred after the loss of power of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the People’s Republic of China.

Such a definition, which extends Chairman Mao’s concept of people’s war in China to a vision of the entire contemporary world, also errs by replacing contradiction as the driving force of development — and contradiction is polar — namely, the revolution-counterrevolution dyad, where one aspect can convert into its opposite, and even those who have lost can regain what was taken, during a long period in which it will remain unresolved “who will defeat whom,” with a triad (of the thesis-antithesis synthesis type) that treats historical development as a closed system. Even the longest of wars, compared to History, is a limited event in both space and time, with a defined beginning and end, which is why it can be thought of in terms of more or less fixed identifiable stages. Nothing similar occurs with the historical process in general. As Marx and Engels taught us, communism, far from being an end, will mark only the beginning of true human history, which is why transplanting a war schema to its analysis as a whole is theoretically flawed and politically ineffective, as is any form of transplantation, so favored by mechanistic materialism.

The attitude towards the past decades, and towards the Peruvian revolution itself, is the best example of how the formulations of the Revolutionary Front are

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imbued with subjectivism. In the same intervention for Chairman Mao's 130th anniversary, it is said:

"Therefore, the SOWPR brilliantly led by Chairman Gonzalo is the one in which we are inserted and developed. As our founder, the Great Karl Marx, taught us, a revolution, if it is genuine, engenders a powerful counterrevolution. The people's war in Peru, by becoming the center of the WPR in the opening of its SOWPR stage, attracted to itself, at a moment when the international proletariat was regrouping its forces to prepare its counteroffensive after the defeat of the GPCR and the capitalist restoration in China, a particular and unprecedented counterrevolution. **As was also said after the defeat of the Paris Commune: the revolution is dead, long live the revolution!**". (Our emphasis).

We have already addressed the first part of the statement. Here, we underline the extreme vulgarity with which Marx's method, followed by Lenin and Mao, is treated, reducing political events to mere rhetorical outbursts. As is well known, Marx did not merely declare, after the defeat of the Commune, "Long live the revolution!". In a series of works, especially in "The Civil War in France" he carried out a brilliant political analysis, perhaps unmatched to this day, of the events of the Commune, in a rich, detailed, and concrete way. What distinguished Marx and the dialectical materialist method he founded from the utopian socialists was not the call to "long live the revolution" — since, after all, despite their conceptual errors, anarchists and Blanquists fought heroically in the Commune — but rather his incredible capacity for theoretical abstraction, combined with sharp political insight, achieved through the consistent application of the law of contradiction in interpreting concrete phenomena. We know that in "The Civil War in France" Marx meticulously criticized the errors of the Communards, such as their failure to march on Versailles and not expropriating the National Bank, and that Lenin studied his notes with intense interest between February and October 1917, resulting in another work of great acuity and political creativity, far from doctrinaire, such as his "The State and Revolution". In these examples, theory serves to explain life; not life to justify theory.

The International Communist Movement, and notably the Peruvian comrades who are fighting to reorganize the CPP (Communist Party of Peru), must study the experience of people's war according to the example set by the classics. Chairman Mao said that "*the analytical method is the dialectical method*", and that "*when we say analysis, we mean analyzing the contradictions in things*" - "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work," 1957, Volume V. "Volume V. He also said that "*we must learn with an analytical and critical*

*spirit, and not in a blind manner; not copy everything nor apply it mechanically*" - "On the Ten Major Relationships. This is even true for the study of Marx himself: "*What we must study is that which belongs to the domain of universal truths, and this study must combine with Chinese reality. If we introduced every sentence, even if it were from Marx, we would get into a tremendous confusion*" - Ibid. To prohibit the need for any concrete analysis of the Peruvian revolution and the formulations of Comrade Gonzalo; to label as rightism everything except the 100% block defense, placing exclusively on the correlation of external forces and internal police action the severe blows suffered by this process, is to violate the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism Maoism in the examination of problems.

It is important to emphasize, so that there are no doubts — although the most vehement attacks are inevitable — that the reduction of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the repetition of general truths correct a priori, without the requirement of application and verification in concrete practice, was never defended by Comrade Gonzalo, who, on the contrary, always sought to support his positions on rigorous grounds. On several occasions, and in particular during the III Plenary of the Central Committee (1992), he combated the tendency to mere repetition. Those who act thus, extracting from the set of Comrade Gonzalo's formulations only the synthetic sentences, reducing the development of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as he advocated it almost to a mere set of slogans, distance themselves and discredit his work and the rich experience of the people's war in Peru.

### Chapter. 4: Forecast and Perspective

With this same analytical spirit, we must approach Chairman Mao's statement of "50 to 100 years" used by the P.C.B. and the group gathered around it, as one of the validations of the so-called SOWPR. Chairman Mao said:

"The next 50 to 100 years **more or less**, starting today, will be a great epoch of radical change in the world's social system, an epoch that will shake the earth, an epoch to which no previous historical period can compare. Living in such an epoch, **we must be ready to engage in a great struggle, whose forms will have many characteristics different from those of past eras**". (From a speech at a Meeting of Seven Thousand Cadres of the CPC, 1962). (Our emphasis).

First, it must be emphasized that there is no implication whatsoever in this quote that Chairman Mao foresaw the death of imperialism and the triumph of communism within five to ten decades — half of which

has already passed. This was never the method of Marx, Lenin, or Mao himself. He said “more or less” and highlighted the fact that, in the future, communists should be prepared to engage in a great struggle, whose forms, we emphasize, “will have many characteristics different from those of past eras”. Indeed, this prolonged period of counterrevolution that has followed since the restoration in China has presented (and continues to present) new and highly complex challenges for revolutionaries on all fronts, which requires critically assimilating their previous historical experience and understanding what is shared and distinct about the current era. In this, Chairman Mao was correct. His statement, far from being dogmatic, is, like everything in his writings, profoundly antidogmatic.

Secondly, regarding the conditions under which Chairman Mao formulated that perspective (and the Marxist historical method requires that any formulation be situated in its specific context), we believe the assessment made by comrades of the CPI (M) is correct: “The assessment that the world revolution will succeed in the next 50 to 100 years is a subjective evaluation and goes against objective reality. There has not been a socialist country in the world since 1976. **When Mao said it could be achieved in 50 to 100 years, he was correct under the concrete conditions of that time.** He said this in the context of the weakening of imperialism. The establishment of socialist states, communist parties were strong in various countries, Asia, Africa, and Latin America were the storm centers with national liberation struggles and new democratic revolutions, and proletarian struggles were ongoing in capitalist-imperialist countries”. (Our emphasis).

In truth, Mao projected a long-term perspective, which — like any other — could only be based on the correlation of forces that existed at that time. It would be erroneous to take it as a date circled on a calendar or an operational directive, for the simple reason that Marxism is not astrology, but a science open to the developments of life. What we must grasp from the classics, as Chairman Mao says, is their position, their point of view, and their method. Even they made some erroneous predictions because, after all, they were not superhumans existing outside of time. What sets them apart is not infallibility but the fact that they were wrong very little — one might even say rarely, compared to most people — and they corrected their errors quickly. It was with this approach that Lenin judged some unfulfilled predictions of Marx and Engels:

“Yes, Marx and Engels were wrong often and frequently erred in determining the proximity of revolution... But such errors by these giants of revolutionary thought, who sought to raise and did raise

the proletariat of the whole world above the level of petty, everyday, and trivial tasks, are a thousand times more noble, grand, and historically valuable and true than the vulgar wisdom of official liberalism...” - V.I. Lenin, “Preface to the Correspondence with Sorge and Others,” 1907

Undoubtedly, Chairman Mao’s (historical) **perspective**, like that of Marx and Engels to which Lenin referred, stands miles above the baseness of liberalism — and its opportunistic acolytes — that proclaims the eternity of capitalism, even if some of their (political) **predictions** did not unfold as imagined. In this sense, it is indeed correct. However, this should not be confused with the attitude of treating classic Marxist texts as prescriptions. Just as Lenin referred to the mistakes of Marx and Engels, Chairman Mao occasionally mentioned the errors of Comrade Stalin. If these criteria are not observed, nothing would remain of Marx’s warning that an authentic revolutionary party distinguishes itself by its capacity for self-criticism.

Still on this topic, we must reject the emphasis that the comrades of the P.C.B. place on the “optimism vs. pessimism” opposition to address the complex problems of the world proletarian revolution and its forecasts and perspectives. This has never been the approach of the classics of Marxism. They always opposed materialism to idealism, dialectics to metaphysics, Marxism to revisionism. They fought with equal intensity against those who sought to renounce the great struggles and those who acted with adventurism. General optimism, detached from class politics, is a subjective matter, not necessarily tied to a scientific worldview: religious people who believe in the imminent return of the messiah can be profoundly optimistic and capable of great feats in defending their ideology. Thus, for example, Mao’s analysis of the protracted nature of the revolutionary war in China seemed more accurate than those who “optimistically” defended the possibility of a swift victory. Anarchists also think it is possible to abolish social classes the day after the revolution’s triumph, and we can do no more than laugh at such “optimism.” As we can see, it is simply not possible to measure a position based on such subjective criteria. Emphasizing this terrain depoliticizes the ideological struggle within the party and the MCI, and deviates from Chairman Mao’s statement that “not having a correct political point of view is like having no soul”.

The core of the ideological struggle must therefore be politics, the firm foundation upon which ideas can be tested. For a consistent materialist, what could be more encouraging and stimulating than the conversion of correct ideas into concrete practice? On the contrary,

the persistent divergence between reality and representation will only foster, beyond blind repetition, skepticism.

## **SECOND SECTION: COMMUNIST PARTY AND REVOLUTION IN BRAZIL**

### **Chapter. 5: Reconstitution, Guiding Thought, and People's War**

As we know, it was Comrade Gonzalo who formulated the idea that every revolution generates a Guiding Thought, which upholds Leadership. Starting from the CCP's 1945 definition that it was guided by "Marxism-Leninism and the ideas of Mao Tsetung" — a matter that should be the subject of future studies to determine what identifies and what separates the original formulation of the Chinese comrades from its theorization by the Peruvian comrades —, the Chairman of the CPP stated in his intervention at the First Congress, held in 1988, eight years after the start of the people's war:

"Only with the process of the Red Fraction of the CPP, in the late 1970s, was this important ideological development of Maoism, namely the concepts of guiding thought and leadership, fully understood, applied decisively, and developed by Chairman Gonzalo, initiating and directing the people's war in Peru. **The full understanding of this issue and its complete definition was a product of this war and was presented to the world at the First Congress of the CPP (1988).**" (Our emphasis).

In other words, the very orthodoxy of the current that defends "primarily Maoism with universally valid contributions from Chairman Gonzalo" predicates the inseparability of guiding thought and people's war — the former as the product of the latter, the latter as the confirmation of the former. Comrade Gonzalo, in the interview given to "El Diario" reiterates: "*This was formerly called guiding thought; and if today the Party at the Congress sanctioned Gonzalo thought, it is because a leap occurred in this guiding thought, precisely in the development of the People's War*". (Our emphasis).

For Comrade Gonzalo, these are inseparable issues: Reconstitution and People's War; People's War and named guiding thought. The initiation of the PPW (Protracted People's War) is what confirms and seals the reconstitution of the Party; the people's war is what confirms and seals, by naming it, the guiding thought of the Party and the Revolution. Is it not evident that a distinct theoretical and practical approach, which, for

example, considered these three aspects in a disconnected manner, would be a revision of the very conception proclaimed as the "Marxism of our time"? Is it not evident that the substitution of the confirmation of said "guiding thought" in the course of the revolutionary war with any vague reference to "intervention in the class struggle" would be distinct and opposed to the formulations of Comrade Gonzalo himself? How have such issues been addressed by the P.C.B.-FV in their documents over the years? Have there been principled changes in their approaches in their writings? If so, were they duly explained and justified? Is it not an unmistakable sign of subjectivism to claim to have already resolved, before even beginning, all the future stages of the class struggle in every aspect, and to see in such "prophecies" the very confirmation of what has not yet occurred? How can the comrades of the P.C.B. respond to these questions — not before their critics, but before their own membership?

### **Chapter. 6: War and Politics**

In the 2014 document "People's War and Revolution" the then P.C.B.-FV states:

*"Thus, People's War is not only the theory or the integral and harmonious military doctrine of the proletariat, it is more than that; it is the politics and conception of proletarian power"*.

Regarding this, we briefly emphasize:

1-By saying that Maoism = People's War, the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist worldview is reduced to a specific form of struggle (war is the supreme form of struggle between classes or nations, no more and no less than this). This violates the relationship between war and politics.

2-It reduces Chairman Mao's contributions to Marxist philosophy, Marxist political economy, and scientific socialism to only a part of scientific socialism (specifically, the conception of People's War). 3-Consequence: By reducing the totality of Chairman Mao's work to People's War, the unity of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is broken, reducing it to a military line.

4-It places the army at the center of political power rather than mass organizations. Such a conception violates the correct relationship between the army and the people. As Chairman Mao always reiterated, the role of the armed forces is to support, sustain, and defend popular power. In China, concretely, this new power was exercised in the base areas; similarly, in the Soviet Union, the role of the Red Army was to serve the Soviet government, as Lenin repeatedly emphasized, as the state organization of the worker-peasant alliance.

5-It undermines the role of the Communist Party,



which is itself reduced from being the “vanguard detachment of the proletariat” the “brain of the class” to a military organization, with serious organizational implications for internal and external relations, democratic centralism, and two-line struggle.

6-It demonstrates inconsistency, as this development is presented without an objective basis to support it, except in the realm of ideas. This is profoundly incoherent with the internal logic of its own argumentation. - Be that as it may, weapons are not the antidote to incorrect ideas.

Neither Chairman Mao nor Comrade Gonzalo ever framed things in those terms. In the section titled “War and Politics” from *On Protracted War* (1940), Chairman Mao says:

“War is the continuation of politics. In this sense, war is politics, and it is in itself a political action. There has never been a war, since ancient times, that did not have a political character (...) In short, war cannot be separated from politics for even a The antidote to incorrect ideas is correct ideasmoment. Every tendency among the anti-Japanese military to disregard politics, isolating war from it and advocating the idea that war is something absolute, is wrong and must be corrected.”

The central point here is: all war is political in the sense that it possesses a **political character**. Clausewitz already emphasized this, and it was in this sense that his ideas were incorporated, critiqued, and surpassed by Marxism. Isolating war from politics, seeing it as something absolute — that is, as an end in itself — is an erroneous tendency. But, to leave no ambiguity, Chairman Mao continues, shortly after:

“But war has its own peculiarities; in this sense, **it is not equivalent to politics in general**. ‘War is the continuation of politics by other means’. When politics reaches a certain stage of its development, beyond which it can no longer advance by usual means, war breaks out to remove the obstacle in the way. (...) When the obstacle is removed and the political objective is achieved, the war will end. Until the obstacle is completely eliminated, war must continue until the objective is reached.” (Our emphasis).

As can be understood, war as a specific phenomenon is not equivalent to politics in general — and, naturally, in a logical and dialectical sense, this also means that politics is not equivalent to war in general. War is a means to achieve a particular end, not the end in itself. Hence, the error, with potentially serious implications, of speaking of war as the “conception and politics of power of the proletariat.”

When the document says that people’s war is not “only” the integral military doctrine of the proletariat — it’s astonishing that this would be considered insufficient

— it contradicts Comrade Gonzalo himself. In his intervention at the CPP’s First Congress in 1988, under the section titled “People’s War”, he states:

“**The military theory of the international proletariat**. Clearly, this is clear, and it is even recognized by reactionary strategists. (...) How is the military theory of the proletariat summed up in two words? People’s war, I believe. (...) Every class in history generates its own **way** of waging war; the bourgeoisie generated theirs, and without generating it, they could not have triumphed. Napoleon, in this respect, did quite a bit.” (Our emphasis).

There it is: it is Comrade Gonzalo himself who defines people’s war as the “military theory of the proletariat” and emphasizes it as the proletariat’s way of waging war, just as the bourgeoisie, in its time, produced its own form of war. In summary: without people’s war, the revolution cannot triumph; however, the revolution is something much broader than the people’s war, as it is the end to which the war is subordinated as a means. Therefore, it is surprising to see attempts to discredit critiques of that “innovative” thesis as “rightism”, “avakianism,” etc., unless one sustains that Comrade Gonzalo himself would be considered such. This is the unflinching method of the Pharisees: not to respond to the arguments, but to disqualify the critics, leaving people too intimidated to reflect.

### **Chapter. 7: The Character of the Party and Democratic Centralism**

If the military phenomenon is taken as an end in itself, it is natural that the highest form of organization of the working class would not be the Party, but the army. The P.C.B.’s process, however, does not do this in the manner of Latin American armed revisionism, openly placing the military organization at the center. Formally, it is stated that the Party is the center. However, it is the Party itself that is reduced to a military organization.

First, let us look at the broader aspects of the issue. In the intervention marking the 130th anniversary of Chairman Mao, it is stated:

“The Comintern was only able to fulfill its role as the general staff of the international proletariat and develop the revolution when it was able to decisively crush revisionism, both theoretically and practically, throughout the 1930s, becoming a true war machine for the world proletarian revolution in the defeat of fascism”.

Here, there are two problems. The first is the blanket defense of the Comintern’s experience, disregarding Chairman Mao’s overall assessment that it was necessary to distinguish between positive and negative aspects of its experience, as well as of Comrade Stalin’s

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leadership. On this subject, Chairman Mao said - President Mao, “*On the Ten Major Relationships*”, 1956:

“In the past, when the dogmatists led by Wang Ming were in leadership, our Party made mistakes in this regard by assimilating the negative side of Stalin’s work style. Socially, they rejected the intermediate forces, and within the Party, they did not allow others to correct their mistakes while continuing to make the revolution”.

Here, Chairman Mao connects the internal struggle against dogmatic deviations in the PCC with negative aspects of the Comintern’s leadership in the 1930s. This is what he said when referring, in “On the Question of Stalin” to certain “bad advice” given by Comrade Stalin. This assessment—that Comrade Stalin was a great Marxist Leninist, with 70% of his actions being correct and 30% of his errors concentrated on the handling of dialectics and its application to social life and the Party—has become a classic evaluation within Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and was accepted by Comrade Gonzalo. In this sense, it is a mistake to view Chairman Mao merely as a continuation of Comrade Stalin’s work.

From here, we arrive at the second point: in the struggle against dogmatism in the PCC, Chairman Mao advanced the theory of the Communist Party, applying the law of contradiction to properly establish the relationship between democracy and centralism, and the two-line struggle. As we know, he developed these concepts during the life-and-death struggle against dogmatism in the PCC, dogmatism that almost led to the liquidation of the Red Army and the Party itself. This struggle spanned many years, culminating in the rectification campaign of the 1940s. In fact, the themes of democracy and centralism, the relationship between leaders and the led, and the two-line struggle within the Party occupied his reflections until the end of his life. In Chairman Mao’s thought, the development of dialectics is inseparable from the fight against formalism within the Party. In the specific context of the 1930s, this was the main target of his “arrows” Summarizing this experience, the comrades of the CPI (M) correctly state:

“From the moment Mao took leadership of the CPC, he made every effort to develop the Party along truly Leninist lines. Due to the domination of previous incorrect lines, particularly Wang Ming’s third ‘leftist’ opportunist line, there were several deviations in the functioning of the Party. Due to sectarian understanding, there were no functioning norms of democratic centralism, but rather a completely misguided approach to the two-line struggle. Decisions were made without consultation, without the participation of Party cadres, and sessions of the plenums and other meetings were manipulated. The two-line struggle was not carried out

openly, and many representatives of other viewpoints were harassed and punished. Due to dogmatism, the mass line was not applied. Mao tried everything to correct these deviations and also to build appropriate forums and bodies. In the process, Mao also clarified and developed many organizational concepts. He also sought to correct misunderstandings that had grown within the international communist movement and within the CPSU under Stalin’s leadership” - PCI (M), *Basic Course in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*, translated into Spanish by the blog Cultura Proletaria.

It is important to underline that Chairman Mao’s emphasis on the struggle against revisionism as the principal danger in the 1950s and 1960s, historically speaking, does not exclude the need to fight dogmatism, sectarianism, and other deviations, and that these may be the principal enemy in a given specific context. Nor should dogmatism be considered a kind of lesser evil, as if it errs by “safeguarding” principles, while revisionists “violate” principles. This would be a view entirely foreign to dialectical materialism. As Chairman Mao rightly states, dogmatic “Marxism” is anti Marxism - .14 See in *Selected Works*, Volume I, from the Foreign Language Editions of 1971, note 6 to the text “Strategic Issues of Revolutionary Warfare in China”, which states the severe damage caused to the revolution by Wang Ming’s left opportunist line: “This erroneous ‘left’ line dominated the Party for a particularly long period (four years), causing extremely serious damage to the Party and the revolution. Its disastrous consequences were: approximately 90% of the members of the Communist Party of China, the Red Army’s forces, and the territory of the Red Army’s bases were lost; tens of millions of people in the revolutionary base areas were subjected to the brutal repression of the Kuomintang, and the progress of the Chinese revolution was delayed.” This is the “less dangerous” character of dogmatism... Speaking about the notion of orthodoxy in Marxism, which has nothing to do with treating it as an “article of faith,” Lenin said at the end of the 19th century:

“Let us not believe that orthodoxy permits the acceptance of anything as an article of faith, that orthodoxy excludes critical application and continuous development, that it allows historical questions to be obscured by abstract schemes. If there are orthodox disciples who fall into these truly grave sins, the blame rests solely with them, and not with orthodoxy, which is characterized by diametrically opposed qualities” - V.I. Lenin, “*The Development of Capitalism in Russia*”, 1898

On the social basis of this dogmatism, as a manifestation of the “intermingling” of petty-bourgeois and proletarian elements within the Party, Lenin, after October, said:

“Revolutionary phrase-mongering is most often a disease of revolutionary parties in circumstances where these parties establish, directly or indirectly, the connection, union, and intermingling of proletarian and petty-bourgeois elements” - Lenin, *“On the Revolutionary Phrase”*, 1918.

Chairman Mao, in the decisive struggle against dogmatism within the CPC, also emphasized its class character:

“If the fanaticism of petty-bourgeois revolutionaries and their one-sided view of things is not restrained and corrected, it can easily generate subjectivism and sectarianism, one expression of which is the foreign cliché style or Party cliché style” – Charmain Mao, *“Against the Cliché Atyle of the Party”*, 1943.

The issue of the social base is, therefore, unequivocal. Although the dogmatists often speak loudly of the proletariat and practice a narrow exclusiveness both inside and outside the Party, their typical members are intellectualized elements of the petty bourgeoisie, with limited connections to the masses. When they interact with the masses, or with the young militants of the revolutionary movement, it is usually only to issue orders and dominate them.

*“Indeed”*, says Chairman Mao, *“it is easy for dogmatists to present themselves as Marxists, to astonish, to subdue, and to bring under their influence cadres of working-class and peasant backgrounds, who cannot easily discern their true nature. They can likewise astonish and subdue naive and inexperienced youth”* – Charmain Mao, *“Rectify the Style of Work in the Party”*, 1942. And this narrow authoritarianism is, of course, justified with respectable references to “proletarian discipline”!

Where dogmatism prevails, there can be no application of a correct mass line, nor can the relationship between leaders and the led within the Party be properly observed. In fact, dogmatism fosters all sorts of economic and empirical deviations, and even corruption and liberalism in relations, as it is completely incapable of understanding or processing what is happening at the grassroots level. As long as the ABCs and 123s of official politics are repeated, everything else is tolerated, because dogmatists focus only on the superficial aspects of things. Dogmatism and empiricism are like two sides of the same coin: *“If we overcome dogmatism, comrades with practical experience will find good teachers to help them elevate the knowledge acquired through experience to the level of theory, thus avoiding errors of an empirical nature”* – Charmain Mao, *idem*.

Regarding the relationship between centralism and

democracy, Chairman Mao always treated them as inseparable, with centralism as the directive and democracy as the foundation. He said on the matter: “Without democracy, there can be no correct centralism, because divergent opinions and a lack of unified understanding make it impossible to establish centralism. What does centralism mean? First and foremost, it is a centralization of correct ideas from which we can achieve unity of understanding, unity in politics, in plans, in command, and in action. This is called centralized unity. If people do not yet understand the problems, if they have not expressed their views or vented their pent-up frustrations, how can centralized unity be established? Without democracy, there is no way to correctly synthesize experience”- Charmain Mao, *Intervention at an Expanded Conference of the CPC on Work*, 1962

He also opposed replacing forums with the exclusive will of the first secretary:

“Our centralism is based on democracy; proletarian centralism is based on broad democracy. The Party committees at all levels are organisms that exercise centralized leadership. But the leadership of Party committees is collective leadership. (...) Decisions cannot be made arbitrarily by the will of the first secretary alone. (...) Within Party committees, democratic centralism is the only method that should be employed. The relationship between the first secretary and the other secretaries and members of the committee must be guided by the principle of the minority subordinating to the majority. For example, in the Standing Committee and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, it often happens that I submit to others when they disapprove of my opinions, whether they are correct or not, since they are the majority”- *Ibid*.

As is evident, when Chairman Mao opposes the replacement of Party committees and related working bodies by the “exclusive will of the first secretary,” he refers to **all levels**, from leadership to the grassroots, and refers to himself within the Standing Committee and the Politic Bureau of the Central Committee. These are not mere “listeners,” whose role is to endorse whatever the great leader says, nor are the sessions of various Party committees mere organisms for executing orders issued by other small leaders. Such an environment would be completely toxic, where active ideological struggle would be discouraged, if not entirely blocked. On the contrary, as a small society, a prototype of the communist society we strive for, the Communist Party must simultaneously be an organism for investigation, formulation, deliberation, execution, and verification. It must unite for combat through internal democracy, unleashing the full enthusiasm and revolutionary capacity of its cadres, militants, and the

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broad masses. This does not undermine the Party's combat capacity; on the contrary, without such an environment, it becomes impossible.

In contrast to Chairman Mao, the aforementioned document "People's War and Revolution" upholds the "concentric construction" of Party, army, and front in the following terms:

"This implies that the Communist Party, as the embodiment of the scientific ideology of the proletariat applied to the concrete conditions of a given country and its revolution, leads everything, **embodying the centralization of revolutionary leadership, as the leadership of the Party and the revolution**, amid the struggles of class conflict and two-line struggle for the forging and strengthening of the left and the proletarian hegemony throughout the process." (Our emphasis).

What happens to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, as well as its other collective bodies, if leadership is placed above them? What happens to the proletarian conception of democratic centralism if the principle of collective leadership is replaced by the principle of personal leadership?

In the document "Lenin and the Militarized Communist Party," published in 2018, the then P.C.B.-FV illustrates its conception of a militarized party as follows:

There is no other possible interpretation of this image: at the center of the Communist Party is not the Central Committee (and above it, naturally, the Congress) as the ultimate Party authority, but an individual, the Leadership. Now, what is new about this, compared to the old practices of revisionist parties? Was it not blind loyalty to the leader that caused historical cadres and leaders to bow to the dictates of a Khrushchev or a Hua Guofeng, when in such cases the imperative duty of communists was to oppose such leaders? Would anyone in their right mind claim that such harmful followership, which occurred in those parties, could not happen again in the future? And what about the betrayal of "Chairman" Prachanda in Nepal, with all his formulations on the "Prachanda Path" — whose unquestionable authority played a significant role in ending the people's war due to his capitulationist stance — isn't that also a stark warning against such a conception?

The comrades of the CPI (M) are correct — and they certainly have extensive experience with the possibilities and deviations that can arise in internal Party relations and in its relations with the masses in a war scenario — when they point out, in their critique of the ICL:

"Without centralized leadership based on democracy, it is impossible to rectify wrong political lines and other mistakes. If cadres at various lower levels do not take part in creatively applying the Central Committee's/superior committees' decisions to the concrete conditions of the movement and in making decisions beyond the issues within their domain, they will not understand those decisions... Their enthusiasm diminishes as the number of those distanced from the decisions grows. They cannot effectively implement them. They lack the strength to mobilize the people at their base to fight. For this very reason, we oppose the cult of personality, commandism, and favoritism".

Unfortunately, in no document do the comrades of the P.C.B. clarify the implications of their theoretical conceptions for the organic functioning of the Communist Party and the exercise of democratic centralism within it. What we can deduce, based on historical experience, is that if those conceptions prevail, they will inevitably generate authoritarianism in leadership and passivity at the grassroots. People feel intimidated to criticize the first secretary — at all levels, because it is logical to think that around the "great leader" there is a complete system of medium and small leaders — who concentrate excessive power. In such a situation, it becomes impossible to gather correct ideas or to truly practice criticism and self-criticism. Devoid of ideological-political character, criticism and self-criticism turn into mere plebiscites to endorse indisputable resolutions handed down from above. In such an environment, unfamiliar to the conceptions of Maoism, one of two things will happen: either people will remain silent, passive in the face of problems, or they will whisper in the corridors. Appearing "monolithic" — a conception we know was defended by Enver Hoxha's followers — such a party in reality lacks any true unity.

### Chapter 8: The Tactics of the Brazilian Revolution

Such a subjectivist style in study, sectarian style in internal and external relations and cliché style in propaganda could not fail to manifest itself in the treatment of the country's internal issues.

In the analysis of Brazil's history, it was only very recently that the P.C.B. highlighted the role of slavery in our socio-economic formation; even then, it was subordinated to feudal relations, which disregards the fact that throughout the colonial period, extending into the first and second reigns, the dominant class was made up of landowners and slaveholders. With the fall of slavery, the monarchy also fell. Even the development of capitalism, concentrated in Rio and São Paulo, while

having Anglo American capital exports as its exogenous source, found its endogenous base of accumulation in coffee, harvested mainly by Black hands. The role of the *plantation* system and American slavery — including specifically Brazilian slavery — in capitalist development was recognized and extensively studied by Marx, who early on stated that “*slavery is an economic category of the greatest importance*” - K. Marx, “*The Poverty of Philosophy*”, 1846.

It is clear that, especially in the country’s hinterlands, in regions not directly linked to the agrarian export economy, other modes of production existed, notably the feudal system, practiced, for example, in Jesuit missions (which, unsurprisingly, always had tense relations with the colonial government until they were dissolved by the Marquis of Pombal). Without understanding these issues, it is impossible to study the specificity of Portuguese colonization in South America, from which we inherited, among other things, a continent-sized territory, strongly centralized. If one merely copies what Comrade Gonzalo said about bureaucratic capitalism in Peru, one cannot correctly understand the formation of the Brazilian proletariat (predominantly Black); the deep regional inequalities in a country of continental dimensions; the relatively greater weight of large cities along the coast, compared to other Third World countries (in Peru, for example, there was only Lima as a metropolis); or their repercussions on the superstructure, such as racism and its manifestations in different aspects of Brazilian life, the crowded favelas and overpopulated prisons, but also samba and other genuine cultural expressions of our people. Naturally, this situation was reflected in the debates within Brazilian national thought, heavily influenced by communists, who have a great theoretical tradition on the matter, with Nelson Werneck Sodré standing out in particular. We present this briefly because we will soon publish a document that was used in the internal struggle to support these positions, a document that was prevented from circulating among the militants, which, beyond its intrinsic merit, constitutes documentary, factual, and **indisputable evidence** of the blockade on the two-line struggle within revolutionary organizations imposed by the P.C.B. leadership. In fact, this was just one episode among many others. As has often happened in history, the “champions” of “discipline” are the first to violate it whenever their harmful group interests seem threatened. “But this is just a historical issue,” someone might say. To which we reply, first, that making a systematic assessment of the history of one’s own country is an inseparable part of the need, more preached than understood, to “apply universal truths to concrete reality”; and second, that if such dishonest behavior is seen on topics wrongly considered of “little

importance,” what can be expected in the face of divergences on political line!

Subjectivism, which consists of the mere transplantation of general statements and formulations without the proper connection to the current situation, also manifests in political tactics. In this area, we see clearly what we have already highlighted from Chairman Mao: that dogmatism and empiricism go hand in hand. P.C.B.’s tactics indeed oscillate between economism and doctrinarianism. There is no open political struggle around Marxism-Leninism-Maoism among the masses, including the intellectuality. Even in universities, the focus is on economic and reivindicative struggles, with the erroneous notion that anything related to Marxism must be addressed only clandestinely. This ignores the concrete situation and the fact that a revolutionary party must combine open and secret, legal and illegal work, based on social customs. As a result, large segments of the radicalized youth are swept away by the “Marxist” propaganda of revisionists.

This semi-clandestine conception makes ideological speeches and writings dry, almost incomprehensible except to the initiated. Regardless of the audience, the same things are said in the same terms. Politicization is practically understood as mere radicalization of economic struggle. The political education of the movement’s base is inadequate, as they are only approached on general topics, rarely linked to the country’s situation. Even this is often a mere formality, with international campaigns becoming a routine exercise of gathering a handful of activists for a photo op, without any real use for advancing political awareness or that of the surrounding base. For years, the slogan of boycotting elections raised by comrades of the Revolutionary Front (doctrinal belonging to the same theoretical camp we criticize here) has been: “No elections! Yes to people’s war!” — copying a slogan waved by the CPP at a time when the people’s war had reached a strategic balance. Opposing the current political system with the **idea** of people’s war is a mistake and a completely alien way of expressing a genuine mass line. Such an approach cannot sensitize the broad working masses. Generally, only a sector of intellectualized petty-bourgeois elements can be polarized by such propaganda. As for the forms of struggle, there is inadequate differentiation between city and countryside.

This blatant disconnect from the national historical and political reality coexists with completely sterile self-proclamatory practices, which have no correspondence with reality. In the national political process, there is a strange movement to exaggerate the positive role of the October 8 Revolutionary Movement. It is clear that

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the political process follows a concrete path and the split in 1995, although delayed, was a step forward. However, it is necessary to understand which legacy must be renounced. Claiming that the right-wing MR-8, by the 1990s, was one of the fractions of the Communist Party would be as accurate as someone today breaking with the PCdoB and making the same claim about this organization. As for its nature, MR-8, since the mid 1980s, was an ultra-opportunist organization, a right-wing fraction of social democracy in Brazil, which even replaced the red of socialism with the green and yellow of the official flag in its public manifestations. Its entry and long stay in the PMDB, where it supported successive reactionary governments (to mention only the federal government, José Sarney and Itamar Franco; and in Rio, notably, it campaigned with the oligarchic right against Brizola in 1982), as well as the alliance in the labor movement with the pro-military unionists, greatly facilitated the work of the pro-Trotskyist currents within the PT in achieving hegemony in the labor and popular movements. As a member of the PMDB, MR-8 kept the masses' reference to reactionary politicians, and was complicit in the great national capitulation and betrayal agreement sealed between the military and the chiefs of that party, which led to the new republic. The presence of communists within it for a long time only gave some credibility to its nefarious policy. The formal defense of Comrade Stalin by its leadership, presented as "positive" by the P.C.B. leadership, was actually a slander against him, as it was waved by a social-democratic organization, unless one considers the defense of Lenin by contemporary revisionists or of President Mao by Teng's followers as positive. Indeed, the weight of the legacy of nearly twenty years of participation in this revisionist organization on the political formation of P.C.B. leadership and its style of work is one of the sensitive issues in evaluating this specific fraction of the Brazilian communist movement.

The evaluation made in numerous documents by the P.C.B. leadership, claiming that it "defeated" the opportunism of the PT in Brazil, is also subjective. It is clear that the then Red Fraction played a positive role in exposing the PT, alongside other popular organizations. Among this, the role of the youth gathered around it during the June 2013 protests stands out. However, on a national level, the opportunity presented by the mass struggle was not used to significantly increase the number of land occupations in the countryside, nor to enhance the volume and level of revolutionary actions in the cities. Regarding the "defeat of the PT" — actually its temporary removal from government — this outcome was influenced not only by popular protests but also by divisions within the ruling classes, expressed in the rift in Congress (PT vs.

Eduardo Cunha) and the Lava Jato operation. From the perspective of official politics, the PT was replaced by even more right-wing governments, and popular dissatisfaction with the political system was captured by proto- or even entirely fascist forces gathered around Bolsonaro. This is merely a historical fact. In fact, even in 2018, at the height of anti-PT sentiment, Lula led the polls and managed to bring his candidate to the second round from prison; in 2022 he was elected, seen as a safeguard against fascism. Therefore, the proclaimed "defeat of the PT" is not even objectively correct. With this foolish triumphalism, a great opportunity to increase the influence of revolutionaries in the popular movement was lost, wasting years of the most acute economic and political crisis in Brazil in recent decades (2013-2023, particularly 2013-2018). This doctrinaire blindness manifested in erratic tactics: in 2015 and 2016 there was a directive to intervene in both pro- and anti-impeachment demonstrations. Later, with the feverish preparation for a coup in 2022, the P.C.B. again delayed taking a position, feeding a policy of either treating the coup as a fact accomplished (which would betray the communists' duty to actively mobilize the masses against fascism) or underestimating the scope of the coupist mass mobilization, as if, in the class struggle and society in general, everything depended solely on the generals' will — a highly one-sided and mistaken view of the relationship between armed forces, classes, and the state. In the countryside, although the heroic (and largely spontaneous) struggle of the masses against latifundia never ceased, nor the bloodshed of their leaders, there was no organized outcome or clear path for the land struggle, sufficient to shake the hegemony of reformist organizations in the countryside, such as the MST.

Regarding the current political situation, it is noteworthy that the 100% defense that the P.C.B. offers of the Communist International in historical terms, and of its VII Congress in particular, coexists with a clear underestimation of what Comrade Gonzalo in the 1990s already referred to as the "reactivation of fascism" and "new fascism" when the policy of the united antifascist front was crucial in the practice of communist parties in the 1930s. That policy was, in fact, entirely correct. This is why there is an important conceptual error when the documents of the P.C.B. refer to the alliance between sectors of the ruling classes that supported the early PT governments as a "popular front," which closely resembles the Trotskyist use of the term.

In the same way that the danger of fascism in the country is underestimated, the P.C.B.'s formulations completely downplay the issue of preparing for a new imperialist war on the international stage and the influence that chauvinism, racism, and bourgeois

militarism can still exert on the masses. These formulations focus unilaterally on the public's rejection of war, forgetting that colonialist-bourgeois ideology has deep roots, especially in imperialist countries, not only among their ruling circles but also within the middle classes and the labor aristocracy. In fact, the approach taken by the comrades of the P.C.B. and the field organized around it seems to have learned nothing from the experience of communists during the interwar period. If we were to replace the term "nations" with "parties", Marx's statement would apply perfectly to them: "A peculiarity of nations with a 'historical' development... is that they constantly forget their own history" - K. Marx, *"Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy"*.

### **"LET SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT RIVAL!" (Conclusion)**

*"Marxists should not fear criticism, no matter where it comes from. On the contrary, they should temper themselves, develop, and broaden their positions precisely in the fire of criticism and in the storm of struggle."*

(Chairman Mao, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," 1956).

The subjectivism of the P.C.B. leadership's worldview expresses itself through a dogmatic style of study, a sectarian style in internal and external relations, and a cliched style in writing and delivering its positions, speaking only to the converted. In the name of defending what it defines as "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism and the universally valid contributions of Chairman Gonzalo" this subjectivism breaks the logical-historical unity of the ideology of the international proletariat. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is a science, and as such, is incompatible with a stereotyped and doctrinaire treatment. The defense of its principles against revisionists cannot be used as an alibi to turn it into a mere agenda item, for that would result in the same liquidation of its ability to guide revolutionary action in our time.

If one closely examines the documents signed by the P.C.B., directed to the MCI, one notices that behind a mass of citations, often without sufficient commentary, there is no theoretically rigorous or logically cohesive argument. The theoretical problems are also not related to contemporary issues: the document "Lenin and the Militarized Communist Party" never manages to link this strange conception of the party with that of the founder of the Bolshevik party, nor does it explain to readers the organizational implications, for instance, for democratic centralism and the two-line struggle within

the party, when identifying the "vanguard detachment of the proletariat", the "brain of the class", with a strictly military structure. We suspect that if it did, it would alarm even the most loyal supporters by how it revises and regresses the development of the theory of the Communist Party by Chairman Mao. Similarly, the document in defense of the Communist International and its seventh congress, though correct in its defense of both generally, does not take the IC's experience and Comrade Stalin's leadership in an analytical manner, as done by Chairman Mao, nor does it relate the position of the antifascist united front adopted at that congress with the struggle against "new fascism" in the present day. This type of defense of the IC and Comrade Stalin, in and of itself, differs little or not at all from that made by dogmatic-revisionists of the hoxhaist variety.

When attempting to apply a concept to the contemporary world, as in the document "People's War and Revolution", the lack of theoretical rigor in its argumentation becomes evident, leading to a blatant distortion of Maoism and even Comrade Gonzalo himself. Gonzalo never defined the people's war as the "politics and conception of proletarian power", but rather as the "integral military theory of the proletariat". If one reflects on the difference between these two definitions, as well as their implications for the Party, the army, and mass organizations, the gulf that separates them becomes apparent. When applied in this way, the former view, which reduces the political phenomenon to its military aspect, would differ little from Trotsky's position, rejected by Lenin and Stalin, regarding the relationship between the party and the working class as a whole during the early years of Soviet power. As is known, Trotsky demanded the "militarization" of production in general and of the unions in particular. Against this bourgeois conception of absolute centralism, Lenin defended the brilliant thesis that trade unions — and by extension, we believe this applies to all mass organizations — should be "schools of communism". In his article "Our Differences" published in *Pravda* on January 19, 1921, Comrade Stalin summarized the essence of these divergences, which were sharp within the Central Committee: "A group of Party officials, headed by Trotsky, intoxicated by the successes of military methods in the army, supposed that it was possible and necessary to transplant these methods to the workers' ranks, to the unions, in order to achieve analogous successes in strengthening the unions and reviving industry. **But this group forgets that the army and the working class are two distinct environments, and that a method suitable for the army may be inappropriate and harmful to the working class and its unions**". (Our emphasis).

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If transplanting military methods to deal with the working class at large would be mistaken, imagine how incorrect it would be to apply them to the vanguard detachment, the Party. It is no coincidence that, in “On the Methods of Work of Party Committees” (1949), Chairman Mao stated:

“It is clear that the relationship between the secretary and committee members is based on the principle that the minority must obey the majority and thus differs from the relationship between a squad leader and his soldiers. All we said was by way of analogy”.

Unless one chooses not to understand, it is evident that, like Lenin and Stalin, Chairman Mao clearly distinguishes between the army and the party. The necessities imposed by the class struggle—such as clandestinity and conspiratorial nature—do not confuse the very nature (essence, content) of the Communist Party. So much so that, when circumstances change and society transitions from capitalist to socialist, the Communist Party endures, while clandestinity disappears.

In short, it never occurred to the classics that war is anything more than a means serving a political end, and that the organizational forms of the army should not be mechanically transplanted to the party and the mass movement.

It is inevitable that, in the absence of an environment of open and organized ideological-political struggle; where the principle of collective leadership and individual responsibility is replaced by the absolute will of the first secretary; where divergence is not only intolerable but elevated to a principle that it must be “crushed”, no “living Marxism, exuding freshness and vigor” (Mao) can flourish—in other words, no Marxism at all can flourish. In such an environment, democratic centralism becomes nothing more than an empty expression, used to “respectably” suppress the two-line struggle. Devoid of political character, this struggle is only tolerated around secondary issues, or worse, around personal problems, to gauge how much the ‘individual’ is capable of ‘submitting to the collective,’ a frozen and idealistic opposition between the two that bears no resemblance to Marxist dialectics; rather, it vulgarizes Marxism to the point of considering it a “religious dogma” - “And even now, there are still quite a few individuals who view isolated phrases extracted from Marxist-Leninist works as a panacea, believing that acquiring them is enough to easily cure all ailments. Such people demonstrate a childish ignorance, which is why we must enlighten them. It is precisely these ignorants who consider Marxism-Leninism as a religious dogma. We must tell them plainly: ‘Your dogma is of no use.’” (President Mao, “Rectify the Style of Work in the Par-

ty”, 1942). People are trained (or miseducated) to suppress any analytical spirit and critical thinking. As a result, the guidance given by Chairman Mao — that attention should be paid to cadres, to their material and spiritual needs, and not only when they make mistakes—is disregarded. From this, one can only expect all sorts of abuses, authoritarianism, and brutality in dealing with comrades. “Leadership” is presented not only as equivalent to the Central Committee—or even superior in importance—but as the embodiment of ideology itself. Although this is not explicitly stated (because admitting it would be to negate Marxism), it is, in effect, placed above democratic centralism and any form of criticism. This is not only not an innovation; it is also a return to a very old situation, one that the communist movement seemed to have already overcome.

Does this mean that everything about the process known as the reconstitution of the P.C.B. was negative? No, because to say so would not be an analytical attitude either. The dissemination of Maoism and the works of Comrade Gonzalo; the defense of the concept of People’s War and revolutionary violence; the rejection of parliamentary cretinism; the defense of the centrality of the agrarian-peasant question in the New Democratic Revolution in Brazil were important aspects that gathered a nucleus of sincere and capable revolutionaries around the process. The sacrifices made in defending these positions were well spent. The exemplary dedication of the cadres and masses who gave their lives along this path does not belong to any single fraction, but to Brazilian and international communists, and to them, we devote eternal glory.

Even the strong subjectivism of a dogmatic and sectarian type has a historical explanation: it was natural that in a time of strong worldwide counterrevolution, revolutionaries would cling to the external aspects of Marxism as a lifeline, even if its application to concrete reality was not well resolved. During the infancy of an organization, this is not only forgivable but, to some extent, inevitable. The problem is that there are no thirty-year-old children. What began as deviations and insufficiency in application eventually turned into an ‘integral’ conception; the deviations were not only not corrected but were erected as principles. From the moment this set of deviations is elevated to “caws”—contrary to the formulation of Comrade Gonzalo himself, regarding the interdependence between Reconstitution, People’s War, and Guiding Thought—a point of no return is reached. From then on, it is the duty of revolutionaries to engage in public ideological-political struggle, within the limits permitted by security concerns, not only to salvage what can be saved from this process but to demarcate what is truly Marxism-Leninism-Maoism for the new generations of revolutionaries. In



terms of perspective, this is the main aspect that justifies the effort of the break, regardless of its immediate outcome. As Marx teaches us, “the communists do not stoop to hiding their principles”.

The task before us remains the same: to raise up the “heroic combatant,” the Communist Party, to fulfill the tasks of the uninterrupted New Democracy Revolution leading to socialism. Such a Party, as Chairman Mao emphasized, must be founded on “Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style” - Chairman Mao, “Revolutionary Forces of the World, Unite and Fight Against Imperialist Aggression”, 1948. Theory and style, line and methods, are inseparable, and those who deviate from the principles in these areas bear responsibility for the liquidation of the Party. Indeed, the replacement of

democratic centralism with the despotism of the first secretary, the substitution of the two-line struggle with the bourgeois policy of “crushing” and discrediting dissent, and the replacement of the mass line with a narrow, closed-door attitude — practiced by what resembles a resuscitated Wang Ming line — can only lead to the liquidation of the Party. Following a path diametrically opposed to this, the proletariat and its vanguard, at the head of all the oppressed, firmly united around correct principles, can and will, without a shadow of doubt, overcome all challenges, of which the virulent cry rising and inevitably to rise from the swamp is nothing more than a fleeting disturbance.

*Comrade Vitor*

**Maoist Communist Committee**

### **Editorial note**

*In publishing this document, which applies to the two lines struggle in Brazil, but which we consider a significant part of the 2LS that takes place at the international level, the comrades who authored the text emphasize that "The only acceptable method of dealing with the differences between communists is that of the two lines struggle: intimidation, physical coercion are unacceptable methods that historically belong to revisionism."*

*It is clear that the publication of this document will put it to the judgment, evaluation of the MLM Parties and Organizations.*

*The editorial staff of 2LS will publish any comments, including those coming from Parties and Organizations belonging to LCI.*

**By Maoist Communist Committee****Democratic centralism, a vital organizing principle of the proletariat****Introduction:**

*“Democratic centralism is the organizational principle of the Party. All activities of our Party are carried out in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. What does democratic centralism mean? Democratic centralism in the Party means centralization based on democracy, and democracy practiced under centralized leadership — it is both democratic and centralized. Democratic centralism represents the unity of opposites; although these two terms are opposites, they are also in unity. Without a high level of democracy, there cannot be a high level of centralism, but without a high level of centralism, there cannot be a high level of democracy either. Chairman Mao stressed: ‘This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism.’”* (“A basic understanding of the Communist Party of China”, Shanghai, 1974).

We publish below an important article by the Communist Party of China entitled “Correctly handle of the relationship between collective leadership and individual responsibility,” which first appeared in Shanghai in 1974 in the collection “A basic understanding of the Communist Party of China.” This version that we offer to readers in Brazil has been translated from English, taken from the theoretical magazine of the Communist Party of India (Maoist), “People’s War”, of June 2019[1]. Its study deserves the attention of all revolutionaries interested in the crucial problem of the Communist Party, the vanguard detachment of the proletariat, of the relations within it, as well as of it with the broad masses.

The subject is of such interest to the organization of revolutionaries, that we do not pretend to exhaust it in this brief introduction, but only to make a few indispensable notes, in order to dispel heavy mists which have lately been cast upon a subject which, on the contrary, must be seen in a clear light. We make, in a certain sense, a partial balance of the divergences within Brazilian Maoism since the split—we say partial, because none of the fundamental criticisms placed in our document **Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, The Cornerstone of Proletarian revolution in our time: critique of the subjectivism in the Leadership of the P.C.B.[2]**” it has been refuted, and the political arguments we have now answered are what we have been able to dig out from under the rubble of the insults and personal attacks written by the other side, produced frantically, indeed, in different medias, on whatever

pretext, but always in such a way as to evade the essential. Copying an old practice of the reactionaries (who do not understand that the mobilization of revolutionaries can take place “only” for a cause), our detractors see in the criticism of their positions the defense of “vested interests” — that they do not say which they are —, so as not to address the center of the disagreements. Be that as it may, a line is also judged by style, and we will not deviate for a single minute from the ideological-political struggle to lower it to the ground floor of spicy scraps or unhinged psychographics[3].

Lenin said that a party is the nucleus of a class; the class, the base of a party. If it is true that the party of the proletariat embodies the discipline which springs from the participation of this class in factory labour, only revisionists could claim that the conscious discipline of the communist could equal that which is imposed by foremen. This was, in fact, the vision that *opponents of Lenin* put on the question. In response to Rosa Luxemburg’s criticism of his work “One step forward, two steps back,” Lenin said:

“Comrade Luxemburg says that I glorify the educational significance of the factory. This is not true. **It was not I, but my opponent, who declared that I imagine the party in the form of a factory.** I ridiculed him properly and showed on the basis of his words that he confuses two different aspects of factory discipline, which, unfortunately, also happened to Comrade R. Luxembourg “(emphasis added). [4]

Anyone who wants a perfect match between the (conscious) discipline of the party and the (imposed) discipline of the factory does not have to go far: let him check what the statutes of the revisionist CCP led by Xi-Jinping say, which unilaterally emphasizes “*discipline first*” [5]. In the end, what is unprecedented or “Maoist” in such a practice, always implemented by the opportunist “great leaders”?

“The just relation of parties, leaders, classes and masses!”, shout to the hoarseness those who strive to misrepresent our words. As has already been said in other documents, the problem is not “Leaders or non-leaders”, because, as Comrade Gonzalo himself pointed out, even literary movements have their own bosses. Currently, could anyone deny, for example, that Bolsonaro is the head of the Brazilian extreme right? Pedro Bala was also “leader” of the gang of boys described by Jorge Amado. “Leader” in this sense is an abstract category. The correctness, as to the internal content of their positions, would not yet be demonstrated. Did not the revisionist organizations also

have their leaders, who were always incensed as infallible and above all criticism, many of whom boasted great achievements in their biographies? An entirely different problem is to establish whether a given revolutionary leader is authentic (authentic from the point of view of the proletariat) in the sense of having authority, recognition and proven ability to lead the revolutionary movement, theoretically and practically. In this case, there would be no other criterion than that already established by the classics, that one should not judge a political party, or an individual, by his words, but by his actions.

This is particularly critical when it comes to the ideology of the proletariat. Why? For the simple reason that, if it can already be difficult to demonstrate before the party the mistakes of a high leader, imagine if he is “laureated” like communism itself. Who could defeat “communism” in a debate? This could easily lead to the blocking of the two-line struggle, the curtailment of democratic centralism and, finally, to the degeneration of the party - for the party cannot constantly elevate its ideological transformation nor work out a correct line, except through the struggle within itself. We agree with what was said by the comrades of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) in their denunciation of the capitulation of the people’s war in Nepal, theorized through the alleged “contributions of ‘President Prachanda’”:

“Such glorification [of individual leaders] does not help the collective functioning of Party committees and the Party as a whole and questions to the line are almost never asked when it comes from an infallible individual leader. In such a situation, it is extremely difficult on the part of the Central Committee, not to mention the cadres, to fight against a serious deviation from the ideological-political line, or in basic strategy and tactics, including when it is obvious that they go against the interests of the revolution.”[6]

There are no infallible leaders or parties. The absence of a correct management of the two-line struggle within the party, the corresponding organic principle of which is democratic centralism, will inevitably lead to subjectivism and corrupt the system of evaluation of cadres and leaders. Therefore, the identification of the party leader (political authority) with Marxism itself (universal ideology of the proletariat) should be seen as an exceptionality and not as a general rule. In China, for example, the definition that the CCP was guided by Marxism-Leninism and the “Thought of Mao Tsetung” in 1945 was given after extensive historical proof, when in practice this “thought” had already solved qualitatively universal questions – including the fields of materialist dialectics, war and revolution and the conception of the party. Still, Chairman Mao himself, until the end of his life, in the texts of his personal authorship, always

referred to the ideology in general as “Marxism-Leninism”.

As for the question of recognition, Mao did not “develop” Marxism-Leninism in meetings, in the comfort of legality (hiding from the masses is distinct from clandestinity). As a young man, he was already a prominent figure in the Chinese revolutionary-democratic movement, founded the Communist Party and even served as a leader in the Kuomintang. He had long been the leader of the oppressed masses in China, a recognized political leader, and the chairman of the first revolutionary support bases. Lenin, who had already very early elaborated major theoretical works – such as “The development of capitalism in Russia” and “What to do?” - , who at the age of a little over thirty returned clandestinely to Russia to lead the armed insurrection against the autocracy in 1905, was also not an illustrious stranger to the proletariat and the advanced strata of Russia. In “On the Question of Stalin”, published in 1963, in response to Khrushchev’s perfidious attacks on Comrade Stalin, the CCP said:

“The leaders of the party of the proletariat, whether they are members of the Central Committee or of the local committees, arise from the class struggle and the revolutionary movement of the masses. They are infinitely faithful to the masses, they are intimately connected with them, they know how to correctly synthesize their ideas and immediately put into practice the ideas thus synthesized. **Leaders of this type are true representatives of the proletariat and generally recognized as such by the masses.** The presence of such leaders in a party of the proletariat is an indication of the political maturity of this party; in them lies the hope of the victory of the cause of the proletariat.”(Emphasis added).

As can be seen from the above quote, if peer recognition is an important step, in no case it is sufficient to prove the scientific character of a revolutionary leadership, not at the level of its full identification with its own ideology – which, we emphasize, was an exceptional case in the history of the communist movement. The trivialization of this identification would easily lead to the suppression of the principle of the collective leadership of the party, to a narrow-minded personalism (at all alien and even hostile to the worldview of the proletariat) and to the establishment of “self-proclaimed presidents”, of the kind that from time to time manufactures the bourgeoisie itself. . . [7] Moreover, the Chinese Maoists criticism of the Khrushchev report is not a defence of the “cult of the chiefs”: this would be to cover up one wrong line with another. In the same document, it says:

“The Communist Party of China has always adhered to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the role of the masses of people and of the individual in history, to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the relationship between leaders,

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party, class and masses, and to the democratic centralism of the party. We constantly persist in collective leadership, but we oppose the diminution of the role of the bosses. **We attach importance to the role of the bosses, but we oppose any praise of the individual that is excessive and does not correspond to reality, and we oppose the exaggeration of his role.**” (Emphasis added).

We reiterate here what we have already stressed in **”Cornerstone”**: the “cult of the leader”, placed above democratic centralism and the collective instances of the party, has nothing new and much less “Maoist”, but, on the contrary, it has always been what has been practiced in the so-called revisionist communist parties. In the old Communist Party of Brazil, before 1962, there was no room to criticize Prestes’ leadership, even when it lost its rightness, as happened in the PC of B after the Lapa episodes, when the revisionist line was imposed around the “unquestionable” figure of João Amazonas. And that such a criticism of the despotism of the “first secretary” should be branded “anarchist”, “liberal”, “petty-bourgeois” was also his usual ready response since always! Was not Chairman Mao himself insulted with these same adjectives by the cheerleaders of Wang Ming and his “twenty-eight Bolsheviks”? Those kind of Chiefs, however, sooner or later always fell, and the higher the more they thought themselves “infallible”, for they were but icons with feet of clay.

We can say, in summary, that the defense of authentic revolutionary leaders – who are such precisely because they express in a concentrated way the just line of the party and not because they place themselves above it – is a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist position; the “cult of the leader”, the replacement of the collective leadership by the personal leadership of the first secretary, the violation of party committees and the encouragement of servile obedience have always been not only a position but also current practice in all revisionist parties, especially those of the “ML” tradition, but also others who called themselves “Mao Tse-Tung Thought” or even “Maoists”. Fact is that Chairman Mao’s advance of the theory of the Communist Party, exhaustively elaborated in the documents of the Rectification Movement of the 1940s (Volume III), destroys precisely this conception.

“But the application of universal truths to concrete reality leads to the necessary elaboration of a guiding thought.” Now, if this were to happen, we would have to talk about Thought-Ho Chi Minh for Vietnam, Thought-Kim Il-Sung for Korea and so on, right? In this way, what is meant by the ideology of the international proletariat, would fragment into an infinite number of specific thoughts, and in a short period of time of **universal** ideology, Marxism would turn into an amalgam of relatively independent particular

applications. On this basis, how would it be possible to build the international unification of the communists? This, because we argue from a logical point of view, we do not even enter into the consequence of the aforementioned applications, which is not recognized as universally valid by any Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, even having achieved unequivocal victories in the Revolutionary War (specifically, in its phase of National Liberation).

It is expected, of course, that every authentic Communist Party will creatively apply the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete reality of its country. Moreover, if we understand that the universal cannot exist except in the particular, and that the particular is nothing else than the particularized universal, we shall understand that all **political line** of a given party, if fair, enriches the general arsenal of scientific communism. It does not follow from this that it can fully identify itself with the ideology of the proletariat in general-even for the specific case of a given country – because it would remain subordinate to the latter as the part to the whole. After all, there is no such thing as “national” Marxism. Therefore, we agree with the differentiation proposed by Comrade Ajith, between “thought” and “line”:

“Even if the development of a revolution only begins a new understanding of MLM, this would still be a qualitative development. He would still offer lessons for the entire ICM contingent. **Some revolutions can reach even further and generate new concepts or contributions. But the point to be emphasized is that all this is possible even when there is still only a ‘line’ and not a ‘thought’.** Or, in other words, a new ‘thought’ is not a necessary condition for new contributions in the enrichment of our ideology” [8].

In fact, the elaboration of a just line, born and verified by life, is the obligation of a communist organization, and it can develop only in the midst of struggle. True proletarian leaders are those who honestly dedicate themselves to doing so, through serious efforts and not mere sleight of hand or trampling on the sacrifices of others; those who know how to support themselves and at the same time develop the unparalleled collective intelligence of the party, expressed in its collegiate organs, which belongs not to outstanding individuals but to the entire proletarian class. This collective intelligence, the guarantee of the continuity of the party and of the revolutionary process, within which the true leaders will be produced, cannot flourish without a just exercise of democratic centralism. The one-sided emphasis on centralism and democracy must be rejected. This would be a violation of dialectical materialism and its conversion into metaphysics. We must take both aspects – centralism and democracy – as principles inseparable from the party of the proletariat. In this case, the main thing in general is their

own relationship, not the absolutization of one over the other. As can be seen from what has been said so far, this is a topic of great relevance, which is the object, precisely, of the article below.

[1] The complete collection of the magazine, as well as other materials published by the Communist Party of India (Maoist), are available on [banthought.net](http://banthought.net). We strongly recommend that readers consult these materials, where one can see a solid party culture associated with a rich practical experience, very different from the generalist and esoteric times that some Brazilian Maoists have become accustomed to in recent decades..

[2] Available at: [Lutadeduaslinhas.wordpress.com](http://Lutadeduaslinhas.wordpress.com)

[3] How to qualify, if not as wild psychography, the controversial note signed as: C.G. (Chairman Gonzalo written in portuguese as “P.G: Presidente Gonzalo”) – we don’t suppose they are Paulo Gustavo’s initials, right? Note that must be known, for the purpose of eternal infamy, not only for the boldness of the signature, but also for the unbelievable barrage of vain and unreasonable offenses (<https://anovademocracia.com.br/cartas-do-leitor-2/>) In fact, in the last two months, in addition to Comrade Gonzalo, our opponents in the present controversy have already compared themselves to Comrade Stalin in the Second World War and Chairman Mao in the Anti-Japanese War. All that would be left to do was ask, as he did to the Pope: right, but, after all, where are your divisions? Except for the existence of a party proven in wars and revolutions, a powerful red army and revolutionary support bases, perhaps our polemicists are right in the comparison...

[4] .I. Lenin, “One step forward, two steps back” (September 1904).

[5] “It is necessary to persist in disciplining the Party according to the rules and in doing so both palliatively and from scratch; continually complete the system of intra-party decrees; persevere in putting discipline first; reinforce the sense of organization and discipline and maintain equality for all before the Party’s discipline.”

(Statutes of the Communist Party of China, approved by its 20th Congress, October 2022). From the point of view of “Xi-Jinping Thought”, such a unilateral emphasis on discipline is justified, as in fact the current P.C.B really resembles a large factory, in which the bourgeois occupy the leading positions and exploit the mass of the proletariat! Gone are the days of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. . .

[6] Open letter from the Communist Party of India (Maoist) to the Communist Party of Unified Nepal (Maoist), dated July 2009. Translated from English and published in Spanish on the portal [www.revolucionobrera.com](http://www.revolucionobrera.com)

[7] In “About Gonzalo Thought”, Comrade Gonzalo ridicules a certain “President Roberto”, from Spain, for his claim to develop a thought without any proof. He says, about Gonzalo Thought: “Gonzalo Thought was forged over years of intense, tenacious and incessant struggle to unfurl, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, to resume the path of Mariátegui and develop it, **of reconstitution of the Party and, mainly, to initiate, maintain and develop the people’s war in Peru** serving the world revolution and that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, be in theory and in practice its only command and guide.” (“About Gonzalo thought”, 1988, emphasis added). Here, we must differentiate two issues: one, the need to make a critical assessment of the experience of the people’s war in Peru and Comrade Gonzalo’s theses; another, the objective understanding of what the PCP created and applied under his leadership. Within their formulations, Party Reconstitution, People’s War and Guiding Thought are inseparable. Any formulation that claims to be based on its contributions but evades this issue indeed revises its postulates.

[8] Ajith, “The Struggle to Establish Maoism”, Naxalbari Magazine, June 2003 (translated and published by the blog Luta Continua: (<http://lutacontinuablog.blogspot.com>)). This article was written before the founding of the PCI(M) and, naturally, the incorporation of the magazine’s editors into it. It is necessary to read it within this context.



**UOC (mlm)**

# **The Anti-Imperialist Struggle and the World Proletarian Revolution<sup>1</sup>**

## **Imperialist capitalism is the prelude to socialism.**

There is a general identity among the participants in this important forum, regarding imperialism as the highest and last phase of capitalism. That is, monopoly capitalism, parasitic, agonizing and decomposing, beyond which only socialism is possible.

The economic crisis of world capitalism that began in 2008, in spite of slight and partial recoveries, has not been overcome; on the contrary, it highlights the advanced state of agony of imperialism, inasmuch as it has aggravated the world social crisis with layoffs, unemployment, galloping inflation, the crisis of migrants, of health... aggravated even more by the Covid19 pandemic in 2020, exacerbating to the extreme all the contradictions of the dying system: Between the working class and the bourgeoisie in the world arena; between the imperialist countries and the oppressed countries; between the imperialist countries and between the monopolies among themselves, manifested in the imperialist war preparations; and even, as never before, between imperialism and nature.

An exceptional situation in the long agony of imperialism that has caused the worldwide rebellion of the proletariat and the peoples of the world who rise up in general strikes, mass political strikes and insurrections against exploitation and capitalist oppression; in wars of resistance to imperialist aggression against the peoples, and in the advance of the people's wars led by the communists in various countries.

Crises and contradictions that have ridiculed those who at the beginning of the 1990s predicted the good health of imperialism and announced the supposed death of communism, the millennial reign of capitalism and the end of history. But not only them, also the social-democratic analysts who at that time saw "neoliberalism" and "globalization" as just a voracious policy of the monopolies and not as an inevitable consequence of the collapse of social-imperialism in the former USSR, which gave a new and temporary respite to

imperialism, giving it the possibility to extend and expand capitalist relations to all countries, to strengthen the domination of the monopolies in all branches, to tighten the imperialist grip and plunder on the oppressed countries and peoples, and to lower the material and social conditions of the working class all over the world.

Imperialist capitalism has become an internationalized mode of production. The monopolies no longer only divide and dispute markets and adjust production with a view to the world market, now the gigantic monopoly corporations divide and dispute the men themselves and adjust markets with a view to world production, turning imperialist capitalism into a system that entrenches and extends financial enslavement, oppression and colonialist plunder all over the planet.

The process of interlinking, expansion and deepening of capitalist relations in the world has led not only to the integration of all countries into a single world market of capital, commodities and labor power, but also to the emergence and expansion of industry in the oppressed countries and the introduction of major changes in agriculture, destroying the traditional systems of production and accelerating the process of decomposition of the peasantry; causing at the same time the accelerated urbanization of the oppressed countries, the development of cities and increasing the international migration of the proletariat.

The result of such a painful, brutal and violent trajectory has been the ever greater socialization of the world productive process and the proletarianization of world society. The efforts of billions of workers are socialized in a single productive process, crystallized even in the smallest goods with the incorporation of the labor force of the workers of many countries. Likewise, the great migratory movements, the great displacements to the cities, the growing belts of misery -which are erected as monstrous monuments to the irrationality of imperialist capitalism- multiply by millions the class of proletarians, the most powerful productive and social force, the world army of the gravediggers of dying capitalism.

The triumph of capitalism, converted into a world system of oppression and exploitation, is the cause of its inevitable defeat, for it has not only forged throughout the planet the class that will bury it, the class of the proletarians, but has also sharpened the class struggle in general, has widened the differences between them, has accelerated the proletarianization of vast layers of the petty bourgeoisie; It has stimulated the desire for anti-imperialist struggle in the working masses of the world, upon whom it has unloaded the weight of their exploitation and the opprobrium of their domination.

Capitalism itself has prepared the passage of humanity to socialism, because it has created its material conditions: it has turned production into a social process, at the same time as appropriation into a private process; it has organized production into immense factories on a world scale, at the same time as it has plunged it into anarchy, thereby hindering the development of the productive forces under capitalist relations of production, and slowing down the development of society; it has concentrated wealth in the minority part of society that does not work and misery in the immense working majority of society, pushing the antagonism between capital and labor to the limit; it has created the class of proletarians dispossessed of the means of production, whose historic mission is to make the social character of production correspond to the social character of property, resolving through a political and social revolution the contradictions in which imperialist capitalism has embroiled the whole of society.

Against those who in one way or another predicted the good health of imperialism at the end of the last century, all the facts of the present time expose and confirm that imperialism is capitalism in decomposition, moribund, the last stage of the capitalist system and the eve of the world socialist revolution; the World Proletarian Revolution is, therefore, a consequence of the conditions of development of imperialism.

### **The Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Movement Today**

The Socialist Revolution of the Proletariat and the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Movement are the two great currents of a single world front of the proletarian revolution against the imperialist world front; two great currents that point and converge without merging towards the same world target of the proletarian revolution: imperialism.

However, the interests of the proletariat and the interests of the nation are of a different character. The former are the interests of a given class; the latter, the

interests of the various classes of a nation. The one and the other are the material basis of two struggles of a different nature, which draw closer, strengthen, ally, converge, but do not dissolve, nor replace each other.

The need for mutual internationalist support between the workers' revolution in the imperialist countries and the anti-imperialist movement in the oppressed countries; the need for the alliance in the oppressed countries between the proletariat and the other classes oppressed by imperialism; the capitalist development of the oppressed countries, especially those where, by becoming dominant, it brings the socialist revolution and the anti-imperialist movement closer together; are all objective conditions that strengthen the tendency toward the rapprochement of the two great currents of the World Proletarian Revolution.

The capitalism of an oppressed country is an aspect of the world mode of production, an aspect of imperialist capitalism, therefore, subject to its inevitable economic crises and bearer of the fundamental particularity of modern capitalism "the domination of the monopolistic associations of big businessmen".

It is monopoly capitalism closely linked to world finance capital, only marked by the deep marks of the shackles of semi-colonial dependence, of imperialist parasitism, and of its tendencies: both to stagnation, to violently and artificially contain technical progress, the rate of growth of certain branches of production, even of the entire economy of the oppressed country; or to accelerate its development - the most general tendency under imperialism, according to Lenin - accentuating the decomposition of the peasantry, sweeping away vestiges of pre-capitalist modes of production, or assimilating them, and even in some cases reinforcing them, but always subjecting them to the needs of world production, of the realization of surplus value, the accumulation and world centralization of capital.

Back in 1929, the Peruvian Marxist theorist and proletarian leader José Carlos Mariátegui said, referring to the anti-imperialist movement in Latin American countries:

The economic condition of these republics is undoubtedly semi-colonial, and, as their capitalism grows and, consequently, imperialist penetration, this character of their economy must be accentuated. But the national bourgeoisies, who see in cooperation with imperialism the best source of profit, feel themselves sufficiently master of political power not to be seriously concerned with national sovereignty. These bourgeoisies, in South America, which does not yet know, except for Panama, the Yankee military occupation, have no predisposition to admit the need

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to fight for a second independence, as the aprista propaganda naively supposed. The State, or rather the ruling class does not miss a broader and more certain degree of national autonomy... To pretend that in this social layer a feeling of revolutionary nationalism takes hold, similar to that which in different conditions represents a factor of the anti-imperialist struggle in the semi-colonial countries subjugated by imperialism in the last decades in Asia, would be a grave error.

According to Mariátegui, the existence of the capitalist mode of production in the oppressed countries is not “strange”, nor “artificially introduced by imperialism”, or “non-classical” ... to which the capitalist mode of production is not exported, but capital, which acts and influences its germs and capitalist development originated in the economic process of the old feudal society. The defects of capitalism in the oppressed countries are the characteristics of semicolonial dependence and its role in the world economy, which do not suppress the essential characteristics of all capitalism: the production of commodities under a regime where the accumulated capital buys and exploits wage labor force of free workers.

To deny capitalist development in the oppressed countries, pretexting its dependent, unequal, unbalanced character and without classic development, is to ignore the nature of imperialism and the essence of its semicolonial domination: real economic and political dependence, at the exclusive service of the growing imperialist world accumulation and centralization of capital, and against the masses and the progress of the society of the oppressed countries, whose disarticulated and unbalanced development is an articulated pinion in the great chain of the world economy, of imperialist production and world market.

The complete domination of the capitalist mode of production over the other modes of production in the social economic formation of oppressed countries is a real phenomenon of the last and current period in the agonic phase of capitalism, accelerated and highlighted by the economic crisis of world capitalism unleashed at the dawn of the new century.

Consequently, the national problem today can only be solved on condition of overthrowing the bourgeoisie. This is the epoch of the new anti-imperialist revolutionary movement, as part of the World Proletarian Revolution, which in the feudal and semi-feudal oppressed countries is solved as a whole and in connection with the anti-feudal revolution, that is, as part of the New Democratic Revolution led by the proletariat; while in the capitalist oppressed countries it is solved as a whole and in connection with the anti-

capitalist revolution of the proletariat, as part of the Socialist Revolution.

To pretend to solve the national problem of imperialism, separately and without annihilating the power of capital, or before annihilating it, before the triumph of the New Democratic Revolution in the feudal and semi-feudal oppressed countries, or before the triumph of the Socialist Revolution in the capitalist oppressed countries, is petty bourgeois democratic politics conceived to fight against imperialism without going beyond the limits of capitalism.

The experience in the 20th century of bourgeois factions and personalities who seized power in some Asian and African countries under democratic anti-imperialist banners, and then became tyrants in the service of imperialism; as well as the experience of the national liberation movements in Latin America led by the petty bourgeoisie and of bourgeois and petty bourgeois sectors ruling in some countries today, shows that their anti-imperialist discourse is apparent, and that their struggle against one imperialism is in reality a compromise with another to oppress and exploit the people.

That is why in the oppressed capitalist countries like Colombia the edge of the revolution is against capitalism and imperialist domination. All the bourgeoisie, including the agrarian bourgeoisie; all the capitalist landowners and also the semi-feudal ones; all the imperialists who maintain the economic and political yoke over society; all are the targets of the revolution, which, because of its economic and social content, can no longer be democratic but, irremediably, of a proletarian, socialist character; knowing that, as Lenin correctly warned in his polemic with the renegade Kautsky already more than a century ago: “to separate the one from the other by anything other than the degree of preparation of the proletariat and the degree of its union with the poor peasants, is the greatest distortion of Marxism, it is to indoctrinate it, to replace it with liberalism.”

It is not then the national struggle which imprints the character on the revolution, but the revolution which characterizes the national struggle. “...the national question does not always have the same character (...) the character and the tasks of the national movement change according to the different periods of the development of the revolution”, as Stalin would say. It is not therefore the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement which by itself characterizes the revolution in the oppressed capitalist countries; it is the character of the socialist revolution, derived from the nature of society, which determines the scope and socialist depth of the anti-imperialist movement.

To isolate the struggle against imperialism from the



struggle of the workers against capital is crude nationalism, which clouds the thinking of the proletariat, undermines its class independence and favors the ideological and political domination of the bourgeoisie. Such a separation means to dissimulate, attenuate, cover up, the deep contradictions of the imperialist phase, by which the revolution becomes inevitable. It is bourgeois reformism instead of Marxism, as was accurately exposed by Mariátegui since 1929:

Anti-imperialism, for us, no longer constitutes, nor can it constitute by itself, a political program, a mass movement apt to conquer power [...] we are anti-imperialists because we are socialists, because we are revolutionaries, because we oppose capitalism to socialism as an antagonistic system, called to succeed it, because in the struggle against foreign imperialisms we fulfill our duties of solidarity with the revolutionary masses [of the world].

It is on this basis that communists and revolutionaries can advance in the construction of the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front in Colombia.

### **The anti-imperialist tasks of the moment in Colombia**

Right now, the reformist government of Petro, which insists on a “national agreement” or social pact with the reactionary ruling classes, partners and lackeys of imperialism, mainly Yankee; a ruler who appeals, like the old utopians of the 19th century, to the philanthropy of the big capitalists and imperialists to humanize agonizing capitalism, to prevent the destruction of nature and the degradation of the environment; a reformist

government that seeks to prolong the agony of capitalism, disarming the workers of the need for proletarian revolution, makes urgent the unity of the forces of communists and revolutionaries, to build a revolutionary alternative.

And there is a vast and fertile ground to experiment, to tighten the links with the masses and to unify and generalize the struggles that right now the masses are waging with the purpose of conquering the unresolved popular demands and demands in the uprisings of 2019, 2020 and 2021; an excellent situation that allows and facilitates forging unity in the struggle, promoting and carrying out the Popular Assemblies in the perspective of constituting them as true embryos of the new People’s Power in opposition to the old power of the exploiters and oppressors.

In that sense, the Independent Popular National Assembly, held this year in mid-July in Cali, signifies an important advance in that direction, since there not only did communists, revolutionaries and leaders of the masses of workers, peasants, youth and women attend, but they also agreed on banners of struggle that reflect exploited and oppressed of Colombia.

A commitment that the Communist Workers Union (mlm) and its friends have taken with the firm conviction that this is a step forward in the common struggle to bring about the defeat of the Colombian ruling classes and imperialism. This is our commitment now, with which we are contributing our grain of sand to the construction of the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front, one of the “three magic wands” necessary to achieve the triumph of the socialist revolution in Colombia as part of the World Proletarian Revolution.

**Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan****“The Current Situation of the Region and the World” And “The Urgent Tasks Before Us in the Present Circumstances”**

One of the characteristics of imperialism globally is its extensive promotion of religious fundamentalism and its support for achieving political power. This is because the foreign policy of imperialism, especially American imperialism, does not aim to combat fundamentalism and terrorism but instead fosters their growth globally.

To analyze the current situation, it is helpful to look back and understand the nature of Pan-Islamist and theocratic forces and how they gained power in countries like Afghanistan (August 2021) and, more recently, the collapse of Bashar al-Assad’s government in Syria (December 2024). This also includes the increasing rise and strengthening of fundamentalism in countries such as Iran, Kuwait, Qatar, Israel, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Palestine, Turkey, Oman, Bahrain, Yemen, Jordan, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt (Middle Eastern countries), India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, the Maldives, Nepal, and Sri Lanka (South Asian countries), as well as Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Kashmir, Xinjiang (formerly East Turkestan) in western China, and southern Siberia in Russia (Central Asian countries). These developments illustrate the intensification of imperialist and reactionary conflicts and alignments in the current conditions.

Let us start with the French Revolution:

The French Revolution (1789–1799) is considered one of the most significant events in world history. It succeeded in suppressing the churches, abolishing Catholic monarchy, nationalizing church properties, and exiling approximately 30,000 priests. In October 1793, the Christian calendar was replaced with the revolutionary calendar, and festivals celebrating freedom, reason, and enlightenment replaced the Inquisition. Revolutionary government laws became strictly mandatory in April 1794. Anti-church laws were passed by the legislative assembly and its successor, the National Convention, as well as by departmental councils across the country.

The Concordat of France, signed in 1801 between Napoleon Bonaparte and Pope Pius VII, was an agreement designed to resolve conflicts between the

French government and the Catholic Church following the French Revolution. This agreement lasted for over a century until it was abolished by the Third French Republic in favor of secular policies through the establishment of *laïcité* (secularism) on December 11, 1905.

The French Revolution and the Dynamics of Imperialism

The French Revolution was a historic event that silenced the churches but has not been replicated since 1905. After that point, during the era of imperialism, the monopoly bourgeoisie never sought to overthrow feudalism. Instead, efforts were made to reconcile the bourgeoisie and feudalism. This was because imperialism relied on feudalism as the backbone of its control in dominated nations, including colonial, semi-colonial, feudal, and semi-feudal countries. Imperialism saw the growth of religious fundamentalism as a tool to further its interests.

This reality was highlighted during the Cultural Revolution in China, where Mao Zedong explicitly stated that the bourgeoisie was no longer capable of revolution and that the responsibility for such revolutionary actions had shifted to the proletariat.

Recent developments in the Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia reflect this assertion, with religious fundamentalism on the rise in these regions. Imperialist protégés, supported by unconditional aid, came to power in Afghanistan in August 2021 and in Syria in December 2024, with assistance from Zionism, Turkey’s reactionary government, and unreserved support from American imperialism.

The Syrian Civil War, which erupted in 2011 following the Arab Spring, ultimately led to the collapse of Bashar al-Assad’s government. However, Assad’s regime was not toppled by revolutionary forces or the masses, but by Islamic fundamentalists, led by Abu Muhammad al-Jolani, a former member of al-Qaeda in Iraq and a close associate of Zarqawi. Al-Jolani played a significant role in the early years of the Syrian conflict, founding Jabhat al-Nusra as an al-Qaeda affiliate in Syria. However,

by 2016, he rebranded it as Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham and formally severed ties with al-Qaeda. From 2016 onward, the inter-imperialist contradictions between Russia and the United States heightened regional tensions and exacerbated the internal conflicts in Syria following the Arab Spring. Russia, owing to its military presence at the Hmeimim Air Base (Arabic: B'9/) - EJEJE 'D,HJ)) in southeast Latakia, sided with Assad. Meanwhile, the U.S., in collaboration with Israel and Turkey, supported Abu Muhammad al-Jolani and the "Syrian Taliban," who ultimately rose to power with imperialist, Zionist, and regional reactionary backing. Similar to the Afghan Taliban (long-standing puppets of imperialism), this power grab in Syria reflects an imperialist game, revealing covert agreements between Western imperialists and Russian imperialism. Bashar al-Assad, in his final days, was fully aware of his inability to alter the situation and thus adopted a passive stance. It is now evident that Western imperialists and Russian imperialism have reached agreements regarding Ukraine and Syria, engaging in a transactional exchange. What the Western imperialists offered to Russia in Ukraine and what was left for it in Syria remains to be seen over time.

## Marx, Lenin and Mao Zedong Perspectives on Imperialism

In the Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx argued that capitalist powers divide lands and colonies to control resources and markets, deepening class conflicts and international disputes.

Similarly, in his book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin explained that imperialism is the result of capital concentration and monopoly dominance. He emphasized that imperialist powers seek access to resources, markets, and cheap labor by dividing lands in various forms among themselves. This redistribution often occurs through wars or colonial agreements, with the primary aim of securing the economic interests of monopolies and large capitalists. Lenin believed that this process increases national and class contradictions, laying the groundwork for anti-capitalist revolutions in colonial nations.

Mao Zedong also pointed out the adverse impacts of imperialism and land division by great powers. He asserted that imperialism exploits resources and cheap labor by partitioning the world among colonial powers, perpetuating inequality and conflict.

## The Process of Imperialist Oppression and the Division of Lands

Mao Zedong emphasized that resistance against

imperialism and the unity of oppressed nations are key to liberating themselves from this domination. He considered the division of lands as part of the fundamental contradictions among imperialists, which ultimately lead to anti-colonial revolutions.

If we examine the course of historical materialism after the French Revolution, including the unwavering support of imperialism for Pan-Islamism and theocratic movements, we arrive at the same conclusion: "Imperialism engages in the redistribution of lands and colonies."

## The "Greater Middle East" Plan

Shimon Peres (President of Israel, 2007–2014) introduced a proposal for the division of Middle Eastern countries in 1993. Later, in 2006, retired American General Ralph Peters presented this plan, under the title "The New or Greater Middle East," to the White House. This proposal caused global uproar and was subsequently classified among the United States' confidential documents.

Peters' plan called for significant changes to the regional map, covering areas from Pakistan to Turkey and from Azerbaijan to Yemen. He proposed the creation of a new map featuring six newly formed countries in the region's political landscape:

1. Balochistan: Incorporating Baloch-majority regions of Pakistan and Iran, this area was envisioned as an independent state called "Free Balochistan."
2. Kurdistan: A state including Kurdish-majority regions of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria.
3. The Shiite Arab State: Encompassing Shiite-majority areas in Iraq, parts of Kuwait, southern Gulf coastal regions up to Qatar, Bahrain, sections of Saudi Arabia's coastline, and parts of the UAE.
4. The Sunni Arab State: Centered in Sunni-majority areas of western Iraq.
5. Baghdad as an Independent City-State: Similar to Luxembourg, Baghdad was envisioned as an independent city-state, situated between the Sunni Arab state in Iraq and the Shiite Arab state.
6. The Holy Islamic State: Located in the Hejaz region of Saudi Arabia, this would include the religious cities of Mecca and Medina, functioning as an "Islamic Vatican."

## Analyzing the Implementation of the "Greater Middle East" Plan

Upon examining the dimensions of the issue, it becomes evident that the proposal by retired American General Ralph Peters is in progress, with this scenario continuing to unfold. For instance, after the establishment of Haider al-Abadi's government on November 9, 2014 (18th of Aqrab 1393), there has been an increase in intermittent clashes between Sunni, Shia, and Kurdish

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groups in Iraq, alongside discussions regarding the division of Iraq into three autonomous regions. At the same time, imperialism and its regional allies have intensified theological and religious fundamentalism, further fueling sectarian conflicts.

### Border Changes in the “Greater Middle East” Plan

The plan also outlines significant changes to the borders of existing nations:

1. **Pashtun Areas:** All Pashtun-majority regions of Pakistan, including the “North-West Frontier Province” (NWFP) and the Pashtun-majority areas of northern Balochistan, along with Gilgit and Baltistan (two parts of the five former regions of Kashmir), are annexed to Afghanistan.

2. **Western Provinces of Afghanistan:** Herat, Farah, and Badghis provinces are separated from Afghanistan and incorporated into Iran’s territory.

3. **Iranian Azerbaijan:** This region is detached from Iran and joined with the current Republic of Azerbaijan.

4. **Syria:** The northwestern coastal regions of Syria, which border the Mediterranean, are detached from Syria and considered part of Lebanon. As a result, Syria is reduced to a landlocked country.

5. **Saudi Arabia and Jordan:** All northwestern coastal areas of Saudi Arabia bordering the Red Sea are handed over to Jordan. Jordan is then made adjacent to the “Islamic Vatican,” a proposed holy Islamic state in the Hejaz region of Saudi Arabia, encompassing the two sacred cities of Mecca and Medina.

6. **Yemen:** Portions of southern Saudi Arabia are annexed to Yemen, expanding Yemen’s territory northward.

7. **Israel and Oman:** Throughout the region, only two nations—Israel and the Sultanate of Oman at the far end of the southern Persian Gulf—retain unchanged borders.

8. **West Bank and Gaza:** The coastal region west of the Jordan River is marked as an undefined area, while Gaza is entirely erased from the map.

9. **Kashmir:** The region of Kashmir, currently divided between Pakistan and India, is subdivided further into three areas, under the control of India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan.

Thus, the four main points of the current strategy of American imperialists in the region are as follows:

1. Military invasions and direct occupation of countries, as implemented in Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003). In August 2021, following the Doha Agreement (Qatar), the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, with the support of imperialist occupiers (American imperialists), came to power again. Iran is next on the list, and other countries may also be added to this list.

2. Overthrowing current ruling regimes, such as Bashar al-Assad in Syria (December 2024), and

bringing puppet and fake regimes into power in occupied countries, applying this project to other regional countries.

3. Creating desired changes in the border divisions between existing countries and interfering with the right of nations to determine their own fate.

4. Creating new countries in the region by controlling nationalist movements among oppressed nationalities who are fighting against the chauvinism of ruling nationalities. Additionally, this is done by further fueling ethnic conflicts and recruiting these movements.

Thus, it is clear that the plundering, occupying, and imperialist wars supported by imperialists, Zionists, and their regional allies are directed towards securing their interests.

The claim of the UAE, as a Western imperialist ally, over the three islands of Abu Musa, Greater Tunb, and Lesser Tunb in the Persian Gulf, the large-scale aerial and ground attacks by the Israeli occupiers (Israel) on Lebanon and Gaza, the Ukraine-Russia war, tensions over Kashmir between Pakistan and India, the Taiwan issue between China and Taiwan, the presence of over 10,000 North Korean soldiers supporting Russia in the Ukraine war, the collapse of Assad’s government in Syria, the rise of Pan-Islamic movements, the bombing of Kurdish regions in Syria by the Turkish government to prevent the growth of the “Syrian Democratic Forces,” the growing Pan-Islamism in the region, the intensified political disputes between Iran and Israel, the political and diplomatic tensions between Pakistan and Afghanistan, the maneuvers by the northern countries of Afghanistan (Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan) to prevent the growth of ISIS in those countries, the presence of over 25 Pan-Islamic movements in Afghanistan, the presence of Chinese forces and soldiers at the shared border between Afghanistan and China (difficult terrain), the diplomatic tensions between North and South Korea, and in short, the acute political, diplomatic, and military tensions in the region—all point to the implementation of targeted, plundering, and imperialist strategies by the imperialists in the region and the world, leading to the disintegration of countries, destruction, massacres, displacement, and the plundering of oppressed masses based on “the redistribution of lands and colonies.”

In this context, the lack of awareness among oppressed masses and the extreme weakness of revolutionary communist movements (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) worldwide leads to the situation where the masses, in complete ignorance, celebrate their own destruction with the disgusting and bloodthirsty slogans of the fundamentalists, unaware of the fate awaiting them.

The humiliating escape of dictators like Bashar al-

Assad can be a cause for celebration, just as the escape of the Shah of Iran during the time of Khomeini was a source of joy for the people. However, over 47 years of the oppressive, religiously fanatic rule in Iran has devastated the lives of the oppressed masses and the people of Iran. Similarly, in present-day Afghanistan, with the return of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan backed by imperialist occupiers, the country remains a colony—semi-feudal and under the bloody grip of a completely misogynistic, reactionary, and medieval government. In other words, the severe theocratic rule over the past three years, with the full support of imperialist occupiers, has created a completely suffocating atmosphere for the oppressed people of Afghanistan, particularly for the women of the country. During these three years, the Taliban has committed the most brutal acts of oppression, draining the life from workers and other oppressed classes, particularly the women.

#### Intensification of Imperialist-Reactionary Contradictions and Alignments in the Current Conditions

History has shown that from the late 1960s to the early 1990s, there was intense competition between the social-imperialist bloc and the imperialist bloc (the Warsaw Pact and NATO). This competition became known as the Cold War between the two blocs.

The Cold War involved a military confrontation between imperialist and social-imperialist powers in Europe, alongside active warfare in Asia, Africa, and Latin America against the oppressed peoples and nations. Simultaneously, there was a competition in these regions between these powers.

The rise of the “People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan” on 7th of Thor 1357 (April 27, 1978) through a Russian-led coup and the ascension of Khomeini in February 1979 in Iran were the results of this competition and the division of regions between the United States and Russia.

After the collapse of the social-imperialist empire, Russia was not in a position to engage in intense competition with Western imperialist powers during the last two decades of the 20th century and the first decade of the 21st century.

In 2008 and 2009 (1387 and 1388 in the Afghan calendar), the United States and European countries were engulfed by a deep economic crisis, which lasted for several years, and the crisis has not yet been fully resolved.

In such conditions, Russian imperialism found an opportunity to undergo its own imperialist economic reconstruction and show that it could still compete with American imperialism. Russia’s support for Bashar al-Assad in Syria, its annexation of Crimea from Ukraine, and ultimately the military invasion of Ukraine clearly

demonstrate this new competition and alignment between imperialist powers.

For years, the trade balance between the U.S. and China has been disrupted, shifting in favor of China. It is possible that in the near future, social-imperialist China could become the second-largest imperialist power in the world.

China’s military activities in the South China Sea, its alignment with Russian imperialism, joint military production projects with Pakistan, and the arming and financing of Pakistan’s military under the pretext of fighting the Pakistani Taliban indicate that social-imperialism in China seeks to position itself as a serious rival to American imperialism.

Thus, the contradiction between American imperialism and its allies on one side and Russian imperialism and its allies on the other has intensified as one of the major global contradictions. This is a significant shift from the past few decades. This intensification of contradictions undermines the myth of a unipolar world under the leadership of American imperialism. The current global trend, moving from a developing power in subjugated countries to a dominant imperialist power, and the intensification of contradictions between various imperialist powers, will undoubtedly lead to dangerous and enormous dimensions in the future.

Currently, there are four major points of tension in the world:

1. Eastern of Ukraine and Crimea in Eastern Europe, where Crimea became part of Russian imperialism in 2014, and four regions—Donetsk, Luhansk, Zaporizhzhia, and Kherson—became part of Russia in 2022.

2. Iraq and Syria in the Middle East, where Syria faced the flight of Bashar al-Assad in December 2024, and Iraq is undergoing changes.

3. Afghanistan in the middle of Central Asia, South Asia, and the Middle East, where the return of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan has led to changes and developments in favor of American imperialists.

4. South Korea and North Korea in the Far East.

In Eastern Europe, Russian imperialists, facing the “greediness” and expansive movements of American imperialists and their European NATO allies moving toward Russia’s western borders, have resorted to war, which continues to this day. As a result of these expansions, not a single Eastern European country remains alongside Russia; all have become U.S. allies in NATO. In contrast, Russian imperialists, striving to annex Russian-speaking parts of Ukraine, have turned to war, formally annexing Crimea and effectively separating the Russian-speaking eastern part of Ukraine, incorporating them into Russia.

The reciprocal reaction of American imperialists and

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their European allies in NATO was to deploy the U.S. missile defense system in the Czech Republic and Poland, along with American, British, and German NATO military units in various other parts of Eastern European countries. In turn, the reciprocal action by Russian imperialists was to deploy a significant portion of their missile systems, including nuclear missile systems, near Russia's western borders, justifying their positioning toward U.S. missile defense systems in Poland, the Czech Republic, and other military targets in Eastern, Central, and Western Europe. This military standoff continues, taking the form of a chronic diplomatic-political-military tension.

In the Middle East, imperialist-reactionary wars are being waged by American imperialists and their European allies, alongside reactionary Arab powers, against the oppressed peoples of the Middle East, especially in Iraq and Syria. These wars are carried out under the guise of fighting terrorism and extremism (al-Qaeda, ISIS), often blending imperialist and reactionary tactics. The issue of the Kurds in Turkey, Syria, Iraq, and Iran has been a long-standing, fluctuating conflict for decades.

Saudi Arabia's attacks on Yemen in 2015 were aimed at preserving the power of the Saudi monarchs and princes over the people of Yemen, under the pretext of countering the expansionist policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the "Arab World." This situation, with historical roots, has contributed to the current imperialist-reactionary war in Iraq and Syria, particularly in the sensitive Middle East region. The regional tensions remain and continue to impact the situation.

Saudi Arabia's military intervention in Yemen, known as Operation Decisive Storm, began on March 26, 2015, led by a coalition of Arab countries with the goal of restoring the government of Abdrabbuh Mansur Hadi, the president of Yemen, to power, and confronting the Ansar Allah (Houthi) group.

All these political and military complexities in the region have caused the Palestinian issue to be sidelined, ultimately benefiting Zionism and its imperialist supporters, specifically American imperialism.

All these wars have taken the form of a chronic political-military tension, swallowing up all the resources and capabilities of the region like a many-headed dragon.

Independence Movements of Iraqi Kurdistan from northeastern Syria have also been added to this situation. After the fall of Bashar al-Assad's government, the Kurds of the Rojava region (Rojava refers to the western part of Kurdish Syria) Have controlling a quarter of Syria are being ruthlessly bombarded by regional reactionaries (the Turkish government). This is

because Turkey fears that Kurdistan region, which borders Syria to the south, may have secessionist ambitions similar to those of Kurdistan in Iraq. Consequently, Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) are targeted. These forces, established in 2015, were a coalition of four groups: People's Defense Units (PYG), Women's Defense Units (YPJ), Arab groups (Sannadid), and Christian minorities such as Assyrians, Armenians, Turkmens, and Chechens, led by "Farhad Abdi Shaheen", known as "Mazlom Kobani". They clashed both with Assad's government and ISIS forces in Syria.

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Next to that, Israel, after the collapse of Assad's government, attacked over 300 Syrian targets. The excuse for these attacks was to prevent weapons from reaching extremist groups. However, Israel's actions are officially supported by the U.S. This support has caused further tensions among Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Turkey, and these tensions continue to affect the entire Middle East region. Furthermore, the independence movement of Iraqi Kurdistan is seen as the first step in the realization of the "Greater Middle East" plan. Following this, we should witness further fragmentation in all the countries of the Middle East, Afghanistan, and Pakistan.

In the South Asian region, we can similarly witness India's alliance with the US and its distancing from Russia on the one hand, and Pakistan's distancing from the US and its further alliance with China, Russia and Iran in relation to Afghanistan on the other. With the re-establishment of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan in August 2021 by the American imperialists, it seems that American imperialism is unable to compete economically with China's social-imperialist economic plan, a plan that connects China to Europe through Afghanistan, Pakistan, Central Asian countries, Iran and Turkey under the name of the "Silk Road". Therefore, American imperialism is trying to prevent it or bring it under control mostly through its military actions.

The India-U.S. alliance in South Asia could potentially impact armed struggles, such as the ongoing People's War led by the Communist Party of India (Maoist) in several Indian states and armed struggles in Kashmir, which may also be framed within this alliance and India's expansionist vision. It is even possible that the formation of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal (May 2024) and the People's War in Nepal, with its political-military consequences, could also fall within this framework of alliance and expansionist outlook.

Thus, it is clear that the return of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, with the unwavering support of Western imperialism, and the India-U.S. alliance over regional interests, Sooner or later, it will also affect the national, popular and revolutionary resistance of Afghanistan,

even though it is currently in an atmosphere of political strangulation and has a weak political form, even though it is currently in a politically repressive state, and has a weak political structure.

The Korea crisis is a long-standing, chronic issue that has lasted for more than six decades. Throughout these years, Korea has officially remained in a state of war, and the conflict continues. The intensification of the crisis has been exacerbated by North Korea's acquisition of nuclear weapons, as well as severe reactions from the U.S. and its Japanese allies, alongside South Korea's responses. Despite the military threats from the U.S. and its allies, and the implementation of broad economic sanctions against North Korea, as well as political pressure, North Korea has resisted and has not yielded to these imperialist threats. As a result, approximately 10,000 soldiers were sent to assist Russia in the Ukraine war, which has raised serious international concerns.

This could intensify geopolitical tensions in various regions, including the Korean Peninsula and Europe. The United Nations, the United States, and NATO have condemned this action, considering it a threat to global security.

On the other hand, in the Far East, alongside the intensification of the Korean crisis, China's social-imperialist expansionism in the South China Sea has further contributed to the situation. These expansionist actions have not only been opposed by countries in the region, such as the Philippines and Vietnam, but have also exacerbated tensions between China's social-imperialists and American and Japanese imperialists. Specifically, since the occupation of the Johnson South Reef in the Spratly Islands by China in 2013, which led to the construction of military bases and advanced infrastructure in the area, tensions have escalated with regional countries and the United States. As a result, India has joined the imperialist military alignment of the United States, Japan, and Australia in the Asia-Pacific region, extending this military-imperialist-reactionary bloc against China's social-imperialism to the Indian Ocean and South Asia.

#### The Urgent Tasks Before Us in the Present Circumstances

The current regional and global situation, along with the intensification of imperialist-reactionary alignments, does not aim to end the plundering and imperialist wars in the region and the world, but rather to "kill more..."—meaning the intensification of war.

The current situation in Afghanistan also shows that our country is still a colonial-semi-feudal country in the grip of the predatory policies of American imperialism, and the growing strengthening and growth of theocratic, religious fundamentalism with the return of the Islamic Emirate can and should end in favor of Western

imperialism.

The ongoing global and regional trends indicate the strengthening and further expansion of imperialist-reactionary political-military alignments in South Asia, the Asia-Pacific region, and around the world. The declared global "civilization" war by the West against the "barbarism" of the imperialist-occupied countries—a recurring slogan of Western colonialism against the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America—does not signal peace for the world, the region, or Afghanistan. Instead, it signals the intensification of imperialist war.

Currently, this war is not only against the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in their own countries, but also against the working-class refugees from the three continents in imperialist countries. The re-election of Trump's new fascism to the White House in January 2025 (a few days away) in the United States will be the fruit of this declaration of imperialist war, which has been part of his campaign during the U.S. presidential election.

The escalating contradictions at both the regional and global levels show that preparation for such a war is necessary. As Mao Zedong said, "War is destroyed by war," because social and political revolutions must occur through long-lasting people's wars and armed struggles. Therefore, we must advance with all our strength and power toward preparing for and establishing The War of National Popular and Revolutionary Resistance, with clear, principled, and decisive action in the future, to ensure its success.

The urgent tasks facing us are: -

1. Struggling to strengthen and expand the party in order to respond principally and promptly to the needs of the ongoing struggles.
2. Unifying all Marxist-Leninist-Maoist personalities and forces in Afghanistan under a single Communist Maoist Party of the country.
3. Initiating practical collaborative efforts with all new national-democratic personalities and forces in the struggle and resistance against the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan and its international supporters.
4. Developing and expanding mass work, mass organization, and mobilization among the masses in the struggle, focusing on mass work, organization, and mobilization among workers and peasants, both men and women.

Death to the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan and its international supporters!

Forward on the path to preparing, establishing, and advancing to the War of National Popular and Revolutionary Resistance

24th of Qaws 1403 (December 14, 2024)

## **Our Position/Views on some of the subjects of Debate on the International Line**

### **2. Principally/Especially Maoism**

In the context of this question, we had clarified our position during the RIM era. Following the presentation of the “Principally Maoism” formulation from the side of the Peruvian party, extensive discussions had taken place within the RIM milieu.

Many parties did not agree with it, and neither did we. However, due to the success of Peru’s People’s War, some parties around the world extended support to the Peruvian party because of the prestige it gained. Nevertheless, in the RIM context, viewing it through the prism of debate, some parties refrained from outright acceptance and modified it somewhat, designating it as “Especially Maoism.”

Later on, our party expressed our opinion on this matter through various documents. For example, what was mentioned in a document in the year 2006 was something like that—“We believe that our ideological-theoretical base is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM). This constitutes the ideology of the international proletariat. This MLM is the latest stage in the three stages of development in our ideology, which is an integral whole.

Although at times we use the term ‘Maoism’ and identify ourselves as Maoists. It is noticed among the international Communist Movement also. This is not to diminish Marxism-Leninism and we don’t assert that one is primary while the other is secondary, nor do we understand it in such a way.

“Marxism-Leninism is based on and developed to a higher stage of Marxism, and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is based on Marxism-Leninism and it too is developed to next higher stage. Here, the three words cannot be separated to denote three distinct parts or components of the ideology. What’s even more incorrect is to label one as primary or secondary.

“By framing it as primary/secondary, the problem that arises is the weakness in maintaining the integrity and comprehensiveness of the ideology. It could lead to directing the development of Maoism in terms of its role in the ideology as merely a ‘supplemental contribution’ to Marxism-Leninism, as if Mao played a lesser role. Thus, emphasizing the ‘Principally Maoism’ may overlook the fact that Mao has entirely developed the entire ideology into a new and elevated level. Therefore, referring to MLM, or Maoism as our ideology, and highlighting the ‘Principally Maoism,’ holds significant nuance.”

\* In a document regarding the debate on the international line, it was stated in the year 2009—“The

Peru Party under the leadership of Comrade Gonzalo played a significant role in formulating the third stage of our ideology was recognized as Maoism or MLM through the process by RIM in 1993.

“However, within RIM, there was a significant ideological distinction from the beginning regarding the acceptance and recognition of Maoism. Firstly, Maoism articulates and synthesizes the third stage of our ideology, and there exist qualitative and level differences of stage with the Mao Zedong Thought. On the other hand, the acceptance of Maoism by RIM initially identifies this third level, even though it later acknowledges the higher development of this third stage after Mao’s death, which Mao Zedong Thought did not undertake. In the case of embracing Maoism, we have held from the beginning that the second perspective should be elevated. However, the Peru Party embraced the first perspective, and its influence was significant within certain sections of RIM parties.

“In a different context, the ideology was also articulated as ‘MLM, Principally Maoism,’ through this synthesis. Our party has opposed the ‘Principally Maoism’ synthesis from the very beginning, which, according to MLM, fractures the ‘integrity of the whole.

Peru Party’s mistake in adopting this synthesis has had a significant impact on many parties within RIM. An example of this manifestation is the use of the term ‘Especially’ instead of ‘Principally’ to express the same tendency.”

In 2011, at the party’s National Representative Conference, it was again stated in the document titled “New Thesis”—“MLM is an integral whole. When we refer to our ideology as MLM today, it cannot be separated and expressed separately as the contributions of Marx, Lenin, and Mao.

Because MLM is an synthesized whole. Therefore, the final development of the ideology cannot be separated, and cannot be expressed adding ‘Principally’ or ‘especially’ to it.

In other words, the ideology cannot be referred to as “Principally/especifically Maoism.” Our ideology is not a sum of three ideologies; instead, it is one.

“Marxism, Marxism-Leninism, and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism—the three formulas articulate the three stages of development of our ideology, where each subsequent one is necessarily higher than the preceding ones. When we use the term Maoism, we inherently understand MLM, not necessarily comprehending the distinct contributions of Mao himself.



In today's general discourse, the ideology of MLM can not be analyzed separately in terms of Marxism, Leninism, and Maoism. Although it is possible to separately discuss the contributions of these three mentors of the working class during three distinct periods. MLM, too, can undoubtedly be analyzed, considering its three components: economics, politics, and philosophy."

\* Our position is expressed through our statements in all these documents. Amidst the current debate, both the Maoist Party of India and the Revolutionary Maoist Party of Nepal have presented their opinions (in the context of the formation of the ICL and in Outlook/2) which are correct. Therefore, it is clear that, in the realm of Maoist ideologies, the Maoist movement has already undergone a 'one divides into two'. It won't be correct to separate the formation of the ICL from it.

Although, in their declaration, they did not explicitly mention the phrase 'Principally Maoism.'

\* Here, we want to reiterate that during China's Cultural Revolution, under the leadership of Chairman Mao himself, the Communist Party of China had articulated the development of our ideology at the third stage, which was then referred to as the 'Mao Zedong Thought'.

It is true that there were weaknesses regarding the third stage of ideology in many parties and organizations internationally. Who spoke in favor of accepting Mao Zedong Thought on one side, but couldn't accept it as a qualitative development of Marxism-Leninism on the other. As a result, after Mao's death, when another significant turn occurred in the international communist movement, Mao's Thought became 'one divides into two' opposing streams. Whether Mao Zedong Thought should be embraced as the third stage of our ideology or not became a divisive question among Maoist adherents. It is during this time that a portion of genuine Maoists formed RIM, and the Peruvian Party presented the "Maoism" formulation.

In this context, recognition must be given to the contribution of the Peruvian party. However, it would not be appropriate to exaggerate it and make unclear the history of embracing Mao Zedong Thought as the third stage in China and in various countries like India, Bangladesh, Turkey, the Philippines, during the late 60s.

At the same time, the one-sided leftist deviation that was paved by the formulation of "Principally Maoism" cannot be overlooked today, which extends to all other important line issues. We will talk more about this in another point.

Rather, RIM presented the subject correctly and played a crucial role in establishing it among Maoists globally. Recognizing this is of paramount importance.

### 3. Question of Thought/Path/Ism

The term "Thought" is first seen in the Chinese Party. It is known that the term "Mao Zedong Thought" was introduced in the Party as early as 1945. However,

it was not observed to be used later, except for its official use during the GPCR era. It was officially recognized in the 1969 Ninth Congress as a qualitative development of Marxism-Leninism, i.e. development at the third stage of the ideology of the proletariat. It is not clear why at that time, it was not formulated as "Maoism."

However, later in 1993, when the RIM adopted Maoism, the question arose whether the terms "Thought" and "Ism" have separate meanings and represent distinct stages, or whether they do not. And various opinions were expressed on this matter.

However, at that time it was raised in a completely different way by the Peruvian party. They wanted to show "Thought" as MLM's applied result in a particular country. So the formulation of "Maoism" by Peruvian Party may mean expressing a separate stage from the essence of "Mao Thought" as formulated by the Maoled Chinese Party, and Maoists in many countries around the world. In this way an opportunity was created to exaggerate the achievements of the Peruvian Party in initiating the third stage of development of our doctrine. Which began to be reflected in their documents also.

In this context, there is clearly some contradictory aspects in this position.

According to the above argument, when Maoists around the world adopted "Mao Thought," in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, it was not recognized as a third stage of doctrine, but rather reduced to learning derived from Mao's application to China's concrete situation. This is obviously wrong. We have already mentioned that in the 60s and 70s, in many countries including India, Philippines, Turkey, Bangladesh, "Mao Thought" was adopted as third stage development of doctrine. That was done in China's Cultural Revolution itself. However, later "Maoism" formulation made it more transparent and clear, which we mentioned in the previous point.

However, this understanding led the Peru Party to initiate "Gonzalo Thought" formulation. They went on saying that MLM's application would develop a certain way of thinking in each country. The Peru Party did not stop at this, they expressed their party's ideology/doctrine as "MLM, Gonzalo Thought". And they said that 'Gonzalo Thought' is principal in Peru's context, as they presented the formula 'Principally Maoism' in the world context. We believe that there are several flaws in such a statement.

First, the proletariat is an international and internationalist class. Hence, his ideology/doctrine cannot be different from country to country. The idea of separate 'Thought' for every country will lead to nationalist deviation, which we may have seen in some parties of the seventies like Korean Party.

It is true that application of general truths of MLM to the particular conditions of particular countries develops some distinctive lines. It is also important to specify and formulate it. Failure to do so would

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encourage the dogmatism of abstract theories.

But in projecting it into the ideology/doctrine of the proletariat of that particular country lies the dangerous seed of nationalistic deviation of having a separate ideology of the proletariat.

The question is, how will MLM develop? Does it not evolve through certain revolutions? As Mao did in the Chinese revolution? Certainly it is. But caution must be exercised in perceiving and understanding things unilaterally. The proletarian revolution of a particular country must definitely be a part of the world proletarian revolution. Therefore, such a revolution is simultaneously part of and subordinate to the line of proletarian world revolution. It follows that there is a dialectical relationship between the general line of the world revolution and the world revolutionary activities, and the revolutionary activities of specific countries and development of their line. Among which, of course, the revolutionary activities and line-building of certain countries are the main aspects. But it needs to be cautious about the development of nationalistic ideas/outlook to view and practice it in a strait-line way. If our doctrine develops qualitatively through these two processes, it must be presented, as the Chinese Party under Mao did during the GPCR. Or did the Bolshevik Party led by Stalin. So, one can say that Gonzalo Thought is of international significance, that it developed MLM's general truth, if he think so and he needs to be brought it up as part of the doctrine. But he cannot say that different schools of thought will develop in different countries, and that for the proletarian party of that particular country that school of thought is part of its doctrine, and even the principal one. It seriously undermines the internationalist doctrinal question of the proletariat, pushing MLM back, despite all its sincerity.

Certainly, we consider some of the contributions of the Peruvian Party under the leadership of Comrade Gonzalo until 1992 to be of international significance; but at the same time we consider some of its serious flaws to be combative. We will discuss this later. Even in those areas where this party's contributions, such as the formulation of Maoism, universality of people's war, etc., are not without flaws, they are tainted by the left-wing one-sidedness, which we have discussed above, and we will more discuss them later.

Such an understanding of the Peruvian Party regarding "Thought" has had a major negative impact on many Maoist parties/organizations in the world, especially on several organizations belonging to the RIM, and even on the line and revolutionary activities of the Peruvian Party itself. This gave rise to the "Zefetura" or great leadership theory which brought serious negative consequences to the trajectory of the Peruvian Party after the arrest of Comrade Gonzalo. We will discuss more about that later.

The same type of understanding developed especially in the Nepat Party which was leading the developing People's War. They ventured to adopt the "Prachanda

Thought" formula. However, in the face of criticism of this within the RIM, they modified it somewhat to adopt the "Prachanda Path" formula according to Prachanda's eclectic thinking. But despite this difference in the naming of the theory, it was actually a follow-up to the "Thought" of the Peru Party. They also include "Prachanda Path" in the doctrine, although they refrain from calling it "Principal" like the Peruvian party. But nothing has changed much. Because of this, despite the important contribution and role of the Nepali Party under the leadership of Prachanda, they fell into the grip of deep eclecticism in the doctrinal field, weakening MLM's spirit. As a result, they began to move away from MLM's principles in the name of new "Development". About which everyone is aware.

So, by whatever name we call "Thought" or "Path" or "Teaching," such a conflation of "national" experiences with universal doctrine must be opposed. Which was said by the Peru Party. In other countries also, the same problems, to some extent, was seen.

But at the same time, it should be emphasized that what the revolutionary struggle, especially successful proletarian revolution of a particular country actually contributes to the world proletarian revolution, what lessons can be learned from it, or whether it has universal lessons or contributions, and how these are to be recognized as part of the international general line of the proletariat. This point also demands attention. But as the thinking of exaggeration or haste about it develops nationalism, it also plays a role in developing individualistic ideology. This is how prosperous Peru revolution and Nepal revolution were crushed in the past.

Extensive discussion is needed on how the development in doctrinal question can be accepted and formulated. In this regard, the experiences of the Chinese party can be a model for us. The experience of the Bolshevik Party seems to have been similar.

## 4. The question of Universality of People's War

As we know, the formula of universality of people's war was first raised by the Peru Party, when the people of that country were leading a great people's war. It was later adopted by RIM, although there were different tendencies on the question among members of RIM, including the Peruvian Party.

Previously, people's war was generally understood to refer to Mao's "Protracted People's War"(PPW) followed in the Chinese Revolution, and applied to the agrarian feudal semi-feudal countries of the "Third World". At the same time, it was believed that the path to revolution in advanced imperialist countries was urban armed mass insurrections, as was the case with the Russian Revolution. In this way, two models were presented as the path to seize state power in the Maoist communist movement - the Russian model, which is

the way of urban-centered armed insurrection; and the Chinese model, which would follow the path of protracted people's war.

But through this the truth of the universality of war paled. In the works in which Mao spoke of the above two paths, or in contemporary works, what Mao clearly stated is ignored. He said, "The central task and highest form of revolution is the seizure of political power by armed force, the solution of problems by war. This revolutionary principle of Marxism-Leninism applies everywhere." (Mao, Red Book, Problems of War and Strategy, Six Military Writing, p. 378). In fact, Marx himself made such a statement in one of his speeches after the Paris Commune experience. He said, "The working class will have to earn its right to emancipation on the very battlefield." (summarizing the teachings of the Party Commune in a speech given on the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the founding of the 1<sup>st</sup> International).

The theory of the destruction of the existing state apparatus by force is one of the very basic principles of Marxism. Every Maoist admits this. But what is the way to forcefully destroy the existing state apparatus and oust its ruling class from power? In this regard, the experience of the past 150 years of the proletarian revolution has brought forward a common truth included in the two models discussed above. That is war. And the people's revolutionary military line can nothing but be people's war.

It is necessary to make some comments about the confusions those are emerging in the ongoing debate about this.

First, although the Peruvian Party played a leading role in presenting the theory of the universality of the People's War, lack of clarity about the left on-sidedness in its presentation and realization is linked to the emergence of paradoxical deviations in this regard. On the question of the universality of people's war, they also reveal ambiguity and confusion on the question of its two basic paths in the case of capitalist-imperialist countries and countries oppressed by imperialism. The effect of which we can see later on by the demand of some parties that in the imperialist countries also in general the strategy of 'protracted people's war' is effective. It is a wrong strategy.

But while opposing it, some parties are rejecting the very universality of people's war. Which is the mistake like throwing away the baby along with the dirty water in the bowl. For example, they assume that since Mao invented and applied the line of protracted people's war in the Chinese revolution, the universality of people's war (PW) is as if the theory of protracted people's war (PPW) is applicable to imperialist countries as well. This is a big confusion. Because Mao—who has made a great contribution to proletariat military science in applying the line of protracted people's war—has brought out some general rules and principles of people's war, which have been forgotten to apply to both imperialist and oppressed countries.

We know, however, that after Mao's death, no proletarian-led revolution and peoples war took place in any imperialist country. Therefore, we cannot yet say exactly how Mao-mentioned three strategic stages, or establishing base-areas, will be applicable to the Mao-mentioned war process in those countries. The revolutionary communist parties of those countries can only invent them through the experience of such a revolutionary war. But without some of its basic principles today, a hundred and fifty years after the first proletarian revolution, the proletarian parties of those countries would be forced to continue without any direction. They cannot confine them to the nineteenth-century theories of "violent force" advocated by Marx. They must develop this theory from the experiences of 150 years of world revolution. Not doing so cannot be acceptable.

We have already said that there is a fundamental difference of strategies between the people's war in the two types of countries, which arises from the distinctive socio-economic systems of these two types of countries. The most important of which is the practice or not of basic importance of the peasant problem, and the presence or not of revolutionary situation. To deny it would be a serious mistake. Such deviations can be glimpsed in the formation and perception of the Peruvian Party. Therefore, we must mention the clear differences in these two types of countries, how and when the people's war will be initiated, where and how the guerilla war will play its role, how base-areas will be built and what kind of stages the people's war will pass through. But saying that in an imperialist country, there will be no stages of war, or base-areas are not possible—these are not revolutionary arguments. The experiences of the revolutionary wars of the past century and the experiences of various types of ongoing warfare in urbanized nations would speak against such an argument.

It would be a big mistake to think that the seizure of central state power is the end of the proletarian revolution. In practice, war may almost always continue even after the revolutionary seizure of power and the formation of a socialist/democratic state. We know that, during the three-year civil war that followed the Russian Revolution, and during World War II, the central cities served as bases for peoples warfare in socialist Russia. Let's assume that during World War II Hitler's invasion, the Soviet centers of power have been destroyed. or the collapse of the revolutionar centers in the three years of civil war. If so, would not the revolutionary parties be able to restore it only through people's war?

Before concluding this topic, we would like to quote from our party's military line document published recently (in 2022) to more clarify our position—"Wherever and whenever a people's war is waged, it is not a short-term bourgeois war. Rather, it is conducted over a somewhat longer period of time. Because, the

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enemy of the revolution in the world is very strong militarily. They do not accept the revolution, nor can they accept it. They plot to suppress it and wage counter-revolutionary warfare at their very end. Therefore, on the contrary, from the side of people also, war has to be waged for a long time. No such war can be successfully waged by the people without a revolutionary base. It applies to all imperialist and oppressed countries.

“Actually, if the revolution is successful in any one or a few countries, imperialist or oppressed, they also play a role as the base of the world revolution. which occasionally have to engage in imposed wars against imperialists and their subordinates, no matter how revolutionary states pursue a foreign policy of ‘peaceful coexistence’. Which can ultimately only achieve final victory through world revolution. Until then, the base-area question will remain a fundamental question in the world revolution.

“But the process of establishment of bases is generally not the same in imperialist and oppressed countries. Because, the path of revolution in these two countries is of two types. From there the two types of character of the base-areas arise.

“The path of revolution in these two types of countries of the world, imperialist- capitalist and oppressed by imperialism (peasant-dominant semi-feudal) is of two kinds.

“Revolutionary situation does not generally exist in imperialist countries, these countries and their main revolutionary classes and masses are urban-based, which are also centers of enemy power. In those countries, the proletariat has to wait for the economic-political crisis of the system to intensify. A period in which a strong proletarian party must be built through long revolutionary political work. It may be possible to seize power in some politically and militarily favorable areas of the enemy’s power center through a revolutionary armed insurrection that destroys the state apparatus in due course. And then those places are transformed into revolutionary base-areas. On the basis of these bases, a peoples army can be formed as large as possible from among the armed people created in the armed popular uprising, and the people s war can be carried out to defeat the enemy in the entire country.

“That is, the seizure of power in such a country usually begins with a mass armed insurrection after a process of long non-armed political work and waiting for and hastening the political situation to mature for revolution. This armed insurrection is followed by people s war.

“In reality, popular armed insurrection is itself a form of people’s war. But it is an activity of a short time.

Armed insurrection cannot last long. Its victory or defeat is determined in a short time. But the revolution has to go on dealing with the war of its enemy until the enemy is defeated in such a way that he is forced to suspend its war for the time being. Since the proletarian revolution is part of an international revolution, international imperialism and its proxies are re-armed, though largely deposed in armed popular uprisings, with the help of their international masters and allies, they start war activities, they try to regain power in the territories lost by their war activities.

“We saw that in the Russian Revolution, even in the Paris Commune.

“But countries like ours are oppressed by imperialism, and in the countryside (and to a great extent in the cities too) feudal and semi-feudal relations prevail. For this reason, the new-democratic revolution under the leadership of the working-class parties in these countries is the immediate program of the revolution, the main theater of which is the countryside, and the main character of which is the peasantry. Therefore, the peasantry is the main force of the proletarian revolution in these countries and the countryside is the main field of revolution here. The state apparatus and system of such countries is autocratic – often overtly fascist or under military or one-party rule. So in these countries a revolutionary situation generally prevails, although it has its ups and downs. Here, it is not possible to make the people conscious for revolution or to build a strong revolutionary proletarian party through a long revolutionary non-armed political activities. Therefore, the revolutionary base must be established in the countryside by starting a people’s war based on the countryside. It has to be developed and strengthened in the process of people’s war to encircle the power centers of the enemy and engage them in the final battle for central state power.

“So it appears that the bases also have two types of characteristics due to the two types of character of people’s war in two types of countries”.

\* In connection with this, we would like to say something about the question of the “omnipotence” of the People’s War, whether it is said or used to be said by the ICL or the Peru Party.

We do not think it is right to go on uttering such policy. Mao once said that in a certain context, when the question of people’s war was not brought up in the communist movement and he was being opposed anyway. It cannot actually replace the importance of party formation or the multifaceted nature of united front formation, above all MLM.

Such formulation also brings a leftist dogmatism in the name of People’s War, that needs to be opposed.

*Notes from a comrade of the International Commission of Pcm Italy***When those who want to “impose Maoism” attack the MLM parties that wage concrete people’s wars**

The two lines struggle should serve the advancement and affirmation of the revolutionary red line over the non-revolutionary black line and not vice versa.

The German comrades of *Klassenstandpunkt* have made a critique and ideological struggle against the CPI (Maoist), the party that has been waging the People’s War in India since 1968. A few years ago, the comrades had done the same with the CPP, the party that has been waging the People’s War in the Philippines since 1968.

The German comrades make their critique starting from a principled ideological position, i.e. announcing that “*to really understand Maoism one must understand the universality of the military theory produced by Maoism, that is the strategy of the PW*”, but these comrades once again define the current ideology of the proletariat as “Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism with the universal contributions of Gonzalo thought, [*going further and adding this time also:*] i.e. the Gonzalo Thought”.

Similar formulas are present in the ICL documents, despite the fact that the founding declaration of the ICL had taken a step back on this (omitting the formula “with the universal contributions of President Gonzalo”).

**A necessary premise**

Even before reviewing the criticisms that the German comrades make of the Indian comrades, the main problem is precisely, starting from the definition given by them to our ideology, the subjectivist and idealist conception.

The unequivocal point from which to start is that dialectical historical materialism is based on the relationship between theory and (revolutionary) practice, just on their dialectical relationship. The concrete reality is constantly developing, the Party, practicing the revolutionary struggle, grasps its laws, internalizes them, elaborates them, returns them to the masses, separates the wrong ideas from the right ideas and continues, “according to the logic of the people”, fighting, failing, fighting again, failing again until it finds the correct path to victory: the seizure of power.

**Our ideology is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism**

Marxism (elaborated by Marx and Engels in a lively way) by analysing the capitalist system or the exploitation of wage labour, providing the proletariat

with political, organizational and ideological tools, one above all the First International (within which a two lines struggle developed to separate itself from petty-bourgeois tendencies such as anarchism or utopian socialism and others), the historical balance of the Paris Commune, all this and more has enabled the proletariat to advance into the epoch of capitalism.

With Lenin, Marxism developed into Marxism-Leninism, the Russian Soviet socialist revolution triumphed, not only this, but it also resisted the counter-revolution, Lenin’s Bolshevik Party and then with Stalin that led the dictatorship of the proletariat for a relatively long period for the first time in the history of mankind (1917-1956).

With Chairman Mao, Marxism (Marxism-Leninism) developed further. The victory of the Chinese Revolution and its development up to the conclusion of the GCPR have impressed in the history of humanity the rightness of Mao’s universally valid contributions.

The three stages of our ideology are therefore the result of the class struggle, or rather of the concrete and tangible results of the class struggle, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is not the result of a subjective interpretation of the Maoists. And it is precisely this that allows us to claim the MLM as a single body, in opposition to other “Marxist” tendencies, or rather deviations from Marxism (Trotskyism, Hoaxism, “Foquismo”, militarism, etc.), which have not delivered any concrete advances to the proletariat.

The German comrades of *Klassenstandpunkt* who today speak of ‘Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, with the universal contributions of President Gonzalo, i.e. Gonzalo thought’ have fallen into the same idealist and subjectivist trap as those who support the above-mentioned tendencies.

Comrade Gonzalo was the leader of the glorious people’s war in Peru until his arrest (1980-1992). The advanced proletarians and the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists have to learn from the experience of the people’s war in Peru, both from the theoretical, political and military teachings of the leadership of the PW led by Gonzalo (1980-1992), and from the defeat of the PW in Peru.

The defeats of our class (i.e. the fact that a revolution has failed to overthrow political power and establish proletarian power) are fundamental to advance, to draw useful balances, and in this sense Mao’s maxim quoted above remains a strategic methodological beacon.

But it would be a contradiction both from a

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philosophical point of view, and to the process that led to the development of MLM, to say that today MLM has developed not as a result of a revolutionary victory, from which it has been possible, as we said before, to internalize, re-elaborate, return the teachings to the masses, but from a defeat!

Gonzalo Thought can be evaluated in concrete and not in the abstract, that is, as long as it has been acting and directing thought of PW in the first place; Secondly, this thought, acting in the Peruvian experience, has an important value first of all for the Peruvian proletariat and people and its vanguard, and partially for the international communist movement as a whole. The main problem today is the lessons we can learn from its balance.

The same goes for the people's war in Nepal and in other countries where the Revolution has been momentarily defeated, or rather its illusions have been defeated - to quote Marx. This is the methodological thread from Marx to Mao that the German comrades find difficult to grasp.

A similar discourse applies to Italy, where, after Gramsci's death in prison, the Anti-Fascist Resistance, which we consider an embryo of PW in an imperialist country, was defeated in a strategic sense as it did not result in a Socialist Revolution although it managed to overthrow the Nazi/Fascist regime. Also in this case, the key to the advance lies in taking stock correctly of the defeat after the Resistance.

### German comrades' idealistic criticisms of Indian MLM comrades

Three documents translated into English have been published in which the German comrades again address ideological questions. In one of these in particular of December 2023, on the occasion of the celebration organized by the ICL in South America for the 130th anniversary of the birth of Chairman Mao, a criticism of the Indian comrades is developed on some main issues:

First of all, the Indian comrades are accused of being "rather lazy and dogmatic", they are accused of not understanding Chairman Mao's theory of PW as a whole, they are accused of not understanding that Maoism is the third and higher stage of Marxism, of not understanding that it is a break with the old and of not understanding how this should be applied to the imperialist countries.

The premise of these criticisms is the erroneous theoretical-ideological position of the comrades tinged with subjectivism and idealism. The comrades start from the erroneous definition of "Maoism", and from this basic ideological error follow an equally erroneous corollary, some not new to tell the truth:

Corollary 1- The idea is proposed again that the current phase at the international level is that of the Strategic Offensive for the proletariat and the oppressed peoples; the definition of "Maoism" is proposed again as the result of an idealist and non-materialist process, overturning the reading of reality (not according to concrete reality but according to subjective interpretation with an approach similar to the Hegelian one of the Philosophy of History).

While there is currently no socialist country, while all the most advanced forces (people's war in India and the Philippines, armed sister parties as in Turkey and Manipur and others) declare that they are in the phase of Strategic Defensive; the German comrades in particular and the ICL, of which they are a part, in general, see a strategic offensive of the Proletarian Revolution in action.

Corollary 2 - Just as unilaterally they decide the terms of what is principal and what is secondary for the understanding of the MLM ideology, then they decide that: *"To put it very simply, we consider that one cannot really understand Maoism, as a new, third and higher stage of the ideology of the international proletariat, without fully and unreservedly recognizing the universality of the PW"*. In another passage it is stated that today the primacy is that of the military line, in a curious combination of this form of Maoism proposed by the comrades, militarism and Songun (revisionist state ideology of the DPRK).

Then, re-proposing Gonzalo's theory of the "militarized party" as universally valid, they conclude that: *"the debate on the universality of the PW, the military strategy it must follow, is not a problem of debate of the future, but a decisive question today, in every country."*

In our ideology, the understanding is global, therefore not only of the strategic-military aspect, but also of the philosophical, ideological, and political one.

This actually denotes a deviation towards militarism; nor did Mao ever affirm the primacy of the understanding of the military strategy of the PW over the understanding of everything else.

Marx, Lenin and Mao unequivocally emphasized the necessary importance of revolutionary violence, dispelling the pacifist prejudices that the conquest of power is possible without it, but they never posed the question in this way, posing it as a factor detached from everything else.

That said, it seems to us at least curious that the main MLM party leading a people's war, together with the CPP, is accused by the German comrades - whose arrogance is inversely proportional to their theoretical and practical advancement and on this they should learn

from the Indian comrades who are instead the reverse of this - of not understanding either Maoism or the theory of PW or of not being able to carry out a concrete analysis of the concrete situation.

The German comrades also accuse the Indian comrades of not understanding the application of Maoism and the theory of PW as far as the imperialist countries are concerned. Which are the arguments that the comrades use for these criticisms?

The German comrades, quoting the Indian comrades, accuse them of proposing a simple parliamentary strategy for us comrades of the imperialist countries, and finally affirm that in Germany what the Indian comrades propose reflects the revisionists of the MLPD (towards whom they make a fair criticism).

But do the Indian comrades really tell the MLM communists of the imperialist countries to “do like the MLPD”? Where, when?

A careful reading of the quotation from the Indian comrades reported by the Germans shows that the work of the Party in the imperialist countries should use both legal and illegal means, “general strikes”.... and “at the same time, covert activities, legal, semi-legal, etc., in accordance with concrete conditions.”

In other words, the Indian comrades take up the teachings of our teacher Lenin on the Party, on how to build it, on how to make it a war machine for the seizure of power. Teachings that are still valid for us MLMs.

Let us remember that Lenin’s party - the same party built by Mao in a different context such as the Chinese one - has achieved the goal of taking power in a country, such as the Tsarist Empire, (albeit with specific peculiarities that led Lenin to define it as a “weak link” in the imperialist chain) and in our era, namely that of Imperialism.

Doesn’t using revolutionary violence, armed struggle, fall into the category of “illegal means” evoked by the Indian comrades? What does this have to do with the revisionist and “electoralist” line of the MLPD?

The MLPD is a revisionist party and therefore does not pose the problem of organizing its own semi-legal and illegal activity with the aim of seizing power, as the Indian comrades argue in the quote retaken by the German comrades.

That said, it is up to us MLMs operating in the imperialist countries to build the Party in the fire of the class struggle and in close connection with the masses and in this way and only in this way, to have the possibility of conducting a concrete analysis of the concrete situation. Our practice and analysis therefore diverges greatly from those of the German comrades although both operate in the context of ICs and in particular:

### On the analysis of the people’s war in an imperialist country

The German comrades start from the assumption that the people’s war is universally applicable as a corollary of the fact that today Maoism would also include Gonzalo Thought, and Gonzalo supported the universality of the PW.

Our party also supports this position, but certainly not out of a dogmatic assumption of the “Gonzalo Thought” but starting from a specific analysis of the history of the class struggle of our country and of other imperialist countries, in particular France, but also the USA.

It is true that until now no PW has fully and strategically developed in an imperialist country - and we repeat, “fully”, because in an embryonic way precisely in our country with the experience of the glorious Anti-Fascist Resistance of the 40s, there was an embryo of PW, a war waged by the armed sea of the masses both in the mountains and in the cities, and that saw an experience of liberated zones as an embryo of power (the partisan republics), and considering that the three instruments of the revolution were present.

Added to this is the experience of the Red Brigades, whose balance contains some positive lessons.

Considering these concrete revolutionary experiences, we Italian MLM believe that with a serious taking stock we need to resume that red thread and that it is possible to pursue the path of PW in imperialist countries, suitable for the concrete situation and which considers the insurrection as a determining factor in its final phase (as happened in several Italian cities during the Resistance when at the height of the latter many cities such as Turin, Genoa, Milan, Florence, etc., rose up and the partisans occupied power, only to cede it to the allies).

The scepticism, of which the German comrades accuse the Indian comrades, is justified, given that up to now this experience has not been fully developed by the MLM communists in the imperialist countries, so at least 50% of the scepticism expressed by the Indian comrades is our responsibility. And it is something certainly not resolved by the German comrades in any way.

And more. It is not a serious or materialistic-dialectical method to affirm, in another passage: since electoralism has failed, then the path of people’s war has been verified. No, the critique of reformism remains valid, the reformist path is bankrupt, developing the revolutionary path; but this must be verified by the facts, as comrade Gonzalo says: let the actions speak! Actions, dear German comrades, not dogmatically repeated quotations.

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The attitude of the “Marxist of the chair” assumed by the German comrades towards the Indian comrades, in addition to being dogmatic, is unnecessarily arrogant.

On other issues such as work in the trade unions, on the relationship between legal and non-legal work, the German comrades say that a debate has developed in the imperialist countries among the MLM comrades. What debate are they talking about? If we are talking about the debates in their circle of “mainly Maoist” European groups that are dogmatically set up without a concrete analysis and real balance, we have no problem saying that these debates are to be considered as “not having arrived” in the whole of the ICM.

There was a phase in which our Party, starting from the concrete experience of our participation in the class struggle, undertook this debate in particular with three other parties operating in the imperialist countries: the CPFM (led by Pierre), the CPR Canada and the comrades of the TKP/ML, but it certainly did not reach important conclusions.

In this debate the three parties shared the analysis of their experiences on the organization of the trade union struggle, the organization of sections of the oppressed masses, etc. intertwined with theoretical analysis.

In particular, with the French comrades under the leadership of comrade Pierre, joint activities and meetings of taking stock were organized on the question of the proletarian uprisings in the banlieues, on Party building, and others. Until the French Maoists effectively abandoned the MLM line of comrade Pierre.

This concrete and militant practice at the service of theoretical reflection must be actively retaken up, but it has nothing to do with the petty-bourgeois revolutionary attitude of the European groups that are now within the ICL, since the consequent concrete practice of the

MLM in the imperialist countries continues to provide new “material for reflection”.

For us, unlike the German comrades, it is not “a problem of documents”.

### **To conclude**

The criticisms of the German comrades start, in our opinion, from a serious misunderstanding of the MLM, but these comrades in recent years think that they stand as holders of the principles of ideology, not on the basis of merits concretely linked to their role in the development of the class struggle in Germany but on the basis of the mnemonic capacity to internalize the documents of the PCP and Gonzalo Thought which is in fact referred to as the “fourth sword” and further development of the MLM. The German comrades do not limit themselves to criticizing the Indian and Filipino comrades, which is indisputable, if carried out through a correct method, instead they set themselves up as teachers of PW without ever having actually directed even a strike.

It is evident that beyond the definitions, for the comrades the MLM is the Gonzalo Thought. In a recent document, the comrades say that the campaign for the 130th anniversary of Chairman Mao’s birth must be inseparable from the principle “learn from Chairman Gonzalo”: the king is naked.

This elaborative process is internal to idealism and not to historical-dialectical materialism.

This process is in fact the guiding idea of the ICL.

For this reason, we assert that this grouping is more harmful than useful as regards the battle against the dispersion of the ICM in general and of the MLM movement in particular, because it is the result of a theoretical-ideological principle of a subjectivist and idealist nature.





## COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)

# Celebrate the 20th Foundation Day Anniversary of the CPI (Maoist)

From 2024 September 21st to October 20th all over the country with combat enthusiasm and revolutionary spirit!

Let us take up the challenges faced by the Revolutionary Movement!

Let us develop Party, PLGA and United Front as the Three Magic weapons!

Let us fight back 'Operation Kagaar' going on with the objective to eliminate the Party!

Let us develop mass base and subjective forces, protect the Party, the revolutionary movement, determinedly fight against the enemy and advance in the path of success!

This is the time of 20th Anniversary of the Foundation of our Party. On this enthusiastic occasion, the Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist) conveys hearty greetings to the entire ranks of the Party, Commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Guerrilla Army (PLGA), Revolutionary People's Committee (RPC), Mass Organisations, the thousands of comrades holding the Red Flag aloft in prisons and the millions of revolutionary people in the areas of the movement and all over the country, for achieving great successes for the party and revolution through tremendous hard labor amidst innumerable difficulties, misery and losses in the past two decades. Our CC conveys revolutionary greetings from the bottom of the heart to Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties, the democrats, progressive minded individuals and prominent well-wishing persons of various spheres for coming forward in support and solidarity to Indian Revolution with a bold stand against 'Operation Green Hunt', 'SAMADHAN', 'Surajkund plan' and at present, the inhuman, cruel, fascist and murderous elimination genocidal war under the name of 'Operation Kagaar' unleashed by the counter revolutionary Indian state.

In this context our CC calls upon the party ranks, PLGA forces, revolutionary organs of the people and the people to take up a campaign for one month on the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the Party, with the objective to advance the revolutionary movement in the path of great success through taking up the challenges of the revolutionary movement; consolidating the three

magic weapons; the Party, PLGA and the United Front; The 'Operation Kagaar' unleashed by the Brahmanical Hindutva Fascist ruling classes government, going on with the objective to eliminate the Party and revolutionary movement should be retaliated with class struggle and guerilla war with the aim of developing mass base and the subjective forces by protecting the Party and the revolutionary movement. It calls upon rank and file of the Party, PLGA, revolutionary mass organizations and the revolutionary people's committees to make success the Anniversary celebrations in this month and if not possible in this time, at any time this year.

In the past 20 years of the formation of our united Party on 21st September 2004, 5,249 comrades sacrificed their valuable lives including 22 beloved members of the CC (out of which 8 are members of the Political Bureau) in the process of achieving the aim of revolution. One thousand of them are women. 48 of the martyrs are members of SAC/SZC/SC, 14 RCMs, 167 ZC/DvC/DC, 26 Sub-Zonal Committee members, 505 AC/PPC members, 871 Party-PLGA members, 3596 activists of peoples' organs and revolutionary people. 218 comrades of the Party, PLGA and United Front and revolutionary people became martyrs in the past one year alone. Since the great Naxalbari peasant revolutionary struggle thousands of known and unknown comrades were martyred in this revolutionary movement. Each of these losses and especially the loss of our prominent leaders is a big blow to the Party. The path of Indian Revolution is reddened with the blood spilled by the martyrs. The path of Protracted People's War in India is further enriched. The ideals of the martyrs, their Communist dreams tempered us such as to further serve the people and to fulfill the immediate, main and central tasks including other important tasks of the Party. The CC pays humble homage to these great martyrs who with their martyrdom illumined the Party, PLGA and United Front and the path of New Democratic Revolution. They joined the ranks of the innumerable martyrs along with the founders of Indian Revolution, the founding leaders and teachers of our party Comrade Charu Mazumdar and Comrade Kanhai

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Chatterjee. Our Central Committee and the entire party gains enthusiasm from their sacrifices and their creative role in building a new power and a new society. Our CC pays revolutionary humble homage to all the leaders and members of various countries across the world who laid down their lives in the path of world socialist revolution. Our CC take the pledge to fulfil their revolutionary aspirations with great determination.

### **Dear Comrades and people!**

Two decades ago, when two main streams of revolution of our country merged and CPI (Maoist) was founded, Party declared its objectives and tasks to the people of India – “The new Communist Party of India (Maoist) will continue to act as a consolidated political vanguard of the Indian proletariat. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism will be the ideological basis guiding its thinking in all the spheres of its activities. It will continue its struggle against right and left deviations, particularly against revisionism, by taking this as the main danger for the communist movement as a whole. It will still seek to unite all genuine Maoist groups that remain outside this unified Party. The immediate aim and programme of the Maoist party is to carry on and complete the already ongoing and advancing New Democratic Revolution in India as a part of the world proletarian revolution by overthrowing the semi-colonial, semifeudal system under the imperialist neo-colonial form of indirect rule, exploitation and control. This revolution will remain directed against imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capitalism. This revolution will be carried out and completed through armed agrarian revolutionary war, i.e. protracted people's war with the armed seizure of power as its central and principal task, encircling the cities from the countryside and thereby finally capturing them. Hence the countryside as well as the PPW (Protracted People's War) will remain as the “center of gravity” of the party's work, while urban work will be complimentary to it. Because the armed struggle will remain as the highest and main form of struggle and the army as the main form of organization of revolution, the armed struggle will continue to play a decisive role, whereas the UF will be built in the course of armed struggle and for the seizure of power through armed struggle. Mass organizations and mass struggles are necessary and indispensable but their purpose is to serve the war. We also declare that the PGA and PLGA have been merged into the unified PLGA (Peoples' Liberation Guerrilla Army).

“Apart from this the unified party will continue to pay added attention to building a new wave of revolutionary mass movements on various political and other issues of the people. It will involve all the vast

section of the masses in these struggle directed against the imperialists, feudalism and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie. “The new party will also continue to support the struggle of the nationalities for self-determination including their right to secession and condemn the brutal state repression on these movements. It will pay special attention in mobilizing and organizing the women masses as a mighty force of the revolution, and will also fight against all other forms of social oppression, particularly untouchability and casteism. It will continue to expose, isolate and defeat the more dangerous Hindu fascist forces, while exposing all other fundamentalist forces.

“It will continue to expose and resist the expansionist designs of the Indian ruling classes along with their imperialist chieftains, particularly the US imperialists. It will also continue to support the people's war led by the Maoist parties in Peru, Philippines, Turkey and elsewhere. It will continue to support all people's struggles directed against imperialism and reaction. It will also support the working-class movement and other people's movements the world over.

“The Unified Party will continue to hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism and will continue to contribute more forcefully in uniting the genuine Maoist forces at the international level. In addition to that it will also establish unity with the oppressed people and nations of the whole world and continue to fight with them in advancing the world proletarian revolution against imperialism and their lackeys, thereby paving the way towards realizing socialism and then Communism on a world scale”.

During the past two decades, the Party determinedly worked to achieve its aims and fulfil its tasks amidst the brutal offensive, severe losses and facing big challenges. Scared with the emergence of the new Party, the Indian comprador exploitive ruling classes stated our united party as the single largest threat to the internal security of the country. The imperialist declared the CPI (Maoist) as one of the main terrorist organizations in the world. These took up ceaseless, non-stop counter revolutionary campaigns under the name of ‘white militia campaign’/ ‘attacks by murderous gangs’, ‘Operation Green Hunt’, ‘SAMADHAN’, ‘Surajkund plan’ one after the other as a part of the imperialist sponsored counter revolutionary Low Intensity Conflict strategy- tactics with the aim to eliminate the countryside Party and the revolutionary movement. These were unleashed not only in the areas of the revolutionary movement but also in the urban areas all over the country. Lakhs of central and state mercenary armed forces were deployed. It poured thousands of crore rupees for the purpose.

The offensive of the enemy's armed forces is being concentrated in the revolutionary movement areas of

forest, plains and rural area on our Party, the PLGA forces, the new revolutionary people's power organs, mass organizations, revolutionary people's committees and people. Combing operations, road openings, area dominations, destroying and looting people's properties, agricultural lands, food grains and the basic facilities built through people's collective labor, killing and eating the cattle, arresting the people in mass, severe beating, torture, mass atrocities on women, selectively and enmass murdering people in fake encounters, foisting false cases and imprisoning became a normal feature. On the other hand, the various administration departments and police forces of the central and the state governments took up fake reform programs with attractive names under the 'Civic Action Programs', so as to split the revolutionary camp and distance the revolutionary people from the movement. They established relations in the people through these programs and build and strengthened informer-covert network.

After the formation of the unified Party amidst the severe hurdles created by the enemy and facing the severe losses in the fierce reactionary offensive of the enemy, fighting those back by implementing class line and mass line, one of the great successes achieved by the party was the successful completion of historic Unity Congress-Ninth Congress and further consolidation of the unity of the party. Another important success is the merger of CPI (Maoist) and CPI (ML) Naxalbari in Dec, 2013. This is one more another important success to achieve unity among the genuine revolutionaries of the country. According to the fundamental line of Indian revolution established by our unified Party's founding leaders Comrade CM and Comrade KC, the ongoing New Democratic program was strengthened in the 9th Unity Congress and by formulating the basic documents of the party and being testing and proving those in practice, Party relatively strengthened. By covering all states of the country our Party formed regional bureaus. In CC, standing committee, Polit bureau, CMC, various special area/ special zone/ state committees this apart, regional commands, military commands in various levels, some sub-committees, departments and coordination mechanism was formed. Our CC prepared the following documents with MLM theoretical and political view: Financial Policy, Cadre Policy, Jail Commune Manifesto, On Urban work, the Program of Revolutionary People's Committees, Our Policy on enemy's LIC Policy, Caste Question with the concrete study of changes in different phases of caste based semi-feudal system, Our Perspective on Women's issue, Nationality Question, Changes in the Production Relations and Our Program, to accomplish the international tasks prepared a document ' Our Stand on The formation of an International Organization of the Proletariat', China is

a new Social Imperialist Power and it is a part of world capitalist-imperialist system. Our Party conducted the Education and Rectification Campaign to rectify the non-proletarian wrong trends and conducted bolshevization campaign to strengthen Party and PLGA.

Party achieved progress in the application of the theory of Protracted People's War. It mobilized millions of people of the oppressed classes and social sections and a considerable number of women of the country against the exploitive policies of the rulers and intensified-expanded class struggle, guerrilla war in the rural areas of the revolutionary movement. People are organised in a large number on a broad basis in the worker, peasant, tribal, woman, student, youth, cultural, children's organisations and the various kinds of people's militia. Various organs developed at various levels in these spheres.

There was especially unique effort in enlightening and consolidating the women, half of the sky and developing them in political-organisational, military, cultural spheres and in organs of political power and made them play an active role in the movement. Thus, they also became a considerable part of all the PLGA formations, in the Party, military departments and Revolutionary People's government. As a part of establishing liberated areas according to the line of PPW the area-wise seizure of power in the strategical areas where the bad tribal chieftains and feudal forces were controlled and uprooted from the political power in the nucleus part of the guerilla zones the guerrilla bases were established. Gram (village) Party Committees (GPC) were formed in several villages of these base areas. Revolutionary People's Committees (RPC) were established in an embryonic form as the organs of revolutionary people's political power. These have been working for a long time as revolutionary people's governments in several places in village, area and at some places in the division level, continued New Democratic rule and are enhancing the living standard of the revolutionary people. Guerrilla bases played an important role in fulfilling the strategic tasks of the party. This is a new experience in the history of the revolutionary movement in our country. These organs are opposing the economic, political, social, cultural and environment policies and fake reforms taken up by the exploitive governments and are placing a real alternate political democratic form before the people as a political, economic and cultural model.

The party gained rich experience in building and developing people's political struggles. Against the anti-people and anti-patriotic policies of Central and State governments and imperialist globalization policies in many states struggles against the displacement of tribal and non-tribal people from the forests for mega

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projects, mining projects and other projects, the struggles such as Lalgah against state violence, the anti-feudal struggles like Narayanapatna, the mobilization of broad masses in the struggle for the establishment of democratic separate Telangana and the struggles against the attacks on the Dalit and religious minorities by the feudal, Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist forces, on the people's daily issues, against the repression campaigns on the revolutionary movement by the Central and State governments, movement for the release of political prisoners and many other militant struggles were taken. Our Party actively participated in various peoples' struggles and supported those struggles. These agitations greatly contributed to develop the mass base, to gain the friendly forces, new forces, in expanding the areas of the revolutionary movement and in the expansion of the Party, PLGA and United Front these struggles played a great role.

On the other hand, the ruling classes and top police officials of state armed forces intensified large scale psychological war against the party. They propagated that Socialism and Communism are outdated and that the Maoists are making a defeating war. The revisionist parties joined hands with the enemy and openly attacked the party line and tried to liquidate the movement.

Party took up revolutionary propaganda with limited resources fighting back the psychological war. It facilitated a favorable political polarization in the revolutionary forces of domestic and international plane.

The phase wise counter revolutionary offensive campaigns taken up by the Indian ruling classes in the guidance of the imperialists to eliminate our party and the revolutionary movement was only 'war on people'. It took the form of murderous war of elimination in the present 'Operation Kagaar'.

Revolutionary, democratic, progressive organisations, Mass Organisations and prominent persons of various spheres took up protest and democratic struggles in various forms in the leadership of United Fronts against the 'war on people – the 'murderous war of elimination'. The Brahmanic Hindutva Fascist BJP government that came to power in the leadership of Modi in 2014 has been suppressing their struggles in the utmost cruel manner. It imprisoned several important persons, intellectuals of various democratic organisations and various spheres, human rights organisations, activists of Mass Organisations, Advocates, students, media persons under UAPA for a long time. Some were mercilessly murdered in prison. ...

After the emergence of PLGA under the leadership

of Party and the later commissions and commands at various levels, PLGA forces intensified widened guerrilla war on the class enemies, their agents, on the government 10 mercenary armed forces and gained higher level experience in the process of achieving the central and other important tasks of the party. In different areas through guerilla warfare tactical counter offensive campaigns and actions conducted in joint and independent forms with coordination. Various kinds of military training syllabi were developed and with this the leadership in the military front as well as PLGA's forces fighting capacity, skills and the efficiency in preparing tactics were developed. They have been taking up timely Tactical and Counter Offensive Campaigns (TCOC) in their direct guidance and achieving a considerable positive change. As a part of it, there were guerrilla war actions in the leadership of the Central and East Regional Commands that dealt strong blows on the enemy forces such as the – Nayagarh campaign – Operation 'Ropeway'; Jehanabad and Chaibasa jail breaks, Giridih, Khasmahal, Rajpur-Baghela, Jhajha, Jajpur raids, the attack on the Lakhiserai district court and release of PBM-CMCM, Mamail, Bandu-Panduva counter offensive actions, attack on the police escort vehicle of the inmates of Giridih prison, retaliation in Chipa Dohar, Dhar dharia, Bhandaria, Amuvatkar, the Dumrinala, Kalapahad ambush, retaliation of Operation Hill Vijay, Operation Monsoon and in Kolhan-Podahat in Bihar-Jharkhand; Murkinar and Raniboodili raids, ambushes in Padedda, Kothacheruvu, Urpalmetta, Mallampodur, Madanveda, Mukaram, Kongera, Pusutola, Jeeramghati, Tahkavada, Kasalpad, Kothacheruvu, Burkapal, Jamburkheda, Minapa, Kadenar and Jeeragudem, the retaliation to Bottem aerial strike, Dharmaram and Jeeragudem raids in Dandakaranya; R.Udayagiri, NALCO raids, Tellarayi, Balimela and Sunki ambushes in Andhra-Odisha Border area; Navatola ambush in Maharashtra; Sildah raid in West Bung; Sanbayal and Sahajpani ambushes in Odisha. PLGA took up 4,073 big, medium and small kind of tactical counter offensive actions on the central and the state armed forces in the past two decades. It wiped out 3,090 and injured 4,077 police, Para-military personnel and Commandos, and 2,365 modern weapons as well as 1,19,682 cartridges etc., seized from them. By practicing the principle 'the enemy's weapon is our weapon' armed and strengthened PLGA and hundreds of new fighters were armed. Apart from this PLGA forces faced hundreds of encirclements and elimination attacks in this two decades. Most of these attacks were retaliated and replied bravely by the PLGA. By all these efforts guerilla war was relatively intensified and extended in the revolutionary movement areas. Intelligence, education, health, culture, technical, communication, supply and other such departments of

the Army developed in PLGA. Under the 11 leadership of Party PLGA been as a revolutionary political army through doing the propaganda of revolutionary politics of seizure of state power, building the Party, Mass Organizations, People's Militia, RPCs and mobilization of people in the people's struggles, participating and protecting in agricultural production, land levelling and irrigation campaigns and enhancing the living standard of the people by participating and building welfare activities such as education and people's health, Party and PLGA were able to win the strong hold in the hearts of the people. PLGA fulfilled its role in the various political campaigns and especially in the several recruitment campaigns as per the call of the party committees and commands. Hundreds of youths joined PLGA. These recruitment campaigns primarily took place in two guerrilla zones, apart from the RPCs and Gram Sabhas of the people, parents also played a vital role in these campaigns.

As a part of its international proletariat task, the party actively participated in the theoretical struggle against the various trends in the country and at the international plane. It played a vital role in establishing the Coordination Committee of South Asia Maoist Parties and Organisations (CCOMPOSA) and in fighting against the modern revisionism of PrachandaBhattarai. Our party placed before the International Communist Movement the document of understanding towards the formation of international proletarian organisation. It is maintaining relations with the various revolutionary organisations in various forms and worked to develop mutual solidarity movements in the International Communist movement. Especially, solidarity movements have been continuously going on since 2011 internationally in support to the People's War in India and demanding stop to the counter revolutionary offensive campaigns on the People's War in India and with the demand to release political prisoners. Our party took up campaigns in solidarity to the People's War in Philippines in 2013 and 2022. The Communist Party of Philippines took up solidarity campaigns against Operation SAMADHAN and Operation Kagaar in 2024 June-July. All these activities had a positive impact on our People's War and the International Communist Movement.

Although the party ideologically, theoretically and politically enriched its line, it lost on big scale leadership, members and PLGA forces initially in the urban and plain areas and later in the forest areas in the nearly two decades of concentrated fascist counter revolutionary campaigns unleashed by the Indian fascist ruling classes with the support of the imperialists. Revolutionary 12 Mass Organisations and Revolutionary people's governments weakened. Mass

base and Areas of the movement shrunk. On the whole, people's movements, guerrilla war and subjective strength decreased to a large extent. The fascist central and state governments assessed this change in the revolutionary camp and started 'Operation Kagaar' offensive stating it to be the ultimate war of elimination, as a part of the new counter revolutionary Surajkund plan to eliminate the party, PLGA, organs of the people and the revolutionary movement in two years starting from 2024 January. Thus, there is a fundamental change in the character of enemy offensive in 'Operation Kagaar'. The enemy completed all preparations to stop our activities. They are attempting to affect the morale of the party and the people and to eliminate the revolutionary mass base. They deployed a large number of additional IPS officers in anti-Maoist operations in the areas of the movement. They strengthened informer-covert network in a big way. They deployed central, state, Para-military, special police and Commando forces, Army special units in the veil of these forces, NSG Commandos, Air force Garuda Commandos with modern weapons and technology in thousands. Counter revolutionary Greyhounds, STF, Jaguar, Hawk, SOG, Thunderbolt, C-60, DVF, DRG, Bastariya Battalion, Danteswari fighters and other such state, district forces and COBRA Para-military Commando forces with unemployed youth, tribal youth, traitors of revolution and those from the families of people's enemies, of the states of the revolutionary movement and deployed them. The number of all these forces was three and a half lakhs by mid-2010 that rose to 5 lakhs by 2014 and to above 7 lakhs now. Modi government stated it would send additional forces in the revolutionary areas. The central government nearly completed its plan to set up 400 fortified police stations and 2,200 communication towers before launching of Operation Green Hunt in 2009. These apart, the establishment of Forward Operational Bases (FOB) was completed by the end of 2023 as a part of 'SAMADHAN' offensive campaigns. The Central Home Ministry declared it established 199 FOBs in the areas of Maoist movement from 2019 to 2023. As per the plan an additional 300-500-armed personnel were deployed in each camp bringing the total number to nearly one lakh. Residential areas, agricultural lands and forests are being bombed through drones to create terror among the people as a part of the operations to suppress the Maoists. Of late Army tanks are being used. Fifty new police and para-military camps were set up in the country since 2024 January. The central and the state 13 governments announced they would set up another 29 camps in Bastar in the coming days. In Jharkhand new camps are being posting in the same manner. In the border areas of the seven states' strategic areas the process of expansion of carpet security is almost completed. RESAT-1 satellite was experimented to keep a vigil on

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the movements of guerrillas in the forest in 2012. In the later period, each and every police station and police camp are supplied with drones. Real time information is being collected. The enemy forces participating in each and every operation against the Maoists are being given several kinds of incentives. These forces are being instigated to fire with automatic rifles and artillery shelling on the people and indulge in indiscriminate massacres and atrocities without any hurdles. The central and state government forces, Para-military, police Commando forces and Indian Army are deployed to eliminate the leadership of the party from the CC to the AC, mainly the CC and state level leadership working in the protection of PLGA units in section, Platoon, Company and Battalion formations and the PLGA forces. The central and the state governments are utilizing NIA and other such intelligence agencies and armed forces to make large scale attacks on the Mass Organisations and people's movements in the urban, plain and forest areas. Presently the enemy is mainly following the method of encirclement and attack in the guerrilla zones and red resistance areas. A big operation involves 1500 to 3000 or even more Special Police, Commando, Para-military and Army personnel. Twenty to twenty five villages or 10-12 kms are covered in each operation in cordon, search and kill method.

Due to these offensives, there are increasingly severe hurdles and dangers in the political, organizational and military efforts of our Party, PLGA and United Front in the rural, urban and plain areas all over the country. In the past two decades of intense class struggle between the enemy and us, we temporarily setback in the country and our subjective strength (Party, PLGA and UF) decreased. But we sustained actively in certain forest areas. On the whole, in spite of few weaknesses amidst severe losses in the revolutionary movement, it advanced with historic and great successes from 2004 to 2011. In the later period, since we could not fight back the intensified widened brutal repressive campaigns in an effective manner; since we could not develop the people's movements; since the party could not overcome its subjective mistakes, weaknesses and limitations, the revolutionary movement faced difficult situation by 2013 and faced countrywide temporary setback.

The CC synthesized the efforts to overcome the temporary setback in the 14 revolutionary movement on the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the party in 2024. The CC gave a call for a campaign to consolidate the party in 2019 with the understanding that theoretical, political, organizational consolidation of the party is vital to overcome the temporary setback and advance the revolutionary movement. In this campaign, there were efforts to train the party ranks to achieve

the central task and other immediate tasks in the situation of temporary setback, in the changed social conditions and strengthening carpet security. There were efforts to raise party membership, consolidation of the party committees from the bottom to the top, to mobilise the broad masses in struggles to solve the daily, fundamental problems utilizing the propaganda-agitation programs, in open and legal forms of organisation in the leadership of various forums of UF together with friendly forces in all the areas in the country where party is working. There were efforts to mobilise thousands of people in anti-imperialist, anti-Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalist, anti-feudal, anti-Corporatisation-Militarisation struggles.

Basing on the fundamental guerilla warfare tactics the PLGA forces took up tactical counter offensive in guerrilla areas. In the 669 guerrilla war actions taken up from 2021 to 2024 July, 261 police men were wiped out and 516 were injured. 25 arms were seized. Although there was this positive effort to overcome the temporary setback in the past three and a half years, we did not change the tactics and methods of work according to the objective conditions such as to prevent losses in the enemy offensive. This caused severe losses of comrades from the Central Committee to the bottom. We lost 439 utmost valuable comrades of the Party, PLGA and UF and 215 weapons. This resulted in further weakening of the three magnificent spheres of People's War quantitatively and qualitatively. An overall view shows that the party is facing an unprecedented encirclement-elimination war in Operation Kagaar. Protection of the party, PLGA, UF and the Indian revolutionary movement came forth as the immediate task. While the enemy offensive is bringing forth the shortcomings and weaknesses in our party, on the other hand, it is also creating the condition needed for our ranks to fight daringly and determinedly by applying the correct tactics and war skills to advance. Testing times exposed those who argued that PPW does not suit our social conditions only to hide their defeatism and those who fell for the enemy. 15 By getting influence with the few crumbs thrown by enemy a section of weak elements fell in the trap. In these testing times all these elements were exposed one by one. Due to enemy's hook and crook policies a section in people has become inactive. Few others surrendered to the pressure of the enemy forces. Local organs of the people were mostly affected. All these are affecting the morale of a section of comrades.

Without imbibing in the light of MLM theory, by grasping the wide experience of the party gained through enormous sacrifices, the valuable lessons, the militancy and sacrificing consciousness of the party and by working determinedly in practice and without providing

proper understanding of all these all over the party, we cannot understand the favourable aspects in unfavourable conditions.

We must not forget that the revolutionary movement advances in waves. In class struggle, there is the enemy offensive, the counter offensive of the revolutionary forces and offensive and counter offensives between these mutually antagonistic forces. In the process there are quantitative and qualitative changes in the balance of forces, twists and turns and ebbs and flows through which the revolutionary forces are tempered and reach the situation of ending the enemy offensive. Twists and turns, victories and defeats are natural in Protracted People's War. Ultimately people will achieve success. The exploitive ruling classes concentrate their entire strength to sustain their power up to the time they are totally destroyed. This is the fact pronounced in the experiences of the world revolutionary movement. However, in spite of any number of twists and turns and ups and downs according to the dialectical historic materialist principles, social changes will inevitably go forth in the path of a new and classless society development. This is the rule of history. In order to understand this, we need to enhance our theoretical level and put politics in command. We must deeply mingle with and take our revolutionary politics and theory widely among the broad masses. We must overcome the shortcomings and limitations in creatively applying PPW to specific conditions. We must rectify the mistakes in our tactics and functioning and creatively develop them. We must become red and expert in fulfilling our tasks. Then we will develop stronger, more organised and more dynamic. MLM is our theory and a powerful weapon for us to achieve the objective of revolution to rectify the various aspects becoming hurdles in the way to achieve our tasks and to strengthen our party. Let us take it up stronger than ever before. This is the essence of proletarianizing and bolshevising the 16 party.

It means – 1. We must study and deeply understand Marxism-LeninismMaoism and the political and military line of the party and strongly abide by it without vacillation; must creatively apply MLM to our specific practice; must determinedly implement the party line; must prove it is correct; must strengthen the party theoretically, politically and organisationally fighting against the various non-proletarian trends that are coming forth in the party under the influence of the various capitalist and feudal theories; 2. Must develop the party strong with proper theoretical, political, organisational, military line and an organisation that properly implements democratic centralism and discipline and develop the party as an organisation of mass nature; 3. Must fight against all kinds of right and left

opportunist trends inside and outside the party; 4. Must sincerely admit our mistakes, shortcomings and weaknesses, correct those and learn from practice so that they do not recur; 5. Must follow class line and mass line and closely unite with the people through following the Maoist principle of 'from the masses to the masses' and through guiding them. We can thus make true the Marxist principle that 'people are the makers of history'. Therefore, in spite of any number of unfavourable conditions in the revolutionary movement, there are abundant opportunities all over the country to overcome those. The people of oppressed classes, social sections and nationalities are the source like a perennial river for the revolutionary movement. This apart, although our subjective strength considerably decreased in all the spheres, the party ranks, PLGA forces, revolutionary mass organizations of revolutionary people and people exist. International and domestic conditions are very favourable for revolution.

Basing on these, the present immediate, main and central task is to preserve the party, organise the people and take up class struggle-guerrilla war basing on the continuously rising mass base, strengthen the mass base and develop the subjective forces. For the purpose, depending on the concrete conditions of the various areas, preparing correct perspectives, deploying the party cadres in the planful manner with strategic outlook. We must organise the people of the oppressed classes, social sections and oppressed nationalities in the urban, plain and forest areas in struggles for daily life and fundamental problems. We must gain command in leading these struggles in a mutually dependent manner. In any area, we must base proper natural covers and consolidate the party invincible to the enemy. We must continuously revolutionise the people with the politics of seizure of state 17 power.

The Party must utilise the two magnificent weapons PLGA and UF. We must concentrate on raising the quality of the Party in a planned manner to make success the party consolidation campaign and as a part of it, training the party theoretically, politically, organisationally and militarily and thus make efforts to enhance the quantity. Only thus the party will once again strengthen and advance in the path of success.

### **The challenges before the revolutionary movement Party**

The challenges before the party are – to protect the party leadership, cadres, PLGA forces and organs of people; to rectify the life style that does not suit communists, overcome non-proletarian trends and proletarianisebolshevis; to deepen the theoretical and political base of the party; to organisationally consoli-

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date the party with lively relations with the people of urban, plain and forest areas; to build a broad, strong secret party of parttimers and Professional Revolutionaries (PR) invincible to the enemy that can lead the people in class struggles-guerrilla war at the local level in areas of strong carpet security; to mould the party such as to protect the subjective forces, to constantly increase them and to have continuity of leadership. (Continuity in the leadership of the Party at all levels must be guaranteed) Depending on the concrete conditions of the areas and in the background of the perspective of those areas, we must mobilise the oppressed class and people in urban, plain and forest areas where there are party units/forces, develop and organise people's movements, enhance mass base, gain and develop new subjective forces. We must mobilise, organise and arm the worker, peasant, middle class (petty bourgeois), small and medium kind capitalist classes into the revolutionary movement against the targets of Indian revolution – the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic capitalist and feudal classes – and bring a change in the class composition of the Party and PLGA and United Front.

We must solve the political, military and organisational problems in PLGA. We must mould the PLGA sharp and active such as it takes part in class struggle-mass work, guerrilla war-military work. We must rectify its life style and raise its fighting capacity. It must be ready to resist the enemy offensive at any time as a part of tactics of active self-defence and if get the opportunity it must first retreat from there. It must implement tactics of Maoist guerrilla 18 war basing on local supplies amidst carpet security in the changed social conditions in the period of temporary setback of our revolutionary movement. It must take up the manoeuvres of decentralisation-centralisation and effective guerrilla war. The PLGA must be humble, dedicated, have a sacrificing nature and develop the style of struggle-Maoist style of struggle to play a vital role as one instrument in revolution, in taking up struggle, propaganda and in mobilising people. It must thus utilise proper tactics, techniques and skills of guerrilla war, successfully take up tactical counter offensive and seize arms from the fascist enemy forces to increase the armed strength of our PLGA. United Front

We must consolidate the party units in Mass Organisations according to the party constitution and cadre policy. We must develop party organisers to lead every Mass Organisation. We must take up political and organisational effort such as to develop open-secret, legal-illegal people's struggles in the urban and plain areas; to advance People's War; and to interlink these struggles with the armed struggle. We must fight against legalism, economism, reformism and post-modernist

ideas in these movements and organisationally against individualism, careerism, bureaucracy, disunity/groupism and economic misappropriation. We must rectify the non-proletarian tendencies. We must take up political effort by formulating a program aiming the policies of the central and the state governments that are in the interest of Multi-National Companies, Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalist and feudal classes, which displace the tribal and non-tribal peasantry from jal-junglezameen (water-forest-land) for indiscriminate loot of natural wealth and to establish basic infrastructure. The party committees must be trained from the top to the bottom such as these overcome the limitation and weakness in applying the policies and resolutions of the party and formulating proper tactics corresponding to the concrete conditions where the party is weak all over the country and to the situation of the movement of the respective areas and the changing conditions.

The people of the oppressed classes, oppressed social sections such as Dalit, tribal, women and religious minorities and oppressed nationalities of the country are in spontaneous struggles to fulfil their hope and aspirations on just, democratic demands, as a part of the social changes since the imperialist globalisation process started and against the attacks of the Brahmanic Hindutva forces.

The Party must respond to these struggles at all levels and 19 make efforts to give support, participate and develop these into organised movements. It must give effort for Theoretical, political struggle against legalism, reformism and economism that are arising in the people is one challenge for the party. The party must take up political and agitational effort to prepare the Dalit and tribal people, women, religious minorities and oppressed nationalities so as they resist the attacks on them and on the powers of the states, in addition to the continuous class struggle in the ideological, political, and cultural spheres against Brahmanic Hindutva Fascism. We see that in the Party, movement and in the present conditions and contradictions of society are bringing forth several challenges. We must face them. We cannot achieve genuine independence and genuine democracy in our country out of dreams. We can achieve only when we enlighten, mobilise and organise the people into mass movements, bring the advanced forces in to the Party, develop their active role in People's War, establish new state power, explore their enormous strength and creativity and mould them into the three strong, magic weapons of revolution. Working among the people will be main and vital in overcoming these challenges. The party can gain the strength to overcome the challenges by politically mobilising the people. It can then take forth the movement in the revolutionary movement in India for the past decades. We must learn to fulfil the



interests of the worker-peasant, middle class, small and medium kind capitalists and all other oppressed classes and oppressed social sections. We must learn to develop our strength, efficiency and struggle capacity. We can step forward only if the entire party develops the process of learning. We must develop the learning culture in the entire Party. However active the masses are, if the party is not strongly and effectively proletarian, it is not possible to mould the people's strength into an effective revolutionary force or to mould the challenges in the revolutionary movement. Therefore, we must understand the importance of the party. Every member of the party and every unit at all levels must work strongly determined and efficiently and actively to fulfil its tasks, responsibilities and duties. They must explore and bring to practice their total strength and efficiency. It is not possible to face the present challenges if the members/units at all levels in the party from the top to the bottom do not mould the people into an organised force and if the Party and PLGA do not raise their strength and efficiency. It is important to note that the Party leadership at all levels shows how much determination, daring, eligible, active, efficiency and unity, that much opportunities will be there to advance and what is present right now, its' magnitude will be doubled.

### **Dear Comrades and people,**

In spite of the eagerness and the aggressive cruel offensive to eliminate our party and the revolutionary movement with the support of the imperialists, the Indian ruling classes are drowned in severe economic crisis. The imperialism and Indian semi-colonial, semi-feudal society which is standing as a hurdle in the path of development of society are on the deathbed. The historic lesson is that these turn crueller and shall face the opposition of the oppressed people in a more severe and wide manner. Due to the imperialist globalisation policies, imperialist system is in deep worldwide financial, economic crisis. US and its allied imperialist forces, especially facing the contention from China and Russia they are leading to wars in several countries. This has an impact on our country. The imperialist Multi-National Companies and their comprador ruling classes of various countries that are intensely trying to loot the natural wealth, cheap labour and markets in backward countries of the world like India are taking shelter in fascism (Brahmanic Hindutva Fascism in our country). On one hand fascism is creating social divisions among the people through their divide and rule policy and on the other is unleashing brutal suppression on the people. In our country the Modi government is indulging in unceasing massacres and terrorising to 'subjugate' the people and suppress people's resistance. Especially, it deployed more than

7 lakh government, military, Para-military and police personnel in the areas of Maoist movement and is causing bloodshed. It is violating human rights and indulging in bombing through drones, helicopters and artillery. But the oppressed people are becoming increasingly clear about the ill consequences of globalisation policies. They are taking up struggles in various places on various problems. We must utilise this favourable condition, enlighten and organise the people of entire oppressed classes, oppressed social sections, oppressed nationalities and democratic forces of our country. The people must especially aim their struggles against rising prices, for hike in massacres on the people and is propagating that they killed Maoists. In fact, enemy is murdering Maoists more in deceptive attacks than in real battle. Did we not see how these murderers fled the arena of war when PLGA made decisive wars? Is the enemy not hiding the facts of fatalities out of cowardice? The enemy cannot affect the commitment of the Party and the PLGA even if they take up a number of operations. We are seeing how much pro-people is the Agrarian Revolution to the oppressed people. Therefore we have to continuously fulfil our responsibility in the efforts of the party like the old generation comrades. Our future lies in our hands. There is no effective way other than to lead a study movement to learn from history. This must be taken up as a part of People's War, from the angle of movement for genuine national independence and real democracy by igniting and developing revolutionary, patriotic spirit in the people. We can pave the path for the liberation of the people and preserve the lives and livelihood of the oppressed classes, communities and nationalities only if the party is strong and we are united. We will accomplish the New Democratic Revolution.

With intensifying contradiction between the imperialists and the oppressed nationalities and oppressed people of the world, the objective conditions at the international and domestic plane are unprecedentedly turning favourable to revolution. 40,000 people of Palestine, mostly women and children died and above 90 thousand were injured in the genocide unleashed by the Zionist chauvinist Israel on Palestine with the full support and guidance of US, UK, Germany, France and Italy. Apart from the displacement of Palestine's in Gaza all residential buildings, educational institutions, hospitals and government offices has been ruined. Israel is paving the way to unleash its long-dreamt plan to occupy the entire land of Palestine by stopping all sorts of humanitarian aid and forcing the people out of Gaza to Sinai desert in Egypt. The people and resistance organisations of Palestine are heroically fighting against this. The people of several countries are demanding their governments to stop Israel's war of aggression to break their relations with Israel, to boycott

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Israeli companies that support the Zionists. This apart, student movement spread like a flame from US to Europe in the Universities and on the streets. Kenya of Africa became bankrupt with the loans the government took from IMF and African Development Banks. The Parliament passed an IMF sponsored economic bill and imposed heavy taxes. People rebelled in protest to this situation and attacked the Parliament. President Ruto had to dissolve his government. In Bangladesh, students and democratic forces took up struggle against the anti-people policies of dictator Hasina in favour of the imperialist Multi-National Companies, Comprador Bureaucratic capitalist, feudal classes and Indian expansionism that intensified economic crisis day to day and especially against the imposition of anti-Constitutional reservations on the people. The struggle ultimately led to the collapse of the government and the Prime Minister was forced to take shelter in India. Thus we see that large scale anti-imperialist, anti-Comprador Bureaucratic ruling class struggles are going on all over the backward countries. The proletariat in the capitalist-imperialist countries are taking up agitations in a big way against the capitalists of their countries. The struggle of migrants from Asia and Africa against the murder of three young women with knives by the racists in South Port in Britain on 30th July put the country in an internal turmoil.

The revolutionary, nationality liberation and democratic forces are utilising these conditions and widening all over the world. MLM parties and organisations are getting organised and strengthened. Few MLM parties of backward countries are intensifying the struggles of agrarian revolutionary class struggles and making preparations for People's Wars. This is the time to make preparations by the revolutionary forces and working class for Socialist revolutions in the capitalist countries. In the same manner we must develop a broad United Front against imperialism and mobilise the oppressed nationalities and oppressed people in united struggles at international level and in every country. In this background, international movements are further widening in solidarity to People's War in India and Philippines. There is a strong aspiration that the development of People's War in India will strongly contribute to World Socialist Revolution.

We must shoulder the great responsibility to make it true. Let us, on the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the CPI (Maoist), work determinedly to preserve the Party and the revolutionary movement that lead the New Democratic Revolution with the objective to destroy imperialism that causes difficulties, misery, exploitation, oppression, suppression and discrimination in our country and the semi-colonial, semi-feudal society that

represents the Comprador Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie and Feudal classes.

### **Let us fight back 'Operation Kagaar'.**

Without a revolutionary party, people will unendingly face gruesome exploitation, oppression, misappropriation, injustice, hegemony, suppression and massacres and atrocities by the exploitive ruling classes. Their lives will be disrupted in an indescribable manner. None of the fundamental problems of the oppressed classes and communities will be solved without Maoist revolutionary ideology, revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice. Fundamental social change is not possible. If there is no revolutionary movement, there is nothing for the people of the country. Let us mobilise the broad masses in struggle against the three main enemies with the objective to achieve genuine freedom, to establish democracy, to form a genuine federation, annihilation of caste system and untouchability, establishment of social justice and for the victory of National Democratic Revolution where the nationalities have the right to secession including the right to self-determination, enhance mass base, develop subjective forces and determinedly fight against the enemy and thus overcome the temporary setback and advance the revolutionary movement in the path of success. Program Our propaganda program must be such as to effectively take this message released by the Central Committee on the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the party among the Party, PLGA, Mass Organizations, Revolutionary People's Committees, Revolutionary Camp and the broad masses. We must release pamphlets, posters, audio, video songs, skits and video clips of distinct incidents in the revolutionary movement in various spheres, special issues of our magazines, booklets and other political propaganda material.

On the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the party, Party members must specifically discuss the changes in class struggle, the successes and failures of the revolutionary movement, the problems and challenges in the purview of every village in the rural area in their units. They must hold meetings such as to motivate our camp to discuss among the people the need to learn lessons from the failures, coming out from shortcomings and take forth these successes and the need to protect the movement. In this way we have to motivate our entire revolutionary camp through meetings, seminars must be conducted. By applying several creative forms, we must effectively take the objective of revolution among the people through various creative methods.

Our party unit/units of any organisation in any sphere must combine the program of the respective organisation with Maoist politics and secretly or openly

effectively propagate this message on the occasion of the 20th Anniversary. These celebrations must be held with the aspect of revolutionary people's state power as the central point, explaining the relation between this and the objective of the organisation, in their own way. They must unite fraternal organisations and take up the program with the view to influence friendly forces. Irrespective of the politics these organisations bear, we must explain revolutionary politics to them that genuine democracy, genuine independence, self-reliance, social justice, self-respect and state power is possible only through Maoist politics and through the united movements of all the revolutionary, progressive, democratic, secular, patriotic forces and that this alone shows the correct path. We must make efforts so that they help protect our movement.

25 Several MLM parties and organisations have been demonstrating high plane of proletarian internationalism through solidarity programs for the past above a decade to contribute to the success of the revolutionary movement and People's War in the leadership of our party.

On the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of our party, the Central Committee of the Party affirms that it would determinedly struggle together with the revolutionary organisations and forces, the proletariat, oppressed people, oppressed nationalities and their organisations of the world against imperialism and against the reactionary ruling classes of all the countries to achieve permanent liberation of humankind from all exploitation and oppression on the earth.

### Slogans

- **Hail the 20th Anniversary celebrations of CPI (Maoist)!**
- **Let us fight back 'Operation Kagaar' unleashed by the enemy with the objective to eliminate the party!**
- **Let us develop mass base and subjective forces and preserve the party and the revolutionary movement!**
- **Let us prevent losses! Let us develop the ratio of successes in People's War!**
- **Let us oppose surrender and betrayal to revolution! Let us fight determinedly to preserve the interests of the oppressed people!**
- **Let us build a strong urban movement and plain movement to advance PPW! Let us expand the revolutionary movement to all spheres!**
- **Let us intensify anti-imperialist, anti-Comprador Bureaucratic Capitalist, anti-feudal class struggle basing on mass base!**
- **Let us mobilise the broad secular democratic forces against Brahmanic Hindutva Fascism!**
- **Let us strengthen guerrilla war in areas of revolutionary movement according to the strength!**
  
- **Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**
- **Long live World Socialist Revolution!**
- **Long live New Democratic Revolution in India!**
- **Long live Communist Party of India (Maoist)!**

**Communist Party of the Philippines Central Committee**

# **Set to blaze the revolutionary armed struggle for national democracy!**

## **Carry out the critical and urgent tasks to rectify errors and advance the revolution!**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Philippines raises high the Red banner of the national democratic revolution and, in behalf of all Party cadres and members, revolutionaries and activists, gives its firmest salute to all the Red commanders, fighters and militia forces, as we celebrate the very important and joyous occasion of the 55th anniversary of the New People's Army.

Today, let us look back at our accomplishments and shortcomings during the past year, draw lessons from these, and forge plans to make bigger achievements in waging revolutionary armed struggle against the US-Marcos fascist and puppet regime in the coming year.

On this occasion, let us remember and honor all the heroes and martyrs of the Philippine revolution who sacrificed everything for the Filipino people's cause for the national and social liberation. Let us extol their lives and be inspired by their martyrdom. What better way of honoring their memory than by continuing the revolutionary cause that they helped advance?

The Central Committee is happy to inform everyone that the call for a rectification movement which the Party issued last December has been wholeheartedly welcomed by all regional Party committees and commands of the NPA. They have responded positively and are presently carrying out summing-up conferences and study meetings to identify the errors and shortcomings in order to rectify these, and steadily and comprehensively carry forward all revolutionary tasks.

We need to exert all out effort for the revolution to be carried forward in order to defend the interests of the Filipino masses who are being subjected to worsening forms of oppression and exploitation by the US-Marcos regime. The country faces the real and increasing danger of being dragged into an inter-imperialist war. The need to advance the revolutionary armed struggle, in particular, is of great urgency, being the most important weapon of the Filipino people to fight for their revolutionary cause.

Conditions of crisis in the country are impelling the oppressed and exploited masses of the Filipino people to carry forward their struggles. Under the guidance of the Party, the revolutionary forces are determined to arouse, organize and mobilize the Filipino people in great numbers, steadily bring forward the national democratic revolution, and bring it to unparalleled heights in the future, facing all the needed sacrifice and hardships.

**Take initiative to set the armed struggle to blaze!  
Frustrate the enemy's all-out onslaught**

The revolutionary armed struggle being waged by the New People's Army (NPA) under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines is at a critical juncture. Party cadres, Red commanders and fighters, revolutionary mass organizations and activists in the countryside and in the cities, are called upon to boldly shoulder our urgent tasks, raise high the Red banner of the revolution, set the armed struggle ablaze, lift it from its current state of adversity and emerge stronger than ever before.

We must consider the following: On the one hand, there is urgent need to carry out armed struggle in order to strike blows against the enemy in the face of heightened imperialist economic aggression and military intervention and intensified fascist onslaught. The enemy's declared aim of "ending the armed conflict" seeks to pave the way for the unmitigated trampling of the country's sovereignty and out-and-out oppression of the Filipino people.

On the other hand, our forces have been weakened to a large extent by internal errors, weaknesses and shortcomings as a result of years of military conservatism and passivity. Guided by the Party, NPA units are currently undertaking crucial efforts at rectification and consolidation with the aim of overcoming past setbacks, breaking out of military passivity, preserving and expanding their forces, and reinvigorating guerrilla warfare.

To confront this particular situation, we must firmly grasp the dialectical relationship between fighting the enemy and strengthening our forces: we must strengthen the NPA to effectively fight the enemy; we must fight the enemy to effectively strengthen the NPA. We cannot divorce one from the other. The former is quite plain to see and need not be elaborated further; but the latter is not quite as obvious, and some may even argue otherwise.

Especially in the face of the enemy's strategic and local superiority in deploying overwhelming military force, it is easy to lose sight of the enemy's vulnerabilities and political weakness which the NPA and the whole array of revolutionary forces can and must exploit. Some are so overwhelmed by the enemy's large presence, that they easily lose heart and forget that it is a force that is rotten to the core and defending a moribund and decrepit system. They fail to recognize that it is utterly hated by the peasant masses who are far greater in numbers, and far greater in strength when organized. They should vigorously resist being drawn into passivity by those who onesidedly see the NPA's inferiority in arms as a permanent state, and who fail to grasp the dialectical process of gaining strength through protracted people's war and guerrilla warfare. Indeed, the situation requires the Party's cadres and the NPA's commanders and fighters who possess a great deal of revolutionary perspicacity, unwavering faith and trust in the masses, and who are undaunted by hardships and sacrifices to serve the people's revolutionary cause.

When we speak of waging armed struggle and fighting the enemy, we mean striking blows at the enemy's armed forces, employing all kinds of weapons in the hands of the guerrilla forces and the people. We mean primarily mounting basic tactical offensives that we are capable of winning, that weakens the enemy by annihilating its armed forces piece by piece, and takes away its weapons in order that we can arm more recruits and mount even bigger tactical offensives in the future. We raise the capability of the NPA to wage war by waging war.

In the face of the enemy's ruthlessness and all-out campaigns of encirclement and suppression, the revolutionary forces are duty-bound to fight the enemy and defend the people by waging armed struggle. We must raise the indomitable spirit of the people's army and the masses to fight and defeat the enemy. We must resolve and overcome the problems and difficulties posed by the large deployment of enemy troops against the masses and guerrilla forces. We must force the enemy to stretch thin its forces by expanding the scope of our political and military initiatives. However big and

strong the enemy's operations, there will always exist golden opportunities that we can exploit and should carefully analyze to destroy its weakest link. We must be quick to recognize that the bigger the scale of these enemy operations, the more parts of the enemy's body become exposed and vulnerable to NPA tactical offensives. In order to discover, analyze and take advantage of these opportunities, the NPA must be ever militant, and be quick and agile in its movements, to turn the enemy into a lumbering giant and enable the NPA to strike at will.

In the face of the current onslaught of the enemy, NPA commands at front and provincial or subregional levels, must plan to wage an active defense warfare at the level of campaigns and battles, anticipate the enemy's deployment and strike at its weakest parts. They must be ready to shift its main forces or center of gravity out of the enemy's encirclement, while leaving or dispatching teams or composite units to carry various kinds of guerrilla actions and tactical offensives that they are capable of winning and inflicting serious damage on the enemy.

Given the current situation, it is paramount for units of the NPA and people's militias at all levels to take the initiative to plan out tactical offensives that they are capable of mounting and winning. These initiatives must be carried out in coordination with the higher command and nearby units. Tactical offensives and guerrilla actions can range from laying out an ambush against the enemy's reconnaissance units, perimeter defense or supply lines, attacking his isolated outposts, disarming, sniping, demolition, partisan and arrest operations, imposing sanctions, meting out justice on counterrevolutionaries and criminal antisocial elements, and so on. These tactical offensives must succeed in seizing the enemy's rifles and war matériel, destroying their supply and communication lines, immobilizing their land, air and sea assets, disrupting the enemy's plans or blocking its advance, and drawing away the enemy's attention from the main direction and plans of the main forces of the NPA.

The task of mounting tactical offensives that we are capable of winning must be carried out with meticulous planning and utmost vigor, as a way of galvanizing the NPA, and as the first decisive step at rectification.

Along the line of waging extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on an ever widening and deepening mass base, all units of the people's army and people's militias are called upon to take full military and political initiative, and exercise flexibility in their actions. The NPA must strengthen and expand their ties with the masses. They must defend the peasant masses and

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people against their fascist oppressors and exploiters, and carry out widespread propaganda, organizing and mobilization to advance their antifeudal mass struggles and carry out land reform.

Majority of the NPA platoons must be deployed to help consolidate and expand guerrilla fronts, and build more company-sized guerrilla

fronts. Guerrilla platoons must forge a clear plan to dispatch its units within a given radius that is limited at a given time to avoid overdispersal, but wide enough for defensive and offensive maneuvers, with a clear time frame to advance wave upon wave, or expand the revolutionary mass base on the basis of consolidation. We expand the NPA's area of operations by methods of advancing in waves or by secretly leapfrogging to relatively favorable areas where it can start arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people to gain foothold. We can always dispatch NPA units in a trailblazing missions to initiate guerilla warfare and open new guerilla zones where the enemy least suspect and expect.

Together with peasant mass organizations, territorial Party committees and other revolutionary forces, the NPA must carry out campaigns of social investigation in order to identify the most urgent issues and problems of the masses, and accelerate efforts in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the peasant masses, advancing their urgent democratic demands, linking these with their agrarian revolutionary movement and the people's democratic revolution.

We must pay attention to building or rebuilding the organs of political power at the village and higher levels on the foundations of the full-fledged mass organizations of peasants, women, youth, cultural workers and other toiling people covering barrios or cluster of barrios or municipalities, as well as local branches and section committees of the Party. Many of these organs of political power have been targeted by the enemy's armed suppression. We must sum up our experiences and come up with policies to ensure that the organs of political power, mass organizations, local mass leaders are secured and kept out from the enemy's intelligence radar.

We must consolidate and strengthen the mass base and forge plans to raise their militance to assert their civil, political, social and economic rights, and to collectively and resolutely expose and resist the enemy's dirty tactics. We must frustrate the enemy's despicable schemes to break up the unity of the people, force them to surrender one by one, or entice the Red commanders and fighters to forsake the masses with false promises of a better future. In fighting the enemy's suppression campaign, the local forces must not be left to themselves.

Their struggle must be brought to a higher level in order to draw strength from numbers and from the solidarity of people, from adjacent villages to the international community. Above all, the NPA must make all efforts to demonstrate their determination to defend the people by striking at their fascist oppressors.

We must strengthen efforts in building popular defense forces to give full play to the guerrilla warfare of the masses. These defense forces include village militia units and militia coordinating command at inter-village or municipal levels, village defense units and self-defense committees based in mass organizations. These people's defense forces should be encouraged and guided to take the initiative in waging all forms of guerrilla warfare or an armed mass movement against the enemy, including agaw-arms operations, grenade throwing, incendiary bombing, booby-trapping, sniping, and other operations hitting at isolated enemy units or any other unit which they can harass, incapacitate, rout or annihilate. They should utilize and employ all available types of weapons including indigenous methods and traps against the enemy's operating forces and make them pay dearly. The enemy should not be allowed to enter and ravage the revolutionary areas without experiencing a nightmare, incurring casualties and suffering the consequences of their fascist crimes.

The NPA must help mount mass campaigns to mobilize the peasant masses on problems and issues that gravely affect them in common. These include land grabbing by big companies involved in mining, plantations, real estate, eco-tourism, energy and other infrastructure projects. They must also be organized and mobilized to address their problems in times of widespread flooding, drought or landslides and other disasters that destroy their livelihood. The peasant masses, mainly the poor peasants and farmworkers, must be organized and mobilized to fight for lowering land rent, eliminating usury, increasing farm wages, fair prices for farm produce and other urgent demands in line with the Party's antifeudal line and agrarian policy. The peasant masses must be organized in large numbers to raise their demands in town centers or cities.

Wherever they go, Red fighters and commanders of the NPA also carry out production, education, health and cultural campaigns in order to address the practical needs of the masses. They must continue to forge strong and inseparable bonds with the masses. They must at all times identify with the woes of the peasant masses and find solutions to the plight they are condemned to by their exploiters.

Units of the NPA must consolidate, strengthen and expand its forces. It is extremely critical that Red fighters

and commanders unite with one mind and act as one body. To achieve this, they must take stock of their strengths and weaknesses, and plan out the measures necessary to raise the determination and capability of the Red fighters and the revolutionary masses to fight and frustrate the enemy's all-out attacks.

We must improve the command structure of the NPA at all levels, ensuring the quality and composition of unit commands of both horizontal and vertical forces, as well as regional and provincial or subregional territorial operations command. The leading core at every level of command of the NPA should be composed of commanders and fighters who are models of courage before the enemy and paragons of humility before the masses.

Our guerrilla forces must be able to conduct basic politico-military trainings, as well as officers' trainings in order to enhance the capability and knowledge of our Red fighters and commanders in military science and tactics, and further strengthen their commitment to serve the people. The system of trainings should be improved to allow for shorter or staggered courses in order to adapt to the fluid military situation amid the relentless enemy operations.

Units of the NPA should continue to master flexibility in changing their modes of action from concentration, dispersal and shifting, depending on the situation and their objectives. We concentrate our forces to attack the enemy and consolidate, disperse to conduct mass work, disappear before the enemy, and create more points of initiative, and shift to pursue plans for expansion, or to move out of enemy encirclement.

All units of the NPA must avoid unplanned battles and seek ways to make the enemy punch the air and exhaust himself. They must immediately and regularly assess their situation, patch all security holes and remove all vulnerabilities. They must diligently guard against the enemy's tactic of smuggling in electronic or GPS trackers. They must strengthen their determination to put into practice the principles and methods of secrecy in guerrilla movements, while marching or on bivouac. They must constantly maintain a high level of discipline and compliance with military regulations among its Red fighters, and a high degree of revolutionary political consciousness to strengthen their will to make the necessary sacrifices to maintain the NPA's security. They must subject to criticism and rectification all violations of security policies and regulations which compromise guerrilla secrecy.

The NPA must decisively smash the enemy's intelligence network hiding in plain sight among the

masses, narrowing on ringleaders especially those who have committed grave crimes against the people. The masses, especially those who have borne the brunt of the enemy's suppression campaign, demand that renegade traitors who have been actively collaborating with the enemy as agents or spies, be subjected to revolutionary punishment, and that their criminal and counterrevolutionary misdeeds be thoroughly exposed.

All units of the NPA must assess the enemy's intelligence stock (built from information contained in compromised files, spilled by traitors, or accumulated through long periods of surveillance), and how this is linked to the conduct of the enemy's operations. They must make appropriate plans and adjustments in their plans to render the enemy's intelligence information unactionable or unusable.

The NPA must continue to follow strict rules in securing and protecting sensitive informations by observing compartmentalization, using ciphers and encryption, and paying attention to standing policies covering the regulated use of computers, smartphones, cellphones, two-way radios, and other electronic gadgets. We must also develop mastery of the art of disinformation and misdirection—including feeding the enemy's intelligence network or electronic surveillance with false positives—in order to confuse the enemy and frustrate its attacks.

We must carry out a campaign of proselytization aimed at the rank and file of the enemy, many of whom are of peasant, worker, semiproletariat or lower pettybourgeois origin, who were enticed to join the enemy's armed forces due to its high salaries. They are fully aware of the rottenness and corruption of the reactionary military organization, and harbor deep grievances over the abuses perpetrated against them by their superiors, as well as the gross crimes and violations of human rights which they are made to perpetrate against the masses. We must distribute leaflets and conduct open propaganda at military camps, detachments or stations. We can encourage the disgruntled ranks-and-file personnel of the enemy's military and police forces to leave their jobs, join the revolution, pass on valuable informations or

live productive lives as civilians, and partake of the fruits of the collective labor of peasant mass organizations.

We must continue to build and strengthen the Party within the New People's Army to guide it in all its tasks. We must continue to recruit the most advanced elements and ensure their ideological, political and organizational training and development. Party committees must be built at the level of the companies;

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Party branches in platoons; and Party groups in squads. The Party must designate from its rank political officers and instructors at every NPA formation to ensure that politics commands the gun. We must also ensure the deployment of cadres and activists from the urban areas, especially from the ranks of workers, as well as students, teachers and other pettybourgeois intellectuals and professionals, in order to raise the capacity of the NPA in performing the various tasks of leadership and administration.

The above-stated tasks are critical and must be carried out with a high degree of urgency by Party cadres and Red commanders at the core and leadership of the New People's Army. It is most urgent to take military and political initiative in order to regain the guerrilla bearings of NPA units, especially those which have suffered setbacks in the past and forced into a passive position, frustrate the enemy's onslaught, and bring forward the revolutionary armed struggle. These tasks must be carried out by the Party and NPA as we carry forward the rectification movement to root out the ideological basis of past errors and weaknesses, in order to create the conditions for the renewed growth of the revolutionary armed struggle.

### **Reaffirm the basic principles of waging people's war in the Philippines**

Every unit of the NPA must sum-up their experiences and rectify errors in line with the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, guided by the overall self-critical analysis provided in the Central Committee's message on the Party's 55th anniversary and by the summing-up of experiences within the scope of their work and circumstance of their areas of operation. Units which have suffered setbacks must give particular attention to analyzing defensive battles in order to identify their errors and weaknesses. We must learn from the lessons paid for dearly by the blood of our martyrs as one way of honoring their sacrifices.

The 55th anniversary of the NPA is a most propitious occasion to reaffirm the basic principles and theory of waging people's war in the Philippines. This is especially important as we face a critical situation following serious setbacks over the past years, which demand us to rectify our errors and weaknesses.

By applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the concrete conditions of the country, the Party developed the theory of waging people's war in the Philippines, and led the New People's Army in waging revolutionary armed struggle from one level to another. The 1974 article, *Specific Characteristics of Our People's War*, laid out the basic theory, principles, program and plan

for waging revolutionary war in Philippines. It took into consideration the semicolonial and semifeudal system, the archipelagic character of its geographic and physical terrain, as well as other specific characteristics of the country.

Our accomplishments in revolutionary practice over the past 55 years are concrete proof of the correctness of these theories. Further proof of the validity of these theories are the setbacks and losses which we have incurred as a result of our failure to steadfastly hold on to these theories.

The correctness of the national democratic revolution has been proven in practice by waging revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside as the principal form of struggle, and the revolutionary mass movement combining legal and illegal forms of struggles in the cities and countryside, as the secondary but indispensable form of struggle. By upholding the national democratic line, we have succeeded in building a mass base of several million people, under the firm leadership of the proletariat, realizing the basic alliance of workers and peasants mainly through the Party's leadership of the NPA, and building the national united front to fight imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, with the aim of overthrowing the ruling reactionary state of big bourgeois compradors and big landlords.

By waging a protracted people's war in the countryside, principally by building the people's army and advancing armed struggle, building the rural mass base and organs of political power, and advancing the agrarian revolution, we have been able to mobilize the peasant masses who form the largest section of the Filipino people and who serve as the most reliable ally of the working class. We have steadfastly advanced the struggle for land in response to the main democratic clamor of the peasant masses. In so doing, we have been able to build and strengthen the New People's Army, drawing recruits mainly from the landless poor peasants and farmworkers, as well as material and political support. The aim of waging a protracted people's war in the countryside has been to develop our forces step by step, defeat the enemy piece by piece, and encircle the cities until it is possible to seize the cities and advance to nationwide victory. In doing so, we have established organs of political power in the countryside, built on the foundation of the revolutionary anti-feudal united front of all exploited and oppressed classes in Philippine countryside.

Over the past 55 years, we have overcome the greatest difficulties and obstacles in waging people's war in the Philippines as an archipelagic country. We have succeeded in self-reliantly developing guerrilla



warfare on a nationwide scale despite the disadvantage of having no physical rear. We have established guerilla fronts and consolidated rural bases with fairly strong units of the NPA in all the major islands of the country. These guerilla fronts have served as theaters for NPA units to wage guerrilla warfare. They create guerrilla zones and bases first in the less-populated mountainous terrain, where they could consolidate, train and plan to expand to the better-populated plains, riverine, main lines of transportation and coastal areas.

Starting with only 60 Red fighters armed with only nine automatic rifles and 26 inferior firearms in the second district of Tarlac province, we have succeeded in developing our forces from squads and platoons, to company-strength guerrilla forces. We have created 14 regional commands of the NPA, each having reached a peak strength of a few hundred to more or less a thousand Red fighters, and each having a number of subregional or provincial commands with several guerrilla fronts.

The Philippine national democratic revolution has had the distinction of having advanced with great strides and waging armed struggle in the current era of international retreat of the world proletariat. With the defeat of the socialist revolution and capitalist restoration in China and the Soviet Union under modern revisionist rule, the Filipino people had to wage and self-reliantly develop revolutionary armed struggle.

We have established Red political power across thousands of villages across the country. We have built the rudimentary forms of the people's democratic government at the barrio or inter-barrio level, with officers elected in village assemblies or selected from local revolutionary mass organizations.

We have waged guerrilla warfare across the country by adopting the policy of relative centralized strategic command and decentralized operations in campaigns and battles. Through the past decades, regional committees of the Party and regional commands of the NPA have developed home-grown cadres and commanders of high quality capable of self-reliantly leading the comprehensive range of revolutionary tasks, along the line set by the Central Committee. Many of them have been promoted to the Central Committee of the Party and the National Operations Command of the NPA.

As we carry out a rectification movement, it is critical for all cadres of the Party, commanders and fighters of the NPA, and all revolutionary forces to reaffirm our basic analysis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system in the country, and the basic principles and theories of

waging the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines through protracted people's war along the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside; to study the history of waging revolutionary struggle during the past 55 years in order to draw lessons from its accomplishments and setbacks; to have a long view of the tasks that lie ahead for advancing the revolutionary forces quantitatively and qualitatively, until we can turn the current balance of forces into its opposite.

As the Party has established, the protracted people's war in the Philippines will go through three probable stages of development: the strategic defensive, the strategic stalemate; and the strategic offensive. This route of the progress of the people's war in the Philippines is determined by dialectical laws of development. To desire another route or fail to push along the path is almost certainly fatal.

In the 1980s, unremoulded petty bourgeois elements in the leadership of the Party harbored notions of a shortcut to a quick victory. They questioned the basic analysis of the Party of the semicolonial and semifeudal system, promoted the idea that the Marcos dictatorship industrialized and turned the country into a capitalist country, exaggerated the country's urbanization and downplayed the extent of the agrarian economy by citing false government statistics.

They pushed for the wishful line of a "strategic counter-offensive" within the strategic defensive stage, to justify the shift to the strategy of urban insurrectionism combined with premature regularization and verticalization of NPA formations. They promoted the concept of partisan warfare as a distinct and separate form of warfare in the cities to create insurrectionary flash points. This is combined by "regular mobile warfare" using large formations of the people's army (companies and battalions) to strike at enemy hard points and targets (company or battalion, highly fortified camps and headquarters). This line of military adventurism called for the premature regularization of the people's army by concentrating and even liquidating horizontal NPA formations to form "regular" companies and battalions. This created an imbalance in the spread, deployment and sustained growth of the NPA vertical and horizontal forces, which caused its revolutionary mass base and guerilla fronts to contract significantly. This erroneous policy played squarely into the hands of the more superior enemy force in pushing the NPA in a purely military situation. Despite initial military victories, the NPA forces were soon reduced to military passivity and became vulnerable to enemy encirclement and suppression, leading to large reduction of forces and unprecedented setbacks by 1990-1991.

## ***People's Wars***

Alongside with the “Left” opportunists were various strands of Right opportunists who rejected the necessity of waging revolutionary armed struggle. In the late 1980s, some promoted the line of “popular democracy” who ultimately consolidated themselves in “non-governmental organizations” promoting reformism and class collaboration. They will be later joined by the “Left” opportunists who, after failing in their line of insurrectionism and military adventurism, served as NGO bureaucrats in the so-called “civil society” community. Still others engaged in “peace talks” to facilitate their surrender to the reactionary regime, with some allowed to maintain paramilitary forces to fight the NPA, while engaging in various types of criminal activities.

It took the Second Great Rectification Movement to salvage the revolutionary guerrilla forces from suffering further grave losses. Reaffirming the Party’s basic principles of waging people’s democratic revolution through protracted people’s war, units of the NPA were reorganized to attain a correct balance of horizontal and vertical forces, in order to effectively carry out both political and military work. The Party affirmed the tactical military line of waging extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base within the stage of the strategic defensive.

The New People’s Army has successfully frustrated the yearly declared targets of the enemy to crush the revolutionary armed movement. It surmounted the successive campaigns of encirclement and suppression including the Oplan Katatagan, Oplan Lambat Bitag I, II and III, Oplan Gordian Knot, Oplan Makabayan, Oplan Bantay Laya I and II, Oplan Bayanihan and Oplan Kapayapaan and have, by and large, emerged stronger. The Party leadership estimated that the people’s war reached the middle phase of the strategic defensive in and around the middle of the 2000s, and made plans to fulfill the requirements to reach the advanced phase, and onto the threshold of the strategic stalemate.

Even then, however, we had been bogged down by problems of military conservatism which has kept things stuck at the middle phase. Years of conservatism in all aspects of revolutionary work, and complacency have led to self-constriction of the people’s army and a slow weakening and reduction of the mass base, making it vulnerable to enemy encirclement and suppression, leading to setbacks and losses. One of the detrimental effects of empiricism has been our inability to quickly draw lessons from experience in order to raise the level of our knowledge and theory, from the level of the NPA’s national command down to the regions and fronts,

resulting in failure to adapt to changes in the enemy’s tactics, and in mistakes being committed repeatedly.

Under the leadership of the Central Committee, the entire Party, the New People’s Army and all revolutionary forces are currently carrying out a rectification movement to identify and get rid the bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideological roots of our past errors, weaknesses and shortcomings, reaffirm our proletarian standpoint, viewpoint and methods in order to more resolutely carry forward the revolution.

The current rectification movement is fundamentally a study movement to review and reaffirm the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as contained in the classic writings of the great communist teachers, and those of Ka Jose Maria Sison; to study the Party’s Constitution and Program; to study the documents of the Party’s First and Second Great Rectification Movement; to sum-up experiences of the past five and 25 years; to conduct a campaign of social investigation and class analysis; to carry out criticism and self-criticism; to evaluate the performances of Party cadres; and to fully implement the Three-Level Party Course.

All regional committees and organs of the Party, and commands of the NPA have welcomed the call for a rectification movement since the Central Committee issued it last December 26, 2023. Summing-up and study sessions, social investigation conferences and planning meetings, have been held or are scheduled to be conducted by various Party committee and NPA commands at all levels. At the same time, the necessary redeployment of forces of the NPA is being carried out in order to address the various forms of self-constriction, expand the scope of the NPA’s operations, open new areas outside the enemy’s encirclement, fight fascist suppression in the old areas, and vigorously arouse, organize and mobilize the peasant masses.

The declaration of the rectification movement in December frustrated the US-Marcos regime and the reactionary state which had wishful thoughts that the Party was on the brink of capitulation following the capture and murder of some key leaders of the Party, as well as the passing away of Ka Joma, the Party’s founding chair and guiding light. In response, the enemy poured even greater amounts of funds and resources to its counterrevolutionary war and has further intensified its campaign of encirclement and suppression. This has now taken the form of relentless and widespread campaigns of armed suppression against peasant communities, aerial bombing and artillery shelling and large-scale combat operations in scores of guerrilla fronts across the country.

By using Marxist-Leninist-Maoist method of

thinking, we can analyze the enemy's strengths and point out its weaknesses. For instance, we must first understand that the enemy's use of aerial assets, which has given it the distinct advantage of rapid deployment, is first of all, a manifestation of its inability to surmount its lack of ground political support among the peasant masses. Helicopters are vulnerable to NPA sniper fire as it attempts to land or take off, which makes its ground troops awaiting supplies and reinforcements vulnerable to isolation. Aerial bombings give the enemy a distinct advantage, but is also politically disastrous in isolating the fascists from the masses and make its ground troops reliant on limited air superiority, which the NPA can easily counteract. The NPA can develop or acquire anti-aircraft weaponry, but must also adopt methods to deny the enemy targets of aerial attacks. Through careful observation and analysis, we can clearly see the limitations and vulnerabilities through its strengths and advantages. The Red commanders and fighters of the NPA, together with the masses, must keep their eyes peeled and observe the enemy closely, and come up with an effective stratagem.

Inspired by the rectification movement, Party leaders and NPA fighters have become more fearless and determined despite the great disparity in the current balance of forces. We can more deeply recognize that the enemy's superiority in terms of US-supplied weaponry is countervailed by the rottenness and moribund state of the system it is defending; and that the NPA's inferiority in terms of weaponry is countervailed by its superiority in terms of the widespread support of the Filipino masses. Armed with dialectical method of thinking, we also recognize that this situation is temporary, and will ultimately be negated, as the people's war advances from its current stage to the next and the enemy gets further embroiled in irresolvable crisis of imperialism and the ruling semicolonial and semifeudal system.

### **Crisis and oppression rouses people's resistance against the US-Marcos regime**

The US-Marcos regime is the current concentrated expression of the Filipino people's oppressor. It represents the moribund ruling system and the worst facets of the ruling exploiting classes. Its neoliberal economic policies, outright subservience to US geopolitical interests, corruption, high-style living, and fascist suppression of democratic rights are causing even greater suffering on the Filipino people and rousing them to fight for national democracy with even greater tenacity.

Marcos' economic policies outrightly favor the interests of foreign monopoly capitalists and banks, big

bourgeois compradors and big landlords, which bring great misery to the Filipino masses. In compliance with the neoliberal policy dictates of imperialist banks and other financial agencies, the Marcos regime has further liberalized trade and investment policies, and deregulated social and environmental policies. These policies have resulted in further debilitating local manufacturing and agricultural production, mass unemployment, greater dependence on imports, higher prices of food and other basic commodities, bigger budget deficits, a sharp increase in the country's debt and worsening tax burden on the people.

These policies have aggravated the already gross socioeconomic conditions of the people. To favor the profit-greed of foreign and local big capitalists, the Marcos regime is keeping workers' daily wages low, which has fallen way below the cost of living of workers and their families. Marcos is allowing big bourgeois compradors and big landlords to dispossess the peasant masses, indigenous people, fisherfolk, transport workers and other toiling people of their land and other means of livelihood. Public school teachers, medical workers, and other rank and file employees and ordinary professionals suffer from low salaries. Millions upon millions of people are without jobs and economically displaced. Thousands upon thousands everyday are forced to leave the country to search for work overseas.

To gain the favors of foreign monopoly capitalists, particularly US and European capitalists, Marcos displays absolute subservience to the imperialist US. He has allowed the US military to expand the permanent presence of hundreds of American combat troops and stationing of missile systems and other war matériel inside the military camps, airports, sea ports, and other strategic locations in the country under the cover of the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA). The build up of US military presence in the country is in line with its "first island chain" plan to contain the military and economic expansion of its imperialist rival China.

Over the past year, the US military has aggressively employed the AFP and Coast Guard forces to carry out resupply missions, joint patrols and other types of naval activity in the West Philippine Sea, and fortify its presence especially in the outlying Philippine islands. These are being projected as part of Philippine assertion of its territorial rights in an attempt to dupe the Filipino people, but in fact, form part of US plans to use the Philippines as a pawn in its game-plan against China. In its drive push back US military build-up around its country, imperialist China has encroached and violated Philippine maritime territory and economic sovereignty, and is committing increasingly aggressive actions against the Philippines.

## *People's Wars*

The situation of rising inter-imperialist rivalries is rousing the Filipino people to defend the country's freedom and demand the imperialist giants - both the US and China - to end their saber-rattling and withdraw their troops from the country's territory. So far, the anti-imperialist revolutionary armed struggle of the Filipino people is the biggest factor preventing an inter-imperialist war from erupting in the region. To the US imperialists, the NPA is a critical impediment that prevents it from fully using the country as springboard for aggression and using the AFP as pawn in its scheme of stoking military tensions in the South China Sea and dragging the country into a conflict with China in line with its geopolitical interests.

Marcos' generals have declared their aim of dismantling all NPA guerrilla fronts by the end of March, all NPA vertical units by the end of June, and all regional Party committees by the end of the year. The narrow timeline set by Marcos has compelled its ground units to direct its unparalleled vicious wrath against the people with terror campaigns of armed suppression against peasant communities, aerial bombing and artillery shelling and large-scale combat operations in scores of guerrilla fronts across the country. The AFP has become increasingly brazen in extrajudicial killings of civilians and counting them as NPA casualties, as part of its bloody psywar campaign. Like in the US war of aggression in Vietnam, the puppet Marcos and the AFP are conjuring illusions of winning the war for the hearts and minds of the people, harping on bloated, fabricated or rehashed battlefield victories.

Under its National Security Strategy for 2023-2028, the Marcos regime is also employing all means of armed and legal suppression against unions, peasant and semiproletariat mass organizations, anti-mining and environmental advocates, human rights defenders, student associations, cultural groups, alternative media outfits, religious personalities and other progressive individuals both in the cities and rural areas. Marcos has poured billions of pesos for "intelligence operations" resulting in a marked increase in cases of surveillance, abductions, arrests and harassments against social activists.

Marcos rules with martial law methods without its formal declaration in the guise of "fighting terrorism." On the surface, the ruling system appears strong with its use of outright armed repression, but this, in fact, is a clear manifestation of the weakness or inability of the ruling system to rule on the basis of pseudo-democratic persuasion, and its desperation to perpetuate the system based on oppression and exploitation. As did his dictator father, Marcos Jr's employment of brutal tactics of suppression will ultimately prove counterproductive as

he can succeed only in further inciting the people's anger and setting fire to their desire to fight back with arms and join the NPA.

The ruling political system is also further weakened by the deepening contradictions among rival factions of the ruling class as all sides become increasingly greedy over the limited spoils and time for bureaucratic corruption. The verbal tussle between the main factions of the ruling clique, the Marcoses and Duterte, are becoming virulent, especially as they elbow one another in preparation for the 2025 elections. They are on a course of mutual destruction.

The Marcos regime, much detested for its illegitimate claim to power through the 2022 election fraud, is further isolating itself from the people. It has displayed gross disregard for the people's plight, inaction and ineptness amid droughts, floods, landslides and other calamities, while wasting money in successive foreign trips with nothing to gain but mostly empty promises of so-called investments in exchange for assurances of exploiting Filipino workers and resources. It is also rousing people's protests over its attempt to amend the 1987 constitution to enshrine neoliberal policies and attempt to satisfy its desires to perpetuate itself in Malacañang.

The US-Marcos regime is inciting the people's outrage and generating conditions for mass resistance. By waging persevering and militant struggle, a broad anti-fascist united front can rise with great force and engulf the Marcos II regime, just as the Marcos I dictatorship was tossed away in 1986 by the powerful wave of armed resistance and mass protests that grew from years of arduous struggles.

The Party and all revolutionary forces must serve as the solid core and stand at the forefront of the antifascist, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal mass struggles of the broad masses of the Filipino people in both the cities and countryside. The situation calls for untiring efforts to arouse, organize and mobilize the people in order to advance their demands for wage increases and land distribution, and other urgent reforms to alleviate their misery and sufferings, and to defend their political, social, economic and cultural rights against intensified oppression under the US-Marcos regime.

The economic and political struggles of the broad masses of the people must be directed against the US-Marcos regime in order to expose its subservience and fascism, isolate and fight it. The urgent demands of the people must be tightly joined to the struggle for national democracy. Furthermore, the revolutionary mass movement of legal and illegal forms of propaganda, organizing and struggle, must be firmly linked with the

revolutionary armed struggle by rousing the people, especially the youth, to join the New People's Army or provide it with all possible political, material and moral support to wage all-out armed resistance and bring renewed vigor the people's democratic revolution.

**Anti-imperialist resistance amid sharpening world contradictions**

Despite the distance and geographical separation, the revolutionary struggle in the Philippines is closely bound to the revolutionary struggles of the working class and toiling people around the world. The accomplishments and victories of the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines are not ours alone, but belong as well to the workers, peasants and all toiling people in other countries. In the same breadth, we celebrate the victories and accomplishments of all the oppressed and exploited classes as they wage revolutionary struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism, fascism and all forms of reaction.

Workers struggles and mass resistance continue to grow and spread across various countries amid the continuing global capitalist crisis, economic stagnation, large-scale joblessness, sharp deterioration of living conditions, sharpening social inequities, intensifying imperialist interventionism, and rising inter-imperialist conflict leading to costly military conflicts and wars.

Across the centers of international capitalism, workers and other democratic classes continue to rise up in numbers as they demand wage increases and better working conditions, and fight back against imperialist war and oppression. Democratic mass struggles continue to erupt in the United States, where the number of strikes rose sharply last year as workers and toiling people face high rates of inflation. Workers in Europe have staged even bigger mass demonstrations and coordinated strikes demanding wage increases.

Since last year, millions of people across the world have joined mass demonstrations condemning the US and Zionist Israel for the genocidal war against the people of Palestine in Gaza. There is also rising opposition to continuing extension of large amounts of military aid of US and NATO countries to prolong the war in Ukraine against Russia. Worsening forms of imperialist oppression are rousing people to build anti-imperialist organizations, formations and centers for cooperation and coordination, and wage campaigns and struggles against imperialist interventionism, rising military spending, war provocations and preparations.

Armed resistance continues to rage across various countries. In Myanmar, ethnic armies are waging guerrilla warfare against the fascist Tatmadaw regime. There are revolutionary armed struggles led by Marxist-Leninist forces in Colombia, India, Kurdistan, Palestine, Peru, the Philippines, Turkey and other countries. There are prevalent conditions for waging protracted people's war across a large number of countries.

Revolutionary proletarian forces across the world continue to consolidate and exert efforts to build communist parties on the theoretical foundations of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. They carry out theoretical studies to sum-up their histories and conduct social investigation, and engage in widespread propaganda and organizing to strike deep roots among the workers and other oppressed and exploited classes.

The insoluble imperialist crisis is generating conditions that are rousing millions of people to wage all forms of resistance. It is a matter of time that Marxist-Leninist forces, through painstaking work, will position themselves at the vanguard of mass movements and armed struggles and forge a new era of a resurgence of socialist and people's democratic revolutionary worldwide.

***Joint Declaration*****Joint Declaration 2024 - Proletarian and Internationalist May Day****Proletarian and Internationalist May Day*****Proletarians and oppressed peoples around the world, unite!***

Proletarians, exploited masses, peoples of the world it is now clear for all : imperialism is war, reaction, misery and oppression of peoples!

The imperialist powers US, EU and NATO are marching step by step towards a new imperialist world war; all countries are equipping themselves with increasingly modern and devastating armaments and foresee the use of nuclear weapons which put the future of the world at risk, combined with the growing environmental crisis. All imperialist countries strengthen their armies, militarize territories and society, prepare public opinion for war, develop a war's economy. War originates from the global, systemic, economic crisis that requires a new division of the world.

Russian imperialism and Chinese social imperialism are, on the one hand, the target of this offensive and, on the other one, they are riding the crisis of Western imperialism, mainly the US, for a new order favourable to them, in the name of 'new multipolar world'.

Imperialism unleashes its watchdogs as the front line in the war - see Israel, Ukraine and the governments of the countries subservient to them.

All the imperialist powers, in collusion and dispute with each other, and the governments subservient to them are united against the proletarians and peoples of the world.

Imperialism is reactionarization: old and new fascism.

All imperialist states and their subservient governments advance in the transformation of states by reducing and erasing bourgeois democracy, attacking the democratic freedoms and rights of workers and the masses, filling the prisons with political opponents, establishing more and more open forms of dictatorship, which attack the women's rights, freedom of thought, etc. and foment suprematism, racism, obscurantist culture and religious fundamentalism.

Imperialism is relative and absolute misery for the proletariat and the oppressed masses, for the impoverished petty bourgeoisie in the cities and countryside.

It means cutting of wages, precariousness, unemployment, cutting of social spending, healthcare, school, environment; widening of the gap between rich and poor regions; new slavery, youth unemployment, women's inequality; high cost of living.

In the countries oppressed by imperialism all this is aggravated by the permanence and conservation of national, colonial, semicolonial and feudal oppression

**IT'S RIGHT TO REBEL! IT IS RIGHT TO FIGHT TO WIPE OUT THE IMPERIALIST SYSTEM FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH!**

In all the countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa, popular revolts and anti-imperialist struggles are developing, often bloodily repressed, to the edge of genocide, as is the case today in Palestine. And the war of imperialism and lackey governments continues against the people's wars in India, the Philippines, Turkey, Peru and against all the forces in the world that pursue the revolutionary path of the people's war.

In these objective conditions the need for revolution increases.

The need for a genuine revolutionary path, able to make New Democratic, socialist revolutions advance and win, in a context of the world proletarian revolution marching to communism.

To achieve this goal, the experience of proletarians and peoples in struggle (the Commune of Paris, the October Revolution, the Chinese Revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution) historically showed that three tools are indispensable to fight and win.

The revolutionary, communist Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party of the proletariat, as organized vanguard detachment of the working class, vanguard political fighter, equipped with strategy and tactics suited to the conditions of each country for the seizure of political power the construction of the Dictatorship of the proletariat.

The united front of proletariat and people's masses.

In the imperialist countries this requires the leadership and majority participation of the proletariat and its central nucleus, the industrial working class, which allies the poor masses, the students, the impoverished sectors of the urban and agricultural petty bourgeoisie.

In countries oppressed by imperialism the fundamental alliance is between workers and peasants who unite the poor masses and the large sectors that suffer national, colonial, semicolonial, feudal oppression.

The proletarian revolution requires armed struggle, as vanguard and mass struggle, and the construction of the people's army to wage class war and revolutionary war resulting in people's insurrection for the seizure of state power and the construction of the proletarian state, indispensable for the socialist transformation, marching, with all the countries of the world, to communism.

It is Fundamental in this process the slogan of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution:

The working class must lead everything.

We need the unity of the communists, in the fire of the class struggle in close connection with the masses, who fight revisionism, economism, wright opportunism and 'left opportunism', factor of sectarianism, division in the ranks of the communist movement.

Let us unite under the leadership of the proletariat to make the peoples of the world towards the world advance to world socialist revolution, to eradicate imperialism and thereby establish communism on earth.

We need an International Conference and a new international organization of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organizations, at the stage possible today, of coordination, unity of action and the working out a new general line of the international communist movement.

**Free Palestine – Stop the Zionist/imperialist genocide – Support the Palestinian Resistance until victory!**

**Support people's wars in all countries of the world!**

**Stop imperialist war and fascism!**

**Defend the lives and conditions of political prisoners!**

**Unleash the fury of women as a powerful force of the revolution!**

**Death to imperialism / the future is socialism and communism!**

**Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**

**Long live proletarian internationalism!**

**Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan**

**Construction Committee of the Maoist Communist Party of Galicia**

**Communist Party of India (Maoist)**

**Communist Party of Turkey - Marxist Leninist (TKP-ML)**

**Communist Worker Union (mlm) Colombia**

**Maoist Communist Party – Italy**

**Proletarian Party Of Purbo Bangla( PBSP/Bangladesh)**

**Red Road of Iran (Maoist group)**

**Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal**

**Worker Voice - Malaysia**

**Chinese Proletarian Alliance Communist Party**

**Revolutionary Maoist Coalition - USA**

## ***Joint Declaration***

### **Joint declaration for Palestine**

International week of action for 7th october (7-13 october)

## **Intensify actions and make the militant, mass movement in support to Palestinian struggle advance in an increasingly powerful way!**

More than 11 months have passed since the beginning of the criminal offensive by the terrorist state of Israel against the Palestinian people. More 40,000 Palestinians have been murdered, including women and children, and more 100,000 have been injured.

The Zionists have forced more than a million Palestinians to move towards the south of Gaza during their bombings, massacres and invasions. Without a doubt the Zionist genocides are carrying out an operation to occupy the south of the Gaza Strip. The Zionists want to annihilate the Palestinian people, take over their territory and resources, trying to push the Palestinians into the Sinai desert in Egypt, an old plan of forced displacement that leaves the path clear for the ultimate occupation of the entire territory of Palestine.

Rafah, south of Gaza, became a refuge for Palestinians, concentrating nearly one and a half million people in a small area, where they live under bombings while Israeli forces prevent humanitarian aid from arriving.

This exacerbates the humanitarian crisis as the Palestinian population in Rafah is suffering from infectious diseases caused by the lack of drinking water, lack of hygiene facilities, food insecurity, lack of hospitals and shelters in good condition as results of the continuous offensive of the Zionists. Many children who die not only under the bombs but because the lack of care and food. According to reports from a UN health agency itself, approximately 80% of Palestinian children under the age of 5 are unable to eat every day.

This combines with the Zionists' attempt to also morally attack the Palestinian people with violent acts beyond the massacre of civilians. The premeditated destruction of temples, houses, schools, universities, hospitals, combined with the deprivation of water and energy, fiercely hits the lives of Palestinians, destroys hopes, exposes them to slow death.

Hospital sieges violate the fundamental rules of war, causing severe effects by destroying infrastructure to care for the sick and wounded, murdering medical personnel and besieging nearby areas. The Palestinian people have to suffer soldiers of the Zionist forces who mock and scorn their sorrow, dance on the ruins of their homes and grab despicable scenes to glorify their actions, added to grotesque TV spots. Their videos on social media are full of anti-Palestinian speeches, combined with racist statements by the Israeli rulers and violent education of children, teaching them to hate Palestinians from childhood.

The genocide against the Palestinian people is not just the work of Israeli Zionism. The imperialist states that provide support are responsible, especially the United States, Great Britain with other European imperialist governments, Germany, France, Italy, etc. as accomplices.

The US imperialists unconditionally support their watchdog in the Middle East. They use their veto power in the UN Security Council to block any measure for peace initiative, they send weapons and money to the Zionists to strengthen their military power, and recently, with a move that many consider historic, the US Congress has approved a bill to sanction the International Criminal Court for having ordered the arrest of Zionist political leaders.

Facing of all this, the Palestinian people and the organizations of their Resistance provide a heroic resistance in the given conditions, continuing to deal blows to the troops of occupation and genocidal invasion. We express our maximum support for this Resistance.

The genocide against the Palestinian people sparked international solidarity which has never stopped since October. The proletarians and peoples of the world have kept the cause of the liberation of Palestine high, condemning the ferocious Zionist offensive.

Withstanding the repression by the reactionary states, the masses held meetings and large demonstrations, demanding a stop to the aggression, developing a boycott of Israeli companies and those that support the Zionists, demanding the breaking of relations and treaties with Israel; up to the extraordinary development in recent months of the student movement which has set fire to the universities, the streets, from the US to Europe and



throughout the world, recalling the movement of solidarity with the cause of the Vietnamese people of the 60s and 70s.

Under pressure from the masses, some governments have broken their relationships with Israel and some international bodies have been forced to take legal action. The International Court of Justice has accepted the request presented by South Africa and supported by other states ordering the Zionists to immediately cease military operations against the Gaza Strip. The International Criminal Court has issued arrest orders against Minister Netanyahu and his Defense Minister, Gallant. But, at the same time, they ordered the detention of Hamas leaders. The latter shows the bourgeois character of the ICC in equating the violence of the oppressors and that of the oppressed.

Faced with this situation, it is now more necessary than ever to intensify actions and make the mass militant movement in support of the Palestinian cause advance in an increasingly powerful way. Popular pressure must rise to solidarity strikes, to increasingly harsh actions against governments that support Israel and Israeli Embassies in every corner of the world.

Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communist parties and organizations must play an increasingly front-line role in this movement, around shared mass demands:

demand that Israeli troops abandon the Gaza Strip and the West Bank;

demand that the imperialist troops abandon the region and cease their military actions in the Middle East in support of the state of Israel and against the forces in solidarity with the Palestinian people, in the Red Sea, in Lebanon, etc.;

demand the severing of diplomatic, commercial and military relations with Israel;

demand that Zionist rulers be tried for war crimes and genocide.

At the same time, in the demonstrations of solidarity with the people of Palestine and condemning the Zionist genocide, we call that there should also be a denunciation of the action carried out in India by the fascist Hindutva state of Modi, great supporter of Netanyahu's government, backed by US imperialism, against the indigenous, tribal peoples in that country. A genocidal campaign, called 'Operation Kagaar', in the midst of which massacres and forced deportations are perpetrated, civilians and leaders of tribal peoples, social activists and revolutionary leaders are murdered; just as journalists and human rights defenders who oppose are persecuted. An operation that aims to suffocate the liberation struggle of the Indian masses, the anti-imperialist people's war of the masses.

The workers and peoples of the world must support the resistance and the war of national liberation of the Palestinian people, within the struggle for the definitive liberation of the peoples from capitalist, imperialist exploitation and oppression, which will be possible with the triumph of the revolutions in every country and the advance of the world proletarian revolution, to unroot every form of oppression and exploitation from the face of the earth.

**Proletarians and peoples of the world, let's unite against imperialism!**

**Long live the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people!**

**Free Palestine!**

International Committee Support People's War India

Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan

Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)

Communist Party of Turkey - Marxist Leninist (TKP-ML)\*

Communist Worker Union (mlm) Colombia

Construction Committee of the Maoist Communist Party of Galicia

Maoist Communist Party – Italy

Proletarian Party Of Purbo Bangla(PBSP)/Bangladesh\*

Red Road of Iran (Maoist group)

Revolutionary Study Group (USA)

Revolutionary Communist Party of Uruguay

Chinese Proletarian Alliance Communist Party\*

Partito marxista-leninista italiano

Russian Maoist Party

Reagrupacion Proletaria de Perù

Maoist Communist Committee – Brazil.

# Honour and Glory

## On demise of Saibaba

**COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) Central Committee**

12 October, 2024



**Let us give revolutionary salute to leader of the people's movement, poet, intellectual, writer and lecturer of Delhi University Prof. Dr. G.N. Saibaba.**

Revolutionary people's movement leader, social activist, well-wisher of indigenous people, and professor of Delhi University Dr. Gokarkonda Naga Saibaba was kidnapped, booked in several foisted cases, incarcerated for 10 years in inhuman conditions in 'Anda' cell of the Indian prison by the brahmanic hindutva fascist regime. The wild beast in the human form- the officers of the Indian

prison houses- were ordered by the hindutva fascist state to not provide required facilities and health services given to physically-handicapped people as per the international provisions and Indian jail manuals. Due to incarceration in Anda cell for long duration, Dr. Saibaba got affected with several serious health complications.

After his release as innocent, Saibaba took his last breath on 12 October, 2024. The brahmanic hindutva fascist state, repressive laws under which Saibaba was charged, and the judiciary that sentenced Saibaba to life-imprisonment are solely responsible for the untimely demise of Dr. Saibaba.

The death of Saibaba is not simply a death. In fact it is an well-organized brutal murder of Saibaba by the brahmanic hindutva fascist state. He was 57 years old. His selfless services to India's oppressed people and oppressed social communities, his work for democratic movements, his firm belief in the goal of fundamental change of society, and his consciousness for sacrifice shown during his inhuman incarceration 10 years period, the central committee of CPI (Maoist), while upholding all these efforts and contributions of Dr. GN Saibaba bow its head and pays revolutionary homage to him.

It expresses its solidarity to his wife Com. Vasanta, daughter Com. Manjeera, friends in the country and across the world, professors of universities, students, staff, and the lawyers who worked day and night for his release, and all organizations that carried out mass campaigns for his release. It gives call to all those people who stood with Saibaba to work for what Saibaba stood for till his last breath.

Professor GN Saibaba was born in the erstwhile East Godavari District, Amalapuram village of Andhra Pradesh in a poor peasant family in oppressed community. Being affected with polio, he was 90 per cent physically-handicapped at the age of 5. He always used to crawl on ground or used to be on wheelchair. He topped in his graduation in Konaseema Banoji Ramsar (SKBR) college. Afterwards, he completed his MA in English from University of Hyderabad. After that he did his Ph. D in 'Indian writing in English and Nation making: Reading the Discipline'. Before his arrest, Saibaba worked as lecturer of English for long-time at Ramlal college at Delhi University.

The ruling classes of our country started implementing intensively in 90's imperialist policies of liberalization-globalization-privatization. Immediately, All India People's Revolutionary Resistance Forum (AIPRF) was formed by several democratic and revolutionary organizations to oppose and build movements against imperialist-MNCs, comprador bourgeois and feudal landlords. Working with the leadership of this organization, working with several progressive and democratic intellectuals, with their support and participation, Comrade Saibaba worked right from the first day of the organization for more than one decade. He gave valuable contributions to bring out the organization's magazine by being part of its editorial board, releasing press-statements and interviews. Dr Saibaba played a key role in organizing international seminar on Nationality Question at Delhi in 1996 under the banner of

AIPRF. For the demand of the Telangana state, the people of that region launched second-phase of the movement in which the demand for a democratic Telangana was raised and 'Warangal Declaration' was released. Saibaba was one of the speakers in the meeting. In 2004 in Mumbai in direct opposite to World Social Forum (WSF), with more than 310 progressive, democratic and revolutionary political organizations leadership Saibaba worked to successfully organize 'Mumbai Resistance 2004' and afterwards, in the formation of People's Democratic Forum of India (PDFI) with several mass organizations, Saibaba played a prominent role. He was a representative of AIPRF in 'International League of People's Struggles' (ILPS). First AIPRF and then in the leadership of Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF), several workshops, seminars and meetings were organized on hindutva fascism, Nationality Question, State-violence, dalit and workers' problems and afterwards in the formation of 'Anti-Displacement and people's development movement' (VVJVA), Saibaba played a gargantuan role. For these programs and organizations, he wrote many articles and statements.

In the formation of RDF and later on giving leadership to it for a decade, Saibaba's contributions are immense. In the movements organized by RDF across the country, seminars and several meetings, Saibaba's role was crucial. The Indian ruling classes deployed central armed police forces and several state armed forces and launched severe repression on the people's movement and the masses. In this background, several anti-revolutionary white-terror campaigns were launched for example, 'Salwajudum' in Dandakaryana, 'Sendra' in Jharkhand, 'Harmad Vaahini' in West Bengal and 'Peace March' in Odisha. Then Comrade Saibaba along with democratic, progressive organizations, intellectuals, students and with their support raised voice against it and launched movements in the country and in many other parts of the world. When the Indian state launched operation "Green Hunt" in 2009 with ill-conceived thought to eliminate the democratic revolutionary movement from the country then Saibaba was one of the voices against it. At the same time, he was one amongst many who stood in the support of Lalgarh people's resistance and played a crucial role in building movements in support of it.

He gave his valuable contributions to the movements across the country in 1990 and 2000. As RDF was the center of several movements across the country, the Andhra Pradesh government banned it in Aug, 2012. Whereas along with several state governments, the central government banned RDF all over the country.

Following the order of the central government of the Indian state, the National Investigating Agency (NIA) in May 2014, booked fabricated charges under draconian Maharashtra State laws, UAPA and several other repressive provisions of the Indian law on Prof Saibaba, two democratic organizations leaders from Delhi, and three adivasi people from Gadchilori and Bastar for having links with CPI (Maoist). By denying bails on number of occasions, the Indian state planned to kill 90 percent physically-handicapped Saibaba inside the jail. Due to hard labour by his lawyers, and movements build for his release by several democratic organizations, students, intellectuals, writers and his deteriorating health, he was granted bail in June 2015 by the Mumbai High Court. But in December 2015, he was again sent to jail. 90 per cent physically-challenged Saibaba who was confined to wheelchair was perceived as a threat to the India's security by the Judiciary. Again, he came out in April 2016 when the Supreme Court granted bail to him. In spite of not having proper evidences, in May 2017, Gadchilori district court held Saibaba and 6 others as guilty under UAPA. One was sentenced to 10 years rigorous imprisonment and rest of them were sentenced to life-imprisonment.

Among them, one of the adivasi person Com. Pandu Naroti lost his life because he failed to get proper medical treatment for Swine flu.

For the release of Prof. Saibaba and other co-accused, the central committee of CPI (Maoist) gave a call for a country-wide strike on 29 March, 2017. On 30 April 2020, the United Nations OHCHR related one special panel appealed Indian state to immediate release of Saibaba on the ground of his deteriorating health conditions. But the Mumbai High Court rejected the petition for bail on medical grounds for 45 days on 28 July 2020. When his 74 years old mother passed away due to cancer, Saibaba was not even granted permission to participate in her funeral. He began indefinite hunger-strike for the removal of CCTV camera installed in his toilet. He took his strike back on 22 October, 2020 when the CCTV camera were removed from his toilet. On 14 October, 2022 the Mumbai High Court declared Saibaba and other 5 persons as innocents as there were no evidences against them and gave order for their release. It also turned down the Gadchilori district court judgement of life-imprisonment. But the Supreme Court gave stay order on the decision of the Mumbai High Court on the appeal of Maharashtra state. It ordered the Mumbai High Court to re-think its judgement. At last, the false evidences couldn't stand and the Mumbai High Court released Saibaba and other 5 persons on 7 March 2024. Along with him other persons were released as innocents from jail after spending 10 years of rigorous imprisonment.

## ***Joint Declaration***

After coming out from jail he gave several interviews to media channels and journalists, where he stated how jails destroys human values. He also stated that the Constitution of India is not valued in the jails of India, atrocities are more in jails than in the outside world, caste discriminations are rampant, even in the jail manual it is written that work should be given in jail according to the castes of the prisoners, to protest against all these injustices in jails apart from hunger-strike there is no other way. He also stated it is vital to give support from the outside to the struggling people in the jails. He pointed out that the underworld dons and most of the bourgeoisie political leaders who come to jail get bails and are quickly released, whereas the leaders of the democratic movement find extremely difficult to get even bails. He said that in Maharashtra jail he was affected from Paralysis that severely affected his lungs, not only this, he was struggling from 21 types of new health ailments. He stated that raising voice against operation green hunt and repression on the indigenous people along with democratic organizations were the reasons for which he was kidnapped from Delhi, brought to Gadchilori court and sent to jail in a fabricated case. He also brought to notice that he was even booked in the Bhima Koeregaon case when he was inside the jail. His anger is justified when he pointed out that in jails the inmates are physically and mentally tortured. He narrated how he was pushed in the Anda cell where a normal human being cannot live. He was even denied to see her mother's dead body on her funerals. To the media he pointed out that in spite of whatever circumstances, he will continue to work for the oppressed people as human rights activist and as a teacher.

In Telangana press meet, while expressing his gratitude he stated that, it was the land of Telangana that developed him as a human being, from the people's movement in Telangana he was taught and became aware, He stated that it was from here (Telangana) he got encouragement to fight against operation green hunt. He further stated that all those who struggled day and night for his release in the country and abroad was inspiration for him that made him to fight against the Indian state inside the jail.

When police arrested him on 14 May 2014, supporters of hindutva fascist in the University suspended him from his job and in April 2021 he was removed from his job. When he was released from jail as innocent, several professors raised the demand to reinstate Saibaba to his former job.

Comrade Saibaba's movements life is ideal. He was a good friend to his colleagues and a teacher to his students. His entire behavior in the movements was full of spirit and courageous. In spite of suffering from 90 per cent physically-disability, it could not become hurdle for him in his private life and in the people's movements. He wrote several writings by getting inspired from great poets Gurujada Apparao, Sri Sri and the Kenyan poet Ngugi Wa Thiong'o.

His first Telugu writing was published in 'Srujana' magazine. His jail poems that pins hope for a better future was published in a book form.

The untimely demise of Comrade Saibaba is a great loss for the oppressed people, oppressed social communities, people of distinct nationality, democratic movements in the country and abroad. He laboriously worked for the revolutionary democratic people's movement from 1990s. Apart from his family members, his friends, students, and organizations gave full support to him. His power to face severe repression was derived from his struggle for the oppressed people. The work that he has done for the oppressed people and for the qualitative change in society by putting all his mental and physical potential will always remain an ideal for democratic, progressive, and revolutionary forces. He was a true leader of genuine democracy, dalit and oppressed people, freedom and social justice.

At a time when the brahmanic hindutva fascist regime has unleashed "operation kagar" on the people's movement, especially in the central and eastern India with the aim to eliminate the Maoist party that is giving leadership to those movements the sudden demise of Comrade Saibaba is a great loss for the people's movement. But the courage shown by him will always encourage the democratic movements for the rights of the oppressed people.

The Central Committee of CPI (Maoist) appeals to all democratic, progressive, secular, patriotic, revolutionary forces and organizations to get inspire from Comrade Saibaba and intensify and spread the democratic movements across the country.

Abhay,  
Spokesperson,  
Central Committee,  
CPI (Maoist)



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