

The Stand of CPI (Maoist) on the formation of International Communist League (ICL) Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Maoist)

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Note from RedLibrary: The International Communist League has responded to this document, called *Our Evaluation of The Stand of CPI (Maoist) on the Formation of International Communist League (ICL)*. Read it here: <https://redlibrary.info/works/icl/our-evaluation-of-the-stand-of-cpi-maoist-on-the-formation-of-international-communist-league-icl.pdf>

We could not immediately express the stand of our Party on the recently formed International Communist League (ICL). The reasons being, the utmost cruel reactionary fascist state offensive of the reactionary comprador bureaucratic exploitive ruling classes of India with the aim of eliminating New Democratic Revolution. The Central Committee of our party was engaged in priorly decided important issues. Our party already released its policy document on the formation of International Organisation in 2017 and this was published in Maoist Road as a part of the international debate. We are sorry for the delay.

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

The ICL declaration said, “The new international organization is a center of ideological, political, and organizational coordination, based on democratic centralism...” The CC, CPI (Maoist) opines that in the current situation where internationally Marxist-Leninist-Maoist movements are weak, it is immature to form a new International organisation basing on Democratic Centralism without a deep study, debate and synthesis at the international plane about the reasons for the dissolution of the IIIrd International in 1943; about the reasons for the CPC under the leadership of Mao to not form another International; and the work and experiences of the earlier Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM); without the decision to form an appropriate organisation in the current situation of ICM basing on agreed opinions after a discus-

¹<https://www.bannedthought.net/India/CPI-Maoist-Docs/Statements-2023/2023-06-11-CC-CPI-MaoistStandOnICL-Full-Yellow-OCR-Eng.pdf>

sion (in various forms) at the international level on the Program and Principles of Organisation to form an organisation such as ICL, similar to the Communist International. Therefore, we do not become part of ICL. However, we shall establish lively relations with you so as to greatly uphold the red proletarian International flag and the flags of MLM and World Socialist Revolution and take up struggle against revisionism and neo-revisionism so that revolutionary struggles develop all over the world. We see that it is our international proletarian responsibility to mutually exchange help and cooperation and experiences, to build solidarity movements and to make efforts to build anti-imperialist struggles.

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

In order to fulfil proper preparations such as ideological, political and organisational to realise International organisation of Maoist parties, consultations among the different parties is necessary to maximum possible extent. This process was not taken up properly by the UMIC. The differences on the ideological, political and organisational attitudes of the respective parties were not considered. The process of two line struggle initiated at the international plane is not yet complete. So, the ICL formed in the name of 'unified' reflects only 2 the attitude of one kind of Marxist-Leninist-Maoists. It does not represent the unified understanding of several parties.

Instead of the process followed for the formation of ICL and ICL, our Central Committee opines that there is a strong need to mobilise into a common forum that works basing on the approval and unanimity of all parties, so as, in addition to the parties in ICL, all the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary parties and organisations that are ideologically close to these, can mutually exchange their experiences and ideological and political stands; issue joint statements on international issues; take up struggle campaigns of common agreement against imperialism; draw clear lines of demarcation with the various revisionist and neo-revisionist trends (such as Prachanda-Avakian) and take up joint struggle against them; take up common campaigns with the objective to establish new democracy, socialism and ultimately communism in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; to exchange mutual help between the various parties;

and, to make mutual suggestions and constructive criticism for the development of the revolutionary movements. This apart, our CC also opines that it should have started the necessary preparations to form broad common forums against imperialism based on the above forum together with determined anti-imperialist forces and nationality liberation struggles. The policy document on formation of International proletarian organisation our CC released mentioned the same understanding.

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

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

Since class society emerged, the entire history of social development all over the world is the history of class struggles. There is uneven development in various countries in the process of world social development. Therefore, the revolutionary struggles of the respective countries pass through different levels and different stages. These struggles have their own particular characteristics. However, these always abide by the general rules of historical development. The progress of the historical development of the world through class struggle is certainly in the direction of new democracy, Socialism and Communism towards the direction of establishing exploitation free and classless society. The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties formed in different countries need to develop into strong and genuine vanguard organisations to achieve this objective. Therefore, as the comrades of Communist Party of Philippines (CPP) responded to the declaration of ICL, our party too opines that it is the utmost immediate task of the world communist parties and organisations to take up class analysis and social investigation of diversified conditions in their respective countries; by applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to decide the particular strategy and tactics; to lead the entire classes being oppressed and exploited; in order to take up new democratic, socialist revolutionary struggles. In the background of the current social changes and of the conditions where intense counter revolutionary offensive is being unleashed on all the revolutionary movements, where social-state fascism is arising, if we do not do so, normally there is a possibility that the revolutionary movements fall in spontaneity, right and left dangers. The teaching of the great Marxist teacher Mao about the need of concrete investigation of concrete conditions shall be the guide to every Maoist party.

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

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

Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communist parties, the Communist Party of Philippines, UOC (MLM), PCM Italia, Maoist Communist party of Galicia, Revolutionary Communists, Norway (RK), Direction Committee of Communist Workers' Union (MLM) Columbia, TKP/ML informed their stand on the draft proposal and ICL declaration related to the current general political line that International Communist Movement has to adopt. Prior to this our party published a document in which it clearly wrote about the experiences of International Communist Movement, synthesised the present international situation and of the movement and about the formation of International communist organisation appropriate to it, it means about a proletarian international organisation comprising Maoist parties, organisations and the related ideological, political and organisational aspects. ICM published this too. Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist), Tunisia, PCR-RCP Canada-Isra, Communist Party (Maoist) of Afghanistan, Union Obrera Comunista (MLM) made responsible study and observation, wrote critical notes and sent to CUMIC for debate. But there was no response from the organisers and supporters. They did not continue debate on these stands, contradictions and differences of opinion that came forth among revolutionary communists. Our party feels that the lack of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist

work style that applies the method of unity-struggle-unity, of ICL is creating hurdle to international unity and that it is unfortunate. Our party opines that we cannot achieve wide and strong unity with these sectarian attitudes and wrong methods and that the formation of ICL basing on the declaration representing the stands and special interests of one kind of Marxist-Leninist-Maoists. It opines that the formation of ICL basing on a declaration that represents their special interests is immature. It also opines that ICL must definitely work where there is no way for hegemony between the parties and keeping in view that proper comradely relations of mutual respect and equality depending upon ideological, political line.

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

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

Regarding few erroneous concepts in the draft document of CUMIC

The debate on the formulation ‘Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism’ or Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is not new to either us or ICM. We differed with earlier RIM on this issue. We do not agree to the formulation ‘principally Maoism’. This is against the understanding that proletarian ideology is an indivisible lively entity and that all that had been achieved until now universally through proletarian revolutionary practice is integral to this. We also do not agree to confining scientific socialism to the contribution of Mao Tse-tung. This is the wrong understanding/assessment continuing from the erstwhile RIM. Our party told earlier and have been telling now the formulation Marxism-Leninism-Maoism alone is correct. We have been saying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a qualitatively new, third, higher stage for the past two decades. We are working with this understanding. However, we use the word ‘Maoism’ for propaganda also.

We said clearly in the MLM document passed by the Unity Congress-Ninth Congress of CPI (Maoist) in 2007 January –

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is an integrated whole today. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the most advanced and scientific ideology of the world proletariat. Not only that, MLM is the all-powerful weapon, by which we can combat and defeat bourgeois ideology and all brands of revisionism, including that which may don the garb of Maoism.

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

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

Maoism is not just the sum total of Mao's great contributions. It is the most comprehensive and all-round development of the science of Marx-ism-Leninism that had taken shape in the period of the tremendous changes and great upheavals that had occurred in the world since the time of Com. Lenin, namely, the emergence of the Socialist camp following WW II; the upsurge of the national liberation struggles throughout the world leading to a new phase of neo-colonial control and exploitation; and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe with the usurpation of power by the modern revisionist Khrushchov clique. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is an integrated whole. Maoism is Marxism-Leninism of the present-day. To negate Maoism is to negate Marx-ism-Leninism itself.

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

international proletarian revolutionary tradition of sacrifice. ICM always remembers him and take him ideal.

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

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

The document mentioned about the 'universality of people's war' but did not say anything about the concrete strategy, basic tactics, clear program or principles of how it would take place in capitalist-imperialist countries. We feel it is ideologically and politically wrong to turn Protracted People's War that Mao formulated and China implemented, into a blue print and that it should be implemented in all countries irrespective of the stage of social development of various countries of the world.

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

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

the change in world situation at the time, in the balance of forces in the camp of revolutionary camp and reactionary camp.

On the assessment of Stalin

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

On some erroneous aspects in ICL declaration

On the whole we agree to the five aspects mentioned in the declaration about the demarcation drawn between Marxism and revisionism. However, the declaration did not mention one of the criteria put forward by Mao, 'three great styles related to work style' that clearly separates the proletarian party from bourgeois and revisionist parties. The declaration correctly said that without making war against revisionism, all kinds of opportunism non-compromisingly inseparable with that against imperialism and entire reaction, ICM cannot make one step forward towards re-unity and that the principle of 'two line struggle is the motive force for the development of the party.' However, in practice, formation of ICL leaving aside two line struggle mid-way does not help for the unity of ICM. We also do not agree some more aspects in the declaration. We feel that a debate will take place on various such differences of opinion among Marxist-Leninist-Maoists as a part of two line struggle with the objective of achieving and strengthening unity in ICM. We present here our understanding on some important aspects of the declaration that we do not agree.

People's War

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

ICL declaration document says –

The fundamental of Maoism is Power, in other words, the power to the proletariat, the power to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the power based on an armed force led by the Communist Party

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

these base areas, the task of further strengthening the base politically, economically and culturally and Protracted People's War will definitely contribute to achieve more new victories.

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

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

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

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

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

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

International situation

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

The theory that was mentioned about the ‘main contradiction’ in the declaration of ICL is confusing. Is it the lack of concrete observation of the developments of the world? Is it falling in metaphysical understanding that the emergence of super powers, the zenith of imperialism shall exist until being destroyed through war or revolution? How far is it correct to place the struggle against the hegemony of super powers in the place of anti-imperialist struggle? Do they see the emergence of super powers

in the era of imperialism as the zenith of concentration-accumulation of monopoly capital with the mechanical understanding; that only since concentration-accumulation of capital-products rises step by step, the big imperialist forces will gradually reduce in number and few big forces shall remain super forces? Do they take into consideration the teaching of Lenin and Mao-CPC on the unequal development of capitalism and the developments in world capitalist system?

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

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

— Lenin in *Imperialism--The Highest stage of capitalism*

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

Due to World War II and worldwide national liberation struggles, except for America, the rest of the imperialist forces weakened to such an extent that after war, they did not have an alternative other than to depend on America to rebuild their economies that were shattered in war. These countries almost lost their colonies and fell in loans due to heavy expenditure on war. On the other hand, US imperialism not only passed through the imperialist war without a considerable blow, but also acted as a trader of supplying deadly weapons and strategic war material to both sides of war. It benefited more than any other country. As a result, the balance of forces between US and other

imperialist forces started to drift towards US since the beginning of 20th century. This led up to the hegemony of US during World War II.

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

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

There were subsequent changes in international situation. Due to the following developments there were changes in the balance of forces between US super power and the various imperialist forces – the heroic struggles of oppressed nationalities and people in Asia, Africa and Latin America; the huge military expenditure that pushed US economy to stagnation in its bid to hold colonies, neo-colonies and areas of influence; Considerable technical knowledge and capacity of production developed in big imperialist countries such as Germany and Japan, those overcame the Octopus hands of US imperialism and emerged as its strong contenders in the world market; the collapse of Soviet super power; the gradual decreasing share of US in almost all spheres of world market and its economic weakness; the weakening of hegemony of US super power on the other imperialist countries; the internal collusion-contention between imperialists; fascism became the main trend all over the world; the imperialist wars of aggression that took place in the leadership of US for control on world market and resources. These developments prove that the birth of super powers is not a permanent development, this is not even the zenith of imperialism and that it was the result of particular historic conditions.

If we observe the present situation of the world – in the background of intensifying general crisis in capitalism, the world economic crisis in capitalist-imperialist system that began in 2008 continues to exist. As per the changes in the balance of forces of imperialist countries, this economic, political and financial crisis is constantly pushing

the imperialist countries in the direction to spread the resources of raw material and cheap labor, markets, spheres of capital and areas of influence to re-divide the world market among them. This is leading to contention and conflict between imperialists and formation of economic and military (strategic) alliances. There are great changes in world politics.

The strategic weakness of US super power that started in mid-1970 haunted it and it lost its earlier prosperity in all sectors and lost the status of super power by the beginning of the second decade of 21st century. Multipolar world was formed. However, US imperialism continues to be the number one enemy of the people of the world. Social-imperialist China became the main contender to US in economic, political and military spheres in the past decade and is contending for re-division of the world market. Although the severity of COVID pandemic lessened, it still exists in a few countries. The economies of all countries were shattered due to lock downs and various other controls. The imperialist contention between US and Russia led to Russia-Ukraine war that still continues. Tensions are on the rise between US and China on Taiwan issue. On the other hand, there is collusion-contention between all these countries in West Asia (Middle East). In fact, when we see the internal conflict between imperialists in an objective manner, we do not find any base for the concept of 'sole hegemonic super power.' The danger of World War III is increasing as a result of the preparations for war of the imperialist countries for re-division of the world as per the Marxist rule that "collusion is temporary and relative while contention is permanent and absolute." We see a spate of anti-imperialist struggles in backward countries all over the world and the spate of working-class struggles began and is continuing in capitalist-imperialist countries. These developments are the result of sharpening of fundamental contradictions day by day. We opine that the fundamental contradictions of the world and the main contradiction are – 1. The contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations and people 2. The contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the capitalist and imperialist countries 3. The contradiction among imperialist countries and among monopoly capitalist groups.

Since the degeneration of the last socialist base China, the fourth fundamental contradiction – we agree with the declaration of ICL regarding this contradiction. However, we concretely explain our understanding –

The contradiction between socialist camp and imperialist camp is temporarily extinct. The struggle between socialism and capitalism continues all through the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. Today it is mainly expressed as the struggle between two contending classes in ideological, political and cultural spheres – the proletariat that represents socialist forces and the bourgeoisie that represents capitalism. The strength of guerrilla bases and Revolutionary People's Committees formed in the countries where Protracted People's Wars are going on did not yet develop into stable liberated areas and effective, alternate political power due to counter revolutionary offensive of the enemy. There is intense class struggle in these areas. The victory of revolution and

the re-emergence of socialist camp in one or many countries shall bring the fourth fundamental contradiction once again into the fore.

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

In the situation where the proletariat of the world do not have a socialist system/a stable base formed through destruction of capitalist system, is similar to the condition earlier to October revolution. The proletariat of the world, oppressed nationalities and oppressed people are opposing and resisting counter revolutionary wars that are being unleashed by the imperialists through aggression and interventional policies. World proletariat, Maoist parties-organisations enlighten, mobilise the oppressed nationalities and people with the theory of MLM in its light and are fighting with the objective to end imperialism and all kinds of reactionary forces responsible for these wars. The entire revolutionary forces, workers and other oppressed classes and sections have the great task to further enlighten the oppressed masses on the entire planet in the light of MLM and intensify, consolidate and unite these struggles. If imperialists dare to make World War III, the world proletariat must take up tactics to transform this war into civil war with the objective to smash them and accomplish proletarian revolutions. We must fight back all the conspiracies of the imperialists and revisionists by instigating bourgeois national chauvinism to split the oppressed nationalities and people and sustain their rule. The proletarian vanguard revolutionary parties must bring together the proletariat, middle class, students, youth, progressive intellectual section, organisations of democratic and progressive movements (such as those working on environment, anti-racism, gender problem and migrant labour) of capitalist and imperialist countries and advance socialist revolutions and the New Democratic Revolutions and national liberation struggles in backward countries.

After Soviet social imperialism collapsed as a super power, neo-revisionist theories of Avakian came forth in the end of the last century that 'America is the sole hegemonic super force' and Prachanda's 'America is a globalized imperialist state.' All these opportunist 'modern' theories are based on the theory of 'ultra-imperialism' of Kautsky. According to this theory imperialism overcomes crisis on its own and solves the entire contradictions of the sole monopoly centre. All these theories in essence say nothing but imperialism is omnipotent, does not suffer defeat and cannot be resisted by anyone. The Nepal Maoist party joined the comprador ruling classes and betrayed Nepal revolution, People's War, world communist movement, especially the revolutionary movement in South Asia with the understanding that imperialism is invincible and it is impossible to achieve victory on it. It is surprising that the ICL declaration said in the first contradiction on one hand that there are abundant 'oppressed countries' and on the other the main contradiction to be between 'oppressed countries and imperialist super powers.' We opine that this does not suit the existing politico-economic condi-

tions of the world. What does this kind of synthesis of ICL related to world conditions and fundamental contradictions reveal? Is this not on contrary to the real condition? Is not imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism trampling the proletariat, peasantry and other broad oppressed masses in semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries? Does not speaking of main contradiction in this manner in such a condition divert what the world socialist revolution must concentrate upon?

About the second contradiction – ICL declaration mentioned this as the contradiction between proletariat and bourgeoisie. Our party opines that by mentioning this contradiction in this manner, its particularity will not be expressed. But speaking about this contradiction as ICL said, affects the communist parties in capitalist-imperialist countries to formulate proper strategy and tactics in order to prepare the proletariat and revolutionary forces for socialist revolution, and to take up practice accordingly. Consequently, they fall in spontaneity. We opine that this is one of the important problems faced by the revolutionary parties in these countries. Exactly for this reason, this contradiction is also applied to the contradiction between the proletariat and comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the oppressed countries and the three fundamental contradictions in these countries were also mentioned. It did not mention another fundamental contradiction among the ruling classes in those countries for reasons not known. Mingling the contradictions at the international plane and those in the respective countries is not a proper method as per MLM. This causes confusion even regarding tasks to be taken to solve those contradictions.

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

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

It is very strange that the declaration mentions that it is revisionism to say that ‘imperialism is in blocks.’ It is a well-known fact that imperialism means war and that the two World Wars happened only after the imperialist countries formed into two antagonistic

blocks. Starting from World War II, especially since the US and Russia emerged as imperialist super powers, as per the principle of unequal development and according to the changes in the balance of forces of the imperialist countries, the imperialist countries formed economic and military blocks in their favour time to time and these frequently underwent changes. This entire process has the history of six decades. The trend is that all the imperialist countries have been making several economic and military agreements and are contending-colluding to exploit the oppressed nationalities and people all over the world, for hegemony over natural resources, for areas of cheap labour, for markets and for areas of influence. Apart from US and Russia, several imperialist countries are severely contending in producing all kinds of arms, sell them in the world market and gain profits. Imperialist proxy war broke in the form of war of aggression of Russia on Ukraine in the end of 2022 February that once again brought forth the danger of World War III. Cannot we clearly see the changing imperialist alliances and blocks time to time behind these developments? It is not correct for ICL to say that it is revisionism to speak of this objective reality. We opine that this is a very wrong understanding.

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

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

Three magnificent weapons

The understanding of the declaration on the problem of party organisation – ‘Chairman Mao Tse-tung developed the construction of the Party around the gun...’ is topsy-turvy. The declaration said thus in continuation to the above sentence – ‘...

put forward the interrelated construction of the three instruments: Communist Party, Army of a new type and revolutionary United Front, among which the center is the Communist Party...’ Declaration skipped some more important aspects that Mao said about party organisation. Is there not a contradiction between what Mao said and the declaration? We briefly write here the aspects we feel correct on party organisation. In fact, Mao never mentioned that party is centered around the gun. He wrote ‘... Yet, having guns, we can create Party organizations, as witness the powerful Party organizations which the Eighth Route Army has created in northern China. We can also create cadres, create schools, create culture, create mass movements. Everything in Yen-an has been created by having guns...’² But as mentioned above he said ‘Our principle is that the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party.’ Mao described Party, People’s Army and revolutionary United Front as three magic weapons. The declaration did not mention this.

The document on *Strategy and Tactics of Indian Revolution* of our party that Unity Congress-Ninth Congress approved mentioned thus about the importance of People’s Army –

We cannot conceive of people’s war without a people’s army...

In a country like ours, the revolution will go on from the beginning mainly through the form of armed struggle. Throughout the course of the new democratic revolution armed struggle or war will be the principal form of struggle and army will be the principal form of organization. Neither the work of organisation of the people nor the work of building mass struggles can go on successfully without the support of the people’s armed forces. The party can consolidate the achievements of mass struggles only by expanding and developing the guerrilla war, and will thus be able to lay the foundation for the alternative people’s political power...

If we do not formulate a military line corresponding to the correct political line, we cannot achieve our revolutionary objective. The military line should be subordinate to the political line. The correct military line takes birth in struggle, develops through struggle and takes a clear shape in the course of struggle. It is only by waging incessant ideological struggle against the Right and “Left” opportunist lines that we can successfully carry out the protracted people’s war.

In this context we quote below the teachings of great Marxist teachers on the organisation of revolutionary party and our understanding in the light of MLM –

Lenin said “There is no revolution without revolutionary theory,” “there is no revolutionary movement without revolutionary party,” “the proletariat, in its struggle for power, has no weapon other than organisation.” Mao explained thus - “If there is to be

²*Problems of war and strategy.*

revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist – Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist - Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs.”

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

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

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

As per the understanding of our party, party is one of the three powerful magnificent weapons needed to accomplish New Democratic Revolution in India with the perspective of Socialism-Communism. Party is the sole weapon that can efficiently utilise the other two weapons. Communist Party provides correct ideological, political, organisational and military leadership with great foresight in every turn and every phase of revolution. The utmost important problem is to guide it through correct ideological, political line. The work of the party prior to revolution and until the achievement of Socialism-Communism must be based on correct ideological, political line. It is impossible to formulate correct program and strategy-tactics for revolution and achieve success in revolution without the proletarian theory of MLM. Proletarian party will have to keep revolutionary politics in command and take up practice in the light of MLM.

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

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

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

centralism must be practiced to motivate the entire party members. We can thus further strengthen the party.

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

Without a centralised leadership based on democracy, it is impossible to rectify wrong political lines and other mistakes. Everyone commits mistakes. No one is above mistakes. Although the role of capable leadership is utmost vital in revolution, strong collective leadership is stronger than any individual. Normally the thinking of collective will be correct and powerful than that of an individual. Central Committee can make better decisions through collective effort. It can formulate political lines, plans and tactics. It can rectify mistakes in decisions and practice. If the lower rung cadres of various levels are not made part of creatively applying the decisions of the Central Committee/higher committees to the concrete condition of the movement and making decisions apart from affairs in their purview, they do not own those decisions. They will be separated from it. Their enthusiasm reduces to the extent of the number of those that separate from the decisions made. They cannot implement them efficiently. They lack the strength to mobilise the people on its basis and to fight. Exactly for this reason we oppose individual cult, commanding and giving boons.

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

About three great swords

The description of Marx, Lenin and Mao as three great swords in the ICL declaration is not only surprising but condemnable. ICL declaration said, “...Thus, we communists have three great swords: our founder Marx, the great Lenin and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, our great task is to uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism...” We strongly oppose the mention in this formulation of great Marxist teachers as three great swords. We see Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao as great Marxist teachers.

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

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

Over assessments

- Declaration made over assessments of several aspects – “The general counterrevolutionary offensive that was unleashed in the beginning of the 90s of the last century - mainly by Yankee imperialism - is being defeated by the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary counteroffensive through the People’s Wars, the struggles for national liberation and the struggles developed by the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world” (5th para of page 3). Instead of saying general counterrevolutionary offensive is being defeated, here it would be proper to say that the revolutionary counteroffensive had been fighting it back to an extent. The reason being, although the entire revolutionary democratic forces and movements in addition to the MLM parties resisted imperialist offensive intensely and widely for four decades starting from 1990s, Nepal revolution suffered horrible betrayal; revolutionary forces and national liberation forces suffered severe losses in the counter revolutionary offensive of the enemy; although ICM relatively strengthened with the formation of new MLM parties-organisations and its activities, it is yet weak and is not strong enough to defeat imperialist offensive. This is an objective reality. Today the task of every Maoist party and ICM is to develop to the level of defeating the imperialist offensive.
- Objective condition is very favourable. There is a spate of people’s struggles all over the world. But the Maoist parties are not in a situation to catch up the spate. They are subjectively weak. The parties must make intense effort to overcome the weakness. Maoist parties can lead worldwide struggles only through building strong revolutionary movements in its leadership and strengthening subjectively. It can thus transform this spate of struggles into a great wave of proletarian revolution.

- “...When a New Great Wave of the World Proletarian Revolution is produced in the world with the ongoing People’s Wars in India, Peru, Turkey, and the Philippines, and its preparation in many other countries, when the heroic struggles of national resistance and people’s resistance emerge around the whole world...” this is an over assessment of the situation. The level of People’s Wars in 5-6 countries or the level of other struggles mentioned above are not in a position to create a new great wave of world proletarian revolution. National liberation struggles and people’s resistance struggles are going on in a big way but they lack proper and strong leadership. They are scattered. Therefore, according to the objective situation of revolution we must make all kinds of attempts in the light of MLM for these to understand the existing situation and develop. The situation that can create great wonders will be come, if we dare to politically enlighten the people, mobilise them in class struggle and consolidate with the undeterred confidence that people are the makers of history; if we can lead Protracted People’s Wars with great courage and determination; and efficiently lead Socialist Revolutions. There is no easy going gway other than this.

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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