

Communism

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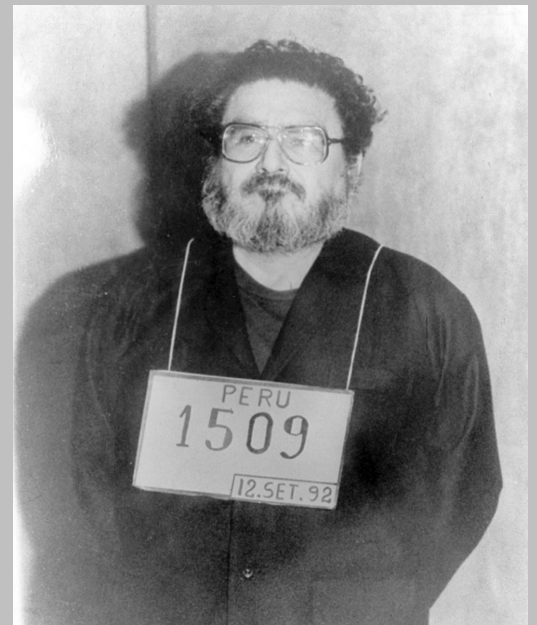
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editorial

Communism exists since 2016 and the great crisis that began in 2020 emphasizes the fact that what is at stake for humanity is its ability to raise its level of consciousness enough to face the challenges of an entire era.

From climate change to the animal condition, from the refinement of exploitation to the systematization of alienation, from threats to the Biosphere to the imperialist war... everything indicates that the question is global and that the only possible answer is therefore global also.



This answer is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the universal ideology of the proletariat, which is realized in each national framework through a guiding thought, which indicates the path to be followed in order to start, carry and make the People's War victorious. Each People's War is a component of the World People's War against the crisis, against restructuring, against fascism, against imperialist war: such is its strategic horizon.

It is therefore necessary to study the crisis, to know its modalities, to understand its global nature, to understand its demands. There is also here, internationally, a line struggle.

We call to follow
the websites :

vivelemaoisme.org
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Dialectical materialism, the process of changing in its opposite and the notion of center, of point of reference, of reference frame

Dialectical materialism considers that one thing can turn into its opposite. However, it is essential not to consider this to be some sort of displacement. Thus, the following diagram is wrong.



This diagram is wrong, because it implies that a thing is different from its opposite and that thus, turning into its opposite, there would be a transformation, a modification, a displacement. According to dialectical materialism, what happens is that the opposite of a thing is, at the same time, that thing. Thus, there is no “transformation” when one thing becomes its opposite.



This is obviously tricky to grasp. It was not until Mao Zedong that dialectical materialism understood this process sufficiently. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the fruit of this understanding: given that there is no “barrier” between a socialist China and a revisionist China, one should not imagine that revisionism would be based on a transformation, a modification, a displacement. The struggle was actually internal to Chinese society.

Hence the multiple aspects of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Stalin, in the USSR, considered that revisionism would pass through points of fixation, which would initiate a displacement, a modification, a transformation. This was not the case and his mistake was his insufficient understanding, due to historical reasons, of the process of causing one thing to turn into its opposite.

In the diagram showing the flawed approach, the arrows symbolize the problem. If we say, when something turns into its opposite, that there is a modification, then we say that a thing is absolutely separate from its opposite. To become its opposite, a phenomenon would have to know a whole operation, a whole movement.

We are so led to value the place of “passage”, we are obliged to consider that, for something to be able to change, there would need a “place”, an airlock, a point of connection.

And this is foreign to dialectical materialism. It is even quite precisely, from a historical point of view, the theoretical justification of God.

Before dialectical materialism, the hypothesis of God was unavoidable for mankind. Incapable of grasping the movement of matter, of grasping the contradiction (especially between quantity and quality), of grasping unequal development... mankind idealistically founded its reflection on the principle of creation, action and reaction.

For something to exist, for something to happen, in this conception, there needs to be an “ideal moment, a pure situation, a momentum (and indeed an outcome).

Hence the notion of the “divine” inspiration of the artistic or scientific “genius”, proceeding by “creation”, from nothing. This notion of creation implies that there is a “beginning” and an “end” to things that would be logically separated, isolated, different, unique, since “created.

Everything being what it is, and nothing else, for it to be able to change into its opposite (even admitting that it is possible), there needs to be a ground for it, an action. The conditions must be created.

In reality, one thing is also its opposite. This is true of socialism, which will be the same, even if reversed, of capitalism for a while, then of communism afterwards.

Socialism is indeed an overtaking of capitalism, that is to say its prolongation and its negation; at the same time, socialism is contrary to communism as it represents a more developed stage, towards which it naturally tends.

Communism itself will undergo transformations, becoming ever more complex with a series of internal oppositions. This is quite clear if we see the relationship with Nature, humanity having experienced an unequal development, leading it to be the opposite of Nature, and being at the same time this opposite, and becoming it again entirely again, in a more developed way.

Everything is always the opposite of something, being this opposite as well. The child has the adolescent he becomes as an opposite, the adolescent obtaining the fact of being an adult as the opposite, and so on. The adolescent is not the adult but at the same time he is it too, despite being his opposite.

We can see here that a multitude of derailments in human behavior stem from a misunderstanding of these qualitative differences and from a confusion about reality. Desires are directed towards a thing which is the opposite of a thing, with an assimilation of both, when in reality it is and is not this thing.

The adult man who turns to an adolescent derails because he confuses the adolescent with the woman, being in complete confusion about the thing and its opposite; the contradiction between man and woman can also be misunderstood and lead to disorientation where the thing is confused with its opposite.

There is of course also, even above all, a fetishistic attention to the notion of center, point of reference, reference frame. There is an inordinate value to the consideration that any phenomenon would have a “peak” corresponding to the transition from a one-sided rise to a unilateral descent.

There is an obsession with the search for a center, as in the Cartesian representation of a function (with values 0 and 0 on both axes). This is reproduced socially with the fascination for the one-sided leader, in the negation of the dialectical movement between the center and the base, but above all in the rejection of the universality of each thought which, ultimately reflects matter in motion.

This whole approach in terms of center, point of reference, frame of reference... is in fact used to reduce the complexity of phenomena, not to study their substance, to skirt the fact that any process, in its internal movement, obeys its own particular features, in a universal process of contradiction.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, with its multiple aspects, was precisely in China an operation to understand the modalities of the process of the transformation of red China into black China, in order to launch a counter-restoration to capitalist restoration. Its failure at the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 is a reminder that a counter-restoration can itself turn into its opposite, a counter-counter-restoration.

That this happened when Mao Zedong died may indicate that the error consisted in making him a center, a point of reference, a reference frame in the revolutionary apparatus, by failing to consider that it is a question of grasping all aspects of the transformation.

This question of changing from one thing to its opposite, of the absence of a place where to “move”, will require great attention in the future; it will make it possible to grasp essential aspects that are still not understood, such as viruses which are at the “crossroads” of living and dead by virtue of their qualities, forming a sort of nexus between life and death, without being able to be a center, a point of reference, a reference frame.

We have here the expression of a contradiction between the particular and the universal, but also the question of a deeper understanding of the fundamental interrelation of all the things which form, concretely, one and the same reality, an infinite and eternal universe composed of multiple layers like an onion, with movements like echoing waves.



The 1989–2020 capitalist expansion and the question of the productive forces

The formidable capitalist expansion of 1989-2020

Capitalism has experienced a tremendous development during the period 1989-2020; the standard of living of the masses has greatly increased, and this at the global level. There are of course pockets, sometimes very large, which have relatively avoided this. Nevertheless, both imperialist capitalism and bureaucratic capitalism gained such momentum that they succeeded in stifling the revolution.

Many data clearly show how there was a capitalist expansion, each time very specific, with new or enlarged markets. The development of meat consumption is quite emblematic here. The consumption of meat in the world was 145.3 million tonnes in 1983, 323 million tonnes in 2017 (we are talking about more than sixty billion animals per year). It involves planetary transformation. 30% of the land surface is used for intensive cattle breeding. Dairy animals linked to milk and meat represent 20% of all animal biomass. Would capitalism have been capable of such a transformation at the level of the Biosphere, if it had not grown? Obviously not.

Concrete is in this respect emblematic, since concretisation is an essential phenomenon of capitalist expansion. 6 billion m³ of concrete are produced each year; in three years (from 2011 to 2013), China consumed as much concrete as the United States during the whole of the twentieth century.

We can put this in relation to sand, which goes into the composition of the concrete. The extraction of sand from the seabed, mines and lakes amounts to forty billion tons per year. The same goes for cement, another element of

concrete. In the early 1990s, non-Western countries consumed 65% of the world's cement, now it is 90%. The main producers of the world's 4.6 billion tonnes of cement are China (57.5%), India, the United States, Iran, Brazil, Turkey.

We note the presence of India and Brazil, which we find also for steel. Humanity produces each year as much steel as during the decade 1945-1955. The main producers of the 1.8 billion tonnes of steel are China (almost 50%), India, Japan, the United States, South Korea, Russia, Turkey and Brazil. Similarly, if we take the world production of sugar cane, which was 448 million tonnes in 1961 and 1,907 million tonnes in 2018, we have Brazil in first place, having taken the place of India, now second.

Even if it is in a distorted or incomplete way in bureaucratic capitalist countries, capitalist expansion is general, systematic and aggressive, as evidenced by urban sprawl, which implies as a “model” the Western way of life.



Of course, it is absolutely impossible to generalize such a way of life, totally destructive for the planet: it would take several planets, serving only as resources, for this capitalist “utopia” to exist for the now 7.7 billion human beings (2.5 billion in 1950), who also now live mainly in an urban environment.

Anyway, without wanting to look too far, we just need to see that people in western countries use computers, smartphones and the internet, things that did not exist before the development of 1989-2020. Even in non-western countries there is a trend in this direction and black metal is listened to in Indonesia as in Bolivia, Instagram is used in Lagos as in Tehran.

The phenomenon of global migration, which has grown to immense proportions, illustrates this. There is a real wave of brain drain and of young men seeking to live in the capitalist El Dorado. Such a phenomenon would not exist if there was a real class struggle at the national level counterbalancing misery, if capitalism was dying. Migration is a direct expression of capitalist growth all over the world, but with a far too low growth locally “in comparison” to the Western countries.

Trotsky's insane conception of the productive forces

The ultra-left has the following conception: the world has been frozen since the Russian revolution, which is part of the world revolution; it failed but the process is still ongoing. So the only thing possible is that everything is frozen while waiting for the final success of the world revolution.

This conception stems from a totally erroneous reading of the first general crisis of capitalism at the beginning of the 20th century. The Communist International has never spoken of a “final” crisis of capitalism, but of a “general” crisis, with therefore relative counter-tendencies.

And if indeed the productive forces have remained similar in Europe, it has always been stressed that this was not the case neither in Japan nor in the United States, and that capitalist restructuring was aimed at relaunching capitalism in Europe itself (especially in Germany). The Communist International has been perfectly dialectical and certainly not one-sided.

Leon Trotsky was totally one-sided and in no way dialectical. In April 1939, in “Marxism in Our Time”, he asserts completely erroneously that the productive forces have ceased to grow. Here's how he presents this wacky design:

“The Decay of Capitalism

However expensive the control of the market has been to society, mankind up to a certain stage, approximately until the World War, grew, developed and enriched itself through partial and general crises.

The private ownership of the means of production continued to be in that epoch a comparatively progressive factor.

But now the blind control by the law of value refuses to render further service. Human progress is stuck in a blind alley.

Notwithstanding the latest triumphs of technical thought, the material productive forces are no longer growing.

The clearest and most faultless symptom of the decline is the world stagnation of the building industry, in consequence of the stoppage of new investments in the basic branches of economy.

Capitalists are simply no longer able to believe in the future of their own system.

Construction stimulated by the government means a rise in taxation and the contraction of the “untrammelled” national income, especially since the main part of the new government construction is directly designed for war purposes.

The marasmus has acquired a particularly malignant and degrading character in the most ancient sphere of human activity, the one most closely connected with the basic vital needs of man – in agriculture.

No longer satisfied with the obstacles which private ownership in its most reactionary form, that of small land holdings, places before the development of agriculture, capitalist governments see themselves not infrequently called upon to limit production artificially with the aid of statutory and administrative measures which would have frightened artisans in the guilds at the time of their decline.

It will be recorded in history that the government of the most powerful capitalist country granted premiums to farmers for cutting down on their planting, i.e., for artificially diminishing the already falling national income.

The results are self-evident: despite grandiose productive possibilities, secured by experience and science, agrarian economy does not emerge from a putrescent crisis, while the number of the hungry, the preponderant majority of mankind, continues to increase faster than the population of our planet.

Conservatives consider it sensible politics to defend a social order which has descended to such destructive madness and they

condemn the socialist fight against such madness as destructive Utopianism.”

Leon Trotsky had nothing understood of restructuration and imperialist war as a “way out” of the capitalist crisis.

The question of the situation between 1945-1975: the two Maoisms

This essential truth must be said and repeated. In the 1960s, when opposition to revisionism arose in Western countries, there was a complete split between two Maoisms. The first, who defines himself as Maoist, has a critique of everyday life, it notes that capitalism is expanding in the 1950s and 1960s, that there is a new way of life. It is thus sometimes linked to or stemming from the hippie movement, like the Weather Underground in the United States, the Red Army Fraction in Germany, or it is in any case extremely attentive to the same questions as the hippies, like the Red Brigades in Italy. Likewise, the French UJCML and the Gauche Prolétarienne raised the question of culture.

In any case, there has been a great deal of attention to the unions, as they were integrated into expanding capitalism; there was a fundamental reflection on the growing weight of subjectivity in the imperialist metropolises.



There was none of this in the second “Maoism”, the false Maoism, carried by people calling themselves “Marxist-Leninists” and imagining themselves living in the 1930s.

The horizon of these false anti-rebels revisionists never went beyond revolutionary syndicalism, they understood nothing of the social transformations underway, due to a cosmopolitan reading.

The “Maoist Communist Party” currently existing in Italy comes directly from a small “ML” group of the 1960s and 1970s: it maintained the “revolutionary trade unionist” course through an era marked by dozens of armed organizations and thousands of political prisoners ...

The first Maoism, the only truly authentic one, failed in its assertion, yet it represents the historical heritage of the Communists in the imperialist metropolises.

The “MLs”, even disguised as “Maoists”, continued to exist, more or less painfully, imagining that the world had not changed since 1930, and by anyway understand it like in a caricature...



2020 and the second general crisis of capitalism

The opening of the second general crisis of capitalism, through the intermediary of COVID-19, complicates matters even more, since it is necessary not only to understand the meaning of the capitalist expansion of 1945-1975, but also that of 1989-2020.

In fact, the second one was directly enabled by the collapse of Soviet social-imperialism and the integration of capitalist China into the world market. The crisis of the 1970s was thus postponed. Capitalism then experienced a new expansion, a new impetus, which runs up against the wall of reality.

If the first general crisis of capitalism was powerfully marked by the contradiction between manual labor and intellectual labor, the second crisis of capitalism has as its main aspect the contradiction between town and country.

There are basically only two points of view: the erroneous one imagining that capitalism has become imperialist at the beginning of the 21st century and that it has been “frozen”.

Since it has “maintained itself”, one must then fall into the ideology of imagining that capitalism is “organized”. This was what the Social Democrats said in the 1920s-1930s, this is what the revisionists said in the 1960s-1980s with the theory of “state monopoly capitalism”.

And there is the authentic communist point of view, which seeks to understand the tendencies and counter-tendencies of capitalism, in its historical dialectic. ■

Gonzalo - With light and happiness

There is a quote by Gonzalo, which is quite famous in the movement to support the People's War in Peru, and which stresses the dimension of the struggle as understood by him:

"We humans are mere fragments of time and heartbeats, but our deeds will remain for centuries stamped on generation after generation. We will people the Earth with light and happiness."

These words carry a very high ideological level, as always. Let's try to understand them in a proper way. For that purpose let's examine all the points that are to be understood :

1. each human is only a fragment of time and heartbeats;
2. the deeds of the humans do not disappear, but are carried throughout and by the generations that follow;
3. the Earth will be inhabited by "light and happiness."

The last point is, of course, the most complicated to understand. On the contrary, the first point is the easiest.

Gonzalo stresses here the materialistic definition of time. The question of time raised a lot of debates among materialists, idealists, and each religion gives a great importance to this question.

According to materialism, time is a way of measuring movement in space. There is no such thing as time in itself. That is why Gonzalo considers time through the aspect of "heartbeats": for each human, heartbeats are like a chronometer.

And this chronometer is so to speak "personal", as "time" does not exist in itself and this chronometer is only a fragment of "time", which is in fact the general movement of the universe.

There is a double aspect : on one side, each human follows its own rhythm ("heartbeats"), on the other side each human individual's "time" is only a component of the whole system.

We find here the two classical aspects of psychology, as explained by the great revolutionary of Afghanistan, Akram Yari.

Therefore, as Akram Yari already explained this aspect, let's examine the second point. Here, it is easy to understand where from Gonzalo derives this issue of the deeds of humans being "stamped on generation after generation."

Gonzalo, at university, worked on the question of space in Kant's conception. And indeed, Kant explains that in the world everything that exists has a usefulness (a materialistic classical point of view, formulated by Aristotle). Therefore, the work of humans has a meaning for nature.

The transmission from generation to generation, the deeds stamped on generation after generation, with every generation working for the next one so to speak, is according to Kant the proof of the role of humans on Earth.

Now, we can understand the goal of human work, explained by Gonzalo as follows:

"We will people the Earth with light and happiness."



Here, of course, the question is : what did Gonzalo mean by light and happiness? For happiness, we can understand : the living matter wants to live well, it is something well explained by Epicurus and Spinoza, for example.

Nevertheless, there is also this question of "light". Here it is in fact easy to understand what Gonzalo says. Gonzalo often borrowed concepts from the christian religion, to use them in a materialistic sense in order to mobilize, to call for struggle.

Thus, Gonzalo had already used the famous biblical words about the people as "the light of the world." When Gonzalo says that "we will people the Earth with light", he means that those who shall "people" the Earth are in fact the people itself, becoming a light.

Of course, we can see here that Gonzalo only deals with the question of the people in relation to the universe, as eternal matter in movement; he didn't raise the question of the biosphere. It is easy to see why: even if it was raised by Vernadsky in the Soviet Union during the 1920's-1930's, it was only recently that this aspect could be formulated as such.

But in spite of this, which should not be seen a limit but a question of progress of the matter in movement – a fragment of time -, Gonzalo has expressed masterfully the dialectical relationship between the "individual" and society, not only within the time of the individual, but also for the next generations.



Is there a difference between bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisies? How the Communist Party of India (Maoist) proposes an erroneous definition

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) has made public a series of documents on different questions. These documents have the Central Committee as redaction and were published in January 2021, sometimes after a correction from a previous document. We speak here of the documents called:

- (1) Changes in Relations of Production in India — Our Political Program (272 pages)
- (2) Caste Question in India—Our Perspective (97 pages, first edition in May 2017)
- (3) Nationality Question in India — The Stand of Our Party (97 pages, first edition in May 2019)
- (4) China – a new Social-Imperialist power! It is integral to the World Capitalist-Imperialist system! (84 pages, first edition in July 2017)

What is of special interest is the question of the definition of capitalism, imperialism and crisis. We find here indeed a real problem, as the CPI(M) is developing a non-dialectical analysis of it. Because of the special importance of India in the world revolution, it is necessary to see what this weakness historically means.

In fact, the reason behind the problem is that India is a major spot of the contradiction between town and country. The development of the urban areas is particularly distorted there, in an area where the animal question was raised a long time ago already.

And it is an area where lives an significant part of the world masses, it is a country totally split through religious comunalism and castes.

The CPI(M) just doesn't confront itself to all of these questions. It takes a road opposed to the question of universality as historical necessity, as communism affirming the unity of the masses, of the world, of the Biosphere, of the universe, all of this being the key of the Indian Revolution.

The conception of the CPI(M)

The conception of the CPI(M) is the following. Capitalism would be in crisis since the 1970's, but as it is solely "imperialist" and furthermore "organized", it would have answered through neo-liberal policies at all levels in the 1980's.

The direct consequence would have been poverty all over the world and also the final domination of financial capitalism through “globalization”.

This conception is not new; it is the one of the Indian Maoists since the 1990’s, in a common point of view of all the different organizations (the Maoist Communist Center, the Maoist Communist Center of India, the CPI(ML) People’s War, etc.). At the beginning of the 1990’s, such an understanding of capitalism was for example deeply explained by the CPI(ML) People’s War at conferences in Brussels organized by the Workers Party of Belgium, a post-Maoist revisionist structure.

This should be no surprise: the Indian Maoists have a trend to use the revisionist concepts of neo-liberalism, depending countries, globalization. This is the key to the problem of the Indian Maoists.

The documents of 2021 are an attempt to justify this approach and, in fact, it is also the first time they openly preach such an “alterglobalization” vision of the world, as usually, it is quite masked, even if readable for who takes attention.

One of the main point here is that the wrong conception of the CPI(M) leads to miserabilism: capitalism would be paralyzed since the 1990’s, the world masses would have been always poorer since the 1990’s, and so on.

This is a fairy tale, which totally misses the incredible development of the productive forces by capitalism in the 1989-2020 period, the impact on the Biosphere, the aggravation of the contradiction between town and country.

And, therefore, it comes to a non-understanding of the second general crisis of capitalism appearing in 2020 through the pandemic.

This justifies the criticism of the conception of the CPI(M), one of the most important revolutionary organization of the world, which is prisoner of its own Indian experience and missing the general transformation.

1. The definition of imperialism

a) what the CPI(M) says

The CPI(M) defines imperialism as follows :

“As the great Marxist teacher Lenin said, emergence of monopoly organisations and export of capital are the characters of imperialism.”

“A century passed since the world capitalist system transformed into imperialism.”

“With the beginning of the imperialist era the phase of ‘peaceful’ development of capitalism ended. The series of imperialist wars began for colonies and for re-division of the world.”

“According to the report published by the Swiss Federal Institution of Technology of Zurich a few monopoly organisations are controlling the economy of the whole world. Six super rich persons of the world own property equal to half of the population, i.e., to that of 360 crore people.”

“In the overall imperialist era, especially in the neo-colonial period and especially during the period of globalisation, several considerable changes took place at a fast pace in various sectors in the international and domestic level.

These changes led to transformations and polarizations in class relations all over the world in varied levels.

Since the global economic/financial order is more centralized in the hands of a few imperialist institutions/countries and wealth and political power is centralized in the hands of their big compradors, the number of oppressed nationalities, classes and sections rose very high.”

b) an unilateral understanding of imperialism

The CPI(M) has an unilateral understanding of imperialism, which is reduced to financial capital, which would be centralized and organized.

Moreover, imperialism would be a new system of production : there would be a capitalist industrial production which would produce capital, this capital would come to an overproduction and imperialism consists in the overproduction of capital.

This is wrong. Imperialism is not a base, it is a superstructure of capitalism. Even when capitalism comes to imperialism, its base is merely capitalist, with concurrency and competition among capitalists, in the shadow of the big monopolies.

The bank apparatus doesn't make disappear the basis, but emerges as a parasitic form it. So, the capitalist basis is not modified in itself and if there is an overproduction of capital, it can't be separated from the overproduction of commodities.

Lenin, when defining imperialism in “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism”, is very clear about both double aspects : base/superstructure on one side, industrial/financial on the other (here the important parts are underlined).

“We must give a definition of imperialism that will include the following five of its basic features:

(1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life;

(2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this “finance capital”, of a financial oligarchy;

(3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance;

(4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves, and

(5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed. Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed.”

The dominance of monopolies and finance capital doesn't mean there are only monopolies and finance capital. This is the error of the CPI(M), which leads to another one: the conception of a “pure” organized capitalism i.e. imperialism.

2. The conception of organized imperialism

a) what the CPI(M) says

The CPI(M) defines a kind of organized imperialism as follows :

“Imperialists and revisionists create tales and put the people in illusion about the changing conditions in order to protect the imperialist system and to deceive the people of the world.”

“When the public sector of China was being restructured, the crisis in East Asia in the end of 1990s was destroying Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand. With their class interests the imperialist forces of the US, Europe and Japan experimentally introduced capitalism in early 1990s to put up a wall against ‘Communism’ in the countries came to be known as East Asian Tigers.”

“Neo-colonialism gave new opportunities for every imperialist force to exploit.

Moreover, it made possible collective colonialism to ‘collectively exploit’ the backward countries that is expressed through WB, IMF, WTO and other such imperialist organisations. This is a distinct character of neo-colonialism.”

“1991 – Second stage of Globalisation begins

While the Keynesian theory was formulated to solve the imperialist crisis of the 1930s the Monetarist theory came forth to solve the crisis that broke in 1970.

The Monetarists suggested decrease in expenditure and cut in subsidies but not to print currency in order to reduce budget deficit.

They sermonized the ‘invisible hand’ principle of Adam Smith that states that market forces itself regularize economy. This was what Thatcher in Britain and Reagan in the US brought forth.

The policies of ‘free market’ and ‘free trade’ said to be introduced by them in fact reflect the monopoly of trade and the control of monopolies over the market.

The jargon of free trade and free market is merely a mask of the monopoly of International Monetary organisations and Multi-National Companies. To say that they apply the Adam Smith principle of the capitalist stage of free competition is only to delude the people all over the world.”

“Firstly imperialists re-structuralized capitalism in their countries through implementing Reaganomics and Thatcherism. They created an unprecedented surge of Mergers and Acquisitions (M&A) to establish giant Conglomerates.

They turned finance capital into a decisive force and a major specter dictating the economies of the countries all over the world.

They brought all the forms of social production in the world into their control and made all the countries of the world surrender to the policies of imperialist globalization. They thus intensified the onslaught on the working class of their own countries and increased the rate of surplus value (profits) being extracted from them.

Secondly, with a new offensive on the backward countries they could further expand their markets and seize cheap raw materials of those countries.

They intensified exploitation of the toilers manifold. Both of these are closely related and mutually dependent.

The objective of globalization strategy is to re-structuralize the economies of the entire countries of the world as per the exploitive interests of the international monopoly finance enterprises and Multi-National enterprises, lift all the sanctions and all the tariff obstacles for imports-exports and for shifting profits to their native country, in a way to create a ‘borderless’ world where goods, technology, capital and labor can ‘move around freely’, to facilitate the exploitation of any country as per its wish according to their international monopoly.”

b) an erroneous conception of an “organized” capitalism

It is simply amazing that the CPI(M) really says that the Keynesian and Monetarist theories are the expression of a capitalism that understands its own crisis and try to overcome it, or that imperialism “experimentally introduced capitalism” in South Asia.

This is absolutely not conform to the communist ideology; this corresponds to the social-democratic (in the 1920’s) and revisionist (in the 1960’s) understanding of an “organized capitalism”, of a state monopoly capitalism.

The conception of the CPI(M) is clearly is that “international monopoly finance enterprises and Multi-National enterprises” leads the world, choosing the developments in an objective manner in accordance to their interests.

And the immediate consequence of this is the negation of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. There would be a total domination of the financial capital over the world, with governments as mere puppets.

There would be no bureaucratic capitalism in India, which would be a kind of neo-colony.

3. The comprador and the bureaucratic bourgeoisies

a) what the CPI(M) says

“With the transfer of power in 1947 (nominal independence) colonial, semi-feudal India turned to semi-colonial, semi-feudal country.

The comprador big bourgeois class of our country that served the British imperialists from the beginning became comprador ‘bureaucratic’ big bourgeois class with the transfer of power.

The comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois class and the big feudal class together became the main hurdle of the development of various nationalities.

In semi-colonial India the comprador bureaucratic big bourgeois class is playing the main role on one hand in serving the interests of several imperialist countries and on the other in preserving the caste based feudal society of the country.”

“To put it briefly, the planned onslaught of international finance capital all over the world through globalization reached a severe level in the backward countries in the past three decades.

Since the Indian comprador bureaucratic bourgeois, feudal classes are dependent on imperialist finance capital and its interests entwined with their interests, the collaboration reached unprecedented level.”

“Today, the comprador bureaucratic bourgeois class is working as an instrument to slave imperialism in our country. It makes use of the broad semi-feudal social basis to keep the people in bondage and unleashes its hegemony.

They are traitors, disrupters and cruel enemies of the people. They are deceivers, liars and corrupt.

They massacre the people, they are rapists and are absolutely useless.

But they have the power and the instruments of production. They are ruling the country.”

“The TATAs is the biggest industrial comprador big bourgeois enterprise. Their turnover had the 2 nd place by 2001 with 37,197 crore rupees. At the time, the TATAs had 84 companies out of which 34 companies were joint ventures with TNCs. They own the most ancient and biggest private sector power company in the country.

They own mining, oil fields, steel factories, car and truck manufacturing companies, telephone, cable TV and broadband networks.

They own Taj hotels, Jaguar, Land Rover, Dewan, Tetley tea, a publication house, a chain of book shops, the biggest brand of iodised salt, the Lakme empire of cosmetics and the TATA-Honeywell factory of Poona.”

b) the non-understanding of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie

When we read this, it is logical that the CPI(M) considers the islamist movements as “anti-imperialist” and can’t understand the nature of people like Saddam Hussein in Iraq, Hugo Chavez in Venezuela, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in Turkey or even Narendra Modi in India.

Normally, Maoism considers that there is four forms of bourgeoisie in the non-imperialist countries: the petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie (both oppressed), the comprador bourgeoisie which exists only as intermediate with imperialist structures, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie which develops itself in the distorted capitalism existing in the oppressed country.

The CPI(M) negates the existence of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. There would be only a comprador (bureaucratic) bourgeoisie totally submitted to imperialism. But then, how can the CPI(M) explains that a simple lackey like TATA is able to possess Jaguar and Tetley, two main symbols of British imperialism ?

The only explanation for TATA and all the big Indian capitalists is that they are bureaucratic capitalists. They have been comprador and they turn over a rather independent bureaucratic capitalism, with Indian features.

So, the CPI(M) tells here something incorrect.

And it practices a headlong flight in saying that its is globalization itself which is solely responsible for all the evolution in India.

4. a change by above only?

a) what the CPI(M) says

“It means, in the specificities of India we have to study the feudal society, the later colonial (colonial, semi-feudal) and neo-colonial (semi-colonial, semi-feudal) societies, the attack of imperialist globalization (finance capital), the changes that it caused in the entire country and in the respective areas and the role of class struggle that contributed to the change in relations of production in the respective areas.”

“On the whole imperialism is unleashing control on social, economic, political, cultural and all the sectors on the semi-feudal base in the country historically and in the present phase of globalization.

The main intention of imperialism is to develop the country industrially but not to change it into another capitalist contender. It wants to sustain it as the supplier of raw material and as a market for imperialist products.

The comprador rulers brought forth several laws, rules, regulations, directives and other policy measures to bring changes in rural India favorable to the imperialist MNCs, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and feudal classes.”

“During the globalization period, the old and the new feudal forces of the dominant castes in the rural areas were the social prop in every step that the state took up in the interests of imperialism and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

Along with the foreign corporate companies and domestic comprador companies, the new feudal forces, parliamentary party leaders and several kinds of mafias benefited through the agrarian, rural exploitive policies.

The collaboration of global finance capital enterprises, the several networks of government and non-government networks, parliamentary political parties and several kinds of mafias increased much more and semi-feudal relations led by the old and new feudal forces continued in new forms.”

“National bourgeois class

This class invests in wholesale business, transport of goods, public transport, education, health sector, hotels, tendu leaf business and other such business and service sectors along with small and medium scale industries.

This is oppressed by imperialism and comprador bureaucratic capitalist policies and is tied by feudalism.

Due to this reason, its market is constantly suffering from their offensive. Growth of their industries is limited. Lakhs of industries are becoming bankrupt.”

b) a wrong understanding of changing by above and not internal

The CPI(M) is very clear. As the country would be totally dependent (and the national bourgeoisie and local capitalism would die each day more), as the ruling class would be a comprador bourgeoisie totally dependent from imperialism, when the semi-feudal aspect of the country knows a change, it is by above only.

This is clearly unacceptable, as the CPI(M) presents the nationalist movement in India as a foreign abstraction, in negation the bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

5. The nature of the BJP

a) what the CPI(M) says

“The hunt of global finance capital for super profits is destroying the lives of the entire proletariat, peasant, middle class and national bourgeoisie and other oppressed classes, sections and nationalities and is making a cruel attack on

them. For this purpose it is bringing fascist parties to power in the backward countries.

In this background the Narendra Modi government under the leadership of the fascist BJP with Brahmanic Hindutwa ideology took up power in the centre in our country and is unleashing severe fascist offensive on the people for the past six years.”

“Brahmanic Hindutwa communalism spread in a big way in the country in the past seven decades. Starting from the massacre of lakhs of Muslim people during partition in 1947, it unleashed several massacres, atrocities, putting in flames, destruction of properties and loot (...).

The Hindutwa forces went much ahead with the objective to transform the country into a Hindutwa state.

We have to remember that all this is dictated by the global finance capital. The aim of finance capital is to facilitate the way to its exploitation by strengthening fascism in the country and by establishing fascist ideology and its hegemony in all the sectors of the country.

10. The hierarchical caste system based on the Brahmanic Hindutwa ideology is integral to the semi-feudal relations in India.”

b) the question of the BJP

The CPI(M) tells us here something inconsistent. Why would imperialism promotes Hinduism and Indian expansionsim through the Bharatiya Janata Party (Indian’s people party)?

Why would or should imperialism need an Indian intercontinental missile with atomic weapon called Agni, from the Hinduistic god of fire ?

The Hindutva anticapitalist romanticism is absolutely no conform to the values of imperialist consumerism. The policy of nationalist unification of the country by the BJP is not conform to the line of divide and conquer of imperialism.

In fact, it is easy to understand that it represents the Indian bureaucratic bourgeoisie, trying to play its own card, in a relative manner only of course. It is the same all over the world, semi-feudal semi-colonial countries becoming expansionist, like Turkey.

In negating the bureaucratic bourgeoisie character of the BJP, the CPI(M) negates (in a theoretical manner) the expansionist character of India, and this is an error on the ideological level and of course collides with the internationalist practice of the CPI(M) itself.

The problem is that the CPI(M), with its conception of a systemic imperialism, doesn't see the amazing growth of the productive forces since the 1990's.

6. The crisis since 1973?

a) what the CPI(M) says

“In fact globalisation is the offensive of finance capital on the backward countries of the world. It is entwined with the restructuring of capital in monopolies. Since capital fell into permanent crisis since 1973, this is part of its strategy to overcome the crisis. At present it fell into further crisis since 2008.”

“Since the beginning of the 1970s, imperialism fell in general crisis all over the world, in 1980s more intense globalization policies were taken up and it put the burden of its crisis on semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries like India.”

“The economies of those countries very speedily spread for nearly two decades and led to partial stability of capitalism. But it could not sustain permanently. With the crisis falling into prolonged depression from 1973, the illusion of constant spread of world economy was shattered.”

“Worldwide financial crisis since 1973 led to a decline in the demand for capital goods in the imperialist countries. As a part of internationalization of production imperialism adopted Globalisation policies since the 1980s and 1990s. This is part of the neo-colonial policy of imperialism since post-World War II.

However, there is a difference in the policies that imperialism adopted as a part of neo-colonialism in 1946-80 and the globalisation policies since the 1980s, especially since the beginning of 1990s when Russia declined as a superpower.

The imperialists that adopted Keynesian economic policies until then introduced free trade market policies since the beginning of the 1990s.”

b) The question of the productive forces

The CPI(M), in its documents, give a lot of data about poverty. The problem is that this is made with the same statistic approach like Eugen Varga at the beginning of the Third International. The dialectics of economy is not understood.

Saying that capitalism is in crisis since 1973 is simply amazing. From the 1989 to 2020, capitalist growth was huge, using China as the factory of the world.

The quality of life of the people in the imperialist countries never stopped to improve, be it in the fields of medicine, education, sport, leisure, food, etc.

Of course, these fields were defined by imperialism. But if we take the quantitative level, life became much easier in the imperialist countries. This also explains why there was no revolt, why the revolutionary sector nearly died, etc.

But this is not only true for the imperialist country. Also the countries oppressed by imperialism knew an elevation of the quality of life during the same period.

Not all, of course, and India in particular is a weak point, making it one of the center of the World Revolution.

Nevertheless, a look at Mumbai, Kolkata or Delhi shows how India changed, with an urbanization corresponding to the development of the productive forces. And the BJP is the expression of such a trend, with a bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

And the CPI(M) knows it, in fact – because it understood the changes that knew China. How could have China become social-imperialist if not by a bureaucratic bourgeoisie?

7. Social-imperialist China

a) what the CPI(M) says

“China – a new Social-Imperialist power! It is integral to the World Capitalist-Imperialist system!”

“Unlike the opinion of a few Maoists, China is neither dependent on the imperialist countries nor is it a country exploited by those imperialist countries.

On the contrary, it undoubtedly became a new Social-Imperialist country by 2014. It emerged as an imperialist power only because it is super-exploiting the working class of the country. It is beyond doubt that the speedy industrialization led to this change.

The emergence of China as a global factory is strengthening the economic restructuring of the world and is changing the dynamics of the supply demand chain of the world economic system.”

“To summarise, Chinese monopoly organisations are the most powerful in the world. ‘Monopoly is the strong economic basis for imperialism,’ said Lenin. This is an index to say that China has developed into a Social-Imperialist country.”

b) China and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie

If there was in China only a comprador bourgeoisie, then this country would still be dependent. The CPI(M) understands well that it is not dependent, that it is even social-imperialist, noting that the monopolies are very well organized, at a high level.

But from where can it come, if not from the bureaucratic bourgeoisie? The bureaucratic bourgeoisie grows normally in the shadow of the comprador bourgeoisie, from which it is also a part of it, dialectically. But as capitalism, in a distorted manner, develops itself, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie grows and absorb the state.

The Peruvian communists describe as follows this process.

“Following Chairman Mao’s thesis, he [i.e. Gonzalo] specifies five characteristics:

- that bureaucratic capitalism is the capitalism that imperialism develops in the backward countries, which is comprised of the capital of large landowners, the big bankers, and the magnates of the big bourgeoisie;

- it exploits the proletariat, the peasantry, and the petty bourgeoisie and places constraints upon the middle bourgeoisie;

- it is passing through a process by which bureaucratic capitalism is combined with the power of the State and evolves into state monopoly capitalism, comprador and feudal, from which can be derived that in a first moment it unfolds as a non-state big monopoly capitalism and in a second moment, when is combined with the power of the state, it unfolds as state monopoly capitalism;

- it ripens the conditions for the democratic revolution as it reaches the apex of its development;

- and, confiscating bureaucratic capital is key to reach the pinnacle of the democratic revolution and it is decisive to pass over to the socialist revolution.

In applying the above, he conceives that bureaucratic capitalism is the capitalism that imperialism generates in the backward countries, which is linked to a decrepit feudalism and in submission to imperialism which is the last phase of capitalism.

This system does not serve the majority of the people but rather the imperialists, the big bourgeoisie, and the landowners.

All of this merely proves the political aspect of bureaucratic capitalism that is rarely emphasized, but which President Gonzalo considers as a key issue: bureaucratic capitalism ripens the conditions for revolution, and today as it enters into its final phase, it ripens the conditions for the development and victory of the revolution.

It is also very important to see how bureaucratic capitalism is shaped by non-state monopoly capitalism and by state monopoly capitalism, that is the reason why he differentiates between the two factions of the big bourgeoisie, the bureaucratic one and the comprador, so as to avoid tailing one or the other, a problem that led our Party to 30 years of wrong tactics.

It is important to conceive it this way, since the confiscation of bureaucratic capitalism by the New Power will facilitate the completion of the democratic revolution and to advance into the socialist revolution. If only the state monopoly capitalism is targeted, the other part would remain free, the non-state monopoly capital, and the big comprador bourgeoisie would remain economically able to lift its head to snatch away the leadership of the revolution and to prevent its passage to the socialist revolution.” (Communist Party of Peru, The Democratic Revolution)

7. The national liberation

a) what the CPI(M) says

“A self-reliable economy must be developed. But imperialism, comprador bureaucratic bourgeois and feudal classes are obstructing this path.

Four ally classes – workers, peasants, middle class and national bourgeois classes, oppressed social sections – Dalits, tribals, women and religious minorities must integrate in the leadership of the proletariat and eliminate them and New Democratic Revolution must be accomplished with the ultimate objective of establishing Socialism-Communism.

Only thus it is possible to establish New Democratic and self-reliant economy. Only thus genuine development is possible.”

b) a movement of national liberation

It is very clear that the CPI(M) has a line corresponding to a movement of national liberation. This is positive. But this is not conform to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The CPI(M) is not interested in the internal questions of India, it considers that the confrontation with imperialism is the sole key.

From there comes the fascination for the Tribals at the margins of development and a disdain for all the Indian cultural questions, like the nature of Islam in India or the relationship to animals. What is fascinating the world about India is out of sight for the CPI(M).

From there comes also the non-understanding of the crisis appearing in 2020. Not seeing the development of the period 1989-2020, the CPI(M) imagines that capitalism, now imperialism as a world system, would be in crisis since 1973...

This is a huge error and it shows that the CPI(M) must choose: or being the armed branch of “another development” against globalization, or assume Indian history.

The crisis will require a quick and decisive choice.

The question of the crisis: an example of error with A Nova Democracia

The irruption of the COVID-19 pandemics in 2020 was a crash test for all the revolutionaries in the world. Would they be able to face a global crisis, to understand it and give the keys to face it adequately? Or was it only possible for them to accompany the events?

It depended of course of what has been done in the period before the crisis. If the revolutionaries understood how the productive forces grew since 1989, how nature was under attack, how the animals were enslaved at industrial levels all over the world... then they were able to understand how it came to the crisis and which sense it carries.

If the revolutionaries were in the fiction that capitalism was in crisis since ten, twenty, fifty, hundred years... then they would be not able to understand that something new happened, something with a qualitative leap.

A good example for it is expressed by the Brazilian review A Nova Democracia. It is even absolutely typical, in the sense that such a point of view was the one of most of the movements defining themselves as marxist-leninists or even maoists. They just failed to understand what happened.

A Nova Democracia's article "World Economy towards Recession: CORONAVIRUS CONCEALS THE IMPERIALISM CRISIS", published in March 2020, expresses quite purely this deep misunderstanding. Here is what it says:

"The industrial production and the stock exchange of the financial market have collapsed at the beginning of March in the whole world.

The trigger, according to the worldwide press monopoly, is the coronavirus expansion. However, it is actually the crisis of relative overproduction of capital.

The coronavirus itself could not cause such an impact in the world economy. The reason of stoppage of the capital reproduction is the capital itself.

The portal Crítica da Economia, quoting a newspaper of the reaction, has observed that the coronavirus nowadays is less lethal than the flu: "Internal data of the World Health Organization (WHO) show that, in 2020, the simple seasonal flu has already caused more casualties (76.537 deaths) than the new coronavirus (2.812 deaths); that is, our well-known and familiar flu has already killed 2.720% more people than the misterious new coronavirus".

In July 2021, such a discourse is of course easily appearing as pathetic. Nevertheless, it was quite common at the time or even a rule for ultra-leftists. The pandemics would be overestimated by the states to put strict laws, it would be nearly a hoax of counter-revolutionary nature.

It is not even a misjudgment of the crisis, it is a negation of it, even at the sanitary level. And the reason for that is a belief considering that the world economy is organized by some monopolies and world finance, that capitalism “thinks”, is able to “act” in a calculated manner, etc.

A Nova Democracia expresses perfectly this conception, where the crisis consists in the overproduction of capital, which would choke the economy and the world. The article says :

“The occurrence of the coronavirus is just a fact that aggravates the economy. However, behind this fact there is already a relative overproduction of the latent capital.

The crisis of overproduction of relative capital occurs when the capital production extrapolates the consumption capacity of the society defined, ultimately, by the contradiction between the social character of production and the capitalist appropriation of the product.

To get an idea of it, the unemployment rate in the USA reached, on October, 2019, a low record of 3,5%. It amounts practically to “full employment”. It was the lowest rate for the last 50 years, resulting of the interest rate that propels the credit for the production.

However, in October, the creation of new workstations in the industry has decreased for the first time in six months, although the production has increased 1,1% in November. It is a huge increase of the global production that grows disproportionately to the addition of the capacity of worldwide consumption.

The overproduction crisis is the inevitable consequence. Proof of this is that all Yankee economists foresee that the economy will slow down in the short run, i. e., it will not find markets to continue the expansion.”

It is of course totally wrong to understand capitalism in terms of bookkeeping, with inputs and outputs. If what says A Nova Democracia is true, than capitalism would never grow or even never exist, because there is always a discrepancy between production and consumption... Especially at the beginning of capitalism, with primitive accumulation, a key topic.

Of course, concerning the sanitary aspect, A Nova Democracia totally changed its point of view afterwards, saying for example in April 2020 in the article “THE 21st CENTURY AND THE MEDIOEVO [middle age]: The historical and political failure of the imperialist system”:

“It is a sinister revival of almost ancient times of the Humankind history as, in the middle of the 15th century, the “Black Death” occurred, sweeping across Europe and Asia, killing 200 million people; or even with the Spanish flu epidemic and the deaths of tens of millions persons.”

But the same article explains also, in a rather shocking manner:

“As a result either of a natural biological evolution or a machination of the Yankee imperialism (a hypothesis that one cannot ignore at all since it fits the criminal Pentagon “war games”, a fervent believer of Malthusianism *), the coronavirus acts as an invisible small atomic bombs in another form of a world war.

One cannot forget the atomic artifacts that the imperialist States and some of their lackeys possess, in large scale and great quantity in their arsenals, aiming at intimidating permanently the Earth peoples.

The issue is, with the pandemic the governments negligence they will eliminate populations considered by them as surplus populations, especially the aging and sick people.

On the whole, it means to destroy productive forces to justify new and miraculous “Marshall plans” to recover the economy for a new expansion.

The negligence is intentional, resulting of the imperialism nature but twisted with adjustable doses of dramatization by the press monopolies - Globo Network, a leader in Brasil - to mitigate the masses uprising.

It is the imperialism law: the crisis in the system is only partially eradicated with the destruction of the productive forces, killing of workers and “surplus” populations, concentration/centralization of capital and the conquering of new markets (war with weapons arsenal).”

We have a double problem, which is typical. The first one is to consider that

capitalism has an overview on itself. The second one is to affirm that capitalism can “choose” to destroy the “surplus” of commodities and workers. Nothing about it is true, of course.

And to understand that, only a small aspect has to be seen: the question of the aging and the sick people. If we take the imperialist countries, it is a long time now that these aging and sick people are integrated in capitalism. Since 1945, and now in a very important way, they are an element of capitalism, as consumers of products directly aimed at them.

To take two examples pretty clear, we can see that Germany imports proletarians from the Eastern countries in order to use them as cheap particular help for old people, and that Portugal has made low taxes for the French pensioners.

Of course, A Nova Democracia can't see that. In its vision, world capitalism consists in finance, and finance only. There is no capitalist mode of production any more, but world masses against a small bunch of super rich people. A Nova Democracia so just can't see the evolution of everyday of life, the progress of capitalism, its systematization at all levels of life.

And this is the key. Either there is the understanding that capitalism developed itself since 1989, bringing the world to a new step, with a new general crisis. Or there is the following of events, in the belief that there was no evolution of the productive forces since the 1930's. ●

History of Maoism: an important document from 1998 - the international seminar on Mao Zedong and the People's War

This document is important because it reflects a forgotten ideological situation, while it is still very meaningful today.

We are then at the end of the 1990s and the situation is as follows.

Due to Gonzalo's arrest in Peru in 1992, the Communist Party of Peru found itself in a very difficult situation. However, the immense prestige of its People's War of the late 1980s and early 1990s gives to it a very special aura.

For this reason, most organizations claiming to be Mao Zedong are forced, during the 1990s, to assume "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism" instead of Marxism-Leninism thought Mao Zedong, if this had not already been done.

At the time, the structure playing an important role in the dissemination of Maoism was the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, whose review

produced by its Committee was "A World to Win".

But this Committee was, in the momentum of the time, vigorously denounced by a whole Left wing of Maoism, with the tacit support of the Peru People's Movement, an organization generated by the Communist Party of Peru for work abroad.

We can say that there were thus, in the 1990s, three trends in Maoism, which can be described as a right, a center and a left:

- formerly Marxist-Leninist Mao Zedong Thought organizations assuming Maoism, because it has to be;

- the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, headed by the Americans of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the United States and the Iranians of Sarbedaran;

- small structures considering that it is necessary to go much further in the

recognition of Maoism (with splits from the Peru People's Movement as in Switzerland, the Front Social review in France, groups in Austria and Italy, as well as organizations of Latin America, etc.).

The end of the 1990s will be marked by a major upheaval in all of this.

Indeed, the Americans at the head of the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement will begin to develop their own ideology, a kind of historically relativist post-Maoism where revolution would be the "best" option. The theorist of this "new communism" is Bob Avakian.

The Peru People's Movement then launched an attempt to forge a new nucleus, by multiplying initiatives with the TKP (ML) of Turkey and the Italian group Rossoperaio. It will be a complete failure.

The hegemonic place is then taken by a newcomer. The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), launching in 1996 a popular war with great success across the country, then set the tone, in particular through a Revolutionary Communist Party of Canada which is totally linked to it (which will remain so until the capitulation of 2006 and even after).

As we know, the opposition to the surrender of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) was refuted by a generation coming from the 1990s (URC-MLM in Chile, People's PC in Argentina, PCF (MLM) in France, OoA-MLMpM from Afghanistan, etc.).

But where there is a very interesting ideological aspect to know is that the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) was part of an "International Seminar on Mao Zedong and People's War" in 1998.

This Seminar was set up by the "right" of Maoism. These organizations are leading the armed struggle on a large scale, accepting to assume Maoism instead of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought... but for which it is strictly out of the question to assume anything from the Communist Party of Peru.

We can qualify the line of these organizations as resolutely pragmatic-Machiavellian; hostile to ideological debates, it is directly practical or even simply military questions that count. It is reasoned in terms of support and it doesn't go further.

The hard core of this approach is carried by the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) People's War, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the TKP / ML of Turkey. The seminar is their banner and a review in English, "Vanguard", was distributed in the wake of the presentation of the military actions carried out, the military strategies carried out, etc.

The review only had two issues, in the fall of 1999 and in the fall of 2000, but it was circulated enough to understand that this was an attempt to form a new international Maoist "center". The signatories of the seminar documents were also relatively numerous.

Maoism was then very strong internationally, with real momentum. It didn't last. The Filipinos and Indians ceased their collaboration, breaking the unity of the right; the Nepalese surrendered, striking the center in the heart. The organizations of the left, for the most part, were unable to stay the course and disappeared.

The document of the 1998 "International Seminar on Mao Zedong and the People's

War” is therefore of relative interest: it came to nothing. However, it is necessary to understand why, the problem being its pragmatic-Machiavellian line, where Maoism is a “technique”. It actually misjudges the international situation, assuming that capitalism is collapsing when it is about to gain new momentum.

Let us recall the following. The “Maoist Communist Party of Italy” (formerly Rossoperaio) attempted to rebuild a new Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, while being vigorously criticized for its centrism by various Maoist organizations.

It did manage to get out of it, however, claiming to have succeeded in integrating the Indian Maoists into their project. This made it possible to have many signatories for the May Day declarations, but it only lasted a short time, roughly from the late 2000s to the early 2010s.

There then appeared a whole post-modern “Maoist” generation, that is to say students and petty bourgeois from imperialist countries, shaped by modernist ideologies (ultra-left values, support for an “inclusive society” , pro-LGBT ideology fanaticism, fascination with Islam as a force for social antagonism, complete subjectivism, activism of the associative-charitable type, etc.).

There was also the attempt on the part of South American organizations to develop a new ideology: “Marxism-Leninism-Maoism Gonzalo thought”, in the therefore rejection of the initial ideology of the Communist Party of Peru (for which a guiding thought must developed in each

country, as a particular reflection of the universal ideology).

This had a certain success, in particular by a strange rapprochement with the “post-moderns”. Nevertheless, it remains without prospects.

We can therefore summarize the situation of Maoism as being the following now:

- a post-Revolutionary Internationalist Movement movement around the Maoist Communist Party of Italy which for a decade has claimed to achieve a reconstruction;
- a South American + post-modern of imperialist countries movement advocating a “Marxism-Leninism-Maoism thought Gonzalo”;
- the Indian and Filipino Maoists assuming an “international splendid isolation”;
- various scattered organizations upholding Mao Zedong or even Maoism, but favoring collaboration with non-Maoist right-wing structures at the international level;
- some “old school” pro-Gonzalo Maoist organizations...

And it goes without saying that the future belongs to them. It is a question of loyalty to the fundamentals, of anchoring in the concrete study of historical reality, of rejecting both pragmatism and the magic recipes that would operate in all situations.

This underlines that the basic question is that of the battle for dialectical materialism.■

COMMUNIQUE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR

MAO AND PEOPLE'S WAR

We, the undersigned participants, hereby affirm the successful holding of the International Seminar on Mao and People's War to celebrate the 105th birth anniversary of Comrade Mao Zedong convened in December 1998.

The seminar is convened by the Communist Party of India (ML) (People's War), the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Communist Party of Turkey / ML and includes as participants parties upholding Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

and the meaning of Mao's teachings on people's war today, and

2. The status of revolutionary forces, experiences and plans in the participants' countries.

The results of the seminar are as follows:

1. The participants have been able to raise the level of their common understanding of the crisis of the world capitalist system and of Mao and people's war and have pledged mutual support under the principle of proletarian internationalism.

3. Resolutions have been passed on important issues.


We agree on the following points:

1. We honor Mao Zedong as the great exponent of the theory and practice of people's war in the new-democratic revolution in China against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The historical experience proves that Mao's theory and practice of people's war is in consonance with the teachings of Marx that the class struggle must

lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao's proletarian revolutionary line consistently runs from people's war and the new democratic revolution through socialist revolution and construction to the theory and practice of continuing

revolution under the proletarian dictatorship -which is his most outstanding contribution to the development of Marxism-Leninism.

2. We acknowledge Mao as the master strategist of people's war. His development of the strategy and tactics of people's war remains unsurpassed to this day. His works



We acknowledge Mao as the
master strategist of people's war.

or
Mao Zedong Thought and waging people's wars and other parties supporting people's war.

We are gratified by the enlightening and informative written contributions, oral presentations and exchange of views on the following topics:

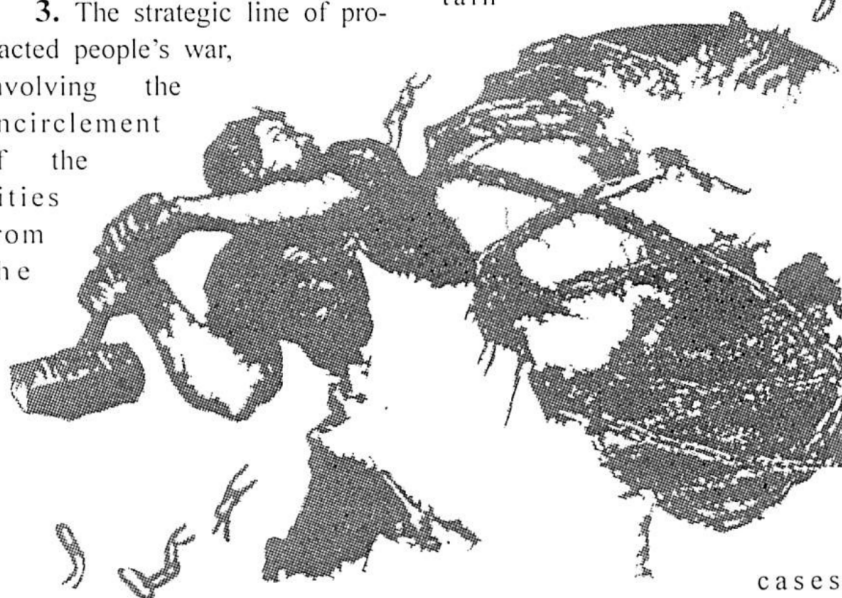
1. The crisis of the world capitalist system and the ruling system in the participants' respective countries

Moreover, even with recognition of some differences they pledge to carry out further political and ideological discussions and at the same time carry out common practical tasks in struggle and in order to achieve a higher level of unity.

2. The parties waging people's war have formulated and issued the General Declaration on Mao and People's War.

on people's war involve the application of materialist dialectics and the revolutionary class line in the process of revolutionary war. Mao's theory and practice of people's war consistently carries forward the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. It is a further development of Lenin's theory and practice of the two-stage revolution, in which the socialist revolution follows the bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type.

3. The strategic line of protracted people's war, involving the encirclement of the cities from the



countryside, is the revolutionary expression of the fundamental democratic alliance of the proletariat and peasantry. It is applicable in many countries, like those where the peasant masses are the majority among the basic producers and fight for agrarian revolution as the main component of the democratic revolution.

4. There are a number of Communist parties successfully carrying out the strategic line of protracted people's war in accordance with the teachings of Comrade Mao. They avail themselves of the inexhaustible participation and support of the people. They have built or are preparing to build democratic

organs of political power. They have consolidated and expanded the organized strength of the masses in the course of fierce revolutionary struggle. They have overcome all kinds of enemy offensives including the enemy's use of the "low intensity conflict" strategy, the anticommunist ideological and political offensive related to the fall of the revisionist regimes, the misrepresentation of armed revolutionary movements as terrorism and, in certain

cases, offers of peace negotiations and the sham calls for "peace and development". In maintaining their revolutionary position, they have outlasted the armed movements previously enjoying the support of revisionist-ruled countries as well as bourgeois mass media hype. Such movements have been betrayed by opportunist leaders and led astray to capitulation and neocolonial compromise.

5. The people's wars and the revolutionary uprisings constitute the most advanced detachment of the struggle against the "New World Order". Objectively, they are inflicting severe blows against imperialism, are showing that the

people's resistance cannot be suppressed, and are strengthening the self-confidence of the masses.

They are giving the general signal for the advancement of the struggles against contemporary imperialism, and they are playing a crucial role in the reconstruction of the communist movement. They answer the central question of revolution, which is the seizure of political power.

We are hopeful that the seminar will inspire the parties waging people's war as well as the parties supporting it, to carry forward their revolutionary struggles in all possible and necessary forms in their respective countries.

December 1998

SIGNATORIES

Arranged in alphabetical order of countries

- * Revolutionary Communist Party of Argentina
- * Workers' Party of Belgium
- * Revolutionary Communist Party of Brazil
- * Action Socialiste-Canada
- * Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party of Chile
- * A/Synechia (Greece)
- * Communist Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist)
- * Communist Party of India (ML) People's War
- * Maoist Communist Centre (India)
- * Rossoperaio (Italy)
- * Workers' Party of New Zealand

- * Communist Workers' Party of Norway
- * El Diario Internacional (Peru)
- * Communist Party of the Philippines
- * Workers and Peasants Russian Party
- * Communist Party of Turkey /Marxist-Leninist
- * Communist Party of Catalunya (Spain)
- * Ray O. Light Group (USA) (except sentence 3, no.1 on the points of agreement)

**Further signatures are expected.*

APPENDIX TO THE COMMUNIQUE

There are twenty-seven participating parties and organizations in the International Seminar on Mao and People's War, in accordance with the definition of a participant in the Rules of the Seminar as a party or organization which has been invited to the seminar by the convenors and has accepted the invitation.

Six of the participants are Maoist parties waging people's war and twenty-one are parties and organizations supporting people's war.

There are twenty-two participants attending the seminar, with one to three delegates per delegation. The delegates total forty-two. Five participants are unable to attend due to purely technical reasons. There is an asterisk after the name of a non-attending participant in the list of participants below.

A Maoist parties waging people's war in alphabetical order of their countries:

- 1 Purba Bangla Sharbohara Party (PBSP)- Bangladesh*
2. Communist Party of India (M-L))People's War
- 3 Maoist Communist Centre-India
- 4 Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)*
- 5 Communist Party of the Philippines
6. Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist

Efforts were exerted by the convenors to extend the invitation to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru but were unsuccessful, despite request for assistance from its support organizations in Europe. However, the Communist Party of Peru will be considered as participant as soon as its Central Committee is reached and agrees to be so considered.

B. Parties supporting people's war in alphabetical order of their countries:

- 1 Marxist-Leninist Organization of Afghanistan*
- 2 Revolutionary Communist Party of Argentina
- 3 Workers Party of Belgium
- 4 Revolutionary Communist Party of Brazil
- 5 Action Socialiste - Canada
- 6 Revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party of Chile
- 7 Congres des Progressistes pour la Liberation - Congo*
- 8 Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany

- 9 A/Synechia - Greece
- 10 Communist Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist)
- 11 Revindo - Indonesia
12. Union of Communists of Iran
13. Rossoperaio - Italy
14. Communist Party of Japan (Left)*
15. Workers' Party of New Zealand
16. Communist Workers' Party of Norway
17. El Diario Internacional - Peru
18. Workers and Peasants Russian Party
19. Communist Party of Catalunya - Spain
20. Ray O. Light Group - United States
21. Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA

The convenors of the seminar have decided to undertake the following:

1. Issue in book form the basic documents of the seminar and some of the written contributions,
2. Publish a quarterly international bulletin as a medium for parties waging and supporting people's war, and
3. Hold an annual meeting of Marxist-Leninist parties waging people's war and every two years an expanded meeting that includes parties supporting people's war.

GENERAL DECLARATION

MAO

AND PEOPLE'S WAR

We, Marxist - Leninist-Maoist parties waging people's war, have taken the initiative to convene the International Seminar on Mao and People's War in celebration of the 105th birth anniversary of Comrade Mao Zedong. On this occasion, we propose this declaration for adoption by the seminar participants and other parties that are unable to attend the seminar.

The objective of the seminar is to pay tribute to Comrade Mao Zedong for his teachings on people's war and to uphold the significance and necessity of these in advancing the national liberation movements, the broad anti-imperialist movement and the world proletarian revolution.

The participants of the seminar include delegations of parties that wage people's war, that prepare for it or that recognize its high importance and support its waging. All participants stand on the common ground that people's war, especially the strategic line of protracted people's war, plays a crucial role in carrying out new-democratic revolutions as the prelude to socialist revolution in most countries of the world.

The participants recognize and espouse people's war as a political necessity in relation to current and foreseeable circumstances in the crisis of the world capitalist

system and the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world against imperialism and for socialism.

All the parties represented in the seminar express adherence to the science of Marxism-Leninism and the necessity of integrating it with the concrete conditions in their respective countries.



While respecting the right of independence and equality of all Parties, the overriding purpose of this seminar is to raise their level of common understanding, mutual support and cooperation among them in waging people's war and other forms of revolutionary struggle, under the principle of proletari-

an internationalism and thereby strengthen the struggle against imperialism on a world scale.

We, in particular the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties waging people's war, reaffirm the General Declaration on Mao Zedong Thought adopted to commemorate Comrade Mao's 100th birth anniversary. We regard Comrade Mao as one among the greatest thinkers and teachers of the international proletariat for his significant contributions related to philosophy, political economy, social science, Party building, new-democratic revolution through people's war, socialist revolution and construction, and proletarian cultural revolution.

We uphold that Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism represents a higher stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism in which the theory and practice of continuing revolution under proletarian dictatorship is available in order to consolidate socialism, combat revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism. We adhere to the political line that all forces and all people must unite under the leadership of the proletariat against imperialism and all reaction in the course of new-democratic and socialist revolutions.

Wherever and whenever neces-

sary to carry out the new-democratic revolution under the leadership of the advanced detachment of the proletariat, people's war must be carried out in accordance with the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism. In such circumstances, the outright denial of the need for people's war is revisionist. It is likewise revisionist to delay indefinitely the commencement of people's war.

Contrary to the view of the revisionists and reformists, there is no peaceful road to socialism. It is necessary and advantageous for the revolutionary proletariat to wage armed revolution and carry out in quick succession the bourgeois-democratic and socialist stages of the revolution at the weakest links of the imperialist chain, in accordance with Lenin's teachings on uneven development under imperialism. The waging of people's war in the semicolonial and semifeudal countries is favorable to the class struggle in the imperialist countries and to the eventual overthrow of the monopoly bourgeoisie by the proletariat.

The level of economic and technological development in imperialist countries is desirable for socialism but it is in these countries that the monopoly bourgeoisie have the most developed means for suppressing proletarian armed revolution. Therefore when the proletariat and the people in the semicolonial and semifeudal countries wage people's war it brings closer the day that the proletariat rises up to overthrow the monopoly bourgeoisie.

geoisie in the imperialist countries.

Comrade Mao pointed out that protracted people's war was possible in a country like China because of its uneven development, turbulent political situation, its backward economy, and its decentralized system of communications. He contrasted these conditions with those in advanced capitalist countries, which require protracted legal struggle to precede the armed revolution.

Under the present circumstances, the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties waging people's war play a crucial role in upholding the Marxist-Leninist theory of state and revolution and carrying the world proletarian revolution forward through armed revolution. If there were no people's war in the semicolonial and semifeudal countries, the proletariat in the imperialist countries could be further weakened politically with a greater possibility to be further led astray towards reformism and revisionism.

Significance and Necessity of People's War

We honor Mao Zedong as the great exponent of the theory and practice of people's war in the new-democratic revolution in China against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It is necessary to study Mao's teachings on people's war in connection with the past, current and future circumstances in order to

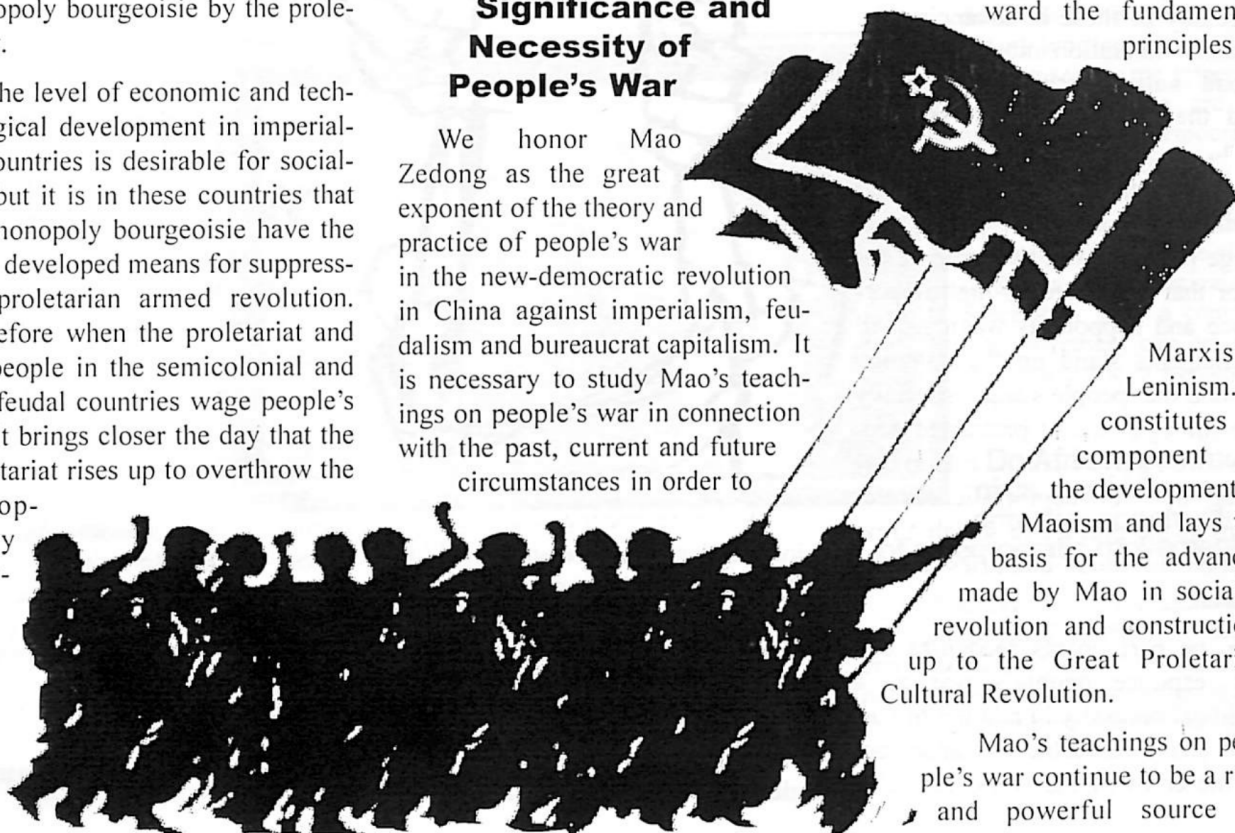
wage it. Carried out correctly and given full play under the leadership of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, people's war is an invincible weapon in new-democratic revolutions.

Mao's theory and practice of people's war is in consonance with the teachings of Marx that the class struggle must lead to the class dictatorship of the proletariat. It is also a further development of Lenin's theory and practice of the two-stage revolution, in which the socialist revolution follows the bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type.

We acknowledge Mao as the master strategist of people's war. His development of the strategy and tactics of people's war remains unsurpassed to this day. His works on people's war involve the application of materialist dialectics and the revolutionary class line in the process of revolutionary war. Mao's theory and practice of people's war consistently carries forward the fundamental principles of

Marxism-Leninism. It constitutes a component in the development of Maoism and lays the basis for the advances made by Mao in socialist revolution and construction, up to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Mao's teachings on people's war continue to be a rich and powerful source of



knowledge on the relationship of social and political analysis with various forms of warfare (guerrilla, regular mobile, positional and uprisings) under various conditions and the development of these forms of warfare through stages and phases in the course of civil war or national war against foreign aggression.

The strategic line of protracted people's war, involving the encirclement of the cities from the countryside, is the revolutionary expression of the fundamental democratic alliance of the proletariat and peasantry. It is applicable in most countries of the world, where the peasant masses are in the majority among the basic producers and fight for agrarian revolution as the main component of the democratic revolution.

The strategic line of protracted people's war allows the revolutionary forces to build a people's army and accumulate strength in the countryside until it becomes possible to seize political power in the cities. The countryside provides the revolutionary forces the room for maneuver to grow from small to big and from weak to strong in the course of self-reliant revolutionary struggle. By relying on the masses as the inexhaustible source of strength and launching successful tactical offensives, the people's army can advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate and then finally to the strategic offensive to seize power in the cities on a nationwide scale.

some countries, where there is a certain amount of industrial capitalist development but where the proportion of poor peasants and farm workers is still significant, it is also necessary to take into account and give full play to their revolutionary role in combination with that of the working class. Even after the seizure of political power through city uprisings in Russia, the Bolsheviks had to undergo the test of revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside during the civil war and the war against foreign intervention.

The overwhelming majority of the countries of the world are still mired in feudal and semifeudal backwardness. In these countries, the worst forms of oppression and exploitation are carried out by the imperialists and local exploiting classes against the working class and peasantry. It is clear and urgent that in these parts of the world the revolutionary party of the proletariat must lead the broad masses of the people to wage armed struggle as the principal form of revolutionary struggle and to pursue the strategic line of protracted people's war.

Revolutionary armed struggle is the principal form of struggle because it responds to the central question of revolution, which is the seizure of political power. In line with the Marxist-Leninist theory of state and revolution, Chairman Mao teaches us that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. He also teaches that, without a people's army, the people have nothing. The people can hope for and lay the basis for social revolution only

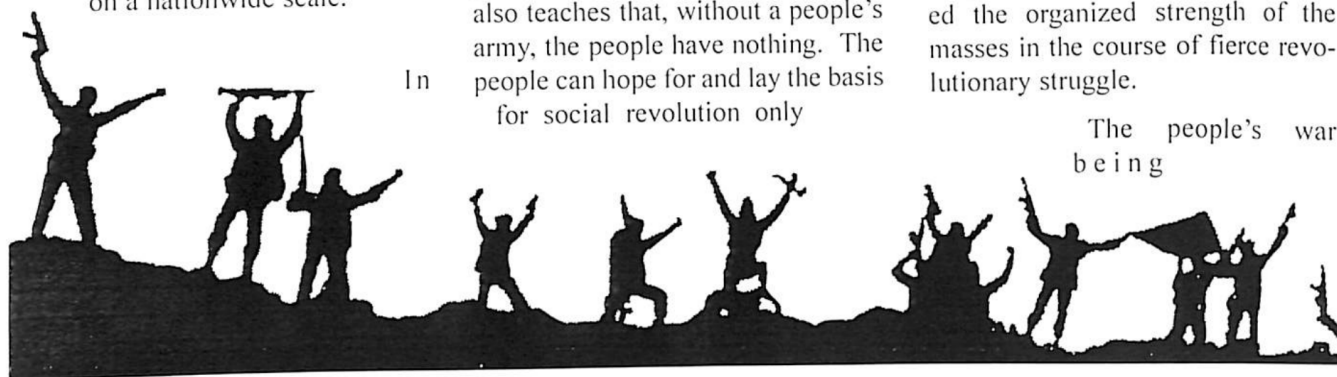
when they have a people's army.

The strategic line of protracted people's war is not applicable in industrial capitalist countries. But the general theory of people's war is undeniably of universal significance. It is likewise of universal significance that the class struggle in the imperialist countries and the protracted people's war in semicolonial and semifeudal countries are dialectically interconnected.

It is always a requirement for the revolutionary party of the proletariat to rely on and trust the masses and to arouse, organize and mobilize them in overthrowing the enemy in a protracted people's war under agrarian conditions or in workers' uprisings in the industrial capitalist countries. Mass organizations and organs of political power must be built as the solid core of the broad masses of the people. Tactics of the united front are employed to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people in their millions. All possible forms of revolutionary struggle are carried out with the strategic aim of seizure of power by armed force.

There are a number of communist parties successfully carrying out the strategic line of protracted people's war in accordance with the teachings of Comrade Mao. They avail themselves of the inexhaustible participation and support of the people. They have built democratic organs of political power. They have consolidated and expanded the organized strength of the masses in the course of fierce revolutionary struggle.

The people's war
being



waged under the leadership of the revolutionary parties of the proletariat stand out in preserving and expanding revolutionary strength in the course of fighting against the imperialists and the local reactionaries. They are highly significant for holding aloft the great red banner of armed revolution, for grasping the essence of revolution and responding to the central question of revolution.

Marxist-Leninist parties waging people's war are tried, tested and tempered in fierce revolutionary struggle against the enemy. They sum up their experience, learn from positive and negative lessons, take stock of their strengths and accomplishments, rectify errors and weaknesses, set the tasks for raising the revolutionary struggle to a new and higher level and march forward from victory to victory. They pursue the mass line in waging people's war. They arouse, organize and mobilize the masses. They trust and rely on them.

They have overcome all kinds of enemy offensives, including the enemy's use of "low-intensity conflict" strategy, the anticommunist ideological and political offensive related to the fall of the revisionist regimes, the misrepresentation of armed revolutionary movements as terrorism and, in certain cases, offers of peace negotiations and the sham calls for "peace and development". In maintaining the revolutionary position, they have outlasted the armed movements previously enjoying the support of revisionist-ruled countries as well as

bourgeois mass media hype. Such movements have been betrayed by opportunist leaders and led astray to capitulation and neocolonial compromise.

The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties, now waging protracted people's war, play a crucial role in the transition of the revolutionary proletariat and people from a period of revisionist betrayal and temporary setbacks, following the great victories of socialism and national liberation movements, in the second half of the 20th century to a new period of great struggles and great advances in the world proletarian-socialist revolution of the 21st century.

They hold high the torch of armed revolution. They light up the road of revolution and inspire the proletariat and people of the world, in both imperialist and oppressed countries, to wage ever more resolute and militant revolutionary struggles against the imperialists and the reactionary forces of darkness. The current victories of people's war are the victories of the proletariat and people of the world.

It is therefore the internationalist duty of all communist parties, all revolutionary forces and people to give all possible forms of support to parties and peoples that wage protracted people's war now and in the future. The victories of people's war strengthen and support all other forms of revolutionary struggle in the world.

Heightened Significance and Necessity of People's War

The objective conditions for waging people's war are excellent more than ever before. The gravity of the crisis of the world capitalist system is unprecedented since the Great Depression. The new world disorder is daily becoming worse. The current crisis exposes once more the parasitic, destructive and moribund character of monopoly capitalism. We are in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

In this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the imperialist powers use structures of states and business corporations to oppress and exploit the people, aggrandize national and ultranational interests, form international combines against the people and yet compete with each other. Likewise, in this era of proletarian revolution, the proletariat and its revolutionary parties lead the broad masses of the people in the struggle for socialism against imperialism in specific countries and on an international scale.

The rapidly rising social character of production through the adoption of higher technology is in sharp contradiction with the monopoly capitalist character of capital accumulation. This has resulted in the rapid concentration and centralization of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries.

The accelerated accumulation of capital under the imperialist policy of "free market" globalization involves not only the concentration of productive capital but more importantly also the unregulated growth of finance capital, which includes among others the overvaluation of assets,



speculative mergers and the flagrant use of international usury at the expense of the oppressed peoples.

The overaccumulation of capital and unbridled superprofit-taking by the monopoly bourgeoisie at the expense of the proletariat and people in both imperialist and oppressed countries entail chronically rising levels of mass unemployment, worsening wage and living conditions and unbridled attacks on the democratic rights and social gains of the working people. These have constricted the global market and have resulted in an ever-worsening crisis of overproduction in all types of goods.

The crisis of the world capitalist system falls most heavily on the oppressed peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America. They suffer the worst forms of oppression and exploitation in the hands of the imperialists and their reactionary stooges. A number of oppressed peoples are waging people's war and they are bound to increase. Thus, the storm centers in the present-day world continue to be the backward countries of the world. The crisis in Russia, East Europe and other former Soviet republics has further deepened, driving the vast majority of the people of these countries to the mercy of monopoly capital's rapacious greed. The imperialists' chain will break at its weakest links, where both the objective factors and subjective forces have matured for the seizure of political power.

The overwhelming majority of the countries dominated by imperialism have been depressed by the crisis of overproduction in raw materials since the late '70s. They have been subjected to deteriorating terms of trade, crushing debt burdens and a series of structural adjustment and austerity programs imposed by the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and World Trade Organization.

In the current aggravation of the world capitalist crisis, the so-called

emerging markets (countries whose export specialties have been promoted by imperialism) have plummeted economically and socially due to the global oversupply of their exports and their incapacity to pay for colossal foreign debts. Russia and the East European countries have also plunged from one level of economic and social degradation to another due to the rapacity of the ruling classes, the falling prices of their few exports and the mounting foreign debt.

The number of countries, where national industrial development is being prevented, stunted or destroyed and where the oppressed peoples suffer the severest forms of exploitation, have increased. Chronic mass unemployment ranges from 30 to 60 percent. Poverty afflicts the overwhelming majority of the people.

The contradiction between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat has also intensified in imperialist countries. The proletariat and the people are launching legal forms of struggle to make protests and demands. Under these circumstances, revolutionary parties of the proletariat can be built and can grow in strength in order to advance the revolutionary cause of socialism.

Under the great red banner of proletarian internationalism, the class struggle of the proletariat in imperialist countries can make further advances in concert with the anti-imperialist and class struggles in the semicolonial and semifeudal countries. The resistance of the oppressed peoples to the policy and efforts of the imperialists to shift to them the burden of the imperialist crisis conjoins with and supports the class struggle for socialism in the imperialist countries.

The imperialist powers collude in oppressing and exploiting the people of the world. But the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system leads to cutthroat competition, further crises, fascist currents and wars on a wider scale. These are inherent to imperialism.

At the moment, the imperialists, especially the US, and their local stooges are unleashing counterrevolutionary violence against the people. They are also busy expanding and reinforcing their military alliances and instigating regional and local wars.

However, with more Marxist-Leninist parties waging people's war on a wide scale, the people of the world can either avert a world war, or if any war breaks out upon the instigation of the imperialists, convert the war into a revolutionary war against the imperialists and their reactionary stooges. The worsening new world disorder is the prelude to social revolution on a global scale.

Background, Actuality and Potential of People's War

It is urgent to reaffirm the study and practice of Mao's teachings on people's war against the "low-intensity conflict" strategy of US imperialism as well as against the revisionist and petty-bourgeois obfuscation of these teachings since the mid-'70s.

These teachings resounded from the great victories of the Chinese and Indochinese peoples in people's war. But from the late '70s onward, the Chinese revisionists sought to liquidate the people's wars in Southeast Asia under the slogan of "regional stability, peace and development". They maneuvered from an anti-Soviet and anti-Vietnam position to a pro-US position and ultimately compelled the Khmer Rouge to submit to a "peace settlement" under UN auspices.

On their part, the Soviet revisionists boasted of their strategic military parity with the US and spread the notion that Soviet military assistance is the decisive factor for national liberation movements to win victory. Thus, revisionist and petty-bourgeois ideas of quick military victory, that depend on foreign assistance, gained

ground in these movements.

The Carter and Reagan regimes took up the Kennedy idea of "counter-guerrilla warfare" and pushed the "low-intensity conflict" strategy. Thus, they armed counterrevolutionaries in Angola, Mozambique and Nicaragua to counter and fight the patriotic and democratic aspirations of the people.

But several Marxist-Leninist parties leading people's war have persevered and grown in strength in the wake of the further degeneration or disintegration of movements and regimes under revisionist leadership or influence. They have preserved and strengthened themselves against all sorts of "counterinsurgency" campaigns, including the most brutal forms of military campaigns and population control and against the psywar tactics of "low-intensity conflict" or "low-intensity democracy".

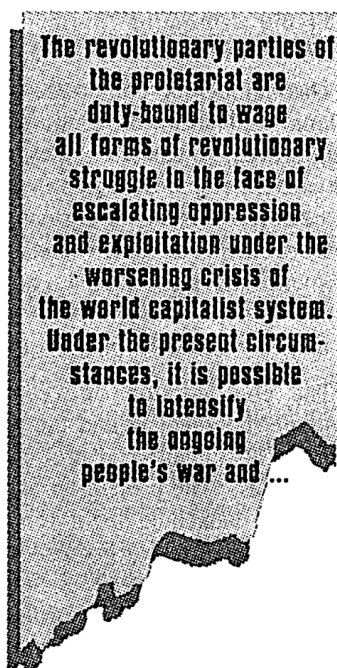
Having in mind the victories of people's war against the militarily and technologically superior enemy, they hold strategic hatred and contempt for the imperialist display of high-tech weapons in the positional war in the Gulf. They always remember how US imperialism used high-tech weapons in its war of aggression in Vietnam and Indochina but was roundly defeated by the people. They take the firm position that the most decisive force is people and not weapons.

Marxist-Leninist parties can continue to wage people's war and cannot be defeated by any kind or level of conflict unleashed by the imperialists and reactionaries because they do painstaking mass work among the peasant masses, mobilize them for agrarian revolution and thereby strengthen the worker-peasant alliance along the general line of new-democratic revolution, with a socialist perspective.

The revolutionary parties of the proletariat are duty-bound to wage all forms of revolutionary struggle in the

face of escalating oppression and exploitation under the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system. Under the present circumstances, it is possible to intensify the ongoing people's war and to initiate them in many more countries.

The collapse of the so-called emerging markets of East Asia renders fertile the ground for people's



war, especially in Southeast Asia. The Communist Party of the Philippines has proven in the last 30 years that it is possible for revolutionary forces to preserve themselves and grow in strength by waging people's war in a country that is historically and currently a major foothold of US imperialism.

Indonesia is now wracked by unprecedented social and political turmoil and conditions are ripe for people's war. The blood of more than one million martyrs cry out for justice and revolution. Suharto and his reactionary successors cannot be totally overthrown, without people's war being waged successfully by the Communist Party of Indonesia.

Conditions for waging people's war are also favorable in other Southeast Asian countries, such as Cambodia, Thailand, Burma and

Malaysia.

In South Asia, the newly reconstituted Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) People's War now comprised of the erstwhile CPI (ML) PW and the erstwhile CPI (ML) (People's Unity), the Maoist Communist Centre, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and other Marxist-Leninist parties are waging people's war. Other armed movements are also waging wars of national self-determination, which serve to weaken the reactionary states. The revolutionaries of India continue to take the road of Naxalbari. India is a vast stage for the great drama of people's war, comparable to China.

The Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist is leading people's war in a country that is at the crossroads of several global regions. It plays a signal role in the Balkans, Central Asia and the Middle East. In these regions are armed revolutionary movements for national determination against oppression (especially the one led by the Workers Party of Kurdistan) as well as fratricidal conflicts instigated by the imperialists and the local reactionaries. The people's war in Turkey adheres to the line of new-democratic revolution which has a socialist perspective.

In Latin America, the Communist Party of Peru plays an exemplary role in waging people's war amidst the long-running influences of focismo, petty-bourgeois urban insurrectionism, urban guerrilla warfare, and ideas that minimize the existence and revolutionary role of the peasant masses. There are also parties preparing to wage people's war in several more countries, as in Brazil.

Moreover, there are armed revolutionary movements, such as those in Colombia and Mexico, which in practice avail of the room for maneuver in the countryside but do not consider themselves Maoist even as some of their cadres read and study Mao. In certain countries, some parties lead

militant mass movements of the workers and the rest of the people and seek to combine workers' uprisings and armed peasants' uprisings.

In Africa, fratricidal conflicts instigated by the imperialists and local reactionaries are rampant. This is true in northern Africa, as in Algeria, as well as in central and southern Africa. There is also a degeneration of regimes that once before declared themselves as new-democratic or even socialist. In recent times, there is an antidespotic armed movement against the long-running Mobutu regime in the Congo. But there is still a need for a new-democratic revolution, through people's war in the entire African continent.

In Russia and the former Soviet bloc countries, there is rapid economic and social degradation because of the destruction of industries. There is once more an increasing ground for people's war as well as for workers' uprisings. In fact, there have been widescale armed uprisings in the hinterlands, as in the Caucasus and Central Asia. But these are still characterized by conflicts of reactionary interests, such as those between great Russian chauvinism and local nationalism.

Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties must arise and must wage people's war for a new-democratic revolution and subsequently socialist revolution, wherever the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords can no longer rule in the old way and the people demand armed revolution and wherever there is need for armed resistance against despotism and national oppression.

Calls for People's War and International Support

We, the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties now waging people's war,

hereby express the determination to persevere in and raise the level of revolutionary struggle in order to carry out the new-democratic revolution and proceed to the socialist revolution. We call upon all other revolutionary parties and oppressed peoples in countries where people's war is possible and necessary, to prepare for and proceed promptly to wage people's war.

We call upon all other armed revolutionary movements among the oppressed peoples to raise the level of their revolutionary struggle and to unite with Marxist-Leninist parties waging people's war on the common ground of anti-imperialist and democratic solidarity.

We call upon all the parties, mass organizations, movements, other entities and entire peoples, in all countries, to carry out and carry forward all possible and necessary forms of revolutionary struggle and support the forces waging revolutionary armed struggles for national liberation, people's democracy and socialism.

We call upon all parties to sign this declaration by way of manifesting their agreement therewith as well as their commitment to perform what is within their capability, either to carry out or to support the waging of people's war for national liberation, people's democracy and socialism anywhere in the world.

SIGNATORIES

Parties Waging People's War:

- * Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) People's War
- * Maoist Communist Centre (India)
- * Communist Party of the Philippines
- * Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist
- * *Other Signatures Expected*

Parties Supporting People's War:

- * Marxist-Leninist Organization of Afghanistan
- * Afghanistan People's Liberation Organization
- * Communist Party of Aotearoa
- * Workers' Party of Belgium (except paragraph 8)
- * Communist Party of Brazil (Marxist-Leninist)
- * Communist Party of Catalunya (Marxist-Leninist)
- * Communist Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist)
- * Workers' Communist Party of Norway
- * El Diario Internacional (Peru)
- * Russian Workers' and Peasants' Party

*** Other Signatures Expected**

The countryside provides the revolutionary forces the room for maneuver to grow from small to big and from weak to strong in the course of self-reliant revolutionary struggle.

The worsening new world disorder is the prelude to social revolution on a global scale.

We call upon all other revolutionary parties and oppressed peoples in countries where people's war is possible and necessary, to prepare for and proceed promptly to wage people's war.

December 1998

since 2016

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