In the aftermath of the demise of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement [RIM], there were interventions on the need for a regrouping of international co-thinkers. Here is a selection of documents for that period that provides the broad outline of the arguments and responses of the varying self-declared competing Maoist trends.

– The debate in the international communist movement.

Contributions from various Maoist parties. The international review ‘Maoist Road’ No.1 2011

Introduction

This is not a formal meeting or a conference, but a workshop in which we discuss on how to carry forward the magazine and our work in general. We need to debate the question of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), including the position put forward by the document sent by Indian comrades. Canadian comrades propose to debate also the people’s war in the imperialist countries. Finally, since there are organizations active in imperialist countries, we will have also brief reports on the various national situations.

On the RIM

PCm Italy

Here we briefly review the history of the process of RIM, since it is clear that today we need to continue that thread in order to advance in our work.

We are one of the founding parties of RIM. The constitution of RIM was the result of the RCP US pulse. That party played a positive role in achieving this milestone in the reconstruction of the international communist movement (ICM) after the death of Mao and the end of the GCPR. It was the result of an agreement between various influential forces in ICM. It was not simply a grouping, but an agreement between those forces that could take on and carry out that task. The agreement included the parties of the US, India and Turkey.

The Conference proceeded with a protracted debate, an unprecedented 15 days-long discussion, with a perfect organization. The method used to realize the conference was very important, just and correct. Without that, it would not be possible to organize that event and get the result. It was required a strong practical commitment to participate, adequate to the purpose. At that time ours was a local group but we had a strong international outlook. Two other organizations were invited along with us from Italy, but they did not accept either that method or that commitment. Today we can see that, also thanks that outlook and as a result of that success, we are still here, the others are gone.
It was a great conference, not only for the deep debate and no holds barred, but especially for the climate, that let us understand the nature of the task we had to perform. When there was a difference, we worked 24 per day, until resolution. During this discussion there was also expelled. Time has shown that forces that had been expelled neither were nor have been Maoist anymore.

The conclusion of the conference was almost tragic for us. At the end there were two irreducible differences: on the national question in the imperialist countries and on the struggles of 70s in those countries. On these points we were not in agreement with the Declaration.

About the first point, we thought that in the imperialist countries we can never speak about a national question, even in case of invasion of the country within a world war, which at that time existed as much stronger trend than today. As regards the assesment of the struggles in the 70s, we felt liquidationist the statement of the Declaration. So at the end of the Conference we did not sign the Declaration. All were pressing us to accept these positions: somebody called us Trotskyists, some other petty bourgeois revolutionaries who wanted to play at the revolution, they all looked at us as those who were trying to sabotage the unifying of ICM. Among the participants at the Conference, only two parties did not sign the Declaration: we, because of these differences, and the PCP, that participated as observers but actually contributed very effectively to the debate on all points. Well, two weeks later, a comrade pays visit to us, who tells that the wording on the national question had been amended but, on the other point, there could be no changes. Then we signed the Declaration. While maintaining the divergence on the liquidation of groups of the 70s, we felt that it had been made an exceptional effort. Moreover, in the meantime, also the PCP had signed the Declaration.

We told this to make the climate, the sense of the foundation of RIM. Nothing could be further from a forum for mere coordination or permanent discussion, but rather sharp struggle to the end, for the unity. The impressive developments which followed the Conference, showed that such constitution was helping the construction. An excellent result, fruit of an excellent work of comrades who had traveled four continents to find and promote Maoist organizations.

It was decided to form a center, the Corim. Who was to be part of it? Of course, not all members could participate the centre nor it could be elected. It had to represent a synthesis of the agreement. Thus the parties that had most contributed to achieve the conference were chosen. But soon Indian comrades opposed the decision to form a center, fully upholding the position of Mao on the Comintern. In the Turkish party, the leadership who had made possible the Conference was outvoted by a Hoxhaist line, despising the Maoist organizations as petty bourgeois. Thus the Party withdrew from Corim and rejected the Declaration. At this point, the Americans found themselves alone. At the very beginning, Peruvians had been asked to be part of Corim, but, to be free do carry out within RIM the struggle to establish Maoism, they refused. A wrong decision, with serious consequences.

Since then things change. Americans are those who choose who was to be integrated into the Corim and they choose the faithful. They formed up the staff and, since then, the staff, not the leaders, are those who manage the relationships within the movement. The Corim becomes a filter of communications, what the Americans approve is widespread, what they do not accept, does not pass. This situation was changed by struggle of the PCP. On the one hand, the struggle of the PCP led the RIM to advance, adopting Maoism, as sanctioned by the document “Long live the MLM!”, on the other hand, the RIM made the People’s War in Peru a matter of global
attention. It is the role of RIM, the hundreds of meetings all around the world, that have made it a worldwide phenomenon.

Meanwhile, the Indian party – Mass Line – was dissolved in dozens of parties and organizations, saying they have to make dozens of new democratic revolution (a phenomenon similar to the dissolution of the Union de Lucha in Spain). The only heir of Mass Line existing today, is the CPI (ML) Naxalbari. At that time, the organizations that have formed up CPI (Maoist) were very weak. The struggle to adopt Maoism deeply affected the Turkish Party, bringing another change of leadership and the decision to join again the RIM. So, there were the conditions for which the document “Long live the MLM” could be the basis for a Corim made not only by Americans. A lost opportunity. The Corim did not change. This situation reaches the climax with the detention of Chairman Gonzalo. The RIM organized the largest political campaign in recent history, after that for Mumia Abu Jamal. But, later, the emergence of rightist opportunist line (ROL) and the unfortunate position of “investigation” taken by the Corim dealt a hard blow to the People’s War and the RIM itself.

The beginning and development of people’s war in Nepal was a new opportunity for developing the RIM. We can say that this people’s war is the result of three factors:

1. People’s War in Peru;
2. the leadership of Prachanda, and
3. the role of RIM.

But then CoRim raised the people’s war in Nepal to take and use it against people’s war in Peru and chairman Gonzalo. This transformed the two-lines struggle in the MRI into a struggle of factions.

In 2000 the Enlarged Neeting of Corim was realized almost with the same method as the Conference of ‘84, the RIM method. Two external factors fostered the attention and the role payed by this meeting: the persistence of the people’s war in Peru and the new people’s war in Nepal. In this meeting RCP US is attacked. It had organized its forces, but the CPN(M) did not agree its methods of leadership. There was a sharp struggle between RCP US and its allied and the PCP, with the mediation of the CPN(M). We sided with the PCP. At the end, Americans had to accept the new statement: “For a century of people’s wars …”

It was the last good document of MRI, that rectified the position on President Gonzalo. Although it was not the same position of PCP. It was proposed that the CoRim was to be formed by the parties leading people’s wars. Americans and their allies opposed this decision. The struggle over this point lasted several days. Three weaknesses prevent the victory of this line:

1. the unifying spirit of the CPN (M), which aims to keep the old members of Corim, and add the parties leading people’s war
2. the Turks, who make unrealistic proposals, and
3. the Peruvians, who still repeat the same position: the document is a step forward but it is not enough, then the struggle must continue and we can not be a part of Corim.

Finally we was the only ones who oppose the resolution on the Corim. This prevented a victory that could have changed things.
Right after that “For a century …” is issued, RCP US took position against the new document, and this opened the fight. Since then the activity of RCP US is an open boycott. Then the liquidationist tendency of RIM begun.

In the meantime, the Corim had focused its activities in South Asia. The CCOMPOSA was born. Under its leadership, all the supporters of RIM in the region are brought together, including all parties. This allows the RIM to work in excellent way in Asia, while in Europe it disappears. We proposed the same kind of Regional RIM for Europe, but Americans were against.

In India, both CPI(ML) PW and MCCI were advancing and finally come to fight each other. The RIM of Asia played a decisive role for the unity. The parties agreed to halt hostilities, meet each other and “love broke out”. The result is the birth of the strongest communist party in the world since the CP of China. The MCCI was member of RIM, while PW was against the very idea of a center, and rejected most of the parties of MRI as a petty bourgeois opponents of armed struggle. So the CPI (M) decided not to join RIM. At the same time, in the Corim, the RCP US considered the unification a bad thing, an anti-RIM decision.

The development of people’s war in Nepal brought further changes. The CPN(M) were convinced that we need to unite the parties and that RCP US had become an obstacle to unification. Nepalese decide to sharpen the contradiction: they convene the Corim, open the confrontation and propose to call a RIM conference for the resolution of the contradiction. But this plan did not go on consistently. They opened the clash but the conclusion was different. The concern for the unity and the fear that a conference would become a war of all against all prevailed. But, without a conference, RIM exists no longer.

Today RCP US thinks that MRI should be cleared and rebuilt on the basis of Bob Avakian’s New Synthesis. The CPN(M) still speaks about unity of the international communist movement but, when they say international communist movement, they do not mean Maoists. That is why now they are very popular among the anti-Maoists all around the world, attracted by their electoral victory. Therefore, a Conference of the MRI is no longer possible. The RCP US do not want to call, they already decreed the death of RIM 3 years ago, and the CPN(M) have gone to another tangent.

The international seminar of 2006 was the last occasion on which it was possible to bring together almost all the parties. RCP US did not participate officially. During that seminar Nepalese comrades accepted the wording proposed by the Italian comrades, “a second step”. They said us: we need a second step and we will do. Six months later they said something different. An example: at the seminar we decided to publish the speeches, to stimulate a new conference. So far, the only speeches that have been published are our informal verbalization. The CPN(M) deviated from that line, at the same pace of the revisionist deviation of the leadership. The result is the dissolution of the RIM, that is an objective fact, not a decision made by someone.

We should now take a new path, this is our proposal, not because it is our will, but because it is an objective step indeed.

RCP Canada
As organization outside of the MRI we have embarked on a path for the membership, we met the Corim in 2007 but the process has stopped. It was not our decision, Corim did not contact us anymore. The last communication was a message to our Congress. It was a criticism of our document, arguing that we runs on the same economistic line of the organizations of the ’30s. Why? To speak about economics does not mean to be economistic. However, our congress took stand for membership, but today it is difficult even to find out who is the RIM, to which we should address this request.

We was told to contact the RCP US, we tried but we could not. It was depressing for us, Corim behaved as an imperialist organization that imposes diktats.

We may talk about what the RIM could be. The two initial purpose for the existence of the RIM are to lead the world revolution with a center and to organize and promote organizations in each country.

The best action of the RIM was in India, when it helped the unity, but indeed the Asian members of the RIM realized that. But then it disappeared as a ideological center.

For us, the RIM must be a political and ideological centre but it also must unite theory and practice. If the RIM has acted primarily as ideological center, it depends on the RCP US. Everybody knows the RCP US ability to focus on the ideological struggle and not on the practical struggles.

Our view is that there are 4 types of propaganda: the class press, the militant propaganda, the practice of revolutionary mass action. For example in the demos we create “red points” with flags and banners highly visible and realize mass actions carried out by the Maoists themselves, also the style is an action of propaganda and the masses learn through this. The ultimate form of propaganda is the people’s war.

According the RCP U.S. there is only the extensive ideological struggle. We believe that this kind of ideological struggle is far backward compared to past experience, for instance that of the Black Panther Party, and it does not reach the masses.

We started from the definition of a base of unity with the RIM. I remember the main points: the first is the MLM, not only as an ideology but as the science of revolution, and the universality of protracted people’s war. It is important to specify protracted, because on this we had a discussion with the Corim, that recognized the universality of the people’s war but included in this concept also the line of the RCP US.

The only text of the RCP US that speaks about people’s war is “Can we really win?”, in which they imagine the revolution as a last minute mass uprising, otherwise, it is said, the repression would stop us immediately, therefore what we need is a concentred process, a ridiculous concept, because it is only by waging the war that you learn to make war, so you need a protracted process.

Another point is to recognize the continuation of class struggle under socialism, which includes the contributions of the GPCR. The exact wording is that the proletarian dictatorship must include the GPCR, the continuation of class struggle under socialism, to advance toward communism. It means that the Party must always pursue the class struggle, it must not settle. It is also a critical aspect regarding today’s Nepal.
Another point is the updated analysis of the international situation, we need to review all the classics, from the letter in 25 points on, of the international communist movement and we think that a document of this type would have an impact like the foundation of the RIM.

As regards the document of Naxalbari, I would stress particularly the issue of centralization. The comrades write that there was an excess of centralization by the RIM, but the most important is the line that has been developed. I think it is important, also as organizational principle, the respect for the other parties, without coercion. You can also criticize the mistakes of the parties but always respectfully.

As regards the main obstacle to the Maoists now, I do not think it is the CPN(maoist). This party has been leading a people’s war for 10 years, although the situation now requires further consideration, so far no one can say that it is a revisionist party. There are some disturbing elements in its path. These 10 years allowed to play a massive role in the cities, among young people who are now accused by the bourgeoisie to continue people’s war. We can debate on how they make the class struggle at this time, you may be concerned that by not making the right thing at the right time they would fall into revisionism, but so far it cannot be said.

The RCP US criticism versus the tactics the CPN(M) is abstract, based on an abstract ideas of the revolutionary process that neglect the reality, it is a Trotskyist-style criticism.

We feel that at the base of the collapse of the RIM there are two questions: the democracy in the 21st century and the new synthesis of Bob Avakian. In the last meeting with us, Corim raised these issues. We do not know exactly what is the new synthesis of Avakian. Above all we do not understand how we can take the new synthesis as guide of the struggle when the RCP USA, beyond its merits in the struggle against Hoxhite revisionism and the formation of RIM, has done nothing, thus you can not put the New Synthesis at the level of the classics. This is why the New Synthesis is unacceptable.

The path proposed by the Nepalese comrades is questionable but it comes from a party that made the revolution and therefore deserves to be considered. It should be considered also the actual risk of military intervention, because this determines the context, it does not justify everything but helps to understand.

We see the RCP US and the attempts to impose the new synthesis as the main obstacle.

PCm Italy

The position of the CPI (M) is currently the most in contradiction with the construction of an international organization. This position is clearly expressed in various texts and the speeches at the the international seminar of 2006 in Nepal.

The party leaders argue this position based on their inability to leave the country or give a direct contribution to an international organization. This question is a very relevant part of the problem. As mentioned above, although the role played by the RCP US was crucial for the formation of RIM, without other influential and strong parties, Turkish and Indian, there would not be that result.

We should now understand that the position of Indian comrades must be changed to solve the problem of an international organization.
It is true that the front of those who try to impose the New Synthesis as the basis is now the obstacle, if only for the simple fact that these forces are those that support the liquidation of the RIM.

As you know, in recent years several groups have come out with an offensive against the line of the CPN(M), pointing to the struggle to “Prachandism” as the basis for a new grouping in the international communist movement. They are gathered around to comrades of UOC of Colombia, proposing an international conference based on this dividing line.

As regards the other parties, they stand in this range of positions. Around the New Synthesis there are the CP of Iran MLM, the RCG of Colombia, a party of Bangla Desh, a part of MKP (former Maoist Party Center). This should make us understand, comrades, how difficult the situation. The solution is not simply to write a document, gather around it to parties, and establish a new organization. This is idealistic, it has nothing to do with the history of concrete construction of the RIM.

We need a thorough analysis of the global situation, of forces. The deep differences between the founders of the RIM did not prevent them from playing the important role that we recognize. We have to start from the advanced experiences of advanced detachments of the proletariat and the people of the world. We do not need to unite the parties on a document but to create an international center that will be a material force. The question is how to run an international center. For that we need an agreement.

At the seminar of 2006 the CPI(M) said that seminars are useful, the embryonic centre is not. A very strange statement, as the organizing center is but a permanent seminar, that carries forward the debate in an agent, not abstract, way, serving and helping the parties and their struggles to advance.

Whatever your views on “revisionism” of Prachanda, now you cannot create an international organization without the UCPN (M). The process of constructing a center is not a merely ideological fact. It is ideological, political, theoretical and practical. Ideology and practice are the main. On theory and policy, differences, important also, can continue existing.

As regards the ideology, we cannot go back from the ideological base of the RIM. It is clear that the base must be Maoism, but it is pure idealism to think that this should mean the same application, same implementation!

Regarding politics, it is not true that the RIM had a general line. It is not the time of general lines. We need a revolution for that. What we need now is to establish a method by which to draw a summing up. This means practice. It is not empiricism, but the taking up a materialist criterion of existence of a party. We have the example of RCP US, whose revolutionary practice does not exist. The factors that made RIM a real attempt for an international center are the MLM ideology and the practice of the PW, that is the mix we need.

The French comrades say that we should take as base the universality of the PW. This unity does not exist today. Indian comrades, Filipinos, Turks do not agree. Nepalese speak about “fusion”. Thus, how can you think that the assertion of the universality of PW can solve today the unity of ICM, while not even all Maoists agree?
In the general context of fragmentation of the RIM, we need to struggle against the liquidationism. Externally, it is mostly represented by the UOC of Colombia, but we have to focus on liquidationism from within the RIM. Of course our work for a second step forward cannot be made with a liquidationist view of our movement.

First, the struggle against liquidationism is not only a political struggle but also practical, you cannot rebuild without aggregation. The work of Maoist Road goes in this direction. We do not call to make a clean sweep of the RIM and start over. On this point the position of the comrades from Galicia is still correct.

Our debate must advance not only in theory and politics but also in practical steps forward. This way we have already achieved to widen the signatures of the joint Declaration of May Day 2010 and the editorial staff of Maoist Road. In this it is very important for us the participation of the RCP Canada, because for us, struggling in the imperialist countries, the PW in the imperialist countries is not just a matter of abstract strategy to be applied.

All of us are far behind on the PW in the imperialist countries, not only in practice. But, without practical progress, those forces that still deny PW in imperialist country will not change their positions. We cannot convince them only with good arguments.

*On the Maoist Road*

**PCm Italy**

Maoist Road has to become a mean to go ahead with this debate. We do not need another magazine to put forward the position of our party, we need a vehicle to spread the voice of united parties throughout the world.

50 million copies of our statement of 1 May 2010 were printed in India. That is the point: to make visible how this trend is advancing.

We have records of various discussions on the RIM. We would like to publish them on Maoist Road. Although it is unlikely that comrades agree the publishing, because they say it may give rise to repressive attacks. But we believe that the debate should be public. We believe that excessive secrecy has been one of the matters of degeneration of the RIM. Over time the debate on Maoism became a secret, the very life of the movement became a secret and this played a role in its collapse, because reflected the image of a monolithic organization, hegemonized by the line of RCP US, while indeed there was a hard inner struggle, with many positive points, which we should take today, but which have been kept secret to everyone except, perhaps, the enemy.

We also began writing a criticism to the UOC of Colombia. A lot of work has still to be done, because these comrades have written a lot and on everything. It is true that the Internet allows groups of few people to appear and have worldwide impact, it is true that those who are always engaged in class struggle, do not have time to respond to everyone, but we must also take into account that not all groups are equal and especially assess the influence that they have. We do not know exactly the size of this group, but it certainly has an influence on so many groups in Chile, Brazil, generally in Latin America and also in Spain. On the other hand, our organizations are not much larger. So to go ahead with our work we need to criticize these comrades. It is important also for the particular method they use. They defined Prachanda as
the main enemy and do not bother to prove it. Then, based on struggle against Prachanda, they continued by dividing the ICM in right, left and center. It would be easy to make the same, by giving primacy to the struggle against the New Synthesis, or the PW in the imperialist countries. On both the cases, the geography of the ICM would change completely.

**PCm France**

It would be useful a brief pamphlet on the history of MRI. We propose also a concise document in points as a basis for unity. It could allow us to assess exactly the level of existing unity in the meetings with the various forces. At certain degree, in the same way we attract others at the meetings or campaigns we organize.

We would also begin a measured critical work, which gradually deepens the arguments, without launching attacks from the start.

**On the Protracted People’s War in the Imperialist Countries**

**RCP Canada**

We believe it is very important to discuss the protracted people’s war. It is also important to specify protracted, otherwise we would talk about anything. It is long time that our organization reflects on this question. The theory of PPW is not only military but involves also new economy, new power, new politics. The experiences of armed struggle in the imperialist countries often included experiences of political and economic struggle. The Revolutionary Army, as showed in Peru, has not only military tasks, but also of power, and as a means of educating the masses.

In the imperialist countries, there are no semi-feudal relationships. In the oppressed countries is easier than in the imperialist countries speak about liberated areas, new economy, new power. For us the question of people’s war is how to link the revolutionary struggle to the construction of a new economy and new power, on this there are many experiences in the imperialist countries.

In Italy in the 70s there were experiences of “new kind of economy”, the members were paid by the political-military organization and not by the masses. But the masses are those who must make the revolution, on the masses, within a revolutionary project, the people’s war should rely also in an imperialist country. In this role of the masses is the possibility of carry forward a revolutionary project.

The development of the role of the masses allows to outfit a new power in which people feel themselves able to make a new society, to look farther. Historically, ICM has the concept of the one-day insurrection. This view lacks the understanding of learning how to make revolution by making revolution. You learn how to make war making war. But war cannot be separated from political struggle. We see the people’s war as a process of this kind. Without the involvement of the masses it is not possible to develop a new economy nor a revolutionary struggle.

The RAF admitted that they ended to be isolated from the masses and focused only on the military. The CCC recognized that their problem was that they could not organize the participation of the people. That kind of actions have depressing effects because expose to
repression. In Ireland, the fight was more related to the masses. Within the neighborhoods, the masses played an active role, not just passive.

In the case of Canada, the people’s war can begin only with the participation of the natives, who live partly in the reserves. The natives do not have access to property rights and are dependent on the State, it is a national issue that, in an imperialist country, has democratic implications. In Quebec the situation is different. According to the Lenin’s criteria, we can speak about an imperialist bourgeoisie. Here we already saw experiences of armed struggle by the natives. Our party proposes a kind of new democracy. Quebecers say that natives should be given the right of self-determination. You cannot equate the struggle of the natives with that of euro-Canadians. For us all the concrete conditions can be used to initiate the People’s War. Once it begun, the situation would be full of contradictions and there is the possibility of an intervention of US. The possibility of U.S. intervention cannot stop the people’s war, the aim is precisely to provoke reactions.

We do not know in details the situation in other countries, but we think that anywhere we have to work for the people’s war, it is an internationalist duty. The processes that we will begin will be unequal but each of those will have consequences on others, it is a necessary process. Necessarily, it is a process to be carried forward internationally, we can wage PW in our country, but it is to be carried out internationally.

The point is not only to have success immediately, the beginning is mainly training. In our documents all this is written with more details. It is useful to distinguish what is militant propaganda and what is people’s war. Currently it is not possible to launch the people’s war immediately, but you can make some actions, more or less militant, of propaganda. We see every day that anarchist groups do, why can we not? We were told: if you begin, you have to be careful to repression. We think that there is no reason to call ourselves revolutionaries if we do not make revolution, who said so had opportunistic positions. Today you can begin making actions that give examples of new power and prepare the initiation. There are the political conditions to begin that, after the start, will become political-military.

The link between communism and revolutionary action went lost. This makes bigger and bigger the need and impact of actions compared to the common propaganda. We need to know how to claim the actions to minimize the risk of repression, but giving up because of repression means giving up the revolutionary struggle.

There are risks, but also a worker who works 25 m high risks, also those who fought in the Resistance risked, why do not we risk today?

**PCm France**

We start talking about people’s war. Unfortunately we do not have any kind of experience. In France during the Commune, the anti-Fascist Resistance and the French May, there have been experiences of armed struggle related to the masses, and then we see them as harbingers of people’s war. Today there are struggles of the masses that begin to take on forms of resistance, as in the banlieues. But the Maoists are few and many are opportunists, which are counter-revolutionaries.
Starting on their own would do as the BR or the CCC. The party must support the actions of the masses, develop them into revolutionary action, convey the idea that weapons are not enough, the question is also to building struggle committees and power committees based on the masses that get separated from reformism and organized in the party. This way a dynamic movement develops preparing the spark of people’s war. To begin immediately would take time away for organization. We have to proceed step by step, do not do as was done in Italy.

The experience of Gauche Proletarienne is that the masses had sympathy for their actions, but did not participate in, looked on. In 1905, Lenin said: yesterday the petty bourgeois groups were alone in the fight against the power, now that the masses are on the barricades, the Communists have to go to lead them.

Today we participate in the actions of the masses, in the struggle against the bourgeois state and its armed forces. In the mass demonstrations, among the masses, we are at the frontline, to indicate how the Maoists are able to lead them. Everywhere masses struggle, we should be at frontline to show the road and go farther. This should be done to show that it is possible. We need to unite the two aspects, masses and leadership; actions and propaganda, as support for the struggles of the masses. Otherwise the risk is the spontaneism of Proletarienne Gauche, which has failed. It was the best organization, but it failed, it made mistakes, we have to tell it.

**PCm Italy**

A brief comment. The explanation of the comrade is very encouraging. We strongly welcome and support it, because we think that the Maoists in the imperialist countries have to realize a new beginning of the revolution, the beginning of PW in the imperialist countries.

The PW is revolutionary struggle. No confusion on this point. The Maoists in the imperialist countries begin existing when they start a process of mass revolutionary action led by the party along the strategy of the protracted PW. That is why in the imperialist countries Maoists need experiences of new beginning, and a Party forged for this purpose, otherwise the rest of our activity is useless.

When we signed the Declaration of the RIM, we was against the liquidation of the experience of groups of the ’70s. This position was a large majority. The PCP only opposed, beside us. Now it is true that the battle for the reconstruction passes through the assertion in the practice of the universality of the PW in the imperialist countries. In the Conference in Palermo in 2003, we positively assessed the position taken by RCP Canada. Since then, we think that the parties in the imperialist countries must find a connection point to share experiences on this field. But we are ourselves are a proof of how difficult this path is.

The first obstacle came from the CoRIM. In the EM in 2000, we explained our good wills, but all the participant were against us, except the PCP. The CPNM listened interested but at the end said they did not understand what we were going to do. Others said that the PW was not correct generally and, particularly, could not have begun at that time. The attitude of the Corim was the same described by the comrade. A painful fact, because for PW the good intentions are not enough, it needs support, encouragement and experience-sharing. For us, the constitution of the Party would be completed only with the new beginning.

In Genoa in 2000, at the first major national demonstration in which our Party took part, we had a very correct position and a very bad practice. Our organizations had
generally an opportunist attitude. However, the newspapers of Berlusconi, pointed us, along with the TKP ml, among the possible inspirators of the battle. It was then necessary to address the problem with an acute ideological struggle, send away a few comrades, change partially the leadership, build a new youth organization.

For 3-4 years we have had to continue the ideological struggle, study and deepen, for a sum up of that period, fairly rich in lessons. Particularly, the experiences of the mass organizations in the South, which for a while we thought can be engaged in activities for the new beginning. It was something new in our approach. Until then we paid attention mainly to draw lessons from the Resistance and the experiences of the groups of the 70s. Not everyone knows that there were many groups – not just one – and many experiences in Italy in the 70s, and the very first experiences of those organizations are an example of how to link workers struggles, clandestinity etc. PW has to be a synthesis of all these aspects.

A fairly rich period but also full of problems and acute ideological struggle, partial replacement of cadres, organizational weakening. On the other hand the idea to integrate in the new beginning the vanguards of southern mass struggle proved to be not entirely correct. So, now, 10 years after the birth of the party, we are still to complete the process to affirm its existence.

In imperialist countries PW is actually tied to the party leadership of the mass struggles. If the Communists are preparing for the PW, then they lead mass struggles, otherwise they do not. In the imperialist countries those who do not prepare for the PW do not even take part in the mass struggle. A mass struggle as class war, as training to fight against the state, is essential for the benning of PW, above all because PW is a war waged primarily by the masses.

We have prepared a document analyzing the concept of new beginning and puts it as a part of an overall strategic vision. Because, while you cannot do long-term plans on this issue, you cannot even begin without a strategic vision, that allows you to understand what to do at the first reaction, how to resist, and so on. A party that begins the PW mantains its features, does not change overnight. Hence the importance of having a clear vision. We cannot predict exactly the results, but we need a vision of the development of the entire PW.

The new beginning in the imperialist countries is very difficult, almost impossible, but the crisis of imperialism and the bourgeoisie, give us reasons to be optimistic about development and victory of the PW, but it is difficult to start.

Committee of People’s Struggle, Galicia

A small contribution. According to the Union de lucha, the people’s war should have begun in Galicia because there in 1969 existed a guerrilla organization of anti-Franco resistance. Guerrilla in the classical sense, Peru style, to be clear. But now, seeing the operating of militant organizations, we believe that it is difficult to begin the PW without specific training. We must struggle among the masses but also train them politically and practically. Considering that NATO today in two hours can intervene anywhere in Europe with great force and in coordination with all the European the armies, we must apply the slogan of Mao: the revolutionary violence is carried out for the advancement of the masses.

On the National Situations

PCm France
In general the situation of the working class and people, as in all imperialist countries, is quite serious. There are relocations, sackings and the conciliatory attitude fosters a new form of fascism, embodied in the preparation of new repressions towards the masses and those who resist and rebel. There is a resurgence of attacks on young people, migrant workers, when they rebel. They use sophisticated means of control and repression. Not only the state apparatus but also non-state bodies, trade union committees, etc., seeking to channel the rebellion within the system.

There is a massive ideological campaign to accept as normal the implementation of repressive measures, control, restrictions of democracy, reduction of wages. An ideological propaganda to accept as normal the political, ideological measures adopted by the government and thereby gain a mass base among the population to make the modern fascism pass. This involves traditional fascist organizations like the National Front.

More or less accurate surveys are spread showing that security measures against young people are popular, that more than 60% approve these measures. The Government adopts the same view of Le Pen on the struggle against immigration and for “security”, looking at immigration as a threat to public order. We are witnessing the proposals by the Socialist Party and the revisionist Left requiring enforcement measures, there is active collaboration between revisionist and right-wing forces to implement these measures.

The situation becomes even worse when you consider that the reformist left, which had set up a movement on pensions, finally accepted that law. The forces of revisionist and social democratic left in words do not agree the measures on pensions but they say that there is indeed a problem of age of population. This way their statements bring a revival of Malthusian theories, that see a link between productivity, environment and natural resources, theories of overpopulation, according to which we should curb the use of resources (pensions) and drive out immigrants. The corollary of these positions is that the State should not help the poor workers, the result is that more and more low-wage workers are at the margins of society.

In politics it means into a racist, segregationist, policy, for example the Roms hunting. This way they endorse racist ideological phenomena that converge with the positions of the National Front. The campaign against the Roms has also led to reactions from people, politicians and trade unions, the left and the right.

The danger is that if this fascist line is developed, on one hand it will strengthen the fascist front and, on the other, the republican front, who unites right and left to “save the Republic”. These will be the slogans for the 2012 elections, namely the building of a modern fascism in attenuated forms to make it pass among the people. An attenuated form in words that in deeds applies repression, social control, security policies against the people who resist and rebel, thus creating a fascist social mix, although there are still some assistance measures, service social subsidies etc.

Another important factor is the persistence of a modern form colonialism, the interventions of French State to support loyal regimes in different countries of the world through political, military, economic support, in defense of French interests to compete with imperialistic interests of US, China, ecc. It is important for us Maoists to reach a common understanding of this process which is common in all the imperialist countries, albeit more or less advanced.
We have to build step by step a common path to oppose. As for us Europeans, since the measures are taken in coordination with Europe, it is important to reach an adequate level of coordination at the ideological, political and propaganda level. We know that there are problems, but it is desirable. Our commitment must be to build the Maoist parties, make them advance, develop contacts in all European countries with forces existing to coordinate at least at the level of propaganda.

Finally, consider that the objective situation has never been so favorable, because there is a growing proletarianization, growth of the attack, and the development of means, technology provides the conditions for a revolution. This puts the task of building parties in all countries and develop a revolutionary process everywhere.

PCm Italy

In Italy the construction of a modern fascist regime proceeds forced in stages. We should not let the current contradictions in the Berlusconi government mislead us. The government line is solid and also the internal opposition to it will soon be swept away. All those, primarily the left parties, which are under the illusion that the government is weakening, will not make much headway. This government remains the government needed today for the Italian imperialist bourgeoisie.

At the same time, bosses carry out first hand what we call “bosses fascism”. The story of Fiat and Marchionne, well known throughout the world, shows this clearly. The diktat imposed at the Fiat factory in Pomigliano (Neaples) is not only an attack on working conditions and wages of workers. It is much more. It is an “agreement” that has questioned the contracts, the existing laws, the Statute of Workers, even the constitutional requirements. Today both the Fiat and Confindustria, both the government and its ministers say the same thing: no more struggle between workers and bosses, no more class struggle! They want to establish a new Fascist corporatism, apparently a class collaboration, but in deeds a new form of slavery to serve the interests of the owners.

The modern fascist essence consists not only of the content of the agreement but also of the way they want to impose. They want to hit on the one hand any form of opposition, coming both by the base unions or the Firm, and, secondly, they want a consensus forced, compulsory, dictatorial, prevails among the mass of workers. They do not want just to win but win big, not only impose slavery but expect that the workers say yes, we want to be slaves.

This attack is accompanied by that on pensions, first those of women. In addition to attacking the living conditions, they seek to promote an overall ideology that justifies it. The modern fascism is also revealed in the elimination of all forms of opposition, even just democratic, and this is seen in attempts to silence any critical voice in the media, with a system of absolute monopoly. Any little rebellion or opposition is treated as an enemy, the Communists and not only, even the young football fans, all that does not conform is being repressed.

Two aspects in particular should be mentioned as examples of degeneration: first episodes of killing young women and suicides in prisons, the other is the repression in Naples of the great struggles of the unemployed that the crisis can only grow. A form of total militarization, of attack and prohibition of what first was permitted, in the name of that “0 tolerance” already invoked against crime.
In addition to this modern fascist atmosphere, the open racism against immigrants. In recent months we witnessed immigrants hunts, French style, in the centres of identification and expulsion, and practice of annihilating people in the same centres. All this is aimed to create a reactionary, racist, humus which revives several reactionary ideologies, including sexism and not by chance we see a rise in killings of women in families and out of them.

But, at the same time, by doing all this, the bourgeoisie, the state, the government are digging the grave beneath their feet. The crisis increased the urgence for struggles and the reaction of the State and government, politicizes them. Our party, also through the generated and mass organization, particularly the cobas, operates and leads these struggles, and here we see today that among the workers, the youth, the unemployed, it is easier to talk about revolutionary politics.

There is a new awakening of the labor movement, in all factories where there are attacks on the job, there are struggles that put more distance between the workers opposition and the official trade unions, particularly from the regime trade unions, CISL and UIL, and and rightist ones, but even within the CGIL there is a grotesque situation, where the leadership of the CGIL union disavows his own metalworkers federation, forced to oppose.

What is the situation of the party and its work? In this situation, the party fights all forms of modern fascism, is a party that increasingly unites the propaganda and agitation to the actual practice of leading the masses and struggles, there where it operates. Particularly in the South, we lead large struggles that take form of uprising of unemployed and precarious workers. This year we had a qualitative leap in the unity of struggles and their organizations. In particular, we were able to unite the nationally most important movements of the unemployed, in Naples and Taranto. We intervene with avant-garde slogans and activity in the major factories of the country in the South as the North.

Even among young people this work is visible, in Palermo Red Block carries forward battles on the anti-fascist front and in students movement.

Among women our rich activity led the generated organization, the Revolutionary Proletarian Feminist Movement, to realize intense and nationally visible demonstrations against sexual violence and in defence of migrant women.

At the same time the work for the education of new struggle vanguards, workers and women, progresses. A work that allows these comrades to be autonomous and become leaders of the struggles, a training for the political struggle. One of the texts we studied and used as the basis of training is the Manifesto of Marx and Engels, to take up autonomous tools of understanding and action in the crisis, to make marxist our struggle vanguards. Furthermore we grasped what Lenin pointed out about the party as vanguard detachment, the communists playing a political vanguard role on everything. We set up a blog, that is different from the many others that exist, since it daily operates as a communist political newspaper to form the vanguards organized with us or which follow our leadership.

The blog is involved in the fight against modern fascism, talks about the concrete struggles, fights the opportunist tendencies among the masses, etc. In the perspective of a newspaper of the PW and taking advantage of the crisis of forces and newspaper of the official “left”, that are falling apart.
Finally let’s talk about the important developments we achieved in the field of the unity of communists. One year ago began a process of unity with comrades spitted from CARC. This way we are responding to the growing demand of party coming from the bankrupt and crises of many communist organizations and groups, to show that the Maoist party is the only possible and winning answer. It was primarily a process of struggle and had a positive result: along with this comrades, active in several cities where our party is weak, have been defined 10 points of unity for the party, but the end of the trail is the new beginning.

RCP Canada

Speaking with comrades emerged a situation of relative wealth of Canada, but the crisis has changed this situation, the real average wage has declined significantly in recent years, a trend that has been going on for 25 years. There is a general impoverishment of the working class that cannot but deepen, because of the ongoing crisis. A process in which also sectors of labor aristocracy lose their positions, particularly in interior districts, starting from car industry,

Over the years there have been attacks like those in France and Italy. Apparently in recent years Canada has been quiet, but the reality is that most of these attacks have been suffered by the working class in the 90s. These were the years in which the central and local governments have imposed a balanced budget that led to a policy of accelerated restriction of the debt, an adjustment of the budget paid for by the loss of jobs among teachers and employees of public social services. Social security benefits, like the dole, were reduced and the cost of services increased.

This restructuring met the consent of trade unions, particularly in Quebec where the government has purposely summoned the official trade unions, who gave the consent to all plans. We can say that one or two years before the large demonstrations in France in 1995, the unions had already made all the concessions they could. Against this background, the unions are weaker. Generally, they are present in the upper layers of workers. This weakening of trade unions is one of the most relevant elements of the current situation.

MLM movement was very active in the labor movement in the ’70s, when unions were more militant. A feature they lost and now the unions are very weak. The large concentrations of workers have disappeared, in Quebec there are at most three factories over 1000 workers, and thus the intervention leads more dispersion of energy than before, when five comrades were enough to get results. These are the concrete conditions in Canada.

Our work in recent years has been among the youth, in part among students, in part in society in general. Another work is the defense of the unemployed, while the work among immigrants is marginal. Our typical form of work is the intervention in the demonstrations with a contingent of 150/200 comrades with large banners, flags, covered and ready for confrontation. The intention is to use the most offensive forms is possible.

Beside these intervention we promoted demos, eg. May 1. Our idea is to repeat situations like Kreuzberg in Berlin, but we have good relations with the anarchists. About 2000 people participated, with a leading role of our red contingent.

With the same style we participated in Toronto to protests against the G20 to disrupt the summit, together with the anarchists. There was a divergence with the anarchists. Someone said, since you cannot attack directly, we hit everything we find around. We instead
concentrated on the main entrance to the forbidden zone, while on the way they attacked places which were not the ultimate symbol of capitalism. Although the police had put enormous barriers, anyway we have tried to attack. Our goal had become to attack these barriers.

Toronto is not used to clashes with police, as Montreal, police in Montreal is more prepared. This played in our favor, because we faced a less trained police. The fact that we have decided to attack it is still a political result. The police were deployed in strength, with dogs, etc.. Then he unleashed repression. In the afternoon, the police has taken revenge by attacking and arresting 1100 people.

Committee of People’s Struggle, Galicia

Galicia is one of the poorest region of the Spanish State, but also the richest people in Europe live there, beside millions of layoffs and poor pensioners. In this context, our work as committee of struggle is in part as a trade union but we carry out also the ideological and political work in solidarity with the PW.

For several months we have been discussing the construction of the Maoist party. From September we will start contacts and a training communist school to advance in the construction. On the other hand, we are organizing the first meeting of unemployed people after years that will have much resonance, given the general situation. In the Spanish State, unemployment is 20%, in Andalusia it reaches 40%.

In Spain, our idea is to have a meeting with several Spanish groups, both to to promote the campaign for PW in India and for analysis of the national situation.

An interesting debate is ongoing in the Basque nationalist movement, where ETA will give up arms by October but the Maoists are opposed to this decision, since it means seeing only the independence and negotiation with the bourgeois state. It can be a good time for the comrades, who can take advantage of the situation.

In Catalonia is happening another interesting process, though not revolutionary. In Galicia we keep the debate on this critical issue, the revolutionary struggle and class struggle, with the national question which may be a goal but not an end.

Conclusions

It is useful to see again briefly the general framework We need a Maoist work to reconstruct ICM, since internationally it suffers from serious difficulties after the collapse of the MRI. A summing up of this collapse is important to proceed in this direction. It takes a lot of work, discussions, writings. Our responsibility is to give our contribution in terms of both analysis and writing, as well as a practical work of reconstruction. For us it is a work to do in the fire of class struggle and in close connection with the mass movement.

It is clear that it should not be an ideologistical summing up, we have to re-enact the process, assessing also the practical steps of the struggles that brought this collapse. The plan of international reconstruction and the advancement of the class struggle must march together.
I think our meeting was positive because the debate has been conducted according to this approach. Also the latest reports encourage this path, it is evident that Maoists, at different levels in their respective countries, go forward. It is the same work that led us to send our young comrades in Paris and then to organize to meetings and help to make the formation of mCP in France a real and known fact within the Maoist movement.

This work was not affected by the condition of the RIM, it was not the RIM that could solve the problem of building the parties, but the opposite.

The embryonic centre was supposed to help the formation of political parties, but this has been done just for a period, through a very contradictory process, often proposing process an unprincipled unity, without two-line struggle, based on the mere fact of recognizing the leadership of Corim, regardless of the ideological and political line, the theory and practice of the organizations.

We saw it up close in our country. In the other phase Corim supported groups not to help the construction of the party in every country but to bring the RIM in each country. In this sense, the collapse of the RIM is not only a bad thing. The Corim is not responsible for the emergence of problems in the PW in Peru (although the question of the chairman Gonzalo is not resolved) or the “Prachanda Path”, but in the imperialist countries the permanence of the RIM had become an obstacle.

So the watchword today is not just rebuilding, reconstruction, but also destruction, we need to destroy, combining to this a construction.

So I think our meeting was good, a good work. We talked about what we do, but we have still a lot to be done. For this we I thank you for your participation.

Long live the Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

The Communists’ Unity on a World Wide Scale Is Achieved Through Ideological Struggle – maoist Communist Party, France

Why?

There is no unity without struggle. According to the revisionists, unity is achieved through consensus. For them, “two fuse into one”, and not “one divides into two”. What predominates in their opinion is unity based on no principles, unity without any solid foundations. The struggle of opposites within the same unit belongs to the law of motion, the sole producer of material of organic, social, economic and political life.

Political unity is achieved through a slow, progressive ideological ruthless struggle. Such struggle must be first an internal struggle which allows the party to progress and develop through ideological two-line struggle. Such struggle is inescapable! Denying it means denying reality. When the struggle cannot be fought inside the party either because there in no party yet,
this struggle must be led on the basis of Maoism and the principles in the different and dispersed organisations, without reversing the order of priorities.

The first is the building of the party and its generated organs on the basis of preparing conditions for People’s War or through it when People’s War has already been activated...

The point is, through such struggle to reinforce the communists’ unity in each separate country, to strengthen the unity in the communist movement, by reviving the RIM with new forces in each country and all over the world and conduct the communist movement to lead a more and more massive offensive against capitalism.

Ideological struggle is not a battle led by all against all, in fact the two lines struggle is the struggle against the conciliators, gravediggers of communism and revolution.

**Marxism-Leninism Maoism is the criterion of the unity of the communists**

Before the death of Comrade Mao Zedong, the communists regarded Mao Zedong as a communist who had applied Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of China.

Consequently, they used Mao Zedong thought as a reference when Mao took up the struggle against Khrushchev’s modern revisionism. The former RIM (Internationalist Revolutionary Movement) had been virtually liquidated after the death of Mao Zedong. The Maoists formed the RIM (Revolutionary Internationalist Movement) on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The Communist Party of Peru, a member of the RIM, who had started the People’s War in 1984, defined Maoism as the third milestone of Marxism.

**THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF MAOISM**

**Military theory : People’s War**

People’s War is the military theory of the proletariat. I has become a theory comprising the whole theoretical and practical experience gained through the struggles led by the proletariat (military actions, guerrilla warfare, military actions and wars waged by the proletariat, peasants’ war, national liberation wars and resistance led by the proletariat). In the oppressed countries, in China where Chairman Mao has synthesized it as a repetition of the peasant war, the war is led by the proletariat with a strategy of seizing power.

President Mao defined the People’s War as the universal means of our time, the only way to gain power. While Maoism was recognized by the RIM and those who claim of Maoism, the question of the universality of the People’s War was not yet universally adopted. Another argument which is not unanimously accepted in our movement is modern fascism.

**Marxist Philosophy**

The law of contradiction is the unique and fundamental law of dialectical materialism. Dialectical materialism has been brilliantly synthesized by Mao in “On Contradiction”, that must be studied jointly with “On Practice”. Mao also explained that in the class struggle, the contradictions among the people must be dealt with differently from those with the enemy.
Scientific Socialism

The continuation of class struggle under socialism

The process of the restoration of capitalism in modern revisionism has confirmed Lenin’s thesis that during the dictatorship of the proletariat, class struggle continues just as fiercely. The remnants from the ancient classes or petty production are not the only ones to be blamed. At all levels of the party and the State new bourgeois elements arise who dream and work for capitalist restoration. They spin new networks in all the fields of material and intellectual production and lead a sabotage work in the economical, political and ideological fields.; they even spin webs in the armed forces. Taking advantage of errors in the Great Leap Forward, they attack the essence of the People’s Communes in order to dismantle or reduce their structure and scope. Here we find the reason why the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was launched, revolution led by the proletariat against the Headquarters of counter-revolution.

“Though it has been overthrown the bourgeoisie tries to corrupt the masses and conquer their hearts through ancient ways of thinking, ancient manners and customs in order to restore capitalism…we aim at fighting and crushing the officials involved in the capitalist road, criticizing the reactionary bourgeois academic “authorities” and all other exploiting classes and reforming the educative system, literature, art and all other branches of the superstructure that do not correspond to the economic base of socialism, this is to help consolidate and develop the socialist system”

(Communist Party of China, Decision on the great cultural proletarian revolution, 1966)

The Great Proletarian Revolution is a first step in the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the strengthening of its state power embodied in the revolutionary committees.

The restoration of capitalism shows the predictive accuracy of Mao who explained that it would take several cultural revolutions to definitely consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and create conditions for transition to communism.

New democracy and dictatorship of proletariat

In the era of imperialism, there are two types of countries: the imperialist countries (Europe, North America, Japan) and the oppressed countries.

In the imperialist countries, there will be no need for the joint dictatorship of the working class and peasantry or the national bourgeoisie.

In the second, the joint dictatorship of several classes under the leadership of the proletariat and its party is the first step starting in the base areas, the liberated areas and extends to the whole country throughout the protracted People’s War. It passes in a continuous movement to socialist revolution.

The joint dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary because in the oppressed countries there exists a comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie linked to imperialism and another oppressed by it
and imperialism. There are some remnants of several forms of semi-feudal exploitation of the peasantry who constitute the majority or a strong minority of the population, an important part of the population reduced to a sort of lumpen-proletariat condition, with a very low standard of development and living. Then, even though the proletariat must lead the revolutionary process, the class interests of the peasantry and national bourgeoisie must be taken into account (opposed to imperialism and its lackeys) until this step becomes obsolete and the building of socialism can move onward.

THE THREE INSTRUMENTS OF THE REVOLUTION

The Party

The Party is necessary to make the revolution. The Party is built through the fight of two lines between the proletarian line and the non-proletarian line. The objective of the Party is to take power and defend it. Such objective cannot be achieved without people’s war. The Party once established grows and develops through different steps. Ideological struggle is the engine of the party that allows adjustments of the line and tactics. It leads to campaigns to rectify and make adjustments of the system of organizations generated by the party, that are also useful for the settling of the power of the proletariat in the process of protracted people’s war.

The revolutionary army

An army is necessary to perform the tasks established by the political party to serve the interests of the proletariat. The revolutionary armed struggle is productive in order not to be a parasite load and mobilize the masses. The revolutionary army is the army of the people who participate extensively. The party commands the gun in this army of a new type; it must lead to the arming of the people and a mass army.

The United Front

All the proletariat, the peasantry, all progressive people are not in the party nor in the revolutionary army. So, we need a front based upon the workers-peasants’ alliance involving all sections of the people under the leadership of the proletariat. The composition of the united front is different at each stage of the revolution in a specific country, same thing on the world level.

CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE RIM AND THE MOVEMENT THAT CLAIMS TO BE MAOIST

Today, parties, organisations, groups and even individual claiming to be Marxist-Leninist Maoists are dispersed and divided in each country and internationally. We must be aware of such situation to lead the struggle for unity in each country. It is even more important to revive the communists’ unity on the basis of what exists really.

It must be acknowledged that there are deep contradictions between the parties and organisations that are part of the RIM.

On People’s War
Some members of parties and organisations do recognize the universality of Maoism but deny the universal nature of people’s war because it has not been defined by Mao.

They stick to the thesis that:

- People’s wars can take only place in countries where the oppressed peasantry is important, where vast areas are not accessible because the means of communication are few and insufficiently developed etc.

- In the imperialist countries such conditions do not exist. For these comrades, although they recognize the universality of Maoism, they ignore one part of it and choose the Leninist theory of insurrection without allowing for the enrichment provided by Maoism. They truncate Marxism and an essential element of the military theory supplemented by Mao.

Other parties members of the RIM recognize the universality of the people’s war. Among the parties (including the PCMF), some organisations or groups or individuals (no RIM members) recognize the universality of the people’s war, others oppose it.

Conclusion: on this issue and others there is no unity.

The struggle of two lines on this issue, goes through the RIM and therefore through the whole movement and beyond. It is part of the ideological struggle to revive the RIM on one hand, and prepare for the gathering of Maoists all over the world on the other hand, what will be a leap forward in the development of the Internationalist Communist Movement and encouragement in the formation of Maoist communist parties in each country.

On the Issue of Democracy in the Twenty-first Century

This thesis after the communist party of Nepal (Maoist) is erroneous, revisionist for most parties and organisations inside or outside the RIM. Those who take this approach actually seem to sink into a bottomless quagmire. This practice has put this theory to the test of reality.

It was already dangerous, without any concrete achievements, to decree a theory as universal, without a shred of evidence of its effectiveness, whereas all the past practice of the communist movement has shown the hollowness of such thesis.

Within and outside the RIM, though all political parties and organisations today have agreed on the above estimate of this thesis, the practical attitude towards it is not the same for all parties and organisations.

Some have immediately denounced the violation of principles, the cessation of armed struggle, the containment of weapons in depots supervised by the UNO, the alliance with the seven parties, the use of elections (almost 40% of votes for Maoists), Prachanda’s election as prime minister, the anaesthesia of the People’s Communes in the liberated areas, and the establishment of democratic town councils, the decision by the President of the Republic to maintain the Commander in chief in his office. The resignation of Prachanda, the mobilisation of masses in waves to “prepare” an insurgency seem to recede whereas the reaction is preparing things just in case of a one year extension of the constitution which was initially scheduled at the end of May. All this comfort those who have criticized and denounced such an
unprecedented approach. Was it right to try? It may appear, in case of failure of the process that such approach was just impossible.

Other people have also denounced the claim to universality of this approach when there is no evidence of its practical achievement. They have pointed the dangerous nature of a process which had already failed several times in history to the great misfortune of the people. But they have never abandoned their critical and skeptical support to the CPN(m) though warning them against the real dangers.

Ultimately, on this issue, it seems that the thesis on democracy in the twenty-first century has been unanimously denounced as a revisionist thesis.

On the question of its “experimental”, dangerous and risky application, opinions are divided as to whether it could be argued with great care and reserve that such an attempt was worthwhile to be made. The problem to be discussed and deepened on this kind of issue is how tactics and strategy must be linked together.

**On Modern Fascism**

“Everything changes” “nothing is immutable”. Such reality can be observed in everything. But there are always two different ways of understanding things and phenomena. One way is to consider things as rigid and unmovable and the other to consider them in their mobility and transformation according to a given context. Some of them, on the issue of fascism, stick to Dimitrov’s report at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International Movement. Such report was elaborated in a specific situation that has nothing to do with the current situation. We will not say more on the subject since another comrade is due to report on it.

Our purpose is, once again, just to enforce the point that there are two lines within and outside the RIM. The ancient line and the present one.

Mao Zedong’s line took some time to win, just before taking power in 1947, when the Seventh CPC National Congress decided that the basis was Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong’s Thought. In the 50s, Mao Zedong’s thought was adopted by the CCP and the Marxist-Leninists of the world. It was the PCP who said that Maoism was a step above Marxism and that the ideology that should now guide the communist international movement was Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The PCP agreed with this after the initiation of the People’s War in Peru in 1980. In 1984, the creation of the RIM, a step forward on the way to the reconstruction of the Communist International, its platform still referred to Mao Zedong thought. It was the internal line struggle that led, ten years later, to adopt Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a universal ideology.

Time is short because imperialism goes through a deep crisis. The bourgeoisie has increasing needs for police states, for a new form of fascism, in anticipation of massive revolts that will inevitably grow and extend. But when there is no party, no revolutionary ideology, no revolutionary perspectives, they will inevitably be repressed and even crushed in blood. Oppressed peoples will go on being plundered, even more so than before by the imperialist countries joined by the emerging countries (Social-fascist China, expansionist India and Brazil), the competition for new markets may lead to a Third World War. Dictatorships get reinforced and, in the very heart of imperialist countries, we are witnesses of the birth of neo-fascist and neo-nazi movements.
The RIM is in crisis. The fight must be waged by the Maoist parties members of the RIM. Meanwhile, parties, groups and organisations claiming Maoism but not members of the RIM, must lead the struggle for the reconstruction of Maoist parties in all countries and thus contribute to reinforce unity within the RIM and the International Communist Movement. This is increasingly necessary because the masses who have been plunged into confusion by the revisionists, the Trotskyites, the opportunists and liquidators of all kinds need real communist parties and a stronger and stronger Communist Movement.

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Contribution at the International Conference in Hamburg

the maoist Communist Party – Italy

Comrades, first, we are glad to meet the parties and organizations attending this important International Conference.

The work of our party with the PCP and the MPP is long term, it is a common way to serve the revolution, the establishing of Maoism and the construction of a new Communist International, and this conference is an opportunity and a step in that direction.

We bring you the salute of the workers building the maoist Communist Party of Italy (PCm). As Maoists, in this moment we are engaged in class struggle in our country, from where good news come.

On 16 October, the workers staged a large demonstration in Rome demanding a general strike against the owners and the government. On this occasion the proletarian communists of the PCm Italy took up the call of workers and challenged the reformist leadership of the major Italian unions.

In recent weeks in Italy we assisted a real explosion of the struggle of students and youth. The Parliament was besieged, the gate of the Senate attacked by a large mass of students, there were blocks of the train stations and highways, occupations of universities and schools. A wind of rebellion demands the withdrawal of the reactionary reform of the education as well as the anti-worker, anti-popular, modern fascist Berlusconi’s government.

The young people of Red Block, generated organization of the PCm Italy, are at the forefront of this movement in Palermo and send their warm greetings to all comrades who attend this international Conference.

This advance of the mass movement created good opportunities for the Maoists to go forward winning advanced workers and rebel youth, so they actively participate in the construction of the maoist Communist Party of Italy, for a new beginning of people’s war.

The focus of this conference is urgent, arduous and complex, and difficult to implement. The RIM, embryonic centre of a relevant part of the MLM parties and organizations within the
ICM, amongst them in the front line the parties and organizations leading the People’s War in Peru, Nepal Turkey – in India the RIM member organization is unified in the CPI (M), which now leads the people’s War in that country – and the contingents struggling to build MLM communist parties in the world, is experiencing a deep crisis. Stagnation has become a position of liquidating the RIM, nobody claimed the liquidation, but for years the RIM has not came out of the crisis.

The whole ICM has suffered with this very serious recession, because the RIM is not a forum for discussion, not a vehicle of mere coordination of parties, but an embryonic centre to unite the genuine Maoists and communists and a step towards a genuine Communist International. This step cannot be or should be liquidated. Today we need a further step that should draw on the positive and negative lessons of our Movement. The history of RIM has lasted many years. After the fall of the Cultural Revolution and the death of Chairman Mao, the work of RCP US to bring together all parties and organizations refusing to liquidate the communist movement inspired by Mao Tse-Tung was very important. The RCP US has the merit of this successful work, which led in 1984 to the International Conference that founded the RIM on the basis of its Declaration.

The Conference was the result of an agreement between the three main participating parties, from US, Turkey and India. The Conference established a common basis of RIM – the Declaration – and made the decision to form a Committee of the RIM (Corim), not as the leading centre of the world revolution, but to allow all the parties to join, take part, make advance the struggle and internal discussion also through an international journal – A World to Win (AWTW) – and to organize international campaigns.

Unfortunately, a few months after the Conference, the organization from India left the Corim and then dissolved. The participation at the RIM and the support of the Declaration by the party of Turkey was oscillating and finally it was not able to go on with the work of Corim. This allowed and created the conditions for which the RCP US had a kind of monopoly in the Corim. This monopoly had serious effects on relationships between the parties members of the RIM and negatively affected the internal functioning; it did not allow the full participation and debate that could turn the provisional unity provided by the Declaration into a steel unity.

However, thanks the decisive role of the PCP and the People’s War in Peru, under the powerful leadership of the Gonzalo thought and chairman Gonzalo, in the RIM the understanding of Maoism advanced. The strength of Maoism prevailed through the advance of people’s war in Peru. The declaration “Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!” is the result of this situation.

In the years following the declaration “Long Live MLM”, RCP US developed in the Corim and generally in the RIM, along with a hegemonic attitude, an understanding of Maoism that is not revolutionary, a line that in practice undermines Maoism.

In this context, the struggle within the RIM became very sharp, but the method of this struggle was not correct, it was not informed by an open and transparent two lines struggle.

The relationships between the Corim and the parties and organizations of our Movement became difficult, trends were formed which were not based on the two lines struggle, but aimed to build “friend parties” and paper parties and organizations. Against this, the consequent Maoist parties and organizations found difficulties in advancing their positions.
The capture of Chairman Gonzalo became a crucial step for the RCP US in reversing the course of Corim. With the line of “investigation”, the ROL was given support and a contribution was given to the attack on the People’s War in Peru and the PCP, in the phase of bend on the road.

In our movement there were rebellion and struggle against this position and the various parties developed different understanding. However, with the initiation and development of people’s war in Nepal, the advance of Maoism and People’s War did not stop.

These two factors created conditions for the Enlarged Meeting of Corim, where the left, the red fraction represented at this meeting by the PCP and the newborn, in the same year, PCm Italy, developed a sharp struggle. This meeting brought about a political setback for the right of the RIM, represented by the RCP US, and a new document: “For a century of people’s wars…”.

At the same time, the creative application of the People’s War in Nepal brought further advances and useful lessons for our Movement. No people’s war may be the same as another. Principles are similar but the application must be consistent with the reality of each country, it must be a dynamic application in theory, politics and action.

But even the people’s war in Nepal was not good for the CoRIM, particularly for the RCP US. They opened fire against the people’s war in Nepal, stabbed in the back that people’s war, as at the time of the detention of Chairman Gonzalo and the bend on the road they had stabbed in the back the people’s war in Peru led by the PCP.

Therefore there was a phase of maximum difficulty and confusion in our movement, up to the complete emergence in the recent years of the opportunistic, revisionist and, in some features, even reactionary approach of Bob Avakian, now called “New Synthesis”, to which is added objectively the develop of revisionist positions in the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

All this has resulted in the current collapse of the RIM. We cannot resume with the reconstruction of the RIM, for a second step forward, without a summing up and a radical criticism of the current revisionist tendencies, different in their nature but identical in effects, represented by the New Synthesis of the RCP US and the revisionist positions in the leadership of the UCPN(M) in Nepal.

Maoists in the RIM should raise the red flag and advance in a very difficult process of reconstruction, because it requires that the Maoist forces within RIM and also those MLM forces out of the RIM reach a basis of agreement for a new International Conference.

An International Conference is not only a call from a party to all other parties and organizations. It requires an agreement, a compromise based on the assertion of Maoism and the need to build a centre of unity of the MLM forces today. It demands the unity of parties and organizations that are in the RIM with MLM organizations and parties that, for different reasons, are outside.

This work is now at the beginning rather than conclusion. There are no conditions for convening a conference of this type. New parties play an important role in the current situation, in particular the Communist Party of India (Maoist) with the People’s War in India. A new
international conference, a new step can not be thought without the effort for the CPI (M) taking part.

Therefore, for us the work is more complex than the PCP and conferences held by MPP pose. It is not a criticism of the action and positions of PCP, or the work of MPP, but the considering that the problem cannot be solved that way. In the path toward the International Conference we need that each party fulfils its task and makes its contribution.

To establish Maoism, the ongoing people’s war and promote new people’s wars, to mark and clearly delimitate the current revisionism in our movement are two important bases to move in that direction. But we need also to discuss through bilateral meetings, seminars to deepen these issues, in order to reach an agreement on the need of organizing this new International Conference.

The International Conference which gave birth to RIM was the result a years-long work. That Conference lasted many days in 1984, days of struggle. No one had a common position on many points. The Italian Maoist group that took part – of which we are the followers – did not agree with the positions of other parties in the Conference on points of strategic relevance. It was a difficult work of mediation and synthesis that led to realize the historically determined mixture that allowed the step forward represented by the foundation of the RIM. Our work today requires a process of the same type, adapted to current conditions and past lessons.

The other important problem in this road is to establish the universality of the people’s war, that today means to establish the people’s war in the imperialist countries.

Currently in the RIM only the PCm Italy and the PCP endorse the line of the people’s war in the imperialist countries. Out of the RIM, the RCP Canada and mCP France support this line. Other MLM parties and organizations within and out of the RIM do not agree with this line. We believe that there is no chance to advance if it does not advance also the flag of the universality of People’s War, if it does not advance also the organizing parties for the people’s war in the imperialist countries and the new beginning of the People’s War in some of them.

Our party cannot wait for the Conference that will establish in the general line of ICM, the ideology, theory, politics, practice and organization of people’s war.

That is why our party has already begun working on our country and internationally, with comrades from France, Spain, Canada, to advance in the line of the People’s War in the imperialist countries. It is in this context that we promoted the international meetings held in Paris on the uprising in the banlieues, on the nature of modern fascist imperialist governments in countries like France and Italy, on the summing up of the experience of the Maoists in the imperialist countries, the French May and the Gauche Proletarienne in France. Through this work we make our contribution to establish the Maoism in the imperialist countries, to reach an International Conference, along with and in accordance with the PCP and all parties and organizations seeking to establish Maoism and the way of people’s war as universal, to reconstruct the RIM as a second step towards a new Communist International.

This work today has a new journal – Maoist Road – that we realize together with parties and organizations that share this need. This work includes the support for the people’s war in India, as a Maoist flag, with an international campaign that is part of the battle to establish the
Maoism. We believe that through this work, complex and structured, we will contribute to the tasks specified in the appeal of PCP.

For a new International Conference, let’s work all together!
Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!
Long live proletarian internationalism!
People’s War until communism!

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On the Present Situation of the RIM and the Challenge of Regrouping Maoist Parties at the International Level – Communist Party of India (M-L) Naxalbari

The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) is now defunct for all practical purposes. The only remaining sign of its presence is the ‘A World to Win News Service’. Even this is reduced to mere tokenism, incapable of providing direction and at times misused as a mouthpiece of sectarian views. This situation is both grievous and challenging.

The RIM used to present itself as the ‘embryonic centre of the world’s Maoist forces’. Its formational process and practice justified this. Foremost among these is its initiation from a worldwide rebellion that emerged from among Maoist parties and organisations against the capitalist coup and restoration in China. Though a tiny minority and mostly isolated, these Maoist forces dared to swim against the revisionist, centrist tide. Most of them could be part of an international process of regrouping that ultimately lead to the formation of the RIM in 1984. Since then this movement had been instrumental in promoting the proletarian revolutionary cause with ideological consistency. It could draw immense energy and greater clarity from the presence in its ranks of parties leading the two glorious people’s wars initiated in the later part of the last century. It could bring out the authentic and united voice of Maoism on major world developments. It initiated and led several internationalist campaigns of solidarity and resistance. The journal ‘A World to Win’ inspired by the RIM acquired a prestigious position. Most important of all, it advanced to the height of adopting Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and playing a key role in gaining wider adherence to this ideological position within the international Maoist movement.

It is therefore extremely grievous that the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples have been deprived of this international weapon right at this time of global imperialist crisis. The Maoist forces are once again faced with the challenging task of seeking out principled, ideologically consistent, unity amongst themselves and regrouping at the international level. This broadly presents two options – reorganise the RIM or build a new international organisation. In either case, a summation of the RIM experience, even if initial, is necessary. This should not be limited to
participatory parties of the RIM. It must strive to draw upon and incorporate inputs from the
greatest number of existing Maoist parties.

Whatever maybe the limitations or even errors of the RIM, it is an indisputable fact that it was
the most advanced one among the various international initiatives of Marxist-Leninist forces.
This is particularly true in the matter of ideology. Therefore, regardless of whether one opts for
reorganising the RIM or prefers to build anew, its experience must be struggled over and
synthesised. In view of the advanced position achieved by the RIM we hold that it is
appropriate to reorganise the RIM, rather than striving to build something new. But such
reorganisation must go beyond an organisational regrouping of the participatory
parties and organisations of the RIM. We cannot simply reactivate the RIM and continue as
before, even with a new CoRim. There are two reasons. First of all, the present predicament of
the RIM stems, in some measure at least, from its very constitutive concepts and methods of
functioning. They must be addressed and a resolution attempted to achieve meaningful
reorganisation. Apart from this, a number of Maoist parties, some leading people’s wars, are
outside the RIM. Reorganisation will be incomplete without pooling their views and
experiences.

No single party can arrogate to itself the task of summing up the RIM. It must be done
collectively. Yet a beginning must be made, to initiate debate and struggle. The following
positions are being advanced in this spirit. They are preliminary in nature and open to revision.
We focus on the drawbacks, since the positive features are broadly known and already
mentioned in brief. Besides, the pressing need is to identify and resolve those negative factors
which have brought the RIM to the present stalemate.

The capacity of the RIM to function as a cohesive body was grounded in its insistence on
ideological unity. This made it possible to proceed beyond a co-ordination and achieve the
formation of a committee to lead it and its centralised functioning. The committee was
conceived as an embryonic political centre. This conformed to the stated aim of working
towards the formation of an International of a new type. The qualification ‘new type’ was
incorporated precisely to distance this future International from the Comintern
conception of being the ‘world party of the world proletariat’. Hence the centralised
functioning of the committee, the CoRIM, was to be guided by the recognition, explicitly
mentioned in the Declaration of the RIM, that the formation of a new International demanded
an appropriate form of democratic centralism, apart from a new General Line. The CoRim was
given the responsibility of carrying out various ideological, political and organisational
tasks. It was to take guidance for this from the general positions collectively adopted by the
participatory parties and organisations. Furthermore, it was allowed an active role in the
process of generalising and synthesising the experiences of the individual parties by bringing
these to the attention of all the participants, through its circulars and reports. Thus the
ideological unity, lying at the foundation of the Movement, was sought to be transformed into a
material force by manifesting it in an appropriate organisational form and method of
functioning. This was the distinctive feature of the RIM. The positive gains achieved by the
international proletariat and the oppressed peoples through this Movement are closely bound
up with this feature. Yet, the present situation of stagnation too is located precisely in this, in
the paralysis of the CoRim.

This paralysis is related to sharp ideological and political differences among the parties in the
CoRim on the Nepal issue. No doubt these differences are widely present within the Movement
itself. But we highlight those in the CoRim because it is primarily responsible for the present
stalemate. However, the problem of the present situation is not rooted in such differences as much as it is in the methods adopted to deal with it and arrive at a resolution. This is not the first time that sharp differences have come up. The RIM and its Committee have been marked by ‘wranglingism’ from the very beginning. But, in the past, this was overall handled in a manner ensuring collective participation. This allowed the RIM to identify points of unity and advance on that basis, without papering over differences. When deviations from this correct method took place, ideological struggle tended to get diverted into secondary issues and unprincipled methods. It needed the collective intervention of the Movement to check this. The sharp differences on the Peru issue, the problems of handling associated with this and the achievement of a level of unity in 2000, through collective struggle, may be recollected. But in the present instance the CoRIM failed to discharge its responsibility of consulting and involving the whole Movement. The reasons for this must be sought in the current outlook of the concerned parties, not just on the specific issue of difference, Nepal, but on the whole range of ideological, political and organisational positions. An analysis of these matters is beyond the scope of this note. What is to be noted is that the present paralysis of the CoRIM leading to the RIM becoming defunct is not an ‘inevitable’ consequence of its structure that granted the role of an embryonic political centre to the CoRIM. It is the unavoidable product of deviations from the points of unity in the understanding that led to the formation of the RIM.

Yet this does not absolve the embryonic centre concept from all blame. A tendency of promoting the central role of the CoRIM at the cost of bilateral relations among parties, even to the extent of discouraging such direct ties, existed within the CoRIM and the Movement from the very beginning.

This tendency emerged from the failure to rethink the issue of international organisation in the light of the initial criticism made of the ‘world party’ concept made in the Declaration. It was squarely rooted in visualising a new International more or less in the pattern of the Comintern. More and more, political exchanges and contacts became routed through the CoRIM. This lead to a situation where bilateral contacts among the participating parties were weakened, and often abandoned. As a result we have the present predicament where the freezing up of the CoRIM has caused immobility of the whole Movement. This is more than an organisational, structural, problem. Let us recollect that the initial contacting of the late 1970’s and early ‘80s was actualised through various initiatives of individual parties, in circumstances far more adverse than those existing today. The present stagnation is mainly an ideological problem, one of outlook. The extent to which this stems from the ‘embryonic political centre’ concept remains to be assessed, but its role is undeniable.

The tendency of ‘absolutising’ the central role of the committee was opposed and criticised by some parties precisely on the grounds that it was tending to go beyond the points of unity leading to the formation of the RIM and the CoRIM. It was even pointed out that this reflects an outlook of recreating the centralisation seen during the Comintern period, in one or another manner. At each instance these parties demanded that bilateral ties must be promoted and that the tendency within the CoRIM that opposed this must be rectified. But this was not taken up with the importance it really demanded. And it did not get due recognition. Quite often such matters were posed and dealt with as issues solely concerning the style of functioning of the CoRIM or deviations from the Maoist methods of leadership. Given the differences on the vision of a new International, it was inevitable that the very concept of ‘embryonic political centre’ would be a site of unity and struggle from the very beginning. Yet this was not explicitly recognised and dealt with as such.
This is an important lesson that should be taken and applied in the present initiative. We must therefore review the position on ‘embryonic political centre’ and deal with the structural form of leadership accordingly. The Declaration of the RIM has correctly observed, “The concept of world party and the resultant over-centralisation of the Comintern should be evaluated so that appropriate lessons from that period can be drawn as well as from the positive achievements of the First, Second and Third Internationals. It also is necessary to evaluate the overreaction of the Communist Party of China to the negative aspects of the Comintern that led them to refuse to play the necessary leading role in building up the organisational unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces at the international level.” Both these aspects must be addressed in any attempt to build an international organisation of the proletariat, even in its preliminary forms or stages.

Since the adoption of the Declaration, the thinking and practice of Maoist parties, within and outside the RIM, has changed significantly. New parties have been founded. In this situation, the Declaration, though still correct and relevant in many aspects, can no longer be the basis, even for a reorganisation of the RIM. It is therefore necessary to initiate a process of debate on various ideological, political and organisational issues. This must necessarily be broad enough, in the topics selected as well as participation, so that the present reality of the international Maoist movement is properly represented. Through this process the points of unity and differences can be identified and a relatively advanced platform can be arrived at, to become the basis of reorganisation. We once again clarify: such reorganisation must go beyond an organisational regrouping of the participatory parties and organisations of the RIM. We cannot simply reactivate the RIM and continue as before, even with a new CoRIM. In this sense it will be a new initiative. But this new initiative must build off from the advanced positions attained by the RIM, taking lessons from its experiences, both positive and negative.

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- On the International Unity of Maoists –

The Revolutionary Communist Party (Canada) | 2011

Although the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) is no longer working, it is necessary to undertake a serious discussion on the issue of international unity of Maoist forces.

From the outset, we must admit that it is the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (RCP,USA), who headed RIM’s Committee (CoRIM), who bears the main responsibility for its demise.

Since a few years, the RCP,USA contends that the “new synthesis” produced by its leader Bob Avakian is a development of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that all Maoist forces should uphold. The RCP,USA has come to consider that there cannot be a viable international revolutionary action without recognition of this so-called synthesis.

Meanwhile, developments of the revolution in Nepal have put into light a number of difficulties, which the international Maoist movement has been unable to face. The Nepalese comrades had hoped that there would have been a debate on the concepts they developed, especially their vision of the revolution in the 21st century. They wanted the movement to be more creative in order to clarify the path of the revolution internationally.
The tactics applied by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (now the Unified Communist Party of Nepal [Maoist]) certainly had an impact on the ideological and political struggle in other countries, especially in the Indian subcontinent. But unlike the RCP,USA, the Nepalese comrades never sought to impose their views on the international communist movement.

It is in practice that the correctness of a concept is validated. If it appears that their conceptions do not suit the needs of the revolution, revolutionaries of any country must correct their line. If they don’t do so, they will prove to be non-revolutionaries. What is important if we want to achieve international unity of Maoists is the universal aspect of its basis.

In the history of the international communist movement, various parties often had to live with decisions taken in other countries. By itself, a decision, even if it appears disconcerting, does not mean the party that upholds it has joined the bourgeois side. We must make a thorough analysis of the general line of a given party for assessing what line prevails—the proletarian or the bourgeois one. If most decisions taken by a party reflect a bourgeois line, then we can say it has become revisionist. However, before saying that a party has joined the other side, one must be cautious.

Where it gets trickier is when a communist organization in a given country adopts a position that could have an impact on the internal politics of another party. The alignments of the socialist USSR in regards to China in the 1930s could have posed a problem for Mao and the Communist Party of China, particularly regarding the question of the Kuomintang. Even if the USSR as a country could have had an interest in developing good relationships with the Kuomintang, it never meant that the Communist Party of China should have submitted itself to this bourgeois party. The decisions of a party or even a Communist International should not be understood as serving the interests of one country or one party, but as a general guide to local action. Such action must be undertaken by each party according to the needs of the revolution in their respective countries. Of course, it was necessary to defend the USSR as a socialist homeland at that time, but it should not have implied that the line of all parties must be in accordance with the needs of that state alone.

Similarly, in the 1930s, the Popular Front policy against fascism did not require communists to halt their independent political activity. After 1935, communist-inspired trade unions and popular movements in Canada and the United States had been completely liquidated, although never had the Communist International asked for it. Opportunism in local communist parties did not necessarily have something to do with a desire from Moscow to impose their own viewpoints. Because they chose to retreat into bourgeois legality and to abandon the revolutionary line, those parties, after the war, had completely ceased to act in a communist manner. This was not the case of the Communist Party of China, which had kept its independence from the Kuomintang and maintained a revolutionary line.

An international organization is necessary to promote the development of Maoist parties in each country. Such parties must make an thorough analysis of the internal situation of their given country, particularly with regard to class relations and the revolutionary strategy that is required to attain socialism and communism (these two elements being the core of a communist program), and they should then implement this strategy. On its part, the international organization will coordinate the relationships between each national organization, wage joint campaigns and help resolve conflicts that may arise between some parties. In doing
so, it will develop its capacity to act as a central leading body, not only at the ideological level, but at the political level too; and it will win its recognition as such.

The experience of more than 20 years of the RIM requires that we make an analysis, even if brief, of its basis of unity, trying to identify its strengths and weaknesses. A basis of unity can be specific about certain details, without being specific on what is essential and universal. Unity may appear on several pages, while passing by what is most important. Conversely, a seemingly simple programmatic basis may be sufficient to unify the movement. At least, there must be some pretty strong proposals — strong enough to create a solid basis of unity.

We must also seriously think about our capacity to apply in practice the various elements that form our basis of unity. The capacity for an international body to apply decisions depends on the resources of member organizations, but also on who will take the leadership. We can assume that some parties have a better understanding of the basis of unity (because they have a better experience in the concrete class struggle) and that logically, they should assume a leadership role. But this leadership must be strong enough to take into account the various national contexts and respect the independence of each party. An international organization should not be the playground of a single or a few parties.

**RIM’s initial basis of unity**

In its 1984 founding Declaration, the RIM presented itself as the center of world revolution and gave itself the task of developing new communist parties where there was none. The signatories of the Declaration had taken six commitments:

1. establishing an international journal;
2. training new Marxist-Leninist parties and strengthening existing ones;
3. undertaking joint and coordinated campaigns;
4. implementing policies and measures adopted by international conferences;
5. to the extent of their abilities, applying and helping financing the tasks related to the improving of communists’ unity;
6. constituting an embryonic political center to provide leadership within the overall process of building the ideological, political and organizational unity of communists.

What has worked best among those commitments was certainly the launching of the *A World to Win* magazine. Regarding the other commitments, there were some victories, but no more. The RIM played an active role in the establishment of Maoist parties in the Indian subcontinent, including Nepal. In India, the RIM helped to resolve the fratricidal conflict between the Maoist Communist Centre and the CPI(ML) People’s War. In this regard, the role played by RIM parties and other parties within the CCOMPOSA (the Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organizations of South Asia) has been beneficial. That being said, the merger between the two formerly rival organizations (the MCC and the People’s War group) did not benefit the RIM because the new party thus created — the Communist Party of India (Maoist) — never joined the international organization.

The last major campaign led by the RIM to have positive results was that for the release of Chairman Gonzalo of the Communist Party of Peru in the 1990s. This campaign had an impact in Nepal, where important events for saving the life of Abimael Guzmán were organized. While a significant democratic movement had begun to challenge the monarchist regime, there
was a need for the genuine Maoist forces to organize in order to lead that movement to a higher level. The Nepalese comrades thus benefited from this international campaign to strengthen themselves. Subsequently, as we know, the CPN (Maoist) launched a powerful people’s war, which had a significant impact on the internal political situation and ended the monarchy.

For us, a center of world revolution, even in an embryonic form, should aim to exercise an ideological and, especially, political leadership on the movement. Through international campaigns, by promoting unity of the revolutionaries in each country, by helping the various Maoist forces to coordinate themselves, by resolving conflicts, etc., an international organization must come to exert such leadership; otherwise it is doomed to atrophy.

An international journal must be a collective organizer. The line that appears in it must be linked with the political activity of the international organization. If this link is tenuous, the journal won’t be fully useful, even if its ideological line may seem correct. Similarly, if the international organization focuses solely on the journal and forgets its other political duties, it will only become a single ideological center. We believe that this was one of the biggest problems facing the RIM.

The coverage of the people’s wars led by parties participating in the RIM in Peru, Turkey and Nepal by the A World to Win magazine concretely helped to popularize these revolutions. But generally speaking, RIM was often seen as being only an ideological center, which was not conducive to the emergence of Maoist parties in each country. This gave the impression that this organization was not playing an effective political role.

It is clear that within the RIM, there were forces whose political experiences were different. Between a party leading a people’s war and another one whose main activity was to condemn George W. Bush and “Christian fascism” with the objective of “creating public opinion” for revolution, there were necessarily different approaches as to what the RIM should do. Waging people’s war obliges a party to link ideological and political struggle. This is not necessarily the case with a merely ideological condemnation of Christian fascism.

To know what organizations will exercise effective leadership on an international grouping, including one in an embryonic stage, is of paramount importance. Logically, organizations that lead people’s war should exercise the leadership role. But this did not happen in the RIM. The most active organizations in its initial building had no experience of people’s war. After Mao’s death, the Communist Party of China upheld a completely revisionist line, including drawing counter-revolutionary conclusions of the already controversial Three World Theory. The RCP,USA then stepped in as a defender of Mao’s revolutionary legacy, rightly criticizing the Albanian line, which camouflaged a form of revisionism in spite of its bombast and high professions of Marxist-Leninist faith. Thanks to Bob Avakian and the RCP,USA, Mao’s revolutionary legacy was still on the agenda to guide the revolutionary forces. The people’s wars waged by Maoist parties in Peru, India, Nepal, Turkey and the Philippines showed the powerfulness of Maoism.

The RCP,USA acquired a high credit in the international Maoist movement. It had played a central role in gathering the revolutionary forces who claimed to still be inspired by Mao, but also in defending the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the revolutionary leadership of the so-called “Gang of Four.” The presence of the RCP,USA in RIM’s leadership was therefore justified.
Although it eventually joined it, the Communist Party of Peru (Partido Comunista del Perú, PCP) played a less active role in building the RIM. Yet, the people’s war in Peru was attracting the eyes of the world. It helped the RIM improve its credibility. But for various reasons, the PCP never held a leadership position within the RIM.

The PCP was one of the first organizations to uphold Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the science of revolution. After Marxism, Marxism-Leninism had played a crucial theoretical and practical role in the progression of the proletarian revolution. But here, we came to a point where Marxism-Leninism revealed its insufficiency. Some organizations that claimed to follow Marxism-Leninism were not at all revolutionaries; some were even practicing the worst forms of parliamentary cretinism. Marxism-Leninism was the official ideology of political regimes that called themselves communists, but were in fact building state capitalism.

In 1993, through the struggle waged by the PCP, the RIM finally recognized Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In Canada, the late “Action Socialiste” group (forerunner of the current Revolutionary Communist Party) came to this conclusion one year later. The fact the PCP was leading a people’s war had led the group to analyze the theoretical basis of this party, which served to guide its revolutionary activity. Those who link practice with theory always acquire more credibility.

After the events following the capture of Chairman Gonzalo and its negative impact on the RIM, the people’s war in Nepal and the involvement of its leading party at the international level played an important role in the development of the RIM. The CPN (Maoist) had made a thorough analysis of the experience of the PCP and it succeeded in creatively applying MLM to the reality of Nepal, where social relationships were still heavily imbued with feudalism.

The domestic political necessities in Nepal have brought the party to stop people’s war. Clearly, it was this people’s war that made the Maoists an unavoidable political force in that country.

How could the people’s war be deepened and carried until the conquest of power? How to build the new people’s power not only among the peasantry but also in urban areas? After the suspension of people’s war, Maoist forces in Nepal have undoubtedly developed their influence in the cities where as of 2006, implementation was delaying compared to what was happening in rural areas. The party’s youth wing has also developed considerably. Reactionary currents now accuse the latter of continuing the people’s war by other means.

It is a fact that at the international level, the stance of the Nepalese comrades could be seen as problematic, especially for those organizations that were being impressed by the military aspect of that revolution—a kind of romantic vision of the revolution probably reflecting the weaknesses of their own political line: the armed struggle in a poor country is always “sexy”, you know. However, displaying a cavalier attitude should be avoided when criticizing a party like that of Nepal, which has managed to bring the revolution to a step not seen since the defeat of socialism in China.

After the Maoists had signed a peace agreement with the major bourgeois parties, the revisionists in India have argued that by “rallying the parliamentary system,” the Nepalese Maoists had “finally understood”—a not-so-subtle way of telling Indian Maoists they should do the same. But the Communist Party of India (Maoist) is strong enough and has not been fooled
by this call from the revisionists. If it had depended on external positions (from another party or an international organization), it could have been a problem for them; but that was not the case.

As for the RIM, which has not been able to rally the CPI (Maoist) after the merger between the MCC and the People’s War group, the internal stance from the comrades in Nepal seemed to be a problem. The Nepalese people’s war served as a beacon for the RIM. The most revolutionary forces within it relied on the people’s war in Nepal and perhaps they were counting on the political weight of the CPN (Maoist) to advance their position.

The public criticism the Communist Party of India (Maoist) has made towards the CPN (Maoist) can certainly be understood, given the impact the actions of one can have on those of the other. The criticisms of other Maoist organizations, whose practice don’t show they are actually leading revolutionary action on the ground, seem rather distressing. How have these organizations used the example of the Nepalese people’s war to build up forces to then unleash a true people’s war in their respective countries? If there had been tangible progress by revolutionaries elsewhere, the people’s war in Nepal would have been less isolated and the possibilities of conquering power by the revolutionary masses better. When fires are lit everywhere, chances of success are greater.

The party that played the leading role in the RIM — the RCP, USA — has never really considered the possibility of waging people’s war on its own territory. To a certain extent — and this remains to be showed — this could be explained by specific reasons linked to the reality of the United States. However, the RCP, USA has never seriously thought about what meant, in practice, the recognition of people’s war universality.

Until recently, the RCP, USA has been one of the most important ideological pole within the international Maoist movement. It recognized the need of cultural revolutions under socialism and still identifies itself — at least officially — with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The tasks that were undertaken by the RIM’s member organizations appeared quite valid. At the same time, it has suffered from a lack of will to bring about real political leadership to the movement. We believe this weakness is related to a faulty understanding of the principle of universality of people’s war and its practical application.

**What basis of unity?**

The basis of unity of any group should be as specific as possible. Yet, at the international level, it is clear that national realities are very different. Some countries are still heavily steeped in pre-capitalist relations of production, with a large peasantry. There are imperialist countries where national issues were not resolved. Countries spread over large areas, others not. Some have strong revolutionary traditions, others not. And so on.

This had consequences at the organizational level. The failure of the Third International was partly the result of the notion that it was for the proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries and that of the “socialist homeland” to lead the world revolution. This notion was not convincing, especially in the colonized nations, where what was happening in Europe didn’t suit the situation. Of course, the main leaders of the International tried to take these differences into account. But the fact remains that notions that may be valid in Europe were not necessarily valid in India and China.
The stance of the Communist Party of China, who would not initiate the establishment of a new international grouping after the split with Moscow in 1963, can be attributed to mistrust in relation to a kind of global party that is supposedly clairvoyant in everything. Still, the example of a “revolutionary model” and bilateral relations are not always enough to create cohesion between revolutionary forces at the international level.

The RIM has never really set on what would be the optimal organizational form of a new international grouping. In its 1984 Declaration, it raised the question: “The concept of world party and the resultant over-centralisation of the Comintern should be evaluated so that appropriate lessons from that period can be drawn as well as from the positive achievements of the First, Second and Third Internationals. It also is necessary to evaluate the overreaction of the Communist Party of China to the negative aspects of the Comintern that led them to refuse to play the necessary leading role in building up the organisational unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces at the international level.”

The organizational basis of unity depends on the ideological and political one. That basis must be universal both in principle and in practice. Within the RIM, there have been advances in the recognition of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the science of revolution. In assessing the experience of Socialist China, the Marxist-Leninist movement understood that class struggle was continuing under the proletarian dictatorship, requiring the unleashing of numerous cultural revolutions.

The Communist Party of Peru said: “What is fundamental in Maoism? Power is fundamental in Maoism. Power for the proletariat, power for the dictatorship of the proletariat, power based on the armed force led by the Communist Party. More explicitly, this is 1) power under the leadership of the proletariat in the democratic revolution, 2) power for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist and cultural revolutions, 3) power based on the armed force led by the Communist Party, conquered and defended through people’s war.” (On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, First Congress of the Communist Party of Peru)

RIM’s 1993 Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism statement meanwhile stated: “Lenin said, ‘Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat.’ In the light of the invaluable lessons and advances achieved through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution led by Mao Tsetung, this dividing line has been further sharpened. Now it can be stated that only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to the recognition of the objective existence of classes, of antagonistic class contradictions, of the bourgeoisie in the Party and of the continuation of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the whole period of socialism until communism. As Mao so powerfully stated, ‘Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism.’”

It is clear to us that as a science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is universal. This is not the case with “Gonzalo-Thought” or “Prachanda Path,” let alone Bob Avakian so-called “New synthesis.” If Gonzalo- Thought and Prachanda Path succeeded in supporting the initiation and progression of protracted people’s war in Peru and Nepal, they have not showed conclusive on the question of conquering power, nor of establishing and building socialism. There is a need for concretely analyzing the situation in light of MLM and to define the revolutionary strategy that applies in every country of the world.
People’s War has a universal character and is part of Mao’s immortal contributions. The RIM officially recognized this. That being said, there remained a lot of disagreements on its practical application. For some, the protracted people’s war would apply as such only in countries dominated by imperialism, and as long as the people’s war will not win there, it will be difficult to make a revolution in any imperialist country. This is a mechanical application of Mao’s idea.

For us, the people’s war can only be protracted. And it necessarily has to be waged in a given national situation. It is the duty of each Maoist party to prepare and initiate people’s war on its own territory. It would be unacceptable to ride on the success of people’s war in other countries, while avoiding taking any risk in ones’ own country.

Will all parties eventually succeed in initiating and waging people’s war? That we do not know. But working to prepare the initiation of a people’s war will ensure that all parties are working to gather forces for waging armed struggle. It is understandable that Trotskyist sects or revisionist parties that only go by legal activity, selling newspapers or making entryism in unions or reformist parties, will never mobilize or gather forces for the revolution. If a party takes part in militant mass actions; if it inspires itself from revolutionary action of a new type; and if it does not confined itself to simple radical critique of all other currents but acts specifically towards the revolution, then it will accumulate strength.

Several parties claim to uphold the October 1917 model. If this was really true, then they would have prepared for unleashing an uprising. But they believed that to make the insurrection happen, they had to engage in a long and painstaking legal work. By merely concentrating in legal activity, did they prepare people for the revolutionary struggle? Others agreed with the necessity of doing illegal or “secret” work, though separated from their legal activity. Marx and Engels explained in the Manifesto that communists do not hide their opinions. If you recruit people only from a legal perspective and they are taught only a few days before the insurrection that they will have to take part, many will be inclined to delay the insurgency in order to prepare more perfectly, consequently frustrating those who were engaged in illegal activity.

The party must be clear: its purpose is to lead the people’s war. Of course, in the imperialist countries, this will take a quite different form than what has been done in China, Vietnam, Peru, and Nepal and now in the Philippines and India. There have been experiences of armed struggle in imperialist countries. Some were limited to armed propaganda. Think of what happened in Belgium with the “Cellules Communistes Combattantes” or in Germany with the Red Army Faction. Others more akin to what one defines as people’s war. Here, one can think of the anti-fascist resistance in Italy and France during World War II. Italian experience of the 1970s, although we can’t say it was people’s war, must also be learnt from. In each country, there are different contradictions, and only an MLM analysis will define the contours and direction the protracted people’s war will take.

Being clear on a common strategic perspective —People’s War— can only increase the cohesion of a new international organization. There may be differences in how it will be waged in each country. But a minimal agreement on the fact that we must engage in armed struggle and that such struggle is linked with the destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of a new power is essential for cementing an international grouping. The fact that all parties are committed to at least try to launch a people’s war creates a serious basis for discussion between them. To proclaim themselves as the greatest revolutionaries in the world...
and in the same time sharply criticizing those who have led or are leading the people’s war (while never themselves putting their hands in the dough) does not create a real basis for debate.

To summarize, the basis of unity of a new international grouping should recognize: 1) MLM as the science of revolution, 2) the continuation of class struggle under socialism, which necessitates the waging of cultural revolutions, and 3) the universality of protracted people’s war, not only in principle but also in practice. To support these three points, it would be useful to agree on a new analysis of the current international situation that may provide a minimal programmatic basis.

The application of this basis of unity

At this stage, the idea of a centralized world party seems premature. With the development of revolutionary struggles in various countries, discussions will take place on the possibility or the need to establish an international organization similar to the Comintern. Meanwhile, it is the duty of all parties that lead a people’s war to help establishing an international framework that could support the emergence of new people’s war in other countries. If the international activity of those parties only consists of trying to win some support at the democratic or diplomatic level, this will be detrimental for proletarian internationalism and for their own revolution too. The attitude from other parties who refrain from engaging in people’s war while surfing on what is going on in other countries also runs counter to their internationalist duty.

Of course, there are countries where conditions are more favourable for revolution. Yes, there are weakest links within the world imperialist system. Without going into a detailed analysis, it is understandable that in a large country like India, where part of the bourgeoisie plays an imperialist role and where there are many democratic issues unresolved and various internal contradictions, conditions are better for waging people’s war.

Supporting people’s war currently going on can help to develop a revolutionary party in a given country. We already referred to the role the campaign to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo played in building the revolutionary movement in Nepal. The great uprising of May 1968 in France was preceded and certainly prepared by the important movement in support to the Vietnamese people that spread for a few years in that country. Without this movement, there may have been some radical protests but only in schools and universities.

It is legitimate for parties leading people’s war to engage in democratic work with mass organizations, even with reformist parties in imperialist countries. That’s understandable when the avowed aim of a movement is to establish a New Democracy, which by definition does not exclude the national bourgeoisie and seeks the abolition of precapitalist social relations. This can also be explained by the need to use inter-imperialist contradictions in favour of the revolutionary movement. But this is not contradictory with joining an international grouping that would bring the various parties to recognize the universality of people’s war. Not to aim for the development of people’s war elsewhere in the world would lead to a narrow nationalist line harmful to the revolution.

There is of course a difference between “exporting revolution” and supporting the organization of revolutionary forces in other countries. It belongs to the oppressed masses of each country to define what will be the course of the people’s war. Asking the oppressed masses of a country to carry out alone the weight of the world revolution and to sacrifice themselves for others is
unacceptable. Deciding that the masses of another country must or must not engage in people’s war only to serve the interests of the movement of one’s own country is equally unacceptable. By contrast, helping the vanguard nucleus of a given country to organize people’s war on its territory is an internationalist duty.

Beyond a discussion between the highly centralized or decentralized character of an international grouping, what matters most is the political line. Upholding proletarian internationalism and recognizing the fact that it is up to the masses of each country to lead their movement should be basic principles. Also, given the fact that Maoist basis of unity focuses on developing people’s war in each country, it would be inappropriate for a few organizations to use the international movement for their own goals at the expense of the pursuit of protracted people’s war.

It is therefore necessary to consider establishing a new genuinely internationalist grouping that will leave room for parties and organizations that lead people’s war or are really interested in developing it. The know-it-all will not have significant weight in such organization. The Communist Party of the Philippines and the Communist Party of India (Maoist) both have the duty to take part in such new grouping and ensure their invaluable contribution will serve the development of the world revolution. As for the RCP,USA, if it wants to still play a role at the international level, it should recognize the universality of people’s war in principle and in practice. Based on our reading of Bob Avakian’s “New Synthesis,” we think they are moving away from Maoism and people’s war.

The sometimes-chauvinistic attitude of the RCP,USA has greatly hindered the development of the RIM. The RCP,USA used the RIM to promote itself instead of focusing on the development of new parties in other countries. Apparently, it did not want to see new parties that could question its political line and its “great leadership.” The parties that led people’s wars have not played the leadership role they deserved within the RIM, perhaps because they regarded the RIM as the creature of the RCP,USA, or they simply did not have sufficient resources to do so.

**To conclude**

The basis of unity we suggest revives the meaning of proletarian internationalism. The masses of each country are called upon to develop people’s war. There must be an equal relationship between each organization. The parties that are the most advanced, those who lead or aspire to lead people’s war, will exert leadership on the international grouping. Discussions should take place within the organization with frankness and camaraderie. The grouping must wage joint campaigns; it must have its own propaganda tools and aim to develop new organizations where there are none.

The six commitments of the RIM initial basis of unity remain valid for an international grouping of Maoist forces. The establishment of an international magazine such as Maoist Road, which could serve as a forum for exchange and discussion between Maoist parties and organizations, is a step in the right direction. On the flip side, we must think about a basis of unity enough strong to maintain cohesion among the various parties and develop new parties where none exist, while leaving flexibility to parties whose national realities are specific.

In short, we believe that in addition to unity towards MLM as a science of revolution and the need for recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and cultural revolutions under
socialism, the question of the universality of people’s war must be considered as a basis of unity for a new international grouping.

The Revolutionary Communist Party (Canada)

Resolution N° 1
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The imperialist system is going through the most severe crisis since the 1930s. The current attempts to address and overcome the crisis only serve to deepen and extend it.

The structural crisis that emerged in the field of finance has gradually extended to the field of production, bringing about a deepening recession. The crisis proceeds under the law of uneven development within the pursuit of the maximum extortion of surplus value and the contention on the world market.

The crisis has its origin in the laws of running of the capitalist system itself. It is the expression of the limits of production for profit, and the contradiction between productive forces and relations of production, including the general and global nature of the production and private appropriation. In the world scene this means an ever growing gap between the wealth of a handful of imperialist countries and the poverty of three quarters of human beings in the countries oppressed by imperialism, between the wealth in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the relative and absolute impoverishment of proletarians and masses in the imperialist countries, between the overflowing richness of a parasitic and comprador bourgeoisie and the living conditions of misery and hunger of the proletariat and broad masses in the countries oppressed by imperialism.
It is clear that a system dominated by these laws, these dynamics, can only go into crisis, and overproduction and capital surplus become factors of crisis. The phenomena of heightened and speculative “financialization” are the tip of the iceberg of the dynamics of the system, which become point of implosion and explosion.

The “financialization” of the economy – the main immediate cause of the crisis – tends to reject any control. So the efforts of capitalism and its ruling imperialist powers to get out of crisis through regulation and control of the financial markets and use of the opportunities offered by high growth rates, even if disarticulated, of some countries such as China, India and Brazil have so far not succeeded. Although these efforts should not be underestimated, they cannot ensure more than a temporary recovery, one which opens the door to new and even more distressing crises.

The world is still faced with two possibilities: the exit from capitalism or a painful temporary recovery from this crisis by strengthening, enhancing the mechanisms of capital and thus prolonging the misery of the masses.

The imperialist bourgeoisie all over the world take advantage of the crisis to restructure imperialism on a global scale and save the interests of their class for their profits. This leads to unloading the vicious weight of the crisis on the workers and masses. In both the oppressed countries and imperialist countries, unemployment, job insecurity and the cost of living increase, exploitation is ratcheted up to modern forms of slavery, workers’ rights are reduced, social achievements won through years of struggles are erased, factories are closed with massive layoffs, peasants are ruined and driven to suicide, cuts in social expenditures and privatization of education and healthcare grow, the logic of commodification and profit is extended even to primary goods, such as water, air, sun, etc..

These policies are carried out within the contention for domination on the imperialist world market and geopolitical strategic areas, but the unitary character of the policies to unload crisis on the proletarians and the masses is emphatically clear. The policy of imperialism accentuates and makes more and more catastrophic the effects of the system in terms of ecological and natural disasters. Imperialism transforms factors of development in the field of science, culture and education, information technology, access to media, communication, extension of the freedom of young people and the processes of emancipation of women, into new and more refined chains. In the context of crisis this results in massive intellectual unemployment, social control and most extreme forms of barbarism, new neo medieval attacks on women’s rights and the regimentation of youth.
The balance of power among the imperialists is in a flux. Though the US still remains the sole super power its capacities have been considerably weakened, by the resistance of its victims and the crisis. This gave some room for the EU grouping. However similar factors have negatively impacted on their position too. Russia had not been affected so much by the crisis. Through its axis with China and consolidating ties with erstwhile Soviet Union republics, it has gained some advantage and has stepped up contention. Overall collusion is still principal in inter-imperialist relations. But imperialism in crisis, develops within it contradictions that can become potential sources of a new world war. Imperialist powers, mainly the US, unleash and accentuate wars of aggression, invasion, and neo-colonialism in the different regions of the world where their interests are vital or threatened. In developing these wars, it continues with the arms race and gets equipped with more and more devastating military instruments, surpassing all limits enshrined in international conventions and human rights.

One or the other form of fascistic control has always been the norm in oppressed countries, even where a parliamentary system exists. In recent years, a tendency to modern fascism grows inside the imperialist countries also. This takes shape according to the characteristics of history, the reality and the culture of each country. It strives to establish once again the totalitarian, racist, securitarian and police-state forms of the rule of the bourgeoisie.

Imperialism is poverty, reaction and war. The crisis reveals that welfare, democracy and peace become more and more words that cover an opposite substance. The devastating economic crisis of imperialism and its impact on proletarians and the broad masses have awakened worldwide a wave of struggles and revolts.

In the countries oppressed by imperialism, the protests, rebellions and liberation struggles have found in the revolts in Arab countries and in the Persian Gulf a new height and a new dawn. Young people, proletarians and the masses and, in some cases, organized sectors of workers, attacked and overthrew dictatorial regimes subservient to imperialism that seemed permanent. This has paved the way for new anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist, anti-feudal, new-democratic revolutions.

False anti-imperialist regimes, such as those of Libya, Syria, Iran, and openly pro-imperialist ones such as those in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain. Yemen, Morocco, Algeria, as well as the military regimes that have replaced the reactionary tyrants in Tunisia and Egypt, unleashed massacres and repression. Hiding under the flag of democracy imperialism intervened in these struggles and maneuvered to remove unreliable
regimes and replace worn out servitors with new ones. It launched a war and occupied Libya. But the wave of “Arab spring times” continue.

Globally they have achieved an important position as a new front in the battle between imperialism and the peoples. They join those existing in Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine. In these countries, the occupation and invasions of imperialists and Zionists have faced heavy resistance. This forced them to reshape their occupation plans and prevented them in a substantial manner from realizing their aims. Apart from the Arab and West Asian countries, people in Latin America, Africa and other regions of Asia have repeatedly taken to the streets to resist the attacks on their livelihoods. The persistent and growing labor strikes and peasant struggles in China is notable.

In this new wave of struggle and resistance we must support and strengthen the struggle for the liberation of peoples and for new democracy, towards socialism and communism, and oppose the pro-Western and Islamist currents which ride the tiger of people’s struggles in order to impose new chains and new subordination to the reactionary classes and their masters of all time, imperialism, mainly of the U.S. and Europe.

The wave of unrest, flaring up of rebellions and struggles involving hundreds of thousands of youth in the imperialist countries is a distinguishing feature of the present world. The exciting uprisings of the proletarian youth, which shakes the imperialist citadels, marks the entry of a new generation. Facing a life without a future, through their rebellions they shout “it is right to rebel” and declare that it is capitalism that has no future. Now fused, now in parallel, this development is coupled to a rise in labor struggles. General strikes have summoned to action the whole workers movement, especially in countries hit hardest by the crisis Greece, Spain, Italy...

The workers’ struggles have had a new development in Eastern Europe, where to the bite of wild capitalism following the collapse of false socialist regimes, was added the quick transformation into systems even worse than before. New waves of immigrants flock to the imperialist countries in hope of a better life. They flee from poverty and war devastations caused by these countries. To reach their destinations they have to put their lives at risk through untold suffering which often turn the seas into cemeteries. The imperialists respond with harsh anti-immigrant laws and racism. The emergence of modern fascism, of police states, the growing frequency of wars of aggression and anti-immigrant laws have been responded to by
the masses through the development of anti-fascist and anti-racist movements, and broad movements against the war.

This is the context in which a potential new wave of the world proletarian revolution develops and emerges. It has as its reference points and strategic anchor the people’s wars led by Maoist parties. To this we must add the preparation of several new people’s wars, particularly in Turkey and South Asia, with the potential for it in Latin America, and throughout the rest of the world, with the constitution of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist (MLM) communist parties. In this framework, the new MLM communist parties in the imperialist countries represent the potential for a quantum leap in revolutionary struggle and the unity of the two currents of the world proletarian revolution: the socialist revolution in the imperialist countries and the new democratic revolution, marching towards socialism, in the countries oppressed by imperialism.

All this shows that the principal contradiction in the world is that between imperialism and oppressed peoples, while both the contradictions between the proletariat and bourgeoisie and the inter-imperialist contradictions also sharpen. In the crisis it is increasingly clear that the revolution is the main trend. In the current international situation the task of communists is to make revolution in the different countries, because the revolution is the only solution to the crisis, the only way out from imperialism and the only road to achieve the ultimate goal of the struggles of the proletarians and oppressed people. This demands the strengthening and building of MLM communist parties in each country, as a new kind of communist party, as vanguard detachments of the proletariat and leading core of all the people, as a party fighting for the revolution.

In the countries oppressed by imperialism the perspective of people’s war is advancing. In India, the people’s war led by the Communist Party of India (Maoist) successfully withstands unprecedented attacks by the enemy and is able to expand and advance. The people’s war in the Philippines led by the Communist Party of the Philippines advances and establishes itself as an important part of the wave of world revolution. The people’s war in Peru, initiated under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru led by chairman Gonzalo remains an ideological and strategic beacon for the whole international communist movement. Though it faces setback due to the attacks of the enemy and from revisionists within the party, the struggle to overcome these hurdles persists. In Nepal ten years of people’s war enriched the history and experience of the international communist movement and made significant advance
towards the victory of the new democratic revolution. In recent years, however, a revisionist line that betrays the people’s war and the revolution emerged, headed by Prachanda and Bhattarai. The Maoists within the United Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) [UCPN(M)] must save the revolution and resume its march by revolting against that line and standing firm against centrist vacillations, inside and outside the party.

In Turkey, the revolutionary struggles led by the Maoists are advancing in the pursuit of the people's war strategy suited to the conditions of this country, placed as it is amidst two international theatres, the European imperialist countries and the regimes ruled by the reactionaries in West Asia. In other countries of South Asia and Latin America, the people’s war is in preparation for new beginnings and progresses. It is a task of communists around the world to put into the practice the proletarian internationalism, popularize and support the people’s wars and revolutionary struggles.

In Turkey, the revolutionary struggles led by the Maoists are advancing in the pursuit of the people’s war strategy suited to the conditions of this country, placed as it is amidst two international theatres, the European imperialist countries and the regimes ruled by the reactionaries in West Asia. In other countries of South Asia and Latin America, the people’s war is in preparation for new beginnings and progresses. It is a task of communists around the world to put into the practice the proletarian internationalism, popularize and support the people’s wars and revolutionary struggles.

In the imperialist countries, electoralism, parliamentarism and political and union reformism are increasingly in crisis and, through this, revisionism is bankrupt. The need of a revolutionary organization and a revolutionary strategy to overthrow the bourgeoisie and seize the power is increasingly advancing and strengthening in the workers and people’s movements. The idea that as long as the proletarians are not in power it is an illusion to think that their lot will improve is growing.

The workers’ struggles and the uprisings of proletarians and young people must coordinate and grow within a perspective of overthrowing the governments and states of the imperialist bourgeoisie, for the seizure of power by the proletariat. In order to transform these needs into reality, these movements into revolution, we need to build MLM communist parties, in the fire of class struggle and in close link with the masses, for the proletarian revolution, with the MLM strategy of the revolutionary war culminating with the insurrection, adapted to each country according to the concrete conditions.

In all countries we need communist parties based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, able to lead the class struggle in all fields and aimed at seizing the political power. In each country the Maoist communists strive to answer this need for a scientific and determined leadership for the class struggle, by fighting all kinds of revisionist and reformist, or dogmatist and extremist deviations, in all their forms.
Our class can rely on the huge amount of experience through 140 years of struggles and revolutions, from the birth of the glorious Paris Commune through the peaks of the October Revolution, the Chinese revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We must learn from both our victories and defeats, from our correctness as well as from our mistakes.

Always in their entire history, the communists have built, participated and counted on an international organization of the proletariat and the oppressed masses. Without the First, the Second and Third International, the communist movement would not have spread to every corner of the world, neither would it have achieved its great victories, and would not have learned the lessons from its temporary defeats.

The battle of Mao Tsetung was an international battle that paved the way to the revival of communist parties after the establishment of Kruschevite revisionism in the international communist movement.

After Mao’s death and the end of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) has allowed the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists in the world to begin to unite on an international scale, to resume the march towards a new Communist International.

Today, facing the crisis and the collapse of the RIM, we must rebuild the international organization of MLM parties and organizations on the basis of the positive and negative experiences of the RIM. The current situation presents the need to unite in this new organization all the MLM parties and organizations, inside and outside the RIM, for a political and organizational leap. This is necessary to put the communist movement at the height of the class struggle in the new century. Thus the needs of the proletariat and the oppressed masses, facing the impact of the crisis of imperialism, can be met.

The new international organization must unite in its ranks the genuine MLM parties and organizations that exist and operate in the class struggle, that transform the revolutionary theory into revolutionary practice, that are able to be an advanced and integrant part of the proletariat and the oppressed masses, getting rid of all the old and new waste, not only of revisionism but also of the petty bourgeois revolutionaries and the self-referring “virtualism”.

To build this new international organization we must break with revisionism in all its aspects and particularly with those that have led to the current crisis and collapse of the RIM, namely the post-MLM ‘new synthesis’ of Bob Avakian in the Revolutionary
Communist Party, US and the revisionist line established by Prachanda/Bhattarai in the UCPN(M).

The new international organization should have an executive centre, whose internal life must correspond to the stage and methods shared by the political parties and forces that give life to this organization, particularly taking lesson from the positive and negative experiences of the CoRim.

The international organization of MLM communists is and should be the core of a front, of an international anti-imperialist alliance of the proletarians and oppressed peoples. It is this that will allow the MLM communist parties to establish and develop Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, realize a new unity of the international communist movement, place it at the van of worldwide people’s struggles and fully unleash and realize the potential new wave of world revolution.

**Imperialism has no future! The future belongs to communism!**

Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan;
Communist Party of India (M-L) [Naxalbari];
Maoist Communist Party – Italy;

**Resolution N° 2**

* Special Meeting of parties of RIM for International Conference of MLM Parties and Organisations of the world *May 1st 2012

The devastations of imperialist globalisation, wars of aggression and the devastating economic crisis of the imperialist system and its impact on proletarians and the broad masses have awakened worldwide a wave of struggles and revolts.
In this context a potential new wave of the world proletarian revolution develops and emerges, with the people's wars led by Maoist parties as its reference points and strategic anchor. The realisation of this potential ultimately depends on how successful the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties are in fulfilling their revolutionary tasks at national and international level. The pooling of their understanding and experience and the development of their capacity to take a united revolutionary message to the rebellious masses all over the world, have decisive importance. Unfortunately there has been a lag in this matter. This is severely compounded by the crisis in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), which is now defunct.

In this situation steps need to be taken to work for the building of an effective international MLM organization that can aid the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks and take the collective voice of the Maoists to the proletariat and struggling peoples. Therefore, we should move towards holding a new conference of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organizations throughout the world. This conference should take up the task of building an international organization based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

It is appropriate that this task should be informed by the positive and negative experiences of RIM, given its experience in building and functioning as an international organisation during its nearly three decades of existence. As part of the work for the conference and the building of an international organization we need a summation worked out by all the parties and organization which has been part of this experience. Here we put forward some preliminary views.

1.
Following Mao Zedong’s death in 1976, the Chinese revisionists seized political power through a military coup d’état, thus causing the Communist Party of China (CPC) to degenerate into a revisionist party—overthrowing proletarian political power, bringing down socialism, and transforming revolutionary China into reactionary China. Moreover, the emergence of the Hoxhaite revisionist line in the Party of Labour of Albania, influenced a certain number of communist parties and organizations throughout the world, and ended up producing a serious assault on the international communist movement.

Despite this context of defeat, some Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, that did not follow either the Chinese or Hoxhaite variants of revisionism, though few in number, held the first international conference of Marxist-Leninist parties and
organizations in 1980 and passed a Joint Communiqué, A Call to the Proletariat and the Oppressed Peoples of the World. Although this conference did not result in the creation of a stable international organization it prepared the ground for a second international conference in 1984. The formation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) in this second conference of 1984 was a positive international, theoretical and practical endeavour that responded to the ideological, political and organizational needs and necessities of the international communist movement in the circumstances of a period defined by the crisis that had engulfed the communist movement following the defeat of the Chinese revolution.

The Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement that was passed at this conference – on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (Mao Zedong Thought as it was then termed) and a principled opposition to the modern Russian and Chinese revisionism (as well as the Hoxhaite dogmato-revisionism) – provided a basic ideological-political framework for the foundation of the movement.

2. In its past three decades of struggles the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, since it was based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, achieved important theoretical and practical gains that were principled and worthy of further development. The documents passed in the international conferences and the expanded meetings of RIM (like the Declaration of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and the Millennium Resolution), despite some of their deficiencies and shortcomings, were all important theoretical contributions to the advancement of the Movement, as part of the international communist movement. The internationalist support to the people’s war in Peru and PCP, including the historical campaign in defence of Dr: Abimael Guzman, the contribution and support for the start and continuation of the people’s war in Nepal for its ten years, the publishing of the journal A World To Win in several languages that allowed to make known ideological and political understandings and analysis of the Movement and its parties and organizations in different countries, and statements issued have been notable features of the role played by the RIM in the international communist movement.

3. The founding conference of the RIM had recognised the necessity of building a new communist international of a new type. To realize this, the Declaration of the RIM correctly identified the twin tasks of evolving ‘a general line and a correct and viable
organisational form, conforming to the complex reality of the present-day world and the challenges it poses.

4. The interim committee – conceived as an embryonic political center – was formed with the task of working for the process of furthering the ideological, political and organisational unity of communists, including the preparation of a draft proposal for a general line for the communist movement. But this task was not fulfilled by the Corim and the RIM could not reach this goal.

5. In the experience of RIM, the existence of such a center, formed for enabling a consistent and unified role for this Movement has given mixed results. There were some good results. There have also been serious lapses, hegemonic tendencies in functioning that negated the collectiveness that was the RIM, sorely undermined its unity, hindered the incorporation of more MLM parties and thus blocked the fulfilment of the tasks it had set for itself.

The new international organization should have an executive centre, whose internal life and methods correspond to the stage and methods shared by the political parties and forces that give life to this organization. It should function with the competency and commitment to work within the framework of the decisions and agreements of the international organization as decided in its conferences and other meetings. As in all other matters, here too, the consistent defence, application and development of MLM and the fulfilment of their own internationalist tasks and obligations by the individual parties are the ultimate guarantee. In spite of its positive aspects, our Movement could not fulfil the tasks it had taken up and entered a crisis.

When revisionism of Bob Avakian’s post-MLM ‘new synthesis’ variety became dominant in the Revolutionary Communist Party-USA and of the Prachanda-Bhattarai variety became dominant in the United Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), not only did these parties deviate from the path of revolution and communism, but the destructive and disparaging effects of their counter-revolutionary lines negatively affected the parties and organizations within RIM, specifically the Committee of RIM (CoRIM), in an extensive and profound manner. These are the immediate ideological sources that have led to the current crisis and collapse of the RIM.
We propose the convening of an international conference in order reactivate and reorganize an international organization. We believe that this task must be jointly taken up with the involvement of the Maoist parties leading people’s wars, and all the Maoist forces, including those outside the RIM, so that the conference will benefit from their views and experiences. In order to achieve this aim a process of ideological, political debate must be carried out.

As part of preparation for the conference and serving its aims, we will it necessary to organise a seminar on ‘Summation of Experiences of RIM, ICML, and other International Initiatives.’

Through this whole process the points of unity and differences can be identified and a relatively advanced platform can be arrived at, to become the basis of a new international unity concretised in a new international organisation. In the current circumstances, the execution of this revolutionary responsibility can demonstrate a practical expression of the internationalist communist slogan, “workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite.” It is this that will allow the MLM communist parties to establish and develop Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, realize a new unity of the international communist movement, place it at the van of worldwide people’s struggles and fully unleash and realize the potential new wave of world revolution.

With revolutionary greetings,

Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan;
Communist Party of India (M-L) [Naxalbari];
Maoist Communist Party – Italy;

May Day 2012
– To overcome the crisis of capitalism, proletarian revolution is the only solution!

“The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say,
by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented. The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself. But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons — the modern working class — the proletarians.”
Marx & Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, 1847

165 years after its writing, this quote remains relevant. It allows us to understand the situation in which the proletariat and the broad popular masses in all countries find themselves, regardless of who leads the government: they live under a concealed dictatorship, be it a bourgeois democratic or a brutal one.

The imperialist bourgeoisie is looking for the maximum rate of profit; it is using the crisis as a pretext to achieve this objective by restructuring the system of production. Within this, the ruling classes in the oppressed countries try to maintain and possibly increase their share in the surplus. Such restructuring is affecting all countries; for the working class and the masses, it means the delocalization of large industries: plant closings, wage cuts, unemployment, debt, impoverishment, etc. But in the places where the new plants are to be opened, restructuring means land grabs, expropriation of local farmers, frenzied exploitation, poverty wages, destruction of the environment, etc.

The ruling classes use the state apparatus to suppress the proletariat’s struggles and prevent them and the masses from revolting and organizing for the revolution. Everywhere, the State is more and more becoming a police state that brings the population under surveillance and repression.

Whether it is the “left” or right, no segment of the bourgeoisie has the capacity to solve the crisis. The persistence of the crisis prepares the ground for fascism; fascism is advancing in disguise. It is building step by step through populist demagogy, relying on the economic crisis. In due time, it will show its true colors by aggressively defending the interests of finance capital. Meanwhile, competition between the different monopolist blocks raises the question of redivision of markets and therefore suggests new wars are on the horizon.

The class nature of the state is the central issue. The form it takes is only circumstantial. The primary purpose of the state is to serve the interests of the ruling
class, that is to say, those of the imperialist bourgeoisie and/or of the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and landlords in the oppressed nations—which is a tiny minority compared to the vast majority of men, women and children who are facing exploitation worldwide. Given the crisis, this is becoming clearer to the masses. The central task of any revolution is to radically destroy the state apparatus and, thereafter, to build on its ruins a new and radically different state, with the objective of building socialism as a means of transition to communism. In other words, revolution is the only answer to the crisis!

Today, the proletariat and the masses are struggling and rebelling in many countries. These rebellions are expressed in different and varying ways: through general strikes, by fighting against high prices, against layoffs, for the right to work, against the crushing of militant trade unions, for the right to land, to protect the environment, through occupation of housing and empty land, youth rebellions against police violence and a life without work and without future, struggles of women, etc.

In the Arab countries, after the uprisings that lacked a revolutionary leadership, the ruling classes and imperialism are regaining control of the situation in the name of “democracy;” they are enforcing the same rule of exploitation against the people by opposing the continuation of the revolutionary process. The protest movement’s focus is being diverted by imperialist interventions, by reactionary forces, by secular or religious reformists crushed bloodily.
In the Arab oppressed countries, as well as in all the colonial and semi-colonial countries, it has become more and more important to develop the New Democratic Revolution, as part of the socialist revolution.

In the imperialist countries, the “Occupy” movement is reflecting the massive discontent of the people, but it does not sufficiently challenge the system in its entirety.
These proletarian struggles and rebellions are not revolutionary in and of themselves but they are a first step in the realization by the masses of the necessity of revolution. However it is important to unmask the path and illusions of a peaceful change, alternation, deceitful elections.

Today’s communists (the Maoists) must participate in and gradually take the lead of those struggles. They must build the revolutionary force of the proletariat at the ideological, political and organizational levels, and especially the three essential tools
of revolution: a Maoist Communist Party, a revolutionary United Front, and an Armed Force, according to the particular situation.

We must struggle against reformists, revisionists and opportunists who lead the protest struggles with a conciliatory spirit in the existing trade unions and mass organizations; they only offer “solutions” within the current capitalist and imperialist system, spreading the illusion among the masses that the electoral and peaceful path may be a solution for the proletariat and the masses to overcome the crisis. They are an obstacle to the expansion of class struggle and the organization of the working class and the masses for revolution.

Meanwhile, the reactionaries are using differences of origin, religion and racism to divide the proletariat, the working class and the popular masses, as a trick to preserve their power.

Everywhere we must popularize and support the people’s wars currently being waged as spearhead of the fight against the crisis of imperialism. Led by the CPI (Maoist), the People’s War in India is successfully resisting attacks from the enemy and is managing to expand and grow. The People’s War is also unfolding in the Philippines under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, which upholds Maoism. In Peru, it is continuing despite the action from a liquidationist current. In Turkey, the revolutionary struggle led by the Maoists is advancing in accordance with the people’s war strategy. In other countries, new initiatives and advances are in preparation.

We must fight in a situation of uneven development to end the capitalist system over the whole world and build a new world free from exploitation, from peoples’ oppression and deadly wars, for a socialist and communist world.

We must work to rebuild the international organization of communists, based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; we must apply MLM to the concrete reality of today, to jointly develop the struggle for revolution and establishing a Communist International of a new type.

Long Live Internationalist May Day!
Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!

Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan;
The Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan responds to the Avakianites

http://moufawad-paul.blogspot.co.uk/ November 23, 2012

The Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan [CmPA] has begun its response to that pompous 58 page critique the Revolutionary Communist Party USA [RCP-USA] which was sent to the Afghanis and those international revolutionary parties and organizations who have been trying to restart the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement [RIM]. In the process of this restarting, the CmPA and other organizations have launched significant theoretical attacks against the RCP-USA's "Avakianite"
revisionism (a term that is indeed used by the CmPA in its current response) and thus the RCP-USA, eager to defend its dogmatic obsession with a theoretical deviation that is neither "new" or a very significant "synthesis", wrote over 50 pages attacking the international maoist movement.

Although I am generally of the mind that people should just ignore the RCP-USA now since, whatever its past significance, it is now a dwindling and cultish organization filled with dogmatists who, incapable of critical thought, are similar in form to the Spartacist League. At the same time, however, because of its past in the RIM and connection to other organizations—because its "new synthesis" is now wreaking havoc in organizations like the Communist Party of Iran (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist)—it is worth confronting. Better yet, the CmPA's response to the RCP-USA is similar to those polemical exchanges Marx and Engels would have had, for example, with Proudhon and Duhring; now we do not read The Poverty of Philosophy or Anti-Duhring primarily because they are responses to Proudhon and Duhring—we read them because of the theoretical content they exposit in the process of their response.

Indeed, there is a lot of important theoretical content in the first chapter of the CmPA's response to the RCP-USA that it is worth reading for its own sake. (And yes, this giant document is only the first chapter of a serialized response.) Due to this importance, and because the formatting on the CmPA's home-page is rather messy, I'm providing a link to a clean pdf copy where the formatting is fixed up for english readers:

Download PDF of "A Response to the RCP-USA" by the Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan.

What I find most interesting in this part of the CmPA's response to the RCP-USA is that it spends a lot of time examining the dialectical tension of "continuity-rupture" which I have often discussed on this blog and elsewhere. They also outline what they mean by "post-MLM" and why their claim that "post-MLM" is revisionism is not due to unimaginative dogmatism but to their belief that people who ascribe to this post-MLM theory (paradigmatically, for the document, the RCP-USA, but they feel it also applies to a general revisionist tendency) are engaged in rupturing from Marxism as a whole by refusing to recognize any historical continuity. Thus, whereas the RCP-USA had sophistically accused the
CmPA of ignoring the dialectical unity of "continuity-rupture", the CmPA responds by outlining what this dialectical unity is (even giving a brief explanation of dialectics) and demonstrating that the RCP-USA's argument is dishonest and rhetorical because the RCP-USA, in the very act of flaunting this concept to attack their theoretical enemies, are actually not recognizing this dialectical unity.

I look forward to the next chapters and hope that, when the document is finished, the CmPA will consider collecting the entire document into a single booklet.

OTHER GROUPINGS HAD AN OPINION .................

An Open Letter to Maoist and Revolutionary Organizations

MIM (Prisons) | April 2013

The Maoist Internationalist Ministry of Prisons (MIM(Prisons)), a communist organization in the United States which formed out of the legacy of the Maoist Internationalist Movement (MIM), announces support for and echoes the urgency of the main ideas in the below statement from the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Movement (RAIM). In particular, we recognize the importance of fighting First Worldism, which incorrectly identifies the petty bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries as a part of the international proletariat. First Worldism has played an important role in undermining the building of socialism worldwide. A correct class analysis is critical to all successful revolutionary movements.

MIM(Prisons) refrains from being an outright signatory of this statement because of what it leaves out. In this dialogue within the International Communist Movement (ICM), we would add that we do not see the legacy of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) as a positive one. As the original MIM pointed out over the many years since the formation of the RIM, it was always a force for revisionism rather than a force for revolution. Revolutionary parties seeking to re-establish the RIM should take heed of the mistakes that were inherent in the RIM design and political line from the start. There is no value in resurrecting a revisionist organization.

Further, we challenge our comrades in Maoist organizations around the world to examine closely what Mao wrote back in 1943 on the question of dissolving the
International. We do not believe that conditions have changed since that time so that a new International will be a positive development. Instead we uphold the original MIM position that "The world's communist parties should compare notes and sign joint declarations, but there are no situations where a party should submit to international discipline through a world party. Where various Maoist parties from different nationalities have the same goal, they will then coordinate their actions in joint struggle. This will occur in the case of the united states when several nationalities come to exert joint dictatorship over it. Of course there will be some form of temporary organizational discipline at international conferences, but such discipline should not extend to what gets done in the various countries by the various Maoist parties."("Resolutions on Vanguard Organizing." 1995 MIM Congress.)

A Letter to Maoist and Revolutionary Organizations

the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Movement
[This letter has been co-signed by the Turkish group, İştirakî, and the pan-Indigenous web-project, Onkwehón:we Rising]

Recently the Communist Party of Italy (Maoist) called for the convening of an international meeting of Maoist organizations. This call comes some years after the RIM collapsed following the development of evident revisionism within two of its leading organizations, the RCP-USA and the UCPN.

Comrades! Let us carry out and celebrate the firm break with the revisionism emanating from the leadership of the RCP-USA and the UCPN. In doing so, let us reaffirm our defining points of unity based on the experience of class struggle and distilled into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

These include:

1. All of history is the result of the development of the means of production and the struggle between classes over their ownership and use.
2. Under capitalism, labor is utilized for the sake of profit. Capital is accumulated surplus labor turned against the masses of workers.
3. That capitalist-imperialism entails the indirect and direct exploitation of the majority of people by dominant monopoly capital and reveals widening contradictions inherent in capitalism.
4. The only alternative to the continued barbarism of imperialism is the struggle for socialism and communism. Broadly speaking, people's wars and united fronts are the most immediate, reliable means to struggle for communism.
5. Socialism entails the forceful seizure of power by the proletariat. However, socialism is not the end of the struggle. Under socialism, the conditions exist for the development of a 'new bourgeoisie' which will seek to establish itself as a new ruling class. In order to counter this
tendency, class struggle must be waged relentlessly under socialism through the development of communism.

These are points all Maoists can agree on. Yet these do not capture all significant features of today's world.

Comrades! A discourse and struggle over the nature of class under imperialism is sorely needed.

The Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Movement puts forward a line that includes the understanding that a majority section of the populations of imperialist countries are embourgeoisied.

This embourgeoisification often contours around national oppression cast in the history of colonialism and settler-colonialism. It is most wholly construed, however, as an ongoing global distinction between parasitic workers in imperialist core economies and exploited workers in the vast Third World periphery.

Though understandings of this split in the working class was popularized as the 'labor-aristocracy' by Lenin, the phenomenon itself was first noted by Friedrich Engels in a letter to Karl Marx:

"[T]he English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that the ultimate aim of this most bourgeois of all nations would appear to be the possession, alongside the bourgeoisie, of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat. In the case of a nation which exploits the entire world this is, of course, justified to some extent."

With some exceptions, Marxists have focused and debated primarily on the ideological effects of the controversial 'theory of the labor aristocracy.' Unfortunately, less attention has been paid to the economic dimensions of the 'labor aristocracy.'

Within the imperialist world-economy, First World workers (a minority of workers in the world) receive compensation which exceeds the monetary rate of the full value of labor. In effect, First World workers are a section of the petty-bourgeoisie due to the fact that they consume a greater portion of social labor than they concretely expend. This difference is made up with the super-exploitation of Third World workers. Because prices (including those of labor power) deviate from values, this allows First World firms to obtain profits at equivalent rates while still paying 'their' workers a wage above the full monetary rate of labor value. The First World workers' compensation above the monetary rate of the full labor value is also an investment, i.e., a structural means of by which surplus value is saturated and concentrated in the core at the expense of the periphery.

The structural elevation of First World workers also has strong implications for the struggle for communism.
One of the most dangerous and devastatingly popular misconceptions is that social and political reforms can raise the material standard of living for Third World workers up to the level enjoyed by First World workers.

The illusion that Third World peoples can 'catch up' with imperialist countries through various reforms is objectively aided by the common yet false First Worldist belief that First World workers are exploited as a class.

If, as the First Worldist line states, First Worloder workers have attained high wages through reformist class struggle and advanced technology, then Third World workers should be able to follow a similar route towards a capitalism modeled after ‘advanced capitalist countries.’ By claiming that a majority of First Worlders are exploited proletarians, First Worldism creates the illusion that all workers could create a similar deal for themselves without overturning capitalism. By obscuring the fundamental relationship between imperialist exploitation of Third World workers and embourgeoisification of First World workers, First Worldism actually serves to hinder the tide of proletarian revolution internationally.

Another long-term implication of the global division of workers is the ecological consequences of the inflated petty-bourgeois lifestyles enjoyed by the world’s richest 15-20%. First World workers currently consume and generate waste at a far greater rate than is ecologically sustainable. The First Worldist line, which effectively states First World workers should have even greater capacity to consume under a future socialism (that is, First Worldists believe First Worlders are entitled to an even greater share of social product than they currently receive), has obvious utopian qualities which can only misguide the proletariat over the long term.

It is safe to say that First Worldism is the root cause of the problems associated with the Revolutionary Communist Party-USA (RCP-USA) and the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (UCPN).

The RCP-USA, desiring some positive significance to offset its terminal failure to organize what it sees as a U.S. proletariat, chose to intervene in various international issues. This typically occurred to the disservice of the proletarian struggle. Now the RCP-USA heavily promotes Bob Avakian and his 'New Synthesis.' This 'New Synthesis' is better described as an old bag of revisionisms. Today, the RCP-USA, Bob Avakian, and his revisionist 'New Synthesis' is a distraction from many of the important issues facing the international proletariat.

The UCPN has given up the path of global socialism and communism. It has instead sought to conciliate and collude with imperialism in hopes of achieving conditions for class-neutral development. It foolishly assumes monopoly capital will allow it [to] be anything but 'red' compradors or that Nepal will become anything other than a source of super-exploited labor. The UCPN has abrogated the task of constructing an independent economic base and socialist foreign policy. It has instead embarked hand-in-hand with monopoly capital on a path they wrongly believe will lead to progressive capitalist development.

Through the examples set forth by both the RCP-USA and the UCPN, it is evident how First Worldism corrupts even nominal Maoists into becoming promulgators of the most
backwards revisionisms. The RCP-USA is deceptive and wrong in its claim that it is organizing a U.S. proletariat. In reality it wrecks the international communist movement for the sake of the U.S. petty-bourgeois masses. The UCPN, whose leadership falsely believes capitalist development will bring positive material effects for the masses of Nepal, has abandoned the struggle for socialism and communism. The RCP-USA claims to represent what it wrongly describes as an exploited U.S. proletariat. The UCPN takes great inspiration in the level of material wealth attained by what it wrongly assumes to be an exploited First World proletariat.

Comrades! Our analysis must start with the questions, "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends?" These questions must be answered foremost in the structural sense (i.e., how do groups fundamentally relate to the process of capital accumulation), secondly in the historical sense (i.e., what can history tell us about such class divisions and their implications for today), and lastly in a political sense, (i.e., given what we know about the complex nature of class structures of modern imperialism, how can we best organize class alliances so as to advance the revolutionary interests of the proletariat at large).

First Worldism is a fatal flaw. It is both a hegemonic narrative within the 'left' and a trademark of reformism, revisionism, and chauvinism. Unfortunately, First Worldism is all-too-common within international Maoism.

Comrades! The consistent struggle against First Worldism is an extension of the communist struggle against both social chauvinism and the theory of the productive forces. As such, it is the duty of all genuine Communists to struggle against First Worldism.

Comrades! First Worldism has already done enough damage to our forces internationally. Now is the time to struggle against First Worldism and decisively break with the errors of the past.

The importance of knowing "who are our enemies" and "who are our friends" never goes away. Instead, those who fail in these understandings are prone to wider deviations. Gone unchecked, First Worldism sets back the struggle for communism.

Comrades! We hope the topics of class under imperialism and the necessity of the struggle against First Worldism come up as specific points of future discussion within and between Maoist organizations. The raising of these questions and the firm refutation of First Worldism will mark a qualitative advance for international communism.

Death to imperialism!

Long live the victories of people's wars!

Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Movement

*
The international unity of the Communists requires the defeat of revisionism and centrism!

Joint declaration from MLM organisation to defend and promote marxism-leninism-maoism


The impetuous rise of class struggle in the world has exposed the subjected capitulation of prachandist revisionism in Nepal and the disappearance of the leading role of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement – RIM. It has appeared that the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) – CPN (M), being a RIM member, has raised in the name of Maoism against Marxism Leninism Maoism, clutching a revisionist platform of renunciation of destroying the old reactionary state, of betraying the People’s War by renouncing to it, by disarming the people, by dismantling the bases of popular power already conquered and by dissolving its People’s Liberation Army in the reactionary army of exploiters, and finally by merging with the revisionist party Mashal in the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) – UCPN (M), and by compromising with all others opportunist parties to defend the class dictatorship of the landlords, the bourgeoisie and imperialism, and to serve to run over the people. It is likewise evident that the Committee of the RIM has, remaining silent facing the revisionist line and the betrayal carried out by the CPN (M), resigned in practice the role of being the international leading center, and compromising the prestige of the RIM.

It has cost a high price to the world revolution and the international unity of the communists, allowing the coexistence of opportunistic trends within the RIM, by the incorrect method of restrict the lines struggle, and hiding the discussions to the International Communist Movement – ICM and to the world proletariat.

Hence, facing the new problems caused by the deep world contradictions of imperialism in the last decades, both the CPN (M) and the Revolutionary Communist Party of the United States, seeing only the living appearance of imperialism without going to the very agonizing core of capitalism, have reached to the same revisionist conclusion: to declare null and void the principles of revolutionary
Marxism, and insufficient the universal theory of Marxism Leninism Maoism to solve the problems of the revolution in this century and, therefore, declared it overstepped in its “novel” revisionist theories, made today under the ostentatious name of “Avakian’s new synthesis”.

Contrary to its hopelessness pessimism in the proletariat and in the revolution, the new problems of our times have unleashed the world forces of work against the imperialist parasitism, showing the orphanhood of a world communist leadership, and with it the urgency for the international unity of the marxist leninist maoists.

Against such a need that requires to differentiate and to break completely with opportunism, rises again the familiar centrist tendency known in the history of communist movement for its “conciliator” role between Marxism and revisionism. A centrist tendency, headed today by the Communist Party (Maoist) of Italy, direct continuation of the centrism in the RIM yesterday, and mainly in its Committee.

In the open bourgeois degeneration of prachandism, the centrists, who yesterday praised his theory, ignored the treason in Nepal and supported bourgeois parliamentarism of the PCNU (M), declare today themselves to be against Prachanda, but actually without breaking with prachandism.

They remain supporters of a fraction of prachandism that no longer recognizes Prachanda as leader, but Kiran. They repudiate the current symbolic acts of Bhattarai and Prachanda in the surrender of the revolution, but deny the revisionist nature of the party and escape its responsibility in the real political betrayal of People’s War conducted in the Peace Agreement of 2006.

Centrism both reconciles and calls “red” a fraction of the revisionist right in Nepal, and fights angry against the revolutionary communists whom are called “dogmatic-revisionists” and “opportunistic liquidators” for their struggle against revisionism and centrism.

It fears the complete rupture, ideological, political and organizational, with the revisionist line of the UCPN (M), a condition without which it is not possible to conceive a true revolutionary line in Nepal, able to return to the People’s War and lead it, to conquer the triumph of the Revolution of New Democracy in the whole country.

Before the visible collapse of the RIM, centrism that yesterday gave legitimacy to the silent complicity, now denies that the RIM was defeated by the revisionist line which it was unable to fight in their midst, and attempts to revive it with the support of UCPN (M), but without the hegemony of the RCP, USA.

Thus, centrism hides the main danger that represents revisionism for the unity of the ICM, minimizing its treason to the world proletariat and its outrages against the people of Nepal, opaque the vision of the communists and prevents the workers of the world to clearly understand the role of revisionism in the
defeat of their political movement, contributing to keep them away from the political problems of their revolution.

It is our unwavering commitment to fight for the international unity of the Marxist Leninist Maoists, which requires the demolition of the false revisionist theories and the eclectic positions of centrism, drawing a deep demarcation between Marxism and opportunism in the whole general line of the International Communist Movement, as firm foundation of unity to build the new International that has to lead the grandiose battles of the world proletarian revolution against imperialism and all its lackeys.

¡AGAINST REVISIONISM AND CENTRISM: LONG LIVE MARXISM LENINISM MAOISM!¡FOR A NEW COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL BASED ON MARXISM LENINISM MAOISM: FORWARD!

December 26th – 2011

Arab Maoists
ColectivoOdio de Clase – Estado Español
Parti Communiste Marxiste-Léniniste-Maoïste – France
Partido Comunista del Ecuador Sol Rojo
Partido Comunista del Perú – Base Mantaro Rojo
Partido Comunista Popular Maoista – Argentina
Partido Comunista (Marxista-Leninista) de Panamá
Proletarian Party of East Bengal (PBSP) (Maoist Unity Group)/Bangladesh
Unión Obrera Comunista (MLM) – Colombia

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Are avakianism and prachandism the same? The error of the MPP


The MPP is the Peru's People's Movement, organism generated by the Communist Party of Peru for the work abroad. It organized a conference in Madrid a couple of days ago, and took a firm position against what is called new revisionism.
It looks like the come back to the “good old” MPP, who demolishes ideologically the revisionists, calling to the People’s War in each country, like we saw it in the 1990’s.

But as each thing has two aspects, a question must be risen here. Because the problem is the following and easy to understand: the MPP did not produce an ideological criticism of prachandism.

During the period where Prachanda and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) took the lead of the maoist international structure, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), the MPP did not react openly.

The MPP rejected open criticism as a method which would not be correct. Moreover, the MPP produced numerous common documents with Rossoperaio / Maoist Communist Party of Italy, which became the central organizer of centrism.

Because of the lack of open criticism of Prachanda, it has been others revolutionary structures which opened the fire. The CPMLM [France] criticized Prachanda as early as September 2005, but anyway numerous others organisations criticized prachandism, like the Union of Revolutionary Communists (MLM) of Chile and of course the UOC (MLM) (Communist Worker Union) of Colombia.

The UOC (MLM) took the lead, at the international level, of the rejection of prachandism. Expressions of this were the first of May appeal in 2011, or of course the call of December 2011: THE INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF THE COMMUNISTS REQUIRES THE DEFEAT OF REVISIONISM AND CENTRISM!

The MPP has totally miss this, and it has to accept this. The line of not making a public criticism to prachandism did not help at all. The fact of “forgetting” the existence of a criticism of prachandism openly made is not correct neither.

And because of this, the MPP makes the mistake nowadays of explaining that avakianism and prachandism are, finally, the same thing. This is not true and ideologically wrong.

The Avakian faction - RCP, USA; Sarbedaran; TKP/ML Maoist Merkezi - led the Committee of the RIM, but was replaced by the pro-Prachanda faction (Rossoperaio that became Maoist Communist Party of Italy, TKP(ML) that became MKP of Turkey – North Kurdistan, RCP of Canada).

Then, the Prachandists just gave up the RIM, and the Maoist Communist Party of Italy decided to rebuild it.

There never was an avakianist-prachandist unified faction. There was a major change in the RIM due to the hegemony of the CPN (Maoist) and Prachanda.

But the MPP does not recognize this. The MPP, in fact, has the same line about the RIM as in 1992, as the Communist Party of Peru considered itself as the red fraction in the RIM, whereas the RCP USA and Avakian were considered as the black line.

But things changed totally: the avakianist faction lost its position, and in the process of prachandist hegemony, there was anyway no RIM anymore.

Of course, avakianism and prachandism looks quite the same, and forms both what must be called New Revisionism. The MPP has certainly right: once that the question of Direction – Jefatura – is understood, there is no place for New Revisionism, and prachandism is quite the same as avakianism: ideological eclecticism, ultra-democratism, etc. etc.
But there are differences, and we have to see them, what the MPP does not and there is a political reason for that: the MPP focuses unilaterally on avakianism, because it missed the struggle against prachandism.

And because it missed the struggle against prachandism, it misses the struggle against centrism, i.e. the faction that did not break in a complete manner with prachandism, that refused to denounce Prachandism until the last moment, that has spread illusion on a “red faction” in the revisionist Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

But how can something new be born without a proper historical materialist approach? Is it scientific to “forget” the UOC MLM, to “forget” the numerous attacks endured by the Odio de Clase Collective, because of its rejection of prachandism?

Is it correct to make as if the 2011 call THE INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF THE COMMUNISTS REQUIRES THE DEFEAT OF REVISIONISM AND CENTRISM! never existed?

No, this is not correct.

And during the hegemony of Prachandism and the time just after, those who refused Centrism were sharply under attack. The MPP did not defend them, and now it is “forgetting” this period of history of the International Communist Movement.

So, what can we do? We can have the same fear like before: in the past, the MPP tolerated centrism, so that it can be in a Maoist international centre, as a “red fraction”, like before in the RIM.

That is why, whereas the RIM was already dead in the 2000's, the MPP called to a conference of the RIM, two line struggle in the RIM, etc. The RIM was like a fetish.

But life always triumphs. The RIM divided in a post-Maoist pro-Avakian faction and in a faction organized around the Maoist Communist Party of Italy (the “Maoist Road” project).

Either the “Maoist Road” project is correct, and then their call to an international Maoist Conference, without a base determined in advance, is what is needed, to unify all Maoist currents and structures.

Or, there is the need first to refuse centrism in the question of prachandism. But it is the position of the 2011 call THE INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF THE COMMUNISTS REQUIRES THE DEFEAT OF REVISIONISM AND CENTRISM! which was useful, and this need to be say.

Of course, it is possible that the MPP brings much more than that. But to exist ideologically, this proposal must be slot in political reality.

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Gran Marcha Hacia el Comunismo  |  August 8th 2012
BUILD AN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT FIRMLY FOUNDED IN THE PRINCIPLES OF MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM AND IN OPPOSITION TO REVISIONISM AND ALL FORMS OF RIGHT AND “LEFT” OPPORTUNISM.

In its statement on the occasion of May 1st 2012, Gran Marcha Hacia el Comunismo (Long March Towards Communism) stated that: “(...) today the communists, the marxists-leninist-maoists and revolutionaries of Spain, must support the efforts of those marxist-leninist-maoist parties and organizations that in different countries struggle against the new variants of revisionism and opportunism (prachandism, avakianism, etc.) and the ideological, political and organizational unity of the marxists-leninists-maoists of the world can therefore continue being promoted in order to give solution to the problems the world proletarian revolution faces in the Twenty-first Century”.

In this sense, Gran Marcha Hacia el Comunismo considers that Resolutions 1 and 2 of the Special Meeting of parties of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) for an international Conference of marxist-leninist-maoist parties and organizations of the world of May 1st 2012, are an important step in the struggle of the marxists-leninists-maoists to face and give a response to the crisis that led to the collapse of RIM (the highest organizative form which the marxist-leninist-maoist parties and organizations of the world had endowed), due principally to the errors and attitude of the RIM Committee who blocked the accomplishment of the tasks it had marked itself and, in consequence, RIM not being able to fulfill the tasks it had assumed.

This is the reason why Gran Marcha Hacia el Comunismo supports the proposal made of calling an international conference to reactivate and reorganize the necessary international organization of the marxists-leninists-maoists as well as organizing a seminar which draws up the balance of the experiences of RIM and the International
Communist Movement marxist-leninist-maoist, where the existing points of unity and differences between the different marxist-leninist-maoist parties and organizations are identified and discussed, advancing therefore to the goal of conforming an international of new type founded in the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which will allow to place itself at the forefront of the struggles of the proletariat and peoples of the world and prepare and develop the new wave of proletarian world revolution.

Within this balance and points of discussion, Gran Marcha Hacia el Comunismo considers that the marxist-leninist-maoist parties, organizations and nucleus should include in the debate topics such as for example:

- The spreading amongst the proletariat and peoples masses of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the science of proletarian revolution.
- The lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1969) and the reasons which allowed the followers of the capitalist road to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat after the counter-revolutionary coup following the death of Mao Tse-tung in 1976.
- Study the question of Lin Piao and the reasons for his elimination in 1971, basing upon the principle of seek truth from facts.
- The struggle against revisionism and all forms of right and “left” opportunism and bourgeoisie ideologies in the bosom of the working class and peoples movement (anarchism, trotskyism, etc),
- The experience of the RIM Committee and lessons for a future international leading organ of the marxists-leninists-maoists.
- Balance and experiences of the magazine “A World to Win”.
- How to help in establishing marxist-leninist-maoist parties where they already do not exist.
- The work of the international magazine “Maoist Road” and its diffusion as a tool to help in the ideological, political and organizational unity of the marxists-leninists-maoists.

Gran Marcha Hacia el Comunismo considers that this debate should be based in the teachings of the Chinese communists led by Mao Tse-tung who, in a day like today 46 years ago, in the historical Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, they wrote in its point 6: “The method to be used in debates is to present the facts, reason things out, and persuade through reasoning. Any method of forcing a minority holding different views to submit is impermissible. The minority should be
protected, because sometimes the truth is with the minority. Even if the minority is wrong, they should still be allowed to argue their case and reserve their views. When there is a debate, it should be conducted by reasoning, not by coercion or force. In the course of debate, every revolutionary should be good at thinking things out for himself and should develop the communist spirit of daring to think, daring to speak and daring to act”.

Acting in this way, we marxists-leninist-maoists will be able to reach the root of the problems the International Communist Movement faces, and, as the Declaration of the Revolutionary International Movement wrote in 1984: “At the present juncture of world history, the international proletariat has to take up the challenge of forming its own organization, an International of a new type based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, assimilating the valuable experience of the past. And this goal must be boldly proclaimed before the international proletariat and the oppressed of the world with the same revolutionary daring of our predecessors from the Communards of Paris to the proletarian rebels of Shanghai who dared to storm heaven and resolved to do the “impossible” –build a communist world.”

The International Communist Movement will develop and strengthen in spite of all difficulties, because it extracts its force from the invincible theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the powerful storms of class struggle. The revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat and oppressed peoples will crush imperialism and put an end to the capitalist society of oppression and exploitation. Proletarian revolution will triumph in the whole world.

Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic Revolution!
Workers of the world unite!
Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!
Long live proletarian internationalism!

Madrid (Spain), 8 August 2012

* OPEN LETTER TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Peru People’s Movement * Reconstruction Committee, Communist Party of Ecuador * Organization of the workers of Afghanistan (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist) * Communist Party of Chile | October 19, 2013
LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM, UNIVERSAL IDEOLOGY OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT!

We, the signatories of this letter, salute all the communists and revolutionaries of the glorious International Communist Movement. We do so with the goal of serving to overcome the present situation of dispersion, to reach unity based on the proletarian principles, with the only proletarian and Marxist method; the two line struggle between the proletarian and the bourgeois line. We consider that one of the main objectives of such unity has to be laying down the foundations for the future formation of a new Communist International, but we recognize that it cannot be formed on the basis of conciliation between the proletarian and the bourgeois line, but only on the basis of a general line forged in struggle against the revisionism of today and forged in the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, to the concrete conditions of every revolution by Communist Parties who lead people’s war.

As the starting point of our unity, we put forward the following points.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, is the third, new and higher stage of Marxism, the universal ideology of the international proletariat. We reaffirm ourselves in that it is our all-powerful scientific ideology, all-powerful because it is true, a product of the class struggle and of the “fierce and fruitful two line struggles inside the Communist Parties themselves and the immense work of titans of thought and action that only the class could generate”. It is the duty of every communist to uphold, defend and apply Maoism, impose it as the only command and guide of the world proletarian revolution, and crush every attempt to revise it or question its universal validity. Furthermore, we reaffirm ourselves in that Maoism, that in itself has its origin in the application of Marxism-Leninism to concrete conditions, principally of the Chinese revolution, today must be applied in a creative way to the concrete conditions of each country. Without the concrete application, expressed in program and general political line for each revolution, forged in struggle crushing opposing lines, the door is left open to pragmatism, conciliation, revisionism and opportunism.

We reject and crush Avakian’s so-called “new synthesis”, which tries to establish in “Marxist” terminology the same hoax as the general counterrevolutionary offensive of imperialism: that “Marxism has failed”, and that it is therefore necessary to “re-evaluate” it and revise it. We reaffirm ourselves in the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist principle of revolutionary violence as a universal law without any exception; the revolution as the violent replacement of one class by another, in the great thesis of Chairman Mao: “political power grows out of the barrel of a gun”, in the principle “without the power, all is illusion”, and in that the power is the fundamental point of Maoism. It is indispensable to continue the implacable struggle against the revisionist thesis of “peaceful transition” and parliamentary cretinism, which today are still being spread more than ever by imperialism, reaction and revisionism in order to disarm the world revolution, today in a more systematic way, through a whole system of
revisionist organizations, NGO’s and “peace accords” led by imperialism. We reject the miserable treason of Prachanda and the other revisionists in Nepal, who have sold themselves for a plate of beans in order to ride on the backs of the heroic masses who have given their lives for the revolution. The duty of the Nepalese communists today is to reconstitute the Party in order to initiate people’s war, and thus crush and sweep away the old state and all the so-called “Maoists” who have abandoned the road of the people’s war.

We reaffirm ourselves in that while it is still necessary to develop not only the illegal work, but the legal work as well, always serving the people’s war, in the world today the proletariat cannot use the bourgeois parliament to take power, nor as a tribune or as a “tactic”. All the experience of the ICM confirms that such a “tactic” only leads to weaken and destroy the Communist Party.

Likewise, we reaffirm ourselves in the **universal validity of the people’s war as the highest military theory and strategy of the international proletariat**, to be applied to the conditions of each country, imperialist countries as well as oppressed countries. We reject the revisionist thesis that the “accumulation of forces” and the “insurrection” can replace the protracted people’s war in the imperialist countries. Likewise, we reject the criteria of focusing on the defensive aspect of the revolutionary violence, turning it into its principal aspect, saying that “we do not want violence, we only apply it because the reaction attacks us”. It is a criteria that starts from the idea that “the masses do not want people’s war”, that aims to hide our intentions, that leads to opportunism and to spreading illusions and pacifism among the people.

We assume the indispensable task of struggling for the reconstitution of the Communist Parties in the whole world as Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist Parties, made to initiate and develop people’s war, throughout the democratic revolution (in the semicolonial and semifeudal countries), the socialist revolution and the successive cultural revolutions until our final goal Communism.

Today more than ever we must reaffirm ourselves in that the Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat, that is the organization of the most advanced members of the most advanced class. The Communist Party has mass character, but it is not the so-called “mass party”, but a **“party of militants, of leaders, a war machine just as Lenin himself demanded”***. Today more than ever it is indispensable to struggle against the revisionist thesis of the “party of the whole people”, that today is expressed once more in the attempts of new revisionism to attack the proletarian leadership of the revolution.

Concerning the United Front, we reaffirm ourselves in the Marxist thesis of the United Front as a front of the revolutionary classes, led by the proletariat through its Communist Party, a front to conquer the power through people’s war. The front is inseparably united with the new state, that is, in the semicolonial and semifeudal countries, the **joint dictatorship of the workers, peasants, mainly poor peasants, and petty bourgeoisie, that respects the interests of the middle bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the proletariat represented by the Party that applies its hegemony through the worker-peasant alliance**. We reject the attempts of new revisionism to undermine and question the proletarian leadership of the Front, applying instead the bourgeois “multi-party system”, applying the revisionist thesis “two unite into one” and conciliation instead of imposing the proletarian leadership and the worker-peasant alliance as the foundation of the Front, and taking the Marxist thesis of respecting the interests of the middle bourgeoisie as a pretext for allowing the bourgeoisie to take or participate in the leadership.
We, the signatories of this letter, call all the Communist Parties and revolutionary organizations to struggle for the evaluation of the application of Maoism. If we are Marxists, such an evaluation cannot be done in conciliation, but only with two line struggle. It is necessary that each Party and organization analyze and synthesize not only their internal struggles, their whole history of crushing revisionist lines within their ranks, but also that they take position on the history of the struggle within the ICM and the RIM. As part of this process, we point out that the main problem of the RIM has been the problems of the leadership, that is the CoRIM and the hegemonist positions and the destructive role of the RCP(USA) in it. We reject the obscure work of the RCP and its followers to isolate and slander the PCP and its Great leadership Chairman Gonzalo, and their collusion with imperialism and reaction in spreading the hoax of the “peace accords” in Peru. The campaign of isolation against the PCP and its Great leadership, that continues to have repercussions today, objectively forms part of the plans of imperialism, mainly yankee imperialism, against the revolution in Peru. One may agree with the positions of the PCP or not, but what the communists of the world must do today to combat this reactionary plan is to recognize the leadership of the PCP, its Central Committee and the whole Party, that today continues leading the people’s war under difficult circumstances, applying Gonzalo thought.

Concerning the world situation, we reaffirm ourselves in that there is a revolutionary situation in uneven development, and that the objective conditions for a bold advance of the communists are present. The problem is in the subjective conditions, i.e. in the present dispersion of the communists on world level and the influence of revisionism and opportunism. It is necessary that we communists advance not only in two line struggle, but that we develop our practice, that we take the initiative today, that we struggle together with the masses that are clamoring for proletarian leadership. We have the responsibility, in the oppressed countries and in the imperialist countries, to give the necessary proletarian leadership in the struggle against the imperialist aggression and against the intensification of exploitation and oppression in the whole world. We cannot leave the leadership in the hands of the petty bourgeoisie, we cannot abandon our Marxist principles in the struggle against the imperialist war or in the struggle for democratic rights. It is the duty of the communists in the imperialist countries to take up the task of developing and organizing the work in all fields – and not only in pronouncements and propaganda – against imperialism and its war machine inside the very belly of the beast.

**LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM, PRINCIPALLY MAOISM!**
**DOWN WITH REVISIONISM AND OPPORTUNISM!**
**DOWN WITH THE IMPERIALIST PLAN OF “PEACE ACCORDS”!**
**FOR THE RECONSTITUTION OF THE COMMunist PARTIES!**
**PEOPLE’S WAR UNTIL COMMUNISM!**

Madrid, October 19, 2013

*Signatories:*

Peru People’s Movement

Reconstruction Committee, Communist Party of Ecuador

Organization of the workers of Afghanistan (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist)
Communist Party of Chile

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