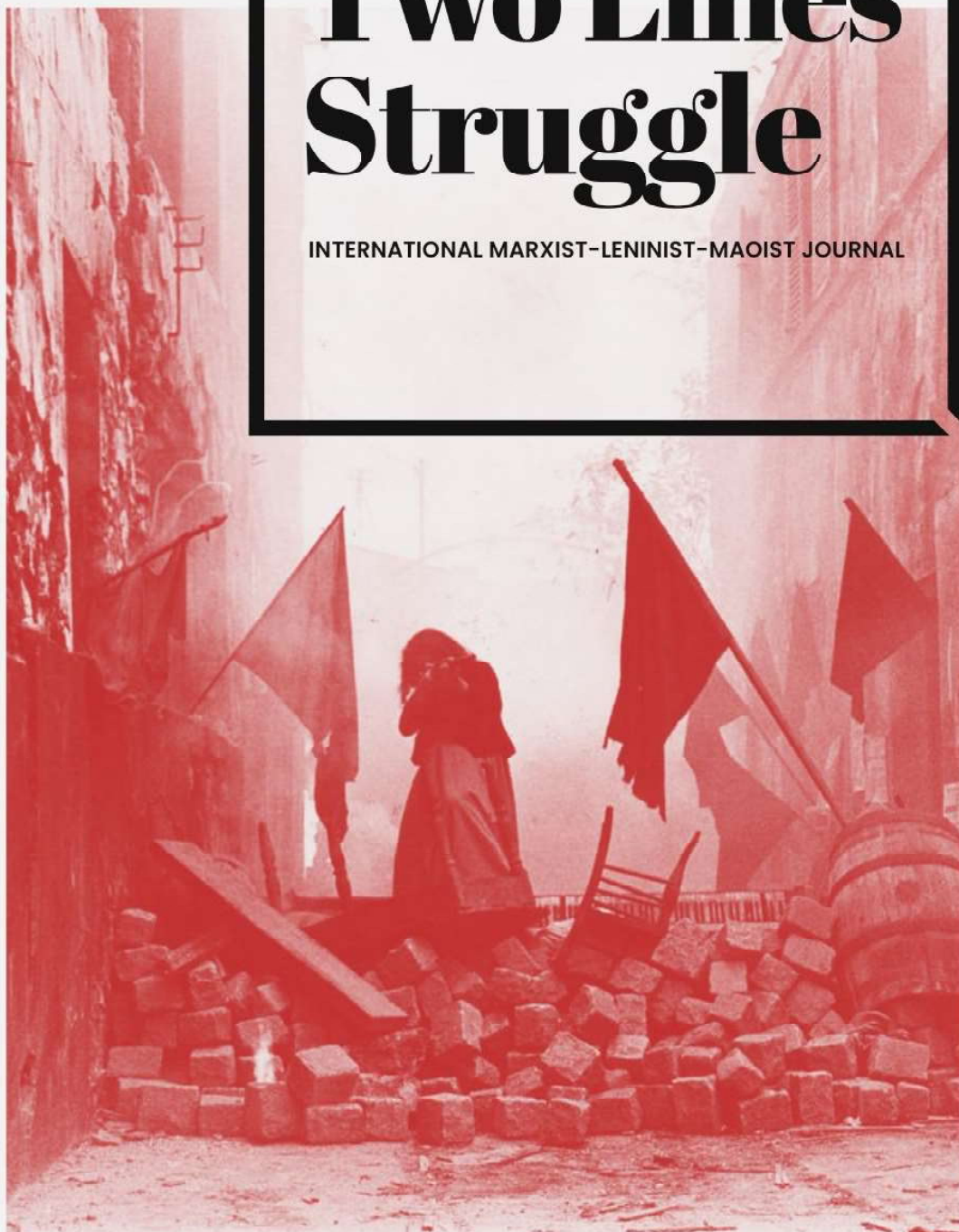


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Two Lines Struggle

INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST-MAOIST JOURNAL

02



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Editorial

Comrades, when we started this journal it was clear to us that it was a necessary step, for two reasons:

On the one hand, to develop the two-line struggle, the frank debate, the joint analysis and assessment of the burning current world situation, as it occurs in different forms and at different stages in each country; on the other hand, to achieve the cooperation, the unity of action of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communists of the world in the possible and necessary organized form today, based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, convinced that there is not yet a common General Line in the International Communist Movement and we should develop and implement it with ideological, theoretical and practical hard work, helping each other, relying on the ongoing people's wars and on the intense, tenacious work of all the forces existing in the world, big and small, which claim to be Marxist-Leninist-Maoist and want to apply that to the concrete situation of their country and of the world.

In waging the two-lines struggle, one has to fight the main enemy, revisionism, which penetrated in and led to the collapse the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, despite the great merits it had accumulated during its life, in theory -the Declaration "Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism" which today marks 30 years- as in practice -the contribution to the development of the people's wars in Peru, Nepal, India, the call to build communist Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties all over the world, to unite them after the defeat of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the death of Mao Tse tung which brought e deep crisis.

However, in doing this difficult and protracted work, with still modest and inadequate forces, in each country as on a world scale, excepted where we rely on ongoing people's wars and a significant militant force, we cannot accept to fall "from bad to worse", i.e. that the urging and necessary desire for unity, for MLM ideological solidity, for action that allows parties, organizations, comrades and masses to advance, be ousted by a sectarian line based on replacing the Marxism-Leninism- Maoism with a "-principally Maoism" that breaks the unity of our theory, weakens and disarms it, constructs self-referential extremist/propagandist organizations, tinged with the influence of petty-bourgeois revolutionism, addicted to a triumphalism that takes for granted the tasks which the communists still have to fulfil today, in the fire of class struggle, in close liaison with the masses.

Consequently, in our opinion, the foundation of the International Communist League and its proposed ideological platform and practice are not the solution, but a new problem that MLM communists throughout the world deal with and must solve.

This journal serves this two-line struggle and serves the building a platform for a genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoist International Conference; while impactful joint declarations, bilateral and multilateral meetings, campaigns of support, above all for the people's war in India and all the people's wars in progress, campaigns for political prisoners, campaigns against the imperialist war, allow us to advance in unity as possible and verifiable by masses in struggle and help to determine the conditions for the "great leap", a second step, after the Rim, for a new beginning.

Notes

I

In N.1 of *Two Lines Struggle*, there was room for various discussion documents on issues raised in the *Proposal about the balance of the International Communist Movement and its current General Political Line*, explaining the arguments provided by various parties and organizations which criticized misconceptions of the Proposal.

Criticisms accompanied by the call to take into account not only that the global sharpening of the class struggle imposes the need for the international unity of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, but also that it is now possible to struggle for a truly unified International Conference, based on unity that objectively exists between the parties and organizations that have demarcated fields with the old and new revisionism, whose breadth goes beyond the limited identity expressed in the aforementioned Proposal.

However, the comrades who promoted and upheld the *Proposal* organized and carried out their own International Conference, whose Political Declaration announced the foundation of a new organization, the International Communist League.

Objectively, this represents the abandoning the purposes that had been repeatedly declared, in the spirit of organizing a unified International Conference of Maoist Marxist-Leninists, for the sake of immediate organizational advantage.

Convinced and consistent with the need and the possibility of organizing a truly unified International Conference, from which at least the important MLM Parties that today are leading people's wars in India and the Philippines, outposts of the World Proletarian Revolution, cannot be absent, in *Two Lines Struggle* we persist calling all the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, including the International Communist League, to join efforts to give responses to the need imposed by the objective movement.

Although this implies fostering contacts and meetings, as well as agreements to act according to political common problems of the class, such as the preparations for the imperialist world war, it is still fundamental the ideological and theoretical struggle to resolve the existing differences, and for this purpose this second edition of *Two Lines Struggle*, continue publishing theoretical documents on the *Proposal* and giving room to the *Political Declaration* of the International Communist League, along with the criticisms published by other parties and organizations.

II

Since the very beginning our journal, its reason of being is to contribute to the inevitable two-line struggle within the international communist movement (ICM). This inevitable two-line fight in the ICM must be carried out from unity but it must be carried out frankly, presenting the theses defended by each party and not letting to be distracted by formal issues are not based on a clear thesis.

The MCI as a whole, as well as the different parties and organizations, have to face a moment of great transformation in many different fields.

We would highlight some points.

First: how do we use the debate to advance in revolutionary theory? Our answer includes to clearly present the different theses, always understanding the practice with the upholding one thesis or other results in. It is necessary to consider the proof of the practice, the experiencing, of social practice, as a method to solve certain discussions.

Second: to have clear, based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, that collective criticism and self-criticism is necessary to be able to rectify, to learn from mistakes, to master the science of the revolutionary proletariat, to go, from defeat to defeat, towards final victory.

Third: At the level of the political line, we should emphasize the importance of class consciousness for the formation of the party, for revolution and to form genuine political cadres.

Fourth: to make clear in which countries feudal social relations continue to be maintained and therefore a New Democratic revolution is still the need and what is universal and particular in the revolutionary experiences in Peru, India, the Philippines, etc.

For our part, we have say that we do not feel that from this pages we can answer all the questions raised, but rather, that we uphold that only the ICM united with its internal struggle, with the advance of the revolution in the different countries of the world, will allow us to give answers to these and other questions.



UOC

Why did the Communist Workers' Union (MLM) not Participate in the Maoist International Conference Organized by CCIMU?

In the virtual newspaper *Communist International* the holding of the International Maoist Conference organized by the Coordinating Committee for the Unified Maoist International Conference (CCIMU) has been announced as «historic news», and in the *Declaration*¹ -issued from that event- it is reported that an international organization has been created which will be called the «International Communist League». Some comrades wonder why the Communist Workers Union (mlm) of Colombia does not appear among the organizations and parties signatories of that *Declaration*. We expose here why we decided not to participate in that Conference, which far from being «Unified» as announced, represents the positions of a particular hue within the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists.

Since its foundation in August 1998, on principle the Communist Workers Union (mlm) has fought for the international unity of the revolutionary communists, today the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists. From the time when the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) existed, the Union, without having been able to be a member of that organization, recognized it as an international center, abiding by its orientation without renouncing the struggle around the divergences of principle; it was among the first to denounce the betrayal of the revolutionary process in Nepal and the complicit silence of the RIM leadership; in the *Program for the Revolution in Colombia*, in the theoretical magazine *Negación de la Negación* in whose number 5 was published the *Proposal for the Formulation of a General Line for the Unity of the International Communist Movement*, in the International Declarations, there has always been room for the commitment to the principle of fighting for the international unity of the communists, with the aim of contributing to overcome the organizational dispersion of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organizations and parties after the debacle of RIM.

Under this internationalist spirit, the VIII Assembly of the Communist Workers Union (mlm) held in October 2009, issued a *Call to the communists of all countries to prepare an International Conference*;

position ratified in December 2019 in the article of the digital Portal *Revolucion Obrera*, entitled *For a Unified or Joint International Conference of the Marxist Leninist Maoists! Forward!*², and in the Declarations of two international meetings held in Italy, always reaffirming the call to organize a joint Conference of all the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organizations and parties and not only of a particular hue.

It was in January 2022 when some comrades who had formed a *Coordinating Committee for the Unified Maoist International Conference* (CCIMU), published in the virtual newspaper *Communist International* a proposal entitled *For a Unified Maoist International Conference! Proposal about the balance of the International Communist Movement and its current General Political Line* ³, also known as *Bases of Discussion*, a proposal to which was answered with a *Pronouncement* ⁴ where the erroneous positions are criticized and it is shown that this document mainly represents the positions and particular interests of a hue and cry within the Maoist Marxist-Leninists. Consequently, the Union made public a proposal for a *Platform of Unity* ⁵ that would really express the basis of unity existing within the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists and not of a single hue.

In the virtual newspaper *Communist International* several texts appeared furiously attacking the *Pronouncement* and defending to the hilt the proposal of *Bases of Discussion*, despite the fact that other comrades like the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist), the Construction Committee of the Maoist Communist Party of Galicia and the Maoist Communist Party of Italy, had also pronounced themselves critically, without receiving any response from the defenders of the *Bases of Discussion*.

In the month of August 2022 a formal invitation was received from the Coordinating Committee for the Unified Maoist International Conference to participate in the Conference, to which at the time it was responded that the decision was going to be consulted to all the militancy in the maximum democratic event that at that time was going to be held: the XIV Assembly. There,

For a Unified MLM International Conference

the organization ratified its commitment to the preparation and realization of an International Conference of the Marxist Leninist Maoists that was truly *Unified* and not a Conference reduced to the positions of a nuance within the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists. At the same time, the decision was taken **not to participate** in the Conference organized by the CCIMU, because the document of *Bases of Discussion* that had been presented did not represent a common general basis that would allow the participation of all the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists who had already demarcated camps with the main danger for the unity of the communists, the avakianist and prachandist neo-revisionism, but they correspond mainly to the positions of a certain nuance. The Communist Workers Union (mlm) considered that in this situation, there were no conditions for its participation in this Conference, if in addition to the hostile atmosphere, lacking in comradeship, plagued by sectarian methods and disqualifying practices, manifested in several organizations through their responses to the *Statement issued on the Basis of*

Discussion. The decision not to participate in the Conference organized by the CCIMU, was communicated to the comrades in the same month of August 2022.

The non-participation in this event, by the comrades of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the Communist Party of India (Maoist), the Construction Committee of the Maoist Communist Party of Galicia, the Maoist Communist Party of Italy, the Maoist Communist Party of Afghanistan, among other Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organizations and parties, is evidence that the Conference held was not «unified» as announced; for our part we renew to the comrades participating in that Conference and of the new organization International Communist League, the fraternal call to give primacy to the general needs of the world class struggle, which impose as a necessity the struggle for *unity in a truly unified* International Conference of all Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, a struggle to which the Union remains fully committed.

December 27, 2022



Comitê de
Construção do
Partido Comunista
maoista da Galiza

GALIZA: Communiqué on the UMIC and the ICL (CCCPMG)

The Galician Communist Movement (GCM), from its modest capacities, has been working for years to achieve the unity of the International Communist Movement (ICM), the unity of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists. A unity which allows, which facilitates, the inevitable two-line struggle. We have defended making the discussions on the general political line as public as possible. Since we consider that the conditions for a Unified Maoist Conference did not exist, we wanted to postpone the Conference until better conditions were obtained, but in practice, it was not possible to postpone the Conference. Given the impossibility of holding a truly united Conference, we decided not to take part in it. Of course, if history proves that the new international organisation, the ICL (International Communist League), becomes a driving force for the world interests of the proletariat, if the World Proletarian Revolution gets a new impulse thanks to the ICL, then we will make a self-criticism and a rectification. From our point

of view, launching a new international organisation with political authority without being able to hold a unified conference first, is a practice that leads to separating part of the ICM from the rest. It also leads to making the rest do the same and that the confrontation within the ICM becomes not a two-line struggle, but a sum of useless confrontations between various tendencies, as well as creating a dynamic that ‘forces’ each tendency to differentiate itself from the rest.

We must also take into account that there is a proposal from the Communist Party of India (Maoist) – CPI (Maoist) – to create a world Maoist ‘Forum’. The realisation of this Forum depends on many variables which are out of our control, but the CPI (Maoist) is the biggest communist party currently existing, and leads the biggest red army in the world in a people’s war. This makes it a reference for us.

In the document where the foundation of LCI is made public, it appears the thesis of the United States as the “sole world hegemonic imperialist superpower”. In our opinion, this thesis is confronted by the thesis of the formation of “imperialist blocs to prepare for war,” as a consequence of the decadence of the United States and the increase in the importance of the antagonism between the different imperialist powers at the present time. Moreover, the document mentions the thesis of ‘imperialist blocs’ as revisionism. We will not elaborate on this here, but we have to say that the ‘imperialist blocs preparing for war’ thesis (defended by us) gives importance to the political independence of the proletariat struggling against the bourgeoisie of the different countries, and this has practical implications for both the political line and our work which will be seen as time goes by.

In the *Political Declaration and the Principles of the International Communist League*, we can read:

“The current demarcation line between Marxism and revisionism consists in: 1) acknowledging or not acknowledging Maoism as the third, new and higher stage of Marxism and the necessity to combat revisionism and all opportunism; 2) acknowledging or not acknowledging the omnipotence of revolutionary violence in order to make revolution in each one’s own country; [...]”

We do not think that the demarcation of camps with revisionism can be reduced to five points. Questions like the way we want to build the party, the style of work with the masses, and so on, also demarcate fields with revisionism. Moreover, in order to have a

revolutionary theory that is ‘a guide for action’ we must clarify as much as possible. So the term “revolutionary violence” is not sufficiently clarifying for us. This is because we consider people’s war to be the military theory of the proletariat and therefore as universal. Maoism without the universality of the people’s war is the same as Marxism–Leninism–Mao Tse-tung Thought. We defend the universality of the people’s war, a thesis that was first and independently formulated by comrade Charu Majumdar and comrade Gonzalo. We hold that this is the main thesis of Marxism–Leninism–Maoism.

We also consider that this thesis should not only be known by the cadres of a communist detachment, but that it should be spread among the most advanced sectors of the working class.

Secondly, “revolutionary violence” does not facilitate the critique of the recurrent insurrectionist rhetoric of right-wing revisionism, nor the critique of left revisionism and its defense of a foquism practice of the armed vanguard.

The roots of insurrectionism can be found in the vision of revolution elaborated by the II International on the basis of the study of the historical experience of the bourgeois revolutions. The roots of foquism lie in individualism and in a romantic vision of the revolution.

We hope this communiqué will help to clarify the current reality of the ICM among the working class.

Red salutes!
Conscience in command!

19 de enero de 2023



Why the Communist Party maoist Italy did not Participate in the Maoist International Conference

The invitation letter contains a description of the current situation, and above all of the forces organized for the Conference, which in our opinion does not correspond to reality.

Our Party has been working for a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist International Conference for a long time. Our efforts started soon after the collapse of the RIM and during all these years we have spent a lot of energy to achieve this goal. At certain moments, we have not hesitated to sacrifice even the work in our country to advance toward the Conference. This has been the typical style of our Party since 1984.

At the time of the great development of the People's War in Peru, led by chairman Gonzalo, an ideological beacon for the international communist movement, we also stopped publishing our newspaper to publish the voice of the People's War in Peru. Later, we made big efforts to support People's War in Nepal. To support people's war in India we have been striving to widen the support and contributed to the unity of Maoists in India. We took up the task of forming a new international body to support people's war in India. In all these years, we have worked tirelessly on all 4 continents to affirm the need for an International Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Conference.

In Europe we struggled for the formation and construction of new communist parties, we forged ties with comrades who shared this idea, such as the unforgettable comrades Pierre and Martin. When the people's war in Peru went through a downturn and the "recodo", we supported the reconstruction process in Peru. We have always and tirelessly defended the people's war, the figure and work of chairman Gonzalo as leader of the people's war. **While the comrades who claimed to be the MPP, lay waste to it.** This happened in all the countries of Northern Europe, but also in Spain and, to a lesser extent, in other countries.

We have looked with great interest to how the CPB(RF) took its place in the struggle for the International Conference and for a long time were confident that we could advance together along the road towards this goal. But, after the 5th Meeting in Latin America, it was clear that it was no longer possible to move forward together. Because what we witnessed from that moment on was **the formation of a bloc**, which is and remains a problem, not the solution to the problem. Thus, the joint work of building the international conference was interrupted.

The problem is not only that we have different views from those of the bloc, but also that for us this bloc will never be able to unite the communists of the whole world. This bloc has raised the flag of people's war, but none of the parties leading a people's war are members of it, although one of them, the TKP/ML, attended the conference.

In addition, other developments and events occurred, **the most serious being the shameful attack on ICSPWI.**

For our party, this is an indelible dark chapter. Just as serious are the divergences that have emerged with the position of the bloc on the war in Ukraine and on the understanding of the communist parties in the imperialist countries.

At the same time, we cannot but to stigmatize the behavior of the leaders of the bloc, we mean the Brazilian comrades and their German cronies. They have brought lies, maneuvers and hypocrisy against us, and this weighs onto our assessment of the forces at this conference.

For all these reasons, we think this conference is not a step forward for unity.

It is very clear to us that this Conference is not the one we are working for, in the interest of the international communist movement, in the interest of supporting people's wars, nor do we think that such a Conference can give a contribution to the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Parties in the imperialist countries.

In any case, we will continue on our way with our work, in the interest of the international communist movement. We do think that an International Conference should be the place where the two-lines-struggle is developed and the level of unity heightened. It is right to fight to establish Maoism, **but "principally Maoism" is not Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and therefore it is not "Maoism".**

Our attitude towards the participating parties is quite clear. We think they are an important part of the international Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communist movement, we have always supported and will support every action and initiative of them as part of the class struggle in their respective countries. But their action in the class struggle, in the real movement, is one thing, their ideological and programmatic basis on which they convened the Conference is another thing, just as the organizational structure that the Conference will give birth is another thing.



UOC

“Leftism” and the Struggle for Communist Unity

With this title was published in December 2022 the theoretical magazine of the Communist Workers Union (mlm) *Negation of the Negation* number 6, also dedicated to the struggle for the international unity of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, as were the three previous issues, on this occasion in polemic against “leftism”.

In those days we knew that the Conference promoted by the CCIMU had been held and the declaration arising from that event was already known, and although our organization was invited, it was not possible for it to attend because, as was publicly stated, the proposal presented by the comrades of the CCIMU as Bases of Discussion did not correspond to the current situation of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists; that is to say, it did not represent the basis of existing common general unity, which would allow to continue the struggle around the divergences that for now are legitimate in the bosom of the revolutionary communists and did correspond to the positions of a certain hue, considered erroneous by our organization. The unwavering defense of the evident errors pointed out, the attacks and insults uttered by the followers of that “leftist” nuance only ratified our assessments.

The realization of the event promoted by the CCIMU and the Declaration that emerged from it in the name of the International Communist League, where statements criticized by us are suppressed, does not change the need to fight in depth against the erroneous conceptions defended by the comrades and therefore the content of number 6 of *Negation of the Negation* remains valid, as urgent as the struggle for the unity of the International Communist Movement in a new Communist International, only possible with the demarcation in the whole general line with opportunism in its different varieties.

This special issue was published in the portal *Revolucion Obrera* in *Spanish* and *English* in which you will find a refutation of the “leftist” ideas and attacks made by the comrades defending the proposal of bases for discussion presented by the CCIMU and which refer to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a new, third and higher stage of the development of Marxism; to the general laws of dialectics and in particular to the negation of negation; to some questions of the imperialist system and the world proletarian revolution; which constituted and continue to be important problems of

the debate; from them we present for the edition of the international magazine *Two Lines Struggle* extracts of the first two parts.

We assume the present discussion, with the conviction that such divergences have the character of contradictions within the people, for which we approach them, according to the method and purpose expressed in the Introduction of the *Negation of the Negation* No. 6:

«... fighting for the international unity of the communists with a sincere treatment of comrades, convinced that the current situation of the World Proletarian Revolution demands, not an International Conference to maintain and deepen the division among the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists shoring up their weakness and political impotence, but a UNIQUE MARXIST-LENINIST-MAOIST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE that will be a firm step forward in the construction of a New Communist International based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and that in the immediate future, will become a proletarian bulwark to face the great challenges of the imperialist world and the revolution...»

In this context, the development of the discussion itself corroborates the general judgment of our *Pronouncement*:

«...we consider that the proposal presented by the comrades of the Coordinating Committee for a Unified Maoist International Conference -CCIMU, does not correspond to the current situation of the Marxist Leninist Maoists; that is, it does not represent a common general basis of unity, to continue the struggle around the divergences that for now are legitimate within the revolutionary communists, since such a proposal only expresses the position of a particular shade of the communist movement».

In the method of discussion used by the comrade promoters and defenders of Bases of Discussion, we have been obliged, in the first place, to criticize subjectivism, for being a defect in the knowledge of the objective world, a defect protected by a dogmatic position that seeks truth in formulas not in facts; and secondly, to reject the attempt to falsify our positions, and to replace arguments with insults.

The insulting aggressiveness is not proper to the communist method of ideological struggle; it belongs to the opportunist method, both right-wing and very well

For a Unified MLM International Conference

known for being “gentle doves with the class enemies and fierce tigers with the communists”; and of course, a method very proper to “left” opportunism that pretends to resolve every contradiction as if it were with the antagonistic enemies without making the differentiation that Chairman Mao Tse-tung rightly taught: contradictions of different character or nature, are resolved with different methods.

By the way, of the second aspect, that of the incorrect method of the comrades, we had already known it in a large meeting in Brazil in 2016, to which we were formally invited, but before the presentation of our Proposal for the *Formulation of a General Line for the ICM*, the heads of the event incited the treatment of “death to revisionism! “(In parenthesis, if the position “Gonzalo Thought”, pretends to “kill” revisionism, it means that it has not assimilated the a-b-c of the teachings and practices of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution to combat it, and they make a concession to the Hoxhaist attack against the GPCR).

In spite of the grotesque and humiliating treatment received in Brazil -except for the workers comrades whose hospitality was exemplary and internationalist- we did not denounce it publicly, first, hoping for some reconsideration from the hosts, who years later spoke with comrades of another organization about a self-criticism, which we never received directly; and second, because in Colombia we are ideological and political heirs of the *Proletarian Line* of the old PCC (ML), which denounced and confronted an opportunist “leftist” line headed by the Central Committee (which later, would exculpate its sins of “leftism” in the arms of Hoxhaist opportunism and would exchange the guns for the tricks of the parliamentary tribune); opportunism which was fought without fear of death threats, as the extreme-”leftists” are accustomed to “kill” ideas. Parodying Engels’ words, we have the tough skin to withstand the stings of our own comrades in struggle; neither in Brazil 2016, nor now, we are intimidated by their grievances.

If at the end of 2020 we were surprised that some comrades of *Red Star* - Switzerland, supporters of the “Gonzalo thought”, denounced the *Red Flag Committee* of Germany, as social-imperialists and revisionists for the treatment they gave to their divergences, today we are no longer surprised that from that same Committee and their colleagues of the newspaper *Communist International*, they are plotting diatribes against the *Communist Workers Union (mlm)*, but above all, they treat the comrades of the *Communist Party (Maoist) Italy* as enemies, because of manifest divergences in the struggle and organization of a *Single Unified International Conference of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists*.

It is not surprising either that the comrades of the newspaper *Communist International*, echo and give

format to the provocative judgment that the comrades of *Proletarian Power* make to us: *the UOC tries to obscure the terms of the debate seeking to ignore and entering into contradiction with fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and they add their quota of poison: to which we add, they do not speak at all about their practice in Colombia, which would allow us to verify in practice the earthiness of what they maintain in the field of theory.* (Bolding ours).

What an unheard-of prosecution!, in an epoch of general crisis of the movement, of general political impotence of the revolutionary communists. We accept that our contribution during 24 years to the construction of the party in Colombia and to the struggle against the main danger to the unity of the ICM has been very modest. And who are the judges? The same of the “Gonzalo thought” line that since 1982, 40 years ago! set out to unleash the people’s war and surround the cities from the unpopulated countryside, but who ended up surrounding the other prophet, the one of the “new synthesis”. And who are the Colombian accusers? Comrades who think that the construction of the party in Colombia was just born with them, and their real contributions to the construction? Denigrating the work of the Union (some of them for more than two decades) and self-satisfied with the misfortunes of others.

In this presentation, we take verbatim some excerpts from the Epilogue published in the *Revista Negation of the Negation No. 6*

Communist Workers Union (mlm)
May 2023

Raise the Great Red Banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

Against the great split in the International Communist Movement - ICM - caused by Krushchovist revisionism, a great struggle led to the great regroupment of the world Marxist-Leninist movement around the Proposition on the General Line of the International Communist Movement, also known as the 25-Point Charter published on 14 June 1963. This formidable banner enriched the communist consciousness and revolutionary impetus, radiated and strengthened since 1949 by the triumph of the New Democratic Revolution in China. The World Proletarian Revolution, whose Era had been inaugurated in 1917 with the triumph of the Great October Revolution in Russia, reached a higher level of expansion, marked by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China (1966-1976), which as part of its internationalist work massively spread to all countries the works of the classical masters of the world proletariat, the theory of communism of Marx and

Engels, of Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung, understood as Stalin defined it: The theory is the experience of the workers' movement of all countries, taken in its general aspect¹.

As in many countries, also in Colombia in the 1960s, there was a great divide, division and struggle between the followers of the revisionism of the *Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU)* and the Marxist-Leninists aligned with the *Communist Party of China (CPC)* led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The Marxist-Leninist leaders of the *Restructuring* of the old communist party (revisionist) into the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L) in 1965 were advocates of and guided by the theories of *Maoism*, learned from the experience of the Chinese Revolution, and had the guidance and support of the CPC. Even in 1974, when the Party (M-L) split, one of the fractions adopted the name *Tendencia M-L-M*. It was common to turn to the selected works of Mao Tse-tung, for the study of Marxist-Leninists; it was not uncommon to call oneself *Maoist*, or to found *Maoist* organisations.

Years later, when the struggle against the crisis of the communist movement in Colombia began, triggered by the division of the Party, but above all, by the defeat in 1976 of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in China, the theoretical journal *Contradiction*, founded in 1989, in its work against confusion, lack of definition and theoretical ignorance, defended Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, but not yet with a deep understanding of the significance of the contributions of *Maoism* to the development of *Marxism-Leninism*.

That is why *Contradiction* magazine saluted, endorsed and adopted as its own the Declaration of 26 December 1993 on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, when the *Revolutionary Internationalist Movement -RIM-* announced: *with a deep sense of our responsibility, we declare before the international proletariat and the oppressed masses of the world that the ideology that guides us is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!*

This was the official and public communication of the result of nine years of discussion, analysis, study and research, in which the position of the *Communist Party of Peru -PCP-* led by Chairman Gonzalo played a transcendental role, as stated in the *Declaration*:

«During this same period the parties and organisations of our Movement and RIM as a whole have been engaged in revolutionary struggle against imperialism and reaction. Most important has been the advanced experience of the People's War led by the Communist Party of Peru which has succeeded in mobilising the masses by the millions, sweeping away the state in many parts of the country and establishing workers' and peasants' power in these areas. These advances, in theory and practice, have enabled us to

deepen further our understanding of proletarian ideology and on that basis to take a transcendental step, **the recognition of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the new, third and higher stage of Marxism**».
(Emphasis added).

That is why, since 1998 when the Communist Workers' Union (mlm) was founded, it has inherited the defence of the *Declaration Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!*, whose essential content permeates its Ideological Line, its Programme, its Statutes and the various courses of the National Cadres' School dedicated to teaching the fundamentals of Marxism. A declaration wielded as a weapon of combat against opportunism, especially in the theoretical struggle against Prachandist and Avakyanist neo-revisionism.

For this reason, we have taken for the title of this first aspect of the present discussion, the final call of the Declaration of 1993: **Raise the Great Red Flag of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**, because it is its content which, as other parties have done, we claim and defend in struggle against the erroneous mainly Maoist attachment, which reduces and in the end distorts the central content of the Declaration of 1993. An erroneous addendum proposed in the *Bases of Discussion*, supported by comrades who have intervened in this discussion, more exactly *In Defense of Maoism*, as they have literally titled their writings against our position.

(...)

In spite of having the advantage of the existence of a fundamental basis of unity of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist movement, in spite of the urgent political need to expressly and organisationally unite this movement, the CCIMU that proposes the *Bases for Discussion* chooses to sacrifice the struggle to unite what can be united against the common enemy, in order to impose as a general line its characteristic conceptions of the defending shade of "Gonzalo Thought", which instead of uniting the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist movement, divides it. This is the reason for the critical positions in our *Pronouncement* on the proposed *Bases for Discussion*.

In this respect the comrades of the *Communist Party of Colombia (Red Fraction)* in their reply to us state:

«The UOC comrades do not recognise several of the key developments of Maoism such as: contradiction as the only fundamental law of dialectics, bureaucratic capitalism, new democratic revolution as the necessary first stage of revolution in the oppressed nations and - although we do not develop it here - the conception of people's war and its being central to Maoism. These are matters of principle, they are an essential part of Maoism, which cannot be considered differences of nuance, but an ideological nucleus around which all communists must unite through the two-line struggle,

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through criticism and self-criticism within the International Communist Movement»².

Of course, the m-l-m movement is not divided over matters of detail, but as we have just expressed above, it is also a movement divided over some misunderstood questions of principle, over differences in the rationalisation of historical experience, over divergences in the appreciation of the present situation and the tasks of communists.... The present debate is part of exposing erroneous ideas and theories, and striving for unity around the truth, around what is correct, not through conciliation, nor by trying to coexist with opportunist tendencies or lines as was imposed at the end of RIM's existence; but through criticism and self-criticism, persuasion, ideological struggle, and in the end, through the struggle of lines. This is the m-l-m method of dealing with the contradictions among the people, the divergences among communists. One reads in the comrades' reply, for example, that it is taken as a principle that "every oppressed country makes the revolution of new democracy necessary", which means that it is taken for granted that a country, because it is oppressed, is semi-feudal; here the theory of Marxism ceases to be a guide to action and is reduced to a dogma, and knowledge of objective reality to a formal philosophical statement. And yet, recognising that we have a great divergence on this question, our position is to unite on the fundamental basis of unity that exists as Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, which will enable us to treat this and all other divergences as contradictions within the people.

(...)

In *Defense of Maoism (I)* states: *Through the action of the PCP within RIM, RIM came to recognise Maoism as the new stage of Marxism in 1993. This is not exactly what was recognised in RIM, as can be read in the 1993 Declaration:*

«These advances, in theory and practice, have enabled us to further deepen our understanding of proletarian ideology and on that basis to take the momentous step of recognising Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the new, third and higher stage of Marxism».

«In the course of the Chinese revolution Mao had developed Marxism-Leninism in many important fields. But it was in the crucible of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that our ideology took a leap and the third great milestone, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, fully emerged. From the higher plane of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism the revolutionary communists will be able to understand even more deeply the teachings of the previous great leaders and even the early contributions of Mao Tsetung will acquire a deeper significance».

Why the interest of *Bases of Discussion* and its defenders in redefining - in a veiled way - the exact position of the *Declaration* of RIM in 1993? In assigning to RIM something that it did not conclude in

the *Declaration* expressly dedicated to the question of the third, new and higher stage of Marxism?

As quoted above, it is correctly stated in *Bases of Discussion: For more than 170 years, counted from the 1848 Manifesto of the Communist Party, the ideology of the proletariat insurrected (sic) and developed in the crucible of the class struggle in three stages: 1) Marxism, 2) Marxism-Leninism and 3) Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*. But here, after a full stop, it is no longer *Marxism-Leninism-Maoism* that is the third, new and higher stage, but: **Maoism is the all-powerful scientific ideology of the international proletariat, all-powerful because it is true; the third, new and higher stage of Marxism; the present-day Marxism that we uphold, defend and mainly apply.** (Bolding ours).

Is the all-powerful scientific ideology of the proletariat, the third, new and higher stage of the development of Marxism, reduced to Maoism alone? If so, the comrades should declare openly and frankly: the 1993 *Declaration* of RIM is wrong! It is not Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, but only Maoism, that is the third, new and higher stage of Marxism! And therefore, the scientific development of Marxism **is reduced** to Maoism!

Evidently, there is in *Bases for Discussion* eclecticism about the development of Marxism; on the one hand, they defend the correct theoretical understanding: *Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the new, third and higher stage of the development of Marxism*; but on the other hand, they claim that this stage of development is only *Maoism*; and then they integrate it into an equally eclectic formulation: *the third, new and higher stage of Marxism is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism*. And it is said by those who often claim to reject the revisionist thesis that "two become one".

A confused theoretical conception, which the Steering Committee of the *Communist Workers' Union (mlm)*, in its *Pronouncement*, criticised by pointing out in a few lines, firstly that it is a mistake, and secondly by indicating the purpose of such a stratagem:

«We start from the adoption of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a new, third and higher stage of Marxism, and we even admit the denomination Maoist for propaganda purposes, however, we consider the expression "**mainly Maoist**" erroneous as it corresponds to the pretension of making Maoism a "synthesis" of communism and reducing scientific socialism to the contributions of Mao Tse-tung».

A fraternal criticism, without appealing to falsify their position and without insults, but which provoked the fiercest responses, full of distortions and insults.

Does rejecting the erroneous attachment *mainly to Maoism* mean that we disregard the role and significance of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's contributions

to the development of the science of Marxism by elevating it to a third, new and higher stage? No! On the contrary, we appreciate and defend the valuable contributions of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist member parties of RIM, especially the PCP, in systematising the contributions of *Maoism* to the development of the three integral parts of Marxism, in its forging and creative application in the practice of the revolution in China, in the face of universal problems of the World Proletarian Revolution, in the unceasing struggle against opportunism, especially Chinese and international revisionism, contributions which the *Declaration* of '93 masterfully synthesised.

The eclectic conception of the problem is persistent in the documents of the comrades, who, motivated to defend and justify the erroneous formulation of the *Bases of Discussion*, sometimes end up making it worse.

«And how is our ideology going to unfold as a dialectical process? Through great leaps; three great qualitative leaps with Marx, Lenin, Chairman Mao Tsetung. But these three great qualitative leaps could not be understood without other great, medium and even small leaps.

They are three concatenated stages of development of Marxism which are expressed and written thus: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. They are three stages, one Marxism, two Leninism, three Maoism, that is what defines Marxism-Leninism-Maoism»³.

«Reasoning in absolutes leads nowhere. Where it says “principally”, they mean “only”. In doing so, they are unaware that, among the constituent parts of a phenomenon, some necessarily influence or determine more than others; that is to say, there are some that are principal and others that are secondary»⁴.

«And all this as part of something superior and principal: it synthesised and sanctioned Maoism as the third, new and superior stage of our proletarian ideology, giving us the all-powerful weapon indispensable for making revolution today: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, primarily Maoism»⁵.

«The word principal does not describe something unique or sufficient, it is an adjective that precisely presupposes the existence of others that are indispensable. Identifying principal as unique leads to problems of one-sidedness, to metaphysical thinking»⁶.

From these statements it is inferred: that the stages of the dialectical development of Marxism are no longer *Marxism*, *Marxism-Leninism*, *Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*, but Marxism, Leninism, Maoism; that *Marxism-Leninism-Maoism* is not the new, third and highest stage of the process, but “the three concatenated stages”, that is, the whole process; that of the “constituent parts” of this phenomenon, Maoism is the “principal” and “determinant” over Marxism and Leninism which are “secondary”; and that the UOC

(mlm), given its “one-sidedness”, “metaphysical thinking” and uneducatedness, is incapable of understanding the difference between “mainly” and “only”, is incapable of understanding the nonsense.

In the face of the comrades’ evident eclecticism towards the development of the scientific ideology of the proletariat, their understanding of the process and their loyalty to the 1993 Declaration is in doubt. Undoubtedly the comrades are very confused about the role, the contributions, the contributions, both of Leninism to the development of Marxism and its leap to Marxism-Leninism (second stage), and of Maoism to the development of Marxism-Leninism and its leap to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (third stage). The comrades prefer the delight of rambling on and on:

«Here, too, you are clearly denying the universal value of the development of Marxism-Leninism made by Chairman Mao Tsetung, by reducing it to mere contributions, for if they are mere “contributions...” you are denying the universal value of the development of the ideology of the proletariat made by the Chairman, you are denying Maoism as the third, new and higher stage of Marxism»⁷.

Stalin, who laid the foundations of the meaning of Leninism, with the authority he had as the master of the international proletariat, dared to speak of Lenin’s **contribution** (today he would have to dodge the anathemas of the defenders of “Gonzalo Thought”):

«To expound the foundations of Leninism is not yet to expound the foundations of Lenin’s world outlook. Lenin’s world outlook and the foundations of Leninism are not, by their volume, one and the same thing. Lenin is a Marxist, and the basis of his world outlook is, of course, Marxism. But it by no means follows from this that the exposition of Leninism must begin with the exposition of the foundations of Marxism. **To expound Leninism is to expound what is peculiar and what is new in Lenin’s works, what Lenin contributed to the general treasury of Marxism** and what is naturally associated with his name. It is only in this sense that I shall speak in my lectures of the foundations of Leninism»⁸. (Emphasis added).

«Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Or more precisely: Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular. Marx and Engels acted in the pre-revolutionary period (we mean the proletarian revolution) when there was not yet developed imperialism, in a period of preparation of the proletarians for the revolution, in the period when the proletarian revolution was not yet directly and practically inevitable. On the other hand, Lenin, a disciple of Marx and Engels, acted in the period of developed imperialism, in the period when the proletarian revolution is unfolding, when the proletarian revolution

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has already triumphed in a country, has destroyed bourgeois democracy and inaugurated the era of proletarian democracy, the era of the Soviets.

That is why Leninism is the further development of Marxism»⁹.

Stalin formulates precisely the Leninist development of Marxism, highlights and argues its fundamental questions: *the historical roots of Leninism or the question of imperialism, the method, the theory, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the peasant question, the national question, strategy and tactics, the party, the style of work, compiled in the Lectures published in the pamphlet Foundations of Leninism*, and which he develops in his later writings, mainly in struggle against Trotskyite opportunism. From the very beginning of his exposition, he stresses that Marxism is the world outlook of Leninism, he recognises the difference of these stages of the process, without diluting the continuity and coherence of the process, without reducing Marxism to “the secondary” of Leninism:

«The strength and vitality of Marxism-Leninism lie precisely in the fact that it takes as the basis for its practical action the demands of the development of the material life of society, without ever detaching itself from the real life of society»¹⁰.

«The strength and vitality of Marxism-Leninism lie in the fact that it is based on a vanguard theory which accurately reflects the demands of the development of the material life of society, and which places the theory at the level it deserves and considers it its duty to make full use of its power of mobilisation, organisation and transformation»¹¹.

Similarly, Mao Tse-tung, in all his works when he refers to the scientific ideology of the proletariat, does not say Leninism simply or mainly Leninism, but Marxism-Leninism as a science, a guide of thought, fundamental principles. For example, in his well-known article *Let Us Reform Our Study* - 1941, he exhorted:

«As regards the education of cadres at work or in schools for cadres, the policy of taking the study of the practical problems of the Chinese revolution as the centre and the fundamental principles of **Marxism-Leninism** as the guide will be established, and the method of studying **Marxism-Leninism** in a static way and without connection with life will be discarded». (Emphasis added)

And what can we say about the historic document of general demarcation from revisionism, *The 25-Point Charter or Proposition on the General Line of the International Communist Movement?* where from beginning to end the content and revolutionary character of the fundamental theses of **Marxism-Leninism** (not only of Leninism, nor of mainly Leninism) are defended, in struggle against the revisionist understanding that undermines its revolutionary edge and essence. For example, in point 24, on the question of the revolutionary

Party and its task of leading the revolution, he says:

«If it is not a party which is capable of thinking and judging for itself and acquiring an exact knowledge of the tendency of the different classes in its own country through serious research and study, and which knows how to apply the universal truth of **Marxism-Leninism** and integrate it with the concrete practice of its own country, but a party which blindly repeats the words of others, copies the experience of others without analysis, and takes turns following the baton of certain people from abroad, in other words, a party which is a mixed salad in which there is everything: revisionism, dogmatism and other things, except **Marxist-Leninist** principles». (Emphasis added).

In short, the great masters of the proletariat, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung, understood, recognised and proclaimed the *Leninist leap* in the development of Marxism, without falling into the absurdity of reducing this development to *Leninism*, and never referred to this second stage of development with the misleading formulation “Marxism-Leninism, mainly Leninism”.

The *Communist Workers' Union (mlm)*, assimilating the teaching of the masters, has defended and expressed this:

«Against social-chauvinist and Kautskyite opportunism, the Bolshevik Communist Party - under the leadership of the great teacher of the proletariat Lenin - rose up to lead the defence of Marxism and internationalism in the International Communist Movement. *Leninism* shattered the revisionist theories of Bernstein and Kautsky, imposed in the Second International; it gave ideological foundation to the triumph of the proletarian revolution in Russia, to the new world organisation of the proletariat, the Third International or Communist International; and it developed revolutionary Marxism in the conditions of the imperialist phase or new Era of the World Proletarian Revolution, raising it to a new and higher stage: *Marxist-Leninism*»¹².

It is claimed by our contradictors that not accepting their “mainly Maoism” means that the UOC (mlm) “denies the development of Marxism-Leninism made by Chairman Mao Tsetung in its three integral parts”. False! Here the comrades slip into one of the variants of the opportunist method in polemics: falsifying the opponent’s positions, as a poor means of defending their own and evading the central questions of the debate. As we have stated before, we have defended without hesitation, without conditions, without restrictions, the *Maoist* development of *Marxism-Leninism*, raising it to a new, third and higher stage, *Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*, as proclaimed by RIM in 1993, in a simple and masterly way, summarising in the scope allowed by a declaration, the developments of Maoism to the three integral parts of *Marxism*, making clear the relationship between *Maoism* and the third stage,

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, a relationship which the squire comrades of the CCIMU and their erroneous position in *Bases of Discussion*, have turned into a real muddle, in the attempt to impose *mainly Maoism* as the current ultra-development of the scientific ideology of the proletariat. Regarding this relationship, the 1993 *Declaration* says in some of its paragraphs:

«But Maoism is not only the sum total of Mao's great contributions. It is the comprehensive and all-embracing development of Marxism-Leninism to a new and higher stage. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is an integral whole; it is the ideology of the proletariat synthesised and developed to new stages, from Marxism to Marxism-Leninism to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, by Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin and Mao Tsetung, on the basis of the experience of the proletariat and humanity in the class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation. It is the invincible weapon that enables the proletariat to understand the world and transform it through revolution. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is a universally applicable, living and scientific ideology, constantly developing and further enriched through its application in making revolution as well as through the advancement of human knowledge in general. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the enemy of all forms of revisionism and dogmatism. It is all-powerful because it is true».

«Today, without Maoism there can be no Marxism-Leninism. In fact, to deny Maoism is to deny Marxism-Leninism itself.

Every major milestone in the development of the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat has met with fierce resistance and has only achieved recognition through intense struggle and through its application in revolutionary practice. Today the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement declares that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism must be the command and guide of the world revolution».

Note the great difference between the understanding of the problem by the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists in the 1993 *Declaration*, and that of the Maoists in the *Basis of Discussion*. Both recognise the role of *Maoism* in the leap to the new, third and higher stage. However, RIM concluded "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism must be the command and guide of the world revolution", while the Maoists of the "Gonzalo Thought" camp state: "We understand that the defence of Chairman Gonzalo implies fighting in the most consistent way to put Maoism as the only command and guide of the new great wave of the world proletarian revolution, which is already developing"¹³. Undoubtedly, they are just a nuance of the movement, and it is not by chance that the different variants defending "Gonzalo Thought" coincide in defending the erroneous adjective "mainly Maoism"; such is the case of a recent publication of the PCP (LOD), where in some of its paragraphs they state:

«That great stage of the world proletarian revolution gave us Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, which is still in full force»¹⁴.

«We uphold Maoism as the new, third and higher stage of the ideology of the proletariat, we strive for it to be the command and guide of the world revolution, we fight for the regrouping of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communist parties and we proclaim that making revolution is the task of the peoples of the world»¹⁵.

For our part, we stand firm in defending RIM's *Declaration Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!*, the essential content of which we reaffirmed in *Negation of Negation* Magazine No. 5 of 2016, referring to the Maoist defence of *Marxism-Leninism* and its great struggle against modern revisionist hrushchovist revisionism:

«Again, a great struggle against opportunism allowed the development of revolutionary Marxism to a new and higher stage: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The Maoist defence of the principles of Marxism Leninism, of the historical experience of the Proletarian Revolution, of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, of the construction of socialism and of the role of Stalin, adhered to the Leninist line on international experience: to take it critically and check it for themselves».

The correct position of RIM in its 1993 *Declaration*, regarding the development and leap of the science of the proletariat, to its new, third and higher stage, *Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*, is defended by different parties and organisations, since then and in the present debate with *Bases for Discussion*, as can be seen in the following brief paragraphs:

From the comrades of the *Communist Party of Turkey / Marxist-Leninist*:

«While Leninism is the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, Maoism is justifiably the development of proletarian revolutions and the unceasing continuation of revolutions under the dictatorship of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. After weighing Mao's contributions against the present level of Marxism, the most correct approach is to express it as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism»¹⁶.

From the comrades of the *Communist Party of India (Maoist)*:

«Since the focus of this document is Maoism, the basic principles of Marxism and Leninism are briefly discussed in this paper as an introduction to the Marxist-Leninist fundamentals. Comrade Mao Tse-Tung not only firmly based himself on these fundamentals but also defended and developed them to a qualitatively higher third and new stage. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) is therefore the continuity of the thought of our great Marxist masters and is also an integrated whole. Although in our view there is no difference between Marxism-Leninism-Maoist Thought and MLM - there is no Chinese Wall that can separate them - we have

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adopted Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the third and new qualitatively higher stage because it is more rigorous in scientific terms»¹⁷.

From the comrades of the *Communist Party of Afghanistan (Maoist)*:

«This claim that ratifying Maoism at the 1993 RIM enlarged meeting was merely formal is unfounded. The fact is that the 1993 RIM enlarged meeting was an unprecedented historic achievement in which Maoism was ratified by the vote of the vast majority of the representatives of the Maoist parties present, including the observer-participant representative of the PCP. Subsequent negative developments in RIM, including negative developments within the PCP (the seeds of which had existed in RIM members, including the PCP, earlier) cannot and should not be the reason to deny the above-mentioned leading role»¹⁸.

From the comrades of the *Communist Party of the Philippines*:

«China is now under the domination of the monopoly capitalists who seek to erase the memories of the socialist revolution. In the face of the CCP's attempt to revise history and distort Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the CPP considers it a crucial task for the revolutionary proletariat throughout the world to study the victories of the Chinese people in their national socialist and democratic revolutions, to draw lessons and apply them in the revolutionary struggle in the era of the revival of the socialist revolution.

Long live the victory of the Chinese people's revolution in 1949! Raise high the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism! Make the national democratic and socialist revolution throughout the world!»¹⁹.

From the critique of the comrades of the *Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist* on the document *Bases of Discussion*:

«MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM OR MAINLY MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM?

This debate, which took place almost simultaneously with the acceptance of Maoism as the third stage of Marxism-Leninism, is nothing new to us. In recent years, we have given answers as to which of these definitions is correct for us or why we should use one or the other. It is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that we consider correct and insist on using. We address the question in the context of the contributions made to the three main components of Marxist theory in the struggle for proletarian power, which has continued from the formation of Marxism as a theory of proletarian liberation to the present, and we name the question on the basis of this unbroken continuity. Although it seems a consistency in itself to place special emphasis on Mao in the sense that Marxism reached its peak with Mao's contributions since its emergence, on the other hand, we can refer to the fact that even Mao himself refers to it as Marxism-Leninism when describing Marxism.

Therefore, it is more correct for us to use the MLM definition, which expresses the continuity and that Mao took Marxism-Leninism further, rather than making a definition that would mean putting Mao in a different place from them»²⁰.

From the critique of the comrades of the *Maoist Communist Party - Italy* to the document *Bases of Discussion*:

«The revolutionary ideology on the basis of which to convene the International Conference is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism»²¹.

«Our party calls itself the Maoist Communist Party, but it does not share the use by the forces that wrote the document of the expression "mainly Maoism" which goes against the understanding that the ideology of the proletariat is organically an indivisible whole with respect to what is already universally acquired by the revolutionary practice of the proletariat: Are the Marxist analysis of capital, the historical and dialectical materialist method, the Marxist analysis of the state, etc., in their universal aspects no longer valid today (nor will they be valid until capitalism is defeated)? in their universal aspects are no longer valid today (nor will they be valid until capitalism is defeated)?

The same can be said of the universal contributions of Leninism and Maoism to Marxism, which today are represented only by the definition of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism»²².

«We think that a functional "basis of discussion" for the call should take the formulation "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism" and place it as a demarcation against revisionism»²³.

From the critique of the comrades of the *Construction Committee of the Maoist Communist Party of Galicia* of the document *Bases of Discussion*:

«Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. On "mainly Maoism".

From our perspective, the "Statement of Policy and Principles" for CIMU should be changed on several points. First of all because it is a constant in this document to follow the formula "mainly Maoism". This expression contains two important dangers that have led us to lose our way if we are not careful. The first danger is that we are carried away by the repeated forms of memory which are more characteristic of religion than of proletarian science. To learn a phrase by heart is not to understand, let alone internalise, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism»²⁴.

«The other reason for not using the formula "especially Maoism" is that it makes it difficult for us to understand that in every advance of proletarian science there is a continuity and a rupture at the same time»²⁵.

«Rupture and continuity is a constant in the history of Marxism, just as it is in the natural sciences of bourgeois academia, where this process of rupture and continuity also occurs. All this exposition leads us to understand why the term "Marxism-Leninism" and not

simply “Leninism”, or “Marxism-Leninism mainly Leninism” is the correct one”»²⁶.

«As we see Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the result of a succession of rupture and continuity with Marx, but the reality is that continuity is essential»²⁷.

It is evident that among the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organisations, there is a wide divergence over the erroneous adjective “mainly Maoism” to the new, third and higher stage of the development of revolutionary *Marxism, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism*. The comrades who have come to the defence of “mainly Maoism”, while trying to justify this erroneous adjective, insist on declaring that they do not intend to synthesise the development of Marxism into Maoism, although in their argumentation they repeatedly contradict this statement, as is demonstrated in this discussion

As far as the development of the science of the proletariat is concerned, central to our critique is the rejection of the position of *Bases of Discussion* to add “mainly Maoism”. This is an error, which goes against the historic declaration of RIM in 1993 “*Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!*”, an error that divides Marxist-Leninist-Maoists and shows that on this question, the proposal of *Bases for Discussion* is the position of the nuanced defender of “Gonzalo Thought” and does not represent the common basis of unity of recognising *Marxism-Leninism-Maoism* as the new, third and higher stage of the development of the scientific ideology of the proletariat. In the face of errors like this, and considering that the divergence is between Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communists, not with opportunists, we take up Lenin’s words, when in 1922, rejecting the treachery of the social-chauvinists, he referred to Rosa Luxemburg’s mistakes and that communists sometimes make mistakes too, evoking the lines of a fable: *just as eagles sometimes fly lower than hens, but hens can never soar as high as eagles!*

We therefore call on the comrades of the CCIMU and the defenders of the error pointed out, to recognise it self-critically and correct it by renouncing the addition “mainly Maoism”. Such must be their honest attitude in the struggle for the unity of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists!

In Defence of the Negation of Negation as One of the General Laws of Dialectics

(...) One of the points under discussion is the philosophical question, in particular the third law of dialectics: the negation of the negation. A polemic which is not new as we shall see later.

The CCIMU comrades begin by misrepresenting our position on dialectics, claiming that we deny the law of

contradiction and counterpose it with “our” (sic) law of the negation of negation:

«They are denying the law of contradiction. They are in their self-imposed mental prison: “triplism” counterposing their “negation of negation” to contradiction as the only fundamental law of the dialectic of the incessant transformation of eternal matter»²⁸.

And again they falsify our position by saying that we maintain that the law of the negation of the negation is the “fundamental law of dialectics”:

«[...] the development of Marxist philosophy by Chairman Mao on the law of contradiction must be made clear and the thesis of those who maintain the “law of negation of negation” as a fundamental law of dialectics comparable to contradiction must be countered with concrete examples of the synthesis according to Maoism»²⁹.

The accusations that we fall into “triplism” and move away from “philosophical monism” will be dealt with later. First, let us see where we really stand in relation to the laws of dialectics, “the laws” being understood as Engels defined them in the *Anti-Dühring*: “*Dialectics is nothing more than the science of the general laws of the movement and evolution of nature, human society and thought*”. In our *Pronouncement on the CCIMU Unity Basis Proposal*, we affirm that:

«[...] in the claim to reduce the general laws of motion to contradiction, interpreting its character of being the most fundamental law of dialectics, or the core or essence of dialectics, as meaning that it is the “only law of dialectics”»³⁰.

That is to say, we do not deny that the law of unity and the struggle of opposites is the fundamental law of dialectics, what we reject is the assertion - as the CCIMU does - that, because it is the fundamental law of dialectics, this means that it is the “only law”. We consider that apart from the law of contradiction there is the law of change of quantity and quality, and the law of negation of negation, but the comrades of the CCIMU wrongly understand that, because we affirm that the law of contradiction is not the only law, we are saying that it is not the fundamental law. At the heart of this polemic is the rejection of the law of negation of negation by the CCIMU and the “mainly Maoist” Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organisations and parties. This position is defended in the aforementioned document *Defence of Maoism*, but not before falling into several inconsistencies.

The CCIMU considers that to maintain the existence of three general laws of dialectics is to fall into “triplism” and affirms that “*with Chairman Mao we arrive at philosophical monism*”. This is how they describe this shift from “triplism” to “monism”³¹:

«Marx and Engels said three, one is the main one; Lenin, deepening the problem, developing it, said:

contradiction is the key; Chairman Mao went further, he said: “the only fundamental law is contradiction”»³².

Since Marx and Engels argued that there were three laws of dialectics, for the CCIMU, the first masters of communism must have been “triplists” in philosophy. In the case of Lenin and his contributions to dialectics, it is true that the Russian revolutionary deepened the study of dialectics and pointed out that the core of dialectics was the law of contradiction, but the CCIMU in wanting to argue for a move from “triplism” to “monism” fall into their first inconsistency. In one of the polemical documents we are told that:

«Lenin reaffirmed materialist monism and advanced monism in dialectics, leaving the task of deepening it to future generations of Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries»³³.

According to this, Lenin had already reaffirmed “monism” and left it to others to deepen it, but as we saw above, the CCIMU says that “with Chairman Mao one arrives at philosophical monism”; if it is with Mao that one arrives at philosophical “monism”, how is it that Lenin had been able to reaffirm “monism” in dialectics many years earlier? Moreover, in his *Philosophical Notebooks* - a text quoted by the CCIMU in this polemic - Lenin recognises, apart from the law of contradiction, the law of the negation of the negation, and not only that, but he shows several elements of dialectics:

(...)

5) **the thing (phenomenon, etc.) as the sum and UNITY OF CONTRARIES.**

6) **the STRUGGLE, regarding the unfolding of these opposites, contradictory tendencies, etc.**

(...)

9) not only the unity of opposites, but the TRANSITION of EACH determination, quality, trait, aspect, property, to EACH other.

(...)

13) **the repetition, at a higher stage, of certain features, properties, etc., of the lower, and**

14) **the apparent return to the old (negation of negation)**

15) the struggle of content with form, and vice versa. The rejection of form, the transformation of content.

16) **the transition from quantity to quality and vice versa.** (15 and 16 are examples of 9).³⁴ [Bold typeface is ours]»

Again, how could Lenin assert a dialectical “monism” if he recognised the law of the negation of the negation, and we have already seen that for the CCIMU only one who recognises only one law of dialectics is a philosophical “monist”? We point out the incoherence of the CCIMU, and at the same time we reject the stupidity of thinking that one falls into “triplism” by recognising that there are other laws apart from the law of contradiction.

Likewise, their inconsistency is reflected in referring

to the character of the other laws of dialectics, especially the law of the negation of the negation. These are sometimes referred to as “derivations” of the law of contradiction:

«[...] the guideline is dialectics and the only fundamental law of dialectics is contradiction and the others are derivations»³⁵.

By contrast, elsewhere they say that the law of negation of negation as such “does not exist”, hence they rather disdainfully point out that it is “our” law. To substantiate their position, the CCIMU comrades quote from a document attributed to Chairman Mao entitled *Talk on Philosophy*. This document is said to be notes recorded from a talk Mao held with some comrades of the Communist Party of China on 18 August 1964, in which the Chinese communist leader says:

«Engels spoke of the three categories, but for my part I do not believe in two of them. (The unity of opposites is the most basic law, the transformation of quality and quantity into each other is the unity of the opposites quality and quantity, and the negation of the negation does not exist at all)»³⁶.

Mao’s assertion that the negation of the negation does not exist, and that the law of quality and quantity is nothing but the expression of the unity of the opposites quality and quantity, is what the comrades of the CCIMU cling to in order to reject the other two laws of dialectics. Although these were the notes of a third party who was present at this alleged talk and this text is not included in his Selected Works which were published under Mao’s own supervision, we will not enter into doubts about the veracity of this document, but Mao’s assertion that the law of negation of negation does not exist contradicts Mao’s own work and thought. It is enough to have first-hand knowledge of his earlier writings and one can see several examples of how the law of negation of negation is evident in Mao’s thought.

This rejection of the law of negation of negation by some is not a recent phenomenon, but is of long standing within the labour movement. In the 1990s, comrade Aureliano S., in his reply to the criticisms of the law of negation by Avakian and other leaders of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA (to which we will return later), briefly outlined this course of rejection of the third law of dialectics and the defence of this law by revolutionary Marxism:

«It is not the first time that the negation of the negation has been attacked, nor the first time that dialectical materialism has been accused of being “metaphysical” for using this Hegelian “gibberish”. Already in his time Dühring, who claimed to find the “fundamental form of all actions in the existence of the world and its essence” in the “antagonistic universal schematism”, raged at the mere mention by Marx of the negation of the negation. The answer was given to him at length and in detail by

Engels in the Anti-Dühring. Similarly, Lenin took up the polemic on the negation of negation with Mikhailovsky in the work *Who are the Friends of the People... in 1894*»³⁷.

And at least since the 1970s and within the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) itself, this erroneous idea of rejecting the law of the negation of the negation, based on Mao's alleged words in the lecture on philosophy, has become widespread. The English Marxist philosopher Nick Knight refers to this polemic in the introduction to his book *Mao Zedong on Dialectical Materialism: Writings on Philosophy*, in which he states that Mao rejected the name "negation of negation", but did not reject its philosophical essence:

«[...] Mao's rejection of the "negation of negation" was a rejection of the title, rather than the substance of this philosophical category, which sought a nomenclature more in keeping with his predilection for perceiving a unity of opposites in all things and processes»³⁸.

In support of his argument, Knight cites several texts by Mao in which he proves that Mao refers to the negation of negation, for example, in his critique of Wen Hui Bao, Chairman Mao uses this law of dialectics to explain the changes in Chinese politics:

«The Journalists' Association called two meetings, the first a denial and the second a denial of the denial, and the fact that this has taken place in little more than a month indicates the rapidly changing situation in China»³⁹.

In his speech at the second session of the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China, Mao explains how the negation of negation manifests itself in the development of thought:

«Things will always go in the opposite direction. The dialectics of Greece, the metaphysics of the Middle Ages, the Restoration... It is the negation of the negation. It is also true in China. The hundred scholars who expressed themselves in the time of the States Warriors were dialectics. The classics of the feudal era were metaphysics. Now dialectics is promoted»⁴⁰.

Mao's shift to the law of negation, according to Knight, came later when Mao decided to replace the name "negation of negation" with "negation-affirmation", which is not a rejection of the philosophical essence of this law, but of the title it is given. Knight gives the reasons for this change of name to Mao's negation of negation:

«What we have here is merely a change of title, since the substance of the concept remains unchanged. The concept of "negation of the negation" assumes that the factor negating the negative (e.g. the negation of feudalism by capitalism) will initially constitute a positive factor, the affirmative. However, over time, its positive character will be transformed into its opposite, the affirmative will become the negative, as a new and historically progressive force emerges to challenge it.

This cycle, of negation, affirmation, negation, as described by Mao in August 1964, is no different in essence from that described earlier by himself and other Marxist philosophers, including Lenin and Engels, under the rubric of the "negation of negation". Mao's demonstrable predilection for linking and using oxymoronic categories (life and death, truth and falsehood, materialism and idealism, right and wrong, finite and infinite, advanced and backward, to name a few) suggests that he would not have been sympathetic to a formula that described a contradictory process and yet seemed to link like with like: negation of negation. By renaming the concept "affirmation and negation", Mao was able to leave the substance of the concept unchanged and, at the same time, to bring its title into line with the widespread idea that the unity of opposites exists in all things and processes»⁴¹.

This statement by Knight that Mao replaces the name "negation of negation" with "negation-affirmation" and that he does not reject the philosophical essence of the negation of negation, is confirmed by Mao himself when in 1958 in a resolution on the methods of work he mentions the three laws of dialectics and when he mentions the law of the negation of negation, he replaces it with the name "affirmation and negation":

«The laws of the unity of opposites, of quantitative to qualitative changes and of **affirmation and negation** will be universally and eternally maintained. [Boldface our own]»⁴².

Even in the same *Talk on Philosophy* - where Mao states that the law of negation of negation "does not exist" - in expounding the development of society, he shows how the negation of negation unfolds, its philosophical essence in history, this cycle of negation, affirmation and subsequent negation.:

«Slave society was the negation of primitive society, but with reference to feudal society it was, in turn, the affirmation. Feudal society constituted the negation in relation to slave society, but was at the same time the affirmation in reference to capitalist society. Capitalist society constituted the negation in relation to feudal society, but it is, in turn, the affirmation in relation to socialist society»⁴³.

But although the law of the negation of the negation is manifested in that same *Talk on Philosophy* - to which the comrades of the CCIMU cling like a burning nail - and in Mao's entire work, the "mainly Maoists" fail to notice its manifestation in the philosophical thought of the Chinese revolutionary. Again, this polemic is not new. In 1967, Comrade Nagalingam Shanmugathan, a leader of the Ceylon Communist Party who knew Chairman Mao personally, warned the communists that Mao did not deny the law of quantitative and qualitative change, nor the law of negation of negation:

«Comrade Mao Tse-tung has systematically studied the laws of Marxist-Leninist dialectics and developed

Lenin's thesis contained in his work *On the Question of Dialectics*. Comrade Mao Tse-tung does not deny the law of quantitative and qualitative change or the law of negation of negation. Engels had dealt with all these things in his *Anti-Duhring*. But what Comrade Mao Tse-tung does point out clearly is that, of these three laws, the most basic is that of the law of contradictions, the law of the unity of opposites»⁴⁴.

On the other hand, the CCIMU comrades resort to gibberish in order to justify their rejection of the law of negation of negation, but which, as is the case with each of their "arguments", ends up being once again incoherent. In one part of his above-quoted text from *Defence of Maoism*, we are told that Mao refers to the law of contradiction as the "fundamental" one and that this means that it is the only law; if Mao recognised that there are other laws apart from the law of contradiction, he would not have written "fundamental", but "principal":

«In "The Practice", in "The Contradiction" and in his "Talk", why did he say "only fundamental law", why did he put it like that? Because there is no other, and if there is no other, how can there be a principal one? Do you understand the reason? If there were several, it would be principal, but it is the only one; we could talk about principal if we are talking about derived laws, in that case, yes, but the essence of the problem is that it is the only fundamental law»⁴⁵.

As can be seen, for the CCIMU "fundamental" is synonymous with "unique" and is different from the term "principal". This same idea is repeated again in the third part of *Defence of Maoism*:

«Chairman Mao, on the only fundamental law of dialectics, does not say main but only, that is to say that there are no others»⁴⁶.

And as is usual with the CCIMU comrades, they end up contradicting themselves, since, in that same third part of *Defence of Maoism*, they affirm that Engels: "He made it clear that the **principal** of the three was the second, i.e. the law of contradiction" [*Boldface ours*]. They themselves cannot agree whether the law of contradiction is "principal" or "fundamental". Fundamental is not synonymous with "unicity" as the CCIMU comrades believe.

But the "mainly Maoists" go further, they not only try to confuse by this gibberish around the word "fundamental", they even believe that because Mao recommended paying attention to contradiction, he was calling for the study of the law of contradiction only and that it was therefore a sign that there is only one law of dialectics: «[...] *dialectics is the study of contradiction, of the law of contradiction and not of any other law of dialectics*»⁴⁷.

As mentioned above, the rejection of the law of the negation of the negation is of old origin, and also

manifested itself within the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), where its main promoters were the chiefs of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, headed by Bob Avakian. It is not a brand new idea of the comrades of the CCIMU, it is the same old metaphysical wine now presented in new packaging and called "mainly Maoism". However, the comrades of the CCIMU, out of ignorance or malicious intent, try to pass off our position in philosophy as the same as that of the revisionist Avakian:

«The revisionist Avakian, the revisionist leader of the RCP (USA), who is opposed to the definition of Maoism, questioned on which page Chairman Mao had written such and such a thing, and was told that the problem was not one of reading but of understanding, of comprehending the whole of Chairman Mao's theoretical and practical work.

[...] The comrades of the UOC, like Avakian, pretend to be masters of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in dialectics, after they changed the name of their theoretical journal "Contradiction" to "Negation of Negation", of course because they consider this a law of dialectics comparable to the law of contradiction, wanting to give lessons on the subject»⁴⁸.

Besides, they dare to lie about the history of the Communist Workers' Union (mlm), because the journal *Contradiction* was not a journal of the organisation as they claim, but a theoretical journal that preceded it. The CCIMU says that Avakian opposed the law of contradiction as the only law of dialectics and therefore defended the law of negation of negation, for that reason, Avakian "questioned himself by asking on which page Chairman Mao had written such and such a thing", What is true in the history of the International Communist Movement is that Avakian and the leaders of the RCP-USA rejected the law of the negation of negation (as does the CCIMU) and asserted that the law of contradiction was the only law of dialectics. Lenny Wolff, one of the leaders of the RCP (USA), in the book he wrote in the early 1980s to train the new militancy in the basic concepts of "communism", goes against the third law of dialectics: «[...] the "negation of negation" - to put it frankly - does not exist. There are so many phenomena which in no way correspond to the "negation of the negation" that it can in no case be rightly called a general law»⁴⁹. Next, Wolff quotes an article by Avakian, in which the "chairman" of the RCP(USA) chastises Engels (and incidentally Marx) for having fallen into this Hegelian "determinism":

«This, to me, is a smell of predetermination and the notion of the immutable essence of things. Mao opposed this kind of thinking when he pointed out that heredity and mutation are a unity of opposites. Engels himself says several sentences later that it is not possible to "grow good barley" without knowing how to do it -

which is true, but who says that growing barley is the “characteristic” of barley and the proper way of negating it, and that grinding it is not? (Apparently) man and nature have hitherto done more of the former than the latter with the barley grain, but is this something that cannot be changed? Or could the barley grain not be changed in another way? Finally, when Engels insists: “The first negation must therefore be of such a nature as to make the second possible... This will depend on the special character of each concrete case”, he includes a metaphysical element in his explanation of the dialectic. He adds “in grinding a grain of barley, in crushing an insect, I undoubtedly perform the first act, but I make the second impossible”. The second, as if there were an obligatory, necessary, “characteristic”, predetermined “second act”. Here we see how the concept of the “negation of the negation” enters into antagonism with the true fundamental law of dialectical materialism, the unity of opposites (contradiction)»⁵⁰.

Where else will we read other such objections against the negation of the negation? Ah, yes, these are the same objections of the CCIMU, who, after accusing us of being “metaphysical” and “lacking in understanding”, say that in defending the negation of negation we are introducing “*the need for a superior external force to guide the course of processes*” (“*notion of the immutable essence of things*”, Avakian would say):

«[...] the comrades of the UOC show their total lack of understanding of what they read, like the metaphysicians they are, they mix up the concepts in order to muddle the discussion and the clarification of the problem. They oppose their law of the “negation of the negation” to the only fundamental law of dialectics, saying that this supposed law indicates the direction or “indicates the direction of the movement”, this is apriorism [...] and introduce the necessity of a superior external force that orients the direction of the processes; this is teleologism or finalism, the same that leads to or hides fideism in philosophy»⁵¹.

Who, then, are those who shake hands with “the revisionist capitost of the RCP(USA)”? We insist, the rejection of the negation of the negation is not a new phenomenon, before the “mainly Maoists”, before Avakian, Eugene Dühring had spoken out furiously against this Hegelian “gibberish”, accusing Marx and Engels of thinking that this law of dialectics acted as a “midwife of history” (“*a superior external force*” says the CCIMU), to which Engels answered him:

«[...] In characterising the process as the negation of the negation, Marx does not at all think that this proves that the process is historically necessary. On the contrary: after having proved historically that the process has indeed been realised in part and that it must be realised in part, he characterises it in addition as a process which is realised according to a certain

dialectical law. That is all. And so Herr Dühring again commits a falsity of attribution when he asserts that the negation of negation must here serve as a midwife by which the future emerges from the womb of the past»⁵².

Engels’ *Anti-Dühring* is a recognised work in the workers’ movement and worthy of study for every revolutionary, and in this polemic the comrades of the CCIMU have referred to it, but it is clear from their positions that they have omitted much of what is set out there, especially in Engels’ fierce defence of the negation of negation in the face of Dühring’s accusations that hearing the word “negation of negation” produced «internal convulsions in him»:

«To try to prove something to a crass metaphysician like Herr Dühring by means of mere dialectics would be as much wasted labour as Leibniz and his disciples had in proving to the mathematicians of the time the propositions of the infinitesimal calculus. The differential produced in them the same inner convulsions as the negation of the negation produces in Mr. Dühring, in which, as we shall see, he plays a certain role»⁵³.

What is this “role” played by the “negation of the negation”? Well, it is the general law which indicates the direction of movement and which manifests itself in various spheres of social and natural life. Engels stressed the importance of this law of dialectics in the following way:

«It is a very general law, and therefore of very wide and important effect, of the development of nature, history and thought; a law which, as we have seen, manifests itself in the animal and vegetable world, in geology, in mathematics, in history, in philosophy, and to which Herr Dühring himself has to submit without knowing it in spite of all his pulls and resistance»⁵⁴.

And not only Dühring, but also the CCIMU, who, even if they reject the “negation of negation” have “*to submit without knowing it despite all its pulls and resistances*”. Now then, what is the reason for this rejection by some communists of the law of the negation of negation? We do not think it is because they uncritically take on board what they read in the *so-called philosophy lecture*; there must be a deeper explanation for this abandonment of revolutionary positions on philosophical ground. In the 1990s, comrade Aureliano gave some objective reasons why this shift in relation to dialectics occurred:

«[...] the defeat of the proletariat in Russia was presented as an unforeseen event. Much more so the defeat of communism in China has led to the conviction that these were unforeseeable events and turns, that the social movement has no direction, no tendencies of development and that therefore a part of the dialectical conception of Marxism, precisely the one which most explains the direction of the movement, is no longer valid, that this general law had to be “taken” out of the

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general arsenal of dialectics and brought into line with the official positivist science which imperialism has locked up in the universities»⁵⁵.

And it is no wonder that at the present time, when the International Communist Movement is in a stage of organisational dispersion, theoretical confusion and political impotence, these ideas persist that matter and society have no direction, no tendencies, that they are going nowhere. But this is not so, matter possesses movement. “*Fall on your backs, if you didn’t know that!*” says the CCIMU recognising the movement of matter, and they add that the process of development “*is spiral*”, and we agree, but they forget to add that the spiral development is an expression of the law of negation of negation as Lenin said:

«[...] This idea, as formulated by Marx and Engels on the basis of Hegel, is much more complete, much richer in content than the usual theory of evolution. It is a development which, it seems, repeats stages already travelled, but in another way, on a higher basis («**negation of the negation**»), a development, so to speak, **in a spiral** and not in a straight line»⁵⁶ [Boldface ours].

Moreover, to recognise the three laws of dialectics and not just one does not imply that the law of contradiction is the fundamental one, nor does it imply falling into “triplism” as opposed to philosophical “monism” as the CCIMU claims. The dialectical laws do not run separately, to think in that way is to fall into “triplism”, since dialectics is not conceived as a unity with its laws and its multiple elements (16 Lenin pointed out). Comrade Aureliano explained at the time to the leaders of the RCP(USA) how the three laws of dialectics are manifested in the movement of matter, an explanation that is useful in these times when the “mainly Maoists” come to promote the same anti-Marxist ideas that the Dühring, the Mikhailovskis, the Avakians have propagated against dialectics, and specifically, against the “negation of negation”, and in particular, against the “negation of negation”:

«When dialectical materialism says movement, it means, fundamentally, matter that moves for a determined cause (self-movement originated by the unity and struggle of its contradictory aspects, forces, tendencies), in a determined way (leaps in its development that are the reciprocal exchange of quality and quantity) and in a determined direction, in space and in time (succession of negations, in which aspects of the negated are conserved and there is an apparent return to the old)»⁵⁷.

(Footnotes)

- 1 The Foundations of Leninism - J. V. Stalin - 1924.
- 2 Response to the Statement of the Communist Workers Union (UOC) on the Proposal of the Coordinating Committee for the Unified Maoist International Conference (CIMU) - Communist Party of Colombia (Red Faction) - July 2022.
- 3 In defense of Maoism (I) - International Communist newspaper.
- 4 DESLINING AND PRECISING - Poder Proletario Organizaci
ón Partidaria MLM - 05 March 2022.
- 5 Response to the Statement of the Communist Workers Union (UOC) on the Proposal of the Coordinating Committee for the Unified Maoist International Conference (CIMU) - Communist Party of Colombia (Red Faction) - July 2022.
- 6 Idem.
- 7 In defense of Maoism (I) - International Communist newspaper.
- 8 The Foundations of Leninism - J. V. Stalin - 1924.
- 9 Idem.
- 10 History of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the U.S.S.S.R. - Central Committee of the C.P. (B) of the U.S.S.S.R. - 1939 edition.
- 11 Idem.
- 12 Proposal for the Formulation of a General Line for the Unity of the International Communist Movement - UOC (mlm), Revista Negaci
ón de la Negaci
ón No. 5, August 2016.
- 13 UNITE UNDER MAOISM! STATEMENT ON THE OCCASION OF DECEMBER 26TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NATIVITY OF PRESIDENT MAO TSE TUNG - Editorial Board of The Maoist Magazine - December 26, 2018.
- 14 TO MAKE THE REVOLUTION IS THE TASK OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD - Central Committee Communist Party of Peru - October 2022.
- 15 Idem.
- 16 Contemporary Marxism-Leninism-Maoism - Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist [TKP/ML] - (Summer 1998).
- 17 RAISE HIGH THE RED FLAG OF MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM! - Central Committee (P) Communist Party of India (Maoist) - September 21, 2004.
- 18 A look at the Joint International Declaration of the Eight Latin American Maoist Parties and Organizations - Communist Party (Maoist) of Afghanistan - June 2018.
- 19 Conmemorar los 70 años de la victoria de la revolución china en 1949 - Partido Comunista de las Filipinas - 1 de octubre 2019.
- 20 OUR PARTY’S APPROACH TO THE PREPARED DRAFT - TKP/ML - January 6, 2022.
- 21 Some criticisms to the document “For a Unified Maoist International Conference! - signed by A comrade of the International Commission - PCm - Italy - May 31, 2022.
- 22 Idem.
- 23 Idem.
- 24 About the Unified Maoist Conference (CIMU) - Committee for the Construction of the Maoist Communist Party of Galicia - CCPCMG - June 6, 2022.
- 25 Idem.
- 26 Idem.
- 27 Idem.
- 28 CCIMU. Defense of Maoism (I). Available on the web: <https://ci-ic.org/es/2022/07/23/defensa-del-maoismo-i/>
- 29 Idem.

³⁰ COMMUNIST WORKERS UNION (MLM). “Pronouncement on the Proposal on the Balance Sheet of the International Communist Movement and its present General Political Line.” *Workers Revolution*, January 25, 2022.

³¹ In this polemic we use the term “monism” in quotation marks, not because we oppose monism in philosophy, that is, the primary determinant of matter over idea, and the latter as an extension of the former, but because the comrades of the CCIMU transfer the question of “monism” to refer to the laws of dialectics.

³² Op. Cit.

³³ CCIMU. Defense of Maoism (II). Available on the web: <https://ci-ic.org/es/2022/07/24/defensa-del-maoismo-ii/>

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**Communist Party
of India (Maoist)**

The Stand of CPI (Maoist) on the Formation of International Communist League (ICL)

We could not immediately express the stand of our Party on the recently formed International

Communist League (ICL). The reasons being, the utmost cruel reactionary fascist state offensive of the reactionary comprador bureaucratic exploitive ruling classes of India with the aim of eliminating New Democratic Revolution. The Central Committee of our party was engaged in priorly decided important issues.

Our party already released its policy document on the formation of International Organisation in 2017 and this was published in Maoist Road as a part of the international debate. We are sorry for the delay.

The CC of the CPI (Maoist) conveys revolutionary greetings to the 15 Communist Parties of 14 countries that held Unified Maoist International Conference (UMIC) few months ago and formed the International Communist League. We request with a good-heart that ICL keeps in mind the critical views of those parties and organisations that did not join ICL and work with the aim of unity in International Communist Movement (ICM) and the objective of development of World Socialist Revolution. We declare our critical view on ICL with the same view. We wholeheartedly wish that ICL sees our view with proletarian international outlook.

The ICL declaration said, “The new international organization is a center of ideological, political, and organizational coordination, based on democratic centralism...”. The CC, CPI (Maoist) opines that in the current situation where internationally Marxist-Leninist-Maoist movements are weak, it is immature to form a new International organisation basing on Democratic Centralism without a deep study, debate and synthesis at the international plane about the reasons for the dissolution of the IIIrd International in 1943; about the reasons for the CPC under the leadership of Mao to not form another International; and the work and experiences of the earlier Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM); without the decision to form an appropriate organisation in the current situation of ICM basing on agreed opinions after a discussion (in various forms) at the international level on the Program and Principles of Organisation to form an organisation such as ICL, similar to the Communist International. Therefore, we do not become part of ICL. However, we shall establish lively relations with you so as to greatly uphold the red proletarian International flag and the flags of MLM and World Socialist Revolution and take up

struggle against revisionism and neo-revisionism so that revolutionary struggles develop all over the world. We see that it is our international proletarian responsibility to mutually exchange help and cooperation and experiences, to build solidarity movements and to make efforts to build anti-imperialist struggles.

We never denied the need of an International organisation suitable to the current situation of the Maoist parties in various countries in the background of the speedily declining current world capitalist-imperialist economy and its neck-deep crisis. But our stand is that an organisation based on democratic centralism does not suit the current real condition of ICM. We are clear that International organisation must not engross or weaken the independence and initiative of the member parties; the place of bilateral relations-activities among those; and the place of relations with other revolutionary parties and organisations. Our party opines that we have to learn the lessons from the CPC under the leadership of Mao and also from the experiences of RIM and other international activities since 1980 that, in order to fulfil the task of such an International organisation, apart from having ideological and political unity, organisational potency and unity in

practice is possible only when revolutionary movements are continuously built and developed in member countries.

In order to fulfil proper preparations such as ideological, political and organisational to realise

International organisation of Maoist parties, consultations among the different parties is necessary to maximum possible extent. This process was not taken up properly by the UMIC. The differences on the ideological, political and organisational attitudes of the respective parties were not considered. The process of two line struggle initiated at the international plane is not yet complete. So, the ICL formed in the name of ‘unified’ reflects only the attitude of one kind of Marxist-Leninist-Maoists. It does not represent the unified understanding of several parties.

Instead of the process followed for the formation of ICL and ICL, our Central Committee opines that there is a strong need to mobilise into a common forum that works basing on the approval and unanimity of all parties, so as, in addition to the parties in ICL, all the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary parties and organisations that are ideologically close to these, can

mutually exchange their experiences and ideological and political stands; issue joint statements on international issues; take up struggle campaigns of common agreement against imperialism; draw clear lines of demarcation with the various revisionist and neo-revisionist trends (such as Prachanda-Avakian) and take up joint struggle against them; take up common campaigns with the objective to establish new democracy, socialism and ultimately communism in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; to exchange mutual help between the various parties; and, to make mutual suggestions and constructive criticism for the development of the revolutionary movements. This apart, our CC also opines that it should have started the necessary preparations to form broad common forums against imperialism based on the above forum together with determined anti-imperialist forces and nationality liberation struggles. The policy document on formation of International proletarian organisation our CC released mentioned the same understanding.

Although there is no doubt that proletarian revolutionary forces of the respective country are the principal factor to accomplish revolution in any country of the world, all kinds of possible support of the proletariat and oppressed people of other countries is also necessary.

As per the understanding of our party, we make it clear to all Maoist parties and organisations including ICL that it is necessary that the proletariat organises its independent political party-the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communist party in every country; that the genuine communist parties of all countries unite into an international common forum appropriate to the current situation of ICM; and that this common international forum needs to be built with the objective of forming new Communist International, to work with international outlook.

Since class society emerged, the entire history of social development all over the world is the history of class struggles. There is uneven development in various countries in the process of world social development.

Therefore, the revolutionary struggles of the respective countries pass through different levels and different stages. These struggles have their own particular characteristics. However, these always abide by the general rules of historical development. The progress of the historical development of the world through class struggle is certainly in the direction of new democracy, Socialism and Communism towards the direction of establishing exploitation free and classless society. The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties formed in different countries need to develop into strong and genuine vanguard organisations to achieve this objective. Therefore, as the comrades of Communist Party of Philippines (CPP) responded to the declaration of ICL, our party too opines that it is the

utmost immediate task of the world communist parties and organisations to take up class analysis and social investigation of diversified conditions in their respective countries; by applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to decide the particular strategy and tactics; to lead the entire classes being oppressed and exploited; in order to take up new democratic, socialist revolutionary struggles. In the background of the current social changes and of the conditions where intense counter revolutionary offensive is being unleashed on all the revolutionary movements, where social-state fascism is arising, if we do not do so, normally there is a possibility that the revolutionary movements fall in spontaneity, right and left dangers. The teaching of the great Marxist teacher

Mao about the need of concrete investigation of concrete conditions shall be the guide to every Maoist party.

The communist parties of the respective countries must always accept the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist

theory as the guide, vision and microscope to adopt immediate, long term plans and tasks and to study the concrete objective conditions. If ideological study and application of theory to concrete conditions is neglected one will grope in darkness. The experience of our party taught us that it is not enough to dogmatically parrot general principles. We need to make a deep study of and grasp Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, creatively apply it in concrete practice and advance revolution in all spheres. We have to efficiently utilise the armed, unarmed, illegal and legal forms of organisation and struggle and learn from the people and own experience in the process of practice, in order to achieve the objective of revolution. At the same time, we must learn from the experiences of the earlier revolutions and the current revolutions of the world.

We must fight the ideological offensive of various sorts of revisionists, neo-revisionists and reactionaries all over the world in addition to Avakianists and Prachandists on Communism, MLM and revolutionary movements. We must take up the necessary ideological, political debates to expose the opportunist theories of fake revolutionaries, the various liquidationist theories of petty bourgeoisie and the ideological bankruptcy of capitalism-imperialism that pollute the people's minds with the aim of diverting the people from revolutionary war and to prevent them from coming into the path of revolution. We must form firm Bolshevik parties that is capable enough to build proletarian army and develop class war, revolutionary war, Protracted People's War and revolutionary United Front. We must successfully advance the revolutionary movements. Only thus the World Socialist Revolution will speed up in the direction of victory.

Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communist parties, the Communist Party of Philippines, UOC (MLM), PCM Italia, Maoist Communist party of Galicia,

For a Unified MLM International Conference

Revolutionary Communists, Norway (RK), Direction Committee of Communist Workers' Union (MLM) Columbia, TKP/ML informed their stand on the draft proposal and ICL declaration related to the current general political line that International Communist Movement has to adopt.

Prior to this our party published a document in which it clearly wrote about the experiences of International Communist Movement, synthesised the present international situation and of the movement and about the formation of International communist organisation appropriate to it, it means about a proletarian international organisation comprising Maoist parties, organisations and the related ideological, political and organisational aspects. ICM published this too. Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist), Tunisia, PCR-RCP Canada-Isra, Communist Party (Maoist) of Afghanistan, Union Obrera Comunista (MLM) made responsible study and observation, wrote critical notes and sent to CUMIC for debate. But there was no response from the organisers and supporters. They did not continue debate on these stands, contradictions and differences of opinion that came forth among revolutionary communists. Our party feels that the lack of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist work style that applies the method of unity-struggle-unity, of ICL is creating hurdle to international unity and that it is unfortunate. Our party opines that we cannot achieve wide and strong unity with these sectarian attitudes and wrong methods and that the formation of ICL basing on the declaration representing the stands and special interests of one kind of Marxist-Leninist-Maoists. It opines that the formation of ICL basing on a declaration that represents their special interests is immature. It also opines that ICL must definitely work where there is no way for hegemony between the parties and keeping in view that proper comradely relations of mutual respect and equality depending upon ideological, political line.

Although not totally we agree to a large extent the critical assessments and arguments of MLM parties and organisations internationally on the formation of ICL.

We feel that the draft proposal that the ICL brought forth and certain important issues in the concepts of its declaration cannot be a general basis for the unity of Marxist-Leninist-Maoists. Certain issues in the draft proposal are not seen in ICL declaration. But there is no difference in essence. Therefore, we clearly present our opinion on few important errors in both these documents in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Regarding few erroneous concepts in the draft document of CUMIC

The debate on the formulation 'Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism' or Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is not new to either us or ICM. We differed with earlier RIM on this issue. We do not agree to the

formulation 'principally Maoism'. This is against the understanding that proletarian ideology is an indivisible lively entity and that all that had been achieved until now universally through proletarian revolutionary practice is integral to this. We also do not agree to confining scientific socialism to the contribution of Mao Tse-tung.

This is the wrong understanding/assessment continuing from the erstwhile RIM. Our party told earlier and have been telling now the formulation Marxism-Leninism-Maoism alone is correct. We have been saying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a qualitatively new, third, higher stage for the past two decades. We are working with this understanding. However, we use the word 'Maoism' for propaganda also.

We said clearly in the MLM document passed by the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress of CPI (Maoist) in 2007 January – "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is an integrated whole today. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the most advanced and scientific ideology of the world proletariat. Not only that, MLM is the all-powerful weapon, by which we can combat and defeat bourgeois ideology and all brands of revisionism, including that which are don the garb of Maoism.

"Marxism arose as a science of the laws of motion of nature, society and human thought, a science of revolution at a moment in history when the proletariat made its appearance as a revolutionary class capable of shaping the destiny of the society including its own destiny. Marxism is the ideology of the proletariat that was further synthesized and developed to new and higher stages. From Marxism it developed into Marxism-Leninism. Thereafter, it further developed into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is not a science pertaining to a particular field of knowledge but a science representing a whole comprehensive philosophical system, political economy, scientific socialism, and the strategy and tactics of the proletariat in comprehending and transforming the world through revolution.

"The CPC led by Com. Mao made historic and comprehensive analysis of the development of Mao

Thought (now Maoism), through its 9th Congress, held in 1969. By this Mao Tse-tung Thought, whose historic significance began to be recognized by the Marxist-Leninist forces worldwide ever since The Great Debate, became established as a qualitatively new and higher stage in the development of the proletarian ideology by the time of the 9th Congress of the CPC.

"Maoism is not just the sum total of Mao's great contributions. It is the most comprehensive and all-

round development of the science of Marxism-Leninism that had taken shape in the period of the tremendous changes and great upheavals that had occurred in the world since the time of Com. Lenin, namely, the emergence of the Socialist camp following WW II; the upsurge of the national liberation struggles

throughout the world leading to a new phase of neo-colonial control and exploitation; and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe with the usurpation of power by the modern revisionist Khrushchov clique.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is an integrated whole. Maoism is Marxism-Leninism of the present day. To negate Maoism is to negate Marx-ism-Leninism itself.”

The formulation “along with the universal contributions of Chairman Gonzalo” was mentioned in CUMIC draft document. We opine that synthesising the contributions of Comrade Gonzalo into Gonzalo Thought is not a mature decision. We also opine that it is not correct for ICM to address him as Chairman Gonzalo. If ICM needs to write about Comrade Gonzalo, he can be mentioned as the Founder Chairman of Peru Communist Party. At the same time, our party has correct assessment of the services of Comrade Gonzalo to Peru revolution and ICM. He was the first to formulate Maoism as the third, new and higher stage of Marxism. He played the vanguard role in upholding and defending Maoism also by defining Peruvian society correctly and initiating Protracted People’s War. After being arrested, he faced the imperialist and Peru reactionary tortures with genuine communist spirit with great courage, went through absolute solitary terrible prison life in a dungeon for 29 years and greatly upheld the international proletarian revolutionary tradition of sacrifice. ICM always remembers him and take him ideal.

The formulation ‘World People’s War’ is unclear and is ideologically not correct. This formulation does not benefit Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and is against it. We feel that coordinating People’s Wars in the world mentioned in this document is subjective.

In the present conditions of reality where worldwide Marxist-Leninist-Maoist subjective forces are weak and are regrouping, it is not at all suitable and practical to coordinate people’s movements and people’s wars from an International centre. This will cause more harm than good to the movements of those countries and new democratic/socialist revolutions.

The document mentioned about the ‘universality of people’s war’ but did not say anything about the

concrete strategy, basic tactics, clear program or principles of how it would take place in capitalist-imperialist countries. We feel it is ideologically and politically wrong to turn Protracted People’s War that Mao formulated and China implemented, into a blue print and that it should be implemented in all countries irrespective of the stage of social development of various countries of the world.

The analysis that ICM is in the stage of ‘strategic offensive’ also shows its subjective and over

assessment. Although imperialism is caught in all round crisis; the current objective condition of the world

is utmost favourable to the advancing World Socialist Revolution; the condition of ICM, MLM Communist parties, People’s Armies, revolutionary forces and revolutionary movements have been gradually gaining momentum for the past two decades; there is relatively little strength in a few countries. If we see on the whole, the present condition of revolutionary parties in the world is not yet strong enough. If the crisis situation of the present imperialist system and its puppet-comprador bureaucratic reactionary countries can be efficiently utilised in all spheres, the present parties-movements shall definitely spread like wild fire and also revolutionary proletarian parties will take birth and develop in many more countries. MLM parties and organisations as well must not subjectively over assess the present situation of ICM. We opine that subjective thinking reflects one sidedness and is against the dialectical materialist method of analysis and proletarian outlook.

The assessment that world revolution will be successful in the coming 50 to 100 years is a subjective assessment and against the objective reality. There is no socialist country in the world since 1976. When Mao said it can be achieved in 50 to 100 years, it was correct in the then concrete conditions. He said so in the background of weakening of imperialism, the establishment of socialist states-camp, communist parties were strong in several countries, Asia, Africa and Latin American countries were storm centres with national liberation struggles and new democratic revolutions and the proletarian struggles in capitalist-imperialist countries. The great Marxist teacher Mao said so to express the assessment of success of revolution that although there is an atmosphere and abundant opportunities for revolution and struggle for socialism, keeping in view the change in world situation at the time, in the balance of forces in the camp of revolutionary camp and reactionary camp.

On the assessment of Stalin

The ‘draft’ of UMIC gave an assessment of the great Marxist teacher Stalin. This is against the assessment synthesised by Mao-CPC. ICL declaration rectified it. It correctly upheld the contributions of Stalin.

On some erroneous aspects in ICL declaration

On the whole we agree to the five aspects mentioned in the declaration about the demarcation drawn between Marxism and revisionism. However, the declaration did not mention one of the criteria put forward by Mao, ‘three great styles related to work style’ that clearly separates the proletarian party from bourgeois and revisionist parties.

The declaration correctly said that without making war against revisionism, all kinds of opportunism non-compromisingly inseparable with that against imperialism

and entire reaction, ICM cannot make one step forward towards re-unity and that the principle of 'two line struggle is the motive force for the development of the party'. However, in practice, formation of ICL leaving aside two line struggle mid-way does not help for the unity of ICM. We also do not agree some more aspects in the declaration. We feel that a debate will take place on various such differences of opinion among Marxist-Leninist-Maoists as a part of two line struggle with the objective of achieving and strengthening unity in ICM. We present here our understanding on some important aspects of the declaration that we do not agree.

People's War

Coming to the question of applying the theory of Protracted People's War (it is very strange that ICL removed the word 'Protracted' from Protracted People's War that Mao said, and shrunk it to mere People's War) to practice, ICL comrades totally ignored 'concrete analysis of concrete conditions'. As a result, they are trying to apply Maoist principles about Protracted People's War with a dogmatic outlook. They emphasised that People's War applies to social systems of countries in different stages in the world and in all times and conditions and that it is the only path for revolution. They think that People's War, formation of People's Army and Base Areas will happen in the same way without seeing the differences in the social conditions of various countries.

ICL declaration document says – "The fundamental of Maoism is Power, in other words, the power to the proletariat, the power to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the power based on an armed force led by the Communist Party."

"This demands us to lead People's War to face the imperialist wars of aggression against the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and even in Europe itself."

"The Revolutionary War, the People's War, is the superior form of struggle - through which the fundamental problems of revolution are solved; it is the military strategy that correspond to the political strategy (conquest of power) to transform society in favor of the Class and the people; it is the principal form of struggle and the People's Army is the principal form of organization.... People's War is a war of masses led by the Communist Party to conquer and defend the New Power for the proletariat."

"In order to carry out People's War it is necessary to have four fundamental problems in mind: 1) ideology of the proletariat – Marxism-Leninism-Maoism - applied to the concrete practice and the particularities of revolution on each country, either oppressed countries or imperialist countries; 2) the necessity of the Communist Party to lead the People's War; 3) specification of the political strategy for its path; 4) base

areas. The New Power or Front-New State - that is formed in the base areas - is the core of the People's War."

All the above mentioned concepts in fact apply to semi-colonial, semi-feudal societies in Asia, Africa and Latin American countries but not to capitalist-imperialist countries. This is the understanding of our party. On the contrary, if these concepts are imposed on all the revolutions, it shall not only not help for the advancement of ICM but will become an obstacle.

The opinion of our party on this is, one cannot prepare an absolutely comprehensive scheme (blue print) for revolution from the beginning to the end. Dogmatic theoreticians alone can imagine that they can prepare such blue prints for revolution. On the contrary Marxist-Leninist-Maoists step forward applying theory to actual concrete conditions, learning from practice and further enriching the theory. They shed useless dogmatic old principles. They grasp the dialectical unity of theory, practice, objectivity, subjectivity, to know and to practice.

They will know that if they step aside from concrete history it will lead to subjective wrong theories and right or left theories.

Every country in the world has general characteristics and its own distinct characteristics and its own particularities. Different countries will have to follow different paths of revolution. In the process of formulating guiding principles for the path of revolution in a country, then if the MLM party/organisation of the country fails to consider the distinct characteristics and particularities, revolution will face losses. Communist parties must understand that these distinct characteristics and particularities cannot change the distinct characteristics and particularities and the general characteristics of revolutionary war or the path of revolution decided by these general characteristics. On this context the great Marxist teacher Mao said,

"The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and highest form of revolution. But while the principle remains the same (for all countries), its application by the Party of the proletariat finds expression in various ways according to the varying conditions."

Our party says thus basing on Maoist understanding -The experiences of world socialist revolution, especially those of the two great proletarian revolutions in Russia and China proved the above mentioned things. Revolutionary war took place in two different paths in the two countries. This principle was creatively applied, following the distinct, particular characteristics of the respective countries. In Russia, revolution took the form of countrywide armed general insurrection to seize political power. In China, revolution took place in the path of Protracted People's War. Whatever be the forms of revolutionary wars in different countries, the

essence is same. It is to seize power through armed force.

We assess this era as ‘the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution’. In this era, the process of revolution throughout the world is the process of world socialist revolution. We believe the generalisation of the experiences of proletarian revolutions of the imperialist era and the classification of the revolutionary wars in different countries of the world into two kinds, on the whole, according to the nature of the respective society, economy and political systems.

If it is a capitalist country with democratic rights, the proletarian party will take up countrywide general armed insurrection in period of revolutionary crisis, first seize power in vital cities and then spread it all over the country. It takes up open and legal struggles - Parliamentary, Trade Unions, general strikes, political agitations, partial and political struggles and other such activities and prepares the proletariat and its allies for it. At the same time, it strengthens appropriate secret party mechanism and combines secret, legal, semi-legal activities and open and secret activities in concrete conditions.

This is the general path of the great October revolution victoriously accomplished by the Bolshevik party under the leadership of great Marxist teachers Lenin and Stalin in Russia. Following this strategy, the proletariat must begin insurrection, first give a decisive, deadly blow with tempest speed on the urban centre where enemy state power is strong with fortifications and acts as the control centre and tear the state mechanism of the enemy into pieces. We must establish a centre of proletarian revolutionary state power in the urban area. We must immediately spread revolution speedily to urban areas all over the country. We must mobilise the peasantry in the rural area against feudal forces and destroy the state mechanism of the enemy in rural areas, seize villages and establish country wide revolutionary political power — the proletarian revolutionary political power. As per the understanding of CPI (Maoist), this strategy will help as the general path for Socialist revolutions in capitalist-imperialist countries.

The second path is the theory of qualitatively new Protracted People's War that the great Marxist teacher Mao formulated to accomplish New Democratic Revolution in backward countries. Earlier to China revolution, the path of general armed insurrection was considered as the general path for proletariat to seize power. Russia became prominent as a revolutionary model. But Comrade Mao solved the problem of accomplishing revolution in colonial, semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries. He made an arduous struggle against the various right, dogmatic and ‘left’ deviations.

If it is a semi-feudal country under direct or indirect rule of one or few imperialist forces where people do

not have independence and democratic rights, the proletarian party of the country must since the beginning enlighten and mobilise the people for armed struggle. It must establish its Base Areas (Liberated Areas) in the backward rural areas by building it through people's army basing on peasantry that is the main force in revolution. Base Areas must be continuously spread in the process of Protracted People's War. The proletariat must ultimately encircle the key cities and prepare the workers and other toiling masses and revolutionary forces with a foresight, decisively destroy the reactionary state power and seize political power all over the country. It must establish people's democratic state.

This is the prolonged zig-zag path, the Protracted People's War in which China Revolution took place in achieving the earth shaking success of the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Mao in 1949. Following this path, rural area will be the main centre of revolution. Urban areas also possess a comprehensive path of revolutionary struggle. The proletariat will lead this revolution and the peasantry will be the main force, middle class close ally and national capitalists vacillating allies. Regarding continuously arranging armed revolutionary forces from peasant masses, armed agrarian revolution will be vital. Revolutionary forces that continuously join from peasantry will help for the formation of an invincible People's Army. Thus, the broad masses will participate in People's War. This is the utmost important factor that Comrade Mao contributed. He revealed that although weapons are important, people will be the decisive factor in continuing People's War but not weapons. The development of people's militia as the local combat force with the slogan of ‘every citizen is a soldier’ spread guerrilla warfare deeply and widely. The guerrilla warfare in the rear of enemy ranks attained people's character and contributed to the advancement of regular army and guerrilla units. Comrade Mao taught us that ‘the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party’.

In the process of China revolution Comrade Mao synthesised the experiences, built a strong, brave People's Army (People's Liberation Army). He gave immense prominence to establish base areas in strategic areas of rural areas and very clearly said about the importance of workers' movements, urban movements, the importance of United Front and the mutual inseparable relation between People's War and these. The emergence of base areas contributes to spread and intensify the revolutionary wave all over the country. Moreover, the task of bringing a revolutionary transformation in these base areas, the task of further strengthening the base politically, economically and culturally and Protracted People's War will definitely contribute to achieve more new victories.

The military line that Comrade Mao comprehensively

developed starts from two fundamental aspects. One is that our army is a new kind of army fundamentally different from the mercenary armies of the exploitive classes. It is a political army. It must definitely abide by proletarian ideological leadership. It must serve people and their struggles. It must be an instrument to build revolutionary base areas. The second point is our revolutionary war is a new kind of war. It is people's war. It acknowledges that enemy is strong and we are weak. Since the enemy is big and we are small, we must totally utilise the weaknesses of the enemy and our strong aspects and absolutely depend on the masses for survival, victory and expansion. That is the reason Mao said 'the people have nothing without a people's army' and 'political power grows out of the barrel of the gun'.

Comrade Mao further developed the Marxist-Leninist concept of national liberation struggles in the particular conditions in colonial and semi-colonial countries in the period of post-World War II. He analysed the neo-colonial forms and methods of governance that imperialism adopted after World War II. Basing on this analysis, he said that the struggles of oppressed nationalities and people of Asia, Africa and Latin American countries will be major storm centres of world revolution and that the rule of imperialists is shaking from its foundations. He explained thus - "Countries want independence, nationalities want liberation and people want revolution". He emphasised the importance of forming United Front between national liberation struggles in semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and proletarian revolutions in capitalist countries in order to defeat imperialism and accelerate the victory of world socialist revolution.

We once again emphatically say that our party opines that the path of Protracted People's War applies to revolutions in colonial, semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The history of national liberation struggles and new democratic revolutions that took place in Asia, Africa and Latin American countries since after World War II proves this. For example, the present New Democratic Revolutions in India, Philippines, Turkey, Peru and other such countries are proving the same. In all these countries, armed struggle is the main form of struggle and army is the main form of organisation. People's struggles and Mass Organisations in other forms are also a certain need. Prior to war all organisations and struggles are for preparations of war. When war begins those directly and indirectly serve it.

Contrary to this understanding we should not apply the concept of Protracted People's War to capitalist-imperialist countries and the entire International Communist Movement in a dogmatic manner. MLM understanding in such countries is to follow the first path

- the path of General Armed Insurrection.

Is it correct to say that realising the 'omnipotence of revolutionary violence' is the demarcation between Marxism and revisionism?

The third page of ICL declaration said that the 'omnipotence of revolutionary violence' is one of the demarcations between Marxism and revisionism. In support of it, the declaration improperly mentioned Mao's quote separating it from the context, in the last paragraph (Page numbers 28-29) as a conclusion of 'proletarian new principles.' This is against the fundamental understanding of MLM. All the Maoists know that Mao repeatedly said that 'armed struggle is the main form of struggle and red army is the main form of organisation'. If they had understood the occasion when Mao wrote the article, 'Problems of strategy of war' (1938 November 6) in which he said 'Omnipotence of revolutionary war', 'in this sense the entire world can be changed only with arms', the declaration would not have mentioned in this manner. If we understand the words of great Marxist teachers irrespective of conditions as mere words, no one can properly understand the principles of MLM. Mao said armed struggle is the main form of struggle and repeatedly emphasised the importance of other forms of struggle. He united friendly forces of revolution and moulded revolutionary United Front as a magnificent weapon in the hands of revolutionary party. If Mao had the understanding that the world can be changed only through arms, revolutionary United Front has nothing to do. The declaration did not mention the below given matter of the above Mao's quote for reasons that we do not know. "We wish to ban war. We do not wish war. But we can fight war only through war. We cannot remove the need of gun without taking up guns.' The meaning of the words 'omnipotence of revolutionary war', 'only through guns' is that we can change the imperialist world only through mainly revolutionary war and nothing else. When we take such quotes, especially when we mention it to be a demarcation between Marxists and revisionists, we must carefully see the context of the quote. In fact, the word 'omnipotence' reflects idealism. We opine that the word be removed.

International situation

ICL declaration said - "First contradiction — between oppressed nations, on the one hand, and imperialist superpowers and powers on the other. This is the principal contradiction in the current moment and the principal contradiction of the epoch of imperialism at the same time.... On the side of the imperialist powers, Yankee imperialism is the sole hegemonic superpower. Russia is still an atomic superpower and there is a handful of second-tier imperialist powers".

The theory that was mentioned about the 'main

contradiction' in the declaration of ICL is confusing. is it the lack of concrete observation of the developments of the world? Is it falling in metaphysical understanding that the emergence of super powers, the zenith of imperialism shall exist until being destroyed through war or revolution? How far is it correct to place the struggle against the hegemony of super powers in the place of anti- imperialist struggle? Do they see the emergence of super powers in the era of imperialism as the zenith of concentration-accumulation of monopoly capital with the mechanical understanding; that only since concentration-accumulation of capital-products rises step by step, the big imperialist forces will gradually reduce in number and few big forces shall remain super forces? Do they take into consideration the teaching of Lenin and Mao-CPC on the unequal development of capitalism and the developments in world capitalist system?

When we make a scientific study of the history of imperialism, we will know that there were changes in the balance of imperialist forces before World Wars and that the two World Wars are a result of these changes in the balance of forces. Great Marxist teacher Lenin said that as long as imperialism exists constant changes will take place in the balance of forces of the imperialist forces of the world.

"...even development of different undertakings, trusts, branches of industry, or countries is impossible under capitalism. Half a century ago Germany was a miserable, insignificant country, as far as her capitalist strength was concerned, compared with the strength of England at that time; Japan was the same compared with Russia. Is it "conceivable" that in ten or twenty years' time the relative strength of the imperialist powers will have remained unchanged? Absolutely inconceivable" (Lenin in *Imperialism~The Highest stage of capitalism*).

Britain was an uncontentious imperialist force with the hegemony over nearly half of the earth until the end of the 19th century. But by World War I, Germany and America rose as new imperialist forces and beat out Britain in industrial products, economy and other spheres. While Germany suffered a terrible blow due to World War I, America, Britain and France gained strength. Although the economy and military mechanism of Germany were shattered in the process of World War I, it became a powerful imperialist force in no time, contended the old imperialist forces like Britain and France and reached the level of contending with US imperialism. Such changes in the balance of forces in world politics are the reflection of unequal development of capitalism. Therefore, we must see the birth, growth and collapse of super powers in this background.

Due to World War II and worldwide national liberation struggles, except for America, the rest of the imperialist forces weakened to such an extent that after war, they did not have an alternative other than to depend on

America to rebuild their economies that were shattered in war. These countries almost lost their colonies and fell in loans due to heavy expenditure on war. On the other hand, US imperialism not only passed through the imperialist war without a considerable blow, but also acted as a trader of supplying deadly weapons and strategic war material to both sides of war. it benefited more than any other country. As a result, the balance of forces between US and other imperialist forces started to drift towards US since the beginning of 20th century. This led up to the hegemony of US during World War II.

After World War II US went much ahead of other imperialist forces. It began establishing its hegemony over the entire countries of the world outside the Socialist camp in economic, political and military spheres. In order to economically help the defeated countries (such as Germany, Japan and Italy), US aided the countries (such as Britain and France) that gained victory in war, through the Martial plan and other such plans meant for reconstruction of Europe. These countries had to politically hand over its hegemony on many of its colonies to US imperialism. Or else had to slave US for some time. Since its military mechanism was totally shattered, these countries had to join one or the other military alliance in the hegemony of US. These countries degraded to the situation of US's control at least temporarily.

We must understand the particular historic conditions that led US to become a super power. US imperialism alone had the capability, utmost strong economic power and was the super force of nuclear arms so as to fulfill its plans for world hegemony. Since 1970 Soviet Social imperialism alone was a strong economic force and a nuclear super force. So, we call them super powers. The rest of the imperialist forces are considered second rank forces. These divisions mean that although the other imperialist forces made strong attempts to become economically, politically and militarily powerful, those were not in a situation to contend for world hegemony.

There were subsequent changes in international situation. Due to the following developments there were changes in the balance of forces between US super power and the various imperialist forces —the heroic struggles of oppressed nationalities and people in Asia, Africa and Latin America; the huge military expenditure that pushed US economy to stagnation in its bid to hold colonies, neo-colonies and areas of influence; Considerable technical knowledge and capacity of production developed in big imperialist countries such as Germany and Japan, those overcame the Octopus hands of US imperialism and emerged as its strong contenders in the world market; the collapse of Soviet super power; the gradual decreasing share of US in almost all spheres of world market and its economic weakness; the weakening of hegemony of US super

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power on the other imperialist countries; the internal collusion-contention between imperialists; fascism became the main trend all over the world; the imperialist wars of aggression that took place in the leadership of US for control on world market and resources. These developments prove that the birth of super powers is not a permanent development, this is not even the zenith of imperialism and that it was the result of particular historic conditions.

If we observe the present situation of the world — in the background of intensifying general crisis in capitalism, the world economic crisis in capitalist-imperialist system that began in 2008 continues to exist. As per the changes in the balance of forces of imperialist countries, this economic, political and financial crisis is constantly pushing the imperialist countries in the direction to spread the resources of raw material and cheap labor, markets, spheres of capital and areas of influence to re-divide the world market among them. This is leading to contention and conflict between imperialists and formation of economic and military (strategic) alliances. There are great changes in world politics.

The strategic weakness of US super power that started in mid-1970 haunted it and it lost its earlier prosperity in all sectors and lost the status of super power by the beginning of the second decade of 21st century. Multipolar world was formed. However, US imperialism continues to be the number one enemy of the people of the world. Social-imperialist China became the main contender to US in economic, political and military spheres in the past decade and is contending for re-division of the world market. Although the severity of COVID pandemic lessened, it still exists in a few countries. The economies of all countries were shattered due to lock downs and various other controls. The imperialist contention between US and Russia led to Russia-Ukraine war that still continues. Tensions are on the rise between US and China on Taiwan issue. On the other hand, there is collusion-contention between all these countries in West Asia (Middle East). In fact, when we see the internal conflict between imperialists in an objective manner, we do not find any base for the concept of 'sole hegemonic super power'. The danger of World War III is increasing as a result of the preparations for war of the imperialist countries for re-division of the world as per the Marxist rule that "collusion is temporary and relative while contention is permanent and absolute." We see a spate of anti-imperialist struggles in backward countries all over the world and the spate of working-class struggles began and is continuing in capitalist-imperialist countries. These developments are the result of sharpening of fundamental contradictions day by day. We opine that the fundamental contradictions of the world and the main contradiction are — 1. The contradiction between

imperialism and oppressed nations and people 2. The contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the capitalist and imperialist countries 3. The contradiction among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups.

Since the degeneration of the last socialist base China, the fourth fundamental contradiction — we agree with the declaration of ICL regarding this contradiction. However, we concretely explain our understanding - The contradiction between socialist camp and imperialist camp is temporarily extinct. The struggle between socialism and capitalism continues all through the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. Today it is mainly expressed as the struggle between two contending classes in ideological, political and cultural spheres — the proletariat that represents socialist forces and the bourgeoisie that represents capitalism. The strength of guerrilla bases and Revolutionary People's Committees formed in the countries where Protracted People's Wars are going on did not yet develop into stable liberated areas and effective, alternate political power due to counter revolutionary offensive of the enemy. There is intense class struggle in these areas. The victory of revolution and the re-emergence of socialist camp in one or many countries shall bring the fourth fundamental contradiction once again into the fore.

Among the fundamental contradictions, the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nationalities and people is the main contradiction. Presently this contradiction influences the other contradictions and shows a decisive influence on the other contradictions.

In the situation where the proletariat of the world do not have a socialist system/a stable base formed through destruction of capitalist system, is similar to the condition earlier to October revolution. The proletariat of the world, oppressed nationalities and oppressed people are opposing and resisting counter revolutionary wars that are being unleashed by the imperialists through aggression and interventional policies. World proletariat, Maoist parties-organisations enlighten, mobilise the oppressed nationalities and people with the theory of MLM in its light and are fighting with the objective to end imperialism and all kinds of reactionary forces responsible for these wars. The entire revolutionary forces, workers and other oppressed classes and sections have the great task to further enlighten the oppressed masses on the entire planet in the light of MLM and intensify, consolidate and unite these struggles. If imperialists dare to make World War III, the world proletariat must take up tactics to transform this war into civil war with the objective to smash them and accomplish proletarian revolutions. We must fight back all the conspiracies of the imperialists and revisionists by instigating bourgeois national chauvinism

to split the oppressed nationalities and people and sustain their rule. The proletarian vanguard revolutionary parties must bring together the proletariat, middle class, students, youth, progressive intellectual section, organisations of democratic and progressive movements (such as those working on environment, anti-racism, gender problem and migrant labour) of capitalist and imperialist countries and advance socialist revolutions and the New Democratic Revolutions and national liberation struggles in backward countries.

After Soviet social imperialism collapsed as a super power, neo—revisionist theories of Avakian came forth in the end of the last century that ‘America is the sole hegemonic super force’ and Prachanda’s ‘America is a globalized imperialist state’. All these opportunist ‘modern’ theories are based on the theory of ‘ultra-imperialism’ of Kautsky. According to this theory imperialism overcomes crisis on its own and solves the entire contradictions of the sole monopoly centre. All these theories in essence say nothing but imperialism is omnipotent, does not suffer defeat and cannot be resisted by anyone. The Nepal Maoist party joined the comprador ruling classes and betrayed Nepal revolution, People's War, world communist movement, especially the revolutionary movement in South Asia with the understanding that imperialism is invincible and it is impossible to achieve victory on it. It is surprising that the ICL declaration said in the first contradiction on one hand that there are abundant ‘oppressed countries’ and on the other the main contradiction to be between ‘oppressed countries and imperialist super powers.’ We opine that this does not suit the existing politico- economic conditions of the world. What does this kind of synthesis of ICL related to world conditions and fundamental contradictions reveal? Is this not on contrary to the real condition? Is not imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and semi—feudalism trampling the proletariat, peasantry and other broad oppressed masses in semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries? Does not speaking of main contradiction in this manner in such a condition divert what the world socialist revolution must concentrate upon?

About the second contradiction - ICL declaration mentioned this as the contradiction between proletariat and bourgeoisie. Our party opines that by mentioning this contradiction in this manner, its particularity will not be expressed. But speaking about this contradiction as ICL said, affects the communist parties in capitalist-imperialist countries to formulate proper strategy and tactics in order to prepare the proletariat and revolutionary forces for socialist revolution, and to take up practice accordingly. Consequently, they fall in spontaneity. We opine that this is one of the important problems faced by the revolutionary parties in these countries. Exactly for this reason, this contradiction is

also applied to the contradiction between the proletariat and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the oppressed countries and the three fundamental contradictions in these countries were also mentioned. It did not mention another fundamental contradiction among the ruling classes in those countries for reasons not known. Mingling the contradictions at the international plane and those in the respective countries is not a proper method as per MLM. This causes confusion even regarding tasks to be taken to solve those contradictions.

We clearly say this second contradiction to be ‘the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in capitalist-imperialist countries.’ Socialist revolutions need to be made in the respective capitalist-imperialist countries in order to solve this contradiction, as a part of world socialist revolution. As we mentioned earlier, the first contradiction ‘the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nationalities and people’ will be solved through accomplishing New Democratic Revolutions. The third contradiction, ‘the contradiction among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups’ will be one of the reasons for their mutual weakening. The history of two World Wars proved that if this contradiction intensifies, it will lead to nothing but World War. This in turn intensifies the above two fundamental contradictions and intensifies revolutionary crisis in the respective countries. If this crisis can be properly utilised, in country/countries where there is an efficient and strong revolutionary communist party and is a weak link in imperialism, New Democratic Revolution/Revolutions or Socialist Revolution/Revolutions might be successful, as a part of World Socialist Revolution. This is the understanding of our party in the light of MLM.

Is it revisionism to say that ‘imperialism is in blocks’?

It is very strange that the declaration mentions that it is revisionism to say that ‘imperialism is in blocks.’ It is a well-known fact that imperialism means war and that the two World Wars happened only after the imperialist countries formed into two antagonistic blocks. Starting from World War II, especially since the US and Russia emerged as imperialist super powers, as per the principle of unequal development and according to the changes in the balance of forces of the imperialist countries, the imperialist countries formed economic and military blocks in their favour time to time and these frequently underwent changes. This entire process has the history of six decades. The trend is that all the imperialist countries have been making several economic and military agreements and are contending-colluding to exploit the oppressed nationalities and people all over the world, for hegemony over natural resources, for areas of cheap labour, for markets and for areas of

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influence. Apart from US and Russia, several imperialist countries are severely contending in producing all kinds of arms, sell them in the world market and gain profits. imperialist proxy war broke in the form of war of aggression of Russia on Ukraine in the end of 2022 February that once again brought forth the danger of World War III. Cannot we clearly see the changing imperialist alliances and blocks time to time behind these developments? It is not correct for ICL to say that it is revisionism to speak of this objective reality. We opine that this is a very wrong understanding.

Is it correct to classify the imperialist countries into two ranks?

Presently imperialist world turned to be a multipolar world. In this condition, we opine that it is not correct to classify imperialist countries as two ranks. In the situation where the imperialist countries affected in World War II totally depended on the help of US super power and on the occasion where in the beginning of 1970s, the contention between super powers intensified and the danger of World War came forth, in view of tactics, in view of the need to deal with the countries of the world, when the division of three worlds came forth, it was said that all the imperialist countries except US and Soviet Union fall under the second rank imperialist countries. Later in the beginning of 1970s, general crisis of imperialism intensified, proxy war broke between US and Russia, the contention between US super power and West Europe and Japan imperialists in the economic sphere came forth openly. With this Russian imperialism gradually gained strength. Later China came forth as a social imperialist force and the second biggest economic force. Then this classification became outdated. In 1971, US had trade deficit and the prestige of dollar fell over the world and it began to become strategically weak. By 1984, it turned to be a country importing net capital. West Europe and Japan imperialist countries overcame the situation of economic dependence on US and are contending with it in the sphere of economy. But ICL declaration does not seem to realise that the classification of two ranks of imperialist countries does not apply now. Our party differs with this classification.

Three magnificent weapons

The understanding of the declaration on the problem of party organisation — ‘Chairman Mao Tse-tung developed the construction of the Party around the gun...’ is topsy-turvy. The declaration said thus in continuation to the above sentence: “...put forward the interrelated construction of the three instruments: Communist Party, Army of a new type and revolutionary United Front, among which the center is the Communist Party...’. Declaration skipped some more important aspects that Mao said about party organisation. Is there

not a contradiction between what Mao said and the declaration? We briefly write here the aspects we feel correct on party organisation. In fact, Mao never mentioned that party is centered around the gun. He wrote ‘...Yet, having guns, we can create Party organizations, as witness the powerful Party organizations which the Eighth Route Army has created in northern China. We can also create cadres, create schools, create culture, create mass movements. Everything in Yen-an has been created by having guns...’ (Problems of war and strategy).

But as mentioned above he said ‘Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party’. Mao described Party, People’s Army and revolutionary United Front as three magic weapons. The declaration did not mention this.

The document on ‘Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution’ of our party that Unity Congress-Ninth Congress approved mentioned thus about the importance of People’s Army – “We cannot conceive of people’s war without a people’s army... “In a country like ours, the revolution will go on from the beginning mainly through the form of armed struggle. Throughout the course of the new democratic revolution armed struggle or war will be the principal form of struggle and army will be the principal form of organization. Neither the work of organisation of the people nor the work of building mass struggles can go on successfully without the support of the people’s armed forces. The party can consolidate the achievements of mass struggles only by expanding and developing the guerrilla war, and will thus be able to lay the foundation for the alternative people’s political power...”, “If we do not formulate a military line corresponding to the correct political line, we cannot achieve our revolutionary objective. The military line should be subordinate to the political line. The correct military line takes birth in struggle, develops through struggle and takes a clear shape in the course of struggle. It is only by waging incessant ideological struggle against the Right and “Left” opportunist lines that we can successfully carry out the protracted people’s war”.

In this context we quote below the teachings of great Marxist teachers on the organisation of revolutionary party and our understanding in the light of MLM – Lenin said “There is no revolution without revolutionary theory”, “there is no revolutionary movement without revolutionary party”, “the proletariat, in its struggle for power, has no weapon other than organisation”.

Mao explained thus - “If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist – Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist – Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in

defeating imperialism and its running dogs.”

The three fundamental problems related to party in revolution are building a strong Party, a People’s Army and a United Front. Understanding these three problems and the interrelation between them provides the definite direction of entire revolution. Mao explained that it is necessary to have a proper understanding on the relation between Party, Army and United Front – “...the UF and armed struggle are the two basic weapons for defeating the enemy. The UF is a UF for carrying on armed struggle, and party is the heroic warrior wielding the two weapons, the UF and the Armed Struggle to storm and shatter the enemy’s positions. That is how they are related to each other.”

Therefore, it is very much necessary to realise the importance of constructing each and every of these magnificent weapons since the beginning and efficiently apply it to concrete revolutionary practice on the basis of teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

If we wish to make party invincible and so that it successfully leads revolution, we must build party on the basis of the below mentioned understanding of MLM.

As per the understanding of our party, party is one of the three powerful magnificent weapons needed to accomplish New Democratic Revolution in India with the perspective of Socialism-Communism. Party is the sole weapon that can efficiently utilise the other two weapons. Communist Party provides correct ideological, political, organisational and military leadership with great foresight in every turn and every phase of revolution.

The utmost important problem is to guide it through correct ideological, political line. The work of the party prior to revolution and until the achievement of Socialism-Communism must be based on correct ideological, political line. It is impossible to formulate correct program and strategy-tactics for revolution and achieve success in revolution without the proletarian theory of MLM. Proletarian party will have to keep revolutionary politics in command and take up practice in the light of MLM.

Another fundamental principle related to party organisation is its secret organisation.

The third fundamental principle is that party must possess unity regarding will; unity regarding practice; unity between the party and people.

We can ensure these only by building the party on the basis of Democratic centralism and by following class line and mass line (“from the people to the people”). Party must ensure unity, further strengthen its centralised leadership, double its efficiency of struggle and see that party’s life is healthy for which conscious implementation of democratic centralism is an issue of great importance. Therefore, democratic centralism must be practiced to motivate the entire party members.

We can thus further strengthen the party.

Strengthening collective leadership is one important condition for proper implementation of democratic centralism in the party. We must integrate collective leadership and individual responsibility and put it in practice for which we must strengthen the party committee system. We believe the correct communist principle that we must develop a central leadership group that shares collective responsibilities and cooperates in making good decisions. This prevents the supremacy of a single individual in executing party affairs. This applies to committees at all levels of the party.

Without a centralised leadership based on democracy, it is impossible to rectify wrong political lines and other mistakes. Everyone commits mistakes. No one is above mistakes. Although the role of capable leadership is utmost vital in revolution, strong collective leadership is stronger than any individual. Normally the thinking of collective will be correct and powerful than that of an individual. Central Committee can make better decisions through collective effort. It can formulate political lines, plans and tactics. It can rectify mistakes in decisions and practice. If the lower rung cadres of various levels are not made part of creatively applying the decisions of the Central Committee/higher committees to the concrete condition of the movement and making decisions apart from affairs in their purview, they do not own those decisions. They will be separated from it.

Their enthusiasm reduces to the extent of the number of those that separate from the decisions made. They cannot implement them efficiently. They lack the strength to mobilise the people on its basis and to fight. Exactly for this reason we oppose individual cult, commanding and giving boons.

Our party understands that the two line struggle inside the party is the reflection of class struggle in society, that it continues inside the party all through the process of its development and that it helps to develop the line followed by the party and to strengthen unity in the party. As per our understanding, we must follow the ‘three great styles related to work’ taught by Mao that stands as one of the criteria that separates the proletarian party from revisionist, petty bourgeois and bourgeois parties. The three great styles are – combining the theory with practice, maintaining close relations with the people, practicing criticism, self-criticism. We must realise that ideological and political education is the vital link in uniting the entire party. If we do not do this work, party cannot fulfil any of its political tasks

About three great swords

The description of Marx, Lenin and Mao as three great swords in the ICL declaration is not only surprising but condemnable. ICL declaration said, “... Thus, we

communists have three great swords: our founder Marx, the great Lenin and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, our great task is to uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism...". We strongly oppose the mention in this formulation of great Marxist teachers as three great swords.

We see Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao as great Marxist teachers. Utmost able leaders of the international proletariat – Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung formulated Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Marx-Engels together founded Marxism. The additions of Engels to Marxism are an inseparable part of Marxism. Lenin preserved Marxism and developed Marxism-Leninism. We see Stalin's additions integral to Marxism-Leninism. Mao developed Marxism-Leninism to its third, higher, qualitatively new stage – Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The history of class struggle and the theory and practice taught by Mao tell us that we can achieve victories through this proletarian science and further enrich this science, with the new explanations and principles obtained from the experiences of the present proletarian revolution; only in the revolutionary process of studying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, its creative application to the concrete conditions of the country; and in synthesising it from revolutionary experiences. We opine that the teachings of great Marxist teachers and the formulation of 'three swords' does not match.

The mention of MLM as nearly totally developed theory in ICL declaration is against the understanding of MLM. Lenin said, "Marxism is not a lifeless dogma, not a completed, ready-made, immutable doctrine, but a living guide to action. It is bound to reflect the astonishingly abrupt change in the conditions of social life".

Over assessments

– Declaration made over assessments of several aspects
 – "The general counterrevolutionary offensive that was unleashed in the beginning of the 90s of the last century - mainly by Yankee imperialism - is being defeated by the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary counteroffensive through the People's Wars, the struggles for national liberation and the struggles developed by the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world" (5th para of page 3). Instead of saying general counterrevolutionary offensive is being defeated, here it would be proper to say that the revolutionary counteroffensive had been fighting it back to an extent. The reason being, although the entire revolutionary democratic forces and movements in addition to the MLM parties resisted imperialist offensive intensely and widely for four decades starting from 1990s, Nepal revolution suffered horrible betrayal; revolutionary forces and national liberation forces suffered severe losses in the counter revolutionary of-

fensive of the enemy; although ICM relatively strengthened with the formation of new MLM parties-organisations and its activities, it is yet weak and is not strong enough to defeat imperialist offensive. This is an objective reality. Today the task of every Maoist party and ICM is to develop to the level of defeating the imperialist offensive.

– Objective condition is very favourable. There is a spate of people's struggles all over the world.

But the Maoist parties are not in a situation to catch up the spate. They are subjectively weak.

The parties must make intense effort to overcome the weakness. Maoist parties can lead worldwide struggles only through building strong revolutionary movements in its leadership and strengthening subjectively. It can thus transform this spate of struggles into a great wave of proletarian revolution.

– "...When a New Great Wave of the World Proletarian Revolution is produced in the world with the ongoing People's Wars in India, Peru, Turkey, and the Philippines, and its preparation in many other countries, when the heroic struggles of national resistance and people's resistance emerge around the whole world..."... this is an over assessment of the situation. The level of People's Wars in 5-6 countries or the level of other struggles mentioned above are not in a position to create a new great wave of world proletarian revolution. National liberation struggles and people's resistance struggles are going on in a big way but they lack proper and strong leadership.

They are scattered. Therefore, according to the objective situation of revolution we must make all kinds of attempts in the light of MLM for these to understand the existing situation and develop. The situation that can create great wonders will be come, if we dare to politically enlighten the people, mobilise them in class struggle and consolidate with the undeterred confidence that people are the makers of history; if we can lead Protracted People's Wars with great courage and determination; and efficiently lead Socialist Revolutions. There is no easy going gway other than this.

ICL must all over follow MLM work style to achieve its objective

We welcome the declaration of ICL for having a correct understanding of several ideological, political and organisational issues regarding ICM and world socialist revolution. We hope this would contribute to unity in ICM and to achieve the objective of world socialist revolution. However, we clearly inform that ICL must rectify the above mentioned mistakes of understanding in its declaration and serious shortcomings and strongly needs to adopt MLM work style –

It must have formed the organisation according to

the principle of democratic centralism without debate to exchange opinions, taking up two line struggle along with ideological, political debate and adopting international stand with common understanding; to mention that realising the omnipotence of revolutionary violence to be a demarcation between Marxism and revisionism; the understanding that party must be constructed around the gun; a different opinion in one aspect related to assessment on Stalin against the understanding of Mao-CPC; while power is the fundamental factor in Marxism and Leninism, to say that ‘power is fundamental in Maoism’; and not realising the importance of mass line that is one of the fundamental aspects of MLM. The mistakes and shortcomings of ICL in the beginning itself indicate its unilateral emphasis and sectarian approach. We opine that ICL needs to rectify these too.

All the revolutionary parties must uphold the new aspects that CPC under the leadership of Mao brought forth as a part of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) take proper lessons and utilise them as guide to action; they must learn through study, practice, criticism-self-criticism, discussions, debates and two line struggle and gain command on MLM; they must strive for the unity of international revolutionary forces and anti-imperialist forces. We wholeheartedly hope that they instil confidence in the vast toiling masses of the world and advance towards socialism communism.

Conclusion

Lastly, we are conveying our critical views on the declaration of ICL only with the intention to develop principled unity among MLM parties and organisations all over the world as a part of achieving the objective of world socialist revolution. We request all the MLM parties and organisations to clearly express their opinions on the important aspects of International Communist Movement and on the formation of ICL, to reach a common understanding on a proper basis; come forth with concrete proposals as a part of efforts to achieve unity-struggle-further higher unity in ideological and political aspects. We have a great historic task of achieving further unity in ICM. We declare our stand on the formation of ICL in order to fulfil this task. In this context, we request that all the MLM parties and organisations in addition to ICL, member parties and organisations to inform their stand on the document released by our party in 2017 on the formation of International proletarian organisation.

It is a long-time dream of worker, peasant and other oppressed, toiling people to achieve principled unity all over the world and among the MLM parties and organisations of the respective countries. Let us manifold our effort to make true this dream to unitedly go forward with undaunting courage to achieve victory by upholding the crimson Red Flags of International proletariat, MLM and World Socialist Revolution.

19 May, 2023



**Communist party of
the philippines**

On the announced formation by the International Communist League

The Communist Party of the Philippines extends its revolutionary greetings to the 15 communist parties and organizations from 14 countries who have come together under the name International Communist League which announced its formation a few weeks ago, after the holding of the Unified Maoist International Conference. While we do not presently see the conditions for establishing an international center that assumes the role of world proletarian vanguard, we nonetheless welcome your undertaking to promote Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and carry out revolutionary struggles across the world.

It is our view that the most urgent task currently facing communist parties and organizations around the world is to apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to conduct class analysis and social investigation into the varied conditions in their countries, in order to determine the particular strategy and tactics to lead the proletariat and all oppressed and exploited classes in waging new democratic and socialist revolutionary struggles.

We assert that Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organizations are the most competent in determining the revolutionary path in their own countries. It is their responsibility to take initiative in determining the line of struggle based on the application of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to their particular concrete conditions.

Being primarily responsible for leading the revolutionary struggles in their own countries, communist parties and organizations must strive to raise their capacity to become independent and self-reliant. At the same time, it will benefit them to draw lessons from the history of revolutionary struggles in different parts of the world, and to exchange views and experiences with communist parties in other countries. It will be counterproductive, however, for them to subordinate themselves to a presumptive international center and lose their independence and initiative in carrying out revolutionary work within the scope of their competence and leadership.

We are acutely aware of the strong desire for international unity and cooperation among communist

parties and organizations especially in the face of the rapid worsening of the global capitalist crisis and rising threats of imperialist wars. Across the world, workers and other oppressed sectors seek the proletarian vanguard party to serve as lead and core as they wage all forms of resistance—armed and unarmed, legal and illegal—to resist heightening forms of exploitation and oppression and attain national liberation and social justice, and socialism.

We call on all communist parties and organizations to wage revolutionary struggles in their own countries as the most important contribution to the international proletarian revolution. With vigorous revolutionary movements accumulating achievements and victories in all forms of struggles across the globe, building international unity through theoretical and polemical exchanges and forging different forms of cooperation among communist parties and groups can become more productive and grounded on practice.

Towards greater international unity and cooperation, the CPP encourages communities parties and organizations to conduct bilateral meetings and multilateral conferences and consultations where crucial questions of theory and practice can be discussed, threshed out and agreed upon, while setting aside points of disagreement for further study and discussion. We must always strive to build unity on the basis of upholding Marxism-Leninism, promoting Maoism as the third stage in the development of the proletarian ideology, exposing and fighting revisionism, advancing the struggle against imperialism and all reaction, and carrying forward the new democratic and socialist revolutions.

The CPP looks forward to expanding its international relations, establishing more Marxist-Leninist-Maoist and anti-imperialist ties, and forging greater unity and cooperation with communist parties and organizations, including those in the ICL.

**Central Committee
Communist Party of the Philippines
January 18, 2023**



PCm Italia

About ICL Declaration - Critical notes from PCm Italy International Commission

Some of the parties and organizations belonging to the current “MLM, mainly Maoism” 1, together with the TKP/ML have announced the birth of a new international grouping/organization called ICL, as result of a so-called “unified Maoist conference” or, as it is defined in the declaration in question, of the “first unified Maoist conference”. Our party shares the aims of convening an International Conference of MLM parties and organizations and of founding an international MLM organization, and on this it bases its international conduct constantly, together with other parties and organizations, since the internal collapse of the RIM 2. Nevertheless, although we had initially tried to work together with the organizing committee of the conference, we were forced to separate ourselves from the work of these comrades, not sharing the sectarian and factional organizational method with which this conference was prepared, noting that these comrades had no intention of modifying it despite our criticisms and suggestions.

The signatories of this declaration have been meeting for years both in “regional” conferences in Europe and South America, and in “unified bicontinental” conferences of their area 3, it is therefore part of this path of continuity and does not represent a qualitative leap towards the unity of our movement that a real International Conference with the aim of founding an international organization would require.

Of course, the objective conditions to overcome these contradictions and achieve an acceptable level of unity are certainly difficult, and for this the promoting comrades cannot be blamed, but we hold them responsible in recent years for the subjectivism with which the parties and organizations of this area interpret concrete reality by blinding them both respect to the assessment of the international situation and to the necessary steps to convene a real unified Maoist Conference.

The Declaration confirms a subjective and one-sided analysis, with the same style of previous documents appeared on the organ of this political area 4, and the Conference is described as a “*decisive blow to the general counter-revolutionary offensive of imperialism and world reaction, as well as to revisionism and opportunism.*”

The self-styled CIMU, which was supposed to take a step forward from the crisis-stagnation-dissolution of RIM, instead takes a resounding step backwards because of the erroneous positions taken, inherent in the nature and objectives of the organization, as well as with respect to the theoretical-ideological analysis of various issues.

With regard to the analysis of the world situation, at the beginning of the declaration it is stated:

The general counterrevolutionary offensive that was unleashed in the beginning of the 90s of the last century - mainly by Yankee imperialism - is being defeated by the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary counteroffensive through the People’s Wars, the struggles for national liberation and the struggles developed by the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world. We greet the heroic People’s Wars in India, Peru, Turkey and the Philippines and the national liberation armed struggles. (Emphasis ours).

The concrete analysis of the concrete situation shows, on the contrary, that on all the indicated fronts of this counter-revolutionary offensive, the People’s Wars, the struggles for national liberation and the struggles developed by the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world, are in the phase of strategic defensive and are therefore resisting this offensive and are not yet in the capacity to counterattack strategically.

The two people’s wars in India and in the Philippines, are in the phase of strategic defensive, just as declared by the two respective parties that direct them and therefore the current tension is to advance towards the strategic equilibrium, which, once reached, will allow to prepare the political, ideological and military base to counterattack.

The national liberation struggles, are also in the same phase as the strategic defensive, are in a worse situation than the mentioned PWs, not being directed by proletarian forces: the glorious Palestinian national liberation struggle resists, in Kurdistan despite some support bases and liberated areas it is not even possible to speak of a counteroffensive. Even in the imperialist

For a Unified MLM International Conference

countries the proletarians are in a defensive and resistant phase in the face of the generalized attack of the imperialist bourgeoisie on workers' rights.

All this is the result of the dialectic between objective and subjective situation in which, despite being the first extremely favorable for the revolution at the world level and while even taking into account the different degrees of development between the various MLM parties and organizations, it finds a subjective development of the revolutionary and democratic-patriotic forces extremely backward compared to what the objective situation would require in each country and at the world level.

The ICM is still in the phase in which imperialism, despite being in decomposition, has momentarily defeated the first experiences of proletarian and socialist revolutions, in this context, in the words of Gramsci: *"Every collapse brings with it intellectual and moral disorder. We must create people who are sober, patient, who do not despair in the face of the worst horrors and do not exalt themselves at every silliness. Pessimism of the intelligence, optimism of the will"*.

We must therefore keep our guard up both against capitulationism and revisionism and towards infantilism and "left" extremism.

The non-Maoist conception of people's war

As Mao himself teaches us:

The dialectical conception of the world teaches us first of all to observe and analyze in different things the movement of opposite aspects and to find on the basis of this analysis, the appropriate methods for resolving contradictions. That is why the concrete understanding of the law of contradiction inherent in things is of exceptional importance to us. 5

From the document in question, on the contrary, comes out a confusion in the analysis of "different things" and contradictions: it is affirmed, for example, that [proletarian] power is "conquered" and "defended" through People's War, that is the same strategy of resolution is proposed for two different contradictions.

The People's War is a revolutionary global strategy to resolve the contradiction between the ruling class and the dominated class for the conquest of power by the latter.

Once the dominated class, the proletariat (together with the classes allied to itself in the oppressed countries) seizes power, this contradiction is resolved, but since

the contradiction is universal, one is succeeded by another in an endless process of development: *"the old process is completed and a new process begins"*.

Since the new process contains a new contradiction, the history of the development of this own contradiction begins". 6

Moreover, *"every form of society, every form of thought has its particular contradiction and its particular quality"*. 7

And once again Mao indicates:

Resolving different contradictions with different methods is a principle that Marxist-Leninists (*today marxist-leninist-maoists, ed.*) must strictly observe. Dogmatists do not observe this principle, do not understand the differences between the various revolutionary situations and therefore do not understand that different contradictions must be resolved through different methods. On the contrary, they uniformly adopt a form which they imagine to be immutable and apply it rigidly everywhere; this can only cause great damage to the revolution or compromise what could have been brought to a successful conclusion. 8

Instead, these comrades who claim to want to "impose Maoism" 9 seem not to understand the essence of the contradiction and say:

The Revolutionary War, the People's War, is the superior form of struggle - through which the fundamental problems of revolution are solved; it is the military strategy that correspond to the political strategy (conquest of power) to transform society in favor of the Class and the people; it is the principal form of struggle and the People's Army is the principal form of organization, an army of a new type that combats, mobilizes, and produces. People's War is a war of masses led by the Communist Party to conquer and defend the New Power for the proletariat. (*Emphasis ours*).

The People's War is conceived as a sort of *passpartout* to resolve all contradictions, while instead the People's War is a revolutionary strategy for the conquest of power and not for its defense; for the latter the repressive instruments of the proletarian state and the Party are appointed through the application of the mass line as the glorious experience of the GPCR teaches us.

This approach leads to confusion about the relationship between the party and the people's army, expressing contradictory statements in the same phrase that we have highlighted here.

The confusion about contradiction in general and what would be the main contradiction

A similar confusion is expressed about the main/fundamental contradiction:

The whole process of the capitalist society has the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as the fundamental contradiction"; only to state three lines later: "First contradiction: between oppressed nations, on the one hand, and imperialist superpowers and powers on the other. This is the principal contradiction in the current moment and the principal contradiction of the epoch of imperialism at the same time. (*Emphasis ours*).

Mao clearly states:

For example, when the capitalism of the epoch of free competition was transformed into imperialism, neither the nature of the two classes between which the fundamental contradiction exists (the proletariat and the bourgeoisie) nor the capitalist nature of society changed; however, the contradiction between these two classes became more acute, the new contradiction between monopoly and non-monopoly capitalism arouse; the contradiction between the countries of the metropolis and the colonies sharpened, the contradiction between capitalist countries (i.e. the contradiction generated by the uneven development of the various countries) manifested itself with particular acuteness; thus a particular stage of capitalism, the stage of imperialism, was born.

Since the current stage of capitalism is imperialism, Mao's analysis that we have just quoted remains valid today.

The document indicates a contradiction that does not currently exist in reality (that between socialism and capitalism) by placing it precisely in the field of ideas or, as the comrades write, "*it is expressed and developed in the ideological and historical field*", while the class struggle develops here and now (concrete situation) and it is this that we must analyze in order to guide our action.

Finally, the conference takes a step backwards from the MLM by not understanding the Maoist balance on Stalin, giving an absolutely positive and therefore unilateral judgment (again there is a problem of understanding about the aspect of contradiction) converging with Hoaxist positions on this question, while Comrade Mao stated:

the merits that Stalin earned during his lifetime, as well as the mistakes he committed, are objective facts of history. If one compares his merits and mistakes, it is his merits that predominate, because in Stalin's activity the essential aspect is his right actions, while his errors occupy only a secondary importance. 10

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism or Third Worldism?

The declaration traces a tendency towards third worldism by stating that the basis of world revolution is represented by oppressed nations. We believe, first of all, that the objective world situation today does not permit such an affirmation, on the one hand because of the uneven development of the productive forces in the various countries of the world, which produces a more

complex reality than this generalization: we think, for example, about the proletarian revolts that cyclically explode in some ICs as in France, in the USA or England which objectively represent a basis for proletarian revolution if an adequate subjective condition develops in those countries. On the other hand, even in the oppressed countries, where revolts are more frequent as a consequence of the particular objective condition of those countries, a similar inadequacy of the subjective element has the same outcome as the proletarian revolts mentioned in the ICs: their momentary ebb.

A dogmatic approach about the "semi-feudal" characteristic of all oppressed countries exists, while some comrades of some of these countries reject this dogmatic approach, on the basis of their own revolutionary experience and analysis (think for example of the Colombian comrades of the UOC MLM; in other countries such as Tunisia, Iran and Nepal, some comrades are moving towards this direction).

Furthermore, about the national question, the comrades continue to confuse the nature of the countries 11 and, for example, explicitly state on page 17 that all Eastern Europe countries are "oppressed countries" 12.

About the new ICL organisation

The declaration states that the main task of the new international organization is to "*impose Maoism 13 [...] serving the constitution or reconstitution of the MLM communist parties [...] and serving to initiate, develop and coordinate People's Wars by means of the reconstitution of the Communist International*".... We do not dwell on this point by endorsing the criticisms already made public by other parties and organizations before us. 14

The Conference failed in one of its main objectives: to make a balance of RIM and make a step forward.

A RIM balance is missed in the declaration. It is relegated to one miserable page on the 30 total pages of the document, but the real problem is not of quantitative nature but of a qualitative nature: an International Conference that aims to be “Maoist and unified” should seriously address the balance of the only International Organization of the Maoists appeared until today which has grouped within it a large number of Maoist parties starting from those representing almost all the

people’s wars of the time (Peru, Turkey, Nepal and partly India) and which played an important role in the birth of MLM parties and organizations, and of new people’s wars, as well as in supporting them, or allowing the deployment of an international campaign following the arrest of Chairman Gonzalo.

The twenty-year history of the RIM deserves a careful and serious analysis and a balance of its many positive aspects as well as the negative aspects, so as the errors of some parties and organizations that ultimately have contributed, together to the action of the neo-revisionism of Prachanda/Bhattarai and Avakian, to its collapse.

ICL declaration has a liquidationist stand about that at the service of the self- propaganda of this area, even the positive aspects of the RIM are reduced to an apology of the PCP according to the interpretation that the Declaration’ authors have of this party.

This conference represents in our opinion the consolidation and structuring of a petty-bourgeois and “left” opportunist tendency within the mlm international communist movement: a step backwards with respect to the RIM and a new obstacle to achieve a higher level of unity in the MLM area and the ICs: the solution to this contradiction lies in a genuine two line struggle to advance along the tortuous path towards the establishment of an international organization of Maoist parties and organizations serving the World Proletarian Revolution.

(Footnotes)

1: We are speaking of a fraction of the Maoist movement that believes that today MLM has been enriched by some universal contributions of Chairman Gonzalo and identifies, in a more or less explicit manner, the current phase of Marxism as “MLM, mainly Maoism with the universal contributions of Chairman Gonzalo” based on their own interpretation of “Gonzalo thought” which would actually represent “mainly Maoism”. For simplicity we will define these parties and organizations as “Gonzalists”.

2: See the two Special Resolutions of 2012, First May Declarations, International meetings held in Italy in the last years.

3: In recent years X conferences have been held in Europe and Latin America organized by this political area.

4: The Communist International

5: Mao Tse Tung, On contradiction, Philosophical Writings, p.187.

6: Ibid, p.190.

7: Ibid, p.191.

8: Ibid, p.193.

9: That is, one’s own interpretation of Maoism on which they graft their own interpretation of the contributions of Chairman Gonzalo.

10: Mao Tse-Tung, On the question of Stalin, Second Commentary on the Letter of July 14, 1963, published as an editorial by the editorial staff of the People’s Daily and Red flag

11: See various documents published in The Communist International.

12: We postpone our criticism on this point to our previous document and available on ..

13: Read “Gonzalism”.

14: Colombian, Norwegians and Galicians comrades.

Political declaration and the principles of International Communist League

December 26, 2022

PRESENTATION:

The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Parties and Organizations participating on the UNIFIED MAOIST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE (UMIC) – following the path of the Third International founded by the Great Lenin and the best traditions of the International Communist Movement (ICM) – solemnly declare to the international Proletariat and the peoples of the world that the historical and transcendental decision of giving birth to the new international Maoist organization was taken, founded under the three great and glorious red banners: Maoism, the struggle against revisionism and the world proletarian revolution.

With deep communist conviction, we parties and organizations reunited here reaffirm ourselves – once more and with solemn commitment – in fulfilling the agreements of the Unified Maoist International Conference, defending and applying the almighty ideology of the international proletariat – Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

It is a firm commitment in the arduous and restless struggle for imposing Maoism as the sole command and guide of the World Revolution, the only deeply red and unfading flag which is the guarantee of triumph for the proletariat, the oppressed nations and the peoples of the world in its inexorable march towards the golden and forever shining communism.

The 1st Unified Maoist International Conference of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communist parties and organizations have an historical transcendence and a deep strategic content. It is a glorious task which corresponds to the New Great Wave of the World Proletarian Revolution.

With ardent enthusiasm, and overflowing with class optimism and deeply moved, we raise the red slogan:

The 1st Unified Maoist International Conference is a base and inexorably marches toward the reunification of the communists in the ICM – a war machine – a machine of combat that raises the unfading flags of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the invincible People’s War!!

Proletarians of all countries, unit

POLITICAL DECLARATION AND THE PRINCIPLES OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST LEAGUE

I. INTRODUCTION

Communism is the inexorable goal of history, humanity marches toward it and this unfading goal will be reached no matter the vicissitudes we face today.

The principal task for the communists is to conform and develop themselves as a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Communist Party in order to make revolution to conquer Power – which we have to develop according to the particularity of each country – as part of and in service of the World Proletarian Revolution to reach Communism. The existence of a communist party is decisive to make the proletarian revolution in the New Era in which we find ourselves – which was opened with the Great Socialist October Revolution in 1917. Without a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Communist Party, revolution can not be carried out and neither can it develop itself to conquer and defend the New Power.

The International Communist Movement is the vanguard of the international proletariat. The principal problem for the ICM is still the dispersion of forces and the main danger is revisionism. Its unity is built on the base and guidance of Marxism – today Marxism-Leninism-Maoism – and its application to the concrete practice of revolution on each country and to the process of the world revolution.

Chairman Mao told us: **“the history of the international communist movement shows us that proletarian unity is consolidated and developed in the struggle against opportunism, revisionism and divisionism.”** The current dispersion was originated with the capitalist restoration in the USSR and in People’s China, and it was aggravated by the emergence of the right opportunist line – revisionist and capitulationist – (ROL R&C) in Peru, the revisionist treason of “Prachandism” in Nepal and the “avakianite” liquidationist revisionism in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), among other manifestations of new revisionism in different parties and organizations. Divisionism and the following dispersion were the result of treason by new revisionism to the fundamental principles of Marxism in the proletarian movement.

The current demarcation line between Marxism and revisionism consists in: 1) acknowledging or not acknowledging Maoism as the third, new and higher stage of Marxism and the necessity to combat

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revisionism and all opportunism; 2) acknowledging or not acknowledging the omnipotence of revolutionary violence in order to make revolution in each one's own country; 3) acknowledging or not acknowledging the necessity to demolish the old state apparatus and replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat; 4) acknowledging or not acknowledging the necessity of the revolutionary party of the proletariat. 5) acknowledging or not acknowledging the necessity of proletarian internationalism.

The ICM can not give a single step toward its reunification without combating revisionism and all opportunism implacably and inseparably from the struggle against imperialism and all reaction. This is why we base ourselves in the principle of **“two-line struggle as a driving force for party development”**, which is decisive to formulate and defend the red proletarian line and to combat the other non-proletarian lines, in other words, to keep the Party red.

The general counterrevolutionary offensive that was unleashed in the beginning of the 90s of the last century – mainly by Yankee imperialism – is being defeated by the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary counteroffensive through the People's Wars, the struggles for national liberation and the struggles developed by the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world. We greet the heroic People's Wars in India, Peru, Turkey and the Philippines and the national liberation armed struggles.

Class struggle in the era of imperialism and the world proletarian revolution – the era in which we find ourselves in, the era of the general crisis and sweeping away of imperialism – follows the logic of the people that was established by Chairman Mao Tse-tung¹, according to which there is no definitive defeat for the proletariat. Thus, the capitalist restorations in the USSR (1956) and in China (1976) can not stop the revolutionary march of the international proletariat on its path to ultimately settle down in Power. These defeats are only moments in the development of the contradiction between revolution and counterrevolution, from which we draw lessons to prevent restorations in the future. The few decades of dictatorship of the proletariat – which started the construction of socialism in more than a third of the world – produced the greatest social transformations and achievements for the masses in human history, which were never reached before.

The end of the social-imperialist USSR in the beginning of the 90s did not represent the defeat of Marxism nor the failure of socialism, but the bankruptcy of the decomposing revisionism and social-imperialism. Marxism – today Marxism-Leninism-Maoism – is the most complete, progressive and rational doctrine of the whole human history; it represents the new because it is the world view, the ideology of the last and most

advanced class in History: the proletariat; the class that is conscious of its historical role of being the gravedigger of capitalism and consequently of all class society. Maoism is opposed to all the decadent and obsolete bourgeois ideology and its revisionist deviations.

During more than 170 years starting from the Manifesto of the Communist Party in 1848, the ideology of the proletariat has emerged and developed itself in the crucible of class struggle in three stages: 1) Marxism, 2) Marxism-Leninism and 3) Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Maoism is the almighty scientific ideology of the international proletariat, it is almighty because it is true; the third, new and higher stage of Marxism; the current Marxism that we uphold, defend and principally apply.

The new revisionism of the ROL in Peru, of the so-called “prachandism” and “avakianism”, etc., act within the international proletarian movement as part of the general counterrevolutionary offensive, as an anti-Maoist counter-current that attempts to hold down the World Proletarian Revolution. The new revisionism negates Marxism, the party, socialism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, the center of its attacks are condensed in the negation of the People's War as an essential and inseparable question of Maoism.

The fundamental of Maoism is Power, in other words, the power to the proletariat, the power to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the power based on an armed force led by the Communist Party. Notably: 1) Power under the leadership of the proletariat within the democratic revolution; 2) Power to the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist revolution and the successive cultural revolutions; 3) Power based on an armed force led by the communist Party, conquered and defended through People's War.

Chairman Mao established the strategy and tactics of the world revolution. The development of the world revolution is principal in preventing the world imperialist war and – if it starts – we communists must oppose it with world revolutionary war. This demands us to lead People's War to face the imperialist wars of aggression against the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and even in Europe itself. Even without the imperialist aggression we must lead the People's War to make revolution, reaching out countries and continents until advancing toward the world revolution, with which we will sweep away imperialism and the reaction from the face of Earth. Thus, it corresponds to us making the world revolution through revolutionary war, and the base for it is constituted by the oppressed nations.

Therefore, the fundamental aspect of Maoism is Power. People's War and Power for the class are an essential and inseparable part of Maoism – of the political and military conception of the proletariat: Power

conquered and defended by the armed force led by the Communist Party.

The Revolutionary War, the People's War, is the superior form of struggle – through which the fundamental problems of revolution are solved; it is the military strategy that correspond to the political strategy (conquest of power) to transform society in favor of the Class and the people; it is the principal form of struggle and the People's Army is the principal form of organization, an army of a new type that combats, mobilizes, and produces. People's War is a war of masses led by the Communist Party to conquer and defend the New Power for the proletariat.

In order to carry out People's War it is necessary to have four fundamental problems in mind: 1) ideology of the proletariat – Marxism-Leninism-Maoism – applied to the concrete practice and the particularities of revolution on each country, either oppressed countries or imperialist countries; 2) the necessity of the Communist Party to lead the People's War; 3) specification of the political strategy for its path; 4) base areas. The New Power or Front-New State – that is formed in the base areas – is the core of the People's War.

In order to establish the base areas, Chairman Mao established three fundamental requirements: 1) to have armed forces, 2) to defeat the enemy, 3) to mobilize the masses. That is to say, to develop the Guerrilla warfare to annihilate the living forces of the enemy, thus, creating a void of power in order to establish, construct, and defend the new Power – to destroy the old social relations of production and to build new ones. From there the contradiction New Power/New State versus Old State develops, through various moments of reestablishment and counter-reestablishment, according to the fluidity of war.

Imperialism is the higher and last stage of capitalism, it is monopolistic, parasitic, and decomposing and agonizing. It is in its general and last crisis and due to this situation it is harassed by its inevitable cyclical crisis that is increasingly worsened and deepened. This is why it always has to start from a lower point. It is only there to be swept away by the world revolution.

Imperialism is the tendency toward reaction and war all along the line. Imperialism and world reaction will collapse in the midst of a complex of wars of all kinds, they will be swept away from the face of Earth by revolution, and Socialism will emerge. Lenin established that **“imperialism is a colossus with clay feet”** and Chairman Mao said strategically, we must utterly despise imperialism. Tactically, we must take it seriously.

Mao established his great Thesis: **“The next 50 to 100 years or so, as of today, will be a great epoch of radical change of the social system in the world, an epoch that will shake the earth, an epoch with which no other previous historical epoch can be**

compared. Living in such an epoch, we must be ready to fight a great struggle whose forms will have many different characteristics from the past.” (Mao Tse-tung, *“From a speech in front of a meeting with 7000 cadres in 1962”*)

The process of World Proletarian Revolution – in which we develop ourselves in this period – is the one in which imperialism and world reaction will be swept away from the face of Earth. Thus, revolution has become the historically and politically principal tendency in the current world.

All the fundamental contradictions of this epoch are aggravated, the principal one being the contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism. The objective conditions were never so ripe for revolution. The development of the subjective conditions advances, smashing the declining general counteroffensive and smashing pessimism and capitulationism promoted and spread by revisionism. The conditions are each day more favorable for revolution.

Developing the world proletarian revolution requires more People's Wars. It is necessary to constitute or reconstitute communist parties – according to each case – in each country, by applying the teachings of Lenin **“go further into the deepest masses”, “educate them in the practice of revolutionary violence”, and “sweep away the colossal heap of garbage relentlessly fighting opportunism and revisionism.”**

The current international conference and the new organization that is born by this act are achievements of the international proletariat and a striking blow to the general counterrevolutionary offensive of imperialism and the world reaction, as well as to revisionism and all opportunism.

The new international organization is a center of ideological, political, and organizational coordination, based on democratic centralism and the solution of problems through mutual and permanent consultation among the parties and organizations that conforms it, and it will extend this procedure to all those who – while participating with the same principles and purposes – are outside of it. The task of the new international organization is to struggle to impose Maoism as the sole command and guide of the World Proletariat Revolution, serving the constitution or reconstitution of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communist parties (the delayed strategic task) and serving to start, develop and coordinate People's Wars in the world towards the reconstitution of the Communist International.

II. FOUNDATION FOR ESTABLISHING THE GENERAL POLITICAL LINE FOR THE ICM

By applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete practice of revolution on each country and the World Revolution, we point out the following

foundations for the establishment and development of the General Political Line for the International Communist Movement:

1. NEW ERA

With the emergence of imperialism, the world was divided between a handful of oppressing nations on the one hand, and a big number of oppressed nations on the other, ripening the conditions for the World Revolution.

The triumph of the Great Socialist October Revolution, 1917, led by the great Lenin and the Bolshevik Party marked an extraordinary milestone in Universal History. It is the end of the world bourgeois revolution and the opening of the New Era, where the proletariat is the class that assumes the destruction of imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism: the Era of Imperialism and the World Proletarian Revolution. There were many revolutions before the great October Revolution, each one of them provided new impulse to society. However, these revolutions only replaced an exploitation system with another.

The Great Socialist October Revolution (GSOR) was the first revolution that was conceived and carried out to establish a society free from exploitation and oppression – a classless society. The Great Socialist October Revolution represented a radical turning point in the history of humanity. It opened a New Era in the shining and long path that leads to socialism and communism.

The GSOR potentiated revolutionary violence as an indispensable weapon to transform the whole world. Lenin said: **“In the October Revolution ... revolutionary violence achieved a brilliant success.”** Assuming the Marxist principle of revolutionary violence as a universal law, we reaffirm ourselves in the established by Chairman Mao that **“Power grows from the barrel of a gun”** and that **“we are in favor of the theory of the omnipotence of revolutionary war.”**

In order to appraise the world in this New Era we see that four fundamental contradictions are expressed: 1) the contradiction between capitalism and socialism – the contradiction between the two radically different systems – will cover this whole period and it will be one of the last to be resolved, it will last even after the seizure of Power; 2) the contradiction between bourgeoisie and proletariat – it is the contradiction between two opposed classes – will also remain after the seizure of Power, it manifests itself in various ideological, political and economic forms until its solution when we enter communism; 3) the inter-imperialist contradictions – these are the contradictions between the imperialists for world hegemony; it takes place between the superpowers, among the

superpowers and the imperialist powers and among the imperialist powers; 4) the contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism – it is the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed nations to destroy imperialism and reaction; it is the historically principal contradiction during the whole era of imperialism; however, any one of the four fundamental contradictions can become the principal according to specific circumstances of class struggle, but the historically principal contradiction will again express itself as such until its final resolution.

We, the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, have to carry out three kinds of revolution in order to, in perspective, achieve our final goal – communism: 1) democratic revolution – the bourgeois revolution of a new type, led by the proletariat in the backward countries – establishes the joint dictatorship of the proletariat, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, and – under certain conditions – the middle bourgeoisie, all under the hegemony of the proletariat represented by its Communist Party; 2) socialist revolution – in the imperialist countries – which establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat; 3) the cultural revolutions – they are carried out in order to continue revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to submit and eliminate any emergence of capitalism and to struggle against the attempts of capitalist restoration – they serve to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and to march toward communism.

Chairman Mao taught us that **“the replacement of the old for the new is a universal, eternal and inescapable law”**. It is a law of history which, in the struggle for establishing the new social system, the classes cannot impose themselves in one single attempt, with one single blow, and it cannot be different with the proletariat. The capitalist restorations in the USSR (1956) and in China (1976) are part of the contradiction between socialism and capitalism – the historical struggle for the replacement of the old by the new.

Lenin warned that the exploiting classes would never resign after being defeated and expropriated. Their hatred and efforts to restore capitalism would be hundredfold by their defeat. Their wishes and intent for restoration will turn into restoration attempts. This is why they must be firmly submitted to the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to generate the conditions for the extinction of classes. Lenin declared: **“liquidating capitalism and its traces and introducing the principles of the communist order constitutes the content of the new epoch in the history of the entire world that has now commenced.”**

This way, Lenin pointed out that this task would take a long time and that – in order to completely liquidate the classes – it is not only necessary to eliminate the exploiting classes but also to eliminate the differences between city and countryside, workers and peasants,

manual and intellectual labor and other differences.

This contradiction will only be solved through a long and complex process of restoration and counter-restoration, until the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism are consolidated in the whole world. Thus, paving the way for the disappearance of all social classes – with which the state is also extinguished – and humanity enters the forever shining and golden communism. Chairman Mao taught that: **“socialism will eventually replace the capitalist system; This is an objective law, independent of the will of man. As much as the reactionaries try to stop the wheel of history, sooner or later the revolution will take place and, without a doubt, will triumph.”**

2. THE PROCESS OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

There are two forces that operate in the revolutionary movement in the whole world: the international communist movement and the national liberation movement, the first one is the lead and the second is the base.

The national liberation movement is the force that operates within the nations oppressed by imperialism and the reaction. In the 1910s, Lenin paid maximum attention to the struggle in India, China, Persia, putting forward that the socialist revolution would not be uniquely and exclusively the proletariat against their own bourgeoisie but of all colonies against their oppressors. He said that there is a fusion of forces: the international proletarian movement that acts in the whole world, and the national liberation movement of the oppressed nations, and, given that the masses in the oppressed nations are the majority of the global population, it will be the decisive weight in the world revolution. He reaches the conclusion that revolution shifts toward the oppressed nations, but this does not deny revolution in the imperialist countries. Furthermore, he shows that a socialist state – as was the USSR – could develop in the midst of imperialist siege. This is how the law of uneven development of revolution in the world operates.

Further developing Marx, Lenin lays the basis of the strategy of world revolution to undermine imperialism, unite the struggle of national liberation with the struggles of the international proletarian movement and develop revolution. Although **“Proletarians of all countries, unite!”** is the lemma for the communists, he puts forward that the lemma that should guide the struggle of the two forces should be **“Proletarians of all countries and peoples of the world, unite!”**. The latter unifies the proletarian movement for the construction of socialism in the imperialist countries with the struggles of national liberation in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, a lemma that was accepted by the Communist International.

Chairman Mao – developing the strategy and tactics of the world revolution – specified this lemma according to the tasks at the moment: **“Marxist-Leninists of all countries, unite! Revolutionary peoples of the whole world, unite; overthrow imperialism, contemporary revisionism and all reactionaries of the different countries!”** Thus, he fuses the national liberation movement with the international communist movement and these two forces impulse the development of world history.

The international proletarian movement is the theory and practice of the international proletariat. The proletariat struggles in three spheres – ideological, political and economic – and since it first appears in history as the last class, it does so in struggle. The following milestones stand out: 1848, when the Communist Manifesto written by Marx and Engels establishes the foundation and the program of the proletariat; 1871, Paris Commune, where for the first time the proletariat seizes power; 1905, general rehearsal of revolution; 1917, the triumph of the October Revolution in Russia, the class establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat and opens a new era; 1949, the triumph of the Chinese revolution, the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes led by the proletariat and the uninterrupted step into socialist revolution is resolved, it changes the correlation of forces in the world; and the decade of 1960 with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, revolution continues under the dictatorship of the proletariat in sharp struggle between restoration and counter-restoration.

We must develop the struggle for demands serving the struggle of Power. The proletariat generates the trade union and the strike within its struggle for demands, which are not only instruments for the struggle for demands, but they **“forge the class for the great battles to come”**. The strike is the principal instrument for the struggle for demands and the general strike is a complement to insurrection.

The proletariat generates political apparatus: the Communist Party which is totally opposed and distinct to the other parties, it has the goal of seizing political power, as defined by Marx. Lenin established the character of the Party of a new type when combating the hindering influence of old revisionism, which generated bourgeois worker parties based on labor aristocracy, union bureaucracy, parliamentary cretinism and that are adjusted to the old order.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung developed the construction of the Party around the gun and put forward the interrelated construction of the three instruments: Communist Party, Army of a new type and revolutionary United Front, among which the center is the Communist Party.

The proletariat generates ideology for the world

proletarian revolution: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Marx has formulated and laid foundations to dialectical materialism and applied it to the analysis of capital – of the capitalist society – and has discovered the law of development of history. Marx and Engels gathered the best that was produced by humanity: German classical philosophy, English political economy and French socialism, to lay foundations to the ideology of the proletariat. After the death of Marx, Engels has completed the still pending works of Marx, such as the books two and three of *The Capital*. He systematized and defined Marxism as the integral and harmonic theory of the international proletariat. In Lenin's words: *"it is impossible to understand Marxism and to propound it fully without taking into account all of the works of Engels."* Marxism has never given a single step in life without struggling against erroneous ideas and positions. Thus, it had to confront Proudhon and anarchism, the rightist deviations and supposedly creative developments of Dühring, the opportunist positions that emerged within the social-democrat party of Germany.

Our immortal founders Marx and Engels have shown, through scientific analysis, the collapse of capitalism and its inevitable transit into communism – where no more exploitation of man by man will exist. They established that the mission of the proletariat of all countries is to rise in revolutionary struggle against capitalism and gather all workers and exploited to destroy it and to edify socialism and communism over its ashes.

After the death of Engels, the old revisionism developed – with Bernstein and Kautsky – and Lenin combated and defeated them. To sum up, Marxism – in its first stage – will establish Marxist philosophy or dialectical materialism, Marxist political economy, and scientific socialism.

Lenin developed Marxism and raised it to a second stage, Marxism-Leninism. He made this in a fierce struggle against old revisionism. They denied Marxist philosophy by saying one should base oneself in neo-kantism, which is idealism and not dialectical materialism. In political economy, they denied growing pauperization, thus they affirmed that capitalism met the demands of the proletariat; they denied plus-value and imperialism. In Scientific socialism, they went against class struggle, against revolutionary violence, and the dictatorship of the proletariat – disseminating pacifism and parliamentary cretinism.

Lenin taught that the revolutionary politics of the proletariat is materialized through its vanguard party. Without its General Staff – the Communist Party – the proletariat cannot fulfill its principal role in the transformation of the world. Thanks to the existence of a Revolutionary Party of New Type, created and led by Lenin, the Russian proletariat could take advantage of the revolutionary situation and answer the imperialist

war with revolutionary civil war. Chairman Mao said: **"with the birth of revolutionary parties of this kind, the physiognomy of world revolution has changed"**.

Revisionism is to revise the Marxist principles by invoking new circumstances. Lenin said that revisionism is the advanced detachment of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the proletariat and that to struggle against imperialism it is necessary to struggle against revisionism – because they are two faces of the same coin. Lenin highlights that revisionism attempts to divide the trade union movement and the political movement of the proletariat and generates the split of socialism. Furthermore, within this unerring and implacable struggle against revisionism, Lenin puts forward – in the context of the preparation and beginning of the World War I – to convert the imperialist war into revolutionary war, thus unmasking the old revisionists as social-patriots and social-chauvinists; he puts forward that in times of revolution it is necessary to create new organizations because reaction attacks the legal and open organizations and we must assemble clandestine apparatuses, even for mass work. Then, he materialized the October Revolution with a Communist Party and through armed insurrection.

Comrade Stalin would continue the work of Lenin and – in the process of the construction of socialism in the USSR – he will struggle against right opportunism and the treason of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Bukarin. Stalin developed this struggle for 13 years and it is false that he solved things administratively.

During the World War, the USSR under the leadership of comrade Stalin had to apply scorched land to defend its territory, the defense of the socialist motherland costed more than 25 million lives. In the midst of a complex and difficult situation – under the leadership of comrade Stalin – the dictatorship of the proletariat was consolidated and the construction of socialism triumphed. The five five-year plans that were applied for twenty five years led to the biggest transformation in the relations of production, to the most powerful development of the productive forces in history and the greatest social achievements by the people's masses seen until then.

We assume the position of Chairman Mao on the role of comrade Stalin that he was a great Marxist. Furthermore, we must bear in mind that he was the one who brilliantly defined Leninism. We, the communists, today have the task to assume the defense of his role in World War II within the Communist International, particularly its 7th World Congress.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, while developing Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, raises Marxism to its highest summit turning the theory of the proletariat into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. He fulfilled this task in the midst of a tenacious and persistent struggle, smashing right opportunist lines within the Communist Party of China

– here we highlight smashing the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-chi and Teng Siao-ping; and at the international level he led the struggle and defeated modern revisionism of Khrushchev. He materialized the democratic revolution in China, the uninterrupted transit to socialist revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR).

In historical perspective, the GPCR is what is the most transcendental of the development of Marxism-Leninism, that was done by Chairman Mao; it is the solution of the big pending problem of the continuation of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; **“it represents a new stage, even deeper and wider, in the development of the socialist revolution”**.

Let us highlight two questions: 1) the GPCR implies a milestone in the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat toward rooting the proletariat into Power, which was concreted with the “Three in One” Revolutionary Committees; and 2) the restoration of capitalism in China – after the counterrevolutionary coup in 1976 by the clique of Teng – is not a negation of the GPCR but simply part of the contend between restoration-counterrestoration and, on the contrary, it shows us the transcendental historical importance the GPCR has in the inexorable march of humanity toward communism.

In these conditions, the most earthshaking political process and the biggest political mass mobilization ever seen on Earth was produced, which goals Chairman Mao defines as follows: **“The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is completely necessary and very timely to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to prevent the restoration of capitalism and to build socialism”**.

Chairman Mao affirmed that not having a correct ideological-political point of view corresponds to not having a soul, and that the GPCR is a great revolution that has the goal of changing the soul of people – in other words, the worldview, the ideology – raising the proletariat and the broad masses for the struggle for Power, the defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat, world revolution, and communism.

Thus, we communists have three great swords: our founder Marx, the great Lenin and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, our great task is to uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, placing it at the command and guide of the world revolution.

The path of heroism and great social transformations of the world proletarian revolution has concretely started in 1871 with the immortal Paris Commune, followed by the revolution of 1905 in Russia. Afterwards, in the midst of the first imperialist world war, it triumphed with the Great Socialist October Revolution of 1917, opening a New Era of Universal History.

Once more and shortly afterwards, imperialism was

expressing its general crisis of decomposition and opened the confrontation among its main powers in order to get out of the crisis and redefine the new world hegemony with the resurgence of the second great imperialist war. The war transformed itself in great battles of national liberation throughout the whole world and sharpened the contradiction between revolution and counterrevolution – which led to the smashing of fascism and the great triumph of the USSR and the Red Army, as well as many other democratic revolutions in Europe and Asia, which generated a broad socialist camp.

With the great Chinese revolution, a new relation of strategic stalemate of the forces of the world between capitalism and socialism was marked. All the period after World War II was of bitter battles between imperialism and socialism. The Yankee imperialists have reached hegemony in the capitalist camp and have threatened the world with the blackmail of the atomic bomb, which resounded in class struggle in the whole world.

In the USSR, the right wing of the CPSU raised to hinder the development of socialism and – with the death of the great comrade Stalin – seized the moment to take the offensive and modern revisionism came out into the light, which undermined the dictatorship of the proletariat and the unity of international communist movement. In the 20th Congress of the CPSU, 1956, Khrushchev revisionism ran rampant and usurped the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin and of the Red Army. With a state coup, the leadership of the proletariat was usurped, producing the bourgeois restoration in the USSR.

Facing this fact, imperialism inflates and promotes offensives in many countries – with state coups – in order to deepen its domination and to oppose the high tide of national liberation struggles which was taking place in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The CPCh – with Chairman Mao at its head – and a handful parties rose against Khrushchev revisionism and imperialism and in defense of the world revolution, opening the greatest ideological confrontation ever seen. All this process sharpened the internal struggle within the communist parties in the whole world.

In China, the left wing in the CPCh – under the Great Leadership of Chairman Mao – took the offensive in defense of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung thought. They unleashed the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which deepened the socialist revolution. It synthesized the path on how to carry out class struggle and revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat – a question of utmost importance in Marxism that was not resolved until then. It prevented the bourgeois restoration in China for ten years. With the death of Chairman Mao, the rightist capitalist roaders – with the clique of Teng – were encouraged and able to assault

and usurp the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Then the world revolution was left without its base area and entered a new period of dispersion of the ICM. In the struggle against modern revisionism and in defense of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, the parties that were reconstituted in many countries of the world unleashed people's wars. Thus, the torch of the world proletarian revolution was maintained in the armed struggle as People's War in India, the Philippines, and Turkey and afterwards Peru. Especially with the people's war in Peru – under the Great Leadership of Chairman Gonzalo, by applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought to the Peruvian revolution – in which Maoism was defined as the new, third and higher stage of the development of Marxism.

A new general counterrevolutionary offensive headed by the Yankees was unleashed in the midst of a worsening of the general crisis of imperialism. However, they could only achieve a sharpening of all contradictions of the system, leading the world into an increasing disorder and advancing its decomposition. This generated great explosiveness of the exploited and oppressed masses in the whole world, the continuation and impulse of the ongoing peoples wars, and the preparations for the initiation of many others, as well as the intensification of the wars of plunder on the oppressed nations with a serious sharpening of the inter-imperialist contradictions.

Facing the current situation, we communists are before the great challenge of giving a leap in the ICM by unifying ourselves around Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the definition of its general political line in order to confront the general counterrevolutionary offensive of imperialism, which is being thorn into pieces in its sharp contradictions.

Universal history is entering a new period of revolution. Today, the communists are for precisely defining the moment the WPR is on. This is key to understand the relation of forces in the current world, our situation and that of the enemy, to serve the advancement of revolution in the world.

Chairman Mao taught us that the path is tortuous, but the perspectives are brilliant. Revolution will triumph in the whole world and communism will shine over the Earth sooner than later, depending on the action of the communists.

3. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Upholding the thesis of Lenin, the economic relations of imperialism constitute the basis of the currently existing international situation. Throughout the whole 20th Century, this new particular phase of capitalism – its higher and last stage – was completely defined and the division of the world into oppressed and oppressor

countries is a distinctive feature of imperialism. The whole process of the capitalist society has the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as the fundamental contradiction. Yet, three fundamental contradictions are developed in the world when it transits from non-monopoly capitalism into monopoly capitalism – or imperialism:

First contradiction: between oppressed nations, on the one hand, and imperialist superpowers and powers on the other. This is the **principal contradiction** in the current moment and the principal contradiction of the epoch of imperialism at the same time. The world is divided: On one side there is the immense majority of oppressed nations – which are colonial or semi-colonial countries (the latter have only formal sovereignty or independence, they are economically, politically, militarily and culturally subjugated to imperialism); on the other side there are a handful of imperialist powers, either superpowers or powers – in both cases they are oppressing nations. On the side of the imperialist powers, Yankee imperialism is the sole hegemonic superpower. Russia is still an atomic superpower and there is a handful of second-tier imperialist powers.

Yankee imperialism is the largest exporter of capital in the world, which is expressed in enormous unbalances in its economy. In order to keep its hegemony, imperialism is forced to carry out many wars at the same time, as well as having military presence in all continents. This leads to enormous economic costs for maintaining its huge military machinery, espionage and covered operations, credit costs from the past and current wars, support for the war veterans; not to mention the high social cost that is caused in their own land, the despise for the life and dignity of the masses of the oppressed nations, the genocide they apply to subjugate them which no

urishes class hatred from all the peoples of the world.

On its part, the oppressed countries host the largest and poorest population, they are subject to imperialist oppression, they live in conditions that do not fit the level of development achieved by humanity, they suffer the demise of their living conditions, of the natural environment and they are stricken by the systematic wars of plunder of imperialism and their local lackeys.

A bureaucratic capitalism evolves on a semi-feudal and semi-colonial basis in those countries. It generates the corresponding political and ideological genres and systematically prevents national development, it exploits the proletariat, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie and restricts the medium bourgeoisie.

Not acknowledging the semi-feudal character of the oppressed countries and, thus, the necessity for a peasant war to solve it, ends up denying the necessity of the democratic revolution in those countries, the necessity to develop the People's War as a unitary war

– in which the countryside is principal and the city is a necessary complement – to end with semi-feudality, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism.

World crisis will continue to be unloaded on the oppressed countries and as long as they hold this condition they will still be the spoils for the imperialist repartition. The policy of imperialism is further reaction and violence against the oppressed nations for a further national subjugation or wars of prey and plunder. The plan of the imperialists is the partition of the countries and the new world repartition, based on the relations of military force and the advance in the occupation of strategic positions. What they seek is not peace but to subjugate the peoples through capitulation with imposed “agreements” and “peace agreements”, in which they only formalize what they have achieved in the battlefield.

The oppressed countries from Asia, Africa, and Latin America – as pointed out by Chairman Mao – are the zones of revolutionary storms and the base for the world proletarian revolution. It is necessary to highlight that the oppressed countries extends even to Europe itself.

We reaffirm that the true national self-determination can only be achieved through revolution of a new democracy or socialist revolution, according to each case, to which it is necessary to constitute or reconstitute communist parties of new type, marxist-leninist-maoist parties capable of leading revolution to its end. Chairman Mao has masterly synthesized all the struggles in the oppressed nations with the following great guideline: **“The countries want their sovereignty, the nations want their liberation and the peoples want revolution!”**

Second contradiction: between proletariat and bourgeoisie.

The economic crisis in 2008 that began as a finance crisis in the USA was unloaded on the masses in the oppressed countries and even in the imperialist countries themselves. Thus it has stricken the proletariat of the imperialist countries, which instigated sharp struggles for the defense of the achievements they conquered throughout the 20th Century. The consequences of this crisis were not overcome, this is why the recovering of employment is at the expense of worse quality, lower wages and larger working day. The recovering is at the expense of increasing the over-exploitation of the class.

The contradiction proletariat-bourgeoisie is also worsened as a result of the migratory waves of thousands of war refugees and poor people in general who – fleeing from the imperialist war and the ferocious exploitation and oppression in the semi-colonies – are thickening the ranks of the proletariat in the imperialist countries. These migratory waves are a consequence of the system itself and the “humanitarian tragedy” to which they are leading benefits the monopolies in the imperialist countries by reducing the production costs by reducing salaries with this working force that has

costed them nothing.

At the same time, the imperialists themselves cynically broadcast at their media the danger of “terrorism” of those immigrants and promote chauvinist hysteria, nourish racism and nationalism. Imperialism applies its chauvinist reactionary policy of dividing the class between native workers and immigrant workers to prevent the united class-conscious action of the proletariat. To prevent it from organizing itself as a single class with the same interests with a single ideology, a single politics and a single party – the Communist Party.

The contradiction in the imperialist countries is also between revolution and counterrevolution, it is not a question of changing this or that political regime – in other words, the form of government of the bourgeois dictatorship – but to put an end to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat and the people through socialist revolution.

The contradiction bourgeoisie-proletariat and all the other contradictions within the imperialist nations are sharpening. Also, because all the kinds of infamies that are carried out by the imperialist states against the oppressed nations and their peoples – particularly by USA imperialism – is increasingly backlashing within the imperialist countries themselves – this is a feature of the current phase of its decomposition. The imperialist war has to necessarily return home.

Furthermore, in their own land, the systematic and continuous murder of the members of the poorest masses by the repressive forces of Yankee state are part of the war against the US proletariat and people – particularly against the black and immigrant from the oppressed countries and their descendants. Facing oppression, the tendency is that the masses upraise in rebellion and turn the guns they were given for the massive genocide in the oppressed nations against their own oppressors. Some expressions that confirm such tendency have already taken place.

In brief, the principal is that the movement against the imperialist war will increase, added to the rebellion against the exploitation and oppression of the Class and the increasing poverty of the masses. This is happening in all the imperialist countries.

When dealing with the fundamental contradictions of the world today – which is to say, the contradictions which decisively marks the struggle of the international class, the struggle between revolution and counterrevolution – we cannot think that the contradiction proletariat-bourgeoisie exists only in the imperialist countries. This contradiction exists in all countries of the world.

In the oppressed countries, it is expressed as the contradiction between the proletariat and the bureaucratic-comprador bourgeoisie. In those countries, the side of the people has a center: the

proletariat, which is the only class that is able to lead the democratic revolution until the end, given the condition that it develops its vanguard – the Communist Party – which leads the People’s War through actions, forging the workers-peasant alliance, winning over the petty bourgeoisie as a trustful ally, and – in given conditions and circumstances – uniting with the national bourgeoisie (medium bourgeoisie).

In those countries, the more the ruling classes attempt to restructure the state, the antagonism of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bureaucratic-comprador bourgeoisie gets even more evident. Both antagonistic classes start to increasingly polarize one against the other and the proletariat gains more importance as the sole leading class of the democratic revolution.

We highlight that there are three fundamental contradictions in the democratic revolution: contradiction nation-imperialism, contradiction people-bureaucratic capitalism, and contradiction masses-feudality. Any of those could become the principal contradiction according to the periods of revolution. In the oppressed countries, the contradiction proletariat-bourgeoisie is expressed in the contradiction people-bureaucratic capitalism (due to it, the proletariat is the leading class on the people’s side). When the victory is achieved in the democratic revolution – which economically implies the confiscation of the imperialist capital, the bureaucratic capitalism, and the big landlord feudal property and the individual distribution to the poor peasants, mainly the ones without or with little land – the socialist revolution on that moment starts to develop uninterruptedly changing the character of revolution, then the contradiction proletarian-bourgeoisie becomes the principal one.

As Maoists, we know well that after the triumph of the socialist revolution – having established the dictatorship of the proletariat – it corresponds to carry out successive cultural revolutions in order to prevent the capitalist restoration and to continue the march towards communism, in which all or none enters.

Third contradiction: interimperialist. Just as Lenin taught us: imperialism is not one – there are different imperialist countries. In other words, there are imperialist powers and superpowers which divides the world among them according to their relations of economic, political and military strength; relations of strength that changes all the time and develop through collusion and contend.

The United States currently bears the condition of sole hegemonic superpower. After the disintegration of the social-imperialist USSR in 1991, the economic weight of imperialist Russia was reduced and so did their military power, but it still maintains its character of atomic superpower. In turn, the other imperialist powers, like Germany, England, France, Japan, Chi-

na, Austria, the Netherlands, Australia, Sweden, Canada, Italy, Spain, etc., altogether are also a handful of oppressing countries. Since the decade of 1990, they are contending for a new repartition of the oppressed countries that were subjected to social-imperialist USSR. Since then, all the events of some relevance – be them bellicose or non-bellicose – in Eastern Europe, in the former Soviet Republics of Central Asia, the so-called Amplified Middle East – the Persian Gulf, Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Northern Africa –, and in the Far East – North Korea –, in Southeastern Asia – Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea – and in Latin America – Cuba, Nicaragua, and Venezuela – are included in this contend for the new repartition of those countries.

The current world situation is marked by the plan of Yankee imperialism to develop its war of aggression through blood and fire. Their main strategic objective is to snatch the condition of atomic superpower from Russia, hold down social-imperialist China and press it to widely open its economy. Alliances with other imperialist powers are used for that purpose – according to convenience – as with Germany, France, England, etc., to subvert the order in the spheres of influence that has a high strategic value for Russia and imposes economic sanctions as a threat to all imperialist powers. In turn, Russia makes efforts to maintain its spheres of influence, especially in Ukraine, Syria and Iran.

As for the imperialists, be them alone or in coalitions, they are against one or many oppressed countries, at this moment not only the principal contradiction expresses itself, but also the third contradiction – among the imperialists themselves – is expressed there. Yankee imperialism uses “divide and rule” against other imperialist powers. The imperialists violates as they wish their own treaties, their own international rules – the principle of non-aggression – because the law is for others to follow. This is why peace and harmony between imperialists is a repetition of an old cackle – as those of “superimperialism” and “ultraimperialism”, which spread reactionary concepts such as “ne imperialism”, “neocolonialism”, “neoliberalism”, “globalization”, “geopolitics”, etc. Those are pseudo-theories that mainly points against democratic revolution and the struggles for national liberation and are used by both imperialists themselves and by revisionists.

The imperialist dispute is absolute and the collusion is relative. This determines the circumstantial and temporary character of the imperialist alliances; this is why one cannot speak about “imperialist blocks”, this is revisionism. Thus, the European Union is not a block, or an “European imperialism”, but an alliance of countries of Europe, under hegemony of Germany – in collusion and contend with France that tries to increase its power – to dispute against Yankee imperialism.

The second tier imperialist powers struggle to convert themselves into new superpowers and start contending

for world hegemony to occupy the place that is today held by Yankee imperialism and to impose – through a new world war – a new repartition of the world – that is already divided – and a new world order.

Regarding **the contradiction between socialism and capitalism** – which corresponds to the whole era of the world proletarian revolution – in the current situation, it is expressed and develops in the ideological and historical field – due to the fact that there is no socialism since the bourgeois restoration in China until now.

On the side of the reaction, this contradiction manifests itself as the general counterrevolutionary offensive – which is weakening – and is currently pointed against the national liberation wars through the so-called “war on terror”. We oppose it with the marxist-leninist-maoist revolutionary counteroffensive, which mainly develops with People’s War. In the terrain of revolution, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism expresses itself in that socialism lives as an idea in the struggles of the proletariat and the peoples of the world; in the ongoing combats and People’s Wars in India, Peru, Turkey and the Philippines; and the restless propaganda and increasing two lines struggle among the marxist-leninist-maoist parties and organizations for unifying the ICM under the guidance of Maoism and the application mainly of People’s War.

All of that, on the one hand, impulses the greater reactionarization of the bourgeois state (big landowners-bureaucratic old state in service of imperialism in the oppressed countries) to counter the revolutionary situation in uneven development in the whole world. Its expression is the advance toward the absolute centralization of power in the Executive power – be it as presidential absolutism or as fascism – according to the particularities of the different countries. The centralization of power to face the crisis of maintaining its domination and the revolution, and for the imperialist war of aggression.

The objective situation at world level develops, fundamentally as a worsening of the general decomposition crisis of imperialism – which even the reaction itself needs to acknowledge. It is the deepening of its collapse. The huge richness that is socially produced incessantly grows for a handful of imperialists and the big bourgeois and landowners of the oppressed countries while the people’s masses in the whole world are deprived of its appropriation. The result of all this are sharper crisis and shorter cycles within the general and last crisis of imperialism, which pushes all imperialist states to wage wars of prey for a new repartition.

Imperialism is still alive and Yankee imperialism – as the sole hegemonic superpower and world counterrevolutionary gendarme – is the principal enemy of the peoples of the world; it still does as it pleases in Africa, Asia, and Latin America; it still occupies colonies

by force, establishes its military bases in all parts of the world and imposes a war of plunder; it continues to oppress the people’s masses in its own country. But the same situation is also becoming further unbearable and it is inevitable that sooner or later more than 90% of the world population would rise against imperialism and the reactionaries. All that in fierce struggle and in uneven development, it is already going on as a New Great Wave of the World Proletarian Revolution.

Since the beginning of this decade, the crisis of imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism sharpens even more in the whole world. Whenever its decomposition deepens, all the contradictions sharpen; which generates more revolutionary situation in uneven development in the whole world. The situation is expressed by the great activity of the masses, its explosiveness makes all reactionaries and their revisionist lackeys tremble. It is expressed everywhere at great explosions never seen before. The objective situation meets at fast pace with the subjective factor – principally the process of the Communist Parties, as marxist-leninist-maoist parties of a new type to initiate new People’s Wars. Thus a new moment opens, a period of revolutions as part of this New Great Wave of the World Proletarian Revolution. This situation determines the tasks, the strategy and the tactics of the Communist Parties in the whole world.

4. INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

We reaffirm ourselves in the full validity of the Manifesto of the Communist Party from 1848³, which is the birth certificate and cornerstone of the International Communist Movement. It established the fundamental principles and the Program of the proletarian revolutionaries. Our great founders, Marx and Engels, made that great calling and lemma “**Proletarians of all countries, unite!**”, and that lemma for combat inspires the struggles of the proletariat in the whole world and guides it through the path of emancipation. The flames of revolution that were ignited by Marx and Engels have set the world on fire, forever changing the course of world history.

Marx said: “**Past experience has shown how disregard of the bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of the different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by common discomfiture of their isolated efforts.**”

Lenin established that true proletarian internationalism requires: “**first, the subordination of the interests of the proletarian struggle in a country to the interests of this struggle on world scale; second, that the nation that is reaching the**

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triumph over the bourgeoisie is capable and willing to make the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capital.” Chairman Mao raised internationalism in its deepest sense when affirming: **“it is the spirit of communism”**.

Thus, the History of the International Communist Movement is a glorious process of struggle, through which the communists of the world have struggled and struggle to unify themselves serving the achievement of the unalterable goal: the communist society.

Three internationals were built in this heroic struggle:

The First International, or International Worker’s Association (IWA), was founded by Marx and Engels in 1864 in a fierce struggle against the anarchist, the Blanquists and other positions to establish that the ideology of the proletariat was only one – Marxism – it is solid and scientifically welded with the international nature of the proletariat and its revolutionary party, it laid the ideological basis of the proletarian revolution. The moment the International was infiltrated and surrounded by opportunists who attempted to usurp it, Marx put forward that it would be better to end with the IWA than to see it murdered by unity without principles.

The Second International, based on Marxism, was founded by Engels in 1889 and served the multiplication of worker’s socialist organizations and parties, especially in Europe and North America. After the death of Engels, the revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky assaulted the leadership of the Second International and it degenerated into opportunism, it was finally bankrupt during World War I, when their leaders opposed themselves to struggle against the imperialist war under the pretext of *Defensism*⁴. They refused to turn it into revolution by voting for the credits of war at the parliament – they supported the imperialist war and the bourgeoisie of their own countries – then becoming social-patriotic, social-chauvinists, social-traitors.

The founding of the Third International, in March 1919, was the result of a long struggle by the left of the ICM that was developed under the Great Leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party. It condensates the experience of the proletarian revolution in the combats against tsarism, imperialism and all reaction inseparably to the struggle against all opportunism and revisionism of the parties of the Second International which was molded to the old order. Lenin conceived and founded the Third International as a war machine to carry out the World Proletarian Revolution and the construction of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The founding of the Third International constitutes a great leap in the history of the International Communist Movement.

The Third International – Communist International (CI or Comintern) – existed for 24 years, seven world congresses were held during that time until its self-dissolution in 1943. It had to develop in a complex

context represented by the loss of its founder and principal leader – the Great Lenin – in 1924, the great challenges of the construction of socialism in the USSR, the rise of fascism to Power in many countries of the world – especially in Europe – and the beginning of World War II.

Its existence was strongly influenced by the intense and hard two line struggle that was developed within the Bolshevik Communist Party which lasted 13 years, in which the left – under the leadership of comrade Stalin – had to tenaciously struggle to unmask and smash trotskyism, bukarinism, and the right opportunist clique of Kamenev-Zinoviev, among other gangs and black lines, against their efforts to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR, their attempts to usurp the leadership of the CI and controlling apparatuses to impose their policies in many sections – nefarious actions that caused grave harm.

Because of that, the CI (Comintern) suffered right and “left” deviations – particularly within the period between the 5th and the 7th Congresses – and it has issued some erroneous advises and directives that caused some harm to revolutionary parties and processes. However, the principal was that comrade Stalin led – developing the two line struggle – the left within the Communist International preventing the revisionist usurpation and smashed the trotskyist and zinovievist influence at its leadership. Under the just and correct leadership of comrade Stalin, the Comintern retained its red color, Marxism-Leninism prevailed and revisionism could not raise its head.

The 7th Congress, celebrated in mid-1935, was of particular transcendence due to the circumstances of the moment and the challenges it faced. This important Congress had to answer to new and far-reaching problems in the midst of a difficult and complex situation.

The 7th Congress established the tactic of World Antifascist Front and People’s Front to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat and develop the proletarian revolution, while combating the counterrevolutionary offensive of fascism. With it, for the first time in the history of the ICM the international proletariat and the people’s masses of the whole world could be united under the same flag, the same politics, the same plan and under the same leadership, with a single combating army, giving shape to the task inherited from Lenin of working as a true war machine for the World Revolution.

Guided by the Comintern, hundreds of millions of masses have risen as a great torrent of steel against fascism, for revolution and in defense of the USSR and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Chinese revolution stood out, which changed the correlation of forces in the struggle against imperialism and the reaction worldwide, favoring socialism and the proletariat and oppressed peoples.

Under the leadership of the Comintern, the communists carried out heroic armed struggles as guerrilla warfare – like in the Spanish Civil War – in dozens of countries – not only in Europe but also in Asia. In those countries in which revolution could not triumph, the cause for that was principally because there were no sufficiently mature and prepared communist parties, based on Marxism-Leninism and warned against revisionism. Despite of that, as history shows, its struggle contributed to the defeat of fascism, and the communists have shown to the whole world the communist high valor and heroism, not allowing the morale of the class to be broken.

By applying the resolutions of the 7th Congress, the CPCh, led by Chairman Mao, knew how to carry out the Front policy specified to the necessities of Revolution in China – applying independence and self-decision, unity and struggle, defeating Japanese fascism and continuing with the liberation war until seizing power in the whole country, smashing the local ruling classes and their imperialist masters and completing the revolution of a New Democracy and continuing socialist revolution uninterruptedly. The creative application of Marxism-Leninism and the line established by the 7th Congress to the concrete conditions of the country and its integration with the practice of the Chinese revolution led to the development of a more comprehensive and complete understanding of united front and the full development of the theory and practice of People's War.

The problems and deviations that took place in many countries were mainly due to the application of the front policy by each respective party, the main responsibility falls on the communist parties, who are the responsible ones for the application of the International line to their respective countries. According to what was put forward by Chairman Mao, in order to establish a just assessment of this experience, it is necessary to draw a clear demarcation line between those who were still within Marxism from those who fell into the mire of revisionism and still within the first group we need to differentiate the mistakes of principles from the mistakes made within the practical work. What is key is that Chairman Mao develops the six laws of the united front and regarding the three fundamental instruments of revolution and their interrelation.

After carrying out armed struggle of heroic resistance against Nazi-fascism, in some countries like Italy and France, the communist parties moved away from the orientations of the Comintern and the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism due to the right opportunist positions at the leadership of these, their leadership capitulated before their bourgeoisie while centering in the defense of the demo-liberal regime and betrayed revolution, degenerating into the most rotten revisionism, the modern revisionism.

At a world level, the Antifascist Front was brilliantly

applied under the leadership of comrade Stalin – the center was the defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat represented by the USSR. Through it, the dictatorship of the proletariat faced fascism and World Revolution advanced. The victory of the antifascist war was a great and heroic victory of socialism, a victory of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world over imperialism and world reaction, a victory of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism.

With the victory of the antifascist war, the imperialist camp was weakened and the proletarian revolution grew stronger. Thanks to the glorious role of the Red Army and the wars of resistance, revolution has expanded through Eastern Europe and Central Europe reaching part of Germany – thus increasing the socialist camp. Remarkably with the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949, the correlation of forces between revolution and counterrevolution at the international arena changed in favor of world Revolution. The world revolution advanced into the stage of strategic stalemate – a powerful socialist camp and a powerful movement of national liberation in the colonies and semi-colonies emerged.

This is why we consider that the 7th Congress was an important marxist-leninist congress that armed the proletariat with a just and correct political line to fight fascism and advance with the World Proletarian Revolution.

Although the Comintern and comrade Stalin made some mistakes on the course, the problems of grave deviations and betrayals were caused by revisionism in the leadership of those parties who got into those situations and it cannot be credited to comrade Stalin, the CP(b) of the USSR, or the Comintern.

When gleaning the history of the ICM and the Proletarian Revolution, we see that comrade Stalin knew how to firmly and ingeniously apply – in the midst of a complex and difficult situation – the definition of Lenin of true proletarian internationalism and to subject the particular and national interests to the interests of the international proletariat as a whole, putting the defense of the World Proletarian Revolution and the cause of communism in first place.

In 1943, the Comintern self-dissolved and the ICM entered a period of relative dispersion, which was principally generated by the splittist and treacherous action of modern revisionism. Modern revisionism was a counter-current represented by Browder, Tito, Togliatti, Thorez and mainly Khrushchev and the infamous 20th Congress of the CPSU where his clique usurped the leadership of the CPSU, the Red Army and the Socialist State – degenerating them into revisionist party, anti-people's army and social-fascist bourgeois state, respectively – and destroying the dictatorship of the proletariat, undermining the basic

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principles of the unity of the International Communist Movement.

The Cominform was founded in 1947, comrade Stalin had fiercely combated modern revisionism and smashed and condemned Tito revisionism through it. It was the Cominform who started the struggle against the first state to have revisionism in power. In the Conference of Budapest, Tito revisionism was condemned and expelled, clearly showing that it is false that comrade Stalin conciliated with revisionist lines of national reconciliation and other lines of revisionists that emerged after World War II. The Cominform – under the leadership of comrade Stalin – started the struggle against modern revisionism that Chairman Mao would complete years later.

The task of the communists to unify at world level – after World War II and the death of comrade Stalin – is done in a fierce struggle against contemporary revisionism, in which Chairman Mao is elevated as the growing Great Leadership of the World Revolution.

In 1957 and 1960, two international conferences of communist parties and worker's parties took place in Moscow. The declarations of these conferences correspond to the development of the two line struggle in the ICM at that moment, and they resulted in concessions aiming not to divide at that moment and to give time for the true followers of Stalin in the CPSU to wage two line struggle within it. Considering that the weight of the CPSU was very big and its internal situation was very difficult, this expresses a correct handling of the left led by Chairman Mao at the head of the CPCh in applying the principle of combating with reason, advantage and not exceeding.

The 22nd Congress of the CPSU was held in 1961, in which the positions of modern revisionism were systematized. Chairman Mao – leading the Communist Party of China – defined the essence of new revisionism, which he systematized in the “**three peacefuls**” and the “**two wholes**”. Khrushchev distorted the peaceful coexistence thesis from Lenin – which differentiates the relations between states with different social systems from those of classes within the states – to put forward a “**peaceful coexistence**” as a general line for the International Communist Movement. For Khrushchev the problem was to avoid war because – according to him – the atomic weapons did not distinguish exploited from exploiters, which was why men had to join each other in order to prevent the disappearance of humanity. The “**peaceful transition**” put forward that revolution did not need revolutionary violence, but one could replace a social system with another through the “**peaceful way**”, through elections, through parliamentarism. As for the “**peaceful emulation**” they defended that – in order to destroy the imperialist system – the socialist system should make an emulation to show the imperialists that the socialist system was superior

and thus the imperialists would change into socialism. The revisionist thesis of the “**state of the whole people**” was meant to deny the class character of the state and was concretely against the dictatorship of the proletariat. The “**party of the whole people**” is another machination that denied the class character of the Party as the Party of the proletariat. Thus, Khrushchev advocated that the 22nd Congress of the CPSU was the new program of the communists and substituted the Manifesto of the Communist Party with the bourgeois lemma of “**liberty**”, “**equality**” and “**fraternity**”. The Manifesto is the program of the communists and its denial has sparked and sharpened the struggle between Marxism and revisionism.

On June 14th, 1963, the “**Proposition on the General Line of the International Communist Movement**”, also known as the “**Chinese Letter**”, followed by “**The 9 Comments**” are published, in which Chairman Mao and the CPCh brilliantly unmasked and smashed modern revisionism in all its facets.

Only with the deep demarcation produced by the **Great Polemic** – led by Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China – is that the International Communist Movement was able to elevate the process of reunification around the Great Leadership of Chairman Mao and his contributions to the World Proletarian Revolution.

Chairman Mao developed this struggle simultaneously to the struggle against the right opportunist line within the CPCh – which had usurped important apparatuses of the Party and the state.

Chairman Mao and the CPCh considered that – in such circumstances – it was not adequate to conform a new Communist International because the ideological and political basis – which should be Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought then – was not defined. Particularly the Worker's Party of Albania – led by Enver Hoxha – did not accept mao tsetung thought and wanted an international solely based on Marxism-Leninism, without considering the new development that it had, because essentially Hoxha was opposed to mao tsetung thought.

With the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, the influence of Chairman Mao increasingly develops throughout the world. The CPCh centers in very urgent problems such as recovering power in the People's Republic of China from the revisionist usurpation of Liu Siao-chi and Teng Siao-ping, and on how to continue revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is how Chairman Mao – within the national and international class struggle against revisionism – is converted into the great master of the proletariat and into Great Leader of the World Revolution and his thought turns into the third stage of

Marxism – even though the struggle for its definition and acknowledgment would only take place later. This goal was pursued for four decades and the UMIC is a step of great importance.

At the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s and under the influence of the GPCR, revolutionary processes in struggle against modern revisionism emerged establishing Communist Parties and establishing People's Armies which uphold Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought; in India with the CPI (ML) and the MCC; in the Philippines with the CPP, and in Turkey with the TKP/ML, in addition to the struggle in other countries against revisionism, in defense of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, of the GPCR and the People's War.

Chairman Mao dies in September 1976 and the Chinese revisionists made a counterrevolutionary coup attacking Chairman Mao and his thought. Thus, the unity of the marxists entered in grave and complex problems. With the death of Chairman Mao and the revisionist usurpation in China by Teng and his accomplices, we communists became dispersed in the world, without a center nor a base for the World Revolution; counterrevolution has shown its claws to deny Chairman Mao and the validity of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought and unleashed the triple revisionist attack of Teng Siao-ping (Chinese revisionism), Hoxha (Albanian revisionism) and Brezhnev (Russian revisionism).

The counterrevolutionary coup in China 1976 opened a new period of deep dispersion in the ICM, on which a general counterrevolutionary offensive was unleashed by Yankee imperialism that centrally and mainly centered its attack to snatch the soul of revolution – its ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

On the Fall of 1980, thirteen communist parties and organizations signed a declaration **“To the marxist-leninists, the workers and the oppressed of all countries”** which called the communists to unite around Marxism-Leninism and uphold Chairman Mao, but not considering it a new stage, thus not having universal validity – a work that was mainly conducted by the Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA.

Its 2nd Conference was held in 1984, it decided on founding the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM). In its founding declaration, it was affirmed that it was guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought.

The RIM meant a step forward in the path of reunification, this is why it is necessary to make a correct and just evaluation of this experience. For that, it is necessary to analyze the process of two line struggle within the RIM and the role that each party had played. Like every revolutionary body, within the development

of the two line struggle the left, center, and right were defined in its core.

In the decade of 1980, the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), under the Great Leadership of Chairman Gonzalo, upheld, defended and applied Maoism as the third, new and higher stage of Marxism in the International Communist Movement. The principal contribution of Chairman Gonzalo to the International Communist Movement was having defined Maoism in a complete and scientific way by upholding, defending and applying it with the initiation and development of the People's War in Peru which was initiated in May 17th, 1980. This event was of fundamental importance for the World Proletarian Revolution and the International Communist Movement because it has proven the validity of Maoism and the People's War. With his heroic sacrifice on September 11th, 2021 – murdered after resisting for 29 years in absolute isolation regime in the dungeons of imperialism and the reaction – his name was permanently carved at the gallery of the great titans of the international proletariat.

Through the action of the PCP within the RIM, it went as far as acknowledging Maoism as a new stage of Marxism in 1993.

The RIM lasted a little more than 20 years – from its foundation in 1984 until it went into liquidation in 2006 by the treason of Prachanda to the People's War in Nepal and the pretension of the RCP-USA of making this body be subjected to the revisionist “new synthesis” of Avakian. Its formal dissolution was made in 2012. Its existence reflected the two line struggle in the International Communist Movement. The RIM served the world proletarian revolution and the task of struggling for the reunification of the communists while the left – in hard struggle – was able to maintain the struggle for imposing Maoism as the sole command and guide of the world revolution at its core.

However, with the arrest of Chairman Gonzalo in 1992 and soon after the blows suffered by the People's War in Peru – which have hindered the action of the left within the ICM – the RCP-USA converging with the right opportunist line, revisionist and capitulationist (ROL), took advantage of the complex situation to attack the left and to advance on its cheap hegemonism – firstly spreading the revisionist, opposed to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, so-called “new synthesis” in a hidden form, then doing it openly afterwards.

The RIM was entering into greater dis-cohesion. This was aggravated when the RCP-USA – with Avakian at its head – started to deny the **RIM Declaration: For a Century of People's Wars from RIM (2000)** after having sanctioned and taken position for it and fell into the path of revisionism, increasing its attacks against Maoism. In the following years, the contend for the hegemony between Avakian and Prachanda – both revisionist currents and chieftains – sharpened not only

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in the RIM but at the level of the whole ICM. Also the ideological, political and organizational dis-cohesion of the RIM sharpened. Finally, these revisionists have exploded the RIM from their Committee. The RIM ceased to play a positive role and degenerated, getting into bankruptcy and liquidation.

Today – when a New Great Wave of the World Proletarian Revolution is produced in the world with the ongoing People’s Wars in India, Peru, Turkey, and the Philippines, and its preparation in many other countries, when the heroic struggles of national resistance and people’s resistance emerge around the whole world, when the general crisis of imperialism and its drowning are hugely intensified – it is necessary and urgent to raise the two line struggle at the core of the ICM to a higher level in order to establish and develop its necessary, just, and correct General Political Line and to strengthen this New Great Wave through the spark of revolution with People’s War in many countries and further advances wherever they are already being waged, as well as in the antiimperialist revolutionary movement under the hegemony of the proletariat.

This is why it is necessary to deepen the ideological and political struggle on the basis of the just and correct assessment of the historical experience of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat as a whole. An assessment that particularly synthesizes the experience of the application of the third stage of Marxism – Maoism.

The struggle to impose Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the command and guide of the world revolution is hard, long, and complex. Marxism has never advanced without a hard struggle, but in the end Maoism is guiding the New Great Wave of the World Proletarian Revolution that has already started and needs to be impelled in order to sweep away imperialism and the reaction from the face of earth through People’s war, in order to carry out democratic revolutions, socialist revolutions and proletarian cultural revolutions – according to each case – and transit toward the shining and golden communism.

It is particularly necessary to keep deepening the struggle against new revisionism in its different expressions because – although they were unmasked and smashed in the ICM – they still have influence through the right and “left” opportunist positions, centrist positions, liquidationist positions, etc. and they harm the unity of the ICM as a whole because they are the main danger to the ICM.

The celebration of this First International Conference and the foundation of the New International Organization are of historic and transcendental importance, they are an achievement of the international proletariat and a striking blow against the general counterrevolutionary offensive of imperialism and the world reaction, as well as against revisionism and all opportunism. A great step

to reunite us and to overcome the dispersion in the ICM was given, and a new stage of the organized struggle for the reconstitution of the Communist International under the command and guide of Maoism was opened, a new stage which is signed by the development of new People’s Wars which will join the ones that are ongoing.

5. PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW ORGANIZATION OF THE PROLETARIAT

- * Contradiction – the sole fundamental law of the incessant transformation of eternal matter;
- * The masses make history and rebellion is justified;
- * Class struggle, dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism;
- * To apply the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions and to integrate it to the practice of revolution on each country;
- * The necessity of the marxist-leninist-maoist Communist Party that firmly applies independence, self-decision and self-reliance;
- * Inseparably and implacably combat imperialism, revisionism and the reaction;
- * Two line struggle as an driving force for party development;
- * Practice Marxism, not revisionism; work towards unity, not for splitting; act in honest and honored way and don’t thread intrigues nor machinations
- * Constant ideological transformation and always putting politics in command;
- * Serve the people and the world proletarian revolution;
- * Absolute selflessness and just and correct style of work;
- * Going against the current.

Very specially we reaffirm ourselves in the undeniable Marxist truth that was put forward by Chairman Mao: “According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army. Some people ridicule us as advocates of the “omnipotence of war”. Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist. The guns of the Russian Communist Party created socialism. We shall create a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed”.

6. SOLEMN RESOLUTION

As communists, we are sons and daughters of a single class in the world – the international proletariat – which

has its destiny undeniably welded – communism – which either all or none enter. For that, we firmly subject ourselves to proletarian internationalism as a fundamental principle for the ICM, we unfold our powerful and immortal lemma that was established in the Manifesto of the Communist Party from Marx and Engels: **“Proletarians of all countries, unite!”**

The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Parties and Organizations participating on the UNIFIED MAOIST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE (UMIC) – following the path of the Third International founded by the Great Lenin and the best traditions of the International Communist Movement (ICM) – solemnly declare to the international Proletariat and the peoples of the world that the historical and transcendental decision of giving birth to the new international Maoist organization was taken, founded under the three great and glorious red banners: Maoism, the struggle against revisionism and the world proletarian revolution.

With deep communist conviction, we parties and organizations reunited here reaffirm ourselves – once more and with solemn commitment – in fulfilling the agreements of the Unified Maoist International Conference, defending and applying the almighty ideology of the international proletariat – Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

It is a firm commitment in the arduous and restless struggle for imposing Maoism as the sole command and guide of the World Revolution, the only deeply red and unfading flag which is the guarantee of triumph for the proletariat, the oppressed nations and the peoples of the world in its inexorable march towards the golden and forever shining communism.

The 1st Unified Maoist International Conference of marxist-leninist-maoist communist parties and organizations have an historical transcendence and a deep strategic content. It is a glorious task which corresponds to the New Great Wave of the World Proletarian Revolution.

With ardent enthusiasm, and overflowing with class optimism and deeply moved, we raise the red slogan:

The 1st Unified Maoist International Conference is a base and inexorably marches toward the reunification of the communists in the ICM – a war machine – a machine of combat that raises the unfading flags of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the invincible People’s War!!

SIGNATURES:

Committees for the Foundation of the (Maoist) Communist Party of Austria (KG(m)KPÖ) [Austria]

**Communist Party of Brazil (P.C.B.) [Brazil]
Red Fraction of the Communist Party of Chile (FRPCCCh) [Chile]**

Communist Party of Colombia (Red Fraction) (PCC(FR)) [Colombia]

Poder Proletário – M-L-M Party Organization Colombia (PP-OP-MLM) [Colombia]

Communist Party of Equator – Red Sun (PCE-SR) [Ecuador]

Maoist Committee in Finland (MKS) [Finland]

Maoist Communist Party (PCM) [French State]

Committee Red Flag (KRF) [Federal Republic of Germany]

Committee for the Reconstitution of the Communist Party of Mexico (CR-PCM) [Mexico]

Serve the People – Communist League of Norway [Norway]

Communist Party of Peru (PCP) [Peru]

Maoist Communist Party (PCM) [Spanish State]

Communist League of Sweden [Sweden]

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

1“Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again... till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic.”
Chairman Mao “Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle” (August 14, 1949)

2That implies the Army: mobilizes, politicizes, organizes and arms the masses.

3We highlight that this includes all prefaces and notes written by Marx and Engels, especially the preface of 1872.

4Defense of the imperialist “motherland.”

Others statements that we received and you can read on web

Notes on the Founding Declaration of the International Communist

Revolutionary Communists, Norway (RK)

<https://www.maoisme.no>

It is quite wrong today to try to create a Communist International, which applies democratic centralism

**Communist Workers' Union/Kommunistiska
Arbetarföreningen Sweden/Sverige**

<https://arbetarforeningen.se>

PCS-KPS - Communist Party in Switzerland

**We request that you share these recent statements by our Party,
which are relevant to the international communist movement, for
debate following the recent joint international statement:**

<https://redflagswitzerland.wordpress.com/2023/04/30/draft-joint-international-statement-proposed-by-the-communist-party-in-switzerland/>

<https://redflagswitzerland.wordpress.com/2023/04/22/message-to-the-communist-party-of-the-philippines-2/>

<https://redflagswitzerland.wordpress.com/2023/02/27/by-refusing-to-support-the-revolt-of-annexed-regions-we-objectively-become-annexationists/>

**As well as the recent communique of the Second Plenary Session
of our Provisional Central Committee which decided to refound the
Communist Party in Switzerland and launch its process of
reconstitution:**

<https://redflagswitzerland.wordpress.com/2023/03/01/communist-party-in-switzerland-refounded/>

Document by Comunist Party maoist Italy

Imperialist War and Proletarians

This writing which takes up and draws lessons for today, with the inter-imperialist war in progress, with Ukraine as its epicenter, which can have further developments and lead to a third world war, from Lenin's important book: "Socialism and war" is mainly dedicated to training the proletarian vanguard on the topic of imperialist war and how to fight against it, while fighting at the same time erroneous, opportunist, pacifist, economic, and/or petty bourgeois extremist positions, analyzes that pollute and divert the understanding and action of the working class, of the revolutionaries.

In the first chapter and in the first paragraph of the text "Socialism and war" Lenin speaks about: "*The position of socialists in the face of wars*":

"Socialists have always condemned wars between peoples as barbaric and bestial. But our attitude towards war is fundamentally different from that of bourgeois pacifists (supporters and preachers of peace) and anarchists. From the former we distinguish ourselves in that we understand the inevitable link between wars and the class struggle within each country, we understand the impossibility of destroying wars without destroying classes and socialism is created, as well as in that we fully recognize the legitimacy, progressive character and necessity of civil wars, that is, of the wars of the oppressed class against the oppressing, of slaves against slave owners, of serfs against landlords, of wage workers against the bourgeoisie. And from pacifists and anarchists we Marxists distinguish ourselves in that we recognize the necessity of historical examination (from the point of view of Marx's dialectical materialism) of every single war... Therefore, it is necessary to examine the historical particularities proper to (every) war..."

Lenin's statement is all the more timely in his examination of the ongoing war in Ukraine.

It inevitably produces the effects, on the Ukrainian masses, including the masses of Donbass, and on the Russian and Ukrainian soldiers sent to slaughter, as described by Lenin in the definition of "barbarians and bestial". The horrors that are told to us every day, despite being very often deliberately amplified and used as war propaganda by the press of the US imperialist countries NATO / Europe, including Italy, or, on the other hand, by the rigged information of Russian imperialism led by Putin, move precisely within the logic of "barbaric and bestial" things and crimes against humanity. But the imperialists consider crimes only those of the other side and praise the freedom, democracy or self-determination of peoples, which would take

away to the barbarity of war its character as crimes, in particular against civilian populations or against soldiers sent to slaughter.

Only the communists coherently, representatives of the proletarians and oppressed classes of both camps and genuine internationalists escape from this war propaganda, and indeed "use" these crimes to denounce imperialists and reactionary regimes as responsible and point to their own states and governments to be overthrown as a necessary condition to put an end to this daily horror.

This is what distinguishes communists from bourgeois pacifists, from nationalists. The communists work to intensify the class struggle within, in this case, both Ukraine, and within the imperialist countries of which the Ukrainian regime is a pawn, and within the Donbass and within Russia as invader.

This is the necessary condition for advancing the end of this war, just as it is evidently the necessary condition at the international level to put an end to imperialist wars and build socialism.

In this sense, the civil war in Ukraine, in Russia, within all imperialist countries, including Italy, would be progressive, necessary and just, and it is the only perspective for which communists and vanguard proletarians must work.

Of course, it is important that this struggle of the communists is based on a detailed deepening of the historical particularities of this war, as well as of the historical particularity, as far as our country is concerned, of the type of role and action that imperialist Italy plays in this war. Because on this depends the tactical and strategic action of the struggle against our imperialism, our state, our government.

In the paragraph "*Difference between wars of aggression and wars of defense*", Lenin emphasizes the difference between two epochs, the one that precedes the affirmation of capitalism and those that take place in the period of imperialism.

In the first sentence it is said: "*When one speaks of*

the legitimacy of 'defensive' warfare, with regard to wars in that epoch, socialists always had in mind the aims, namely, revolution against the Middle Ages and against serfdom. By "defensive warfare" socialists have always meant a 'just' war in this sense; Only in this sense have socialists recognized and recognize the legitimacy, the progressive and just character of the 'defense of the fatherland' or 'defensive' war."

This today can be extended to wars between imperialism and countries and peoples oppressed by imperialism. *"These would be just wars, defensive wars, regardless of who attacked first, and every socialist would sympathize with the victory of oppressed, dependent and with no rights states against the great powers that oppress and plunder."*

In the imperialist phase, in the inter-imperialist wars, in the imperialist countries engaged in wars of aggression against oppressed peoples, to speak of *"defensive war or defense of the fatherland would constitute a historical falsification and only a deception of the simple people on the part of the masters ... The imperialist bourgeoisie of our time deceives the peoples using national ideology and the concept of defending the fatherland."*

Lenin is extremely clear in drawing the limits of the so-called "defensive war", as well as in placing exactly the wars that we now call "of liberation" and which must be seen only in the struggles for national liberation in the countries oppressed by imperialism.

This also calls in the present epoch for a corresponding analysis of when one can speak of countries oppressed by imperialism, since the developments and changes that have taken place in the imperialist phase have meant that many of these countries have become not countries oppressed by imperialism, but capitalist countries themselves inserted into the world chain of the imperialist system and into the international division of labor and unequal development that has always existed among capitalist countries and even more so in the phase of imperialism.

To extend the concept of a country oppressed by imperialism leads to extending within countries that have become capitalist, even if minors, the concept of "defense of the fatherland", of "defensive war". This produces class collaboration in the wars of one's own country, the subordination of the proletariat and the popular masses to the capitalist bourgeoisies of one's own country, and consequently the affirmation in the proletariat and popular ranks of the ideology of nationalism and the abandonment of the struggle for socialism.

This is quite evident, for example, in the case of Ukraine.

Ukraine is not a country oppressed by imperialism, it is a minor capitalist country, where capitalism has been restored after Russia's change of nature.

The Russia/Ukraine war, even if there were not, as in this case, the intervention of all the imperialist powers in dispute with Russia to make it a pawn in the inter-imperialist confrontation, would always be a war between Russian imperialism and capitalist Ukraine, in which the independent position of the proletariat would still be to fight against aggressor imperialism and against the capitalist bourgeoisie attacked in its own country.

This is even more true in the context of what is today, in reality, an inter-imperialist war.

Thus, in Ukraine and in almost all the "East countries", within the imperialist and capitalist countries, with rare exceptions, there are no struggles for national liberation, and consequently the concept of "defensive war" or "defense of the fatherland" constitutes, as Lenin teaches us, a *"historical falsification and only a simple deception of the people by the masters"*. On the contrary, it is on this basis that the bourgeoisies of these countries, using national ideology and the concept of "defense of the fatherland", have brought to power regimes of a sovereignist character, which in essence practice fascism internally and actively align themselves with the major imperialist countries outside, participating, and in some cases fomenting, reactionary wars.

In another passage of the text "Socialism and War," Lenin writes: *"Almost everyone recognizes that the present war is imperialist. But most people distort this concept and apply it unilaterally or try to make believe in the possibility that these wars have a progressive meaning, of national liberation."*

Lenin goes on to describe how imperialism is the highest degree of development of capitalism, which has developed all its characteristics to a level that embraces, and today even more, many countries of the world. It is in this context that as imperialism spreads, capitalism spreads within these countries. Certainly, it is not the capitalism of the dawn, it is a kind of deformed capitalism within the unequal development. And, therefore, there can be no progressive capitalism within these countries. And the line of "progressive capitalism" and of the alliance with the national capitalist bourgeoisie is a serious deviation that has led, particularly in the post-war period, the struggles and movements of national liberation to be transformed, even when they have won, into new states initially of state capitalism, into capitalism states tout court, an integral part of the world imperialist system.

So, in most cases in these countries the democratic revolution, the New Democratic revolution towards socialism, has not continued.

But that's not all. These states have contributed to the development of capitalism in their countries,

transforming them into countries of savage capitalism; confirming what Lenin writes: “*From progressive capitalism has become reactionary.*”

It is so, to return to the basic theme of Lenin’s writing and his relationship with today’s reality, that these countries become active protagonists of reactionary wars and rings of the world inter-imperialist confrontation.

Lenin takes into consideration the state of affairs in some countries which in his time were oppressed by imperialism, and writes: “*In China, Persia and India and other subject countries a policy has developed in recent decades of awakening to national life of tens and hundreds of millions of men, of liberation from the oppression of the great reactionary powers. On this historical terrain a war can also be today bourgeois progressive of national liberation.*”

Today it is quite evident that in countries like China, Persia (i.e., Iran), India, in no way can one speak of a progressive bourgeois war of national liberation. To continue within these countries to support this possibility is class collaboration instead of class struggle between imperialist bourgeoisies (China) or allied bourgeoisies and closely linked to the imperialist system, within which to continue capitalist development and imperialist in perspective, and the working class, poor peasants and exploited masses who need and must free themselves from capitalist bourgeois rule in their country by the revolutionary war for the march towards socialism in their country and in the world.

Lenin then develops the denunciation of social chauvinism. “*Social-chauvinism consists in supporting the idea of the ‘defense of the fatherland’ in the present war. From this idea also derives the renunciation of the class struggle in time of war, the approval of war credits, etc.*

Actually, the social-chauvinists pursue a bourgeois anti-proletarian policy, because in reality they advocate not the defense of the fatherland in the sense of a struggle against foreign oppression, but the right of certain great powers to plunder colonies and oppress foreign peoples.

The social-chauvinists renew bourgeois deception against the people, as if war were waged for the defense of freedoms and for the existence of nations, and thus they switch to the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

Among the social-chauvinists are to be counted both those who justify and put in good light the governments and the bourgeoisie of one of the groups of belligerent powers, and those who recognize to the socialists of all belligerent powers the same right to “defend the fatherland”.

Social-chauvinism actually represents the defense of the privileges of dominance, plunder, violence, of “one’s” (or in general of any) imperialist bourgeoisie.”

Lenin refers to the Manifesto on the war accepted unanimously in Basel, which, referring to the war between England and Germany and their respective allies, openly declares that “no interest of the people can justify such a war, waged ‘for the profits of the capitalists and for the benefit of the dynasties’ on the terrain of the imperialist policy of plunder of the great powers. The Manifesto openly declares that war is dangerous “for governments” (all without exception), unveils their fear of a “proletarian revolution”, cites with the utmost precision the example of the Commune of 1871 and October/December 1905, that is, the example of revolution and civil war. In this way the Basel Manifesto fixes the tactics of the proletarian revolution...

In the event of war, socialists must exploit the resulting “*economic and political crisis*” to “*hasten the elimination of capitalist class rule, i.e., exploit the difficulties that war creates for governments and the indignation of the masses for the socialist revolution.*”

Consequently, Lenin points out that this is exactly the opposite of what the social-chauvinists say and do, and here referring not only to those explicitly linked to the governing parties but to all the pack of social-chauvinists who are in opposition to these governments or who claim to act on behalf of the workers and the masses.

Lenin says, “*the policy of the social-chauvinists, the justification they make of war with bourgeois arguments of ‘freedom’, the admission of the ‘defence of the fatherland’, the voting of credits (increase in military spending, sending arms and soldiers. Ed), participation in the Ministries, is an open betrayal of socialism ... and can only be explained by the victory of opportunism and liberal national workers’ policy.*”

Lenin then considers in the camp of socialist parties and that refers themselves to the workers the social-chauvinist use of some false references to Marx and Engels; in particular Engels of 1891 on the obligation of German socialists to defend the fatherland in case of war against Russia and France united, and of the fact that Marx and Engels on the occasion of certain wars, over the years up to 1877, they sided with a particular belligerent state once war had broken out.

These are, says Lenin, repugnant deformations. Marx and Engels decisively condemned the Germans and had approved the refusal of Bebel and Liebknecht to vote war credits and had advised the Social Democrats not

to merge with the bourgeoisie and to defend the independent class interests of the proletariat.

Moreover, all social-chauvinists hide that Marx was referring to wars in the progressive period of the bourgeoisie, "*when there were neither present imperialism nor the already ripe objective conditions of socialism, nor socialist parties in all belligerent countries.*

Marx's position is only one "the workers have no country", words that refer precisely to the epoch of the reactionary bourgeoisie, outdated, to the epoch of the socialist revolution".

There is no doubt if one looks at present-day Ukraine or if one analyzes the economic and political nature of this country that the forces linked to Zelensky are not engaged in a national liberation struggle with respect to an invasion but with a policy that corresponds to the Leninist definition of social-chauvinism.

The Zelensky regime is the regime of the big Ukrainian capitalists and the financial oligarchy that aspires to be part of imperialist Europe and is allied and at the forefront of the war plans of US/NATO imperialism.

In this sense, the "defense of the fatherland" of which Zelensky speaks was, is and would be the oppression and exploitation of the workers and popular masses and the full domination in Ukraine of the US/European multinationals.

That is why all those who put forward right-wing arguments, which here coincide in particular with support for the Nazi component of the Ukrainian military forces; and "left" arguments, hide and silence the class struggle in Ukraine and approve of all kinds of armaments that the Ukrainian army receives from the imperialists and are the strength of the so-called "resistance", moreover increasingly trained and guided also directly by the US / NATO armed forces.

That of Ukraine is not a "defense of the fatherland" from foreign oppression but a taking part as frontline in an inter-imperialist clash, a proxy war, that would maintain foreign oppression of Ukraine as a state and lead Ukraine to be an integral part of the preparations for world imperialist war and the chain of oppression of peoples in the world. The course of the war is proving just that, whichever way you look at it.

The Ukrainian invasion by Russian imperialism is undoubtedly part of the neo-tsarist policy of the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie. But we are not in the time of the tsar. We are at the time of the post-capitalist restoration in Russia that brought to power first a social-imperialist and social-fascist regime inside, then a regime dominated by the big capitalists and the financial oligarchy with a dictatorship within the country, expression of these ruling classes, now represented in majority form by Putin.

The capitalist restoration in Russia for a long time, far from having strengthened the Russian economy, weakened it in the world imperialist system, of which the dissolution of the USSR was the main effect. This has gradually led the capitalist bourgeoisies of the "Eastern countries" that have fully regained power to break away from the economic power led by Russia and to bind themselves to the US/European imperialist system and bloc.

This economic weakening has been matched by a military weakening that has not erased the character of superpower but made it weaker and undermined internally.

This has unleashed the appetites of US imperialism and the European imperialists who have marched in forced stages towards an aggressive internal policy and a new division of the world.

In this sense, the Russian invasion is a "defensive" military action. This has led to a classical scenario that is correctly analyzed by Lenin in the writings on war that we are dealing with.

Who can deny, then, that it is a "war between bandits"? Those who deny it in the camp of communists assume, whether they like it or not, a character similar to the false socialist parties, false communists who in wartime are the target of Lenin's writing.

What do those who support Zelensky's Ukraine if not "*justify and put in good light the governments and bourgeoisies of one of the belligerent power groups*" (Lenin)? Or they are of the kind of those socialists of all belligerent powers who recognize - some to Ukraine, some to Russia considered non-imperialist - the same right to "defend the fatherland".

The communists, yesterday as today, are instead those who, with Lenin, support the "Basel Manifesto" which openly declares "*no interest of the people can justify such a war waged for the profits of the capitalists and for the benefit of the dynasties (today we would say of the oligarchies) on the terrain of the imperialist policy of plunder of the great powers*".

So today's communists are with Lenin only if they are supporters of proletarian revolution and civil war in all the present belligerent countries, either directly or indirectly, as is the case with imperialist Italy so far.

What is the task that Lenin tells us? The one that refers to the "Basel Manifesto" (to establish) "*precisely for this war the tactics of the revolutionary struggle of the workers on an international scale against their own governments, the tactics of the proletarian revolution*". "*Exploit the resulting economic and political crisis to hasten the elimination of capitalist class rule. Exploiting the difficulties that the war creates for the governments and the indignation of the masses (we are not really*

at a real indignation of the masses either in the direct scenario of Ukraine and Russia or within all the countries currently belligerent directly or indirectly, but surely - and even their own polls measure it - the majority of proletarians and popular masses are against the war in general and this war in particular) *for the purposes of socialist revolution*".

Exactly the opposite of what a significant part of the groups in our country and in the world, which call themselves Marxist-Leninist communists and, in some cases, even Marxist-Leninists-Maoist, do.

In reality it is - says Lenin - "*an open betrayal of socialism and is opportunism*". And Lenin reminds at the end of the passage of the writing that Marx's position is only one: "*workers have no country*" and that "*this is the epoch of socialist revolution*".

Lenin's text concerns a more advanced stage of an inter-imperialist war. Clearly, we are now in the moment of its preparation, and which can be accelerated or slowed down by various reasons, and about which we do not go into detail in this writing.

Just as it is clear that we are assessing the position of our imperialism and the struggle against it at a stage of preparations whose role is still minor. But we are working for the future.

Our aim is to form, to provide elements to the proletarian vanguard, to the vanguard of struggle, to organized and non-organized communists, of the solid points that at this stage are still in progress, towards which theory and practice must be reset and used as a guide, in the full sense of the word, of action that cannot yet be considered truly a practical action.

The other question, of which we are well aware, is that the description of positions and forces on which Lenin's struggle is centered corresponds to forces that today in the world and especially in our country do not correspond exactly to that representation.

It is therefore clear that there is a forcing in this oriented reading of Lenin's text. But the important thing is to look at the substance.

Lenin writes: "*The socialists of the whole world solemnly declared in 1912 at Basel that they regarded the approaching European war as a 'criminal' action, the most reactionary action of all governments, which will have to face the collapse of capitalism and inevitably provoke revolution against it. War broke out, crisis came, and instead of revolutionary tactics the majority of the Social-Democratic parties adopted a reactionary tactic, placing themselves on the side of their respective governments and bourgeoisies.*"

Speaking of today, we can say that actually the majority of opposition parties that refer themselves to

the masses has already adopted a reactionary tactic with respect to governments and the bourgeoisie. It is therefore to this reactionary tactic, already in the phase of preparations, that revolutionary tactics must be opposed. And certainly, not within these parties but within and in the ranks of the proletarians and the popular masses.

All this reactionary tactic as a whole can be called "social-chauvinist" and all has its class base even today. All these forces express "*bourgeois policy in the workers' movement, express the interests of the petty bourgeoisie and the union of a lowest part of the bourgeois workers with their own bourgeoisie against the interests of the mass of the workers and the mass of the oppressed*".

Given the current disappearance of classical social-democratic and socialist parties, the framework of parties we are talking about operates in the electoral arena and in public opinion and is combined with those who are really present in the workers ranks more corresponding to the definition of "opportunism" that Lenin gives. "*Opportunism (transforms) the use of bourgeois legality in a servile attitude to it, creating a small layer of bureaucracy and aristocracy of the working class... (united with) many petty bourgeois companions*".

The attitude of these class sectors, strata, political and trade union parties and organizations makes them particularly open to the consequences of the advance of war preparations, in particular in the field of state action against the struggling workers and proletarians and revolutionary communist vanguards, consisting of repression, of police state, the gag and attack on the working masses.

Lenin writes: "*The economic basis of opportunism and social-chauvinism is identical. The interests of a very small group of privileged workers and petty bourgeois who defend their privileged situation, their "right" to the crumbs of the profits obtained by their national bourgeoisie by plundering other nations with the advantages of the position of great power, etc. The ideological and political content is identical, the collaboration of classes instead of class struggle, the renunciation of revolutionary means of struggle, the aid to "one's own" government in difficult situations*".

There is, therefore, a clear position that has precise class bases in the action of opportunism understood in a broad sense. And in the phase of preparations, this position is exercised with respect to the preparations, so as it will continue to be exercised in tragic and dramatic forms for the class and the masses as the war develops. And it is clear that the attitude of the communists and the proletarian vanguard, of the movements of struggle of the masses, of the exploited

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and impoverished sectors, even of the bourgeoisie itself, must move in open and opposing forms, of minorities that will have to become majorities over time, first of all in tactics and, in perspective, in strategy.

Lenin continues: *“The unity of the opportunists means the union of the workers with their national bourgeoisie, and the division of the international and revolutionary working class.”*

Therefore, our tactic is not unity, which could only be ‘unity’ with opportunism and class division; but, precisely, the separation of class and masses from opportunism and sectors, albeit minorities, of class and masses organized and directed by opportunism and united with the national bourgeoisie.

Lenin goes on: *“In the past period, before the war, opportunism was often considered a deviation... but still an integral, legitimate part of the Social Democratic Party. The war has shown that such an attitude is impossible for the future. (For this reason) unity with the opportunists has become a mere imposture... In all important questions the opportunists present themselves (to their own government) with their own ultimatum and obtain satisfaction, thanks to their manifold links with the bourgeoisie, to their majority among the trade union leaders.”*

This happens, just to be concrete, in the support of Ukraine in the current imperialist war, which is then the position with which our imperialist government, in unity with the governments of US/NATO-led imperialism, prepares and participates in the ongoing inter-imperialist war.

The opportunists, today as yesterday, have the aim of bringing the class and the masses behind the chariot of the Italian imperialist bourgeoisie and its government to *“subjugate other nations, to fight for the privileges of great power, which means division of the proletariat of all countries ... However difficult the struggle against the opportunists who predominate so many organizations is, however varied the process of separating workers from opportunists varies in different countries, this process is inevitable... The socialism that is reborn will be revolutionary, intransigent, insurrectionary.”*

In Lenin’s time the greatest authority of the Second International was Kautsky who, as Lenin says, *“with evident sophistry deprives Marxism of its revolutionary soul. Of Marxism everything is admitted except the revolutionary means of struggle, their propaganda and preparation, the education of the masses precisely in this direction. Kautsky reconciles the fundamental thought of social-chauvinism, the recognition of the defense of*

the fatherland in the present war, with a formal diplomatic concession to the men of the left, consisting in abstaining from voting war credits, in affirming in words its opposition attitude, etc.”

Lenin here shows us the importance and necessity of the struggle also in our ranks and files, in the ranks of the workers’ movement not only against declared and already identified opportunism, but against those positions, forces, even small ones, which are formally in the camp of Marxism but reconcile with opportunism. And it shows us, therefore, that the substance of the struggle against these positions and of the division also from these positions lies in the fact, already indicated above, that the alternative is the *“revolutionary means of struggle, their propaganda and preparation, the education of the masses precisely in this direction”*.

Lenin reiterates: *“Kautskyism is the union of verbal fidelity to Marxism and submission to opportunism in practice.”*

Finally, Lenin deals with other forms of this opposition, pointing out, among others, Trotsky and the so-called “Dutch Marxists”, a variant of the “left communists”; that is, those who, despite being on formally correct positions, in practice develop actions and orientations that are of objective coincidence with those defined as “Kautskyists” for example, those of recognizing in certain circumstances the legitimacy of the idea of the defense of the homeland.

Today in the form of support for Ukraine with all the “fine distinctions”, as is the case of the Trotskyists, in obscuring the imperialist nature of our country and its action in the name of “fight against NATO/EU”, etc. and in what (and this would deserve a separate paragraph) Lenin admirably calls *“passive radicalism”* *“which leads to the replacement of revolutionary Marxism by the eclecticism of theory and servility and impotence in the face of opportunists in practice.”*

Lenin writes: *“The war has undoubtedly generated the most acute crisis and has aggravated in an improbable way the misery of the masses. The reactionary character of this war, the impudent lie of the bourgeoisie of all countries which masks its plundering aims with a “national” ideology, all this, on the terrain of an objectively revolutionary situation, inevitably creates revolutionary moods in the masses. It is our duty to contribute to making these moods conscious, deepen them and clarify them”*.

Lenin here speaks of an imperialist war already rampant throughout the world, while we at present know that we are within this path but not yet at that point. The question, therefore, presents itself in a differentiated way according to the places that are already theater of war compared to those that participate but are not yet

a theater of war and, finally, where the stage of participation does not go beyond joining an imperialist bloc and supporting it, sometimes with weapons, sometimes purely logistical, financial.

Therefore, the relationship between war and misery and between the development of revolutionary moods appears today varied and differentiated.

Lenin's vision gives us a vivid picture of where this situation in the various countries of the world is headed.

The relationship between the tasks of communists and the state of the masses also requires concrete analysis of the concrete situation and exact dosage of work to help make the moods of the masses conscious and to deepen them and specify them as a guide for action.

We must resolutely fight in the ranks of the communist movement and in the ranks of the vanguard workers both positions of wait-and-see and adaptation of "tail followers" to the state of affairs, as well as extremist, finalist attitudes; both these attitudes help and serve the interests of the bourgeoisie and the reformist social forces allied or associated with it.

What is the purpose of our work? It can never be obscured either among the masses or the communist movement and the proletarian vanguards. Lenin makes it clear: "*This task is rightly expressed by the slogan of transforming imperialist war into civil war, and every resulting class struggle in time of war, every tactic of seriously applied mass action inevitably leads to this.*"

This element is objective in the course of things, and in the stage of still not unfolded war, characterizes the ideology, political formation and organization of the workers' and communist vanguard, that is, of the party of the revolution which is, therefore, a party in function of the transformation of imperialist war into civil war.

Lenin was clear that this is neither ideology and abstract propaganda nor mere vision, but the consequence of systematic work. In fact, he writes: "*It is impossible to know whether a strong revolutionary movement will break out following the first or second imperialist war between the great powers, during or after it, but in any case, it is our precise duty to work systematically and perseveringly in this direction.* (Our emphasis)".

Lenin also says: "*The Basel Manifesto refers directly to the example of the Paris Commune, that is, to the transformation of war between governments into civil war.*" Here Lenin clearly indicates that it means "civil war" and also indicates the goal of the civil war which is workers' power.

Communists cannot make speeches halfway. Tactics must measure words and methods of struggle and organization in order to remain tied to the stadium, to

the consciousness still existing, but for communists it is impossible to guide this tactic correctly if there is no solidity of thought and action embodied by the party form, mainly by the cadres of the party and by its base however small or large it may be.

Lenin also responds to the possible objection, all too banal, that today we are not at the time of the Paris Commune (as just we are not at the time of the October Revolution), pointing out that "*half a century ago the proletariat was too weak* (it is clearly alluded to the times of the Paris Commune) *the objective conditions of socialism had not yet ripened, the connection and collaboration of revolutionary movements in all belligerent countries could not exist.*"

It describes here, a situation worse than the present situation from the point of view of the movement of the class and the masses. How, then, can we use the current situation as a brake on the necessary action of the communists?

On the contrary, Lenin in this paper also points out the limits of the Paris Commune. He writes: "*The sympathy of a part of the workers of Paris for the 'national ideologies'... it was their petty bourgeois weakness, pointed out in his time by Marx: this was one of the reasons for the defeat of the Commune.*"

Why, then, wonder about the domination in the ranks of the workers, even in its majority today, of national ideologies and petty bourgeois influences? They cannot be considered conditions that make revolutionary tactics against war, the strategy of transformation, the goal of workers' power, impossible. The action of the Communists consists, using tactics and strategy, in dealing precisely with these contradictions and in making possible what seems impossible. And this in a context of the 'final stage of contradiction', of the precipitation of it, historically constituted today by imperialist war.

Lenin writes this and the sentence that follows in progress and indicates this attitude that will form the workers' and communist cadres (Bolsheviks) and enable them to carry out the extraordinary historical feat of the October Revolution. Lenin writes, in fact, half a century later "*the conditions that weakened the revolution of that time no longer exist* (always referring to the Commune) *and today it would be unforgivable for a socialist to tolerate the renunciation of acting precisely in the spirit of the Parisian communards*".

152 years after the Paris Commune, this is our beacon and guide for action. A sort of categorical imperative to be adhered to in ideology, theory, practice and organization today, in the context of the world situation of capitalism/imperialism and the workers' and communist movement.

Debate

Fraternization among the soldiers: Lenin insists in the analysis of the war on the importance of the fraternization among soldiers of the armies in the field in the imperialist war.

How can we fail to see also in the current scenario of the war in Ukraine what a turning point and crisis of the war and their imperialist and reactionary governments would it be if Ukrainian soldiers and Russian soldiers fraternized, thus stopping the carnage on behalf of their masters and governments?

This is always a possibility during the war and especially in reactionary imperialist wars.

But Lenin rightly points out that the decisive aspect in this is not spontaneity but the role played by communists, internationalist revolutionaries through systematic work in this direction carried out in all countries at war to transform this spontaneity into an effective struggle against war, against own governments, creating a decisive outpost for what Lenin calls “*an international revolutionary movement*”.

That’s why for us communists, in the present stage of the preparations and developments of the imperialist war, the struggle against opportunism is decisive, against the social-chauvinism based on the erroneous analysis of the character of this war with the consequent erroneous and deviant slogans that impede the proletarian and revolutionary development of the struggle against war and fraternization on the battlefields.

Those who say that the current war in Ukraine, led by Zelensky and his Nazi battalions in the front row, super-armed by the US/NATO imperialists and Europe, would be a war of liberation, it is evident that instigates and feeds the inter-imperialist war and thinks of everything except the line of fraternization.

Not to mention imperialist Russia, where the denial of the reactionary and imperialist character of the invasion feeds Russian social-chauvinism and deepens the furrow among soldiers even in areas of Donbass, where it would be possible.

Illegal organization: Lenin goes on to write about the importance of illegal organization. It is not an ideological fetish, a guiding principle abstracted from reality, it depends on the line and strategy that is conducted in the body of imperialist war to transform it in all countries into revolutionary civil war.

It is evident that revolutionary civil war cannot be organized in legal form; and it is equally evident that as the war and the confrontation between the imperialist powers deepens at the points of explosion of it, see Ukraine today, the illegal organization is the form and guide of the struggle against war and for its transformation. As one moves away from the epicentre of it, within all the imperialist/capitalist countries dragged into war, depending on the stage of its preparations,

there is an increasing importance of illegal organisation with respect to legal forms of struggle.

It is important, however, once again to take seriously the words of Lenin who writes: “*without renouncing under any case and under any circumstances every legal possibility for the organization of the masses and the propaganda of socialism, the Social-Democratic (today Communist) parties must break with their subservience to legality.*”

Here too the legalists to the bitter end are the reformist, opportunist parties, but we must guard carefully against the danger of groups expressing extremism and petty bourgeois revolutionism that consider illegal action and military action a must be, a “*prius*” detached from the concrete analysis of the concrete situation. And here Lenin asks Engels for help and writes: “*Please shoot first, bourgeois people*” Engels wrote, alluding precisely to the civil war and the need for legality to be violated by us after it had been violated by the bourgeoisie.” It is from this that the importance of the illegal organization and the consequent illegal action arises.

The basic picture is very clear in Lenin’s analysis: “*The crisis has shown that the bourgeoisie violates legality in all countries, even in the freest ones, and that it is impossible to lead the masses to revolution without creating an illegal organization for propaganda, study, evaluation, preparation of revolutionary means of struggle.*”

As preparations for war progress, opposition to war is repressed and criminalized, and the need for it to be carried out by illegal means is obligatory and increasing, and this is possible if the illegal organization also advances to do so. Lenin refers to England and writes: “*In England prison sentences are pronounced for posters inviting not to join the army.*” And in the clarity of this Lenin concludes in a form that we would call mandatory and that also applies to today: “*To consider compatible with membership of the Social Democratic (communist) Party the denial of illegal methods of propaganda ... It is a betrayal of socialism.*”

Lenin then writes – and we have nothing to add except the fact that every communist, every conscious worker can be defined as such if he deeply assimilates this indication: “*The supporters of the victory of their government in the present war, as well as the supporters of the slogan ‘neither victory nor defeat’ have an equally social-chauvinist point of view. The revolutionary class, in the reactionary war, cannot but desire the defeat of its government, it cannot fail to see the link between the failures of its government and the greater ease of overthrowing it.*”

“Only the bourgeois who believes and desires that the war which has begun between governments ends absolutely like a war between governments, finds ridiculous or absurd the idea that the socialists of all belligerent countries demonstrate and wish defeat to all their governments. On the contrary, such an action would correspond to the secret thoughts of every conscious worker and would accord with the line of our activity aimed at transforming imperialist war into civil war. Undoubtedly, the serious anti-war agitation of a part of the British, German, Russian socialists has ‘weakened the military power’ of their respective governments; But this agitation was a credit to these socialists. Socialists must explain to the masses that there is no salvation for them without the revolutionary overthrow of ‘their’ governments and that the difficulties of these governments in the present war must be exploited precisely for this purpose.”

Attitude towards pacifism and the peace movement: Lenin’s writing is a real guide for action, applies to all imperialist and reactionary wars and is applicable to the situation going on today.

This means “to arm” the workers with an authentically classist and internationalist line and practice, to make them not generic participants in the struggle against war but the vanguard and guide of all the popular masses and of the whole general movement that wants peace and not war.

In this, the attitude towards pacifism and the peace movement is important.

Lenin says: *“The mood of the masses in favour of peace often expresses a principle of protest, indignation and awareness of the reactionary character of war. Exploiting this state of mind is the duty of all social democrats (communists. Ed)”*.

Looking at the ongoing war, it can be said that it is precisely the feeling of peace that unites the masses, both those who understand the inter-imperialist character of the war, and those less aware sections who look at the Russian tsarist imperialist invasion.

Lenin says that communists *“will take a very lively part in all movements and demonstrations on this terrain.”* What Lenin tells us **distinguishes genuine communists from pseudo-communists**, for example from the trosko-bordigist, economic tendencies who either despise the feelings of protest and indignation of the broad masses, arguing that communists should refrain from participating, or reduce the struggle against war to economic demands that are a natural consequence of the imperialists’ participation in the war, of the masters and governments in their service that unload, naturally, on the masses the cost of the war.

Lenin adds: *“But they will not deceive the people*

by admitting that without revolutionary movement peace is possible without annexations, without oppression of nations, without robbery, without germs of new wars between the present governments, between the currently ruling classes.”

And, therefore, he explains what the double aspect of the participation of communists in the struggle against war means: *“to exploit the mood of the masses, to indicate the only perspective of this struggle and of the very slogan of peace”*. To abstain from this second aspect would have a natural consequence described by Lenin in these terms: *“It would favor the secret diplomacy of the belligerent governments and their counter-revolutionary plans.”*

The communists in the struggle for peace, defined by Lenin as *“democratic and lasting peace”*, work to advance the conviction, the movement and the organization to arrive at the **only solution for the proletarians and the masses of those who want peace “civil war against the governments and against the bourgeoisie”**.

On the right of nations to self-determination: Every imperialist war contains in itself not only the clash between belligerent imperialist powers but also to a certain extent the existence and involvement of certain countries for which, it is argued, that war is inevitable because *“the right of nations to self-determination”* is called into question.

Lenin has no doubt that this is, in the context of an imperialist war, first and foremost a deception. He writes, in fact: *“The most frequent deception done to the people by the bourgeoisie in the present war consists in masking its own aims of robbery with an ideology of ‘national liberation’. The British promise freedom to Belgium, the Germans to Poland, etc. In fact, as we have seen, this is a war between the oppressors of most nations of the world to strengthen and extend this oppression.”*

Lenin’s quote fits very well with the Ukraine question in the current war. “National liberation” is the slogan of US imperialism, NATO, the Western powers and Zelensky’s government subservient to them in Ukraine. As well as the liberation of Crimea, the Donbass regions are agitated by invading Russian imperialism, which also advocates a *“liberated Ukraine”*, which would in fact be subservient to it.

Lenin emphasized that socialists, in our case communists, must fight against all national oppression. There can be no doubt about that. We must strictly fight both those who see this aim as linked to the victory of Zelensky’s Ukraine, which would be a deception for the Ukrainian people, and those groups that call themselves communists who hide the imperialist nature of Russia and the character of its invasion, an issue that

Debate

also concerns the annexation of Crimea and the Donbass regions.

“For this reason,” Lenin writes, “the *social-democratic parties* (now communists) *of the oppressor countries, especially the so-called ‘great powers’*, recognize and defend the right of self-determination of nations. Anyone who does not do so is a social-chauvinist.”

Of course, Lenin, in affirming this position, is not a supporter of small nations or small homelands but, as he writes, “for the freer, most daring, therefore wider and more widespread formation of very large states and of union among states, more advantageous for the masses and better responsive to economic development”.

The other great banner held by Lenin is “to fight unconditionally for complete unity among the workers of the oppressed nations and those they oppress.” Here “audacious” is Lenin’s line that applied even when there are blatant violations of the right of nations to self-determination, as is the case with the

Russian invasion, it’s a line that is far from being a proponent of a generic national liberation struggle, which in this context would be nothing more than an even more complete enslavement of Ukraine to US/NATO/EU imperialism, but precisely of the unity of the Ukrainian and Russian workers, who would also have the last word not only for the end of the war but also for the outcome of it in matters of unity of nations.

It is clear that this line is opposed to Zelensky’s reactionary capitalist government, and we could say doubly opposed to the interest and action of Putin’s Russia.

The struggle for socialist revolution is impossible without recognition of the right of nations to self-determination. On this Lenin is sharp and clear, and therefore the incompatibility of any other position is reaffirmed: “a people who oppress other peoples (*Marx and Engels*) cannot be free, a proletarian who proves conciliatory with the slightest violence of his nation against other nations (*Lenin*) cannot be a socialist.”

Statement from the Revolutionary Communists, Norway (RK)

Multipolarism is not Anti-imperialism!

Adopted March 28th 2023.

When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, the United States was left as the world's sole hegemonic superpower. Various mouthpieces of US imperialism declared that history had reached its end and that the new century would be a new golden age for a «liberal and democratic world order».

Before the ink in Francis Fukuyama's books had dried, it became clear that US imperialism was having great difficulties in maintaining its global hegemony.[1]

Now there is talk among intellectuals that the 'unipolar' world order is being replaced by a 'multipolar' world order. In other words, US imperialism is losing its absolute hegemony due to the challenge of competing imperialist powers, notably China and Russia.

There is great confusion on the left about how to relate to the new imperialist powers. On the one hand, there are many who, to varying degrees, have thrown themselves into the new Cold War of US imperialism against China (and Russia). On the other hand, there are those who side with the emerging Chinese (and Russian) imperialism, as a 'counterweight' to US imperialism.

«Multipolarism» refers to the political tendency that promotes the development of several competing imperialist powers in the hope of a «multipolar» world, where the great powers mutually «keep each other in check». Multipolarists often call themselves antiimperialists, but in reality they prettify the imperialist world system, deny that competition between imperialist powers inevitably leads to war and side with one imperialist bloc against another.

China is not a socialist country

Some of the multipolarists see themselves as anti-imperialists and would like to agree with Lenin. They often claim that the competition between the US and China is not interimperialist competition at all, but rather competition «between imperialism and socialism». They see China as a socialist and anti-imperialist counterweight to US imperialism, and pin their hopes on China's growing role in the world system.

China today is a social-imperialist superpower that violates the sovereignty of other countries and competes for markets, trade routes and raw materials. Chinese imperialism is particularly focused on investment in Africa, both through loans and direct investment.

China has not been a socialist country for decades. The dictatorship of the proletariat in China was defeated by

the bourgeoisie through the counter-revolution of 1976-78, and the ruling class in China is no longer the proletariat, but a new class of monopoly capitalists.

Capital accumulation, not people's needs, is the dominant principle of the Chinese economy.

The multipolarists claim that China is «kinder» than the US because, after all, China has not gone to war against any other country. Firstly, this is not proof that China is socialist or non-imperialist. Secondly, China has been indirectly involved in civil wars in several countries, and is selling arms to comprador regimes that wage war against their people, such as the Philippines, Ethiopia and Sri Lanka.

The CCP's «socialism with Chinese characteristics» is nothing more than imperialism with Chinese characteristics. China is not an «anti-imperialist counterweight» to US imperialism, but a rival imperialist exploiting its socialist history to gain international prestige.

Russian imperialism and the war in Ukraine

The multipolarists deny that Russia is an imperialist country, claiming that Russia must be progressive and anti-imperialist because Russia is against the United States. They also emphasize that Russia spends less money on the military than the US and is far poorer in terms of both financial and industrial capital.

Russian imperialism is economically and militarily weak compared to US (and Chinese) imperialism. But weak imperialism is also imperialism, and Lenin emphasized that the uneven development of capitalism — an economic law — is reinforced in the age of imperialism. There is nothing in Lenin's theory of imperialism that says that only the world's very richest countries, or the world's largest exporters of capital, are imperialist. Lenin considered the Russian Empire imperialist in 1916, despite the fact that Russia's economy was «relatively backward» and despite the fact that modern capitalist-imperialist relations were «intertwined with pre-capitalist relations.»[2] Monopoly capital is absolutely dominant in the Russian economy today — more so now than when Lenin defined Russia as imperialist in 1916. Monopoly capital is closely integrated with the state, and remember that Lenin defined the imperialist stage of capitalism primarily as state monopoly capitalism. Russian monopoly capital struggles with other monopoly capitals for dominance in semi-colonial countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

Rivalry between monopoly capitals is the background to Russia's war against Ukraine. The explanation lies neither in Putin's mind nor in a desire to «de-nazify Ukraine». Russia's war is an imperialist war; a war to maintain access to markets, labor, raw materials and to prevent these from falling into the hands of imperialist competitors.

Among the conflicts in Ukraine, we can mention three of the most important:

– Between Russian imperialism and the Ukrainian people

– Between US imperialism, EU imperialism and the Ukrainian comprador bourgeoisie on the one hand, and Russian imperialism on the other.

– Between the US/EU-oriented part of the Ukrainian comprador bourgeoisie, and the Russian-oriented part of the Ukrainian comprador bourgeoisie.

When Russia invaded Ukraine, the first of these became the primary contradiction.

Ukraine's resistance struggle against Russia is first and foremost a war of national defense with secondary elements of proxy war. The Ukrainian people are fighting back against the occupier to defend their national sovereignty — Ukrainians are not passive chess pieces for the Americans — yet the Americans are no doubt exploiting the Ukrainian resistance to advance their own imperialist interests in Ukraine and weaken their rival Russia.

We condemn the war of Russian imperialism against the Ukrainian masses. We support the right of the Ukrainian people to fight back with arms against an imperialist occupier. At the same time, we do not support the game of US imperialism to expand the war into a major imperialist war against Russia.

Inter-imperialist competition leads to war

A «multipolar world order» with permanent peace between great powers is not possible in the age of imperialism. As long as the imperialist world system exists, there can be no lasting peace. Lenin has established that competition for raw materials and markets by different monopoly capitals must lead to imperialist wars of redistribution, and that periods of «peace» and even «cooperation» between the imperialist powers can only be preparations for war.

As the emerging imperialist powers enter the territory of the old imperialists, interimperialist conflict must arise. Wars can only be abolished by the abolition of the imperialist system itself through new democratic and socialist revolutions, as part of the world proletarian revolution.

Our position

Lenin is reported to have said that the real meaning of the First World War was that: «One slave owner,

Germany, who owns one hundred slaves, fights another slave owner, England, who owns two hundred slaves, for a 'fairer' distribution of the slaves.»[3]

Taking sides with China and Russia in an «anti-imperialist front» against Western imperialism is as pointless as supporting German imperialism in the run-up to the First World War.

In the tradition of Lenin, we will not support this or that imperialist power, or this or that bloc of imperialist powers. We *do* support the international proletariat and all the peoples of the world fighting against imperialism, and we support the new democratic revolutions and people's wars that are being waged under communist leadership.

At the same time, we emphasize that our main task as communists in an imperialist country is to fight against our own imperialists — that is, Norwegian imperialism with its allies in the US and EU — and work for socialist revolution in our own country. Similarly, the Russian proletariat has a historic responsibility to overthrow its own imperialist bourgeoisie, in alliance with the peoples oppressed and exploited by Russian imperialism.

The same, of course, applies to the Chinese proletariat vis-à-vis Chinese imperialism.

Revolutionaries cannot put their faith in «anti-imperialist» powers. China and Russia will not side with the world revolution. The international proletariat must rely on its own forces alone.

We say:

Multipolarism is not anti-imperialism!

Proletarians of all countries and all peoples of the world, unite against imperialism

Notes

1. Fukuyama is most known for a book from 1992, *The End of History and the Last Man*. After Soviet revisionism collapsed, he wrote that the new century would see the worldwide expansion of bourgeois «democracy» and «liberal values». Thus, history was progressing toward a (happy) end.

2. Lenin. 1916. *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Under «VI. Division of the World Among the Great Powers». Marxist Internet Archive. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/imp-hsc/ch06.htm>

3. Cockburn, Alexander. 1991. «The melancholy passing of real radicalism». *San Francisco Examiner*. Retrieved from: <https://www.massline.info/mlms/mlch12.htm#n30>

CC, Proletarian Party of East Bengal (PBSP)

On the Initiative for Building a New International Organization/Forum of Maoists

The 90s began with the collapse of so-called Socialist, Soviet social imperialism. Though it was a crisis of imperialism itself, but western imperialists started a worldwide campaign against communist ideology by propagating it as the “collapse of socialism”. The purpose of this campaign was to create a false atmosphere of superiority and permanence of the capitalist-imperialist world system. This contributed to create confusion about the ideology of communism and increased disillusionment especially among the middle class.

Under the situation of the collapse of Soviet social imperialism, the Western imperialists led by the United States placed a new program called ‘globalization’, introduced a unipolar world, and especially the penetration of imperialists especially into third world countries became very strong. It also played a role in creating a negative impact on revolutions and mass movements through the development of a privileged middle class, the development of the comprador bourgeoisies, increased penetration of imperialism in agriculture and a form of distorted economic growth in Third World countries. Despite all of these, there is a strong movement developed against imperialist intrusion, plunder, exploitation, control, mutilation and destruction of the environment in the name of “globalization”. In such a situation, the program of “globalization” could not undermine the forward march of genuine communist ideology, although it did create various confusions and opportunism, especially among the middle class. In the 1980s, the MLM-based revolutionary communist movement that had begun to revive with the founding of RIM was greatly advanced by the Peruvian People’s War and revolutionary movements in various countries, including India. Sometime later, from 1996, when People’s War started in Nepal, it made more progress.

A new wave of movements and protests spread all over the world against the unjust war that the US-led imperialists started against the people of the world through the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. In such situation, Peruvian PW faced disaster mainly because of its Party’s internal reason, but under the Maoist leadership, PW of Nepal achieved many new victories, that started to raise high the direction of liberation before

the people of the world. Protests and movements around the world against the US’s unjust aggression in the name of the “war on terror” pose a new crisis to the imperialists.

- In addition, the recession conditions of imperialism made its crisis multifaceted. The US imperialists themselves tried to overcome the crisis by policies like bailouts in their own countries. But throughout the second decade of the century, Western countries were hit by one recession after another.

- This crisis situation of imperialism gave rise to a new wave of mass movements like “Arab Spring” in various countries including Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Syria, Bahrain, Yemen and even Saudi Arabia. All these contribute to increase and diversify the crisis of the imperialist world system. As a result of the Arab Spring, many years of autocratic rules in some countries come to or about to an end. But in the absence of a revolutionary ideology and program, the mass movements failed to bring any fundamental change in the system. Rather, the imperialists perpetuated the system through reforms in some places, and in others by imposing stronger autocratic rule. At the same time, they effectively used religious fundamentalists to prevent any change for the betterment of the people. Militant fundamentalism developed as a result, although it also led to a renewed crisis for imperialism. Through this, the mask of democracy of western imperialism is revealed more and more.

At the same time, it created various movements of working people, middle class and progressive people against capitalist plunder, profiteers inside of the imperialist countries themselves. It was manifested in mass protests and movements called “Occupy Movement” in the home country of US imperialism and protests against the so-called “austerity program” in Greece, the imposition of increased taxes on the people, withdrawal of subsidies for various public welfare programs, lay off, etc. In addition to these, movements against police brutality, women’s rights movements, movements of black immigrant and homeless, are permanently present in Western countries including the US. The above-mentioned periodic economic recession has accelerated these mass movements.

Debate

To deal with these crises, the imperialists relied on the war economy. These are seen in Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Iran, Bahrain, Yemen, Libya, Afghanistan and in Africa. But these wars, instead of solving the crises of imperialism, have created new crises, one important of them is the migrant crisis, which has created a serious humanitarian situation for the whole of Europe. In response to this, the mask of humanity of the Western imperialists has been fallen down. It even led to the development of neo-fascism in those countries.

The withdrawal of US troops while there is still the conflicting situation in Iraq, the forced retreat from Afghanistan, the Russian military threat in Syria, have created new pressure for US imperialism. Russia has re-emerged as a superpower after 30 years. Social imperialist China is also a superpower. Both countries are aligning against the United States. In the current situation, China & Russia have become a serious obstacle and opponent of the interest of US. That is why US imperialism, to establish itself as the sole superpower against them and their allies, has plans in hand to maintain its geopolitical hegemony, which is inevitably resulted in a proxy war in Ukraine. US is determined to strike in any form anywhere in the world to satisfy its own interests. So, their motive is to weaken China and Russia, militarily and economically, in such a way, so that they can no longer challenge the US.

In addition, the aim is to send a message to the European NATO countries that their (Europe's) separate security thinking are irrelevant, which they have been taking in consideration for a long time. The war in Ukraine put that thought to rest.

Ukraine's US-backed Zelenskyi government is desperate to join NATO. And, that is a big threat to the existence and development of Russian imperialism. The war in Ukraine in the form of the Russian invasion on 24 February 2022 is essentially an imperialist war. The war is actually between rival superpowers. Only the battlefield is Ukraine. The military campaign of Russia is targeting the Western world more than Ukraine.

Recently, due to the emergence of US rival China and multiple crises in the US empire, the US-led unipolar world has broken down. The conflict between China-Russia and the US bloc over world supremacy has intensified. Due to the crisis of the US-led NATO alliance, the social imperialist China has now openly declared its share in the world division and has expressed the hope of conquering the world within 2050. Russia has also already developed good relations with China. And it is trying to rebuild its empire and recapture the countries it lost in Europe, daring to launch military aggression if necessary. Russia's invasion of Ukraine is a reflection of the Russian-US inter-imperialist conflict.

Xi Jinping's re-election as General Secretary at the recent 20th Congress also aims to challenge the US-led imperialist world order and to establish China as the world's number one superpower.

This new global situation is creating a multilateral world that will undermine the one-sided unstoppable monopolistic hegemony. Both the countries began world trade primarily with the Russian ruble and the Chinese Yuan as alternatives to the dollar, with the aim to break the monopoly of the US dollar. Many countries of the world, including Europe, are dependent on Russian wheat and oil and gas. Meanwhile, Hungary, Italy and Germany are buying Russian oil and gas in rubles in defiance of the US sanction. Saudi Arabia bypassed the US to sell oil to China in Chinese currency. The war in Ukraine has plunged the entire world into a crisis.

Europe's largest country, Ukraine, is shrinking as four regions of Ukraine became part of the Russian Federation. But this war is no longer limited to the shrinking of Ukrainian territory or Russian territorial expansion. It has and will affect every corner of the world. The suffering of the middle block countries has reached its peak. The Russia-Ukraine war and Putin's threat of nuclear war were the main topics of discussion throughout the recently concluded 77th session of the United Nations.

Gradually, the war in Ukraine became a threat not only to the two countries concerned, but to the whole world. Iran's women's and mass movements, North and South Korea's war rehearsals, China and Taiwan's war drills, Azerbaijan and Armenia and Tajikistan are also in a state of war. There are mass movements against military/civilian governments in Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Myanmar and repressions on the mass movements have created a horrifically inhumane situation. The conflict between the two imperialist blocs allowed Indian expansionism to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the peoples of South Asia through Hindutva fascism. With the blessing of Indian expansionism, Hasina's Awami fascism also got a chance to live longer in Bangladesh. On the other hand, there is fuel crisis, food price hike in countries, supply shortages, import and export cartels, economic sanctions, political polarization.

The impact of this war created a major economic crisis in Europe. Food and fuel crisis has become severe. Governments are repeatedly falling in Italy, France and Britain. Imperialist state like Sweden, a self-declared welfare state, is facing social security issue. US-European western democracies are heading straight towards fascism. Taking that opportunity, their rival

China-Russia has also matured their fascist regime and is doing so. Governments and ruling classes of the countries of the periphery of these two imperialist blocs also have established or establishing fascist regimes in their own countries.

Spontaneous mass protests against the government and the ruling class are being organized to counter all these evils. People's Wars are going on in India and the Philippines. In some other countries including Bangladesh, the Maoist parties has continued its organization-struggle, anti-imperialist protest-resistance based on the revolutionary politics of the People's War. But due to the weakness or lack of revolutionary program, ideology, party and struggle, the ruling-bourgeoisie and imperialists have been able to continue their system by suppressing the spontaneous mass movements.

In the absence of an international center or forum of communists on the basis of MLM, the Maoists are more hindered in strengthening, sustaining and developing their struggle in small scope and failing to participate, lead and win the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples of the world.

From the end of the 80's to the beginning of the new century, the people's struggles under the Maoist ideology in the countries oppressed by imperialism, like Peru-Philippines-India-Nepal-Turkey-Bangladesh, instilled confidence in the proletariat and the oppressed people, instilled optimism and energized the international communist movement. Although the revolutionary movement has been disrupted due to various reasons, it is moving forward in a zigzag way.

In this regard, from the end of the last century to the first decade of the new century, the role of "Revolutionary Internationalist Movement" (RIM), the international center of Maoist revolutionaries, was very significant. The formation of "RIM" as the international center of the Maoists after the 3rd International was a step forward in uniting, consolidating and triumphing the international communist movement against imperialism.

Maoist parties and organizations outside of the RIM also played a significant role. Especially the continuation and strengthening of the people's war in India and the Philippines.

But RIM became ineffective due to the right opportunist line (ROL) in Peru, the betrayal of the Prachanda-Baburam clique in Nepal and the deviation of the RCP led by Bob Abakian in USA from the MLM by adopting the 'New Communism'. As a result, the

subjective ability of the world proletariat, in contrast to the imperialist system, became disorganized and greatly weakened.

Since RIM became inactive, Maoist parties and organizations in various parts of the world have taken various initiatives to unite internationally. Although that process was greatly interrupted by the corona pandemic, the joint statement continued to be published online on the occasion of the May Day. Our party could not participate in those processes. However, bilateral relations and discussions with some fraternal parties and organizations continued.

During the situation of the grave crisis of imperialism, when the revolutionary situations is becoming more favorable, the importance of establishing a united organization/forum of the international proletariat has increased manifold. Today the international role of the proletariat in the present world reality appears more urgent than at any time in the past. Many parties and organizations have realized the necessity of this situation. However, it has not yet been possible to take any effective and visible initiative.

The position of our party is that, the Maoist organizations who agree to form an international organization should take steps towards that goal at this moment. However, the form/type etc. of the international organization should be determined through collective consultation. The consensus of the party and organization should be highlighted. And the differences of opinion must be resolved through debate-review-struggle. At the same time, efforts should be made to keep open the way for the Maoist forces that are not joining the organization/forum at this very moment. A specific plan is necessary for all these.

In May 2022, the parties and organizations of various countries, including the Communist Party of India (Maoist), the Communist Party of Maoist-Italy, the Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan, the Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist) called for an international forum in the current world order under this title of "International May Day: Long Live the Red May Day!" and we accept the joint declaration and calling on all parties and organizations to include our party in this process of making this effort a reality in the future.

**International Department,
CC, Proletarian Party of East Bengal (PBSP)
November, 2022**



The Manifesto of Party Unity

**Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal
Unity Congress Organising Committee**

Today, we are present here on a historical occasion, May Day, with good news. The good news is that the Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal has been formed amid negotiations and meetings between the Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist) and the Communist Party of Nepal (Bahumat), and the transformation that took place through debates within the Party Unity Coordination Committee. This 134th May Day bears a special significance in Nepal today. The liberation of the workers and the oppressed classes is impossible without a communist party which is built from persons equipped with the supreme consciousness of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as their vanguard. Moreover, no movement or revolution can be accomplished without a unified communist party assimilated by that insight. While it has been severely affected by the unity-struggle-split, there are a few examples of Unity-struggle-transformation in the Nepalese Communist Movement. On the occasion of this great festivity, we pledge to make the process of unity-struggle-transformation prevail in the party.

Defending the originality of MLM, we have to develop it in agreement with space, time, and situation. In this context, we must grasp the synthesis reached by Lenin, “Marxism is not a lifeless dogma, not a completed, ready-made, immutable doctrine, but a living guide to action, that it was bound to reflect the astonishingly abrupt change in the conditions of social life. “This unity of ours is based on the principle of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Regarding party unity and party building, Lenin instructed us, “If you must unite, Marx wrote to the party leaders, then enter into agreements to satisfy the practical aims of the movement, but do not allow any bargaining over principles, do not make theoretical “concessions”. This was Marx’s idea.”

We fully agree with the objective of accomplishing the revolution while remaining steadfast to the synthesis Lenin had reached, and we are committed to not making any compromises and not giving ‘discounts’ on the questions of principle like Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the revolutionary line – the general program of the new democracy and the basic program of scientific socialism and communism – the use of force in revolution, proletarian internationalism, the organizational theory of democratic centralism, the establishment of the Federal People’s Republic of Nepal, the great proletarian cultural revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and end to the parliamentary system. We declare that the unity of this party has been attained after we achieved unanimity on these fundamental questions. Protecting the originality of MLM, we have to develop it according to space, time, and situation. In this context, we must also grasp Lenin’s synthesis, “Marxism is not a lifeless dogma, not a completed, ready-made, immutable doctrine, but a living guide to action, that it was bound to reflect the astonishingly abrupt change in the conditions of social life.”

Guided by this conclusion of Lenin, we want to announce that we must develop Marxism to solve the present-day contradictions. Today, due to the development of science and technology, there have been sudden changes in the conditions of social life. MLM can develop only by contemplating these changes. In this context, Mao, the advocate of creative Marxism and the defender of the originality of Marxism has synthesized, “We must study Lenin and be courageous in hoisting the red flag, the redder the better. We must be courageous in advocating something new and establishing something different. There are two kinds of advocating something new and establishing something different: Hoisting the red flag is proper; hoisting the white flag is improper.”

Despite the space, time, and situation were different in China than those in Russia, Mao accomplished the revolution by advocating new things and establishing different things.

The Revolutionary Communist Party of Nepal is committed to implementing MLM according to the situation of Nepal, leading it to develop from this specific situation. In a country where the socio-economic condition is semi-colonial, semi-feudal, and mainly neo-colonial, the remnants of feudalism, bureaucratic and comprador capitalism, and mainly comprador capitalism is the main enemy, and workers, peasants, soldiers, and squatters, including the national bourgeoisie, are the friendly forces, the contradiction between the bureaucratic and comprador capitalist state power at one pole and the entire oppressed people at the other is the principal contradiction. Our party is committed to the fact that the solution to this contradiction is a scientific socialist system that can be reached through a new democratic revolution.

The problems of national independence, democracy, and people’s livelihood have become severe in the country. With the agreements like MCC and SPP, the threat to national sovereignty has become terrible. By arresting political leaders and workers in false cases and imprisoning them, the problem of democracy has reached an extreme. The problems of people’s livelihoods have skyrocketed due to the extreme usury of microfinance, excessive interest, and so-called cooperative organizations under the protection of banks. Instead of solving these problems, the state power, government, and related agencies are trying to oppress the agitators. Our party is committed to leading the struggle for the final solution to the problems of national independence, democracy, and people’s livelihood.

On this occasion, we call on the confused revolutionaries of various parliamentary revisionist parties, scattered groups, and personalities to get polarized and integrated into this historic unity process. With this unity of ours, a powerful headquarters of the Nepalese revolution will be established, and revolution will be accomplished.

Date: May 1, 2023

Final Message Of CPP Founding Chairperson Joma Sison To Revolutionary Forces And People Of Philippines

Jose Maria Sison Founding Chairperson Communist Party Of The Philippines

December 23, 2022



It is with deepest grief that I have to be the one to issue my husband's last and final message to the revolutionary forces and the people on the 54th anniversary of the Communist Party of the Philippines. He started discussing with me the outline and writing of the message a few days a month ago when he just got discharged from the hospital at his second confinement in November and just before the start of his third and last confinement on November 28. He wrote the first draft on paper, which I keyed in to the computer and then he reread and corrected it twice to produce this final draft below.

Some fifteen or so minutes before Joma took his last breath, he was still talking about ensuring the revolution would win victory and advancing to socialism. With his last thoughts he remained optimistic about the Filipino people whom he served with utmost determination. Editor

Since after the reestablishment of Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968 and the prompt founding of the New People's Army on March 29, 1969, every reactionary regime of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines (from the time of Ferdinand Marcos, Sr. to the present) has adopted and implemented a strategic operational plan to destroy the Filipino people's democratic revolution.

But each strategic 'oplan' has always utterly failed and instead resulted in the significant growth of the revolutionary movement. Marcos went to the extent of imposing a fascist dictatorship on the people from 1972 to 1986 on the pretext of suppressing the CPP and armed revolution, "save the republic and build a new society". But his power grab merely stimulated and accelerated the all-round growth of the revolutionary movement nationwide. Ultimately, the armed revolution inspired and backed up the people's mass uprisings in Metro Manila and nationwide in order to remove the fascist dictatorship from power.

The pseudo-liberal democratic regimes that followed the Marcos fascist dictatorship tried to combine their respective military strategic 'oplans' with tactics of deception, including offers of prolonged ceasefire and peace negotiations without addressing the roots of the armed conflict or civil war. Every reactionary regime has been obsessed with destroying the revolutionary movement and preserving the unjust ruling system of oppression and exploitation.

It has used the anti-terrorist card anytime to delay, suspend or terminate the peace negotiations, despite such major joint agreements between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines as The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 as framework for peace negotiations and the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law of 1998.

Despite the peace negotiations, every reactionary regime has taken the liberty of killing cadres and members of the revolutionary movement. When the NPA captured General Obillo of the reactionary armed forces under the terms of the CARHRIHL and international laws in 1998, it immediately announced willingness to release him as a prisoner of war upon agreement on the safe procedure for his release. But Estrada continuously took offense and used the capture of his general to become the first reactionary president to terminate the peace negotiations in May 1999.

After his overthrow by people's mass uprisings in 2001, the Arroyo regime agreed to resume the peace negotiations in 2002, with the Royal Norwegian Government as the third-party facilitator. But in 2004 it became obvious that the Arroyo regime was following US dictates to slow down the negotiations on substantive issues and to suspend them indefinitely and unleash bigger military operations in the name of the "whole-of-nation approach". These military operations

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failed utterly to destroy the people's war. The rabid anti-communist defense secretary would eventually commit suicide upon exposure of his corruption in the handling of the military budget and even of the retirement funds of AFP officers and personnel.

I. Complete sabotage of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations

But the worst came when Duterte became president. He pretended to be eager to conduct peace negotiations but he carried out an all-out war policy against the revolutionary movement by extending Aquino's Oplan Bayanihan until January 2017 when Oplan Kapayapaan was adopted and implemented. Instead of joining the NDFP in addressing the roots of the civil war through basic social, economic and political reforms, he concentrated on trivial and puerile tactics calculated to push the revolutionary movement to capitulation by demanding that the people's democratic government give up its legitimate powers, offering CPP representation in his cabinet prior to a peace agreement and then self-contradictorily including the NPA as target of his martial law proclamation against the Maute group in Mindanao in 2017.

Failing to achieve his short-sighted objectives in trying to outwit the NDFP, Duterte agreed with his military minions to stop serious peace negotiations with the NDFP by hyping fake "localized peace talks" under the surveillance and control of the GRP. Duterte and AFP officers became obsessed with increasing the military budget to accommodate their insatiable appetite for corruption and the operations to red-tag, intimidate people and abduct, detain, torture and murder their political opponents. Thus, the ground was laid for the termination of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations on November 23, 2017 by Duterte after openly consulting US President Trump.

The Duterte's termination of the peace negotiations since 2017 was intended not only as a negotiating trick but as the beginning of ending permanently the peace negotiations. Subsequently, Duterte designated and proscribed the CPP and NPA on December 5, 2017 and ultimately the NDFP on the same grounds, created the National Task Force to Eliminate the Communist Local Armed Conflict (NTF-Elcac) and took advantage of the Covid-19 pandemic to railroad the Anti-Terror Law (ATL) in the servile Congress and the creation of the Anti-Terrorism Council to put the Philippine once more under state terrorism or fascist dictatorship, violate the national and democratic right of the people with impunity and allow those in power to commit treason, tyranny and thievery.

Within this anti-national and anti-democratic framework, Duterte has passed on the reactionary government and ruling system to the Marcos Junior-Sara Duterte tandem

by completely controlling the automated electoral system and fabricating more than 20 million votes in favor of the tandem and its candidates for Congress and local executive positions. The current de facto Marcos-Duterte regime is under the dictates of US imperialism and the big comprador-bureaucrat interests of the Marcos and Duterte dynasties and will condone and continue the monstrous crimes of the previous regime until the opposition forces, the revolutionary movement and the broad masses of the people can act to change the situation in the Philippines.

In the meantime, the Filipino people have to suffer the rising level of oppression and exploitation due to the worsening chronic crisis of the ruling system and the anti-national and anti-democratic policies of the Marcos-Duterte tandem. Day after day, they have to suffer, defy and fight not only the bloody human rights violations but also the fake news in the psywar campaign of those in power that the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces have given up the revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy.

It is absolutely untrue that the people's revolutionary forces are dwindling and being defeated and that the Red cadres, commanders and fighters—all tested and tempered in more than 54 years of victorious people's war—are rapidly being killed or captured in focused military operations or surrendering because of such band-aid offers like the graft-laden Enhanced-Comprehensive Local Integration Program, Community Support Program and Barangay Development Plan. And yet the ruling clique and its military minions keep on demanding more public funds not only to attack the people but also to pocket the larger part of the military budget.

The reactionary armed forces have in fact officially admitted that the NPA grew in strength during the Duterte regime. Towards the end of the Aquino II regime in January 2016, when they claimed the success of Oplan Bayanihan, they announced that the NPA commanders and fighters have been reduced to only 3,900. Now, they claim that at the end of the Duterte regime that they have caused the surrender of nearly 24,000 Red fighters. Unwittingly, they expose themselves as big liars and big budget thieves and admit that the NPA actually increased its strength during the Duterte regime.

II. Why the people's democratic revolution is invincible

The Filipino people's democratic revolution is invincible because it is just and necessary to fight for and achieve national liberation and democracy against the three evil forces of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism in a rapidly rotting semi-colonial and semifeudal society. This new

democratic revolution is a continuation of the old democratic revolution that was started in 1896 by the Katipunan and was victorious against Spanish colonial rule but was defeated by the US war of aggression that started in 1898. This time, the leading class in the revolution is no longer the liberal bourgeoisie but the proletariat in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution.

So long as the aforesaid three evil forces dominate and afflict the Filipino nation, the ground remains fertile for the growth and advance of the people's democratic revolution. The chronic crisis of the ruling system has been worsening not only due to the factors of exploitation and oppression within the Philippines but due to those in the world capitalist system, chiefly US monopoly capitalism. The Philippines is fortunate to have rich natural resources for its own development but unfortunately the imperialist powers and their reactionary puppets have always agreed to exploit the cheap labor of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the abundant natural resources of the people. At every major shift of its economic policy in East Asia, US imperialism has always made it a point to prevent the economic development through a program of genuine land reform and national industrialization in the Philippines. We have seen such phenomenon in the periods when the US favored Japan's economic reconstruction and expansion after World War II and the economic growth of the "economic tigers" to serve as anti-communist front liners during the Cold War and when it promoted neoliberalism and fascism and developed a neoliberal partnership with China until their ongoing decoupling and intensified economic competition and political rivalry.

In the course of its closest neoliberal partnership with China, the US and its chief Filipino puppets encouraged and allowed China to encroach on the West Philippine Sea in order to have the pretext for the US to circumvent the constitutional prohibition against foreign military bases and forces in the Philippines by making the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement to allow the US military forces to have exclusive bases and facilities within the camps and military reserve areas of the reactionary armed forces. But now, the US is conspicuously locked in a contest with China to plunder the natural resources of the Philippines and the rest of ASEAN.

China is more than ever hell-bent on keeping its artificial and militarized islands in the West Philippine Sea because its own undersea explorations show that there are at least USD 26.3 trillion of gas, far more than enough to carry out genuine land reform and industrialize the Philippines and thereby fulfill the main socio-economic demand in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. Despite all its pious and glittering generalities for helping the ASEAN develop and for starting its reduction of carbon

emissions by 2030, China is determined to grab the gas, marine and other natural resources of the Filipino people in the West Philippine Sea.

The Philippine economy and government are bankrupt due to its internal ills and the unprecedented crisis of the world capitalist system. Due mainly to extreme corruption, import-dependent consumption and military overspending, the Duterte regime has more than doubled in only six years to Php 12.5 trillion the Philippine public debt of Php 5.9 trillion which had been accumulated since 1902. He did a favor to Marcos Jr. by making him president through the fabrication of more than 20 million votes in the last elections but he has given him the big problem of looking for Php 1.6 trillion to pay for amortization and interest payments to support the Php 5.2 trillion budget for 2023.

The Philippine is now reeling from severe conditions of economic depression, decreased export of raw materials and labor, lessened tax revenues and tighter international credit. Production and employment have fallen so steeply. There is severe decline in food production, including rice, vegetable and fish, and inflation is soaring. But the Marcos-Duterte ruling team circulate the painful joke that the people can always buy imported food, despite the big drop in earnings from the export of raw materials and cheap labor.

The Filipino people are outraged that the two worst political dynasties (Marcoses and Dutertes) rule the Philippines, have no solution to the urgent basic problems of the people, but engage in the most scandalous forms of corruption (e.g. unaudited confidential and intelligence funds) and in the increase of the military budget to intimidate the people and suppress mass resistance despite the psywar claims that the revolutionary forces have been destroyed or their actual strength reduced to only five guerrilla fronts nationwide.

III. The armed counterrevolution will continue to fail

The armed counterrevolution being waged by the Marcos-Duterte ruling combine will continue to fail because the objective conditions of the rapidly worsening crisis of the ruling system are making it impossible for the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords and their bureaucrats to rule in the old way (be it the pseudo-liberal or fascist way); and because it is actually the subjective forces of the revolutionary movement and the broad masses of the people that are gaining strength and advancing the new democratic revolution under the class leadership of the proletariat and along the general line of protracted people's war. As the advanced detachment of the proletariat, the CPP has made great achievements in its ideological, political and organizational work. It has been guided by the

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theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and has applied it on the history and current social circumstances of the Filipino people. It has put forward the general line of people's democratic revolution with the strategic line of protracted people's war and with the socialist perspective. It has upheld the principle of democratic centralism and has built a nationwide organization that is well integrated with the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the rest of the people.

There is no way that the reactionary state can stop the few CPP cadres from performing their tasks in ideological work. From year to year and from decade to decade, under the auspices of the Revolutionary School of Mao Zedong Thought, they were able to educate more Party cadres and members in the course of mass work and put them through the basic, intermediate and advanced levels of Party education after they take the revolutionary mass course for mass activists.

Revolutionary studies can be carried out in so many ways far beyond the limited capabilities of the enemy to spy on and the study materials are now widely available in hard and soft copies.

In their struggle for national and social liberation, the Filipino people regard the CPP as the most important revolutionary weapon responsible for leading the peoples democratic revolution. In turn, the CPP wields two other powerful weapons, armed struggle and the united front (constituted as the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, respectively). The NPA is the main force for fighting and defeating the coercive apparatuses of the reactionary state and enabling the rise of the people's democratic government. The NDFP is responsible for building the comprehensive national united front and winning over the people in their tens of millions to the revolution against the armed counterrevolution.

The NPA carries out the strategic line of protracted people's war of encircling the cities from the countryside. In a semicolonial and semifeudal country like the Philippines, the countryside provides for the widest possible social and physical terrain and area of maneuver for developing the strength of the people's army through definite strategic stages, such as the defensive, the stalemate and counter-offensive. Most of the people are in the countryside. And the main democratic content of the peasant masses is agrarian revolution, the satisfaction of the democratic demand for land.

The NPA is tasked to wage armed struggle as the main form of struggle, carry out genuine land reform from the minimum to the maximum stage and build the revolutionary mass base. It has a major role in building the mass organizations and the organs of political power that constitute the people's democratic government and carrying out mass campaigns, programs

and activities that implement mass education and organization, land reform and socio-economic development, self-defense, settlement of disputes, protection of the environment and other important tasks. In accordance with the strategic defensive stage, the NPA been victorious in carrying out the people's war through guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base. This has allowed the NPA to build the guerilla fronts initially in a few areas and regions and eventually to the eleven major islands inhabited by 94 per cent of the people. Now, the NPA operates in 74 out of the 82 Philippine provinces and enjoys the support of the Filipino people and by the NDFP in all the Philippine provinces.

Every reactionary regime has boasted of being able to destroy the armed revolution within the current term of whoever is the president. But the semicolonial and semifeudal character of the ruling system and its ever-worsening chronic crisis put limits on its ability to control the population and suppress the people's resistance. At any given time, the NPA and other revolutionary forces can work freely and launch tactical offensives in more than 80 per cent of the Philippine archipelago.

Of course, the reactionary armed forces and police can do their best to identify and target the NPA guerrilla fronts with focused or concentrated military campaigns. But the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare have served the NPA very well. When the enemy advances in superior force, the NPA main force retreats but deploys command-detonated land mines and sniper teams against the advancing enemy. When the enemy displaces and occupies the area of an NPA guerrilla front, the NPA surveils the enemy deployment in order to be able to know how to harass the enemy camp, hit the isolated perimeter guards and ambush the patrol units.

When the encamped enemy tires out and retreats, it is the turn of the NPA to make the advance and deliver more offensive blows. But even while the enemy seems to have the upper hand through his advance and encampment, the NPA force on tactical retreat in one guerrilla front can initiate tactical offensives that it can win in a nearby area. Worst of all for the enemy, as has been often the case, in so many other guerrilla fronts in the same region and all other regions the NPA take the initiative to launch tactical offensives by way of strengthening themselves through struggle and helping the guerilla fronts under focused or concentrated enemy attacks.

On the whole in its entire history, the CPP has been excellent and successful in building the nationwide strength of the revolutionary forces by being able to lead and coordinate them in various forms of struggle and, in the field of revolutionary armed struggle, using an existing guerrilla front to beget other guerilla fronts in the same region and provide experienced CPP cadres

and NPA commanders and fighters to other regions. The initial guerrilla front in Tarlac in 1969 led to the building of several guerrilla fronts in Central, Northern and Southern Luzon from 1969 to 1971 and the big wave of CPP-NPA expansion teams to the Visayas and Mindanao from 1972 onward. Then within the same decade of the 1970s, the guerrilla fronts of the Visayas and Mindanao helped each other and also provided experienced CPP cadres and Red commanders to Luzon. The CPP, NPA and NDFP have become so well-rooted on a nationwide scale and well-integrated with the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the rest of the people.

IV. Perspective of the people's democratic revolution

The people's war in the Philippines is still at the stage of the strategic defensive, advancing from the middle phase to the advanced phase. In concrete terms, nationwide guerrilla warfare is the main form of armed struggle being carried out nationwide. At the same time, NPA companies have arisen from the platoons in preparation for the completion of the strategic defensive and advance to the strategic stalemate wherein companies and battalions will have increasing role in tactical offensives.

The strategic stalemate will probably be shorter than the already protracted strategic defensive with the NPA companies and battalions. Such forces already in stable base areas can be regrouped regiments and battalions in an even shorter time for the strategic counteroffensives to capture or compel the surrender of the last and most fortified and isolated holdouts of the enemy. This is merely a line of probability based on successful civil wars. But there is always the contrary line of probability that US imperialism launches a war of aggression against the people before the Philippine revolution.

The reactionary Marcos-Duterte tandem is hell-bent on continuing the armed counter-revolution to preserve the ruling system, serve the interests of US imperialism and let the current civil war pave the way for a US war of aggression. The Filipino people have no choice but to carry out the new democratic revolution by continuing the protracted people's war against not only the reactionary state in the current civil war but also the rising military intervention and probable war of aggression by US imperialism.

But there are growing limits to what the US can do to dominate the Philippines, East Asia and the world. It is still No. 1 imperialist power but it is on a strategic decline from its peak after a period of enjoying the status of being sole superpower after the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union, partnering with China in "neoliberal" globalization, expanding the NATO, launching wars of aggression under the so-called neoconservative policy

and wasting the enormous amount of USD 10 trillion without any significant increase of territory for exploitation.

The limits of US imperialist power have been exposed by its failure to take over the oil resources and build 16 military bases in Iraq, to destroy the Syria-Russia-Iran alliance, to break the revolutionary struggle of the Turkish and Kurdish people and to hold on to Afghanistan surrendering it to the Taliban. In the current Russian-Ukraine conflict, the US has been using Ukraine as proxy to threaten and provoke Russia to launch a war but conflict has merely served both Russian and US imperialism to waste resources. It has led even the NATO allies of the US to complain why they have to spend more money for energy supply from the US than for the cheap gas from the Russians.

Despite the recent hype that the US can wage to its advantage a war of aggression against China, DPRK and Russia, the people must be reminded that the US lost the Asian mainland and Eurasia as early as the 20th century after losing a series of wars. The drive of US imperialism for wars of aggression and the danger of world war and nuclear war is still restrained by the fear of mutual annihilation and human extinction on the part of the US and all other nuclear powers. Global warming appears to be more imminent as a threat to human existence than nuclear war.

The crisis of the world capitalist system is rapidly worsening due to the over-accumulation of monopoly capital and over-extraction of surplus value from the toiling masses and the intelligentsia. All major contradictions are intensifying such as those between labor and capital, between the imperialist powers themselves, between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations and between the imperialist power and the countries assertive of national independence and desirous of democracy and socialism. The 2008 financial meltdown has developed into a global depression far more prolonged and severe than the Great Depression of the 1930s, which led to the rise of fascism and World War II. But in the meantime, there are still the UN and multilateral and bilateral relations of states among both the main imperialist contenders and third world countries that uphold their own national sovereignty and their own interest in peace and development and wish to fight fascism and imperialist war.

It is the toiling masses and the rest of the people who fight for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction who let us hope for a bright future of world peace and common prosperity. They are now waging anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggle against the current global crisis that has been brought about by revisionist betrayal of socialism, neoliberalism and fascism. These are the prelude to the resurgence of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.



On 31st May we lost our beloved and respected leader Com. Anand with heart attack.

He was 69. Late com. Anand was our CC, Polit bureau member.

His revolutionary profile is very appreciable. He started his revolutionary life as a professional revolutionary in 1978 as an local organizer. Next, he was promoted in 1980 as District level comrade and in 1987 he was promoted in to Dandakaranya forest committee. Afterwards he went in to CC in 1992 and continued as a CCM till his last breadth. In 2001 he was elected as a PBM. His political career is very ideal. He was a good intellectual comrade and best theoretician. Really his departure was very big loss to our party in this crucial juncture. He was in the responsibility of our CC's spoke's person since last two years. He worked as an editor for our Party's political Magazine People's March

Proletarians and oppressed peoples of the world, unite!

May 1st Against Imperialism, Reaction, Misery and War for Proletarian and Socialist Revolution all over the World!

The May 1st is the day in which the working class and the exploited masses of the world fill the squares and streets in all countries as a single international class, mobilized against world capitalist exploitation.

On this day, workers and people's masses expose the capitalist system and the imperialist rule on the oppressed countries, oppose the collaborationist trade union organizations and the "workers-seller" parties which glorify class conciliation with the exploiters, the exploitation of wage labor at the service of the big monopolies of the imperialism that accumulate profits and wealth.

Prices of essential goods are the highest in the last 40 years; real wages of the working class have fallen further; unemployment and shrinkage of the workforce are dramatically increasing in all major industries. Over the past 10 years, 99% of the world's wealth is owned by the 1% of capitalists.

The capitalist destruction of the environment and nature advances, accelerating and increasing natural disasters which social inequality turns into terrible tragedies for the peoples of the world.

Capitalism is a system of accumulation, profit and exploitation on the working classes; capitalist production is marked by ever more social production and ever more private appropriation. It is the fundamental contradiction which causes its inevitable decline.

As Marx rightly pointed out, capital drips with blood and filth from every pore, from head to toe, and the only emancipation of the working class is to destroy the capitalist system by all means and necessary force.

Marx and the communists affirm that the engine of history is the class struggle and today the world is faced with a historical situation in which, on the one hand, imperialism is in crisis, scaring it on the proletarians and people's masses, repressing the struggle and the proletarian and communist organizations; on the other hand the proletarians and the people's masses engage into increasingly widespread struggles and revolts questioning the imperialist and reactionary governments, the bourgeois states, and the entire imperialist capitalist social system

The whole world is seeing how the classist and combative movement of the working class and peoples masses against the pension reform of the Macron government seize the streets in Paris and other French cities; big struggles also develop in Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland, etc.

The French imperialist state responds to these great struggles with repression.

But repression does not stop but fuels the struggle of the proletarians and people's masses who develop militant struggles over the edge of bourgeois democracy.

The bourgeoisie can no longer govern with parliaments and elections, the proletarians and the masses are deserting the elections.

Today more than ever it is clear that it is the imperialist capitalists who are impeding social progress, they are the parasitic class that must be wiped off the face of the earth.

The struggles of the proletarians and people's masses, who are resisting the attacks of the capitalists on wages, jobs, health care, living conditions must advance until delete the cause of their exploitation, by abolishing private property over the means of production and the privilege of take possession of the product of labour.

History has shown that in order to overcome the crisis, imperialism marches towards the war of partition of the world and conquest of the world market. The Russia/Ukraine war is a result of the imperialist competition between Russia and US/Nato alliance – in the contest of other competitions in the world, Russia/UE and Usa/China - it is a war of division of the world, for the monopoly control of natural resources. Since the beginning of the war, the profits of the war industries, the oil and gas companies have doubled, while the conditions of the working class, of the peasants and people's masses have further worsened.

The need for socialism and communism emerges from the crisis of imperialism, from the struggles of the proletarians and peoples of the world. The proletarian struggles, the uprisings of peoples, youth, women, migrants demand unity, organization and leadership, a program to overthrow the old and reactionary power and to build a new power, for a new society.

Faced with the world economic crisis, the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries are marching towards a war to deal with it; another butchery for an imperialist war for a new division of the world. All the imperialist countries,

US, Russia, China, Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy . . . , Japan and their military alliances, are actively preparing for world war, using all their weapons already available, renewing their arsenals with state-of-art weapons for which the war industry accumulates gigantic profits.

Faced with the preparations for a world war, the ruling classes, lackeys of the oppressed countries, put themselves at the service of their respective imperialist masters against the interests and will of their own peoples.

The only social force capable to oppose war and, when it breaks out, to transform it into a revolutionary war are the proletarians. In the imperialist countries it need to block the deployment of troops, weapons, the recruitment of proletarians as “cannon fodder” for an unjust war. In the countries oppressed by imperialism, it must intensify the anti-imperialist struggle and people’s wars. The unity and revolutionary struggles of the proletarians and peoples of the world can transform the preparations for an imperialist war and the war itself into a revolutionary civil war, into a war of the people’s masses to destroy imperialist domination and defeat the power of capital in all countries.

All the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Parties and Organizations of the world must transform the current crisis of imperialism and imperialist war into movements of proletarians and people’s masses in the world, aimed at the revolution, according to the different stage in the different countries, New Democracy’s revolution in semicolonial/semifeudal Nations and socialist revolution in imperialist/capitalist countries.

It is up to the communists to set an example of internationalist unity and struggle against the preparations for a new world imperialist carnage;

to unite and coordinate efforts in all countries to promote the revolutionary struggle of the proletarian and people’s masses armies against the deployment of troops and weapons for imperialist wars, reactionary wars, unjust wars;

to stand in a common front with all the revolutionary, anti-imperialist, genuine democratic forces that oppose war and the military support by the lackey regimes for their imperialist masters all over the world, especially in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries;

to reject and expose the reformist, opportunist social-democratic forces which sometimes, in the name of the proletariat and the people, support one of the imperialist factions, which are all mortal enemies of the oppressed and exploited of the world;

to intensify the class struggle, strengthen the tools of resistance and defense of the workers, the genuine class unions, i.e. those who organize the workers’ struggles in the factories, in the sectors of highest exploitation, in the new realities of wage labor;

to intensify the national revolutionary struggle against national oppression and the support to them in imperialist countries;

to support the great struggles of the peasant masses for the land to those who work it;

to develop the revolt and struggle of women all over the world as revolutionary proletarian movement, against discrimination, inequality, femicides and rape, the denial of abortion right, the double oppression of a modern Middle Ages in imperialist countries and of the feudal servitude in countries oppressed by imperialism;

to intensify the militant struggle against fascism and racism, organizing particularly in the imperialist countries the struggle of migrants for reception, the right to asylum, freedom of movement, the right to work, wage, housing, against the slaughters in the sea and on land;

to rely on the rebellion of the youth masses to organize them as the front line of the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeois state;

to fight for the release of political prisoners and all our class brothers and sisters locked up in the prisons of imperialism and reactionary regimes.

The unity of the world proletariat, the unity of the proletarians and the oppressed peoples of the world is the substance of internationalism.

Internationalism requires that in every country the working class organize into its own independent political party, the Communist Party, today the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party, and that the communist parties of all countries unite in a genuine International Conference, to build a single international organization in the view and perspective of a new Communist International.

The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communists are on the march, learning from experience, from mistakes, from the historical shortcomings that have prevented them from being ready for the new historical conjuncture.

We need to build and develop genuine proletarian and revolutionary parties, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communist parties, real avant-garde units of the working class, able to handle strategies and tactics appropriate to the different countries, to the different stages; able to use legal and illegal forms of organization and struggle, able to

learn from the masses and get rid of the rotten revisionism, of old and new forms, without falling into sterile, idealist, subjectivist, militarist petty bourgeois extremism.

We need to build the anti-capitalist, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist united front, which is essential to achieve the real leadership of the broad masses and to take profit of the contradictions within the class enemy, according to the conditions existing in the different countries.

We need to give birth to the fighting force that construct the proletarian army, able to develop the class war, revolutionary war, protracted people's war.

Death to imperialism!

Let us fight for socialism and communism!

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

Communist Worker Union (mlm) Colombia

Construction Committee of the Maoist Communist Party of Galicia

Maoist Communist Party Italy

Communist(maoist) Party of Afghanistan

Communist Party of India (Maoist)

Communist Party of Nepal (Majority)

Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist- Revolutionary)

Red Road of Iran (Maoist group)

Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (PBSP/Bangladesh)

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

Communist Party in Switzerland

Bulgarian Workers' and Peasants' Party

Maoist Revolutionary League (MRL) Sri Lanka

Russian Maoists

Young Communist League of Switzerland

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST)

**Long Live World Proletarian May Day |
Let us consolidate the proletariat whose lives
are becoming destabilized in the
recessionary conditions across the world.
Fight against the threat of Imperialist war!
Intensify the anti- imperialist struggles!**

Dear workers of the world,

“Workers of the world, unite, There is nothing to loosen for proletariat except the shackles of the slavery” was said by our great teachers Marx and Engels. May Day is the day of the World proletariat class who achieved their genuine rights with their heroically struggles. For the past 137 years, the world wide working class is celebrating this day with great determination and the revolutionary enthusiasm. They are waging very militant struggles against the suppression of their rights and achieving their just demands. On the occasion of this World May Day, the proletariat Day, let us convey our best red salutes to the working class of the world and pay our rich tribunes those who laid their precious lives to the sake of the world socialism.

Last century was the century of the successes of the proletariat revolutions. Apart from the revolutions of the Russia and China, the revolutions of the working class in many countries of the world were successful and formed a socialist camp. The red flags were hastened on the one six of the globe. But those successes were not stood last long. The political power of the proletariat and the people’s democratic dictatorship was defeated.

The revisionists has become strong in the revolutionary parties and in the governments of the working class and captured the power. This is the misery of working class.

The socialist camp of the world had ended with the emergence of Soviet social imperialism first in the USSR and then after China has become as a new social imperialist country in the history. In spite of it, the working class movements are still going on all over the world. The anti- imperialist mass struggles are also intensifying across the world. On the other hand, the new Maoist parties are emerging in different countries across the world.

This has become a trend of the day. To break these struggles and the new trend, the revisionists and neo revisionists who colluded with the bourgeois class are the main danger for it. Without exposing them and without defeating their machinations, the working class will not be able to advance their struggles in the direction of seizure of political power. We are very confident that, on this occasion of the May Day, the advanced section of the revolutionary proletariat of all the countries will recognize the danger of it and alert the working class to use better the present revolutionary conditions to intensify the working class struggles.

Dear proletarian comrades,

For the past few years, the working class movement across the world is gaining momentum year by year. Today’s world has bogged down in the conditions of severe recession and the lives of the laborers of all the countries are becoming very miserable.

Now, once again the collapsing of the banks has started. America’s third largest bank, Silicon Valley Bank, collapsed due to the gigantic fall in the share values. The collapse of the banks will destroy and destabilize again the economies around the world. On the other hand, for the last three years, the Covid-19 pandemic created by the imperialists is making the entire public, including the working class has been destabilized. Still the world is suffering with different variants of Covid. In the name of vaccine, the imperialists looted the toiling masses, but none of the vaccines could completely eradicate the epidemic. In the time of Covid, the lives of poor laborers were largely ruined by the lockdown policies implement ted by the governments. The exploitative governments around the world did a great deal to save the big corporates houses in the times of recession. But, no one government was worried about the welfare of the toiling masses. No comprehensive police were devised to save the poor and toiling ones. Therefore, this is right time for the working class who has identified the cunning nature of the governments, has to intensify the struggle against it.

The world is being burning in the flames of the war since last year which was ignited by the imperialists. On the

one hand the imperialist Russia and on the other hand U.S imperialists and its NATO alliance are disastrously burning the land of Ukraine in to the ashes of war. The imperialist Russia imposed the war on Ukraine in the name of special military operation is condemnable and it is more seriously condemn- able which U.S and its allies NATO war mongers are implementing the disastrous war policies which are leading to the destructive results. With the consequences of war the people of both countries are facing serious problems. Till now, there are reports of death toll is more than 1.5 lakh people in Ukraine. Millions of people have been displaced and migrated as refugees. The fields of Ukraine is wetting with the blood of soldiers and people. But the neo Nazi Zelensky is not only even getting ready for talks but also encouraging his armies and people to fight with neo Tsarist Russia with the help of US and its NATO alliance. In this war, it is crystal clear that military corporate houses and U.S imperialist are mainly getting enormous profits. In the last one year's war, U.S imperialist alone has delivered more than \$ 30 billion of war material to Ukraine in the name of assistance, which shows the extent of its profits.

The working class of the world is raising its voice to stop this war immediately. Public demonstrations against the war are continuing in many countries of the world. They must step up their voices against the ongoing war. In that direction, on the occasion of the MayDay it is the need of the hour to take resolute decision by the working class of all the countries.

There is an upsurge of working class movements all over the world. Meanwhile, millions of workers in Britain are undergoing strike like never before in this decade to demand higher wages and lower prices of essential commodities. The working class of France is fighting for their demands by taking themselves to the streets. The workers of all countries of Europe and America are struggling to achieve their just demands. In India also all types of government employees are resorting for strike. Mainly lakhs of contract workers, Aanganwadi workers, Asha workers, Sanitation workers and Health workers are undergoing strike to increase their wages and to treat them equal with government employees and get them be permanent. Millions of farmers of India are also struggling in an unprecedented way. In South Asia mainly Sri Lanka and Pakistan are entrenched in economic crisis i, the poor and oppressed people are getting troubled by the soaring prices.

In the countries of Africa and Latin America also the toiling masses are fighting for their just demands. Today the world is burning with the strikes of working class. Another side it has become a phenomenon of the world to entrench the workers from their jobs. The big corporate houses are entrenching the labor in big number. They are coming on the roads with their just demands. There is a need of working class revolutionary parties to lead this struggles. It's high time to consolidate the working class in the appropriate forms of struggle and organization al structures. All the militant struggles must be equipped with the seizure of political power politics. Failing to do so, the working class will become a scapegoat for revisionist politics, being satisfied with a four dollar increase in the wages and trapped in the decades of economism and reformism. That's why on the occasion of MayDay, we will take an oath by taking the red flag in our hands that we will not do like this.

The Ukraine war instigated by the imperialists does not seem to stop; they are intensifying the threat of a world war. The threat of nuclear war is also on the rise. Ukraine is not only the country in the world that is falling prey to imperialist war. Millions of people are dying in Yemen. In so many countries, millions of people are becoming scapegoats for the interests of the imperialist wars. The world is more disturbed due to imperialist policies of serving their own interest. Due to the imperialist policies the environmental crisis is increasing. The imperialist wars are one of the main reasons behind the increasing of in the sufferings of the working class. The root cause of today's crisis is also the same.

Imperialism is the only reason for the violation of the rights of the working class and also for the massacres across the world. The wars led by single U.S imperialist are more than 300 in the history after it has become a nation killed millions of people across the world. It wants to fulfill its lust of hegemony of the world and get enormous profits it never hesitated to destruct the world. Every single step taken by U.S imperialism leads to a devastating war somewhere in the world in one or the other way. The U.S imperialists and its traditional ally Europe are on the one hand and the Russian imperialists and Chinese on the other hand are very greedy to re divide the world. As a result, the whole world is suffering with devastating war, crisis, recession, hunger, poverty, oppression, unemployment and price rise. Let us strive to create the world which will be war free. But that is not possible without the end of imperialism. So, let us more intensify the antiimperialist militant struggles. Let us equip it with the revolutionary politics to protect it from the temptations of economism and reformism of all kinds of revisionists.

In some countries of the world, particularly U.S imperialists and its European ally countries t the right wing parties are promoting racism. The danger of fascism is increasing in many countries. For the last 10 years, the

May Day

Hindutva forces are in power in India are implementing their fascist policies. To destroy the diversity of the country, they are imposing their reactionary policies on the people of the country. They have declared 2024 as the last date to completely eliminate the people's war going on in the country for more than last five decades. The areas of Maoist movement are being suppressed by drone strikes, helicopter firing and deployment of lakhs of police and paramilitary forces. In order to end the decades-long revolutionary movement of the Philippines, the government of Junior Marcos is increasing the repression with the help of American imperialists in an unprecedented manner. In order to stop the ongoing people's wars in Turkey, Peru and some other countries, the comprador ruling classes of that states are intensifying the attacks under the guidance and assistance of the imperialists. Palestine and different national movements are also being crushed for decades. But their struggles are going on.

Let us stand firmly with the people those who are continuing the people's wars and nationalist movements in their countries opposing the imperialists and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudalism. This is the duty bound task of the proletarian. On the occasion of the May Day the working class must take oath to consolidate the ongoing revolutionary struggles in their respective countries and to increase mutual fraternal movements. Every step of the working class has to advance in the direction of revolutionary politics of seizure of political power. This May Day must be celebrated as the Day of Struggle by the working class to intensify its struggles in the direction of ending the imperialism on the globe.

Down with revisionism and neo-revisionism

Down with imperialism

Let us fight against the danger of world war/atomic war

Let us stand resolutely in the support of ongoing people's wars and build strong solidarity movements in support of it.

May Day: Passing in review our ranks Filas by Revolución Obrera UOC

This May Day, the day on which the world army of the working class once again paid homage to the martyrs of Chicago, has passed in review its own ranks and perceived the state of consciousness and organization of its forces called to lead the assault on the fortress of the capitalist power; As leaders of this great social movement, the communists need to take stock in order to make conscious the state of their army and to draw up the corresponding tasks to bring closer the triumph of the World Proletarian Revolution.

This year, there were large demonstrations around the world. In the 5 continents, the proletarian detachments raised the flags of struggle against capitalist exploitation, against famine, for employment, against anti-worker reforms, against militarism... Highlighting again the growing revolutionary tidal wave that spontaneously makes its way, in search of a radical transformation of the world, which can only be the establishment of socialism as the only way out of the crises (economic, social, health, environmental ...) and the preparations for a new war of imperialist plunder.

This year again, it was a demonstration of the powerful strength of the world working class, whose spontaneous struggle tends to break the chains of wage exploitation and imperialist domination, even in countries where reformism is ruling as in Brazil, Colombia, Chile and Bolivia. Strength, which exposes the weakness of the communists and their political impotence to lead that army on a fighting footing, which now makes the Macron government in France stumble and upsets the bourgeois order in all countries.

What a great demonstration of unity and fraternity around the same flags against the common enemies of the proletariat and the peoples of the world, and what a great contrast to the absence of the vanguard detachment of the working class, of its independent political party in most countries and of its international organization, necessary for the proletariat to carry out its mission of destroying the old capitalist world and building the new Socialist world, as now do the peoples of India and the Philippines, where Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communist parties are leading the People's War that is giving rise to the new Power of the workers and peasants.

The advance of the ongoing people's wars led by the Maoists, the emergence of new Marxist-Leninist-

Maoist organizations in various countries, the revolutionary content of the messages and declarations this year, the revolutionary action in the demonstrations in struggle against the bourgeois and opportunist currents, disputing the leadership of the movement, are a source of joy for the conscious workers and the revolutionary intelligentsia; because they show the vitality of the Communists and correspond to the rise of the revolution. However, in the face of the conditions of decomposition and advanced state of agony of imperialist capitalism and the growing rebellion of the masses, the great weakness of the communists persists; A situation that cannot be resolved with triumphalist phrases and thinking with desires, but by accepting reality and preparing to transform it consciously.

A demonstration of this weakness was again seen in the two main declarations of revolutionary communists that circulated in various countries and languages: one, that of the International Communist League (ICL), and the other, signed by 15 Parties and Organizations from 13 countries. It is a fact that the emergence of the ICL at the end of last year does not mean the unity of the Marxist-Leninists-Maoist, as some comrades imagine, but the formalization of the split. In fact, the foundation of the ICL is a rejection of the existence of a general basis of unity among Marxist-Leninists-Maoist and independent of the wishes of some of its affiliates, it is an instrument to try to impose on the International Communist Movement the "leftist", dogmatic and sectarian platform of a nuance akin to the so-called "Gonzalo thought"; a platform that has been criticized by several Parties and Organizations demonstrating its ideological and political errors, as well as criticized the erroneous methods and practices of its main promoters. A situation that imposes the need to continue developing the theoretical struggle in order to go to the bottom by demonstrating the essence of its errors and to lay bare the non-proletarian nature of such positions, using the unity-struggle-unity method. This is the way to reach a higher level of unity in a true Unified International Conference that be actually a step forward in the construction of the new Communist International that these troubled times demand.

This is a task that cannot be separated from building, rebuilding and strengthening the real communist parties in each country, from advancing in the construction of the People's Army and the construction of the front of the revolutionary classes according to the concrete

May Day

conditions of each country; tasks in turn inseparable from the common struggle against the reactionary ideological onslaught, from the struggle against revisionism and opportunism in general, of the mobilization against imperialist wars and the threat of world war, in solidarity with the struggles of the proletarians and peoples of the world, in support of people's wars and in common actions that contribute to organizing and leading the revolutionary movement of the masses aimed at overthrowing the power of capital in the various countries through the People's War, as expressed in the Joint International Declaration May Day against imperialism, reaction, misery and war; for proletarian and socialist revolution throughout the world! signed by 15 Parties and Organizations to date, including the Union Obrera Comunista (mlm) [Communist Workers Union (MLM)]:

to unite and coordinate efforts in all countries to promote the revolutionary struggle of the proletarian and people's masses armies against the deployment of troops and weapons for imperialist wars, reactionary wars, unjust wars;

to stand in a common front with all the revolutionary, anti-imperialist, genuine democratic forces that oppose war and the military support by the lackey regimes for their imperialist masters all over the world, especially in the semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries;

to reject and expose the reformist, opportunist social-democratic forces which sometimes, in the name of the proletariat and the people, support one of the imperialist factions, which are all mortal enemies of the oppressed and exploited of the world;

to intensify the class struggle, strengthen the tools of resistance and defence of the workers, the genuine class unions, i.e., those who organize the workers' struggles in the factories, in the sectors of highest exploitation, in the new realities of wage labor;

to support the great struggles of the peasant masses for the land to those who work it; to develop the revolt and struggle of women all over the world as revolutionary proletarian movement, against discrimination, inequality, femicides and rape, the denial of abortion right, the double oppression of a modern Middle Ages in imperialist countries and of the feudal servitude in countries oppressed by imperialism; to intensify the militant struggle against fascism and racism, organizing particularly in the imperialist countries the struggle of migrants for reception, the right to asylum, freedom of movement, the right to work, wage, housing, against the slaughters in the sea and on land; to rely on the rebellion of the youth masses to organize them as the front line of the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeois state; to fight for the release of political prisoners and all our class brothers and sisters locked up in the prisons of imperialism and reactionary regimes.

Such is the evaluation that this May Day leaves when passing in review our ranks, but also the immediate action program that corresponds to the objective situation; which allows us to advance in the struggle to build in the heat of the revolutionary struggle, the strategic instruments essential to make possible the triumph of the World Proletarian Revolution.

MDJD 2023: not only a declaration... **by PCm Italy**

Comrades, the Joint Declaration of May 1st of this year that united some Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Communist Organizations in the world is not an ordinary Declaration, necessary every May 1st.

It is an ideological and political document that contains analyses, positions and indications that respond here and now to the real needs and to the current stage of the struggle of the proletarians and peoples.

A document resulting from cooperation between Parties and Organizations, under the given conditions and in the essential. Taking into account existing different opinions and different stages and developments of the class struggle.

This declaration starts from the concrete conditions of the class struggle, it does not transform the desires into reality.

Today proletarians and masses are fighting and rebelling in different parts of the world, and this is right and necessary and shows that this aspect of the objective situation is excellent. But the present stage is not that of a successful advance, but that of a 'hand-to-hand' struggle in the factories, in the workplaces, in the streets, in the demonstrations, between the most advanced, combative and rebellious part against, as the Declaration says, "the collaborationist trade union organizations and the "workers' sellers" parties, which glorify the class reconciliation of the exploited with the big capitalist and imperialist monopolies that accumulate profits and wealth".

It is a difficult and complex struggle that involves authentic parties and organizations that work among the workers and the masses who are still, in all the

countries of the world, an often small reality that in this struggle are making their ideological, theoretical and practical “bones”.

May Day Declaration analyzes what is the cause of the current uation and what solution is the alternative, namely what is the fundamental contradiction on which the situation depends, i.e. the production of capital increasingly social and an increasingly private appropriation. This is not yet a conscious factor among the proletarians and the masses, and even in the advanced detachments, the most combative, there is no clarity on this. And it is up to the communists to do it, in the fire of the class struggle, guiding the concrete experience of the masses.

Faced with this, harmful are those self-styled “very red” communists who instead develop a moralistic critique, with bombastic phrases: “wickedness”, “smelly corpse”, “rot”, “degeneration”.

The analysis of the movement in France contained in the Declaration, even in its synthesis, gives an exact picture of what this great struggle is, in the heart of the imperialist countries, of what are the fundamentally economic reasons that clash with a government that does not accept the demands of the proletarians and the masses and responds with repression. It is to this repression and the need to resist it, it is to this struggle and to the need to raise its level, to make it more incisive and stronger, that responds to the participation and support that the masses give to violent, necessary, consequential, and instructive initiatives for the masses in the clash between proletariat and state.

The petty bourgeois vision of extremism, basically of a youthful character, which considers this the real struggle and everything else as “peaceful”, to the point of saying that the masses have confidence only in this struggle. These are positions, not based on the dialectic of the real movement, which does not elevate and widen the clash with the power of capital, but reduces it. It is a anarco-revolutionary vision, which is far from being Marxist-Leninist-Maoist. It separates instead what the real movement is uniting, and which is the strength of this movement, the one that can allow authentic communists to play the real role of orientation and leadership of all forms of struggle.

The other important issue is the imperialist war in the general context of which the international situation develops and which influences all the events of the class struggle. In the Declaration all this is described exactly, without any concession to the reasons of imperialism USA/NATO/EU disguised as reasons of Ukraine and without any kind of attenuation on the role of Russian imperialism.

The Declaration outlines immediate and future, tactical and strategic tasks on the war front, starting from the

real condition of the real movement. Unlike those who think they can get off with high-sounding phrases, enunciated principles and practices essentially of self-propaganda, with a logic of ‘force the history in schemes’ in the name of the eternity of categories .

The Declaration emphasizes the crisis of imperialism, both the strategic crisis and the political crisis, and in particular points out that the bourgeoisie can no longer govern with parliament and elections, the proletarians and the masses desert the elections; but does not support that this desertion of the masses is already class consciousness and revolutionary attitude. This transforms objective analysis into a hyper subjective evaluation, so that by now we would already be, deserting the elections. in a potential proletarian and popular army waiting only for military leaders or the ‘military party’ to turn itself into a revolution.

The Declaration on this is not inclined in rhetoric, or catchphrases, but assumes with humility and sense of reality the tasks of the communists, the concrete nature of these tasks with a rich and articulated vision, in tune with the masses and their real struggles, indicating a platform that gives body and soul to the real movement; Unlike those who distort all this by announcing a bright future that is not part of the real movement but of the messianic finalism, alien to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and scientific socialism.

The Declaration indicates the actual work for unity, “the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communists are on the march. But we must learn from experience, from the mistakes and from the historical limitations that prevented them from being ready for the new historical conjuncture”. A serious problem of serious communists.

Finally, the problem of the party. The definition of the party that in the Declaration actually embodies the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the class character of the Marxists-Leninists-Maoists, the centrality of the working class, of the proletariat, in the face of those who, in the name of a dogmatic and superficial description of the main contradiction, tell us that the peasantry are the main force of the revolution and not the main ally in the countries oppressed by imperialism. And to say this in the name of Marxism-Leninism and Maoism itself is a round deviation, the historical result of the deviations against which Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao, the Third International forged our revolutionary theory.

For these reasons, the Declaration of May 1st result of the cooperation of the Parties and Organizations that signed it, can be trasformed in a basic document and a phase platform, useful for advancing towards an International forum on the march foran international Conference, for a new International Organization, for an acting proletarian internationalism, in the fire of the class struggle in close ties with the masses.

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Two Line Struggle

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