

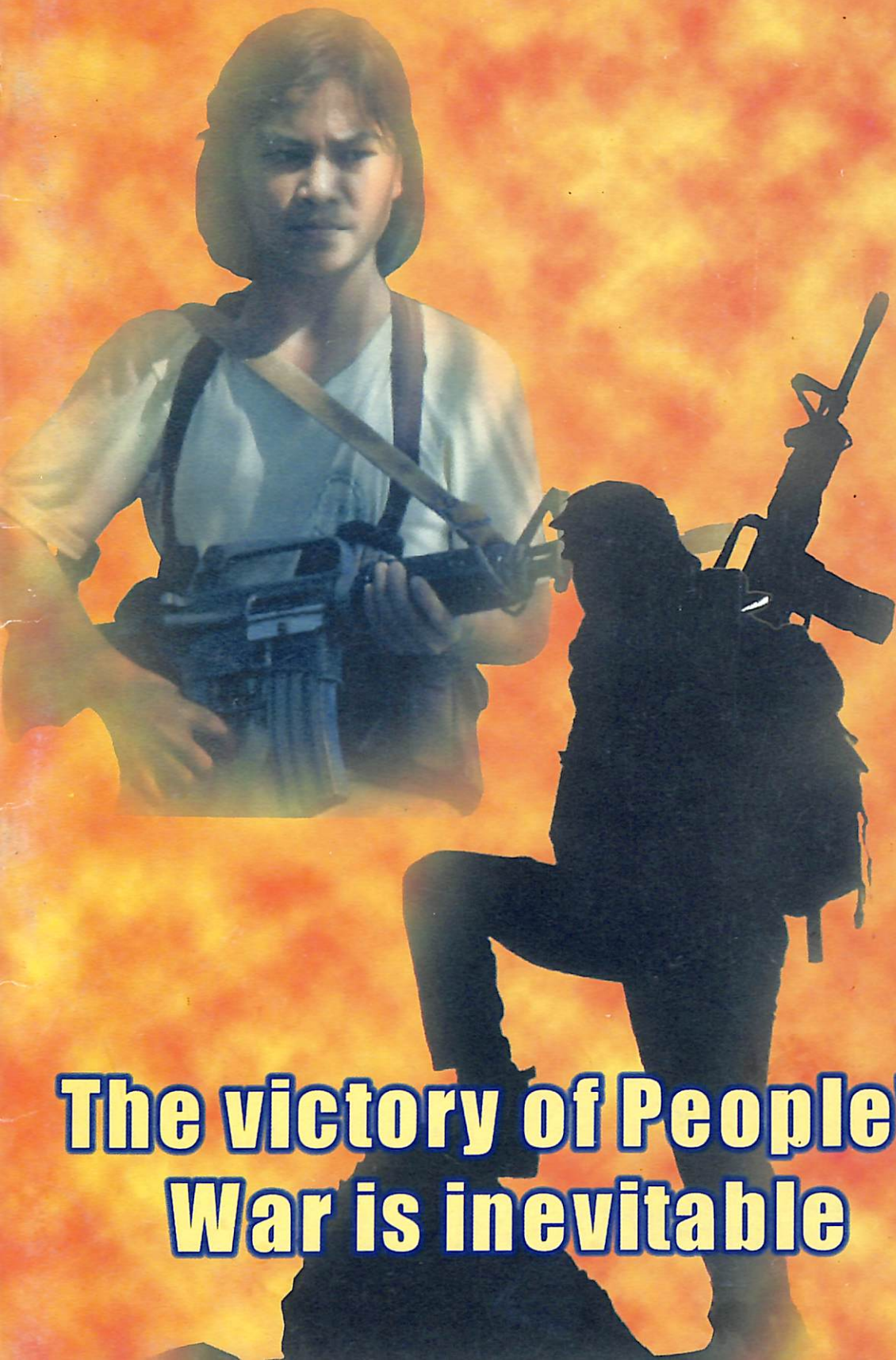
VANGUARD

An International Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Publication



"Without a people's army, the people have nothing"

Issue : 1 Date : Autumn 99 Pries : 5\$, 3&, 10 DM



The victory of People's War is inevitable



Glory To The 50th Anniversary Of The Victory Of People's Democratic Revolution in China Led By Mao Tsetung!



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**INTRODUCING THE
VANGUARD**

The convenors of the 1998 International Seminar on Mao and People's War have decided to publish *Vanguard* Marxist-Leninist-Maoist International Publication as one more follow up step to the seminar which was attended by parties and organizations waging people's war and those supporting people's war.

This first issue contains the Communique and the General Declaration that was signed by many participants of the seminar. Also contained in this issue are documents and articles on the development of people's war in India, Nepal, Peru, Philippines and Turkey.

The publishers hope that this publication can serve as one more vehicle for the dissemination of theoretical articles, features, news, correspondences, and other written material on the theory and practice of revolution with the view of contributing to the further advance of the revolutionary struggles in various countries and the entire world proletarian revolution.

The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties waging people's war are of critical importance in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. They address the central question of revolution—the armed seizure of political power. The concrete conditions in their countries allow and require them to wage protracted people's war.

In so doing, even as they are still in the stage of carrying out the new-democratic revolution under proletarian leadership, they uphold in theory and practice the Marxist-Leninist theory of state and revolution. The anti-imperialist and class struggle must lead to the class dictatorship of the proletariat.

They play an outstanding revolutionary role amidst global conditions in which the imperialists and the local reactionaries are escalating the exploitation and oppression of the proletariat and people and are unleashing wars of aggression and internecine wars.

Under the present circumstances, the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties waging people's wars play a banner 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 wars in the semicolonial and semifeudal countries, the proletariat in the imperialist countries could be further weakened politically with a greater possibility of being further led astray towards reformism and revisionism.

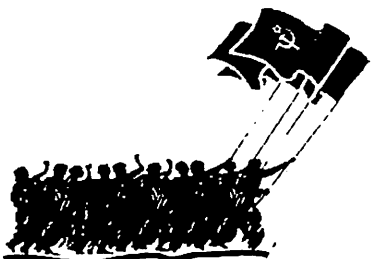
It is certain that armed revolutions led by the revolutionary party of the proletariat will increase throughout the world on an unprecedented scale. The scientific basis of our revolutionary optimism is the ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system.

The proclamation of the General Declaration on Mao and People's War is very timely. It seeks to firm up the resolve of the existing Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties to persevere in protracted people's war and to inspire more Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties to arise and advance the world proletarian revolution.

We look forward to a resurgence of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and for socialism in the 21st century. The future belongs to the proletariat and the people of the world!

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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.

o r
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

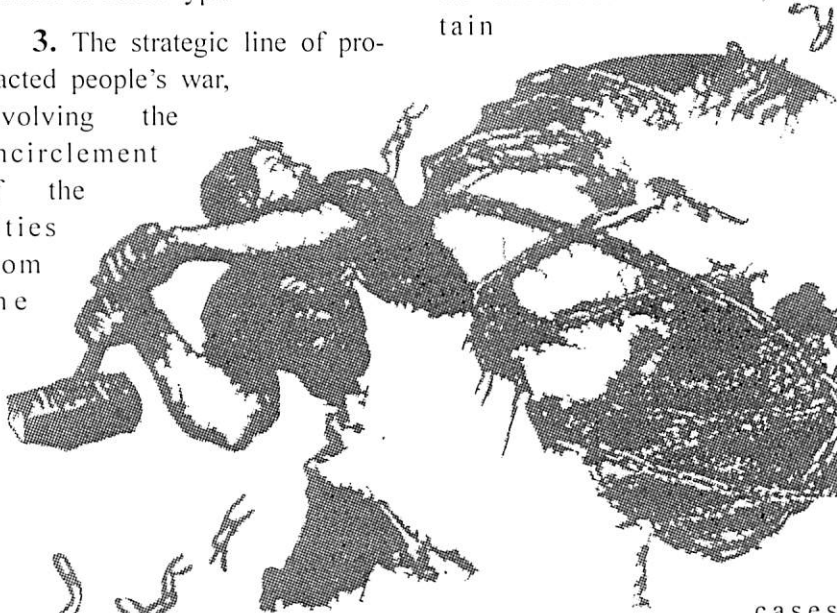
Moreover, even with recognition of some differences they pledge to carry out further political and ideological discussions and at the same time carry out common practical tasks in struggle and in order to achieve a higher level of unity.

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 Organizaon 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

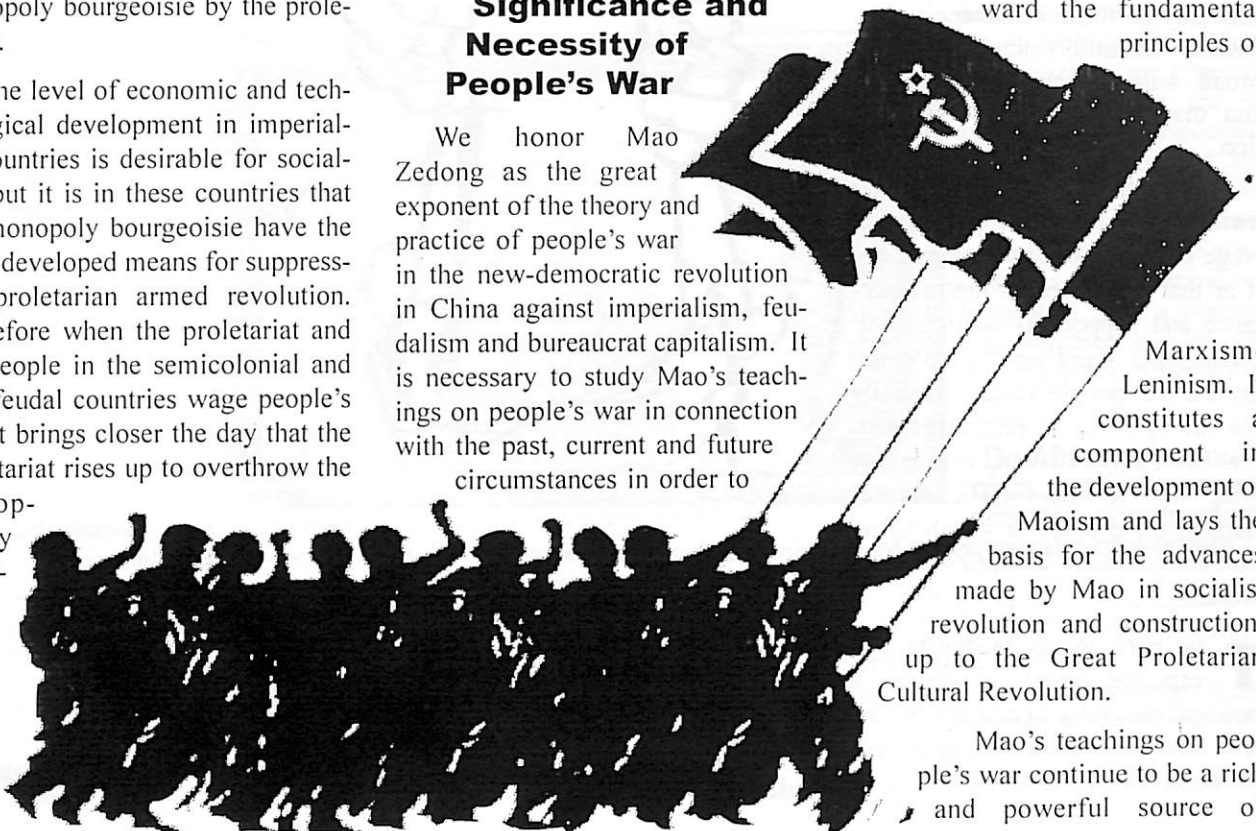
wage it. Carried out correctly and given full play under the leadership of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, people's war is an invincible weapon in new-democratic revolutions.

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.

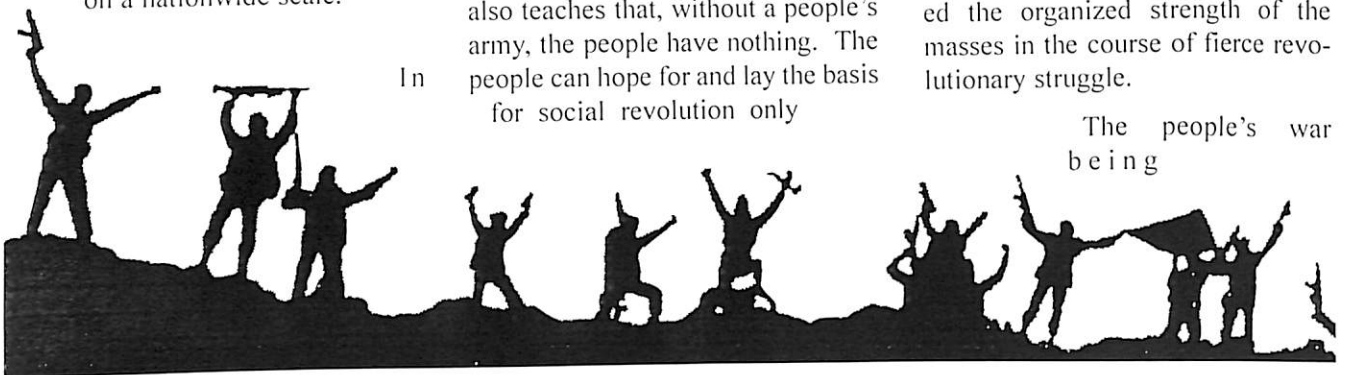
The strategic line of protracted people's war is not applicable in industrial capitalist countries. But the general theory of people's war is undeniably of universal significance. It is likewise of universal significance that the class struggle in the imperialist countries and the protracted people's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

In





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".

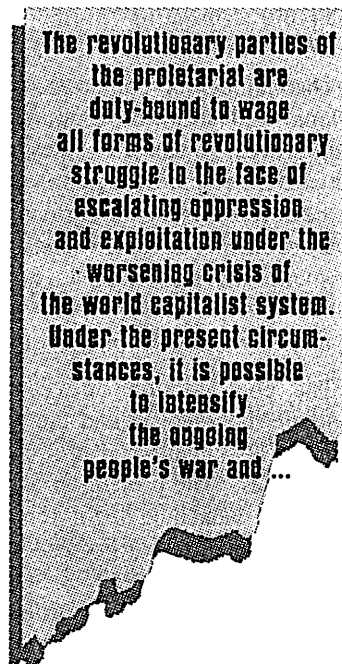
Having in mind the victories of people's war against the militarily and technologically superior enemy, they hold strategic hatred and contempt for the imperialist display of high-tech weapons in the positional war in the Gulf. They always remember how US imperialism used high-tech weapons in its war 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 rife 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



HAIL THE 30th ANNIVERSARY OF PARTY FORMATION

Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) [People's War]

Three decades back, on the birth centenary of the great Lenin, April 22, 1969, the CPI (M-L) was born. After forty years of revisionist domination of the Indian communist movement this historic break changed the entire course of India's political development. Never again has Indian polity been the same. It brought the path of armed struggle on to the agenda, extracting Indian politics from the stagnant, putrefied filth of the Indian

parliament, and giving it a nascent freshness.

It injected a new life into a dispirited, disillusioned country, dispelling the pessimism of two decades of fake independence. It inspired an entire generation of youth to a new world, built on justice, equality, truth and freedom.

The party, built on the foundations of the great Naxalbari uprising and cemented together with the ideological struggle against revisionism, chartered a new path for India's future. Charu Mazumdar, its pioneer, gave it its roots by his historic eight essays against the revisionists and by initiating the armed struggle in Naxalbari. The setback in 1972, caused by a combination of brutal fascist attacks and incorrect tactics, does not in any way detract from the party formation's historic significance.

The lives of over ten thousand comrades martyred has not gone in vain; as the CPI (M-L) [People's War], drawing lessons from the left sectarian errors of that period, has marched forward in the

spirit of Naxalbari and along the basic line chalked out at its first Congress (the Eighth Congress) in 1970. Developing the strong points, rectifying the errors, learning from experience and basing on Marxism-Leninism-Mao ZeDong Thought or Maoism, communist revolutionaries, primarily from Andhra Pradesh (AP) and Bihar, advanced forward along the path of armed struggle and re-established centres of the original CPI (M-L).

The November 1995 Special Conference of the erstwhile CPI (M-L) [People's War], the August 1998 merger between it and the erstwhile CPI (M-L) [Party Unity] and the formation of a provisional central committee of a re-constituted CPI (M-L) [People's War] are important steps forward along the path established by the party formation in 1969 and its first Congress in 1970.

Naxalbari and party formation are two sides of the same coin. Naxalbari, without party formation, would be like a shot in the dark—an isolated event. Without consolidation of all anti-revisionist forces throughout the country, which took place only through the process of party formation, the fruits of the uprising would have frittered away. And party formation was inconceivable without Naxalbari, which helped dispel four decades of entrenched revisionism through a living example of the new path of armed struggle. The 'Spring Thunder over India' was the





clarion call to all genuine communist revolutionaries of the country; party formation was its consolidation.

After 1972, with the decimation of the bulk of the party, the revolutionary forces slowly began to recoup. While one section of the CPI (M-L), continuing with the Left line got wiped out, another section went back into the muck of parliament, and, from a right deviation soon landed in the lap of revisionism. Only a few amongst the CPI (M-L) continued along the revolutionary path, while correcting the Left errors. Of these, the major two forces were the erstwhile CPI (M-L) [People's War] and CPI (M-L) [Party Unity]. Of the non-CPI (M-L) forces a major revolutionary group that grew was the MCC in parts of Bihar.

Today, the unified CPI (M-L) [People's War] has two primary level guerilla zones - and five regions which are at the preparatory level of guerilla zone. Besides, there are party units developing mass activity and revolutionary struggles in seven more states of India - i.e. West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Haryana, Punjab and Delhi. The party brings out three central magazines in English (also in Hindi) and eight state-level magazines in six different languages. Though the party has recovered after the 1972 setback, it is still a very small force relative to the entire country. Yet, on this 30th Anniversary of Party formation it can be said that, not only has the party once again attained its former stature, it has grown considerably.

GUERRILLA ZONE

The heart of the party are the guerilla zones developing in the three regions of the country. In these areas in the villages, the mass organisations — i.e., the youth organisations, the peasant organisations, the women's organisations and in many places also the children's organisations — developed first. Built mostly around partial demands of the masses and while simultaneously fighting against feudal and state authority in the areas.



With the growth of this movement and with the smashing of feudal domination and the weakening of state control in the area, there developed the parallel administrative structures - the Village Development Committees (VDCs), the Justice Committees, the Education Committees and various credit and cooperative societies. All these developed under continuous police and paramilitary counter-insurgency operations. Also there developed the village militias and self-defence groups - the Gram Rakshak Dals (GRDs).

With a relative consolidation of these organisations and with the growth of the party's political influence in the area, reflected in the formation of party cells at the village level, the parallel organs of power

began to grow — the Gram Rajya Committees (GRCs). The GRC is a united front of all anti-feudal (anti-imperialist) classes at the village level, under the leadership of the landless and poor peasants.

The main organising factor in a given area is the armed squad, which has a jurisdiction extending from 40 to 60 villages. The overseeing of the entire political and organisational work of one squad area is looked after by the party Squad Area Committee (SAC) within each squad. Military command lies with the commander and deputy commander. Though, as yet, there is much overlapping between the two, the objective is to separate the two responsibilities for greater effectivity.

All SACs come under the Divisional/District Committees (DCs). A DC has anything from four to eight squads under it. The two Guerilla Zones are looked after by Special Zonal Committees (under the CC) each of which have 4 to 5 DCs under them.

Now let us look at the growing revolutionary movement in India with particular focus on activities during the last year or two. We will give examples of a few incidents to help give a more concrete picture of what is going on.

Growing Mass Movement

The mass movements are basically of three kinds: First, struggles against the local class enemies; second, against the state; and third, widespread political campaigns. Often, the first two overlap as the state intervenes on behalf of their class associates.



In the rural areas the chief struggle is for land - i.e., seizure of landlords land and occupation of government/forest/waste land. Regarding landlords' land it is a see-saw battle of seizure; police / landlord intervention and re-taking of the land, fight for the crop, again seizure and so on. Regarding government/forest land hundreds of thousands of acres have been occupied in both the primary and preparatory levels of guerilla zones. To take some examples of struggle from last year.

In Nizamabad district (NT) between January and March '98, 916 acres of the land of landlords in 18 villages were seized and distributed to 540 families. Another 20 acres of forest land was distributed; and 40 acres of fruit orchards, three tractors and two sugarcane crushers were retained as the collective property of the concerned village.

In a village in Karimnagar district (NT) 16 acres belonging to the landlord were occupied by 200 landless and poor peasants. A five member 'land struggle committee' has been formed, and they collectively till the land using 20 ploughs.

In another village in Warangal district (NT) confiscated landlord's land was forcibly taken back in 1992 using police and paramilitary forces. The landlord again began cultivation. As struggle intensified the government intervened by buying over the landlord's land at hiked rates and selling it to their stooges. The party warned that the land should not be sold. As this was ignored the local party unit decided that the crop should be seized. Once the crop was harvested the peasant organisation seized all the 138 bags

(14 tonnes) of paddy and distributed it among themselves.

Besides the land question the organisation takes up a host of other issue like - wage rates, for agricultural labour, wage rates for forest work, remunerative price for agricultural produce, lowering cost of inputs, anti-famine, anti-drought struggles, etc. Let us look at a couple of examples from last year.

In NT there were numerous struggles to raise the wages of bonded and daily wage-labourers. In a village of Karimnagar 200 bonded labourers struck work for two days and organised a mass meeting. The landlord and rich peasants then agreed to hike the yearly payment to Rs. 12,000 and also accepted the other demands. In several villages, after labourers struck work from 2 to 5 days the daily wage-rates were increased - for men from Rs. 25/- to Rs. 35/- and for women from Rs. 20/- to Rs. 30/-.

Throughout NT and DK, as is the case every summer, there were widespread mass movements to raise the wage-rate for Tendu leaf (used to make a type of local cigarette called bidis) picking. In DK, during the summer of 1998 the tribals organised themselves into "tendu leaf workers' struggle committees"

in about one thousand villages in

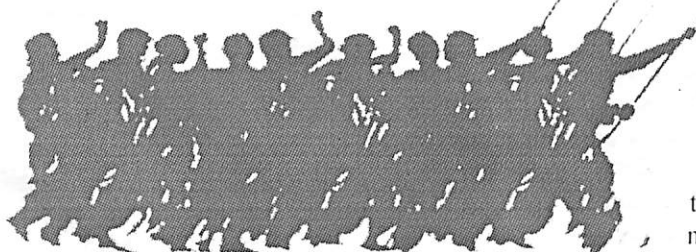
Gadchiroli and Bhandara districts. After numerous

strikes, while the Maharashtra government announced a hiked rate of 66½ paise per bundle. the masses extracted from the contractors 135 paise per bundle. In NT, in Warangal, for example, 11 struggle committees were formed and the contractors were forced to give 140 paise per bundle. In the MP part of DK the government cancelled all picking resulting in huge rallies and the burning of millions of rupees worth bamboos stocked in government godowns. Last year there were horrible droughts and famine conditions specifically in DK and also in NT. The government did nothing.

Throughout DK the tribals came out in big rallies and demonstrations against the government demanding compensation and relief for famine victims. They also participated in large numbers in raids against big landlords and hoarders, confiscated their grain and property and distributed it amongst the poor. Throughout DK over 1,00,000 people were mobilised. 'Anti-famine struggle Committees' were formed in several places which collected 100 tonnes of foodgrain and Rs. 1.6 million cash and distributed this to the famine stricken people. For example in the Kunta squad area of MP (DK), 20,000 people from 180 villages participated in a rally in Kunta town carrying their traditional weapons. In Malkangiri town of Orissa (DK), a 10,000 strong rally was held. The entire mobilisation was done by the powerful peasant organisation namely DAKMS and the women's organisation KAMS. In fact the major participation was by the women.

Besides, last year in NT there was a massive movement of the peasants for better prices of agricultural produce, for regular supply of electricity to pump-sets, and for reduction in prices of inputs.

In Bihar, where feudalism and big-landlordism is deeply entrenched the erstwhile CPI (M-L)[Party Unity] has been battling the land-lord armies.



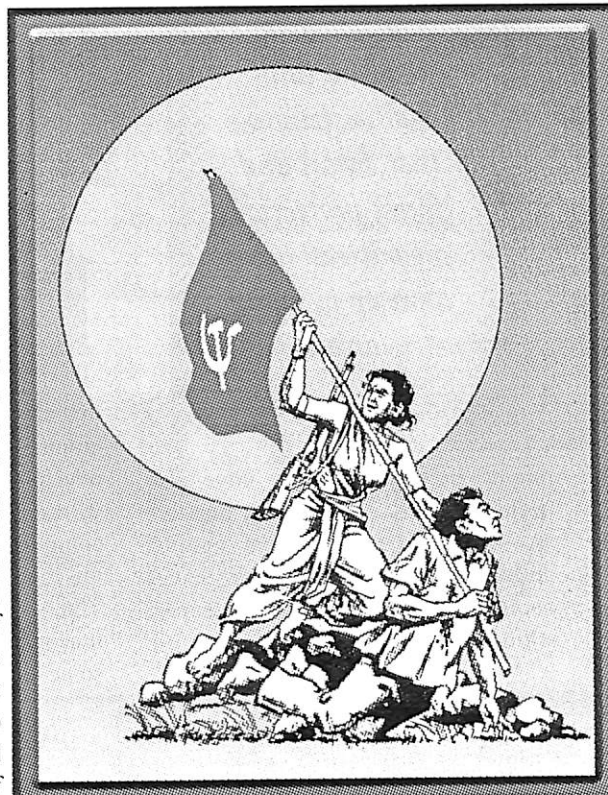


Having effectively combated the earlier formations, in 1994 the landlords organised the sophisticated and most cruel Ranvir Sena (RS). Backed by landlords of all castes and tacitly supported by the political parties and government the RS has been on a spree of mass massacres killing even women, children and the old. They entered PU's areas of influence in end 1996 and started their terror against the landless and poor (dalits) in 1997. Here there have been big struggles for land, specifically for government lands occupied by landlords. Effective economic blockades have been imposed on selective landlords and reactionaries. The RS began its killing spree particularly in those areas where the economic blockade was most effective. It first chose village Jalpura (Patna district) where landless and poor peasants have been fighting to take control of the 700 acres of gair-mazura land (i.e. common land occupied by landlords) on the banks of the river. People had won this struggle. The district administration in order to divert the struggle intervened and distributed 150 acres of land among the landless. The landlords and reactionaries were beginning to surrender.

People were resisting the move of the administration and were demanding that the entire land be distributed. It is then that the RS intervened taking the assistance of reactionaries from nearby villages, looted the property, and forced them to flee the village. On February 1, 1997 the armed squads of the erstwhile PU attacked the supporters of the RS who were forcibly cultivating a part of the disputed 700 acres. An encounter ensued between the armed guerilla squads and the RS-Police combine. Soon 200 police reinforcements arrived. In the ensuing 7-

hour battle 5 RS men and one policeman were annihilated.

Further, the PU responded with a massive mass mobilisation against the RS in Ara. This was viciously attacked by the police and hundreds were arrested. Yet 1000 gathered in Ara. Also, the PU retaliated with a series of actions throughout 1997. In 4 actions during 1997, 22 RS goons



were wiped out, and another 7 in end 1998. During the latest two massacres in 1999, the reconstituted CPI (M-L) [People's War] has once again retaliated in spite of the massive police force sent to the area.

Besides this rural work, workers, students and women are being mobilised in the urban areas. Notable amongst this is the huge coal miners' union SIKASA, involving over 1,00,000 workers spread out over the north NT region. Their continuous battles against the management and government have become a bright example before the Indian working class. Also numerous intellectuals and civil liberties organisations actively

oppose state repression and lend support to the movement.

POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

As a rule, mass campaigns are held in all areas, which helps raise the level of struggle and build people's consciousness. Every August 15th ('Independence' day) and January 26th (Republic Day) are held as Black Days exposing the fake independence, and the nature of imperialist hold on the country today. May 1st is commemorated to help build solidarity with international working class and oppressed people's movement. March 8th is celebrated to expose patriarchy and draw larger number of women into the struggle. December 6 (the day Babri Masjid was broken down) is observed as anti-communal day to build a consciousness to fight back the Hindu-fascist onslaught and in defence of minorities. In May 1997 huge rallies were taken out commemorating 30 years of Naxalbari. But, the major two political campaigns are those observing martyrs' week every July (Com. CM was martyred on July 28, 1972) and the vast boycott-election campaigns.

The struggle to build and maintain martyrs' columns is a running battle with the police. They break them, the people build them. The column is also an emotional and living symbol of the goals of the movement. In end July thousands of functions take place before the memorial to the people's heroes where the masses once again pledge to carry on the struggle for which their dear ones laid down their lives. For example, on July 31, '98 in Kamareddy squad area (NT) a memorial was built, hundreds of flags fluttered, banners paying homage to martyrs hung from trees, and photos of



CM and others decorated the column. A big procession of 2000 from neighbouring villages shouted slogans, sang songs and danced. Elaborate food arrangements were made. Like all such public functions in the guerilla zone, three hours of activity took place without knowledge of the enemy, though police patrols exist a short distance away. Yet, as with all such meetings, strict security precautions were taken with 10 sentries guarding the meeting place and claymore mines planted on all approaches.

An example of a boycott campaign was during the 12th parliamentary elections in February '98 in DK. The DAKMS and KAMS took an extensive campaign throughout the 60 parliamentary constituencies of DK urging the people to reject the anti-people parliamentary institutions and to establish their own organs of democratic people's power in every village. Though in Gadchiroli district (DK), in addition to the existing 40 police stations, 40 special reserve police camps and 15 CRPF companies were deployed, not a single candidate ventured into the area.

In South Bastar division (DK) 50 propaganda teams campaigned for a week prior to the elections. In Bastar parliamentary constituency as a whole, votes polled were just 27% - the lowest in the country.

Fighting Social Evils

With feudal traditions deep-rooted in the countryside, the party has been com-

bating various forms of backward thinking and social oppression - particularly against women and dalits (untouchables).

Women's organisations have been at the forefront combating all forms of patriarchy. Thereby they are now actively participating in the socio-political life of the village. Many are

The party has issued a total ban on felling the forest and forest protection committees' have come up in many areas.

joining the squads. They have also been in the forefront of the massive anti-liquor campaigns and against drunkenness. Besides, the party takes continuous campaigns against superstition and development of a scientific



consciousness particularly on health-care and hygiene.

With the smashing of feudal authority, though the practice of caste oppression and untouchability no

longer exists, various forms of caste discrimination continue - particularly in the realm of eating, marriages, etc. To break taboos the mass organisations in NT evolved a novel method during 1997/98 - collective feasts, with dalits (the 'untouchables') serving the meal.

In addition, campaigns are taken on environmental questions, literacy programmes, scientific agricultural methods etc. The party has issued a total ban on felling the forest and 'forest protection committees' have come up in many areas.

Developmental Activity

In both guerilla zones, the VDCs, under the leadership of the GRCs (where they exist) and the party have conducted extensive developmental programmes. In doing so, the party is developing the communistic spirit of working cooperatively and for the community at large. It has also helped raise the standard of living in the area. The building of roads, schools, irrigation schemes (tanks, wells, dams) are some of the construction work done

by the people contributing their labour. Also various types of cooperatives for seeds and grain distribution, mutual work teams for agricultural work, cooperatives for sale of forest produce, etc have come up. Also credit societies are coming up filling the vacuum created by the removal of the moneylender. Let us look at some

examples during the previous year:

A school building was built in a village in Warangal (NT). Fed up with petitioning the government to extend



the one room that existed, the people decided to build it themselves. First, half an acre of the landlord's land was taken over on which to construct; then two landlord's compound walls were broken down and the stones used as building material. Rs. 30,000 was confiscated from the village headman (sarpanch) who had misappropriated government developmental funds; three sugarcane businessmen were tried in a people's court for high rates and fined Rs. 15,000 which was also used. Then the villagers worked on a road contract and earned Rs. 10,000 jointly, which was also pooled. With this, the 300-member village peasant organisation worked for 10 days and built the school building worth Rs. 1 lakh.

A 11 K.m. road linking Karimnagar and Nizamabad districts was built under the leadership of the Bheemgal SAC (NT) in July '98. 115 people worked day and night in three shifts contributing free labour. Within 10 days the road, at an estimated cost of Rs. 35 lakhs, was built.

In a number of villages of NT credit societies have been set up with a corpus built from : shares by the members, confiscation of funds from local corrupt gentry, party donations, etc. In 1997/98 these societies that came up were used chiefly to purchase seeds/fertilisers during the sowing season. After the harvest all members pay back the loan with interest charged at the rate of 2% per month. The capital generated is ploughed back into the society which results in a larger amount of fertiliser being distributed in the following year.

In DK, which is one of the most backward regions of the country, most developmental work is geared to increasing agricultural production. Last year, throughout DK, people of 237 villages participated in the construction of 99 tanks. Half of these were for irrigation purposes and the rest were for water for cattle and for fish breeding. While 46 were con-

structed by people of individual villages, the other 53 were the result of the collective effort of people belonging to 2-12 villages.

Tank Construction Committees were elected to oversee the work. An example is the tank in a village in Basaguda in South Bastar. Around 400 people from 9 villages participated in construction work for 26 days. They raised Rs. 60,000 locally. In addition 7 tonnes of rice were collected from the local rich peasants and traders. 1 kg rice was given to the volunteers participating in construction. Half-way through, the government offered Rs. 1.4 million which was rejected by the people. In tanks used for collective fishing 3 lakh fish seedlings were sown in 1997 and collectively harvested last year.

In DK, cooperative activity has been developed to grow vegetables and fruit; to build common cattle sheds, schools, wells and people's health centres; for animal husbandry and for afforestation programmes. In addition, work teams have been initiated, involving 3 to 7 households per team, to jointly do farming, bunding, firewood collection and for grass collection for thatching houses. In 1998, in DK in 220 villages work teams functioned to prepare the land for farming; in 211 villages work teams jointly harvested the paddy; in 138 villages the women jointly collected firewood; and in 56 villages grass collection was done collectively. In addition, seed cooperatives have been set up and also cooperatives to market forest produce are gradually developing.

It was only in 1995 that the organs of power, the GRCs, began developing in DK. In 1996 a big campaign

was taken to begin developmental activity and it was in 1997 that the schemes were started. That too, it has been uneven in its scale depending on the intensity of repression. Yet, even under intense repression, with a growing consciousness the people are slowly participating in large numbers.

THE ARMED STRUGGLE

But the people are not silent; they are learning warfare through warfare. While the guerilla forces lead the armed resistance, the village defence forces (GRDs) assist and harass the enemy

The uniformed armed squads is the backbone of these big advances made. Without them it would not be possible to take even one step forward. The inhuman and genocidal repression of the state has been successfully met by the politico-military

offensive of the Party and its squads with its deep roots amongst the masses.

After all, since 1972, 3000 martyrs have contributed to the building of this vast movement. In just the last two years 600 have given their lives for the cause of revolution. In the first nine months of 1998, in AP alone 150 were martyred. These included 23 leading party members - i.e., one SZC member (Special Zonal Committee member); three divisional/City committee secretaries; 4 district committee members; 6 squad commanders and 9 SAC members (Squad Area Committee members). Besides, of the 150, 30 each were squad members, Party members and village-level militants while 24 were mass organisation leaders / activists.

On March 6th, 1999 the general secretary, and president of the AP Radical Students Union (APRSU), were arrested in Kurnool district and the next day their bodies were found in neighbouring Mahaboobnagar district. The police quietly disposed of the bodies. Such killings have become



routine, and have, in fact, been stepped up in the last year.

Arrests, tortures, molestations, murders, deportation, destruction of property, etc have become the order of the day. Draconian laws, prohibitory orders and special operations/campaigns are used to terrorise the masses and target the activists and even their families.

Besides the local forces, the government has pressed into service special anti-Naxalite forces and large numbers of paramilitary forces. In addition they have built a number of armed formations comprising the worst lumpens and criminals. A vast network of informers and spies act to provide them with information. It is a full-fledged war against the people.

But the people are not silent; they are learning warfare through warfare. While the guerilla forces lead the armed resistance, the village defence forces (GRDs) assist and harass the

enemy while the masses put up mass resistance in the face of attacks and arrests. Regular armed actions, through raids and ambushes, are conducted to seize weapons and ammunition and also to break the morale of the enemy forces. Also notorious class enemies, police agents and the leaders of armed gangs are being eliminated. Others with lesser crimes face punishments through the people's courts.

In the period between February and October '98 in DK alone a total of 28 policemen, including 6 officers were annihilated and another

39 policemen (including 3 officers) were wounded in guerilla attacks. In December '98 in two major raids on police stations in the Orissa region a large cache of arms and ammunition were seized. On this occasion only one policeman was killed, the others surrendered, and were told about the people's cause. In mid-March 1999 in a town in Adilabad (NT), in a simultaneous action two police outposts were attacked and arms and ammunition seized.

In Bihar, where repression by both police and landlord armies have been intensified in the last two years, the people have retaliated through greater resistance. In a recent massacre by the Ranvir Sena at Shankarbigaha

of mass action. Often government property is attacked and destroyed. When youth are arrested from a village the entire village (particularly) the women surround the police and secure their release.

Road-blockades is also a common form of protest. In AP, a mass movement has grown around each 'encounter' killing where thousands upon thousands march to the police station, claim the body from the police (who try to surreptitiously dispose of it), and take out mammoth funeral processions calling for revenge and vowing to continue the revolution for which the comrades gave their lives. A vigilant civil liberties committee helps bring such incidents to light.

And so the class war intensifies in India. And as the masses gain in consciousness, their involvement in the armed struggle grows, the organs of parallel political power get consolidated. The lines between revolution and counter-revolution get more clearly demarcated.

PARTY, THE LEADING FACTOR

The merger of the two major CPI (M-L) formations in the country has aroused a great hope in the Indian people and inspired all the revolutionary and democratic forces. The unified party is continuing its attempts to unite with what remains of the genuine revolutionaries from its various factions, as also with the non-CPI (M-L) revolutionary forces like the MCC. Besides, the party is the leading factor in taking the armed struggle forward; in building unity with other democratic sections, particularly the nationality forces, and in uniting with the international proletariat, particularly the armed struggle under Maoist leadership. The Indian democratic revolution is an important



(January 25, '99) 400 armed people from a neighbouring village retaliated. Earlier, in August '97 the party (then Party Unity) gave a call to seize arms from the police and reactionaries - in the 3 month campaign 56 arms were seized in Magadh alone. Similar successful raids were conducted in the Koel-Kaimur region.

Besides these armed actions, mass resistance to repression is growing. In all three regions of AP, DK and Bihar people are retaliating in numerous ways. Bandhs (i.e., closures) of entire regions for one to two days is a form



component of the World Socialist Revolution. The strengthening of the worldwide anti-imperialist forces and the forces for socialism assists the growth of the Indian revolution. So also the intensification of the Indian revolution strengthens the worldwide anti-imperialist forces. And as the crisis in the world imperialist system deepens, the forces of revolution and socialism will regain their earlier strength and prestige. The discredit of revisionist betrayals will get swept away by the revolutionary storms of the future.

The unification of two revolutionary centres within India stands out as a flaming star amongst the rot that has beset Indian polity. Not only are all the parliamentary outfits at loggerheads with each other, they are all deeply faction-ridden from within resulting in open revolts and splits. Never has the crisis of the ruling classes been so deep. Cracks and infighting are afflicting even the state machinery, including the armed forces. And as the rulers go all-out in their capitulation to imperialism, the stagnation in the Indian economy becomes more acute and, with it, all-round discontent is brewing in every section of society. Fascist repression, religious (Hindu) demagogy, and internecine strife instigated amongst the various castes and communities, is their last attempt to save their crumbling order.

Such attempts will, of course fail. With the CPI (M-L) [People's War] creating a strong alternative in the Guerilla Zones, building its armed strength enabling it to face the fascist onslaught and forging a wide united front with all democratic and patriotic forces within the country and also the nationality armed struggles the ruling class schemes will crumble like a house of cards. The road is tortuous, the path zigzag, the goal still far off but with the acute crisis the conditions for rapid advance are bright.

PEOPLE RALLY TO MARTYRS FUNERALS

Of late, even as the police stepped up their operations to exterminate the peasant youth activists in rural Telengana, the people began to pour out into the streets in massive protests against the killings and arrests. Thousands of oppressed masses have taken part in the funeral processions of their beloved leaders, who have been killed either in cold blood after being arrested or in heroic battles with the state's armed mercenaries. The massive out pouring in the funerals is an expression of the love and affection the people have for their selfless and dedicated leaders, who dared to sacrifice their lives for the liberation of the masses from the oppressive and exploitative social system. They also point to the resolve of the masses to fulfill the cause of the martyrs. These, and the other massive protests against police terror, bury once for all the lies and myths spread by the ruling classes and their spokesmen Chandrababu Naidus and Advanis, H G Doras and Aravind Raos and the new intellectual apologists of Indian "Democracy" like Balagopal that the CPI (ML) [People's War] has no support among the masses, that it is getting isolated from the masses due to its indiscriminate and excessive use of the gun, and so on. The following are a few examples of this growing involvement of the masses in claiming the corpses of the martyrs and holding processions.

On 17th March'1998, in Chityala area of Warangal Distt., Comrade Kandikonda Sudhakar was arrested and shot dead by the police based on a tipoff from an agent. Within no time the news spread like wildfire in the entire area and 5,000 people from the

neighboring villages of Challagarige, Repakapalle, Jookal, Chityal, Kakdapili etc., held a 'Rasta.Roko' on the ChityalaParkal Road. Two State Road Transport Corp. buses were reduced to ashes. The demonstrators then went to Chityala Mandal center to have a glimpse of the dead body of their beloved leader.

When the police stopped them from proceeding towards the corpse, the people were enraged and thrashed the police. Particularly the women beat the S.I. and the policemen with stones and chappals. Infuriated by the indiscriminate lathicharge by the police, the people seized the lathis, beat back the police and took away the dead body of Comrade Sudhakar. They also beat up the MRO and the police who were conducting 'Panchnama' at the site of the murder. After seizing the martyr's dead body from the police, over 5,000 people went on a torchlight procession from Challagarige bus stand to his native village of Muchnipati. Red flags and banner fluttered as slogans like "Comrade Sudhakar Amar Rahel", "All encounters are police murders" rent the air as the funeral procession went on from 9 in the night to 4 in the morning.

In Nizamabad, the very day after the martyrdom of Comrade Raji Reddy (Vinod), a member of the district Committee, and Comrade Janardhan, the commander of Banswara central guerilla squad, in an armed confrontation with the police near Sangojipet village on 10th Oct.'1998, over three hundred people held a torchlight rally condemning the encounters in Muppenapalli village in Warangal distt. A public meeting was



also held in the village. Torchlight rallies were taken out in Royyuru with 600 people, in Mullakatta and Rampur in Khammam distt. with 300 people led by the local guerilla squad. In Gunrivula, Laxmipuram, Devardula, Tupakulagudem, hundreds of people held rallies with torches blazing in their hands.

In Feb 1998 when the news of the martyrdom of Comrade Kumar Swami (Sudarshan) and Comrade Sammakka (Sri Latha) in Nerellavagu in Warangal distt. reached their native village Vodithala in Chityal, 2000 people from the surrounding villages of Jadallped, Kothapel, Bausingpalli, Gandhinagar, Pasigadda, Kothapalli, Nainpaka etc. took the corpses of their beloved leader, draped them in red cloth, and went on a procession carrying red flags and banners and doing wall writing all the way.

Police Terror Begets Mass Resistance

After the annihilation of Maheswar Rao, a notorious class enemy of Metpally town in Karimnager district by the armed guerillas of People's War, the police unleashed a reign of terror in the town and the neighboring villages. The people, of course, did not take it lying down but put up resistance through various forms. For instance, when 13 youths from Jaggasagar village were arrested, about 1000 people, including a large number of women, surrounded the Police Station and held a sitin finally securing the release of their Comrades from the hands of the police.

In Adilabad between April to July 1998, there has been mass people's resistance to the reign of terror unleashed by the AP police and the paramilitary forces. In Sirikonda village in Indravelli Mandal, when a peasant named Keshav Rao was arrested, tortured to death and the corpse was being taken away by the police in a bullock cart to be thrown

out side the village, the people of the entire village surrounded the police station and resisted the police by resorting to stonepelting. The demonstration and blockade of the police station went on for four hours upon which the DySP arrived with a big posse of police. Undeterred, the people surrounded the police car and demanded the suspension of the SI who was responsible for the murder of Keshav Rao and to pay compensation to the family of the deceased. When repeated threats by the police were of no avail, the DySP, seeing the mood of the people, had to bow to their demands and announced suspension of the SI.

In Boath area, the police had to release the arrested mass organization activist in Kante village when the entire village people revolted. In Nigni village, the people prevented the police when they began arresting the youths indiscriminately. In Kothapalli village, the police tried to take away an adivasi youth in the early hours but this attempt was foiled by the men and women of the village who surrounded the police with their traditional weapons like axes, knives, sticks, etc. Seeing the stubborn attitude of the people, the police were forced to free the arrested youth.

In Patnapur village also the people stopped the police from arresting a local youth, through their collective resistance. In Sirpelli village in Sarangapur Mandal, when the Banjara tribals stopped the police from taking away the local youth, two of the three were let off and one youth was taken away. He was held in police custody for three days and tortured but had to be finally released after the people once again put up collective resistance. In Ravindranagar village, the police who came in the guise of guerilla squad to gather information about the guerillas from the masses, had to beat a hasty retreat when the people began to attack them after seeing through their game.

In the wake of the annihilation of the president of the district Central Cooperative Bank in Nirmal by the People's War guerillas the police raided several villages, in Sarangpur Mandal, indiscriminately beating and torturing the people. The police had to give up their attempts to arrest few local youth when the people put up collective resistance. In Valsapur village in Huzurabad area of Karimnagar, when the poor and landless peasants seized the lands of the landlords and began to till them, the police attacked them and arrested six persons. About two hundred people from the village went to the P.S. and organized a Dharna upon which another 15 were taken into custody.

On June 16, 1998, when people of Rangapur village in Jagtyal area of Karimnagar were proceeding to a public meeting concerning "Separate Democratic Telengana", 40 members were arrested by the police. When the news reached Rangapur, 120 people from the village demonstrated near the MPP President's house and the PS. Some of them were released immediately while cases were filed on others.

Peasants March Ahead in the midst of White Terror

In the past two years the reactionary ruling classes have stepped up their white terror on the struggling peasantry in the vast rural tracts of Telengana and North East AP killing over 600, arresting thousands, molesting women, indiscriminately beating up people destroying houses and other property of the people. Agents are planted in the villages to collect information regarding the movements of the guerilla squads and of those who are actively involved in the revolutionary activities.

Armed mercenary squads are formed to attack and kill the activists and their kith and kin. But this reign of terror, which has further intensified after the khaki shorts came to power at



the center with the help of the World Bank's lapdog, Chandrababu Naidu of AP, failed to produce the results anticipated by them. Their attempts to decimate the People's war and its underground mass organization activists in the villages and thereby suppress the growing people's movement by rendering the people leaderless, ended up in total fiasco.

In the midst of combing operations, covert operations, and a spate of encounters, the peasants came out into hundreds of struggles relating to land and livelihood apart from establishing their revolutionary organs of power in more and more villages all over the areas of armed struggle. Apart from land occupation struggle, struggles also broke out on other issues such as wages, remunerative prices for agricultural produce, against reduction in subsidies etc. In Nizamabad district, between January and March 1998, 916 acres of the land of the landlords in 18 villages were seized and distributed to 540 families. Another 40 acres of fruit orchards, 20 acres of forest land were also distributed and three tractors and two sugarcane crushers were retained as the collective property of the concerned village.

On May 10, 1998, 600 people occupied a 12 acre mango plantation belonging to landlord of Kotancha village in Warangal and distributed the mango crop among themselves. In the seesaw battle that has been going on between the people and the landlords, these lands had changed hands several times since 1990 when red flags were first planted by the people led by the RYL and RCS. The landlords tried to cultivate the land with the help of police protection amidst a spate of "encounters". The entire people of the village again occupied the land after destroying the crops but could not till the land due to incessant police threats since 1995. In Vallabhpur in Karimnagar district, 16 acres belonging to the village landlord were occupied by two hundred poor and landless peasants who collectively till the land

with 20 ploughs. Among them were 60 women. A five member 'land struggle committee' was also formed. 54 acres of land belonging to three landlords were distributed to poor and landless peasants in Rampur village in Warangal district. 2 acres were divided into residential plots and were distributed to the homeless.

All these lands were actually occupied in 1990-91 but remained fallow in the past few years due to police threats. The landlords who fled the villages again surrendered to the people and agreed to part with their surplus lands. On March 10, 1998, about 400 peasants belonging to seven villages around Metpally in Karimnagar marched to the town market and held a rally demanding remunerative prices for the turmeric crop. The traders in Korutla and Metpally market yards have been exploiting the peasantry by paying far less than the market price for the turmeric produce. All the traders having formed into a syndicate, have been carrying out ruthless exploitation.

Several strikes of bonded laborers were organized demanding Rs. 13,000/ as annual wages, free medical assistance, two pairs of dress per year, Rs. 60,000/ as compensation for the laborer who dies due to snake bite or any other reason, a torch light, three pairs of chappals and a blanket every year, three days leave every month, stopping night time work, etc. In Enugumantle village in Karimnagar, about 200 bonded laborers struck work for two days and organized a meeting. The landlord and the rich peasants who employ bonded laborers agreed to pay Rs.12,000/ as annual wages, Rs. 30,000/ as compensation in case of accidental death. All other demands were also accepted. In several villages, after laborers went on strikes lasting from two to five days, the daily wages were increased from Rs.25/ to 35/ for men and Rs. 20/ to 30/ for women. The struggles were led by the Viplava Rylu Cooli Sangam (VRCS) and Mahila Vimukti Sangam

(MVS) in Venkatraopet, Ranapur, Nagaram, Lingala, Rompikunta, Tenugupalli in Karimnagar district.

Famine raids were also organized due to the growing starvation and misery of the peasants due to drought. In the months of January-February, 1998, there were famine raids in eleven villages in Nizamabad districts in which 2,100 people participated and confiscated 1511 quintals of paddy and maize and other essential goods.

Collective Feasts among different Castes

Caste and religion have always been barriers to the unity of the oppressed masses in India. The ruling classes as well as imperialism have been using caste to divide the people and thereby perpetuate their rule smoothly. The caste question is not just an aspect of the superstructure but also forms part of the very production relations, i.e., the economic base of the society. Hence caste has deep roots and cannot be rooted out without waging a conscious and consistent struggle even in the areas of intense class struggle.

Although significant changes are occurring in the rural areas where revolutionary movement is advancing such as disappearance of untouchability, open discrimination etc., caste prejudices still exist in the villages to a considerable extent. Even though the oppressed of all castes have been waging united struggle against the landlords on their common demands for years, even today intercaste marriages and eating in each others houses among the dalits and the other castes is not a common feature. Specific programs related to the caste question should be taken up in order to achieve further integration and slowly bring them out of the feudal and outdated caste ideology and prejudices.

As part of this, collective feasts were organized in some villages in



Warangal in the months of Sept. Oct. 1998. One such collective feast was organized in Peddapuram village in Parkal area of Warangal in Sept. 1998. Three quintals of rice were cooked and 1300 people belonging to all castes dined collectively. In Akkanapet village, 800 people took part in the collective feast. The two bags of rice used for this purpose were collected from the rich peasants and the landlords. The dalits served the meals in both villages. Such pro-

grammes were taken up at a more modest level in scores of villages in Telengana in the past few months. The landlords and the vested interests are shaken by the unity that is being forged even culturally between the oppressed castes. They even tried to disrupt the collective feasts by provoking the police. In one of the villages the police arrived in two vans, threatened the people who were coming back from the collective feast, and arrested a few of them.

Minister too having lost his seat. Congress got just 6 seats in 40 member Mizoram Assembly while the Mizo National Front Mizo People's Conference combine secured three-fourths majority.

In all the states, the BJP lost in its traditional strongholds. For instance, it was wiped out in the Jat-dominated segment of outer Delhi and resettlement colonies of East Delhi, considered to be the bastions of the BJP. It suffered a humiliating defeat in the 'Rajput belt' in Rajasthan and the 'Malwa' region in MP, hitherto considered to be its strongest forts. In the Malwa region, it had a strong base since the mid 1960s and held its stand even when it faced adverse current elsewhere but in the recent election two former chief ministers and another aspirant were defeated. Even more humiliating was its defeat in such strongholds as Indore, Dhar, Ujjain and Mandsaur. In Chattisgarh, which is being carved out as a separate state with BJP's initiative, its dreams of bagging at least 60 out of the 90 seats were dashed and it secured a mere 35 seats.

What are the reasons for this humiliating defeat of the Hindutva forces in the very Hindu-Hindi heartland? What prospects do these results hold for the future of the Indian polity?

Escalating prices of essential items, especially food grains and vegetables, and government's impotence and utter inability to control the prices for months together allowing the traders to have a field day; the growing attacks on the religious minorities, particularly the Muslims and Christians, by the Sangh Parivar that had isolated them completely from these religious communities; the partial erosion of BJP's social base among the moderate and secular minded Hindus after the revelation in the recently released Srikrishna Commission Report and the increasingly intolerant attitude exhibited by

HINDU FASCISTS TASTE PEOPLE'S WRATH IN THE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

The results of the November 25 elections to the four state assemblies of Delhi, Rajasthan, M.P., and Mizoram point to the deeprooted crisis in the so-called Indian parliamentary democracy and hatred and indifference on the part of the masses towards the parliamentary parties in general. It was a negative vote on a massive scale. The fact that the same people, whose vote had put the BJP coalition in power at the center in February 98, have outrightly rejected them even more massively in less than nine months, shows the fragility of the political system and the fragility of the social base of every political party...

It is not just the BJP. Any party, for that matter, may be trounced as massively as it is elected within a few months or even days after the farce called election. The frustration of the masses towards a party within such a short span of time shows the nature of the crisis afflicting the society, the readiness of the masses to reject the parliamentary parties if revolutionary alternatives are available, and that they can be rallied into extraparliamentary channels. Thus it is basic issues like food, clothing and shelter that play the decisive role and not national chauvinist frenzy or religious fanaticism or the communal card.

The November 25 elections has made this crystal clear: the Hindutva card, Pokhran, Swadeshi, Women's Reservation Bill and such other populist rhetoric were found to be of no relevance whatsoever to the mass psyche when they are weighed down by the intolerable burden of price rise, unemployment, social and economic insecurity, suicide deaths, specter of communal riots and fast-windling living standards...

In Delhi, the BJP is almost wiped out, having won just 15 out of 69 seats. The Congress capitalized on the negative votes by bagging 51 seats. Three BJP ministers or former ministers were humbled and even the incumbent Chief Minister, Sushma Swaraj, won with a narrow margin. It was the worst defeat suffered by the BJP since 1952 in Delhi. In Rajasthan, the BJP lost almost two-thirds of its 1993 tally. It bagged a mere 33 out of the 197 seats for which elections were held while the Congress secured 150 seats. Three-fourths of BJP's incumbent ministers lost the election.

In M.P., the Congress won 174 seats against BJP's 120 in a house of 320 seats. In Mizoram, it was the ruling Congress that was thrown out completely with the incumbent Chief



the RSSVHPBajrang Dal and other Hindurva forces aided by the BJP government and communal actions such as making the singing of Vande-Mataram and the Saraswati Vandana in schools compulsory etc.; the disillusionment with the "swadeshi" Mantra of the BJP govt. which actually came to mean implementing the Videshidictated policy of globalization, liberalization, privatization even more loyally than the predecessor governments as shown by the insurance Regulatory Authority Bill approved by the BJP cabinet recommending 40 % foreign capital, the Patent bill that seeks to give wide concessions to imperialist TNCs and a host of other proimperialist measures; the open squabbles between the BJP leaders including the one between the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and the dogfights in most of its units; the advocacy of stringent capital punishment and use of extreme force to ensure 'good governance' these, in the main, served to unseat the BJP in these states.

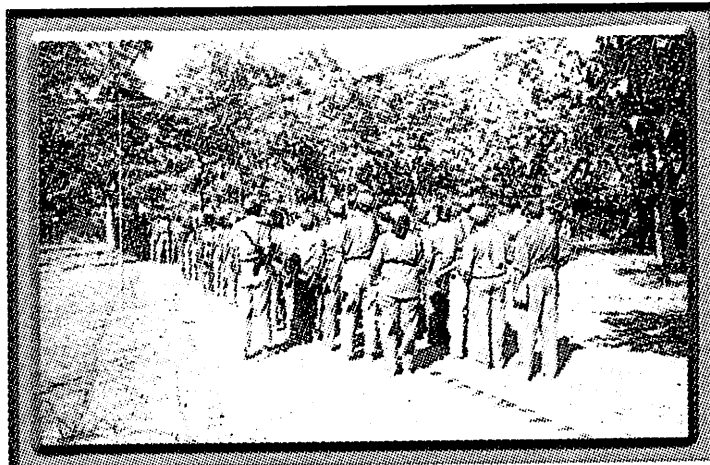
The results show that the people remain unimpressed by the Hindutva's fascist agenda, by the euphoria and Jingoism raked up in the wake of P o k h r a n

nuclear explosion and the claim of placing India by the side of the big five nuclear powers, by the talk of super highways and expressways across the length and the breadth of the country, by the 'swadeshi' mantra, by the antiPakistan war hysteria, by the rhetoric of "liberating" all Hindu temples like the Ram Janambhoomi, and so on. The "charisma" of the "able" Prime Minister had vanished into thin air in just nine months' time. What the people want is food, clothing and shelter; communal amity and

religious tolerance; social and economic security and not some abstract, intangible "national pride" that does not fill an empty stomach.

The Hindu fascist forces should be fought back and defeated

Ever since the BJP led coalition assumed power at the center, the actions of Hindu fascist forces have grown more aggressive. After the Sikhs and Muslims, now it has become the turn of the Christians to bear the brunt of the Hindutva attacks: the rape of Christian nuns in Jhabua in MP in Sept. 98 was praised by the VHP leaders as an act of patriotism; Churches are attacked in Gujarat and elsewhere; the Muslim mosques are continuing to be a target of these Hindu fanatics as seen in the attempts of VHPBajrang Dal to demolish the Bababudangiri shrine a sufi shrine in Chikmagalur in Karnataka; Muslim



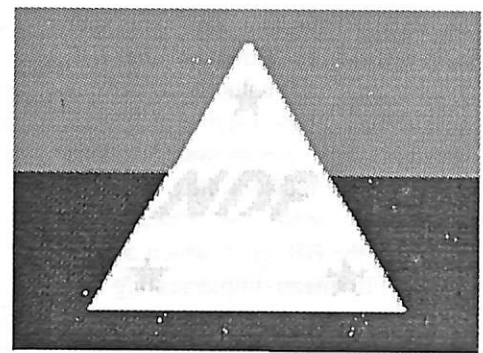
women are raped as witnessed in Gujarat; making the recitation of Saraswati Vandana mandatory in schools thus imposing it on the religious minorities and of course, on reluctant Hindus; issuing of 'Fatwahs' not to allow the Pakistan cricket team to play on Indian soil; and such other insane acts have become intolerable.

The motto of the RSS to "Indianize, nationalize and spiritualize" the content of education in schools and colleges that is being pro-

posed by the Human Resources Development minister M.M. Joshi, the introduction of HomeKeeping courses for women to confine them to their home in tune with their acclaimed Hindu tradition, proposals to make Sanskrit and VedasUpanishads compulsory from the primary stage which is already being followed in RSSrun schools, and so on, hold dangerous portents for India. What is even more disturbing is that History is being totally distorted; the saffron historians are replacing the genuine ones in institutions of repute; sweeping purges are made in all the centrallyfunded research institutes such as ICHR, ICSSR, ICPR and IIAS where renowned scholars have been replaced by RSS ideologues with dubious distinctions. The RSS shakhas brainwash the children in 40,000odd schools run by the Sangh Parivar

Protests are increasing against these communal acts as seen in the countrywide protests by 23 million Christians on 4th Dec. 1998. In UP, in reaction to Kalyan Singh Government's announcement of mandatory rendering of Saraswati Vandana, the Muslim leaders gave a call to all Muslims to withdraw their children from such schools.

The Hindu fascist forces are poisonous weeds that kill the healthy plants; they are the pus in our body politic that is leading to gangrenous condition; it is a virus that is infecting the entire society. All secular and democratic forces; all rational and scientificminded people; all who cherish freedom and equality of men and women, of all religions and nationalities; and all the persecuted religious sects; all these forces should unite to fight this growing menace, root out the poisonous weeds, expel the pus from the bodypolitic and exterminate the virus lest the entire healthy organism will putrefy and become extinct.



FIGHT THE ENEMY UNTIL COMPLETE VICTORY IN THE NEW-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

**By Armando Liwanag
Chairman, Central Committee
Communist Party of the Philippines**

March 29, 1999

On behalf of the Central Committee and the entire membership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, I salute all the Red commanders and fighters and convey to them warmest comradely greetings and congratulations on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the New People's Army.

The New People's Army has won great victories in fighting heroically for the national and democratic rights, interests and aspirations of the Filipino people. It is the principal weapon of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the Filipino people in waging the principal form of revolutionary struggle and inspiring other forms of struggle. Its place in Philippine history is assured.

The armed revolution waged by the New People's Army under the leadership of the Party continues the Filipino people's unfinished struggle for national independence and democracy and has surpassed all previous armed struggles waged against US imperialism and the local reactionaries in the last hundred years.

First of all, the NPA is waging a protracted people's war along the line of the new-democratic revolution, with a socialist perspective. Secondly, the NPA has gained all-round strength nationwide, surpassing in this regard the achievements of the revolutionary army of the old democratic revolution, the People's Army against Japan (Hukbalahap) and the People's Army for Liberation.

Following the absolute leadership of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the NPA has accumulated significant strength since starting from scratch on March 29, 1969. It has surmounted tremendous odds and has advanced from victory to victory. Our revolutionary armed struggle will continue until complete victory is won.

BRILLIANT VICTORIES OF THE NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY

Upon its reestablishment, the Party proved itself a true and serious revolutionary party of the proletariat by conceiving of the New People's Army in the Party Constitution and establishing it in three months' time. The NPA was born out of the First Great Rectification Movement against the



Lava dynasty and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique and inherited the good remnants of the old people's army and their revolutionary experience and mass base.

The people's army came under the test of severe attacks by the enemy from 1969 onward and went through the prolonged unbridled terror of the Marcos fascist dictatorship to build its

nation-wide foundation and strengthen itself by fighting the enemy. The Red commanders and fighters have won astounding political and military victories

by adhering to the line of new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war and by waging guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base.

But in the late '70s, "Left" and Right opportunist lines started to overlap with and subvert the correct line and the continuing successes of the armed revolution. The opportunists superimposed such erroneous lines as the "strategic counteroffensive" and "Red Area-White Area recombinations" on the correct line and wrought havoc in different regions at various times from the early '80s up to the early years of the current decade.

Since 1992, the Central Committee of the Party has led and carried out the Second Great Rectification Movement to reaffirm the basic revolutionary principles,

sum up experience and set forth the tasks. The Party and the people's army have identified, criticized and repudiated the errors that have harmed the revolutionary cause and have proceeded to score great achievements in carrying out the constructive tasks of the revolution.

The victories of the New People's Army shine brilliantly on the pages of



The NPA is the main organization of the Party not only for destroying the enemy but also for organizing, arousing and mobilizing the masses. Through mass work, it draws support from the people as the inexhaustible source of strength.

Philippine history. But we must never forget that these victories as well as the lessons learned from experience are paid for by sacrifice, hard work and fierce struggle. Let us therefore take a pause to pay the highest tribute to our martyrs and heroes.

Let us not become complacent with our achievements. Let us remain ever vigilant and militant. No matter

how far we have gone forward in the revolutionary struggle, the counter-revolutionary state of big compradors and landlords still stands and needs to be overthrown and smashed completely. We must fight until the enemy is defeated and the new-democratic revolution triumphs.

We have a sound basis for raising the revolutionary struggle to a new and higher level until complete victory is won. The rectification movement has revitalized and further strengthened the entire Party and the Party organization within the NPA and has raised the level of revolutionary consciousness and militancy among the Red commanders and fighters.

The NPA has grown far stronger than in 1992 when the rectification movement started. Total NPA strength amounts to several regiments. By having been reoriented, reorganized and redeployed for mass work, the NPA has been able to increase the number of guerrilla fronts to eighty-one (81) nationwide.

The typical guerrilla front has a total force of a company, with a platoon as the center of gravity and the other units spread over a wider radius. In certain regions, main guerrilla units sew up various guerrilla fronts and are capable of regionwide maneuvers. The thousands of men and women serving full-time in the NPA are augmented by tens of thousands of those in militia and self-defense units. All of them draw support from the organs of political power, the mass organizations and the broad masses of the people.

There is an ample mass base for further expansion and further consolidation of mass work and for carrying out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of ever



widening and deepening mass base. Every increase of tactical offensives is related to an increase in mass base within a guerrilla zone, within a guerrilla front, within a region and on a nationwide scale.

The NPA has been able to carry out tactical offensives, like raids and ambushes, as well as various types of actions to enforce the laws and policies of the people's democratic government. In seeking targets for tactical offensives, it constantly looks for the weak points of the enemy or tries to force him to make mistakes and expose his weak points.

The tactical offensives of the NPA have increased gradually and have forced the enemy to acknowledge its growing strength. The enemy's officialdom and the bourgeois media have given much attention to the capture of high-ranking military and police officers by the NPA from 1997 to the present, as in the current case of one general and several other officers. Thus, the enemy propaganda that the revolutionary movement is disintegrating or disappearing has been repeatedly disproved.

The principal function of the NPA is to fight and defeat the enemy. It carries out only those battles it can win. Over a protracted period of time, it launches battles of quick decision to seize weapons from the enemy, accumulate strength in the countryside and goes through stages and phases of development, until it becomes capable of seizing power in cities on a nationwide scale.

But the fighting function cannot be successfully carried out if it were not based on the widespread and deep support of the people. The NPA is the main organization of the Party not only for destroying the

enemy but also for organizing, arousing and mobilizing the masses. Through mass work, it draws support from the people as the inexhaustible source of strength.

The NPA has persevered in conducting revolutionary mass education, building various types of mass organizations for workers, peasants and farm workers, fishermen, women, youth, children and cultural activists and in promoting mass campaigns. The most important of these campaigns is the one for land reform because it responds to the main demand of the peasantry and seeks to realize the main content of the democratic revolution.

In the countryside, the Party and the people's army rely mainly on the poor peasants and farm workers, win over the middle peasants, neutralize the rich peasants and take advantage of the split between the enlightened and evil gentry (while the minimum land reform is still being carried out) in order to isolate and destroy the power of the evil gentry. The class line that runs through the antifeudal united front is in consonance with the general line of the new-democratic revolution.

In waging the people's war, the NPA follows the principle of self-reliance. It recruits the fighters from the people, organizes production for the army and families of the fighters, receives contributions from the people, seizes weapons from the

enemy and collects taxes from the enlight-

ened gentry and

from enterprises that follow the laws of the people's democratic government. Resources raised by the New People's Army are for the maintenance and growth of the Party and the NPA as well as for the social needs of the people.

EXCEEDINGLY FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR PEOPLE'S WAR

The objective conditions for waging people's war are exceedingly favorable in the Philippines. The semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system is in grave crisis. Factions and cliques of the big compradors and landlords and even within the ruling circle of the US-Estrada regime are seriously contending with each other over the diminished economic ground for mutual accommodation. The broad masses of the people are undergoing intolerable suffering from the economic and social crisis. They are outraged by the return to power of the Marcos family and the worst political descendants of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, headed by the former movie actor Joseph Estrada. These scoundrels have recovered their ill-gotten wealth and are again plundering the country.

For some years to come, there is no way for the US-Estrada regime to override the longrunning global crisis of overproduction of raw materials and the current crisis of overproduction of low-value added semimanufactures. The drying up of international credit for financing consumption-driven trade deficits makes conspicuous the crushing foreign and local public debt burden and the backward agrarian and semifeudal character of the economy.

The regime aggravates the economic and social crisis by auctioning off the national patrimony and economic sovereignty to the foreign





monopolies. It opposes national industrialization and land reform and offers to the foreign monopolies 100 percent ownership of land, banks, manufacturing, public utilities, social services, telecommunications, mass media, retail trade and all kinds of enterprises.

The people are victimized by rapidly mounting mass unemployment, abrupt peso depreciation, inflated prices of food and other basic commodities, heavier tax burden and rising fees for deteriorated social services. Not satisfied with these, the regime is pushing legislation to abolish the right to strike and the minimum wage law and encouraging the foreign monopolies and domestic landgrabbers to amass land under various pretexts.

In charge of an economy laid prostrate by the imperialists and their local running dogs, the regime is ready to give away everything to the imperialists, not only economic privileges but also the privilege of bringing in military forces that enjoy extraterritoriality and are immune to prosecution for crimes that they commit on Philippine soil. Preparations are underway for the amendment of the reactionary constitution to further violate the national and democratic rights of the people.

Vainly trying to stop the rise of the people's resistance, the regime is carrying out a policy of repression without formally declaring martial law, especially against the working people and ethnic communities. It is encouraging the military, police and paramilitary forces to perpetrate extrajudicial killings, kidnappings, torture and the most brutal

acts to force people to abandon their homes and farms. All of these violate the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) mutually approved by the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. The regime has been violating all other bilateral agreements in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. It has in fact terminated these negotiations.

We have no problem with ending the peace negotiations as a form of legal struggle. We have conducted these along the clear line that a just and lasting peace can be attained only by pursuing the new-democratic revolution through the protracted people's war. Having strengthened the revolutionary forces and the mass base, we are in a position to intensify the people's war from year to year.

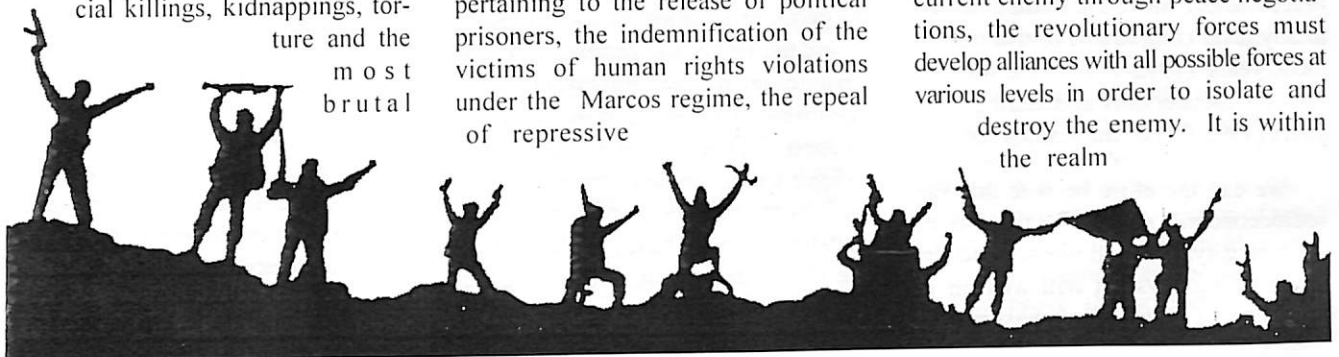
We cannot tolerate the brazen attempts of the enemy to junk The Hague Joint Declaration and impose on the NDFP a framework of capitulation and self-criminalization. The GRP has violated so many provisions of the CARHRIHL, such as those pertaining to the release of political prisoners, the indemnification of the victims of human rights violations under the Marcos regime, the repeal of repressive

decrees, the end of policies and campaigns that brutally victimize entire communities and take away their homes and land and the formation of the Joint Monitoring Committee. In violation of the framework of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and the CARHRIHL, the GRP has refused to negotiate the issue of prisoners of war, has viciously misrepresented the acts of revolution as common crimes and has arbitrarily "suspended" the safety and immunity guarantees for NDFP negotiating personnel and consultants, also in brazen violation of the JASIG.

The treacherous Estrada regime demands that the peace negotiations be held and put under its mercy in Manila as in 1986 and 1987 and arbitrarily rejects the stipulation of the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) for a neutral venue abroad. And yet, it refuses the peace negotiations to be held in the territory of the people's democratic government or within a neutralized zone between the territories of the GRP and the revolutionary government.

It is just fine that an already isolated regime, which is daily buffeted by a severe economic and political crisis, challenges the revolutionary forces to intensify the people's war. Instead of trying to explore the possibility of truce and alliance with the current enemy through peace negotiations, the revolutionary forces must develop alliances with all possible forces at various levels in order to isolate and destroy the enemy. It is within the realm

We have no problem with ending the peace negotiations as a form of legal struggle. We have conducted these along the clear line that a just and lasting peace can be attained only by pursuing the new-democratic revolution through the protracted people's war.





of probability that a broad united front can put the Estrada regime to an end before its term runs out.

Among the recent alliances that we can publicly announce and consider as highly significant is the formal alliance between the NDFP and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. This is an alliance for armed struggle and its significance is not only regional but national because it can effectively deliver lethal blows against the enemy.

If there were no revolutionary armed struggle, a ruling system or regime can muddle through an economic and social crisis. But the revolutionary armed struggle exists and can intensify. The ensuing aggravation of the political and socioeconomic crisis can be fatal to the Estrada regime.

To complement the revolutionary armed struggle, the Party is vigorously building the united front. This involves an echelon of alliances, such as the basic worker-peasant alliance, the alliance of the progressive forces (including the urban petty-bourgeoisie), the alliance of patriotic forces (including the middle bourgeoisie) and the temporary alliances with the reactionaries opposed to the enemy.

WORSENING CRISIS OF THE WORLD CAPITALIST SYSTEM

The current crisis of the world capitalist system does not allow the imperialist countries to let foreign loans and direct investments flow to the Philippines up to any level comparable to that during most years (1972-79) of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and during four years (1993-97) of the Ramos regime.

We can therefore be sure that the socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system will worsen and the entire ruling system will weaken in the face of a rising broad mass move-

ment and the tactical offensives of the New People's Army.

There is a chronic crisis of overproduction in all types of goods in the world. There is a contraction of the world market. The so-called emerging markets have sunk and are still sinking further in the direction of the raw material producing countries depressed since the late '70s. Under the "laissez faire" or "free trade" policy rationale of "neoliberal globalization", the monopoly bourgeoisie has accelerated the concentration and centralization of capital, the destruction of productive forces and shrinkage of the global market.

The worsening crisis of the world capitalist system is intensifying all the basic contradictions in the world, such as that between the imperialist countries and oppressed peoples, between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat and among the imperialist countries. The whole world is in turmoil.

The social turbulence is most acute and widespread in Asia, Africa, Latin America and most of the former Soviet bloc countries. Using the slogans of bourgeois nationalism, fascism, racism, ethnocentrism and religion, reactionary forces are generating widespread disorder in their factional strife. This disorder is conducive to the rise of revolutionary forces among the people, if there were a resolute and courageous Marxist-Leninist party to lead them.

The imperialist countries are wracked by the contradiction of inflated productive and financial assets and the reduced incomes of the proletariat and the rest of the people. There is chronic mass unemployment, most conspicuously in Japan and in Europe. In the United States, touted to have a high employment rate, regular jobs are being lost and replaced by part-time jobs. Thus, the class struggle of the proletariat is breaking out into the open even in the imperialist countries.

Cutthroat competition and protectionism under various guises are arising among imperialist countries. Interimperialist contradictions appear to be restrained only because the imperialist countries are united in further oppressing and exploiting the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and in carrying out wars of aggression and "police actions" under the guise of "peacekeeping" and "humanitarian missions" in various parts of the world, especially in the Balkans, Middle East, the Caucasus, Central Asia and Africa.

The imperialist countries are competing for markets, fields of investment, sources of raw materials and positions of strength. However, still under the chieftainship of the US, the Western imperialists have enlarged the NATO up to the borders of Russia. The US-Japan security partnership is geared for aggression in East Asia. The imperialist countries are stirring up trouble everywhere and are generating conditions of war.

The Communist Party of the Philippines is actively propagating the Marxist-Leninist theory of state and revolution and the applicability of protracted people's war in many agrarian countries where the peasant masses can be the main force of the new-democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. Together with other Marxist-Leninist parties waging or supporting people's war, the CPP has recently undertaken the International Seminar on Mao and People's War.

The Party maintains bilateral relations with parties in all types of countries and is active in various multilateral gatherings to promote at the least the global anti-imperialist struggle and at the most the world proletarian revolution. In all cases, the Party respects the independent and equal rights of parties to conduct revolutionary struggle according to the concrete conditions and judgment of such parties.



FIGHTING TASKS OF THE NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY

The central task of the New People's Army is to destroy the counterrevolutionary state of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class and enable the working class and the peasantry to establish the people's democratic state. Such task can be accomplished over a protracted period of time along the general line of the new democratic revolution.

Right now, thanks to the people's army, there are local organs of political power, now comprising the people's democratic government, even as the reactionary government is still entrenched in the cities. Two kinds of government now exist in the Philippines. The revolutionary government aims to replace the reactionary government in due course. Without the people's army, the people have nothing. They would only be subjected to oppression and exploitation, without any hope of creating their own political power and achieving national and social liberation from the imperialists and the local reactionaries.

It is clear that the New People's Army is mainly a fighting force for defeating the enemy. But it cannot perform its fighting tasks without performing the tasks of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people to defend, promote and advance their national and democratic rights and interests. The NPA must ceaselessly carry out mass work in order to further develop a strong foundation for carrying out the central task, to have an inexhaustible source of strength and to be able to recruit the best sons and daughters of the people. The broad masses of the people cherish and nourish the people's army only because it serves them and fights for their rights and interests.

Revolutionary politics must be in command of the New People's Army. This army must follow the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, serve as the main organization for carrying out the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution set forth by the Party and pursue the mass line of learning from the masses and trusting and relying on them. The Party acts as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat and the Filipino people and determines the general line and direction of the rev-



olution. It wields both the people's army to destroy the counterrevolutionary state and the united front to rally the people in their millions to the revolutionary cause.

Even while the NPA is based in the countryside in pursuing the strategic line of protracted people's war, it is of utmost importance for the Party to coordinate all forms of mass struggle that arise and develop in both urban and rural areas.

To strengthen the bonds between the revolutionary forces in the rural and urban areas, workers and educated youth must be encouraged to join the people's army and serve the masses in the rural areas. The Party must deploy them accordingly. They bring with them much-needed knowledge and skills even as they must first learn from the masses that they seek to serve in the localities.

The deployment of cadres and mass activists from the cities to the countryside facilitates the coordination of the struggles in the urban and rural areas and prepares the day when the New People's Army shall be able to seize the cities on a nationwide scale.

The new-democratic revolution has a socialist perspective. We seek to overthrow the existing counterrevolutionary state and bring to an end the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions in order to proceed to the socialist revolution as the next stage of the Philippine revolution.

At this moment, the new-democratic revolution being carried out in the Philippines is one of the outstanding revolutions in the world. That is because we have a people's army successfully following the strategic line of protracted people's war.

Now and in the future, the Philippine revolution serves not only to realize the national and social liberation of the Filipino people but also to make its contributions to the advance of the world proletarian revolution and the broad anti-imperialist struggle of the people of the world.

Long live the New People's Army!

Carry forward the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war!

Fight until complete victory!

Long live the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the Filipino people!



NPA LAUNCHES TACTICAL OFFENSIVES

Barely two weeks after the Estrada regime in the Philippines terminated peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) on June 1 this year, the Communist Party-led New People's Army (NPA) launched two dramatic tactical offensives, thus signalling its growing strength and readiness to step up armed struggle according to its increased capabilities.

NPA guerrillas struck on June 11 on the island of Bohol, in the central part of the Philippines; and again on June 15 in Davao City, in the large southern island of Mindanao. Eighty-four firearms were seized by the New People's Army when it raided the headquarters of the 7th Regional Mobile Group-Combat Support Company in Barangay Rizal, Batuan, Bohol, a province in central Philippines. This is the largest number of arms seized by the NPA in a tactical offensive since the Second Great Rectification Movement was launched in 1992 by the Philippine revolutionary movement.

The raid was successfully launched on the morning of June 11 without the NPA firing a single shot. It was conducted by Red fighters led by the NPA Regional Operational Command in Central Visayas. The 7th Regional Mobile Police is the leading PNP unit waging suppression campaigns against the people and the revolutionary movement in Central Visayas and is responsible for numerous violations of human rights. In a statement, the NPA said it conducted

the raid in response to requests from the people of Barangay Rizal that punishment be meted out to the abusive police unit.

The successful tactical offensive was the fruit of careful investigation and planning, both of which were made possible only through the deep and wide support enjoyed by the New People's Army from the people in the locality. In the process of investigating, the NPA learned that the enemy troopers were positioned atop and below a mountain. Firing and maneuvering would not have been an appropriate tactic. The NPA command decided to conduct a commando raid by stratagem and to use a superior force.

The tactical offensive was daringly executed. More than a hundred Red fighters arrived at the detachment at exactly 6:56 a.m. aboard vans, posing as PNP troopers bringing in a captured guerrilla. This enabled the Red fighters to enter the camp. It was too late when the policemen discovered the ruse. Taken by surprise, not one of the 36 PNP elements in the camp was able to fight back.

The tactical offensive lasted till 9:00 a.m. Before the Red fighters retreated, they were able to hold a mass meeting, conduct propaganda among the policemen in the detachment and distribute leaflets explaining the political basis for the raid. Two captured policemen were immediately released after an intensive discussion with them. The successful tactical offensive is proof of the correctness of one of the basic principles advocated by the Second Great Rectification

Movement—that armed struggle would advance in stages on the basis of painstakingly expanding and deepening the mass base. Even shame-faced police officials could do nothing but admit that the raid could not have been conducted without the cooperation of the people of Batuan. Because of extreme embarrassment, the PNP command in Central Visayas relieved the following day the detachment chief, Insp. Richard Caballero, along with the entire Combat Support Company.

The successful raid in Batuan serves as a resounding slap on the face of the Estrada regime, which has gone all-out to terrorize the people and the revolutionary movement with counterrevolutionary violence.

The items seized in the raid were the following:

Item	Quantity
M16 and M14 rifles	52
Mortar ammo	52
M203 grenade launchers	3
M203 ammo	50+
Light machine gun	1
Hand grenades	20+
60 mm mortar	1
Rifle grenades	20+
Shotgun	1
Military packs	50+
Automatic pistols	18
Vests	50+
Revolvers	5
Military Uniform	100+
M16 and M14 ammo	12,000+

In the Davao city offensive, a force of about 100 red fighters, ambushed a Philippine Army (PA)

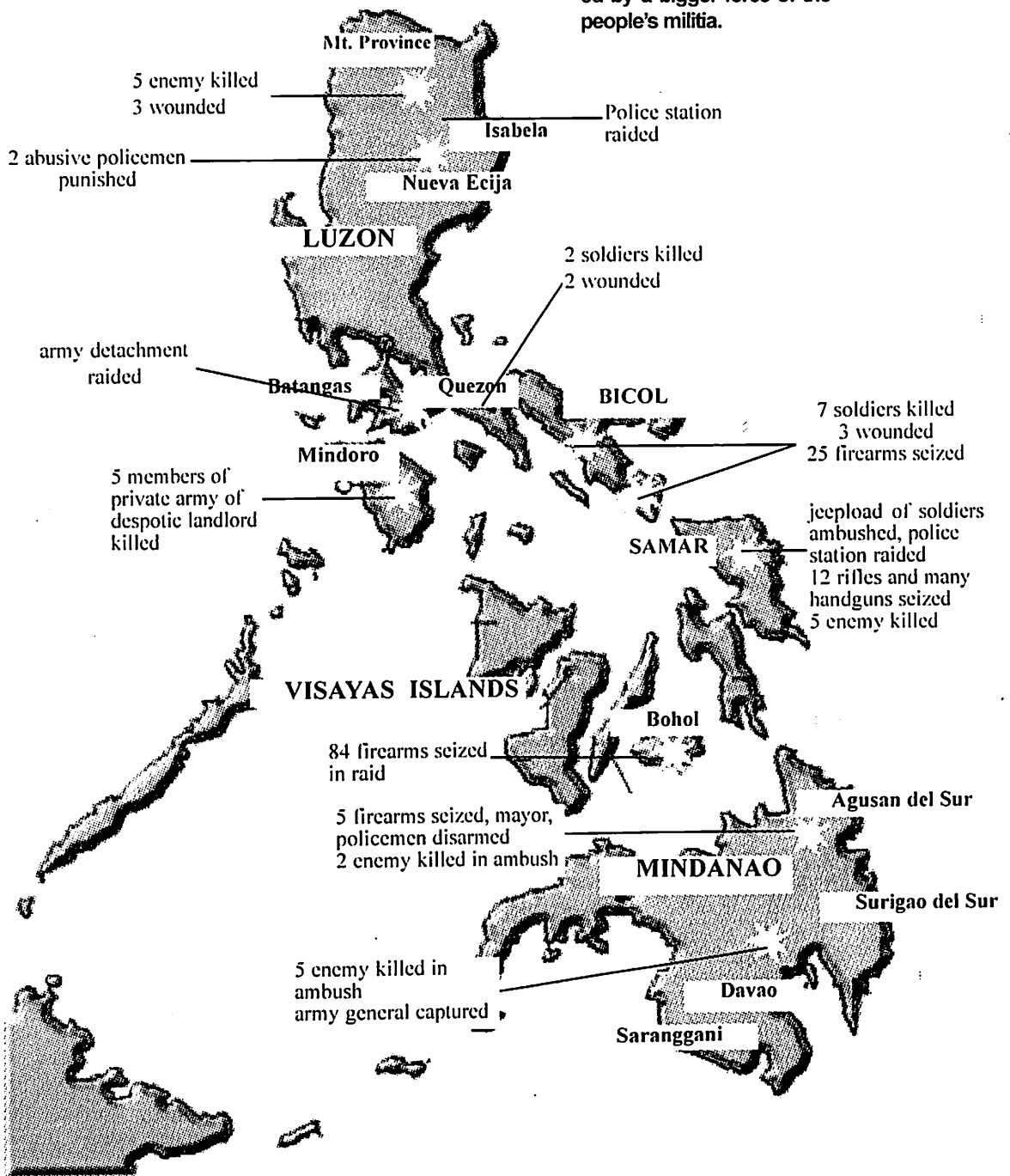


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THE PHILIPPINES

The New People's Army has 81 guerrilla fronts spread out in the whole country.

Each guerrilla front has on the average a force of one company or more supported by a bigger force of the people's militia.





patrol, killing six soldiers and wounding 12. The enemy rushed reinforcements to the ambush area in the city's outskirts, including a helicopter gunship, and another day of firefights ensued before the guerrillas withdrew into the forest. Two red fighters, sad to say, lost their lives in the fighting.

The 100-strong NPA force was led by Commander Parago, who recently became well-known to the Philippine public as the commanding officer of the NPA unit that captured and held as prisoners of war (POWs) an army general and a captain (see related story) some months ago. The two POWs-together with three others POWs, two police officers and a soldier captured in various parts of the country-were subsequently released by the NPA after the Estrada government was forced to give in to several demands made by the NDFP.

Earlier in the year, Bohol was in the news when a vice mayor defected to the revolutionary movement and joined the NPA in January. Several months after this, NPA guerrillas ambushed and killed a mayoral candidate; still later, they raided the town hall and the mayor's residence in Batuan municipality.

All these incidents, plus the latest and much-publicized attack on the police headquarters, prompted media commentators to speculate that Bohol had become a major base of the NDFP in the Visayan islands or central part of the Philippines.

Tactical offensives advance in Southern Tagalog

Five members of a private army and four soldiers were killed while three troopers were wounded in three separate tactical offensives by the New People's Army (NPA) in Southern Tagalog this May and June.

Five security guards of Golden Country Farms Inc. (GCFI) were killed in an ambush by NPA guerrillas in Barangay Balansay, Mamburao, Mindoro Occidental on June 10. The

security guards serve as a private army of Ricardo Quintos, the despotic landlord who owns the 7,000-hectare GCFI. Quintos and his guards are responsible for numerous killings, landgrabbing, intimidation and other abuses against the peasant masses of Mamburao.

Two troopers were also killed when Red fighters ambushed soldiers of the 76 th IB along the highway in Barangay Walay, Padre Burgos, Quezon on May 25. The soldiers were aboard a Kennedy-type jeep when their vehicle hit a land mine planted by the guerrillas. Two other soldiers were wounded. Earlier, another soldier was killed and another was wounded when the NPA ambushed a team from the 31st IB that was on combat patrol in Barangay Biga, Gumaca, Quezon. Meanwhile, NPA guerrillas raided this May a Philippine Army detachment in Sitio Ilayang Crossing, Barangay Sayao, Mogpog, Marinduque. The raid was one of the first tactical offensives of the NPA in the province.

Ambush, punitive action launched in Saranggani and North Cotabato

An abusive member of the Citizens' Armed Forces Geographical Unit (CAFGU)-a paramilitary force of the Philippine reactionary government was killed while three soldiers were wounded in three separate tactical offensives launched by the New People's Army (NPA) in Saranggani and North Cotabato this June. A corporal was wounded when Red fighters ambushed elements of the 25th IB on June 27 in Barangay Matbol, Maasin, Saranggani. The soldiers were on patrol when they were ambushed by the NPA. Red fighters had drawn blood from this same battalion a week before in another ambush, wounding two other soldiers.

Meanwhile, an NPA team punished CAFGU Rommelson Puig in Barangay Balite, Magpet, North

Cotabato on June 20. Puig was aboard a motorcycle when ambushed by NPA guerrillas. He was part of the 206 th Special Forces Team, a composite group of soldiers and CAFGU specially assigned to conduct "counter-insurgency" and responsible for numerous violations of human rights.

NPA ambushes CAFGU, disarms mayor, policemen in Agusan del Sur

Five high-powered firearms and other military equipment were added to the arsenal of the New People's Army (NPA) in two separate tactical offensives in Agusan del Sur in May and June.

Two elements of the Citizens' Armed Forces Geographical Unit (CAFGU) were killed when Red fighters ambushed a composite force of the 36 th IB and CAFGU in Barangay Oromica, Esperanza town in June. Two M14s were seized in the ambush. Earlier, NPA guerrillas disarmed an abusive mayor and two elements of the Philippine National Police this May in La Paz town. Two M16s, Armalite bullets, a .38, a hand-held radio and a radio base were confiscated from the house of Mayor Rufino Torralba of that municipality. Raids on the nearby houses of SPO4 Honorio Campus and SPO2 Jorge Plana also yielded another M16.

Ambush, raid launched in Northern Luzon

A soldier was killed while three other troopers were wounded in an ambush by the New People's Army on the 22 nd Special Forces Coy of the 3 rd Special Forces Battalion-Philippine Army. The ambush was conducted on June 21 in Barangay Mainit, Bontoc, Mountain Province. Prior to this, the NPA raided on June 10 the "Pulisya ti Umili No. 5", a Philippine National Police sub-station in Barangay Pilitan, Tumauni, Isabela.



Red fighters confiscated two bandoliers full of bullets for an Armalite rifle, fatigue uniforms and other military equipment.

Revolutionary justice was meted successively to two elements of the Philippine National Police in Nueva Ecija who owed blood debts to the people and the revolutionary movement. According to Lingkaw, the revolutionary mass newspaper in the province, SPO1 Jose Ordinario was punished in Barangay Tayabo, San Jose City on March 15. Earlier, SPO4 Leodegario Maiquez was punished in Barangay San Pedro, Lupao on March 14. Ordinario was responsible for killing a peasant leader in 1990. Maiquez, meanwhile, murdered two Lupao residents and was involved in the murder of a resident of Cuyapo. He was also the leader of the "akyat-bahay gang" that victimized the people of northern Nueva Ecija and was a notorious extortionist who preyed on vendors and tricycle drivers.

Ambuscades launched in Compostela Valley

Four elements of the Citizens' Armed Forces Geographical Unit (CAFGU) and a soldier were killed in two separate ambuscades by the New People's Army (NPA) in Compostela Valley this June. Three CAFGU who were part of a team on patrol were killed when they were ambushed by Red fighters in Barangay Libulon, Mabini town in Davao del Norte on the morning of June 27.

Before this, a CAFGU member and a soldier were slain when Red fighters ambushed a composite unit of the Philippine Army and CAFGU conducting a patrol on June 1 in Laac town. An NPA blocking force also opened fired on the enemy's troop reinforcements.

NPA raids PICOP, AFP detachment

The New People's Army (NPA) conducted three successive tactical offensives in Surigao del Sur this May. Red fighters attacked the 29th

IB detachment in Doña Carmen town on May 23 and confiscated three M16s, three carbines and a handheld radio. Prior to this, the NPA raided the PICOP Resources Inc. factory in the nearby town of Bislig on May 19 and burned the company's machinery. Seven days before the raid on the factory, NPA guerrillas had also ambushed in Bislig a group of men belonging to PICOP's private army. A member of the PICOP security force died in the ambush.

PICOP, which owns a 195,000-hectare concession that straddles the borders of four provinces in Mindanao, is the biggest corporation in Asia that manufactures and exports plywood and paper products and engages in industrial tree farming. The three tactical offensives were launched by the NPA to punish the corporation and the 29th IB for its brutal suppression of the rights of PICOP workers. In 1998, PICOP colluded with the 28th and 29th IBs to break the workers' strike.

PICOP also used the Special Civilian Auxiliary Army that serves as its security force and private army and brought in hired killers.

Some guerrilla actions in 1998

Throughout 1998, NPA guerrillas were active in various regions, islands and provinces of the country. The NPA has 81 guerrilla fronts in all strategic points of the archipelago. Some of the tactical offensives launched by the NPA in 1998 are the following. On Samar, island in the Visayas, an NPA unit ambushed a jeepload of army troopers in Lavezares town, Northern Samar province, killing three soldiers, including a lieutenant. Almost simultaneously, not far from the ambush site, another NPA unit raided the PNP provincial mobile force headquarters, killing two policemen and wounding several others. The NPA suffered no casualties in the two offensives, while they confiscated a dozen weapons, including M-16 and M-14 rifles, an

M-60 machinegun and assorted handguns.

Meanwhile, in the Bicol region-in the southern part of Luzon island-the NPA put out of action 10 enemy soldiers (seven killed, three wounded) and confiscated about 25 firearms (mostly M-16 rifles) in a series of tactical offensives from March to August.

The offensives featured two ambushes in Sorsogon province in March; an ambush on a PNP mobile force company in Albay province in April; an attack by an NPA platoon on an army patrol in Camarines Sur province, also in March, a raid on an army detachment outpost in Albay, in July; and in mid-August, an NPA sniping operation to get rid of a notorious government soldier in Camarines Norte province.

In other provinces of Luzon island, a three-man NPA sparrow unit punished with death a policeman of the PNP mobile force company in Batangas province, afterwards confiscating his M-16 rifle and .45 caliber pistol. In the Mountain province-in the northern part of Luzon, an NPAS platoon ambushed a patrol of the enemy" 54th Infantry Battalion, killing an officer and wounding two army corporals. Down south, meanwhile, on Mindanao island, NPA guerrillas ambushed a jeepload of policemen in July, in Davao Oriental province. Killed in the attack were four policemen, including the police chief of Boston municipality in that province; five other policemen were wounded.

In April, also in Mindanao, NPA guerrillas punished with death a notorious rubber plantation administrator in Esperanza town, Agusan del Sur province. This criminal had long abused and victimized the peasants and farm workers in several barrios of Esperanza, and it came as no surprise that the masses in the area were elated when they received the news that the NPA had gotten rid of the hated administrator.



NDF, NPA RELEASE GENERAL, OTHER AFP, PNP MEN HELD AS POWs

True to their word, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) and the New People's Army (NPA) released Brig. Gen. Victor Obillo, commanding officer of the 55th Engineering Brigade, his aide Capt. Eduardo Montealto and five other officers and men of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and Philippine National Police they had held captive as prisoners of war (POWs) in the last few weeks.

Obillo and Montealto were released on April 16 in the mountain village of Unapan, barrio Suawan, Marilog district of Davao City, after a few hours' delay because of the interference of two enemy helicopters which flew over the release area, and the presence of two jeeploads of heavily armed police officers in the area.

In the following days, the NDFP and the NPA, police intelligence Maj. Roberto Bernal, Army Sgt. Alipio Lozada, and Army Sgt. Wivino Demol, who had been captured in

other NPA tactical offensives (TOs) in other parts of the country, were also released.

All the POWs said they were well treated by units of the people's army

All the POWs said they were well treated by units of the people's army which had captured and kept them in custody. They were so fullsome in their praise for the NPA guerrillas' dedication to the people's welfare that, upon their release, they were regarded with suspicion by their superiors

which had captured and kept them in custody. They were so fullsome in their praise for the NPA guerrillas'

dedication to the people's welfare that, upon their release, they were regarded with suspicion by their superiors in the AFP and PNP for their "disloyal" remarks.

In particular, Obillo and Montealto, and Bernal, told the mass media upon their release that they had been treated humanely by the NPA. Asked about how he was treated by the people's army, Obillo said, "I could not ask for more. I was 'babied' and was served breakfast in bed." The general added in an interview with mass media, "What I saw...is their commitment and their dedication. They have a cause and are committed to it. I respect that. This is a very disciplined unit."

Bernal, on the other hand, told PNP and AFP officers and men: "Do not be afraid if you are taken prisoner by the NPA because they will take good care of you." Then, taking exception to their present practice, he called on his fellow policemen to respect the human rights of NPA fighters who might fall into their hands."

Obillo and Montealto, who had been captured by the NPA on February 17, would certainly have been released much earlier had it not been for President Joseph Estrada's macho posturing of "no talks" with the NDFP and NPA, and then launched massive military operations to recover the two officers. He had also suspended any talks between the negotiating panels of the Government





of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and of the NDFP which, previously, had been a channel for such discussions.

For instance, Estrada had publicly disapproved of the efforts of a panel headed by Davao Archbishop Fernando Capalla, and another initiative by Senator Loren Legarda, to approach the NDFP negotiating panel in Utrecht, The Netherlands, to seek the release

of Obillo and Montealto and the other soldiers and policeman being held by the NPA as POWs. Still another humanitarian group headed by Obispo Maximo (Supreme Bishop) Alberto

Ramento of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente and Bishop Roman Tiplas Jr., general secretary of the National Council of Churches of the Philippines (NCCP), also made the trip to Utrecht to talk to the NDFP's representatives.

Later, however, when thousands of his troops spent day after day combing the forests of southern Mindanao without any result, he privately gave his blessings to Capalla's and Legarda's initiatives. Legarda and Capalla's panel met with Luis Jalandoni and Jose Maria Sison, chairman and chief political consultant of the NDF panel, respectively, and agreed to a memorandum of agreement (MOA) for the release of the prisoners. In general, this MOA was honored by Estrada.

In the release of the POWs, such representatives of the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) as Pierre Delacoste and Olivier Jenard were present to accept the POWs. Then the POWs were turned over to the government and to their families. Also present were Romeo T. Capulong, head of the Public Interest Law Center (PILC) and general counsel of the NDFP negotiating panel, and NDFP consultants.

Soon after the NPA's capture of Obillo and Montealto on February 17, Estrada suspended the GRP-NDFP's Joint Agreement for Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) and ordered the arrest of all NDFP negotiators, consultants, advisers, staff and security force who are covered by these guarantees.

This was a case of Estrada indulging in treachery and in a political swindle. There had been no agreement between the GRP and the NDFP on a ceasefire in their civil war. In fact, the reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines and its national police

force had been intensifying their so-called "counter-

insurgency" campaigns and been summarily executing ("salvaging") NPA guerrillas wounded and captured by them.

In unilaterally suspending the JASIG, a solemn agreement to which the GRP had entered, Estrada thus deprived the NDFP representatives of the safety and immunity guarantees which guarantee them freedom from arrest one month after the talks are concluded.

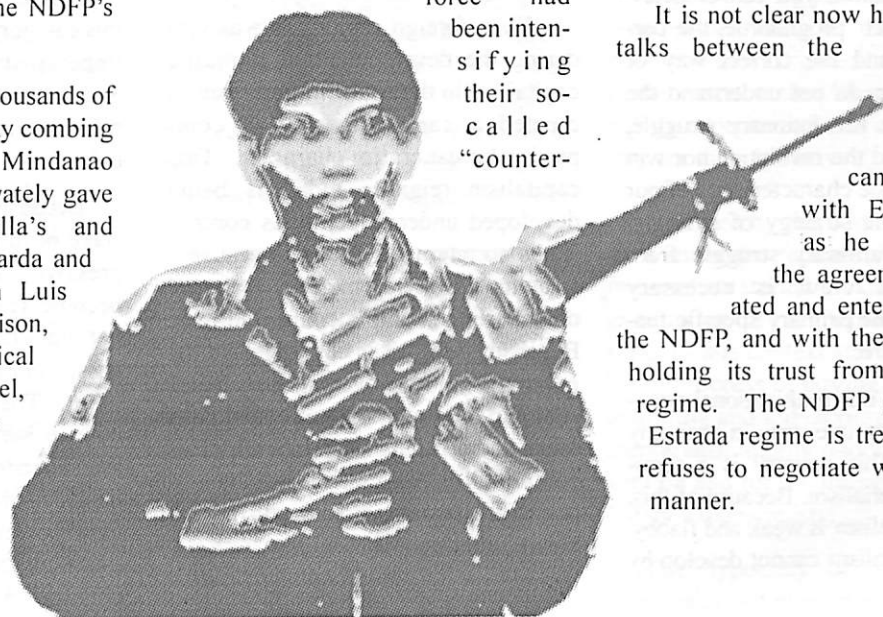
Estrada had also suspended the GRP-NDFP's Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) which had been approved by the negotiating panels of the GRP and of the NDFP in early 1998. This had been approved by NDFP Chairperson Mariano Orosa and, much later, by Estrada himself.

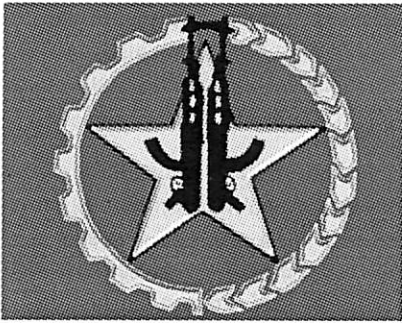
In approving the agreement, however, Estrada imposed certain conditions which are totally unacceptable to the NDFP. This condition would involve the NDFP's repudiation of its own Constitution and its own 12-Point Program and its total acceptance of the GRP constitution which would be tantamount to capitulation and repudiation of revolutionary principles.

It is not clear now how the peace talks between the

GRP and the NDFP can proceed, with Estrada doing as he pleases with the agreements negotiated and entered into with the NDFP, and with the NDFP withholding its trust from the Estrada regime. The NDFP says that the Estrada regime is treacherous and refuses to negotiate with it in any manner.

The reactionary Armed Forces of the Philippines and its national police force had been intensifying their so-called "counter-insurgency" campaigns and been summarily executing ("salvaging") NPA guerrillas wounded and captured by them.





Army Flag

TKP/ML



Party Flag

WHICH WAY WILL THE REVOLUTION OUR COUNTRY TAKE, OR WHY PEOPLE'S WAR?

The road of revolution in a country is determined by its economic, political and social structure. The most important duty of communists is to analyse the situation from a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist viewpoint. As comrade Lenin said, *"The most essential thing in Marxism, the living soul of Marxism is concrete analysis of concrete conditions."*

If it is not done correctly, you cannot lead the revolution, you cannot determine the correct programme, the correct strategy and the correct way of struggle. If you do not understand the features of the revolutionary struggle, you cannot lead the revolution nor win it. Looking at the characteristics of our country and the strategy of struggle, i.e., the revolutionary struggle from this point of view, is necessary because of some primary specific features. These are:

First of all, our multinational country is developing unevenly in economy and politics. This country is a semi-colony of imperialism. Because of this, domestic capitalism is weak and flabby. Domestic capitalism cannot develop by

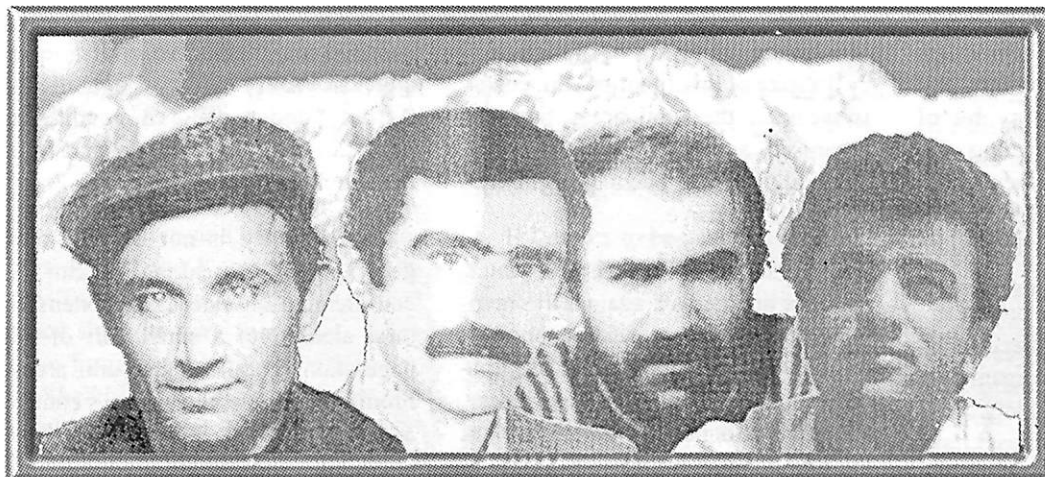
its own free dynamics, its development is prevented by imperialism.

When primitive accumulation began, it entered into the network of capitalism. The foreign capitalism which penetrated our country from 1825 prevented the independent development of domestic capitalism. Domestic capitalism cannot stand on its legs through the process of primitive accumulation freely by its own dynamics.

When foreign capitalism was hindering the development of domestic capitalism in the era of imperialism, it created a capitalism with a comprador-bureaucratic character. This capitalism reigning today is being developed under imperialists control. It has no internal dynamics because it is being developed under the control of imperialism and is connected to it. Because of this, it is connected to the imperialism from every point. It can stand up only with the help of imperialism and it is thus weak in itself. This comprador-bureaucratic capitalism is one of the two social bases of imperialism in our country.

In fact, feudalism cannot be liquidated. Because domestic capitalism cannot develop by its inner dynamics, it does not liquidate the feudalism and can not do so. Thus, the democratic revolution is not realised, it cannot be completed. Because the bourgeoisie has lost its progressive role in the era of imperialism, it cannot liquidate feudalism, and imperialism does not permit it to do so. The second social base of imperialism is the feudal forces in this category of countries. In the era of imperialism, especially after the Second World War, feudalism has significantly receded but in fact was not liquidated.

Because of the bourgeoisie, at the stage of imperialism has lost its progressive role in history and has become reactionary in politics, does not liquidate it. This task has been passed onto the shoulders of the proletariat. The comprador-bureaucratic bourgeoisie and big landlords control the superstructure. The state is in the hands of these classes and they owe their power to imperialism; they are the social bases of imperialism in our country. As classes, they rule the



**Ibrahim
KAYPAKKAYA**

**Süleyman
CIHAN**

**Kazim
ÇELİK**

**Mehmet
DEMIRDAG**

country economically, politically, militarily, legally and culturally.

The power of these classes inside and the interests of imperialism outside depend on US imperialism which has been in power from 1945 to 1950. For this reason, though possessing the "independence" of the state, they are not independent in matters of internal and external relations and are entirely dependent on imperialism.

Firstly, US imperialism, and then IMF and World Bank direct its economy and thus its politics. In the military aspect, they are under the control of imperialist-militarist organisations like NATO. The so-called republic was established in 1923. Then there were parliaments but there was one-party dictatorship up to 1945. From that time, it has been "directed" by a fascist multiparty parliamentary system.

But the working class party and the parties outside the system are forbidden. Parties established legally are generally ruling-class parties. The parties which set up governments to rule the country are fascist parties of the ruling classes. These parties, as mouthpieces of their classes, are servitors of imperialism and have relations with imperialism. After establishing the republic, the big bourgeoisie and big landlords, who are dependent on imperialism, adopted the fascist dictatorship. These classes

own the state, these classes rule. The character of the state is fascist dictatorship.

The fascism in our country is an unlimited class dictatorship of the comprador-bureaucratic bourgeoisie and big landlords. It depends on imperialism externally. Fascism is the unlimited bloody dictatorship and power of these classes against the workers and other working people. A great part of the republic's past is one of open military fascist dictatorship.

In other words, one-party rule, martial law, state of emergency, state of war, military junta and transition regime and regional martial law had been adopted. The dentate (coup d'état) of 12 September 1980 continued up to the middle of the 1980s. From then on, half of the country (Turkish Kurdistan) has been ruled, first under martial law and then under emergency law until now.

With the "Special Province Directing Law", the "Directing Centre for Crisis" and other laws, the situation of open military dictatorship has become commonplace. Half of the republic's past years had been under martial law, and the other half under fascist dictatorship masked by a parliamentary system.

When there is no open military dictatorship, there is the National Security Council on top of

the state. The National Security Council consists of nine persons, five of whom are generals. This shows the character of the state. Fascist dictatorship with a parliamentary mask is not a contradiction. It needs this mask for inside and outside the country. The country is ruled under a fascist regime behind a parliamentary mask.

In the past, all the petty-bourgeois parties and organisations of denied this. They said that fascism runs counter to the parliamentary system, that parliament has to be closed in a fascist regime, that when there is parliament there will be no fascism as it is a parliamentary democracy. So, in the countries like this, they did not see and acknowledge for many years that fascism is a form of state rule, that it is not temporary (like as a government) but continuous. But today they accept that fascism is continuous and not contradictory to a parliamentary mask, although they have not offered any self-criticism.

Because of their economic weakness, instability and recurring crises, the ruling classes cannot offer anything (jobs, job security, life security, higher standard of living to the masses). They cannot offer anything economically, nor can they grant democratic rights and freedoms politically. So for these two reasons, they have to rule through fascist imposition and violence to stay in power. To protect the interests of their classes and their imperialist masters, they resort to such a method. They need fascism for this.

The ruling classes and their fascist dictatorship deny the workers and working people the right to represent their own class interests, the right to have their own party or to defend their own class interests, the freedom of thought and freedom to organise.



There are no political and democratic rights and liberties for workers and working people, even a tiny bit of them. As a result of struggling and after paying a heavy price, they sometimes gain some rights which, but these do not last long. The state attacks the people at every step, and takes back the rights won or renders them useless. There is no freedom of expression and freedom of organising, and the cause of the working class, i.e., its ideas, communist ideas, have been the biggest crime against the state up to now.

To defend communist ideas, to be a member of a communist party and to participate in the activities of communist and revolutionary movement are acknowledged as the biggest crime and are meted the heaviest penalty. Those who are not disappeared and those not killed on the street are considered "lucky". Those captured alive may receive sentences from at least 10-15 years of imprisonment to execution.

The imprisoned suffer severe conditions, systematic attacks and massacres for long years. Every peaceful action, like funeral ceremonies for heroes killed in the struggle, looking for the disappeared, opposing massacres, protest pressures, commemoration of martyrs, celebrations, etc., is wildly attacked. This distinguishing character determines our political strategy and tactic. And parallel to this, it determines our military strategy and tactics.

Secondly, our enemy is big and strong and we are small and weak. Because of unequal economic development, there are a few big cities (industries are here) on one side, and there are cities in rural regions and villages on the other side.

Up to 1980, 65 % of the population had been in the countryside. After 15-20 years of the Kurdish national liberation and social struggle and forced migration, exile and destruc-

tion by war, today this has fallen to 50 %. In spite of this situation, the enemy is weak in the rural areas but it is organised and strong in the cities, especially the big ones. The enemy's control is intensive.

With the united action of the international bourgeoisie against the revolutionary movement, with economic, political and military support of imperialism, and as a result of experiences, education and great technical support, the ruling classes exercise heavy control in the cities and are very strong tactically. This inequality of forces requires a strategy suitable to this condition.

The enemy has an important organisation, it can organise its forces well in the cities. With its primary forces (army, police, intelligence service, bureaucracy) and civilian fascist forces, the state exercises significant control. Through its political parties and the media, it can easily control the masses by directing and degenerating them. They are effective in controlling the masses and make them pass on by poisoning them with the opium of religion and Turkish nationalism.

They have an important place in controlling the masses by drawing them to the axis of the state through the confederation of trade unions, important trade unions and a lot of professional organisations. Because of the enemy organisation, easy transport and communication, significant controls heavy attacks, etc., in the cities, the conditions for the revolutionaries to do their task are very difficult.

Due to the uneven development of capitalism, the development of the cities and the working class, the effectiveness and struggle are uneven, too. There is no tradition of democracy in country, because the workers and working people cannot see democracy and do not live in such a condition, and the political and organisational level is very low. So, their struggle is developing in very painful and unequal conditions. It is suppressed

and become ineffective under heavy attacks from enemy operations. Activity under difficult conditions, often finishes off and has to start from the beginning.

Our country is not a small one; geographically speaking, it can be considered a big one. It has extensive rural areas. Not a small part of the population is still in the rural areas. From every angle, the enemy's control and organisation is weak in these areas. Securing control is not possible here. Control here, unlike in the cities, can never be ensured. The weakness of the enemy in the rural areas and in villages and the impossibility of control here, unlike in the cities, offer a big advantage for developing the revolutionary forces.

The weakness of the enemy's organisation in the rural areas, the difficulty of ensuring control and check, and the difficulty of poisoning the minds of the masses systematically and organisationally are an advantage for us. This weakness of the enemy gives us the advantage of doing easy propaganda and agitation work, raising the political conscious of the masses, organising and having an armed force, protecting this force and developing it further.

Our enemy, being a lackey of imperialism and thus enjoying its considerable support, is quite big and strong. It has the fifth strongest army in the world. It is equipped with all modern weapons and other technical equipment. Our strategy of struggle must be suitable to such conditions and to such a strong enemy. It is apparent that we must wage a strategy of protracted war. We have to begin with small forces where the enemy is weakest. Thus, the enemy being strong and we being weak is another characteristic of our strategy of war.

All the conditions mentioned above and the distinguishing characteristics of our country requires that the revolution must develop only in



armed struggle as People's War. We have to see it as the primary and basic type of struggle. The enemy leaves us no other way

Thirdly, at the beginning and for a long time, our forces are rather weak. We must begin from zero point. We can develop ourselves only in war, by fighting and as long as we fight. Looked at from today's point of view, we have guerrilla units as the nucleus of the Red Army (TIKKO - The Liberation Army of Workers and Peasants of Turkey), and these units are small and weak.

We have to depend only on our own strength. The absence of any socialist country in the world and the absence of any help from a revolutionary force, the disadvantage of having considerable difficulties in procuring weapons and ammunition and transporting them, having to fight a strong enemy given the inequality of forces, demonstrate another characteristic for which our strategy and tactic must be suitable to the given conditions.

Fourthly, the Communist Party must lead the class struggle, today's revolutionary struggle, the guerrilla war. In today's society the most progressive, the most revolutionary class is the proletariat, and it is the only class with a revolutionary. The proletariat is the only class which represents the future and will eliminate classes. Of course it cannot accomplish this mission without a class-conscious vanguard party. Only under the leadership of a party having in Marxist-Leninist-Maoist science can ensure such a success. The other revolutionary classes and parties, apart from the Communist Party, cannot lead the revolution nor win the revolution.

If they wage a revolution by destroying the existing power, they cannot go

beyond the existing uncompleted democratic revolution, staying within in capitalism without aiming to go over to socialism. Because they are not the classes which remain revolutionary to the end. They cannot wholly support Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideas, the scientific ideology of the proletariat. So, the Communist Party, the proletarian party (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist), will lead the struggle for revolution, socialism and communism. This struggle must be by way of the People's War and its vanguard is the Communist Party. This is a distinguishing characteristic of our struggle.

Because of the fact that capitalism do not develop by its inner dynamics and there can not be a bourgeois democratic revolution, feudalism cannot be liquidated by the revolutionary way. With the penetration of imperialism, feudalism is resolved a little bit, but this process is very difficult (painstaking), and besides imperialism prevents its resolution because it considers feudalism as its social support. Thus, it preserves the existence of feudalism significantly in some places.

Generally, the influence of feudalism exists in the superstructure and substructure (the base). Of course, feudalism has not preserved its pureness as in the past centuries. Therefore, it is a useless effort to look for it in such pureness and its existence in such a state. It is easy to understand that its elimination and ruined of feudalism is not a process of some decades. Although significantly resolved, its existence is being significantly protected.

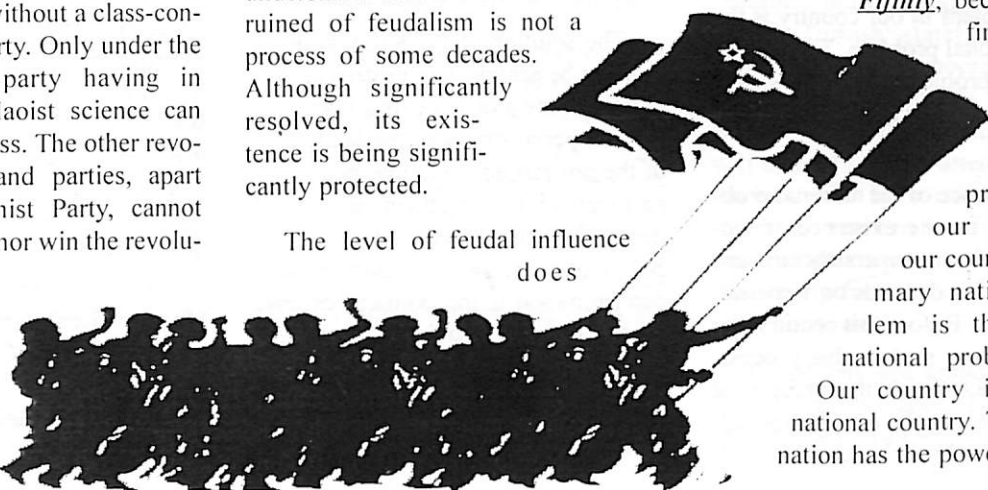
The level of feudal influence does

not dismiss the necessity of liquidating feudalism by the revolutionary way, i.e., the democratic revolution. Taking the influence to be great or small affects only the boundaries and contents of the democratic revolution. The democratic revolution is on the agenda because feudalism has not been liquidated. This will not be a democratic revolution of the old type but of the new one because it is led by the Communist Party, i.e., it will be a New Democratic Revolution.

The main economic content of the democratic revolution is agrarian revolution. Namely, it is the distribution the lands of landlords to the peasants who are poor and have little land. It means setting the villagers free by emancipating them from feudal oppression. It means solving peasants' demand for land by effecting the principle of "land to the tiller". It means distributing the land which are not treated (operated, used) to the poor landless peasants. For this reason, the Communist Party must lead the agrarian revolution.

The Party will assume the vanguard role if it propagandises the objectives of its programme and makes the peasants consider them as their own and fight for them, and if it wins the support of peasants who have little land. The primary army of People's War, namely human power, consists of peasants and is based on the rural areas.

Fifthly, because of the first condition there is still an unsolved national problem in our country. In our country, the primary national problem is the Kurdish national problem today. Our country is a multi-national country. The Turkish nation has the power. The state





is their state. Kurds, Armenians and Greeks live on the borders of this state.

At the very beginning of the process of becoming a nation, they were prevented from forming a state for themselves. The lands of these nations were annexed at the time of the Ottoman Empire and they exist up to now. Ottomans came to these lands later, and on these lands the Turks became a nation. The other peoples' lands were annexed before they became a nation. After becoming a nation, the Turks blocked the other peoples from their own nation-building and establishing their own state. The lands of peoples who entered into the nationalisation process were seized.

Furthermore, in the last years of the Ottomans, they killed Greeks and sent them into exile, and perpetrated massacre against the whole Armenian people. These are not nations in our country today. Every national movement of the Kurds was subjected to bloody suppression. Although they wanted to massacre Kurds and eliminate them by assimilation, they could not succeed.

The Kurds are the only nation who are protecting their national existence, (their land has been seized, they have been blocked from establishing their own state, they have been deprived of the right of self-determination). Apart from them, there many national minorities. They are under national oppression, too. But the primary national problem in our country is the Kurdish national problem. The resolution of this problem is on the shoulders of the proletariat in this century, too.

The existence of the national problem depends on the existence of feudalism in both the superstructure and the base. And it depends on imperialism externally. Before this century, the Kurds could not sustain this process, they could not finish the process of being a nation. In the era of imperialism, both the ruling classes of the rul-

ing Turkish nation and imperialism blocked their becoming a state, or their right of self-determination was not recognised, stopped, and not exercised (although they completed the process of becoming a nation).

Imperialism does not recognise the self-determination of nations. It turns them into colonies, semi-new colonies or capture (captives, annex). The national problem has grown bigger and has become a colonial problem in the era of imperialism, especially after the First World War and the October Revolution.

The national problem has become a problem of liberation from imperialism. From now on, no other class leadership but that of the proletariat can solve the national problem radically and completely. For this reason, the task is on the shoulders of our Party. The solution of the national problem, as a part of the people's democratic revolution and socialist revolution, is the problem of destroying the power of the ruling class. It is a problem of total liberation from imperialism.

As Turkey is a semi-colony of imperialism, there is an aspect of the national problem. There is an aspect of liberation from imperialism. There is a national aspect of the revolution. But although Turkey is not a real independence country, but it has a national state and structure. For this reason, when we refer to the national problem in the country, this must be understood as the Kurdish problem.

The solution of the Kurdish problem can be achieved by destroying the existing state and achieving liberation from imperialism under the leadership of the proletarian class, irrespective of nationality. The problem is one of destroying the forces adopting the policy of coercion. Provision for self-determination is the political essence of the national problem. Namely, it means whether to live together or not is determined by (the people) themselves.

The social essence of national problem is the peasant problem. For this reason, it is said that the national problem is a peasant problem. At the same time, it is a resolution of the land problem. Liberation from imperialism by resolving the national problem as part of the general colonial problem; the peasant problem being the social essence of the national problem and involving the agrarian revolution; the national liberation potential of uprisings in the past up to now — this is a distinctive feature and advantage of guerrilla war as armed struggle.

For all these reasons, the revolution will be protracted and waged through armed struggle. This will be an advantage. A protracted armed struggle will be in accordance with the People's War Strategy. This will begin with the type of guerrilla war, and then Red Army will be established in the process of war. The guerrilla units will transform into squadrons, battalions, regiments and armies.

In guerrilla war, guerrilla bases and then liberated zones (red political bases) are established in guerrilla zones. When the enemy is pushed out of these areas and power is set up in the countryside, the cities will be surrounded. After the cities are taken, political power will be in the hands of the Party (also people's army and united front). This is the strategy of People's War.

When our Party was founded by Ibrahim KAYPAKKAYA (killed 18th of May 1973), our Party analysed the conditions of our country and determined correctly that the revolution would carry on a protracted People's War. This was our official conception. It is correct today as well. It has been defended since the establishment of the Party. When our Party was introducing and publicising its ideas, it based itself on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and learned from the Chinese Communist Party which was the leader of the international communist movement at the time, and from Comrade



Chairman Mao Zedung who was then the leader of China and its revolution.

Naturally it was attacked by both its class enemies and every kind of opportunist currents. After its founding, all opportunist currents evaluated our Party as a "model of the Chinese type", "dogmatic", etc., because of its ideas, especially those about People's War, and they launched ideological-political attacks. Our Party did not give up and submit to these attacks. It developed itself in the ideological-political struggle against them. Every kind of opportunist currents and people cannot still understand the distinguishing characteristics of our country and our People's War, why a protracted war is unavoidable and is the primary type of struggle.

Today most of these people have gone into reformist struggle under the laws of the regime. The others have remained revolutionary, but saying that one cannot know how the revolution will develop in the long term. They sank into the philology of agnosticism. Here, agnosticism encompasses economism and spontaneity.

Today, they depend mainly on the revolution being waged through an armed uprising. And they don't remember that their "model", "dogmatism" on almost (when they say) all countries' revolutions are said to begin with uprisings. When they are attack our ideas, they say that revolution in each country has a different way, that generally every revolution is waged in different ways.

They do not look, or refuse to look, or even close their eyes at the facts of revolution up to now, but they also fall into contradiction when they speak of the way of armed uprising in our country and yet follow the Soviet example. According to their understanding, they must be "modelist", "dogmatic". Although they fall into contradiction, they do not make a self-criticism of their false understanding and false criticism.

In the countries of similar economic and political characteristics,

revolution is necessarily waged in a similar way in general. This is theoretically correct and is proven by revolutionary experience up to now. Almost all the opportunist currents and opportunist people fail to recognise the basic similarities between colonial, semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries and between countries that waged revolution through People's War before and those waging People's War today. Because of this, they exaggerate the differences between such countries and our country. Thus, they categorically reject the revolution categorically or become indecisive.

Such attitudes do not stand up to the difficulties of a protracted struggle and avoid it like the devil. They understand the examples of China and similar revolutions mechanically and do not regard them in their essence but in the details, and failing to find similarity in details, they exaggerate the differences and refuse to pursue the same way and become indecisive. They fail to understand that they must look at basic common similarities, pursue the same way categorically, and apply People's War creatively with its own specifics and characteristics, and that such is the task of Marxist-Leninist-Maoists.

This kind of understanding is the revisionist and opportunist understanding that must be criticised heavily. In many similar countries, this kind of understanding is widespread. Therefore, this is the most dangerous kind of understanding and must be resolutely combated. It is possible that because of the pressure from this kind of criticism, there is the attitude of failing to see the differences between such countries like China before the revolution and our country today, although it are not widespread.

We must be alert to this kind of attitude and combat it, too. This kind of attitude fail to understand China and the basic characteristics of the Chinese revolution and the ideas of Mao correctly. Those who apply the

experience of China mechanically, instead of applying the ideas of Comrade Mao creatively in a living way may lead the struggle to defeat, and this develops a mistrust of Mao and People's War. We must be vigilant about them and struggle against them.

When our Party is influenced by every kind of opportunist currents and persons, it will begin to say that it is not clear whether armed struggle is the main struggle or not. Then the Party will say that armed struggle is not a strategic but a tactical kind of struggle. A protracted armed struggle, i.e., People's War, is the central task. Being conscious of this central task means to take the countryside primarily, naturally and inevitably, sustain the People's War beginning with the guerrilla struggle there, and do this intensively.

Every kind of opportunist currents and persons understand and criticise that taking the countryside primarily means rejecting activity in the city, especially among the working class. But the past revolutionary experiences of China, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, North Korea, Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, etc., do not show this. The idea — "work in rural areas is primary, work in the cities is secondary" (the first principle in the establishment of our Party) and "in the stage of the strategic defensive, accumulating strength in the cities (big cities) and biding our time is primary and organising the uprising is secondary" (stated as another principle) — is given importance in practice.

Thus, in the working class, our Party is stronger than the opportunists. This is our positive aspect, but our heavy presence in the cities, despite the disadvantage of working there, is our negative aspect resulting from not yet having a good grasp of the central task. Criticism must be made on this point. On the other hand the secondary character of work in the cities does not mean rejecting work in the cities. This means only being secondary to the principal one. Every under-



standing apart from this is not scientific, invalid and arbitrary. They think that the struggle will stand on one leg and can develop, but this understanding brings nothing but defeat.

All kinds of opportunist currents and persons say that defending armed struggle as the basic or essential type of struggle is to see it as a single type of struggle or to defend it as such, or they want to understand and see it as such. They show this kind of understanding when they look at the past and current revolutionary experiences. They can not find it in our Party. During its establishment, our Party stated that "armed struggle is primary, the others are secondary" as a distinguishing principle.

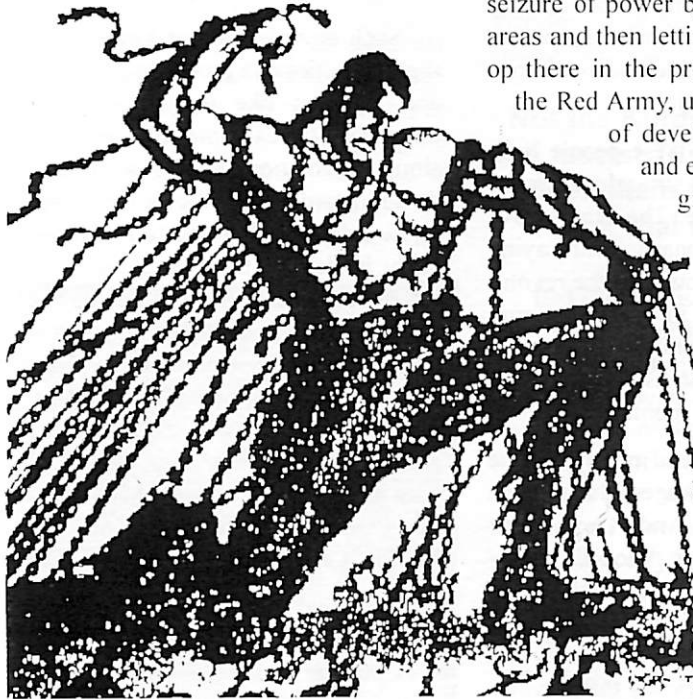
As another principle, even in the countryside it is stated that "in these areas armed struggle is principal the other ones are secondary in the villages". As mentioned above, the practice of our Party is known, but they cannot understand the basic character of armed struggle.

And as we stated above, saying basic or secondary does not mean a single type of struggle. Taking it firstly as basic or essential among so many types of struggle and so many types of organisation types is to take it as the main body (main content). Some of the opportunists currents and persons think that saying armed struggle as the basic struggle and armed organisation as the basic type of organisation, means rejecting mass struggle and mass organisation and mass movements, or they want to understand it that way.

This is completely false and shows their lack of understanding. On the contrary, the protracted armed struggle, led by the proletarian party and based on the worker-peasant alliance, depends on the masses, depends on their organisation, directs the masses as much as their organisation, draws them into the struggle, and mobilises them directly or indirectly for war.

It develops the mass movement, takes the spontaneous movement forward by being in its midst and turns it towards a conscious and political aim by means of propaganda and agitation. It is waged based on an understanding that all the mass movements serve the armed struggle and develop it. Comrade Mao Zedung emphasises these importantly. Since its founding, our Party has adopted and defended this understanding.

We say People's War. This means a war that depends on the people, develops and becomes higher only as we organise and mobilise them for



war. It does not mean that firstly we organise the people, or we make them fight after organising them. In every country, after a certain preparation, guerrilla war will begin, broad masses will be won over each day during the war, people will be organised, the war will depend on them, mobilise them for war. It is a war which belongs to the people.

People's War Strategy is not only military war. It cannot be understood if it is taken separately from its ideological, political and organisational sense, from the mass line. The really profound significance of People's War cannot be understood and compre-

hended if it is seen only from the military viewpoint. In general, the basic character of People's War requires:

1. The vanguard party of the proletariat (a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party)
2. Armed struggle -guerrilla war-People's War as the central task
3. Reliance on the mass line and on one's own strength
4. Taking the road from the countryside to the cities, i.e, surrounding the cities from the countryside

Thus, it requires the nation-wide seizure of power by having liberated areas and then letting power to develop there in the process, building up the Red Army, using the advantage of developing, reinforcing and extending its power gradually in the course of the struggle.

If People's War as regarded only as a military strategy, if it is separated from the Party's class character and from its ideological, political and organisational line, if it is not regarded as developing the consciousness of the masses systematically, organising the masses not only generally but also organising them especially in the countryside, ensuring a strong organisation, providing the consciousness for self-governance and the experience in establishing local power, or if these are reduced and not given importance, this means that People's War is taken wrongly and misunderstood.

People's War is not only a military war, and although it has an aspect of war, it means organising the masses. As organising proceeds, war will develop and extend to the masses.



Otherwise, neither the war can be sustained and developed nor its results be transformed into strong relations and organisations of the masses, and into the building and reinforcing of their power.

The idea of our annihilating enemy by breaking up its strength, influence and power and than establishing our worker-peasant power, is not enough. We can do it as we organise it. A correct political and organisational line is very important. But we have to organise it. If we do not organise the struggle and transform it organisationally, there will be neither worth nor gain.

If there is the Party and the masses, every kind of miracle can be created.

What is the counter-guerrilla war strategy — called “low intensity conflict”, “special war”, “the undeclared war” — that imperialism itself wants to develop or put forward as a new thing after the Second World War, especially after the 1950s? Why is the bourgeoisie trying to present this strategy as an advanced one? Why does it want to blow up this balloon so much in the current developments?

We have to expose, in theory and in practice, the “low intensity conflict” which is a counter-guerrilla war strategy which imperialism and its servitors inevitably embrace for the survival of their system. We must take a look at the factors that this strategy requires before going into the process.

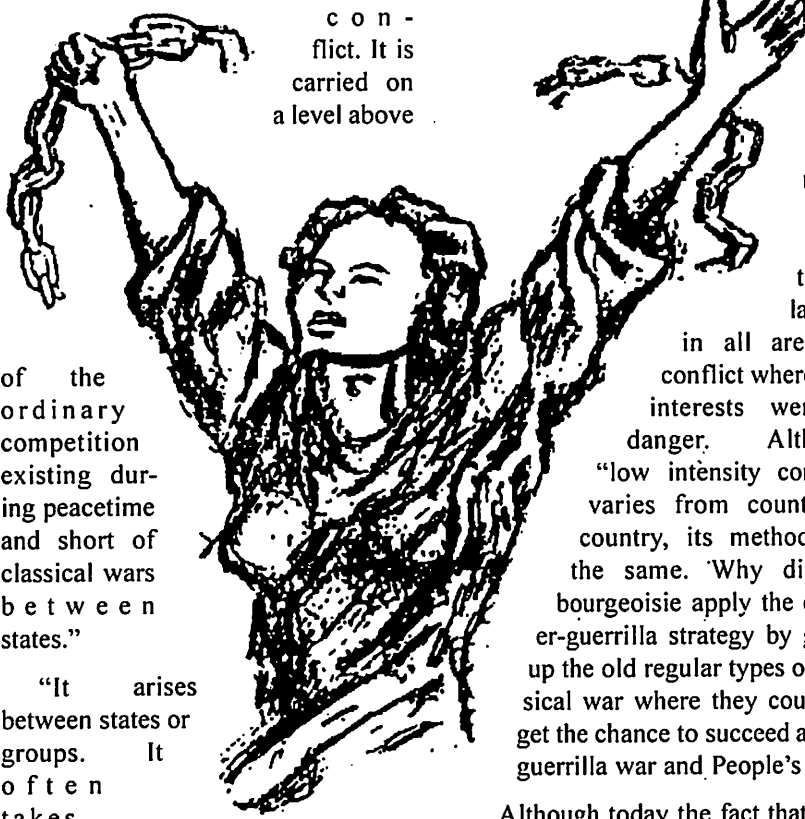
National and class struggles, which began to develop at the turn of the century in Asia, South America, Africa and Europe, led to social developments. In many countries, there has been guerrilla war, People’s War. The bourgeoisie lost its power after having been defeated in these wars, in these uprisings, and in many places new power was established..

The counter-guerrilla war strategy of “low intensity conflict”, referred to

as the method to suppress the developing social opposition, has been applied in many places of the world after the 1950s. It has been put into use wherever there is national and class struggle, firstly in South America.

What is “low intensity conflict”? How is it used? “low intensity conflict” is defined below in the regulations no. 100.20 used by the US Army and Airforce: “Low intensity conflict” is military, political, economic,

cultural
c o n -
flict. It is
carried on
a level above



of the ordinary competition existing during peacetime and short of classical wars between states.”

“It arises between states or groups. It often takes shape in the struggle in principle and ideology which is a long-term competition. ‘Low Intensity Conflict’ encompasses an arena ranging from sabotage operations to the need of deploying the armed forces. “The means used generally exists in places where classes exist. But its effects are both regional and global.” Against which is it to be employed?

Firstly, against the struggles which are developing along national and class lines. It is to be used as a method of suppressing guerrilla war and People’s War. It is intended against other forms of the struggle, too. It was used against Vietnam, as it was used against the IRA in England, against the ETA in Spain, by the French against the Algerians, and by the United States against many countries, especially in South America.

In short, it was enforced by the

imperialists and their lackeys

in all areas of conflict where their interests were in danger. Although “low intensity conflict” varies from country to country, its methods are the same. Why did the bourgeoisie apply the counter-guerrilla strategy by giving up the old regular types of classical war where they could not get the chance to succeed against guerrilla war and People’s War?

Although today the fact that regular wars have no chance against guerrilla war and People’s War has brought the bourgeoisie to the (use of) counter-guerrilla war strategy, there would be no success if there is a failure to understand where they are used it(lic). Uncovering further the counter-guerrilla war strategy of “low intensity conflict” will lead to an understanding of the problem.

Today “low intensity conflict” is not a uniform type of regular warfare. It is not only military operations, the mobilisation of all the regular military units with state terror, but also a type



of all-round offensive of sustained political, economic, cultural, ideological and psychological warfare. "Low intensity conflict", which is being used in many countries and had been used in some others, does not aim at military conquest but at the stabilisation of opposed political and social relations. For this reason, there is agreement on the following six points adopted by many imperialist countries and their lackeys:

1. The government must keep its absolute legitimacy in its fight against the insurgents.
2. In sustaining their fight, it must be completely undivided by reducing divisiveness.
3. Foreign support must be important and consistent with the government fighting the insurgency.
4. Foreign support for the guerrillas must be diminished and, if possible, eliminated.
5. Good intelligence network must be provided against disturbances and insurgency.
6. The government forces for carrying on the fight must absolutely be capable, disciplined and well-trained.

The "low intensity conflict" strategy that took shape over these main points has been used in more than 40 countries today, as cited by US war strategists. "Low intensity conflict" employs and attempts to employ dirty, barbaric and unjust methods of war by organising completely along the line of counter-guerrilla warfare, applying counter-guerrilla tactics in practice and essentially organising like guerrillas in the countries where guerrilla warfare and People's War exist. In short, it carries on counter-revolutionary war against the masses of the people whose interest lies in the revolution.

The imperialists and their local collaborating lackeys are reactionary classes. Impeding the advance of the means of production and trying to oppose the progress of society cannot

rescue the state of the capitalists and landlords from being thrown into the dustbin of history by our People's War strategy today. And the counter-guerrilla war strategy of "low intensity conflict", to which they adhere as a hope for total freedom, can not save their stinking and decaying (corrupt) system.

What are the kinds of operations, methods and policies of "low intensity conflict"? It makes us of disappearances while in custody, killing by torture, summary executions, massacres in open or secret operations; it rabidly uses harassment, torture and fascist terror against the masses to prevent the guerrilla war and People's War from gaining strength and expanding its influence over wider areas.

It is not limited to these. Ordinary persons, sympathisers, supporters etc. are disappeared and murdered. This is intended to create a pervasive psychological effect of apathy among the masses towards struggle, and to sow "panic" in the revolutionary ranks.

The objective is simple. Anything can be used against the masses to render them ineffective, to prevent them from turning into an organised force. The burning of villages after emptying them, forcible evacuation, food embargo and forcible migration are the most used and widespread methods. They seek to put the masses under surveillance and easily keep them under control.

They carry out the policy of controlling the people through the "strategic hamlets". These are no different from concentration camps. After emptying the villages and taking the villagers to the controlled areas, the enemy then call these "dominated areas". The depopulated areas will be these which can be controlled by enemy. The name does not matter: "low intensity conflict", or "special war", or "undeclared war". These are labels of the same meaning. They are the strategy and tactics of counter-guerrilla warfare. The strategy of "low intensity conflict" specially directs all

state establishments to adapt to this strategy.

The role of bourgeois media is especially quite important in "low intensity conflict". The media tries to ensure that the masses are turned against the national and class struggle by creating misconceptions about the reactionary unjust war being waged by the ruling classes. They cover up the massacres perpetrated by the ruling classes. They make false propaganda about revolutionaries and revolutionary patriots. They ensure that the masses are turned against the revolutionaries by keeping them under the influence of reactionary ideology and propaganda.

Today the US State Department admits, as indicated below, that this type of reactionary and unjust war being waged by the imperialists and their local lackeys against national and class revolution struggle, had been unsuccessful and will be unsuccessful: "In fact the doctrine of "low intensity conflict" is a strategy of weakness because it only shows the reaction of a superpower copying the revolutionary strategy and attempting to apply it in reverse against the revolutionaries."

Reflections on Turkey and Turkish Kurdistan

Fascist repression of the people by the ruling classes is concentrated especially on the Kurdish people who have been considered as a serious danger ever since the establishment of the Turkish Republic. After accomplishing the policy of destroying the Communist Party of Turkey which was established under the leadership of Mustafa Suphi (1921), the ruling classes specially tried such a policy on the Kurdish nation.

The Kurdish nation which has been oppressed by the ruling classes cannot be destroyed as easily as the Communist Party of Turkey. Because the Kurdish nation is in an uprising



against the Turkish state, even if its political objective is limited.

To counter the development of this uprising and class struggle, the dimension the struggle has reached today, the strategy of "low intensity conflict" developed by the imperialists, as we have mentioned above, has been used in Turkey in some aspects since the past years. Nowadays its use has reached the highest point. Investigating this strategy as applied in Turkey will show and teach us to understand the reactionary war strategy as well as the political way to take against it. The uprisings waged in Turkish Kurdistan met with bloody suppression: murdering of leaders of the uprising, burning of villages, exile, migration and massacre; killing of people regardless of age.

The Dersim Uprising (1938) was suppressed in the most bloody way, with post-uprising massacres, exile and migration... Also, it was followed by a policy of forcibly turning Kurds into Turkish by carrying out genocide and an assimilation policy. By the 1970s, counter-guerrilla methods were used in the March 16, 1977 massacre, the May Day massacre, and the Maras and Corum massacres. In the name of suppressing the developing class and national struggle in Turkish Kurdistan, more than 4,000 villages were burned down, more than 4.5 million people were forcibly evacuated from their settlements, thousands of people were massacred or disappeared, and extra-judicial killings increased day after day.

The army of the Turkish Republic, trained in regular war, has

been unsuccessful against the developing class and national struggles since the 1970s. Realising that they could not suppress these wars, the ruling classes introduced the village guards system with Extraordinary Rule (Emergency Rule) which is used in many countries especially in Turkish Kurdistan against class and national liberation struggles.

In some places, serving as village guard was voluntarily; in others, people were made to do so by force, violence and pressure. Every kind of unjust and nasty method of warfare has been used against the regional

the masses and guerrillas, leaving the guerrillas alone. They think of destroying the just war by preventing mass support, mass organising, mass mobilisation for the war, and the logistical support of the people.

How will this happen? In the first stage, villages and croplands are burned down (if it is not sufficient for the result, town centres are to be burned down, too), food blockades are set up, regional peoples are subjected to forced immigration by such methods as obligatory residence. Of course, these measures are not enough.



The aim is to concentrate the masses in an easily controllable area, in short, the setting up of "strategic hamlets". Although the Turkish Republic is making efforts towards this objective, it has not yet succeeded to the point of forming "strategic hamlets" in Turkish Kurdistan. But they keep on trying to do so. Because the people who were forced to migrate continued to be a dynamic of the revolution wherever they went, safeguarding and developing their ties with revolutionary, communist and patriotic forces in those areas. This situation created another danger for the ruling classes, too.

people who are alienated from the state, are not a tool of the state policies and refuse to become village guards, in order to neutralise and render them ineffective.

Why do they require the strategic hamlets? The tactic of "drying up the sea"? The tactic of "drying up the sea if you don't catch the fish" is a method used by the imperialists and their collaborators. The "sea" here refers to the masses and the "fish" to the guerrillas. The essence of this tactic is to break the relations between

The United States applied this method in Vietnam. But, in its insistence on carrying on the war, this counter-guerrilla tactic came to naught. A similar method is being applied in Peru, too. Through the intervention of the Communist Party of Peru, people who are forced to migrate are placed in regions under the party's control, are organised and fight against the state. Both examples have their own internal particularities. But the counter-revolutionary policy applied according to the strategy of



“low intensity conflict” has come to naught. The counter-guerrilla strategy of “low intensity conflict” developed by imperialism is a strategy being developed by the bourgeoisie today.

“Low intensity conflict” — adopted from Mao, Ho Chi Minh and from the methods of guerrilla warfare in many aspects and applied against revolutionaries — has been unsuccessful and will go on being unsuccessful. One of the important factors for making possible the failure of waging this war strategy in the past, today and in the future is by being conscious of the laws of war.

Develop People's War against counter-guerrilla methods!

It is important to distinguish People's War from guerrilla war waged by the national-bourgeois and petty-bourgeois revolutionaries. People's War is not an original military tactic of class struggle. It is a complete revolutionary strategy based on class struggle, at the same time using guerrilla warfare as a tactical type of warfare.

People's War Strategy is building the people's power, building piece by piece to replace the destroyed one, creating the new while destroying the old. People's War Strategy is creating the transformation of the masses in all areas — ideological, political, cultural, ethical etc. — from the beginning. People's War Strategy is a scientific military revolutionary strategy of the proletariat. There are strategic and tactical policies complementing each other as components of this war. This is a war involving offence and defence; political, ideological, cultural and economic building; building the new people's power; and building Red political power in the liberated base areas.

People's War strategy is a strategy involving the masses, organising

them, bringing them up to the point of the struggle for power struggle, imbuing them with the consciousness that this war is war of the masses, and mobilising them for war. When we say that revolution is a mass undertaking, we must adopt an organisation and a war strategy suitable to this condition.

The difference between the People's War strategy and other strategies, the aspects distinguishing it from the other types of warfare is the setting up of liberated zones, building the new power there, and aiming to build the people's democratic power throughout the country.

People's War Strategy involves setting off the armed struggle from the beginning through guerrilla warfare, the mass line, the principle of relying on one's own strength, and applying a war strategy on the basis of surrounding the cities from the countryside. People's War Strategy aims at organising the war in the manner of guerrilla units during the stage of the strategic defence, transforming them from small to big, from simple to complex, from guerrilla units to the Red army, waging the war by destroying on the one hand and building the people's power on the other hand, i.e., destroying and building must go together.

Let us develop and expand the People's War in order to nullify the counter-guerrilla strategy of “low intensity conflict”. Counter-guerrilla warfare tries to carry out operations aimed at the destruction of the personnel, militants and guerrilla forces of organisations and parties waging class and national struggle, by trying to create a network of informers in all areas of activity. It tries to move in the direction indicated by informers, agents and collaborators.

Moreover, it applies counter-revolutionary terror such as burning villages down, forced migration, etc. against the people who give material and moral support. It also tries to infiltrate specially trained agents into the

parties, with the objective of “taking the fortress from the inside”.

We can say that the main components of counter-guerrilla are the Special War Department (its new name is the Special Forces Command), the Anti-Terror Department of the National Intelligence Organisation, the special team in police organisation and, in addition to this, the civilian fascists, informers, agents and collaborators who participate in counter-guerrilla activities in the political aspect.

We can merge with the masses while carrying out our own policies without fear, trying to resist all of these counter-guerrilla tactics. We can develop methods of integrating with the masses. Because we organise the masses to fight, bringing to them our own politics must be understood as an obligatory task.

He who does not know his enemy and does not know how to fight him, can not develop the class struggle. And he can not apply his war strategy into the practice. What is important for us is to know our enemy and to apply People's War in practice in the dimension of existing politics against him. If we do not correctly carry out our policies, there will be no progress. What is the problem? What tactics does the enemy adopt primarily in the rural regions? For example, if the enemy goes to the villages at daytime, we go there at night time. We gather the masses, speak to them, listen to their problems and come up with solutions, and at the same time make an organisational investigation.

We must organise the masses and make them fight especially up to the point of People's War Strategy. We must attack the enemy's weakest point which we determine. These weak points may be police stations or convoys. It may be soldiers on an operation, etc. By laying an ambush, attack can be organised in well-known strategic places. By organising sustained attacks, they get out of the area that they exist. Let us cite quotations



from Chairman Mao who theorised on People's War while realising and applying these tactics in practice in the case of China:

"When the enemy advances we retreat, when the enemy camps we harass, when the enemy tires we attack, when the enemy retreats we pursue. Continuously expand the base areas, adopt the policy of advancing in a series of waves, apply the policy of turning around when pursued by a strong enemy".

"Mobilise the broad masses by the best methods in the shortest time. These tactics are like casting a net. We cast the net whenever we want, and we draw it in whenever we want. We spread the net wide to win over the masses. We draw the net in tight to resist the enemy."

Thinking in current terms, if there is to be a role for the masses in the revolution and if they are to move history forward, we must take the lead in organising the masses and mobilising them to fight. As for ourselves, when we go to the masses we do not think of them only as providers of food and lodging, or as relations. The important thing when we go to the masses is to organise them and mobilise them to fight. Those who go only for food and lodging can not comprehend, can not understand the People's War well enough. In order to comprehend, we must apply the People's War Strategy persistently.

By leading the masses we can organise them to fight; we can build the people's democratic power only by directing the masses into the struggle for political power and self-reliantly applying the proletarian military war strategy of People's War in the light of the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Leadership is the key point in all of these. There is no hindrance and there can be no hindrance in accomplishing these tasks under a leadership with a Maoist point of view. At this point, if People's War

is to be transformed into a material force, party members and sympathisers must be trained accordingly.

Another aspect of the problem is that those who resort to counter-revolutionary terror against the masses must know that the counter-revolutionaries will account for this in the judgement of history. On the other hand, we must mobilise the masses by organising them to resist the fascist Turkish Republic which subjects them to forcible migration, burns their villages down, and commits crimes by unknown murderers.

We must try to win over the overwhelming majority of the masses by carrying on agitation, propaganda, and activities to denounce, both inside and outside the country, the policies of exile, migration and massacre. When we organise the masses to return, at the same time we have to link it with the policy of developing, strengthening and extending the People's War. We must see to it that concrete steps are taken to fulfil this task.

On the other hand, we must gather the masses who are forced to migrate and prevent their dispersal. We can take them to the districts where we have the most developed relations and we do not leave them alone wherever they go. It must be seen that the problem is not making the masses aware of this violence and tyranny when we organise them. This is one aspect of the problem, the other aspect is how organise them to fight back.

When organising the return with indemnification for those forced to migrate, it can be done without bargaining with the state and without preconditions.

The victory of People's War is inevitable

The counter-guerrilla war strategy of "low intensity conflict", which the US and other imperialists have tried to apply in many countries, is a reactionary unjust war strategy put up

against the masses and presented as "the best, the most superior" war strategy of the bourgeoisie today.

This war strategy which leaves nothing but massacre and burning down, is being adopted by the bourgeoisie and landlords in our country, too. "Low intensity conflict", which suppresses the class and national struggle, will be defeated by People's War in our country, as in others. But if we communists do not succeed in this war, it does not mean that bourgeois politics is correct. The bourgeoisie "can be successful" when we fail to apply People's War Strategy correctly in our concrete conditions principally.

The objectives attained and attainable by those who adopt this strategy will degenerate and corrode if they wage the war against the people: such is the reality, whatever the scope and content of "low intensity conflict". It will take the place that it deserves in history. People's War Strategy is bound to defeat those who, by whatever methods of war, are against the Communist Party that adheres to the correct political line and armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Briefly, the method of concentrating a superior force to destroy enemy forces one by one is based on sustaining the People's War which is under the guidance of the People's War strategy and dialectical materialism. The strategy of People's War is suitable only to the people's army. None of the contras (counter-guerrillas) can use this strategy efficiently. In spite of all the fascist methods, the victory of People's War is inevitable.



THE FASCIST TURKISH STATE CANNOT PUT THE KURDISH PEOPLE ON TRIAL THROUGH THE TRAIL OF A. ÖCALAN!

As it is known, PKK and the Kurdish national struggle have for a long time occupied a serious place on the international public's agenda. Every class and organisation makes certain comments and statements, and demonstrates certain positions and attitudes on this issue in accordance with their class interests and ideological-political-organisational lines.

Since the delivery of A. Öcalan to Turkish authorities through a conspiracy led by US imperialists, the fascist Turkish state has prepared for "a trial" of the Kurdish nation through the trial of Öcalan's person. Since the beginning of Öcalan's trial in Imrali, the Turkish state has attempted to legitimise its fascist character and to put the Kurdish nation on "trial". The Turkish ruling classes are calculating on accomplishing many achievements through this "trial". What, then, are these calculations and achievements? Below are some of them:

Firstly; they attempt to present the Turkish state as "a democratic state" to the world public by concealing its fascist, genocidal and murderous face behind the facade of what they call a "just trial".

Secondly and most importantly, they are calculating to seize the Kurdish national struggle and make this their reserve force.

Thirdly; they try hard to prove that Kurds are not subjected to oppression, that genocide does not take place and a Kurdish problem does not exist in the country.

Fourthly; they hope to prove that the Kurdish nation's national revolutionary struggle for their national democratic rights is "terrorism".

Fifthly; they hope to suppress more violently the people of Turkey including Kurds, Turks and other national minorities by projecting the idea to the masses that "the state is strong". And that therefore, the national and the class struggles car-



ried out on a revolutionary basis against the fascist Turkish state and their imperialist masters cannot succeed.

Sixthly; they aim to distract the attention of the oppressed and exploited masses away from their economic-social-political problems through further popularising Turkish chauvinism.

Seventhly; they hope to "prove"

that the Kurdish national struggle was not born and developed in the country, on the contrary, that there is no Kurdish problem in the country and therefore, that this is a foreign conspiracy, etc., etc.

Not the Kurdish nation but the fascist Turkish state and imperialism should be put on trial in Imrali!

Turkish state is trying hard to turn the "Imrali court" into an arena of the trial of the Kurdish nation. The fascist state through all the printed and visual means of press declares that the PKK is "terrorist", PKK chairman A. Öcalan is "the head of terrorists" and the Turkish state is a "democratic just state", thus carrying its propaganda to the world.

The fascist state attempts above all to terrorise the Kurdish nation's just national democratic struggle. Because of this it tries hard to conceal the massacres and genocide carried out against Kurdish people and to illegitimise the rightful and just struggle of the Kurdish nation. On the other hand, it is the very fascist Turkish state that denies the existence of the Kurdish nation, that robs them of all forms of national rights, and that never flinches from committing genocide against the Kurdish nation and other minorities.

Ever since its formation, the fascist Turkish state has always brutally suppressed the Kurdish national movements. In Koçgiri, in the Sheikh



Sait rebellion, and in the Dersim uprising of 1938, tens of thousands of Kurds have been murdered, and under the banner of the "Law of Compulsory Residence" hundreds of thousands of them were forcibly exiled from their land.

In the recent 15 years, over 20 thousand Kurdish patriots and intellectuals who fought against the denial of the Kurdish nation have been murdered and almost 5 million Kurdish people have been forced to evacuate their home at gun point.

In Imrali, the Turkish state seeks to hide its massacres from history. As it had tried in the past to cover up the massacre of one and a half million Armenians in 1915; as it had tried to cover the 1925 Kurdish genocide and massacres with ashes by the Independence Courts; as it had tried to cover up the massacre of over 60 thousand Kurds in 1938 Dersim uprising, today in Imrali it is trying to bury the unprecedented massacre and persecution of the Kurdish people that it has committed for the last 15 years.

When the history of the Kurdish nation and other national minorities in Turkey is studied, the oppression, massacre and genocide that the Turkish state conducted come under the light. The fascist state, despite its efforts to misinform and deceive the masses through the bourgeois press, cannot erase its massacres, oppression, torture, exiles, burning down villages and from the pages of history and the collective memory.

The Turkish state, the most fascist and paramilitary force of imperialism in the region should first of all account for its denial of the Kurdish nation! It should account for its denial of the Kurdish nation's national democratic rights, that is, the Kurdish nation's right to self determination! It should account for tens of thousands of Kurds massacred in Koçgiri, in the Sheikh Sait rebellion, and in the Dersim uprising!

And finally, it should account for thousands of Kurdish people, Kurdish

intellectuals, Kurdish workers, peasants and labourers that it murdered in the last 15 years! It should account for the tens of thousands of Kurdish households that have been destroyed, thousands of Kurdish villages that have been burnt down, hundreds of thousands of Kurds that have been tortured, Kurdish babies and pregnant

The oppressive and exploitative classes cannot try the oppressed and persecuted classes! Those who committed all forms of oppression, massacre and genocide cannot try the victims of such oppressions, massacres and genocides.

women that have been murdered! The fascist Turkish state will not escape paying this huge cost to the people!

The fascist Turkish state has no right to put the oppressed Kurdish nation on trial. It is primarily a criminal and murderous state in the eyes of worker-labourers and peasants of Turkish and Kurdish origin. It is a criminal state to its smallest cells before the Kurdish nation. If there are those who should be tried and be held responsible, they should be the Turkish dominant classes, their fascist state and their imperialist overlords!

The oppressive and exploitative classes cannot try the oppressed and persecuted classes! Those who committed all forms of oppression, massacre and genocide cannot try the victims of such oppressions, massacres and genocides. Exploiting classes have no right to try the oppressed peoples and nations. Human history is the witness to the fact that those who have to be put on trial and who have to offer accounts before history and humanity are the exploiting dominant

classes.

"Imrali trial" cannot be the place for legitimising, justifying and finding apologies for the fascist state !

The fascist Turkish state, whatever appearance it may acquire, is fascist in essence and is the most loyal servant of imperialism in the region; it is the brutal enemy of all workers-labourers, poor peasants, communists, revolutionaries, intellectuals, democrats, patriots, the Kurdish nation and other minorities that live in Turkey. This fascist state exists to serve the capitalist world system and its major imperialist representatives and to oppress and persecute the working class, oppressed peoples, Kurdish nation and minorities.

While this fascist state constantly intensifies its exploitation, persecution and massacre of popular masses, the Kurdish nation and other minorities, no individual or organisation can justify fascism by masking its real face in the name of "new process" and "revolutionism". Before the suffering of the tens of thousands of Kurdish workers, labourers and peasants has withered away, and while on the contrary this pain and suffering intensifies day by day, no one has the right to present the bloody handed fascist Turkish state as "innocent" and to acquit it!

Such an attempt will primarily be opposed by the Kurdish people who have been for many years subjected to brutality, murder and torture of the fascist Turkish state! Communists, revolutionaries, democrats and anti-imperialist intellectuals of Turkish, Kurdish and other minority origins, will oppose such an attempt! Kurdish patriots, who have risked their lives for many years in the fight for their national democratic rights and have paid dearly for it, who live in dignity, will oppose this!

Grandsons and granddaughters of Seyit Riza, the leader of 1938 Dersim uprising, who walked with his head up



to the gallows saying;

"I could not cope with your deceptions and lies, this has been the thing I cannot come to terms with, but I did not kneel down in front of you, this shall be thing you cannot come to terms with", will never bend on their knees in front of the Turkish state; they will never sympathise with a "consensus" which will mean surrender in disguise of "peace"!

The bourgeois press, by blowing the horn of fascism, is trying to use the tears of the families of fallen soldiers who by calling them "hero mehmet", they drove to the front line in the service of the Turkish dominant classes to suppress the Kurdish nation's just struggle for most natural democratic rights in order to protect the plunderous-fascist interests.

Sons of poor labourers who had to serve the state as soldiers and are called "mehmet" are exploited for the interests of Turkish dominant classes who conduct this unjust and reactionary war. They die after being driven to the front line for the interests of a handful of exploiting rulers. As all exploiting dominant classes of the world, Turkish dominant classes would never enter the war zone. Those who are driven to the front line with the chants of "hero mehmet" and chauvinistic speeches on "the land, the nation and the flag" have always been the sons of workers, peasants and poor labourers.

The murderers of the young poor labourers, who die as soldiers in the unjust and reactionary war carried out against the Kurdish nation, are not the freedom fighters but the ruling classes who form the Turkish state which use these youths for their fascist, racist, exploitative interests. Consequently, those who have to apologise to the families of the dead soldiers are not those who fight against oppression, genocide and massacres but the fascist Turkish state!

It is a good thing to share the pain

of people, however, if this is done in the form of proposing surrender as "the solution" by the demagogy of a mysterious "democratic republic" which glosses over certain features of the fascist Turkish state and hence attempts to cover up the fact that this fascist state is a prison for all oppressed nations and minorities, it becomes unacceptable.

Such an approach represents, above all, not sharing the pain of people, on the contrary, it is an attempt using the deceiving phrase of "democratic republic" in order to justify imperialism, which is the source of all the popular suffering, and its servant the fascist Turkish state"; moreover, it represents an attempt to justify the surrender of oneself.

The Turkish state, being aware of the collaborationist tendency of the Kurdish bourgeoisie, would demand, through certain deceptions, the disarmament of the PKK and following their farewell to the arms it would launch heavier oppression and humiliation campaigns.

While the mothers and the families of the "martyred" soldiers, including those officers and conscripts who died in clashes with the PKK participate in the "Imrali court" which they call "a just court", mothers of over 20 thousand Kurdish patriots and guerrillas, who have been murdered by the fascist Turkish state, are not allowed in the courtroom. Their tears, hopes, pains and cries would never find any reflection in the televisions and newspapers.

Besides, the tears, yearnings and pains of the Kurdish families whose loved ones have been murdered under

torture, the "disappeared" in custody and summarily executed in the middle of the streets or by the river banks are not reflected in the press or at the trial. Because the tears of Kurdish mothers are so full of sorrow, pain and anger that they are enough to drown the fascist Turkish state in Imrali.

Kurdish mothers and Kurdish people whose loved ones have been killed by the fascist Turkish state do not expect an apology from the Turkish state. Because, for them, every "apology" of fascism heralds larger pains, oppressions, brutality and massacres. Kurdish people want their legitimate rights for which they have paid dearly and have fought to death. What they want is the lifting of all forms of oppression, torture, massacre and brutality that the Turkish dominant classes impose over Kurdish nation.

Imrali should not be the place for calling to "peace" but the place to try the fascist Turkish state!

Öcalan is trying to present to the people his proposals under the name of "The Manifesto of the 21st Century" which he formulated as "a democratic republic" as was developed by the "Second Republicanists". This proposal which bares the claim to being 'the most democratic peace plan' does not scare the "Sublime Turkish State", but legitimises it! This is nothing but the packaged "solution to the Kurdish question" proposed by the US and Western imperialists.

The attitude of all the leading circles of the PKK, who after rapidly forgetting all their statements of yesterday have suddenly steered the wheel towards a "peace" based on surrender, who prepared themselves for this process by theorising the situation and who are engaged in efforts to justify Öcalan's position in the court, etc., demonstrates the theorisation of the demands of the bourgeoisie of the



oppressed nation for a "reconciliation" at all costs and their efforts to spread this theory to their base of support.

The PKK and their leading circles seem to have "forgotten" too quickly the suppressive and oppressive policies against the Kurds conducted by the Turkish state which have taken place since its very formation. They have forgotten the events in Koçgiri, of Sheikh Sait Uprising, Dersim and most recently in Turkey and Iraqi Kurdistan. While Öcalan was talking about the "democratic republic" in the court, Demirel (president of Turkey) replied to him around the same time with the words, "One land, one flag and one nation".

Even when taken at a very general level, Öcalan's defence is not a defence which charges imperialism and the Turkish state, but on the contrary a "manifesto" of how PKK should reconcile with the state at this stage, how a transition from the national revolutionary line to a national reformist line should be initiated and more clearly, how should the Kurdish people give up their struggle for their most natural rights of national democratic nature.

Unless a qualitative transformation takes place in this line, given the level that the struggle had reached this trial will find its place in the Kurdish history as the most negative example. While the Turkish state attempts to charge and interrogate the Kurdish nation, the Kurdish national struggle and their just and progressive war through the person of Öcalan, it is not acceptable that Öcalan does not mention any of these and he does not try to demonstrate the real face of the fascist Turkish state and imperialism.

This is opening the doors unilaterally to the worst "consensus" in the name of "peace" and "reconciliation"! This is an affirmation of the Turkish state's trial of Öcalan as an ordinary "terrorist's trial"! But in the name of what is all this being done? In the name of a "brotherhood" that is based on homage and surrender to the

Turkish state! In the name of a very bad "consensus" that would lead as far as to surrender and betrayal! In the name of saving the "Sublime Turkish State" by legitimising it!

If there is to be peace, it has to be a dignified one. An honourable "peace" for the Kurdish people can only be based on an unconditional recognition of the self-determination and the national rights of the Kurdish nation by the Turkish state. The aim of the Turkish state is to subdue the Kurdish national struggle, lead it to betrayal and to suppress the conditions of a renewed national resistance.

The Turkish state, being aware of the collaborationist tendency of the Kurdish bourgeoisie, would demand, through certain deceptions, the disarmament of the PKK and following their farewell to the arms it would launch heavier oppression and humiliation campaigns. There is no need to go too far back on this subject.

It is an honour and privilege to struggle against and resist the major representative of this system, imperialism, and its regional servant the Turkish state

The experiences of the Sheikh Sait and Dersim uprisings are well known! Furthermore, the deals that the Iranian and Iraqi Kurdish national movements made with the ruling states and the oppression and massacres against Kurdish people that followed these deals are well known! Experience should not be ignored in the name of "reconciliation at any costs".

The real emancipation of the Kurdish people and the national liberation of the Kurdish nation should not be confused. The real emancipation of the Kurdish people can only be achieved through a struggle in unity with Turkish people and other minorities against the fascist Turkish state and imperialism, by joining the ranks

of the TKP/ML who lead the revolutionary struggle in Turkey and Turkish Kurdistan and follows the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and upholds the perspective of a world without classes and borders. This path finds its expression in People's Democratic Revolution and Socialism under the leadership of the proletariat of Turkey, consisting of Kurds, Turks and other national minorities. The interests of the Kurdish people can never be sacrificed for the interests of the Kurdish bourgeoisie!

The capitalist world system is the source of all forms of injustice, oppression, brutality and massacres. Without burying this system and its owners in the rubbish bin of history, it is impossible to end oppression, massacre, genocide and exploitation that humanity suffers as a whole. It is an honour and privilege to struggle against and resist the major representative of this system, imperialism, and its regional servant the Turkish state.

The attitude that Kemal Pir, Haki Karer, Mazlum Doğan and many other heroic sons and daughters of the Kurdish nation, in the courts of the Turkish state, before being murdered in its dungeons and torture chambers, is very clear. They never paid homage to, surrendered to or asked for amnesty from the state in the courts; on the contrary they brought the Turkish state to the trial, hence raising the banner of rebellion and resistance!

They fell martyrs in this honourable fight, they were murdered brutally by fascism, they set themselves to fire to flare up the flames of Newroz, but they never surrendered! They believed in revolutionary resistance and war in order to reverse the negative aspects of the Kurdish history which is full of betrayals! This noble national revolutionary tradition should never be abandoned for the sake of a spoonful of soup!

TKP/ML

International Relations Bureau

June 10th 1999



TWO MOMENTOUS YEARS OF REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATION

1. INTRODUCTION

The process of revolutionary transformation of the present semi-feudal and semi-colonial Nepalese society through the People's War has completed two years. Within this period the Party has successfully implemented two strategic plans of initiation and continuation of People's War and is at present carrying out the third strategic plan.

Today, the People's War has established itself as the only revolutionary alternative in Nepal by breaking through innumerable cycles of repression by the reactionaries and opposition of the revisionists. In the process of destroying the old state power and constructing a new one, the People's War has today reached the stage of exercising local democratic state power creating challenging influence and debate in every aspect of national life.

From the military point of view, the People's War has reached the stage of development of guerrilla zone. By practically opening the doors of a new state structure in the form of a revolu-

tionary United Front of masses of different classes, nationalities and regions oppressed for centuries, the People's War is showing in the course of development the path of its own preservation, development and victory.

In place of the corrupt, immoral, fraudulent and extremely individualistic anarchist culture of the old state, the People's War has developed a new collective and lofty culture based on

Up till now, ninety of the best sons and daughters of the Nepalese people have sacrificed their lives for accomplishing this historic success. Thousands of revolutionary fighters are braving jail, persecution and horrendous torture perpetrated by the reactionary regime. Hundreds of thousands of people are nurturing this historic process through innumerable instances of sacrifice, devotion and self-sacrifice.



sacrifice, ideological commitment, and self-sacrifice. In totality, amidst the process of intense repression and resistance within the past two years, the People's War has performed a memorable role in revolutionary transformation.

The path of development and victory of revolution has never been straight, easy and normal anywhere. The dialectical law of development is such that, everywhere and always, the revolution forges ahead by giving birth to intense opposition and counterrevolution and through ascent and descent, ups and downs, and losses and gains. The experience of the last two years of People's War in Nepal is also no exception to that rule. Today, on the occasion of the completion of the two glorious years and of entering into the third challenging year of the People's War, it would be relevant to briefly review the past experiences.



2. TWO YEARS OF PEOPLE'S WAR AND THE CONDITION OF THE REACTIONARY STATE

In the initial phase of the historic People's War, the Nepalese reactionary ruling class, just like the reactionary classes of the world, also tried to play down the great role of the people. Because of their own class outlook, the reactionaries, everywhere and always, tend to "belittle" and "bully" the forces of the people. On the basis of this outlook, the Nepalese reactionary ruling classes "declared" that they would wipe out the people's forces within one and half to two months and resorted to state terrorism with mass arrest, torture, pillage and genocide. The masses, the Party and the revolutionary fighters continued to resist this by setting historic examples of devotion and sacrifice.

What was the result? The result was consistent with what happens in genuine revolutionary movements all over the world. The result was as per the prognosis of the invincible ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The reactionary rulers had thought that they could easily extinguish the fire of People's War by resorting to genocide, repression, and terror. But, as has been proven by the law of science and the experience of history, the killing of the masses did not extinguish the fire of revolution but added fuel to the fire. The negative act of the state terrorism was transformed into the positive result of development of the people's revolution.

Instead, the state terrorism tore off the mask of the so-called democracy, constitution, and human rights donned by the reactionary state and helped the masses to recognise the fascist nature of the state. The fascist repressive drive of the whole year did not only reveal the crisis within the ruling state but deepened the crisis even more.

After one year of repression they realised that there was even a bigger wave of people's sympathy and cooperation for the People's War. That thousands are replacing the hundreds and hundreds of thousands are replacing the thousands! They realised that People's War cannot be easily wished away, that it was a fundamentally new type of war.

Along with aggravating the crisis within the rotten state of the reactionary class, this great process of People's War intensified the contradiction within its different political factions. Among the various parliamentary cliques which serve as stooges for different imperialist and expansionist plunderers, the process of manoeuvring for power was intensified. Under the background of the above crisis, and immediately after the celebration of the first glorious anniversary and commencement of the second year of People's War, a new coalition within the reactionary state was installed demonstrating naked perversion, immorality, hypocrisy and flunkeyism.

The new government with the participation of the renegade UML clique under the leadership of the Panchayati butchers, was a mockery of even the limited achievements of the 1990 historic people's movement. It adopted a new strategy of repression combined with diplomatic intrigue against the People's War. Under this strategy in the beginning, it was pronounced that the People's War was a "political problem" and that it could be solved through "dialogue".

In practice however, preparations were made for even more intense suppression by constituting different commissions, particularly an intelligence commission. The people grasped the overall conspiracy of the new government when it decided to introduce an anti-terrorist bill and to mobilise the military against the people even when there was no change in the objective condition.

By reflecting upon the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the universal principle of development of revolutionary war and the specificities of development of People's War in Nepal, the Party had already visualised the possibility of the enemy mobilising its army against the People's War. To resist this, the Party had prepared its entire rank and file, the combatants and the masses to a certain extent, with a series of political and military strategy and tactics. Postulating the mobilisation of army against the People's War as a sign of victory of People's War from the military point of view, the Party had already prepared itself for the great prospects and grave challenges.

The great Nepalese masses launched a countrywide protest campaign against the reactionary government's decision to introduce the so-called anti-terrorist bill and to mobilise the army against the People's War, thus rendering it dormant for the time being. Within the short period of one and a half months, the fascist nature of the new government got exposed.

More importantly, for the first time the broader masses of people got the opportunity of identifying and understanding the reactionary nature of the revisionist renegade UML clique. Against the wrath of the people the government was forced to retreat. To a certain extent the Nepalese people rightly experienced it as a form of victory for their initiative.

Alarmed by this kind of development, the feudalists and the imperialists started looking for another equation for maintaining their state. In this context started the much hated process of buying and selling, confining and kidnapping of parliamentarians, mainly under the intervention and for the interests of the Indian expansionists!

The hypocrisy of parliamentary democracy got even more exposed. It



became once more clear to everyone that the parliament and the parliamentarians are nothing but the sheepfold and sheep of imperialism and feudalism.

Ultimately, a coalition government was formed consisting of the past fascist Panchas and the Congress, infamous as traitors, mass murderers and stooges of Indian expansionists. This new government, most hated and shunned by the people, in its first public declaration, made known its policy of containing the People's War. They declared that they would "wipe out" the People's War within the period of three months.

The new government is proceeding ahead with the strategic policy of using government sponsored goons under the name of People's Defense Committee, killing revolutionary cadres with surprise attacks, making false and vicious propaganda against the leadership of the People's War, mobilising the commando police and military forces through unannounced, countrywide campaigns of repression, arrest and torture, and making for armed interventions against peaceful programmes of different mass organisations.

In this way nine revolutionary combatants including Com. Dhanraj Pun, Suk Bahadur Rokka, Prem Bahadur Rokka, Bhim Prasad Gharti of Rolpa district, a woman Comrade, Kamala Bhatt of Gortha district, Com. Padam Bahadur Rokaya of Jajarkot district have been murdered by this government of Indian stooges (till January 1998).

However, the more important aspect is the new and unprecedented wave of peo-

ple's support in favour of the People's War that has been increasing together with such declarations and activities of the government.

The peasants, women, students and intellectuals in thousands are forging ahead with greater speed in the process of militant struggle. The military actions of People's guerrillas have not only expanded widely but also attained newer heights. This has been confirmed by the recent success of higher forms of guerrilla actions accomplished in Rukum and Dhading, among other parts of the country.

Amidst this people's hatred, wrath and resistance, another drama of formation of a new coalition within the reactionary state has begun. In the form of a meaningless debate of whether to hold a midterm election or a special session of parliament, a power struggle between the Royal palace, the USA and India is taking place.

For their own exclusive domination and plunder, the Indian expansionists and the American imperialists are today openly penetrating into the reactionary groups including the Royal palace, Nepal Congress, UML and RPP. It is now as clear as daylight that various contradictions and conflicts within the different reactionary cliques of the

country

are in essence the

reflection of power struggle between

different imperialist and expansionist camps.

From the above scenario of the People's War and the reactionary state, it becomes clear that the reactionary state is sliding towards its doom and the great process of the People's War is heading towards its victory. The present reactionary state is the root cause of the downfall of the country and the people and the People's War represents the banner of safeguard and liberation of the country and the people.

Today, the feudalists, the expansionists and the imperialists are conspiring through their Nepalese stooges, the Nepali Congress, UML, the Royal palace, RPP, etc., to let loose more intense repression against the Nepalese people and the People's War. It is not possible to attain easy victory in People's War. For this, wider participation and more unified efforts of the masses is warranted. There are great possibilities and at the same time serious challenges too, ahead of the People's War.

Up till now, the reactionary class has been adopting the strategy of disinformation campaigns, politically, and that of encirclement and suppression, militarily, against the People's War. To counter this, the People's War is adopting the strategy of "demystifying rumour", politically, and "breaking encirclement and mounting resistance", militarily.

We should not assume that the failure of different reactionary political groups is the failure of overall reactionary state. If need be, the reactionary state can do away with the present political groups due to their failure to exercise extreme despotism against the people.

It is only by preparing themselves to face the worse to worst state, that the revolutionaries can fulfill their historic role. The main point is to dare to win over the fear of death; through





adherence to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and commitment for the sake of the people. Howsoever arduous the path may be, the destruction of the reactionary state and the victory of the people is for sure.

3. ROLE OF PEOPLE'S WAR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE THREE INSTRUMENTS OF REVOLUTION

A. The Party:

Comrade Mao has synthesised that the three magic instruments of the New Democratic Revolution are the Party, the revolutionary United Front and the People's Army. Even though the theory may remain the same, the specific development of these instruments depends upon the specificities of historical development of different countries. Here there is no question of accommodating mechanical thinking. It is well known that amongst the three instruments, the Party is the main instrument which will give leadership to the other two.

The People's War which has been forging ahead for the past two years has played a historic role in developing and transforming the Party itself. In a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country like ours, and in the era of

imperialism and proletarian revolution, the process of the protracted nature of the People's War is also a process of revolutionary transformation of the Party. We are realising with our own experience that in comparison to tens of years of ideal talking and sermoning, the two year's experience of the People's War has played an amazing role in the revolutionary transformation of the Party.

The People's War has played an important role in the transformation and development of the Party, such as: by strengthening the ideological unity of the Party through emotional unity; by raising the ideological, political awareness and level of the Party to a newer height through unfolding specific characteristics of the Nepalese revolution; by leading the whole Party towards the development of a proletarian revolutionary

the mass, class, Party and the leaders; by increasing the role, responsibility and recognition of the Party in the national and international field, etc.

It was in the process of resistance against the reactionary state's fascist repression and in facing the venomous attacks of the old and the new revisionists that sped-up the revolutionary transformation process of the Party. The fact that the development of the Party as the revolutionary representative of the proletarian class takes place through intense process of class struggle and ideological struggle has been proven correct in Nepal too.

Based on the synthesis of the experiences, achievements and limits of People's War, the Party is today stressing to make lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) as its point of



culture of renouncement, devotion and sacrifice essential for giving leadership to the people's revolution; by raising consciousness about dialectical relationship and correct handling of class struggle and inner struggle; by qualitatively consolidating and expanding the relationship between

departure so as to prevent the Party from changing its colour and to be more revolutionary and matured in the face of repressive, conspiratorial and splittist activities of the reactionaries and the opportunists. For a continuous transformation of the Party as the leader of the revolution, for defending





it physically and ideologically, and for expanding and strengthening its relationship with the masses, there is no other scientific method in the present day world than the teachings of the GPCR.

As long as the Party exists, the phenomena of unity and struggle between opposites will also remain. The more developed and the more complex the class struggle becomes, the more the Party also necessarily becomes developed and complex. In that context a maximum and continuous practice of democracy both within and outside the Party becomes necessary so as to preserve the revolutionary quality of the Party and to defeat different manifestations of revisionism and opportunism.

To ensure the maximum participation of the general cadres and the labouring masses in the internal affairs of the Party is the only guarantee to save it against revisionism. Hence, the Party is able to visualise clearly through the experiences of the two years of People's war that unless one adopts a system of generating innumerable revolutionary successors from the rank and file cadres and the masses, it will be impossible to defeat feudalism, imperialism and revisionism.

The important achievement of today is the realisation of the necessity of developing consciousness and initiatives among the cadres and the masses to "bombard the headquarters" of opportunism so as to fulfill the role of giving leadership to the great revolution of the people against the exploitation and oppression of feudalism and imperialism and the betrayal and treachery of revisionism.

B. The Revolutionary United Front

Theoretically, it is obvious that the success of democratic revolution is impossible without the broad Revolutionary United Front between different anti-feudal and anti-imperialist classes, sections, and levels of people under the leadership of the proletariat. Similarly, it is clear that the basis of such a form of united front will be and should be the unity between workers and peasants.

However, the process of initiation and development of the Revolutionary United Front will be different,



depending upon the situation of different countries. In Nepal, the greatest manifestation of opportunism has been on the question of the United Front.

Although theoretically our Party had been advancing the revolutionary line on this question for a long time, however it was not able to put it into practice and it was also not possible without initiating the People's War. Today, the experiences of the People's War, have given a clear picture of tactical and strategic aspects of the Revolutionary United Front. Looking at the historical specificities of Nepal and the experiences of the two years of People's War, the broad united front of oppressed classes and masses, oppressed nationalities and the people of oppressed regions will be the con-

crete manifestation of our Revolutionary United Front. This conclusion has an immense historical importance.

This will smash the present "unity" imposed by the Hindu feudal state power based on the class, national and regional inequality and oppression, and open the door for building a new unity based on democratic values. Today the People's War has had maximum impact on the oppressed classes and masses of workers, peasants, women, etc., on different

oppressed nationalities and untouchable dalit castes and on the people of the oppressed regions of the far West and the Terai.

The Party regards it as a historical necessity of Nepal to give maximum importance to

the question of struggle against national and regional oppression as an integral part of class struggle and democratic revolution. Until political, economic, linguistic, religious, and cultural rights of different nationalities usurped in the course of formation of the centralised feudal state of Nepal are reinstated democratically and they are guaranteed full participation in the new democratic state, and until a great force of national unity based on democracy is created, it will be impossible to smash feudalism and imperialism.

In order to achieve that great national unity, there is no other proletarian outlook other than to recognise the right to self-determination including the right to secede politically of the oppressed nationalities. Hence, our Party has firmly accepted the right



of self-determination of different oppressed nationalities in order to ensure their participation as a necessary part of the Revolutionary United Front. Accordingly, the Party has been undertaking initiatives to put into practice national autonomy as the concrete programme for the present.

In the present stage of development of the People's War, wherever there is an exercise of local democratic state, the Party has been trying to practically apply the concept of United Front in it, and at the central level, to build the United Front as an instrument of struggle against class, national and regional oppression.

In order to ensure the victory of the Nepalese revolution, the relevance of the Party's concept of United Front should be propagated amongst the workers, peasants, different nationalities, oppressed castes and the people of the oppressed regions and give it an organisational form in a manner as fast as possible and as best as possible.

At the ideological level, it is necessary to launch a more vigorous struggle against the rightist revisionists who hanker after opportunistic alliances in the name of United Front.

C. People's Army

The People's War which is forging ahead with the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist slogans such as: "The people without an army have nothing of their own", "The main instrument of the state is the army", "In New Democratic revolution the main form of organisation is the army and the main form of struggle is the war", etc., is playing an important role in the formation of the people's army. Today unarmed masses are systematically transforming themselves into armed masses, relying on the revolutionary theory that war teaches war. Using the strategy and tactics of total war in the face of extreme unbalanced condition

of military forces of the enemy and the people, the People's War has been moving forward the process of building the army with the Nepalese specificities.

By unfolding many concrete laws of dialectical relations between open and secret work, rural and urban activities, legal and illegal struggle, political and military activities, mass actions and mass mobilisation, the People's War has been developing the military consciousness and power of the people.

4. ROLE OF PEOPLE'S WAR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY MASS ORGANISATION AND MASS MOVEMENT

The historic initiation of People's War and its successive development has opened a new door of development of revolutionary mass organisation and revolutionary mass movement. First of all it has created waves of revolutionary mass organisations and revolutionary mass movement by making a mockery of revisionist cowards who refuse to see the possibilities of developing mass movements and mass organisations beyond the limits of reformism and parliamentarism and who were indulging in self-gratification of their monopoly over that area after the initiation of the People's War.

Today the workers, peasants, women, students, teachers, intellectuals, dalits, oppressed nationalities and cultural activists are fueling the fire of organisation and struggle as allies of the People's War with new zest and zeal. The waves of revolutionary mass movements and revolutionary mass organisations have been created throughout the country, chiefly in the principal areas of struggle, by challenging severe state terrorism perpetuated by the reactionary state and the cowardly twaddle of the revisionist renegades.

trated by the reactionary state and the cowardly twaddle of the revisionist renegades.

Has the modern history of Nepal ever seen such amazing initiative of thousands of labouring women of rural areas of the country who have raised the flag of revolt defying all kinds of difficulties? Can the revisionist cowards ever imagine the great surge of women's participation in the form of guerrilla fighters and commanders by defying death consciously and willingly? Amidst terror unleashed by government-sponsored goons, the police and the army, today thousands of labouring women from each and every remote district are participating in women's meetings and conferences, shaking heaven and earth and fighting for their due rights. These have proved the new relationship between the People's War and the mass movement. The fact that women are the most inspired group in the last two years of People's War itself is indicating definite victory for the Nepalese revolution.

Today, a new horizon of peasants' meetings, conferences and struggles has opened up throughout the country. The way the poor peasants are taking great initiative in capturing thousands of quintals of grains, crops, and lands and in destroying forged bond papers of different feudal landlords of the country, behind all these the People's War has definitely played a great role. Hundreds of thousands of peasants from the main areas of struggle are attempting to exercise.

New Democratic power by systematically resisting the enemy's mass killing, looting and terrorising. Have such scenes ever before been observed by the Nepalese Communist movement? It is definite that by taking the path of revolutionary land reform, consciously and in a planned manner in different parts of the country, the flames of revolutionary peasant struggles will in the future



reduce to ashes the whole feudal relations of production.

Similarly, the revolutionary youth and students are marching forward, spreading organisation and struggles throughout the country, defying killing, repression, arrest and torture by the enemy. The People's War has given new energy for sacrifice and initiative to the students by qualitatively developing among them a sense of responsibility towards their country and the people.

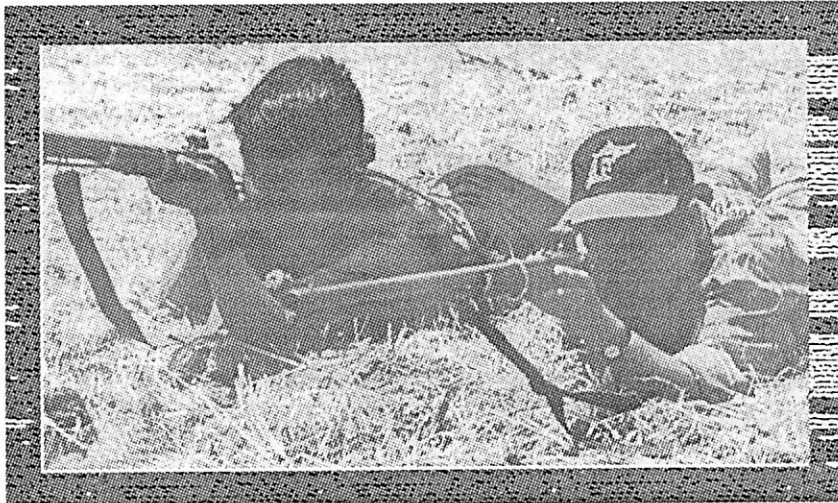
Along with the development of the people's War, a new consciousness for fighting for their own rights and liberation is spreading amongst many oppressed nationalities of the country such as Magars, Gurungs, Tamangs, Newars, Tharus, Rais, Limbus and Madhises. People's War has speeded up the process of formation of various national liberation fronts and expansion of nationality organisations.

Similarly today, along with the development of People's War, a wave of organisation and struggle has been created among Dalit castes at a greater speed and a wider scale. The Dalits are today rebelling against inhuman tyranny perpetrated upon them by the feudal state of high caste Hindus.

Similarly, the People's War has made teachers, professors and intellectuals more conscious and active with regards to their responsibilities towards the country and the people. It is a significant change that thousands of intellectuals are coming forward to give moral support to the great historic process of People's War and are organising against the social evils and degeneration and the tyranny of the reactionary state.

In the field of cultural front, the People's War is helping the revolutionary cultural activists in their initiative and alignment against the present capitalist, revisionist and neo-revisionist hypocrisy. In the field of literature, art and culture, the People's War is directly helping in the formation of a countrywide new cultural army. The role played by the cultural front in making hundreds of thousands of people participate in the People's War has been unprecedented.

It is not only within the country but also outside the country, particularly in India, that the People's War has created new spirit and confidence among the expatriate Nepalese to get themselves organised and participate in the People's War in Nepal. The



Party's influence and work among hundreds of thousands of expatriate Nepalese have increased. Similarly today, the People's War is playing an important role in attracting agriculture technicians, doctors, engineers, lawyers, human rights activists, etc., towards the New Democratic revolution.

From these facts it becomes clear that the People's War does not weaken mass movement and mass organisation but instead it strengthens them and opens the door for their qualitative expansion and development. From the experience of the past two years, it has become clear that it is the

revisionists who have been hampering the revolutionary development of mass organisations and mass movement by parroting mass movementism but worshipping reformism and parliamentarism.



5. ROLE OF PEOPLE'S WAR IN EXPOSING THE REVISIONISTS

Nowhere in the world proletarian movement has the success of the revolution been achieved without waging intense ideological struggle against revisionism. One of the essential conditions for the development and victory of the Nepalese revolution is also to liberate the people of Nepal from the fatal poison of revisionism.

Comrade Lenin has poignantly expressed that it is foolish to try to fight against modern revisionism only with theoretical debate. Together with ideological debate it is mainly through the development of class

struggle that revisionism can be defeated. It is not so simple and trivial to fight against Nepalese revisionism which has deeply penetrated within the Nepalese Communist movement in the past five decades and poisoned the minds of hundreds of genuine people. As has been said by Lenin, it is mainly the development of class struggle in the form of People's War, along with the ideological debate, that has started burning the Nepalese revisionism (In Engel's words: "colossal heap of garbage").

That today the new and the old revisionists have become more terrorised by the ghost of the People's



War than even the old reactionaries and are madly assailing it, proves that the revisionist heap of garbage is on fire. Immediately after the initiation of the People's War; the new and the old revisionist pundits violated the common morality of class solidarity and showed their true character by putting their faith in the feudalist and imperialist propaganda and by doubting and dishonouring the great sacrifice and initiative of the masses. They exposed their true self by lending their voice to the reactionary state and by trumpeting the charge of terrorism and extremism against the People's War.

It is not only the leadership of UML that has degenerated into reaction, but also the new revisionist ring-leaders who claim themselves as the upholders of "New Democracy" and "Mao Thought", that have been serving the reactionary state against the People's War and thus revealing their true character. In this context it is worth recalling Mohan Bikram, who is getting degenerated and marginalised due to his own immoral, hypo-

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critical and revisionist character, who outwitted all others by announcing that the People's war would be wiped out within ten months.

However, when the old and the new revisionists saw that the People's

War was spreading more and more against their wishes, they started parroting that there was a reactionary hand promoting the People's War, just as the Congress and the Royal palace have been accusing each other of the same. They lamented that the reactionaries were not able to repress the People's War, which in fact has been resisting the reactionary massacre and state terror.

When the People's War entered the second year after completing one year, it was transformed into the life process of hundreds of thousands of people, it started challenging the ruling reactionary state all the more, and it also triggered the process of genuine cadres from the revisionist camp joining and supporting the People's War overtly or covertly. Seeing this, the old revisionists openly went to give leadership to the reactionary state in order to suppress the People's War.

The new revisionist ring leaders, in order to fight for their survival, went nakedly to play into the reactionary's hands. They instigated the reactionaries against the People's War by making mountains out of mole hills of insignificant events at the local level.

The People's War has now entered the third year after completing two years. It has established itself as the only revolutionary alternative in the country. For the reactionary state today the People's War has become the greatest obstacle. It sounds ironic that along with the imperialists, expansionists, Nepal Congress, Rastriya Prajatantra Party and United Marxist-Leninist group, even the leaders of Mashal and Unity Centre should be branding the People's War as terrorism. But this is a fact. Nowhere and never have the elements degenerated into reformism and parliamentarism ideologically and politically, ever helped the revolutionary movement.

Even after the success of the people's revolution in the future, such kinds of people will continue to oppose it. It is well known that the Bolsheviks in Russia and the Maoists in China were attacked even after the revolution by the revisionists who called themselves communists.

Today the People's War is scaling ever greater heights while exposing all the rubbish of the new and the old revisionists. So long as the revolutionaries are guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and so long as they remain loyal to the Nepalese people and march forward to liberate the county and the people, the venomous attacks of the revisionists will not be able to stop the development of the People's War. Rather, with the passage of time the revisionists will get thoroughly exposed. The revolution will triumph. The development of two years of People's War has sufficiently proved this.



6. PEOPLE'S WAR AND THE EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Before the historic initiation of People's War, the Party had pledged that the "Nepalese revolution is an integral part of the world proletarian revolution and this will serve the world revolution". Today with two years of experience, this pledge has been proved absolutely correct. This is already known to all that our Party is a participating member of RIM which is striving to build a "New International". Within this period our relationship with the RIM Committee and all other participating fraternal Parties of RIM has become qualitatively alive and strengthened.



The initiation of the People's War and its successive development has, at one end, given new inspiration to the participating parties of the RIM, and at the other end, the Nepalese People's War has received moral support from all the Parties. In the course of development, today, the international responsibility of our Party and the revolutionary Nepalese people have increased qualitatively.

Today our relation is not only spreading among the participating members of the RIM but also among those revolutionary Marxist Parties and organisations who are outside the RIM. Similarly, relations with revolutionary organisations waging national liberation struggle against imperialism and expansionism are also expanding along with the development of the People's War in Nepal.

The way the Nepalese People's War which is of protracted nature, has expanded its international relations and its influence, this itself has become a specific manifestation of the Nepalese revolution. It is a matter of pride that the Nepalese People's War is getting warm support, love and inspiration from millions of revolutionary masses all over the world within such a short period.

Also, the way the Nepalese People's War is speeding up its relations with international revolutionaries, in the same speed the imperialists, expansionists and various reactionaries are hatching conspiracies and intrigues against it. In this regard, the comments particularly of the ruling classes of India and the American imperialists, the world gendarmes, are worth noting.

Many conspiratorial and repressive moves by these powers against the Nepalese People's War and the Party leading it have come to the surface. These elements are mainly instigating their stooges, the ruling class and various reactionary groups of Nepal, to suppress the People's War.

This way the Nepalese People's War has proved to be a big slap to the

world imperialist system which is undergoing new economic and political crises. It is now becoming clear that the Nepalese People's War will have a historic role in developing a new wave of world revolution in the near future.

The continuous development of the Nepalese People's War has not only started exposing Nepalese revisionism but also world revisionism. The People's War has been a major blow to the old and the new revisionists who have been swimming in the dirty pools of reformism and parliamentarism and have betrayed the people's revolutionary movement all over the world. In this regard, the attacks of the CPI-M and the CPI of India and other revisionist renegades against the Maoist People's War in Nepal is particularly noteworthy.

Today, in many other countries of the world, final preparations for launching a Maoist People's War are taking place. It is a matter of pleasure for all the Nepalese revolutionaries to know that the experiences of the initiation and continuation of the People's War in Nepal are directly helping in these preparations.

Today requests have been received from revolutionary workers of different parts of the world to come to Nepal and to participate in the war-front in order to safeguard and develop the Nepalese People's War and to learn practical lessons from it.

These are the highest manifestations of the international impact of the two years of development of the People's War. This way, at one end, the Nepalese People's War has become a new challenge to international imperialism and revisionism, and at the other end, a new source of inspiration for the Communist revolutionaries and the masses of the people.

This situation has definitely placed more international responsibility on the shoulders of the Nepal Communist Party (Maoist), the revolutionary fighters and the general masses of Nepal. The leading districts, the great

martyrs and all the revolutionary fighters of the People's War in Nepal have now been transformed into common assets of communist revolutionaries all over the world.

It is this sense of seriousness and responsibility that has inspired the Nepalese revolutionaries to develop the People's War to greater heights and to set new examples of devotion and sacrifice.



7. CONCLUSION

The great process of the People's War is marching forward by giving birth to powerful forces of revolutionary transformation in all areas of Nepalese society. The enemies and the opportunists within and outside the country are conniving with each other to repress and thwart this great process of revolutionary transformation.

The revolutionary communists and the masses of the people within and outside the country are getting all the more organised on a bigger scale to safeguard and develop this great process. Thus, at one end, the two years of People's War have opened the doors of historic possibilities, while at the other end, a situation of bigger challenges from the enemies and the opportunists has also been created.

The revolution is not following the subjective wishes of anyone but the dialectical path of its own development. The two years of People's War have inspired the Party to fulfil its historic responsibility of liberating the people with greater firmness, devotion and responsibility while remaining committed to the invincible principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Let us unite in the service and for the liberation of the great Nepalese people! Howsoever difficult and challenging the path may be the people's victory is certain!



FORTY MONTHS AFTER INITIATION: PEOPLE'S WAR OF NEPAL, MARCHES TO NEW HEIGHTS

The initiation of people's war on 13 February 1996 under the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) marked a historical event in Nepalese society. The people's war has already celebrated its glorious third anniversary and is now marching onward in its fourth momentous year, resisting all genocidal repressions of the infamous fascist Girija Prasad Koirala, confronting the threats and menace posed by the reactionaries, disproving all the forecasts made by the revisionists that the people's war was going to be crushed within a couple of weeks or months.

The 40-month long people's war has brought CPN (Maoist) and people's war itself to the forefront of the politics of Nepal and has established them as the only alternative to the present monarchic parliamentary system. The people's war led by CPN (Maoist) has gained many important achievements. The people's war addresses the problems confronting the people from their day to day necessities to development work and production. People are urged to boycott all reactionary institutions and suspend payment of land revenue to the government as cooperatives and organizations are established...

The reactionary government has tried to suppress the people's war through his weapons of confusion, threats and mass killings. The reactionary government has the total support of US imperialism and Indian expansionism. Alongside this, the fascist has received many anti-guerrilla training assistance from Israel, Sri Lanka and Peru. The reactionary government ultimately enforced a commando operation called "KILO SERA 2" and killed more than 350 people within the operation period of three months. The open conference and meetings of trade unions, women organizations, student associations,

youth and intellectuals forum have been virtually banned. Journalists and pressmen are frequently arrested and tortured by the government authorities.

The armed forces of the government seized the computers, materials and physical properties of the famous registered weekly, "JANADESH", and ransacked its printing press also. The editor of "JANADESH", Mr. Krishna Sen, is still in the jail of the fascists. The senior journalist, Shakti Lamsal, and others like Dr. R. R. Baral, Nilam Sharma, Om Sharma, Bhim Prakash, etc., have faced torture from time to time, and 11 journalists are still in the jail of the fascists. Under the mask of "human rights" and "democracy", the government itself is violating its constitution and has killed more than 680 of the best sons and daughters of Nepal within the last three years.

Some Military Actions of the People's Army in Nepal

The Phalante police post of Kavre District (linked with the capital of Nepal, Kathmandu) was raided by Maoist guerrillas at 4:30 pm on October 28, 1998. The guerrillas seized four 303 rifles, one automatic pistol and 200 rounds of ammunition and killed one constable.

On the same day, a police post in Nirmal Basti Parsa (near Birgunj) was raided where two 303 rifles and 200 rounds of ammunition were captured. Likewise, a police camp with 10 personnel of Saunepani in Salyan district was attacked by the guerrillas on November 26, 1998. In this attack, all the military men, including a police officer surrendered. All of the policemen were released unharmed. The "Bhattedanda" police post of Lalitput district of Kathmandu valley was also attacked by guerrillas on January 2, 1999 and four 303 rifles, one pistol

and rounds of ammunitions captured. The Jhelmeta ambush of Dang district at 10 a.m. on January 20, 1999 netted four 303 rifles and rounds of ammunition. Six policemen surrendered and one constable was killed in the action.

Likewise, the residence of Home Secretary Padam Prasad Pokhrel at the capital was bombed on February 23, 1999. One gypsy van was completely burned, one big building suffered cracks and windows were shattered. The most successful raid of this year was launched in Chiriagar of Dang District. Maoist guerrillas raided the police outpost at 1:00 a.m. on March 3, 1999. There was an exchange of fire for two hours killing seven policemen. Six 303 rifles and rounds of ammunition were captured.

Likewise, the Maoist guerrillas raided the police outpost of Takukot of Gorkha district at 11 p.m. on May 22, 1999. Five policemen were killed and four 303 rifles were captured. One guerrilla died in this particular action. There are more than 125 small police outposts in the western and mid-western region of Nepal deserted by the reactionary government. More than 80 government banks were raided by the Maoist guerrillas...

The CPN (Maoist) firmly believes that it can face and overcome all the challenges posed by the enemy by uniting with the heroic Nepalese people and with the active support of the international proletariat and the revolutionary masses of the world. The CPN (Maoist) has already declared its readiness to face the possible dangers and challenges posed by Prime Minister K.P. Bhattarai, the very pro-Indian and new running dog of the Nepalese reactionaries. The revolutionary Nepali have the weapon of science in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and they are committed to marching ahead to prove the science through final victory.



DEVELOP THE PEOPLE'S WAR TO SERVE THE WORLD REVOLUTION

"A revolution must go through a civil war. This is a rule. And to see only the ills of war but not its benefits is a one-sided view. It is of no use to the people's revolution to speak one-sidedly of the destructiveness of war."

"It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it is proven that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work." - Chairman Mao Zedong.



The application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of Peruvian society leads to the conclusion that revolutionary violence or violent revolution, the only way to seize state power and transform the world, must take the form of people's war and more specifically a peasant war led by the Communist Party of Peru as the representative of the proletariat, a war which develops as a single whole waged principally in the countryside and complementarily in the cities, following the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside whose essence is the establishment of base areas, so that the democratic revolution culminates in the establishment of a People's Republic, a great victory which must be followed by continuing the revolution through socialism and cultural revolutions, under the dictatorship of the proletariat with the firm exercise its class violence, until achieving, together with all humanity, glorious communism, the realm of true freedom.

Posing the question this way, four fundamental questions arise and must be taken into account: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the ideology of the proletariat; the Party as the leader of the war; people's war in the specific form of a peasant war

which follows the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside; and revolutionary base areas or the new state power. Let us judge the sixth year now completed in the light of these relevant points.

Regarding Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

We take the stand of the international proletariat, the last class in history, with its own class interests different from and antagonistic to those of other classes, and with an aim that only the proletariat leading the peoples of the world can attain, communism, the only unsurpassable new society, without exploited or exploiters, without oppressed or oppressors, without classes, without a state, without parties, without democracy, without weapons and wars, the society of "great harmony", the radical and definitive new society towards which 15 billion years of matter in motion--that part of eternal matter which we know, has been inevitably and irresistably heading, but only by propelling the class struggle forward until it reaches the epic heights of people's war, with guns in the hands of the armed class and masses of the people, and counter-revolutionary war is destroyed forever, imperialism and reaction are overthrown and swept off the face of the earth, and in the shadow of the guns of invincible people's war upon which the dictatorship of the proletariat rests, society is transformed in all spheres, destroying and



eliminating all class differences and private ownership of the means of production that gives rise to them, ending war forever, and communism shines for all humankind .

Since we take the stand of the international proletariat, our starting point is that its ideology today is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, with Maoism principal as its third stage, the highest point the proletariat's ideology has reached in its historical process of development. It is within this context that we take up the position and class interests of the Peruvian proletariat as part of the international working class, since only on the basis of the universal doctrine of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is it possible to stand with the proletariat and fight for its interests, here or anywhere else. There is only one proletarian ideology; it is applicable to the whole world and its development is a single world process.

On the other hand, ever since Marx founded Marxism and through the advances made by Lenin and Chairman Mao Zedong, the basic question has always been the application of this science to the conditions of each revolution; consequently the problem is the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution, and specifically, the application of the universal law of violence, people's war, to the revolutionary war in this country.

From this fusion of Marxism with our concrete reality there arises and develops Guiding Thought, that is, the

application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution. In short, our starting point is the outlook of the international proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and the Guiding Thought of Chairman Gonzalo. These are the basis of all our political, theoretical and practical action; without this basis it is not possible to serve the class firmly and consistently.

Regarding the Party



First let's look at the need for a party; then later when we take up its building we'll deal with its present role. Since its very beginnings Marxism has held that there must be a Party to lead the struggle to seize state power; this was reiterated by Leninism and emphatically reaffirmed by Maoism.

Without a revolutionary party of a new type, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, there can be no revolution for the proletariat and the people. This is a great truth that no communist can evade without ceasing to be one, a truth we Peruvian communists had to confront. The Communist Party of Peru was founded October 7th 1928 on solid Marxist-Leninist basis by Jose Carlos Mariategui, who provided it with

basic theses concerning Peruvian society, the land question, imperialist domination, the role of the Peruvian proletariat, as well as programmatic points and a general political line and consequent particular lines.

But the founder died in 1930, less than two years afterwards; even a first congress remained pending, so that the Party did not have time to consolidate itself before trends that had already been developing took a leap.

Mariategui and his line were openly put into question, and the line was changed by Ravines. Thus opportunism usurped Party leadership and imposed its authority in the two-line struggle within the Party, with the gravest consequences for the class and the revolution. This road led to the parliamentary cretinism manifested in the 1939 elections, in the service of the comprador bourgeoisie represented by Prado.

Later, during World War II, there was a phony "founding congress" which adopted the general political line of "national unity" under the guidance of Browderite revisionism, an expression of capitulation to Yankee imperialism's domination and the domestic rule of the comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords, under the pretext of the struggle against fascism. Subsequently this situation led to the Party's participation in the 1945 elections as part of the "National Democratic Front" with the APRA party, with the excuse of bringing about a democratic opening; this new electoral adventure ended when the balloon the Party had become blew up after Odria's 1948 coup d'etat.

In the beginning of the sixties the fraction founded by Chairman Gonzalo began to develop within the



Ayacucho Regional Committee. By fraction, what is meant is what Lenin taught: "A section in a party is a group of like-minded persons formed for the purpose primarily of influencing the party in a definite direction, for the purpose of securing acceptance for their principles in the party in the purest form. For this, real unanimity of opinion is necessary."

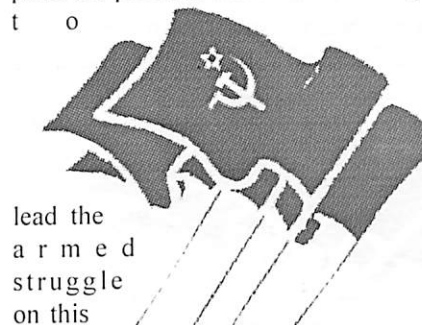
The fraction arose as the product of the development of the class struggle on the world level, especially the great struggle between Marxism and revisionism that spread Mao Zedong Thought, as Chairman Mao's development of Marxism-Leninism was known in the mid-1960s. This was the principal and decisive factor giving rise to the fraction. At the same time, a substantial basis for it was provided by the development of Peruvian society, the advance of bureaucrat capitalism, the sharpening class struggle of the masses, the intensification of political activity and growing propaganda about armed struggle, and by developments in the region itself where the fraction arose, a region where the decrepitude of semifeudalism was becoming increasingly stark and where the peasantry was beginning to awaken in a particularly militant fashion reflecting a similar process going on throughout the country.

Within the Party at that time, the struggle between Marxism and revisionism deepened. The fraction headed by the Ayacucho Regional Committee fought the revisionism of Del Prado and his followers and took part in the IV National Conference where Del Prado and Company were expelled. From then on the fraction developed within the Party nationwide. The development of

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism by Chairman Mao and the great lessons and experiences of the Communist Party of China played a vital and decisive role in this initial process. Since then, both our initial commitment to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and our application of it to our conditions have developed further.

After the V National Conference in November 1965, in the two-line struggle within the Party, the fraction came to fight for building the three magic weapons of the revolution: the party, armed forces and united front, demanding that these tasks be fulfilled in the light of the political line of the Conference which had established the building of revolutionary armed forces for the armed struggle as the principal task.

But in a thousand ways the dead weight of revisionism hindered and opposed the fulfillment of the principal task; under these circumstances the fraction, reaffirming the necessity of an ideologically united and organisationally centralised Party, called for the "Reconstruction of the Party" based on "the heroic fighter". This process was carried out in three periods, each with its corresponding political strategy: 1) Defining the Problem of Reconstruction, guided by the political strategy of "surrounding the cities from the countryside". At that point the problem was to build a Party



lead the armed struggle on this

path, which meant that the peasant and land question acquired tremendous

importance and it was vital to put the Party's centre of gravity in the countryside. Further, the decisive question of ideological and political line centred on "basing ourselves on Mao Zedong Thought", as it was said in those days, and on "reclaiming and developing Mariategui", with development being the outstanding aspect of this. It was not enough to reclaim him for two key reasons: the development of Marxism-Leninism by Chairman Mao Zedong, and the development of bureaucrat capitalism in Peru.

This phase took place during the struggle against Krushchevite revisionism and its manifestations in various spheres of Party life and ended with the January 1969 VI Conference which approved "the Reconstruction of the Party on the basis of Party unity around Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought (as was said in those days--now it is Maoism), Mariategui's Thought and the general political line."

The following period, 2) Carrying Out the Reconstruction, was guided by the political strategy of "Reconstruct the Party" in accordance with the Party's basis of unity. October 1968 saw the coup d'etat of Velasco, who took on the task of deepening the development of bureaucrat capitalism, carrying out the corporativisation of Peruvian society guided by a fascist political outlook and suppressing the rising mass movements.

This period divides into two parts: first the struggle against right liquidationism, a form of revisionism which sought to destroy the Party by centering it on open, mass work and pushing it into legalism; on the strictly political level this line put forward expropriating the land instead of confiscating it and above all denied the fascist character of the government. When these liquidationists couldn't take over the Party they perversely attempted to destroy it and the fraction took up the Party's defense. In February 1970, a split took place and the fraction



assumed the leadership of the Party; from then on it led the process of Reconstruction.

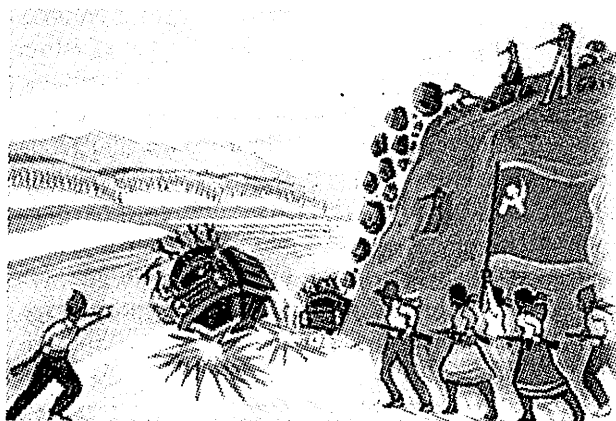
In the second part there was a struggle against "left" liquidationism, another variant of revisionism that tried to destroy the Party by shutting it up behind four walls, denying the importance of peasant work and the possibility of any mass work because, according to them, mass work and organisations are impossible under fascism. They reduced fascism to simply a question of violence, and worse, to an irresistible violence in the face of which nothing could be done but wait for better times. They put forward the "relative stability of capitalism" and consequently of the social system. They said "the line is enough" and that there was no reason to develop Mariategui further, and called Maoism into question, bragging about being "pure Bolsheviks".

This "left" liquidationism was smashed in 1975 at a Central Committee plenum. During this period, our political understanding of Peruvian society deepened, especially our understanding of bureaucrat capitalism, based on Chairman Mao Zedong's thesis. This question is fundamental for understanding and leading the democratic revolution. In fact this concept slammed the door on the opportunist tendency to tail a faction of the big bourgeoisie while pretending to unite and struggle with the national bourgeoisie, and to support the Velasco's fascist and corporatist plans, "reforms" and measures, and it continues to be extremely useful today.

The ideological-political building of the Party also advanced, especially regarding the understanding of Mariategui's thought and general

political line--synthesised for the first time in five basic points taken from his works--as well as the necessity to develop it further. The relationship between secret and open work was delineated and the latter was developed according to the Leninist criteria of areas of support for the Party's mass work; thus mass organisations were created by the Party to develop the links between the Party and the masses.

The last period, 3) the Culmination of the Reconstruction, was guided by the political strategy of



"Culminate and Lay the Basis", in other words, culminate the reconstruction and lay the basis for launching the armed struggle. With the unfolding of the process the Party was approaching the conclusion of its Reconstruction and so had to sum up what had been achieved, define and sanction the general political line, continue the building of the Party on a national level with its centre of gravity in the countryside, define the specifics of the armed struggle and lay the basis to launch it by developing the work among the peasants.

The left fought tenaciously to attain these objectives, waging intense and sharp struggle against rightism. This rightism developed into a right opportunist line that first opposed the Culmination and then launched an onslaught against the general political line, labeling it "ultraleftist", and ended up rabidly opposing the initiation of the armed struggle. Nevertheless, with firmness and wis-

dom the left repeatedly defeated right opportunism, another form of revisionism opposed in the last instance to revolutionary violence, to armed struggle, to people's war, to the Party's fulfillment of its role of fighting to seize power for the proletariat and the people, and to the proletariat's advance in its historic mission.

In April 1977, the left defeated the right opportunist opposition to Culminate, with the approval of the national plan to build the Party under the slogan "Build for the purpose of launching the armed struggle"; the left again resoundingly defeated the right in September 1978 with the approval of the "Summation of Reconstruction", the sanctioning of "Mariategui's general political line and its development", and the drafting of the "Outline of the Armed Struggle".

**"LAS MASAS
HACEN LA
HISTORIA,
EL PARTIDO
LAS DIRIGE"
PCP**

Finally, it thoroughly and completely defeated the right opportunist line at the May 1979 IX Expanded Central Committee Plenum, when under the slogan "Define and Decide" the agreement was taken to "Initiate the Armed Struggle".

A long chapter of the Party's history had closed and another one opened: the Reconstruction had been culminated and a new stage would open, that of the armed struggle. It should be clearly and firmly emphasised that during this period of the Culmination, when Chairman Mao died, the Party pledged to the international proletariat and the revolution that it would always hold high the banners of Marx, Lenin and Mao, and declared that "To be a Marxist today is to be Marxist-Leninist-Mao Zedong Thought" (now Marxist-Leninist-Maoist).

Thus when the Hua-Deng coup took place, with the latter of course in charge at the end of the day, the Party



condemned it as a counter-revolutionary coup against the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, against the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for the restoration of capitalism and against the world revolution.

In sum, then, the Communist Party of Peru was reconstructed and became a Party of a new type, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, and so once again there existed the organised vanguard of the proletariat, capable of leading it to the seizure of state power. In this way, "Define and Decide" can be considered the first milestone of the people's war unfolding today. Later the Party achieved the second milestone, that of Preparation; a period of the sanctioning of the Party Programme, the general political line of the Peruvian revolution and the Party statutes whose norms guide us today, the resolution of strategic political questions regarding revolutionary violence, people's war and the Party, the army and the United Front.

The following decision was taken: "Forge the First Company in Deeds!" Let violence flourish concretised in initiating and developing the armed struggle; let us open up a new chapter with lead and offer our blood to write it, a new chapter in the history of our Party and people, and let us forge the First Company in deeds! Peru, December 3, 1979." And the Communist Party of Peru began to lead the people's war going on today.

On Building the New State Power

To complete the analysis of people's war in Peru, we must take up the question of the new state power, the new state, the building of base areas—the essence of surrounding the cities from the countryside, the question of political power, the joint New Democratic dictatorship which must transform the old society so that with the culmination of the democratic revolution, socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat advances and guarantees

the march to communism. We'll take up this point within the context of the building of the three instruments, since the state is inextricably linked to the Party and the army. We have already dealt with why the Party is necessary and how the Communist Party of Peru was reconstituted so that it could take up the task of leading the people's war; still to be concisely considered are some important further aspects of its development in the course of the last six years.

The Party set itself the task of its militarisation at the 1979 National Conference, when preparations for the war were being discussed. Concretely, insofar as what needs to be discussed here, we understand the militarisation of the Party as the ensemble of the transformations, changes and adjustments necessary to lead people's war as the principal form of struggle giving rise to the new state and joint dictatorship that will transform society and replace the rule of imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and semifeudalism with a New Democratic People's Republic, thus culminating the democratic revolution, and further—within the framework of world imperialism and reaction which are sinking and will sink in the midst of wars, attacking and seeking to destroy all that is new and revolutionary, especially everything proletarian—to defend and develop the revolution in its socialist stage, preserving the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism, tightening the omnipresent links with the world revolution by serving as the base area for the joint war of the proletariat and peoples to sweep imperialism and reaction off the face of the earth, and continue along the road of repeated cultural revolutions until communism.

It is within these general outlines that we conceive of the development of a specific people's war fighting against an equally specific counter-revolutionary war, taking place within the framework of an era of many varied wars in which imperialism is sinking, in short, a great clash between

people's war and counter-revolutionary war on a world level, the highest form of struggle and the one that will decide the issue. Looking at things in the broadest terms, as long as there are classes, the advance to communism itself through cultural revolutions will take place in the shadow of people's war as the proletariat's military line, with its ongoing development.

Consequently, our Party and all communist parties face this necessity and these prospects no matter what specific forms they may take. To be specific about the militarisation of the Party, our Party as a whole has plunged into the people's war, throwing all its members into it; in short, "Our centre is combat", as our Central Committee decided. Another important question is that of concentric construction, meaning, in brief, to take the Party as the axis around which to build the army, and around these instruments, together with the unleashing of the masses in people's war, to build the new state.

An outstanding question is "the training of Party members first and foremost as communists, and as fighters and administrators", so as to carry out the three great tasks demanded by the revolution. Mass work must be developed through and for the people's war. Leadership is key and there must be a Headquarters. The two-line struggle must be firmly and consistently developed, so as to strengthen the Party and other organisations for the people's war. A vital and decisive question is the further development of the political line: we have achieved a considerably deeper understanding of Peruvian society, of the political conjuncture and principally of military line, people's war and how to lead it, especially regarding the specifics of war in Peru and how it unfolds simultaneously in the countryside and city without forgetting that the countryside is principal.

Finally, as was inevitable, the number of Party members has



increased considerably, with peasants becoming a very high percentage and a considerable number of youth and women entering the Party, which entails some obvious problems but more importantly, a great future as well, as long as proletarian ideology is strengthened.

As the crowning aspect of our advances, the people's war has allowed the Party to more firmly and clearly grasp Maoism as the third and highest stage of Marxism and take up the task of "Upholding, defending and applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism" and struggle to put it in command of the world revolution, with the consciousness that this will serve communism, the proletariat and the oppressed peoples; furthermore, more firmly grasping the class outlook and fusing it with the people's war has led to the further development of Guiding Thought. Finally, the people's war itself has made it possible to further train the Party membership in proletarian internationalism.

Regarding our armed forces, the people's war the masses of people and the Party has give rise to the People's Guerrilla Army, an army of a new type to carry out the political tasks of the revolution established by the Party and take up the tasks consecrated by the international experience of the proletariat: to fight, to produce and to mobilise the masses, which means politically educating them, mobilising them, organising and arming them. It is a peasant army under the absolute leadership of the Party according to the principle "the Party commands the

gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party". Its foundation is work to build it up ideologically, with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and its application, that is, Guiding Thought, the Party's general line and policies; building the army politically is complemented by organising the Party within the army, with Party leadership of all political work within the army as well as the army's mass work. Militarily the army is built on the basis of the theory of people's war and the Party's military line and plans; it is organised in detachments



in the city and platoons, companies and battalions in the countryside, always under the double command system, one political and the other military, guided today by the slogan "develop the companies and strengthen the platoons aiming for battalion".

This building of the People's Guerrilla Army is also based on Lenin's great thesis regarding the people's militia and its three functions as police, army and administration. Military training takes place with the aim of developing bellicosity so that actions are thoroughly and successfully carried out. The armed forces started out as armed detachments without arms, because as Lenin taught the lack of arms cannot be used as a pretext for not organising an armed apparatus;

later they armed themselves with whatever they could including dynamite, which is still very important, since rudimentary and traditional weapons play a fundamental role.

Though we strive to get modern weapons by snatching them from the reactionary forces, we follow Chairman Mao Zedong's great teaching, which history has proven: "Since history began, revolutionary wars have always been won by those whose weapons were deficient, lost by those with the advantage in weapons . . . If one cannot fight unless one has the most modern weapons, that is the same as disarming oneself." The People's Guerrilla Army, with its thousands of combatants, has proven itself; it has been steeled in the forge of the people's war and is the pillar of the new state power.

The new state power, the new state in the form of People's Committees, the developing base areas and the New Democratic People's Republic in formation--this is the highest achievement of six years of people's war. Taking Chairman Mao Zedong's thesis on the state into account, we consider this question very linked to the united front, especially taking into account the specific conditions in which we are developing and the tradition of opportunist electoral "fronts" in our country.

The Central Committee has instructed that the People's Revolutionary Defense Front be built only in the countryside, in the concrete form of the new state power, based on People's Committees; while in the cities the People's Revolutionary Movement is being built. The People's Committees arose towards the end of 1982, first in Ayacucho, after the police forces were dealt humiliating blows and withdrew



from large parts of the countryside. These are united front committees that give concrete expression to the joint dictatorship of the workers, peasants and petty bourgeois, the three classes taking part in the armed revolution today: the proletariat; the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. These people's committees, taken as a system of state, are the concrete form of the New Democratic dictatorship whose system of government, in turn, is based on the people's assemblies. Although the national bourgeoisie is not taking part in the revolution now, its interests are respected.

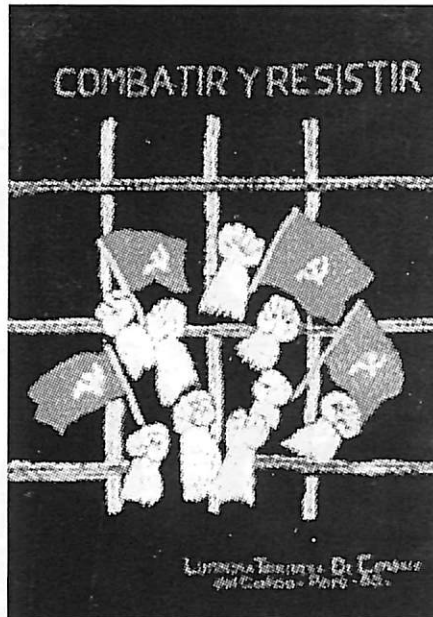
The Committee is elected by a Delegate Assembly according to the three-thirds rule: one-third communists as representatives of the proletariat, one-third poor peasants as representatives of the peasantry and one-third middle peasants and progressive elements as representatives of the petty bourgeoisie. Like all the forms of the new state power, the Committees are based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the proletariat represented by the Communist Party and supported by the People's Guerrilla Army.

The Committee is made up of five commissioners, called this to emphasise that they have been commissioned to perform a specific task and can be recalled at any time. Within the framework of the programme of the democratic revolution--the destruction of imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and semifeudalism--they organise the social life of the masses in all spheres; the organisation of production, especially agriculture, and commerce, which are guided towards collective work; justice, education and recreation, as well as seeing to the progress of the people's organisations and guaranteeing the collective and individual security. The basis of this work is the introduction of new social production relations.

The development of the hundreds of People's Committees and of the

base areas for which they are the foundation follows the fluidity of guerrilla warfare, since they are principally a product of guerrilla warfare following the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside and of the people's war as a whole, and they have suffered the assaults of the counter-revolutionary war.

Thus an acute struggle is now being waged around the new state



power, between the armed revolution and the armed counter-revolution. For instance, the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration waged especially during the years of 1983 and 1984 is very significant.

On this subject, it is worth pointing out that during the last two years the People's Guerrilla Army carried out 180 counter-restorations and in connection with this sharp contention seized 591 towns. In short, the vortex of the war between the People's Guerrilla Army and the reactionary armed forces and the police is the question of the new state power, the creation, defense and development of the people's committees, the base areas and the continuing advance in the formation of the New Democratic People's Republic, the new state, which shines and will continue to shine against wind and rain, lika a

blazing, defiant torch calling on the people to surge forward with the flaming waves of the people's war, devouring the past and vigorously opening the future for the proletariat and the people forever.

And what has been the cost in lives? The reactionary policy of setting masses against masses, of genocide and disappearances has already cost the lives of 11,300 of our people. Adding to that the 1,668 dead of the reactionary armed forces and police, plus police agents, informers, feudal tyrants and despots, and the 1,738 fallen of the People's Guerrilla Army, this adds up to approximately 15,000 dead as of May 1986. This is the truth, not the doctored statistics the reaction publishes to cover up its sinister genocidal policies.

This is the people's war in Peru. Its analysis and comprehension demand that four questions be taken up-- Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the Party, people's war and the new state power--whose consideration has brought us to a clear and concrete conclusion: the people's war in Peru is authentic people's war which is turning the country upside down; the "old mole" is burrowing deeply in the bowels of the old society and no one can stop him; the future already dwells among us--the old and rotten society is sinking hopelessly and the revolution shall prevail.

- Long live the armed struggle!**
- Develop the People's War to Serve the World Revolution!**
- Glory to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**
- Long Live the World Revolution!**
- Long Live Chairman Gonzalo!**

**Central Committee
Communist Party of Peru
Peru, August 1986**



UNITE THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE FASCIST, GENOCIDAL AND COUNTRY-SELLING DICTATORSHIP, DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR FURTHER!

Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law. When we say "imperialism is ferocious", we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom.

Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again . . . till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law. The Russian people's revolution followed this law, and so has the Chinese people's revolution. (Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle) -Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Let us take note: we have not had any great defeat, let us prepare ourselves so that we don't have any. Up to today our process has unfolded with successes and setbacks, we have lived through hard moments, like in 1983 and 1984, but not a great defeat. This is
w h a t

Chairman Gonzalo told us in 1991. Later, our Great Leader was arrested and he told us from the prison: "... Some think this is a great defeat. They are dreaming! We tell them to keep on dreaming. It is simply a bend, nothing more, a bend in the road! The road is long and we shall arrive. We shall triumph! You shall see it! You shall see it!" From then until today we have unfolded within this bend in the road and now we have begun to emerge from the bend in the road.

The People's War is not only being maintained but is advancing step by step in the midst of hard and tenacious struggle, and the winds are blowing in our favor. Today we can affirm that the People's War is serving the overcoming of the bend in the road and although the road is still difficult and full of zigzags, we shall triumph. This year our Party is unfolding with great resolve a New Plan that is guided by the slogan UNITE THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE FASCIST, GENOCIDAL AND COUNTRY-SELLING DICTATORSHIP, DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR FURTHER! And if the situation is complex and cruel, the future is bright.

ELECTIONS, NO! PEOPLE'S WAR, YES!

ON ELECTIONS: Marx highlighted: "every two years, the oppressed are permitted to decide which members of the oppressing class should represent them and crush them in parliament! ...elections have only been the instrument of feudal landlords and the big capitalists..." Thus, elections are an instrument of the counterrevolutionary war.

1) The Peruvian state is a landlord-bureaucratic state, it is a dictatorship of the feudal landlords and the big bourgeoisie under the control of North American imperialism. Against this, the people struggle for the construction of a New Democratic State that requires the destruction of the old, existing order.

2) The Peruvian State, like all states, is based on, defends and develops by utilizing violence. In the face of this, the people need revolutionary violence, following the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside.

3) Elections are a means of domination by the landlords and the big bourgeoisie. For the people they are not an instru-





ment of transformation, nor a means to overthrow the power of the rulers. From this comes the just orientation of using them with agitation and propaganda goals.

We greet the heroic Peruvian people that today continues to combat and resist this fascist, genocidal and country-selling dictatorial government which is the most unbridled pro-imperialist government. They apply a sinister policy that is anti-people, anti-peasant and anti-People's War. For example: the policy of the economy of "free markets and the globalization of the economy", "neoliberalism", "human rights", "bourgeois democracy", "peace", etc., etc. This is the panacea for those who live on Mt. Olympus; but these false flags from the 18th Century are demagogic verbosity that only benefit a handful of exploiters nationally and abroad. They seek to lull and intimidate the conscience of the masses by applying a double politics.

The so-called "struggle against narco-trafficking" is another imperialist double politics and a pretext to apply their counterrevolutionary strategy of "low intensity warfare" at a world level and to suffocate the revolution, primarily in the countries of the Third World. It is the case in our country moreover of those instruments to oppress the oppressed nations, here in our country and concretely in the coca producing zones, particularly in Huallaga, that North American imperialism and this regime are applying a sinister policy of eradication of coca fields with which they condemn the peasants of Huallaga and the surrounding region to hunger, ruin, abandonment and death.

The so-called program of eradication and substitution of coca leaf cultivation with other alternative products, "alternative development", "agro-industrial development" was and is another demagogic verbosity of Fujimori. If not, let us see some events during the almost eight years of the

long wait by principally the poor peasantry. The programs of oil palm, palmito, cacao, coffee, rice, corn, among others, like camu-camu, bananas, etc., etc. are only done by a small group of landlords and rich peasants conditioned to support the government of "Cambio 90-New majority". They are wheedled into becoming Fujimoristas, organizing them corporatively, and under this system, giving them property titles, loans, etc., while the great majority of the poor peasantry finds itself marginalized, abandoned to their luck, while they try to drag them into their fascist system with demagoguery and deceit.

This form of corporative organization, militarized and linked to "low intensity warfare" is being assembled with blood and fire with the aid of bayonets and genocide, pressuring and shackling the masses by way of the so-called CAD (Self Defense Committees), peasant rondas both native and urban, a corporatism that also drives the ministry of the presidency by way of COFOPRI, FONCODES, PRONAA, INADE, Committees of Development Against Drugs, etc. What are those organizations? For example the "Committees of Development", "Peasant Community", or the "Committees of Producers", "APAFA", "Committees of Health", "Sports Committees", "Mothers Clubs", or the "Glass of Milk"? These are corporative organizations under fascist military control, in order to tie them to their old system of exploitation and oppression and thus attempt to separate the people from the guerrillas...

All these promises and programs have failed because this is not the path of the peasantry, and because while exploitation and oppression exist, under whatever government of this Peruvian state, of this old system, poverty will continue to exist. For that reason the only path, the only way out is the People's War. Now here in this region some followers of reelection-

ism of their puppet like the demagogic traffickers they are, and others with independent masks such as in the case of "vamos vecino", promise and promise or they make some little works and giveaways as they said in that campaign by reelectionists in Tocache. They do this in other provinces like San Martín, Huánuco, etc.

All this within the "definitive pacification" of Huallaga. Today they are newly raising the same ragged lie, seeking to undermine and destroy the People's War and cover up the gathering which they subject the peasants to by force in order to form mesnadas, repeating obsolete forms that have already been destroyed by the converging struggle of the shackled masses themselves and the guerrilla actions. For this reason the COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU calls upon all the people and especially the people of Upper Huallaga to: DON'T VOTE! Don't let yourselves be disoriented by the fanfare of the municipal elections! DON'T VOTE! Boycott them, obstruct them, undermine them and impede them wherever possible.

**LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN GONZALO,
GREAT LEADER OF THE PARTY AND
THE REVOLUTION!**

**LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF PERU!**

**GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM-
MAOISM, GONZALO THOUGHT!**

**ELECTIONS, NO! PEOPLE'S
WAR, YES! DON'T VOTE!**

**LONG LIVE THE 12TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE DAY OF HEROISM!**

**THE PEOPLE'S WAR WILL
INEVITABLY TRIUMPH!**

June 1998



Actions of the People's Liberation Army in the departments of San Martín, Huanuco and Ucayali, January-August 1998

SAN MARTIN DEPARTMENT

Agitation and armed propaganda

1/22/98: The PLA adorns with flags the principal gate of the college Mesones Muro and the principal plaza of the neighborhood of Pishuaya. Slogan painting in various houses were carried out.

2/17/98: Combatants of the PLA intercepted transport vehicles, and the masses were mobilized and politicized nearby the town of Ramal de Cachiyacu, San Martín.

2/24/98: Combatants of the PLA intercepted vehicles nearby the village Cachiyacu-Tocache-San Martín on the Marginal highway. Slogan painting was carried out on them.

2/27/98: The PLA in the village "Los Cedros" Tocache-San Martín held a meeting with the masses.

2/27/98: The PLA intercepts and makes slogan painting on a vehicle owned by the company Distribuidora Sibarita Micasu ERL, nearby the towns of Nuevo Progreso and Madre Mía, Tocache-San Martín and the village of Cachiyacu-Tocache, on the Marginal highway.

3/13/98: The PLA in the locality of Puerto Pizana, La Pólvora-San Martín district, intercepted a vehicle, receiving the support of the masses for the People's War.

5/12/98: The PLA blocks the highway Marginal Norte, around Km 8, locality

of Ramal de Aspuzana and Pucayacu-Tocache-San Martín.

5/13/98: The PLA carries out slogan painting between Km 7 and 8 of the Marginal highway in the direction of the locality of Tocache-San Martín; slogans refer to: Crush the Right Opportunist Line; M-L-M; Elections, No! People's War, Yes!; Freedom for Political Prisoners; Freedom for Prisoners of War; Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo.

5/27/98: The PLA, between the localities of Uchiza and Monzón, San Martín, on the Marginal highway, mobilizes and politicizes the masses of the area.

7/13/98: The PLA on the Marginal highway nearby the village Iscote, La Pólvora-Tocache-San Martín, intercepts vehicles and carries out slogan painting. In the town a mass assembly was carried out.

7/25-29: The PLA mobilized and politicized the population of Sion, Mariscal Cáceres-San Martín, against the self-defense committees. Afterwards they withdrew in the direction of the village El Valle-Campanilla.

Guerrilla Combat

2/17/98: Joint patrols of the police and army confronted a PLA company nearby the town Ramal de Cachiyacu, resulting in one wounded soldier.

3/26/98: An army patrol sustained a confrontation with a company of the PLA in the village La Unión, La Pólvora district, Tochache-San Martín

province, causing four casualties to reaction.

3/28/98: The PLA in the village Nuevo Porvenir YAHUARACHI-district of Pólvora-province of Tocache-San Martín produced a confrontation causing casualties for reaction.

6/26/98: The PLA enters into the smaller population center of Bambamarca, Tocache-San Martín, where slogan painting is carried out and pro-Party propaganda is pasted up.

6/28/98: The PLA entered the village Sin Sin, the smaller population center of Bambamarca, Tocache-San Martín, carrying out slogan painting and pasting up posters.

7/8/98: A police patrol boat was harassed when it was deployed on the Huallabamba river between the sectors called Guayaquil and Monte Bravo-Huicungo-Mariscal Cáceres-San Martín, causing it material damage.

7/8/98: The PLA ambushes an army patrol on the outskirts of the locality Bambamarca-San Martín, causing three casualties.

7/31/98: A PLA company took the control post of Churo National Park of the Abiseo-Mariscal river Cáceres-San Martín.

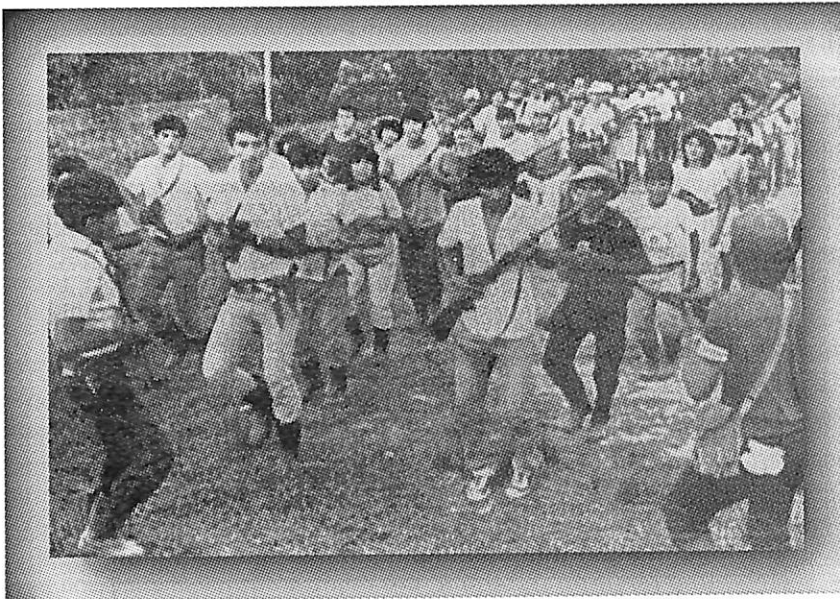
8/8/98: The PLA led by the Party takes the Plaza de Armas de Saposoa, El Dorado-San Martín province. They harassed an installation of the National Police at Saposoa, carrying out slogan painting and leafleting. They wounded a police officer and two civilians, and three civilians died.



8/13/98: A confrontation between an Army and Police patrol against a PLA company occurred at the San Francisco stream, in the Regis-San Martín district.

8/13/98: The PLA and an Army patrol had a confrontation on the San Francisco stream, in the Regis-San Martín district. An Army officer was killed and one soldier wounded.

Selective Annihilation



3/24/98: PLA combatants gathered the population of the village Neuva Arequipa, in the Nuevo Progreso-Tocache district, where a collaborator was annihilated.

3/27/98: The PLA in the village "Fray Martín" at Nuevo Progreso, Tocache-San Martín province, annihilated two collaborators.

5/6/98: The PLA enters into the village La Merced Ishanga, Tocache-San Martín, where they gathered the masses in the Central Plaza and a thief was annihilated.

5/9/98: The PLA enters into the village La Merced Ishanga, Tocache-San Martín, with the aim of annihilating a collaborator.

6/2/98: The PLA annihilates a collaborator in the village Bellavista-San Martín.

6/28/98: The PLA in Puerto Alto Magote, Tocache-Nuevo Progreso-San Martín, annihilates two informers who had infiltrated the PCP.

7/3/98: The PLA, on board of a truck, harassed an Army control post in Tocache-San Martín.

8/8/98: The PLA takes the district of Pasarraya-El Dorado-San Martín (an hour and a half from the city of Saposá) in which they annihilate a

provincial mayor of Huallaga. At the same time, slogan painting was done.

HUANUCO DEPARTMENT

Agitation and propaganda

3/24/98: The PLA carried out armed agitation and propaganda actions in the sports field of the locality of Santa Lucía, in the district of José C y Castillo-Huánuco.

5/4/98: The PLA blocks the Marginal highway nearby the locality of Puente Pacae Aucayacu-José Crespo y Castillo-Huánuco, detaining public transportation vehicles and doing politicizing. Afterwards they withdrew in the direction of the village Alto Pacae.

5/20/98: The PLA carries out road

blocks in the Marginal highway. Nearby the locality Puente Durand Chinchao o Chinchavito, Acomayo-Huánuco. A police van was harassed which occasionally passed through the area.

6/25/98: The PLA takes the town of Pampas, Padre Abad, Aguaytía-Huánuco. The masses are politicized.

Guerrilla combat

2/14/98: A police patrol was blown up by booby-traps, annihilating a policeman and wounding several of them in the locality of Fundo Rico, José Crespo y Castillo-Leoncio Prado-Huánuco.

3/4/98: The town of Honorio Delgado, Pachitea province, Puerto Inca-Huánuco is taken.

3/21/98: The PLA sustained a confrontation with the Army in the village Río Frío, Angashyacu, Aucayacu, in the province of Leoncio Prado, Huánuco.

4/19/98: The central town of Palo Huimba-Monzón-Huamalíes, Huánuco is taken. The population is gathered together with goal of carrying out a popular assembly.

4/24/98: Taking of the village Sachabaca, Monzón-Huamalíes-Huánuco, and roadblocks of the highway which leads from that place. Slogan painting is done on the vehicles with guiding slogans of the PCP. Two Army soldiers are captured, who are later freed.

4/26/98: An army patrol is ambushed which was being deployed in a vehicle in the vicinity of the village of Palo Huimba-Monzón-Huamalíes-Huánuco. Two soldiers and three civilians are wounded.

5/22/98: The town of Puente Durand, Chinchao-Acomayo-Huánuco is taken, slogan painting is carried out.

5/23/98: The village Maliqui Puente Durand-Chinchao-Leoncio



Prado-Huánuco is taken, and a popular assembly is carried out with the local inhabitants. In the same way, the Marginal highway is blocked, and foodstuffs are confiscated from a truck. Afterwards they retreated in the direction of the heights of the province of Acomayo.

6/2/98: In Puente Voladizo, Chinchao-Leoncio Prado-Huánuco the PLA ambushes two Police vehicles in circumstances while they were heading towards the city of Huánuco, resulting in material damages to the vehicles and four casualties.

6/3/98: The PLA in the sector of Bella Alta, Mariano Dámaso Beraún-Leoncio Prado-Huánuco, carries out harassment actions against a Police patrol.

7/12/98: A military patrol in Tocache is ambushed in a sector of the locality of Paraíso Cholón, Marañón-Huánuco. A soldier is killed.

8/15/98: A military patrol that is deployed in the vicinity of the village Rondos, Monzón-Leoncio Prado-Huánuco, confronted a platoon of the PLA.

Selective annihilation

2/5/98: The village of Santa Lucía-Tulumayo is taken and an informer is annihilated.

2/28/98: The village Angashyacu, on the Marginal highway, in the province of Leoncio Prado-TM is taken. The masses are mobilized and politicized for the "CONQUEST OF POWER", "LIBERATION OF CHAIRMAN GONZALO", and the "CRITICISM OF FAMILY PLANNING". At the same time slogan painting on the walls of houses was done with the slogans "DEFEND THE LIFE OF CHAIRMAN GONZALO", "PEOPLE'S WAR UNTIL COMMUNISM", "FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS", among

others. Afterwards, a People's Court tried two informers who were later killed.

3/6/98: The PLA blocks and intercepts vehicles on the Marginal highway nearby the village Mohena, Angashyacu province in Leoncio Prado-TM. Later slogans were painted on the vehicles, among them "LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN GONZALO", "FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS" and stickers with the slogans: "FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS" and "FREEDOM FOR PRISONERS OF WAR". Afterwards they proceeded to burn a vehicle belonging to the business Electrocentrosa. In that same armed action an SIE informer was annihilated.

3/7/98: The town of Pueblo de Cahua Huánuco is taken and the justice of the peace is annihilated.

4/1/98: The highway nearby Puente Pacae, José Crespo y Castillo-Leoncio Prado-Huánuco district is blockaded. A popular assembly is realized in order to subsequently annihilate the Chairman of the Development Committee of that locality.

4/22/98: The village Huagrancha Ratacocha, Santa María del Valle-Huanuco is taken, where a lumpen element and an informer for the forces of order are annihilated.

5/98: The village El Porvenir de Morona, Daniel Alomía Robles (also known as Padre Felipe Luyando) Leoncio Prado-Huánuco where an informer is annihilated.

5/28/98: The PLA enters into the village Puente Durand, Chinchao-Leoncio Prado-Huánuco and annihilates a collaborator.

5/28/28: The village of Puente Pacae, Marginal highway, between Tingo María and Aucayacu is taken and an informer annihilated.

7/7/98: The PLA intercepted various transport vehicles in the vicinity of Puente Durand, Chinchao-Huánuco, carrying out slogan painting on them.

7/14/98: The village of Santa Ana o Río Santa Monzón, Huamalíes-Huánuco was taken, where the lieutenant governor was annihilated.

7/26/98: The PLA annihilated an informer in the Huancaturpa sector, the smaller population center of Piquiray, Umari-Pachitea-Huanuco.

Sabotage

7/25/98: PLA combatants carried out actions in the Pacae, Angashyacu and Rio Frio sectors in the district of José Crespo and Castillo, Leoncio Prado-Huánuco. The high-voltage towers No. 106, 107 and 108 were demolished by cutting the electrical current in Aucayadu. At the same time, slogan paintings were carried out on the façade of the Education Center No. 152682, Angashyacu, with words referring to

"DON'T VOTE", "DEFEND THE LIFE OF CHAIRMAN GONZALO", "FREEDOM FOR THE POLITICAL PRISONERS".

"WE DEMAND THAT CHAIRMAN GONZALO BE ALLOWED TO APPEAR ON TELEVISION AND THAT HIS RELATIVES BE ALLOWED TO VISIT HIM", "FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF WAR".



MARCH AHEAD ALONG THE PATH OF ARMED AGRARIAN REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE.

Expedite the building up of the people's army and the red base areas.

Maoist Communist Centre

Building up of the People's Army and the Base Area is the Primary, Principal and the Central Task of the Present Time

In spite of their best efforts, the reactionaries have failed and will continue to fail to put out the burning flames of people's war in South-East Asia. This revolutionary flame is spreading in ever broader areas and will continue to do so. The recent developments in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia bear testimony to this. The people of other countries too will also know through experiences their real enemies imperialism, Social Imperialism, Comprador Bourgeoisie and feudalism and through experience will find the real path of their emancipation the path of building up of the people's army and rural base areas through agrarian revolution, the path of the protracted people's war.

The reactionary lackeys of imperialism and social imperi-

alism like India and the revisionists of various traits and character have all along been trying to put out the burning fire of armed struggle in India. They are also trying to take advantage of the existing right and 'left' opportunist deviations amongst the communist revolutionaries. In such a situation, the urgent task at the present time is to multiply our struggling initiative a hundred times, and simultaneously with persistent struggle against various forms of revisionist and opportunist mistakes and deviations, to quicken the building up of agrarian revolutionary struggles, by way of pursuing the correct line and policy and the planning and method and in the process of consolidating, expanding and deepening such struggles, to develop the people's army and the revolutionary base areas. This alone is the primary, principal and the central task of the present time. For, it is only through the realisation of this task that the country-wide revolutionary high tide can be accelerated and the development of the protracted people's war can be advanced to newer and newer success. Only through this work, a genuine communist party can be built up by uniting the genuine Communist revolutionaries. And again, through

this work alone, we can play a historical role in advancing the world-wide anti imperialist struggle to the path of decisive victory, and can, with the weapon of the people's war itself, thwart the aggressive policy of the imperialists.

Conditions for Building up of Red Base Areas

2 The work of our organisation is being carried on with particular emphasis on some selected Expansive Areas (divided in a number of zones for the convenience of work), under a central plan, with the very aim of building up of a powerful people's army and red base areas economically, politically, culturally and militarily self-sufficient.

Among these selected expansive areas, there are such areas too which may develop and exist to a good extent as economically self-sufficient areas and which are again very much suitable, geographically, for conducting military activities against the enemy in order to develop a red base area ("of the Yen'an type"), in the real sense, what is required is to fulfill other conditions essential for



the building up of such red base areas. These conditions are:

- a) To develop a deep mass base through agrarian revolutionary struggles in these selected areas and particularly in the probable base areas and in the expansive areas around them.
- b) To build a revolutionary party in the real sense, and
- c) A powerful people's army under the leadership of such a party.

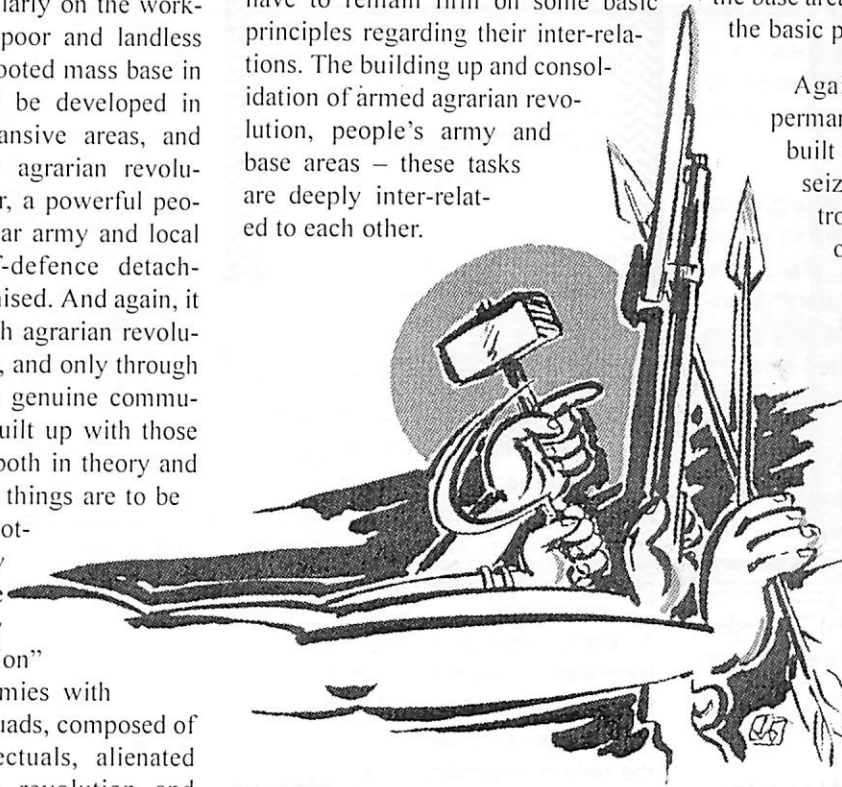
It is to be emphasized that, only through agrarian revolutionary guerilla war, depending entirely upon the people, and particularly on the working class and the poor and landless peasantry, a deep-rooted mass base in the real sense can be developed in such selected expansive areas, and only through such agrarian revolutionary guerilla war, a powerful people's army (a regular army and local militia, local self-defence detachments) can be organised. And again, it is only through such agrarian revolutionary guerilla war, and only through some stages, that a genuine communist party can be built up with those who are advanced both in theory and in practice, and the things are to be done so. No deep-rooted revolutionary mass base can be built up simply through "annihilation" of a few class enemies with the help of a few squads, composed of some urban intellectuals, alienated from the agrarian revolution and alienated from the main force of the agrarian revolution – the working class and the poor and landless peasant masses; nor can there be built a people's army in the real sense or a communist party in the real sense with such actionist intellectuals.

Generally speaking, a deep-rooted revolutionary mass base and a people's army can, to a certain extent rapidly, be developed through armed agrarian revolutionary struggles, in places where there has been a tradition of democratic movement. In the mat-

ter of selection of areas, due attention has been paid on this aspect too, and in most of our selected areas, there is more or less a tradition of democratic movements.

Agrarian Revolution, People's Army and Red Base Area : Inter-Relation

3 If we are to build up agrarian revolution, a people's army and red base areas, we will always have to remain firm on some basic principles regarding their inter-relations. The building up and consolidation of armed agrarian revolution, people's army and base areas – these tasks are deeply inter-related to each other.



Without armed agrarian revolution no people's army can be built up. Similarly, agrarian revolution can not be advanced to its final end without a people's army.

Again, without a people's army no base area can be built up. Similarly, without base areas, the very existence of the people's army cannot be maintained.

It is only through agrarian revolutionary guerilla struggle and establishment of the people's army that a red

base area can be built up. Again, through this work alone, the revolutionary high tide can be accelerated throughout the country, depending on the base area and with the help of the people's army, the agrarian revolution also can be consolidated, deepened and expanded. And again through this work itself, the people's army and the base area also can be consolidated and expanded gradually. To forget even for a moment this inter-relation between the building up, consolidation and expansion of the armed agrarian revolution, the people's army and the base area amounts to deviate from the basic principles.

Again, generally speaking, permanent base area can not be built up at a single stroke. To seize an area, or to hold control over such area, is the outcome of the destruction of the effective strength of the enemies, and it is only through confident struggle that an area can be turned into a temporary base area and in due course generally changing hands several times, a temporary base area can be transformed into a permanent base area.

It is the duty of the leading committees to see with care and interest that these basic principles are followed in areas where we are working.

Local and Central Regular Guerilla Forces

4 It is known to all that inspite of many a weaknesses and lots of problems, inspite of innumerable hindrances, our work is progressing in each of the selected expansive areas. The trend of propaganda mongering, which was prevalent in our organisa-



tion in a big scale, is being wiped out. In each zone, programmes of struggle big and/or small are being taken up, and are being implemented too, along with the revolutionary propaganda. The work and the activities of the city areas are gradually being developed, subordinate to and centering around the work and struggles in the rural areas. Gradually, rural areas are developing as the nerve centre of our activities, and it is emerging as a special feature of our organisation.

What we need today and what the present situation demands is not to see the task of building up of a people's army and base areas as a distant aim only, but to regard it as an immediate task to be implemented and to work accordingly.

What is needed today is to give up all sorts of spontaneity, and to adopt, with firmness, rational plan, programme and more and more developed style of work, so that, in a given time, in each of the selected areas, in each zone, not only in the rural areas, but also, simultaneously, in the small towns and urban centres within the struggling rural zones waves of revolutionary resistance struggles and guerilla struggles can be created, and so that, such struggle can gradually be made broader, deeper and expanded within a specific time (we shall go back again to the question of planning and style of work).

The Need of the Hour is:

To arouse and organise the peasant masses in the rural areas of the selected areas for guerilla war, to build up and carry forward the Agrarian Revolutionary Red Resistance struggle (Red guard movement); to build up, simultaneously, of course, keeping pace with the struggles in the rural areas—Red Resistance movement in the small towns and urban centers within or near the zones of the selected areas. Through this very process of carrying forward and expanding and deepening

these two waves, the local self-defence detachments or local militia detachments are to be organised, and from amongst them are to be developed the Regular Local Guerrilla forces by way of systematically arous-

What is needed today is to give up all sorts of spontaneity, and to adopt, with firmness, rational plan, programme and more and more developed style of work...

ing, with particular care and devotion, those who can be aroused for the purpose. It is perhaps needless to say that to materialise this is just impossible without adequate boldness, sincerity and firm efforts of the revolutionary organisers of each and every zone.

- Once organised, this zonal (or Regional) Guerrilla detachments however small numerically they may be will, as on the one hand, devote to the task of expanding and deepening the agrarian revolution and red resistance movement and establishing people's political power (establishing the law and authority of the Revolutionary Peasants' Committees in the villages and at all levels of the area); arousing and organising more and more people as Armed self-defence corps and militia and extending assistance to the building up of the party organisation; extending help to the people in the work of production; and to the task of gradually expanding the respective struggling zones, by way of spreading in waves the struggle and organisation all around; so, on

the other hand, these detachments will, through these very work and activities, get themselves tested, consolidated and expanded.

5 These Regional (or zonal) and local Regular forces when they assume bigger size and when the struggle is raised to a higher phase can not safeguard their existence in the face of increasing enemy attacks, remaining isolated from each other, and in such situation, it is not desirable also to keep them isolated from each other. In this phase, central Regular Guerrilla Army (an army retaining mobile guerrilla character in the main) is to be formed with a big section of these Regional and local detachments to repeat again, by way of centralising those who can be aroused with conscious efforts. The rest of the detachments will remain in the Local or Regional Regular forces themselves. The Central Regular Guerrilla Army is the principal detachment of the People's Army and the primary form of the Regular Red Army. It is needless to add that at an advanced phase of the protracted people's war, the military force of the enemy is bound to disintegrate. In such a situation, and to some extent even before that, the strength of the people's army will be augmented by way of recruitment from the deserters of the enemy's army.

One of the principal tasks of this Central Regular Guerrilla force would be to give all possible help, directly or indirectly, to the Regional Militia detachments and the Regional Guerrilla forces of different zones in their various work and activities. Indeed, such a Central Regular Guerrilla force would come in existence at such a powerful central force, the revolutionary struggles and the task of establishing and consolidating people's power can not be advanced in respective zones. Again, it would be such a stage of development of the struggle when, without base areas, a central regular guerrilla army of this type cannot survive.



The central Regular Guerrilla force will devote itself to solve both these problems. On the one side, to help the Regional Regular Guerrilla detachments in their work in the respective zones, and on the other, to bear the responsibility of establishing temporary or stable bases in areas which are economically, geographically and militarily most favourable for the establishment of the temporary or permanent base areas and to expand the struggle and organisation in vast areas around such base areas such are the heavy responsibilities of the central Regular Guerrilla Army is to shoulder. And, through these very works, the Central Regular Guerrilla Army will carry forward the task of developing itself as the Regular Red Army, by way of gradually consolidating and expanding itself.

How the People can be Mobilised for Guerrilla Warfare

6 One thing very clear from the above discussion is this that the work of building up of the base areas or of the people's army (and the party) as pre-condition to the development of the base areas, or the work of building up of intense mass base in the selected areas all these are very much interconnected with the success or failure in the work of building up of and consolidation, expansion and deepening of the agrarian revolutionary red resistance struggle and guerrilla warfare both in the rural and urban areas, and particularly in the rural areas of the selected areas. Therefore a basic problem before us is how to arouse, activate and organise the people very rapidly for the agrarian revolutionary red resistance struggles and guerrilla war.

In our view, unless the organiser cadres unflinchingly adhere to the correct line and policy, and unless they work in a

planned way and in line with the correct method, it is impossible to ensure broad political mobilisation to ensure broader and deeper political activation of the masses and it is impossible to achieve expected success in gradually drawing the masses in the guerrilla warfare. It goes without saying that without broader and deeper political activation without political mobilisation it is not at all possible to win victory in a revolutionary war.

7 There are some influential persons in the camp of communist revolutionaries who care a straw to adhere to the correct line and policy, and the planning and method of work, and as such, they are totally indifferent too to educate the new cadres in this respect. To think about the line and policy is even considered by some CPI(ML) leaders as a monopoly right of the leaders themselves. One who dares to raise any question is at once stamped as "counter-revolutionary". Again, any view asserting the need of working in a planned way is termed as "schematic". Let alone the question of pursuing any well-comprehensive line of work, they have invented a new short-cut method of drawing the masses in the guerrilla warfare!

From some of their basic theories and their recent line of work, the idea one can conceive of this new short cut method (or line) is: No question arises of working in a planned way with special emphasis on some Selected Areas, most suitable for the building up of a people's army and base areas, or of adopting a cadre deployment policy in accordance therewith (a brief discussion has been made in their theories in this respect in Note No. 1 of this article). Go to the village as you like and wherever you like an outlook very much of this type. With regard to the question of arousing the people

with revolutionary politics and of organising them, of making investigation in a correct method and integration with the people, etc, their theories run as follows:

a) "Intensive political propaganda, campaign is not essential prior to the beginning of the guerrilla warfare" (Deshbarti - 31.12.69)

b) "Guerrilla warfare can be started even without organising the people" (Deshbarti - 30.12.69)

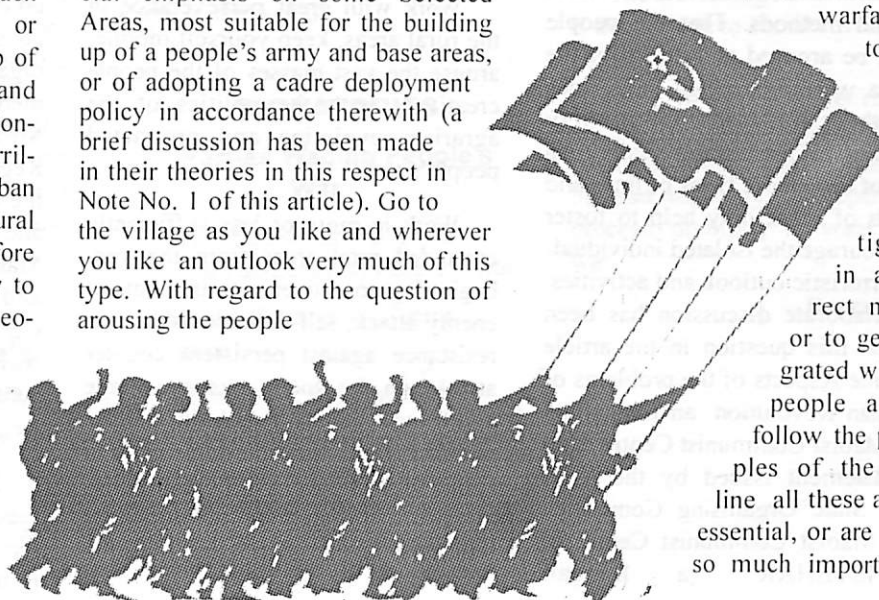
c) "Any single landless peasant of any single village can launch struggle with his own initiative and that will be the only correct method" (Deshbarti - 11-18th June '70).

d) Again, "the intellectual comrade himself is to take the initiative" (Deshbarti - 30.12.69)

e) "The guerrilla squads, coming from centres, 15/20 miles away, are capable of annihilating class enemies, after making investigation, in unknown strange places" (Deshbarti - 11-18th June '70)

To those intellectuals who are afraid of traversing the painful path of building up of guerrilla warfare through revolutionary struggle, such theories are palatable indeed! The sum and substance (or essence) of these theories and of their style of work, as may be observed from their activities, is this: Not only that one may go anywhere (in the village) he likes; to arouse and organise the people for guerrilla warfare, or to make

investigation in a correct method or to get integrated with the people and to follow the principles of the mass line all these are not essential, or are not of so much importance!!





It is enough even if only one landless peasant takes the initiative, or otherwise, the intellectual comrade himself is to take the initiative (!!); and simply physical annihilation of the class enemies is sufficient (!!); simply with this, the class consciousness of the people will, of itself, be enhanced (as if the class consciousness and the class politics are so cheap things (!!), they will join the guerrilla warfare in large number (!) and in this very process the people's army will also be built up (!!), and this very type of spark will create revolutionary prairie fire (!), the struggle will spread like waves and the red base area will also come into being!!

We know not what all these lines and many more lines of this type have to do with Marxism-Leninism —Mao Tse-Tung Thought. A completely wrong understanding of the concrete objective condition of our country and a concept of accomplishing quick victory in the revolution; a tendency to neglect the revolutionary principles and policies, the revolutionary method and style of work and the general laws of development of class struggle; an utopian and one-sided assessment of the subjective preparation, above all, very much underestimating the strength of the enemy even from the tactical point of view all these form the basis of such lines and methods. That the people can not be aroused and drawn in the guerrilla warfare through such lines and methods is evident from the very experiences of the last few years. As a matter of fact, these types of lines and methods of work only help to foster and encourage the isolated individualistic terroristic outlook and activities. A bit elaborate discussion has been made on this question in the article "On some Aspects of the problems of the Indian Revolution an Evaluation of the Maoist Communist Centre" and in a statement issued by the West Bengal State Organising Committee of the Maoist Communist Centre in the "ISTEHAR" (a Bengali

Propaganda organ of M.C.C.) dated 7.11.70.

8 In our view, it is only by pursuing a correct line and policy and a well comprehensive plan and a correct style of work that the people can gradually be aroused and drawn in to take in the guerrilla warfare in greater and greater number. It is

To build up agrarian revolution and the people's army and base areas in the countryside is not the task of the peasantry alone. The workers, students, youth all are to take part in this task to take part as organisers, to take part as revolutionary fighters as people's army.

essentially a question of principle. The line of work we are advancing as an instruction, on the basis of this principle, with the aim of building up of guerrilla forces and rural base areas, is, in brief, as under:-

Work with great perseverance in the rural areas; keep yourself mobile; arouse the vast masses of the people creatively with the politics of the agrarian revolution and protracted people's war.

Work in more or less sufficiently expanded rural areas from the very beginning, so as to ensure, in a state of enemy attack, self-defence as well as resistance against persistent counter attacks on the enemy, have courage and firmness to achieve definite targets within definite time limits or even to surpass the targets in respect of building up of the agrarian revolutionary red resistance struggles and guerrilla

warfare and in building up of people's army through such struggles.

Conduct proper investigation, make the propaganda campaign more lively on the basis of such investigation; arouse and further intensify class hatred amongst the people against the system of exploitation and rule of the enemy classes; arouse and organise the people for agrarian revolutionary red resistance struggles and guerrilla warfare.

Rely firmly on the poor and landless peasantry, activate them, organise the most advanced and most active section from amongst them as mobile propagandist organiser squads and/or as backbone of the leadership or party units, and in the process of building up of the Agrarian Revolutionary Red Resistance struggle and Guerrilla Warfare (on the basis of a comprehensive programme), organise the broad masses of the peasantry all those who can be organised in suitable struggling committees or peasant's struggling committees, in self-defence squads and guerilla squads.

In this way, after arousing and then organising the masses, to a certain extent, in somewhat expanded rural areas launch (and gradually develop) red resistance struggles and struggles for wiping out feudalism lock, stock and barrel. Through these struggles on the one hand, gradually strengthen, consolidate and expand the party organisation and the guerrilla detachments (Local self-defence forces, Militia and the Local/Regional Regular Guerrilla Detachments) on the other hand, gradually consolidate and expand the area of struggle too. Make the agrarian revolution more and more deep-rooted; build up Central Regular Guerrilla Army by way of gradually consolidating and centralising the Local and Regional Regular Guerrilla Detachments.

Develop the urban activities as subordinate to and centering around (co-ordinated with and complementary to) the rural activities. Develop the



Adhere to the class line and mass line in all work and activities. Establish the leadership of the working class and its party in all work and activities.

urban activities too centring around (or as complementary to and coordinated with) the primary, principal and the central task of the present time, that is, the building up of the people's army and the red base areas.

Arouse the people against each and every event or case of exploitation and oppression of the imperialists and their 'Indian' henchmen, the comprador bureaucrat capitalists. Organise revolutionary class struggle and mass movements and red resistance struggles against exploitations and oppression in all respects economic, political, military, cultural and social. Imbue all these struggles with the great ideas of agrarian revolution and protracted people's war. And through these resistance struggles themselves, build up revolutionary organiser cadres as well as tested and regular guerrilla forces, not only to serve the need of the urban areas, but also to take part in the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla warfare in the rural areas.

To build up agrarian revolution and the people's army and base areas in the countryside is not the task of the peasantry alone. The workers, stu-

dents, youth all are to take part in this task to take part as organisers, to take part as revolutionary fighters as people's army.

Apart from sending best organisers and tested guerrilla squads in the rural areas for the purpose of developing, consolidating and strengthening the agrarian revolution and protracted people's war in the countryside, and apart from sending funds, arms-ammunitions and provisions, medicines and accessories and various other essential help and assistance, the most important task of the urban proletariat and the party is: to organise and mobilise against the enemy the fighting strength and revolutionary creativeness of the vast urban masses, through the development of red resistance struggles and various other methods of complementary struggles; in order to keep a large proportion of the enemy's strength engaged in the city and to cripple the military activity and the effective strength of the enemy forces so that they may not be able to deploy their entire forces or



almost entire forces against the revolutionary struggles in the countryside. To conduct regular and systematic attacks on the transport and communication system of the enemy forces; to cripple and paralyse the communica-

tion and supply system of the enemy constantly and systematically; to conduct regular attacks on the military camps, military production centres and supply depots of the enemy, all such actions and activities form part and parcel of the urban red resistance struggles, which can successfully be carried out only by political mobilisation and activation of the working class and revolutionary urban masses.

But while implementing the above programme, it is strictly impermissible to undermine the prime importance of the rural work or to subordinate the rural work to the urban work or to concentrate people's forces from the rural area to the city area on being in any way, tempted by enemy provocation, or in the name of strengthening the urban resistance struggle; or being guided by the wrong and harmful concept of organising "insurrection" in the city area even before the city area is encircled from the countryside by liberating the rural areas; or being guided by any other concept opposed to the general line of the protracted war.

Adhere to the class line and mass line in all work and activities. Establish the leadership of the working class and its party in all work and activities.

Adhere to Marxism Leninism Mao Tse-Tung Thought as guide to all work and activities. It is through practical work and activities that the correctness of the line and policy and the planning and method of work of our organisation, and of the line of work determined in conformity therewith as stated above, is gradually winning greater realisation and confidence of the comrades of all levels and of the people.

The self-confidence of the comrades of the organisation is also on the increase. The valuable instructions on the question of method of work as published in the "Peking Review" (see article "Pay attention to



the method of work", printed in Dakshin Desh") are to be pursued with realisation, and through ideological discussions at all levels, and particularly amongst the leading cadres at all levels (to start with), and through practical work, the understanding on all the questions (related to the line of work) is to be increased a hundred-fold.

In order that we can gradually mobilise greater and greater masses of the people in the red resistance struggle and the agrarian guerrilla warfare, and in order that within the time specified by the central committee, we can reach, at least, the minimum target in the direction of building up of the people's army and the base areas, it is essential to conduct relentless ideological struggle against all the wrong trends within the organisation and to improve our style of work gradually through this struggle...

Pay Attention to the Inter-relation Amongst Propaganda and Investigation and Struggle and Organisation

Investigation is to be conducted along with the peasantry and particularly the poor and landless peasantry; proper notes are to be taken carefully and primary investigation report must be prepared.

Investigation without any aim and object is of no use. While working in a rural area, some of the main objects of the investigation at the initial stage is: to collect adequate facts for concrete class analysis and with regard to class contradictions and the history of past class struggles; to conduct lively propaganda campaign on the basis of the facts obtained from the investigation — on the basis of the concrete condition of the people and the lessons of the class struggle; to expose, through such propaganda, the present unjust production relation and property relation and the reactionary class character of the present state machinery as the guardian of this unjust pro-

duction relation and property relation, and to show clearly, on class basis, as to "who the enemies of the revolution are"; to mark the big landlords and tenure holders, money-lenders and traders and their agents as enemies of the revolution, on the basis of historical facts and living examples, and to intensify the class hatred of the peasantry against them and their total system of oppressive rule and ruthless exploitation; to arouse the people against concrete forms of exploitation and oppression of the enemy classes and their oppressive state machinery; to expose, on the basis of living examples and concrete facts, the reactionary role and character of the present state machinery and to arouse extreme hatred against it — to lay bare in a living way, the fact that the existing state machinery is nothing but an instrument of rule and exploitation of the reactionary exploiting and ruling classes, and to uphold in a creative way the inevitable need of establishing a new-democratic state machinery (a people's democratic state system) by way of destroying the present state machinery through armed struggle — protracted people's war; and again, to expose with facts and living examples the harmful character of economism, legalism, reformism, militant economism and the futility of parliamentarism, etc., and the treacherous role of the bourgeois-revisionist parties in the class struggle of the people; etc., etc..

And the objective of all these is; to arouse and organise the masses for guerrilla warfare and protracted people's war with the object of seizure of state power — to build up red resistance struggle against each and every case of exploitation and oppression of the reactionary classes and the state machinery; to wipe out completely the rule of the reactionary ruling and exploiting cliques and their agents; to build up guerrilla struggle against the attacks of the state power, and in the process of deepening and expanding the armed agrarian struggle, in a word, in the process of pursu-

ing the programme of Agrarian Revolutionary Red Resistance Struggle and Guerrilla Warfare, *4 — to create an unending flow of revolutionary armed forces in the countryside — self-defense forces, local militia detachments and Mobile Regular Guerrilla Army, People's Court and the law and authority of the Revolutionary Peasants' Committees.

It is to be stressed again and again that unless there are serious efforts and initiative to build up revolutionary struggles and organisation, to develop guerrilla struggles and guerrilla organisation, side by side with revolutionary propaganda and investigation, and unless there are serious and firm efforts to fulfil definite target within definite time or even to surpass the target, then the propaganda and investigation becomes aimless and such parrot-like propaganda cannot attract the people for long, nor can there develop a correct understanding with regard to the revolutionary politics.

As a matter of fact, to continue to make propaganda, without definite aims and objects, or without any plan and initiative and efforts to build up revolutionary resistance struggles and resistance organisations, including guerrilla struggle and guerrilla organisation, is nothing but a concrete form of revisionist trends. This trend originates mainly from the idea that with the continued propagation of revolutionary politics, the people by themselves will engage in guerrilla warfare!! It is not only a mistake, it is also a concrete form of spontaneity — a form of revisionism. The only objective of conducting investigation and revolutionary propaganda is to build up revolutionary struggle and revolutionary organisation.

In the present situation, one of the principal yardsticks to judge the degree of class consciousness and political maturity of the people is to what extent they realise the need for building up guerrilla warfare for the



purpose of establishing the law and authority of the peasants' committees in the countryside and for the seizure of state power in the whole country; and to what extent we can arouse and organise the people to advance along this path is one of the principal criteria of judging the success or failure of our activities, in the present situation. One of the principal criteria also to judge as to what percentage of the people "have lost their confidence on the bourgeois-revisionist parties" and "have confidently realised the futility of the parliamentary path" (the 1st political resolution of the CPI-ML) is, what percentage of the people have realised the need for agrarian revolutionary resistance struggle and guerrilla warfare, and are giving support to and are actually joining the resistance struggles and guerrilla warfare.

Keep to the Correct Method of Consolidation and Expansion Of the Guerrilla Organisation and the Struggling Areas

It is needless to point out that as revolutionary struggle is not possible without a revolutionary theory, so, a revolutionary organisation is also not possible without revolutionary struggle. So in order to build up local self-defense forces and militia (of guerrilla character) or local and Regional Guerrilla Detachments or Central Regular Guerrilla Forces and gradually to consolidate and expand them, and in order to make them resolute, we must have regular programmes too of the guerrilla struggle, and these programmes must be implemented with firmness and boldness, honesty and sincerity.

Again, it is also needless to state that at present, when we

have no people's army, if our work does not cover more or less sufficiently extensive areas, it would be impossible for small bands of guerrilla squads — basing their activities in a few isolated villages — to maintain their existence in the face of the policy of "encirclement and suppression" by the enemy and to carry on resistance struggles and counter-attacks against the enemy. For this very reason it is imperative to arouse and organise the people in more or less extensive areas in order to initiate and to maintain the guerrilla struggle.



So, arouse the masses in support of guerrilla warfare through revolutionary propaganda work in as far as possible extensive areas — sufficiently extensive to make advances and retreats; adopt the programme of Agrarian Revolutionary Red Resistance Struggle and Guerrilla Warfare on the basis of investigation; make the propaganda campaign more and more lively and struggle oriented, step by step; organise in self-defense squads and guerrilla squads all those who can be mobilised for resistance struggles (educate and organise the advanced elements among them as propagandist-organiser squads and as primary party units);

Consolidate and expand these guerrilla squads and party organisation gradually in the process of carrying on agrarian revolutionary resistance struggles and guerrilla struggle

(or, in other words, screening from the ranks those who prove to be demoralised, inactive, coward and averse to struggle and replenishing them and forming new self-defense squads and party units with new ones, advancing through struggle); simultaneously, consolidate and expand the areas of struggle too in the midst of this struggle — this is the line we must firmly adhere to if we are to persist in building up, consolidating and expanding the guerrilla organisation, party organisation and the struggling areas. It must be remembered that if we are to establish guerrilla struggle as the principal form and method of struggle, we must educate the people about the specially advantageous aspects of the guerrilla method in comparison with other forms and methods of struggle, as well as about the superiority and indispensability of the method of guerrilla struggle in our pursuit to seize state power through protracted people's war, and to ignore or undermine the task of upholding, developing and gradually expanding this method with thorough care, perseverance and creativeness, amounts to repudiating our Strategic and Tactical line itself. The red resistance struggle will surely assume different forms, be it in the urban areas or in the rural areas. But armed struggle adopting the guerrilla method must be developed as the central form of all these forms of struggle. The great masses of the people are to be armed gradually, and armed struggle is to be built up as the principal form of struggle.

Develop Red Resistance Struggle and Red Terror Against the Enemy's Encirclement and White Terror

The enemy is carrying out the policy of "encirclement and suppression" to create white terror and to suppress the just struggles of the people everywhere in the rural as well as urban



areas. Encircling one area after another, they are making wide-scale arrests, murdering the revolutionary cadres and militant fighters in cold blood. Unless we are able to devise suitable tactics to tackle this situation, we will prove ourselves incapable of building up resistance struggles and developing counter-attacks on the enemy and defending ourselves.

In the present situation, the essential tasks before the party committees of the urban and industrial areas are: to prepare an intensive mass base among the broad masses of the people, particularly in the slum areas; to carry on political work in the rural areas contiguous to the cities, as extensively as possible, and to estab-

relying on the mass-line and in accordance with the strength and ability of our organisation. We must creatively apply the scientific method of secret organisation.

In the rural areas, it is impossible for us to manoeuvre (to conduct military activity), to defend ourselves (the people) and persist in continuing attacks on the enemy, unless we have a somewhat extensive area of work (particularly in plain areas) and some amount of intensive mass base, and unless, simultaneously, the style and method of maintaining necessary secrecy and mobility is there. In a situation, when the enemy's "encirclement and suppression campaign" are being conducted in small localities in the rural areas, the suitable tactics will be thus:

Do not make futile attempts to obstinately preserve our entire strength within the area of 'encirclement', in the name of persistence in work, or to hold control on the area; instead, organise speedily, as mobile squads, a major portion of our strength and all those who can be organised and made mobile, and spread them in a disciplined manner throughout more or less extensive areas around the area of 'encirclement', and with the help of those squads, expand the Red Resistance movement and guerrilla struggle around the area of 'encirclement' as far as possible, and at the same time, carry on attacks from exterior lines, and mainly from exterior lines, simultaneously with the attacks from within the area of 'encirclement'.

Needless to say that most of those who in the normal situation express vacillations to be organised into mobile squads (leaving their home and family), may in the situation of 'encirclement and suppression campaign', be will-

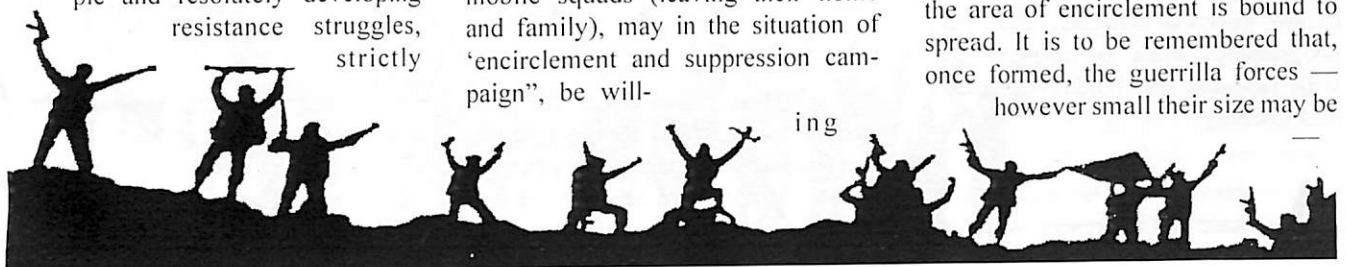
to be organised into mobile guerrilla squads for resistance struggle and every effort must be made in this direction.

Needless also to say that unless there are adequate preparatory work and a mass base throughout a more or less extensive area around the area of 'encirclement', the tasks in the situation of "encirclement and suppression" — of swiftly dispersing our own forces around that area, in a planned and disciplined way; of quickly mobilising them just like closing of a net, as and when necessary, for the purpose of making attacks on the enemy, and of swiftly dispersing (or spreading) them on conclusion of actions; and also of swiftly spreading struggle around the area — all these cannot be neatly accomplished. "A single spark can create a prairie fire." But it does not mean that without the foresightedness of and the conscious efforts by the party, a revolutionary spark can of itself turn into a conscious revolutionary prairie fire.

Again, while in a mobile state in the expanded area around the area of encirclement, unless there are prior arrangements to ensure proper communication and coordination between squad leaders and the squad members, squad leaders and the party units, etc., etc., and unless constant attention is paid to ensure the system of communication and coordination, setbacks are sure to follow. It goes without saying that — unless we are able to organise people's resistance and to mount counter-attacks on the enemy at the time of the enemy's "encirclement and suppression campaigns", the morale of the people will go down and white-terror within and around the area of encirclement is bound to spread. It is to be remembered that, once formed, the guerrilla forces — however small their size may be

To continue to make propaganda, without definite aims and objects, or without any plan and initiative and efforts to build up revolutionary resistance struggles and resistance organisations, including guerrilla struggle and guerrilla organisation, is nothing but a concrete form of revisionist trends

lish in these contiguous rural areas secret centres for conducting urban activities; to arrange suitable methods of guarding and to operate the work from these centres. We must firmly implement the style of maintaining strict secrecy and carrying on political and organisational work secretly amongst the broad masses of the people and resolutely developing resistance struggles, strictly





must arrange to procure their own food, arms and other necessities, and they must procure those from the enemies in the process of the struggle. Confiscation of these necessities from the enemy should be a part of our programme.

Grasp Firmly the Primary, Principal and the Central Task

One of the most important criteria at the present time to judge whether any of our work and activities is proceeding towards a correct direction or not is: whether that particular work is directed towards (or coordinated with) the primary, principal and the central task of the present time, that is, the task of building up of people's army and rural base areas in the process of struggle, by way of arousing and mobilising the masses of the peasantry in agrarian revolutionary resistance struggles and guerrilla warfare, by way of mobilising the people from strength to strength in the protracted armed struggle for the seizure of state power.

The correctness or otherwise of each and every work or of the entire work and activities of ours — whether in the urban areas or in the rural areas — is to be judged principally in the light of this standard.

Rise Up to Sacrifice, Rise Up to Dedicate

We are to make sacrifices — to say these words by rote like parrot is of no use. It is essential to test who is or are really prepared to make sacrifices. The present situation demands that each and every comrade must come forward, be ready to dedicate for the cause of revolution, to shoulder the task of organising revolution as his only task. Honesty and sincerity, bravery and firmness, and a noble spirit of sacrifice and dedication — these are

the demands of the present situation from each and every comrade. These are the sine qua non for carrying the revolution forward.

10 Finally, we once again draw the attention of our comrades and friends to the present situation and our tasks. It is known to all that following the Naxalbari peasants uprising, a new awakening dawned in the minds of the people of the entire country, particularly of the people of some states in the North-East and South India — a ray of new hope had been generated. As a result

The red resistance struggle will surely assume different forms, be it in the urban areas or in the rural areas. But armed struggle adopting the guerrilla method must be developed as the central form of all these forms of struggle.

of the persistent efforts of the local and especially dedicated revolutionaries, agrarian revolutionary struggles sprang up in many places. But, because of the influence of the right and 'left' opportunist lines, constantly encouraged from some influential circles, in newer and newer methods, and also because of the absence of correct lines and policies, and planning and methods, these struggles could not be consolidated and expanded; the possibility that arose to build up people's army and base areas rapidly could not be utilised properly. But our losses are not at all negligible.

They said opportunists are not willing to make any scientific review of this work and to make any self-criticism. They are still encouraging opportunist policies in newer and newer ways. As a result of these, confusions and frustrations among a large

section of cadres and people have begun to surface again. Taking advantage of this situation, right opportunism is rearing its head again in various states in a big way. On the other hand, the more cadres and people are losing confidence in the leadership of CPI(ML), the exponent of various wrong and 'left' sectarian-adventurist-terrorist lines and policies and methods and the more they are being attracted towards the correct line and policy and the correct method pursued by Maoist Communist Centre. Right from 'Darpan' (a weekly) to various newspapers and journals, regular attacks are being hurled against the Maoist Communist Centre.

In such a situation, the task of the Maoist Communist Centre has increased manifold. Unless we remain sufficiently resolute and active in implementing correct line and policy and the planning and method, and are able to make speedy progress in the task of building up the people's army, in keeping with the present situation, frustration will be reinforced, right opportunism will rear its head more vehemently, reckless fascist attacks by reactionary bourgeois-revisionist parties and the state power will be further intensified, hindering the onward march of the new-democratic revolution of India.

Dare to fight, dare to make sacrifice, let not a moment be lost. Develop your fighting initiative a hundredfold in keeping with the time and situation; fight every hour, every moment against all the wrong lines of thinking prevalent inside and outside the organisation; be firm on the correct line and policy; improve further your method of work; consolidate, expand and deepen armed agrarian revolutionary struggle — such are the demands of the concrete situation. Such is the call given by Maoist Communist Centre to its committees at various levels; to its revolutionary ranks and to the revolutionary people.



THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IN AFRICA

by the *Congres des Progressistes pour la Liberation (CPL) of Zaire*

The Catastrophe that has besieged Africa now forces us, the *Congres des Progressistes pour la Liberation* of Zaire, to reexamine the role of communists in the building of a democratic movement, the principal pedestal of the national and democratic revolution. Africa is once again the theatre of multiple tragedies, making her the most oppressed place of our planet. The terrible images coming from Africa are enough to illustrate the horror generated by the neocolonial dictatorships. From Liberia, we are shown chopped heads displayed on the table. In another place, Rwanda was world news for the massacre of one million people within a few weeks.

Debts and the structural adjustment program imposed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have caused the collapse of all economic infrastructure in most African countries. Consequently, whole cities are inhabited by jobless people, multiple epidemics have surfaced and the modern education system has been completely destroyed. This new implosion of African society has plunged the whole population into a generalized distress and undermined the future of the coming generations. After independence, revolutionaries and democrats of

many African countries were hunted down jointly by the repressive services of the neocolonial states and imperialist powers. These losses inflicted upon Africans are at the root of the weakness in the African people's resistance, which has remained uncertain and ill-organized.

The present catastrophe in Africa has its origin in the multitude of crimes--political assassinations, massacres and looting perpetrated by imperialist forces. The extent of damage is inversely proportional to the scale of the democratic movement.



The latter has remained trapped in its stage of gestation. The enslavement of Africans, colonization and now neocolonization have negatively affected African society such that the development of a democratic movement has not been easy. It is, to this day, the least developed on this planet. In many cases, there naturally exists a

dialectical link between the democratic movement and the communist movement. When the communists are isolated or exterminated, the democratic movement regresses to the point of complete degeneration. On the other hand, when communists are able to break their isolation, the democratic movement gains in strength and its revolutionary wing plays the role of the protector of constructive initiatives for the society.

The African petty bourgeoisie, which up to now leads the resistance, has proven itself unable to build a democratic movement capable of limiting the destruction caused by the imperialist forces. There are no autonomous democratic structures to defend the interests of the Africans. There is no serious campaign to denounce the slave trade and colonization. Since then, only a communist movement can develop the democratic movement in Africa.

Do African communists consider as priority the construction of a democratic movement?

Before examining the attitude of African communists about the democratic movement, one must first take note of the major difficulties facing the development of communist work in Africa.



1) The great repression was directed against the communists with the support of the secret service of the western powers. We recall that the assassination of great leaders of the African revolutionary movement such as Felix Moumie in Cameroun, Modlane in Mozambique, Amilcar Cabral in Guinea Bissau and Patrice Lumumba in Congo (Zaire) was done directly or indirectly with the participation of these services.

The short-lived communist movement in Africa (with very limited experience) has not made a considerable impact on the African masses. In many Sub-Saharan countries, the communist movement emerged in the '50s. The low development of productive forces or the lack of industrialization has not facilitated the concentration of workers in big cities as in other regions of the world. For a long time, communist work has been done only by personalities or small groups, themselves diluted in mass organizations known as "liberation fronts".

Fundamentally, African communists have never included in their agenda the building of a democratic movement in Africa. Relying for a long time on the research of external godfathers, they never developed an independent political and ideological line. This attitude is essentially due to the influence of revisionism. Some of us have sought to copy the experiences of parties that enjoy great prestige at the international level. They have fallen in total indifference to the realities of their respective countries.

This has led to a wrong conception of revolutionary work among the masses. For them, work among the masses had only one objective: to recruit elements who should lead

"revolutionary" actions able to overthrow the neocolonial order in the short run; they have looked with disdain at the democratic demands they considered as banalities. This reductionist conception of revolutionary practice has not favored a permanent contact between the revolutionaries and the masses of workers and peasants. The masses of the people have thus remained under the influence of the neocolonial Right.

Others have used Marxist literature without distinguishing the general conclusions of social experiences from where they originate. Confusion follows when they equally take these experiences for an applicable theory in their daily work. Yet, it is difficult to make a revolution in a given region without a specific revolutionary thought. In natural science, the infinitely small and the infinitely big are always in the field of scientific research, that is to say, susceptible to theorization. For us, the great thinkers of Marxism-Leninism have showed, in general, the way toward the infinitely grand, the march towards communism: the class party, the revolution and socialism.

However, the infinitely small, naturally linked to a given time and space, always demands from the revolutionaries a continuous and complex theoretical work, which decides the making of revolution and the big leap forward towards the construction of a new society. The African revolutionary movement has been more marginal-

the fact that more African Marxists systematically use material written about their experiences in their everyday work. This practice has become more pronounced in the absence of a writing tradition and by the lack of a printing industry in Africa.

In the last fifty years, we have the impression that the communist parties who are ideologically/materially strong are trying to impose policies from their theories on organizations seen as "weak". The interest of the discussion on the experience of building socialism in the USSR and in China can in no way justify the fact that the debate on the resistance of African people is not one of the priorities of the international communist movement. After all, should not communists be present where the distress of humankind is the greatest? The breakdown of humanity by the imperialist forces and the damage caused must also be included in their agenda.

Some elements for the construction of a powerful democratic movement in Africa

1. The reinforcement of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in Africa.

2. The construction of currents that fight against the misery, plunder and bloody crimes.

The agitation around immediate demands always remains a necessary practice linked to the masses by the revolutionary movement.

3. The consequent struggle against colonization. The latter has always justified the attacks on the democratic rights of African people by the imperialist forces.

4. The struggle against the ideology of the extreme Right. This ideology undermines the unity of the people by raising apparent contradictions such as ethnic differences for the sole objective of isolating revolutionaries.





5. Encouragement of production of written documents for propaganda mainly in languages spoken by the great majority of people.

In the case of Zaire, the CPL has defined two major tasks that allow the building of a democratic movement. The first is the execution of "plan Catastrophe". The plan must show the priorities for the survival of the population. Whatever the situation, we can ensure a minimum of medical care, educational program, etc. The second is the building up of a great current against the crimes committed by the neocolonial state. Since those who kill or steal not only continue to live with impunity, but also retain their leading positions in the state, it will be difficult to counter the degradation of the material conditions of life of our people.

CONCLUSION

Our position explained above does not exclude the general theoretical debate on the construction of socialism in the world. Of course, the experiences of the struggles at the interna-

tional level are of undeniable contribution to the understanding of new problems associated with the development of Marxism-Leninism.

We want to insist on the necessity of building a democratic movement in Africa that is lacking at the present time. The imperialist forces profit from the extension of their structures of domination built on crime. The question of the liberation of the African people has not always taken its place within the international communist movement. During the time of the Comintern, the representatives of the Black liberation movement left the International because they said that "white" communists seemed to lack interest in the question of their liberation. We do not support this step, because adherence to the communist movement should be done on the basis of recognition of one party by another party, but by the ideal which aims at liberating humankind from modern slavery.

Indeed, had they ever remained there, they could have, on one hand, waged the struggle inside the

International in order to change its attitude towards the liberation movement that is closely linked to the particularity of Africa's colonization (massive expulsion of its population and systematic destruction of traditional socio-economic structure). On the other hand, by sharing with other communists, they could have benefited from the experience in ideological struggle necessary for building a party of the revolution, the lack of which has been one of the major weaknesses of the Black liberation movement.

Also, we do not agree with those who think that a socialist revolution must first happen around the world before taking into consideration our struggle for national liberation. It must nevertheless help its expansion. The rise of the revolutionary consciousness of the working class around the world requires that its political education must not be limited to its own class environment, but also becomes sensitive to the whole problems that compromise the future of humanity.

AFTER THE FALL OF THE DICTATORSHIP, THE NATIONAL AND DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IS NECESSARY

(This article is the Editorial of the July 31, 1997 issue of Nyota Ya Afrika, the monthly newspaper of CPL.)

The liberation of Congo-Kinshasa will be total only when the country manages to do away with foreign domination, that is to say, by taking a hold on the monetary, economic and political parameters.

Today the political aspect of our liberation, viewed from the angle of relations with foreign countries, is the topic of debate among Congolese democrats. Our countrymen should be clear on this subject, and this should merit some reflection. The other aspects, particularly economic, will

be contemplated elsewhere.

The French imperialists, after having incurred a stinging defeat beside their puppets are now tirelessly attempting to recover from the situation by all means of politicking. They are exerting pressures on the new Congolese authorities to share out; France wants to compel them to share power with the Mobutuists. In short, these French actions are aimed at preventing the new power from taking concrete measures which are intended to break away from the old regime.

Today, more than ever, people's justice demands the clarification once and for all of the regime's record of

crimes: assassinations and ill-gotten wealth. A clear explanation of the causes of the catastrophe which the people know can stop the French attempts. This will in fact allow the smashing of the resistance of the Mobutuists and the establishment of a new order that could permanently neutralize the hidden desire to rebuild the structures of the old regime in the name of democratic liberties.

It is in this way that we can achieve an improvement in the daily life of the Congolese. It is also in this way that we will be in a position to build a new civil society, an economy and a state independent of all foreign



powers. The people therefore should be helped the better to formulate their demands so that they can take care of themselves (power to feed, take care, house and educate themselves) and so that they involve themselves in the country's political life.

The demand to send back the "foreign troops" while the fascist army and militia units of Mobutu are not yet completely dismantled, can only be interpreted as an attempt of the Mobutuist forces to complicate the tasks of the liberation army in their latest work, that is, the total dismantling of the network of collaboration and destruction.

We must encourage with all our strength this new state of mind taking shape in Africa: the solidarity of Africa in combat, proof of colonization Building up the army of liberation

which liberated the country would not be possible without the participation of other African countries in solidarity against imperialism and fascism in Africa. This solidarity of Africa in combat is the real proof of colonization.

Let us remember: Mobutu never set up a national army. His army, ethnofascist to boot, was there to fleece and terrorize the people. The dictatorship of Mobutu was distinguished by its creation of a multitude of militia units which employed torture and assassination as means to fight the opposition. Because this army is being rebuilt, the presence of these troops which helped us in our struggle for liberation proved to be necessary, because they are helping us in our effort to set up a real national army.

Have we not seen the UN, in its so-called peace-keeping mission,

maintain and even prolong the mandate of the blue helmets in the countries having just come out of the war? Congo is totally endangered, thus the mobilization of the people on the bases of defending their interests is one of the priorities to stop the catastrophe.

The antifascist front which have just destroyed one of the bastions of fascism in Africa must be a front for the liberation of the Congolese people and of Africa in general. This front should last as long as possible because the stakes (the country's immense wealth and its geographical situation) are so considerable that imperialism will never give up. Thus arises the necessity for an anti-imperialist front to look after the defense of the struggles of the Congolese and African peoples.

KABILA HAS TRAMPLED ON THE INTERESTS OF THE MASSE

Interview made by the journal "Rote Fahne" with Roger Shambuvi Kalala, at present at Goma, the Democratic Republic of Congo. Kalala is member of the leading committee of the new rebellion movement RCD (Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie). There he is the responsible person for «mobilization», i.e. for the political organization and information of the masses. He could be contacted on 21st of August and was asked for the actual situation in Congo. The interview took place before the massive military intervention of Zimbabwe and Angola.

Rote Fahne: What are the reasons for and the aims of the rebellion?

Shambuvi Kalala: The aim of the rebellion is mainly the rectification of the deviations in the leadership of the movement of rebellion. These devia-

tions could no longer be rectified by peaceful means, because Kabila opposed this rectification and tried to prevent it by force.

Kabila has more and more imitated fascism and allied himself with reactionaries and even fascists, mobutists and elements like the UFERI (fascist forces from Katanga region - the red.), while on the other hand he has persecuted revolutionary and democratic forces. Within the movement of the AFDL and the state leadership he organized nepotism, appointed members of his family and friends to leading positions, even if they have been absolutely incompetent. Arbitrary acts and corruption have become common practice once again. This led to a complete disorganization and plunged the country into a catastrophe.

In order to master the situation he intensified the repression. People were arbitrarily put under arrest. This brought about a regression to the starting point of the movement of rebellion. The situation was not yet the same as under Mobutu. There was an opposition also within the AFDL and the leadership, which was however more and more suppressed by Kabila.

I myself was suspended from my functions for three times and arrested for two times. But Kabila created a situation of uncertainty with respect to his foreign relations as well. Friendly countries have seen themselves threatened by his alliance with the fascists.

He is even collaborating with the fascists from Ruanda. The aim of the rebellion is to rectify this situation and to take the road of democracy which



will enable the progressive and revolutionary forces of the people to express themselves, as well. The rebellion wants national unity. The program of the movement of rebellion must be restored. Production must get under way for the benefit of the people and has to get rid of nepotism and vested interests.

Rote Fahne: What part do the masses play in the rebellion?

Shambuyi Kalala: At first the rebellion was initiated by people who were in the leadership and the army. The masses are grasping more and more what is going on. They agree completely with the demands of the rebellion. But they first must gain the confidence that the rebellion is in the interest of the people. The mobilization of the people is under way. The rebellion is trying to enlist the support of people, to collect donations and at the same time to discuss with the masses and to convince them.

Rote Fahne: What kind of structure does the front have?

Shambuyi Kalala: It is movement which is composed of various forces. These are mainly progressive, democratic forces having different views. But right-wing forces are joining it as well. But the fact that I have been entrusted with the political organization in order that the people is represented characterizes the balance of power.

It is decisive that the people at grass roots level are participating actively, exert control and determine the direction. Many more campaigns are necessary. This has just started. The rebellion does exist only since one week. The masses must still grasp its objectives. At the beginning it was possible to take the road of the national revolution together with Kabila. But then he started his terror. Now all issues are discussed and settled democratically.

Rote Fahne: Do you reckon with a long-lasting conflict or is there a

development that it will soon be resolved?

Shambuyi Kalala: There is no real war. The development is progressing at a very fast rate. And the intervention of neighboring states will hardly change this. It is in the first place important that the people comprehend its situation. In Kinshasa the situation is not quite simple. There we have comrades, but they must act cautiously. Kabila has called on people to kill everybody who is against him. We cannot tell how long he will be able to hold out. But I think it will not be for a long time.

Rote Fahne: What part does the intervention of other states play?

Shambuyi Kalala: To my opinion the intervention from outside will not change very much nor will it help Kabila. It is my impression that the African states which have sent soldiers in support of Kabila have the intention of hampering the development and entering into negotiations rather than bringing about a military solution. China too will not save Kabila. It is possible that China pursues its social-imperialist interests and tries to get a base there. Yet, they mainly have business relations with Kabila. He pursues his petty-bourgeois and petty-minded interests. The main concern of the neighboring African states, Ruanda and Uganda as well, is that the region remains peaceful.

Rote Fahne: What kind of reactions of the imperialist states USA, Belgium etc. you are expecting?

Shambuyi Kalala: I do not attach much importance to those reactions. In a crisis situation there is always a great international interest. But Kabila is no special friend of them. The decisive factor is the people on which we must focus our attention.

Rote Fahne: Will the imperialists not feel themselves forced to undertake something in a situation where the people is mobilized and fighting for its liberation?

Shambuyi Kalala: That is true, but at the moment I cannot make out an imminent danger. In the first place, we must help the masses to understand their situation. Kabila has trampled on their interests. The reality is misrepresented when one is maintaining that the Mobutists are fighting Kabila. In reality Kabila is taking the road of Mobutu. Of course, there are very different forces within the resistance movement, but no Mobutists.

Rote Fahne: How can the struggle be supported?

Shambuyi Kalala: It is important to take action against the distortions and to make it clear to people that the aims which the rebellion is pursuing are justified and that the people is committed to them. Conditions must be created in which the people can organize itself and build up its organizations.

Rote Fahne: How will you organize public relations? What kind of communications are there available?

Shambuyi Kalala: The international communication channels are scarcely organized. We live like in the Middle Ages. I hope that this will change soon and I will inform you as soon as possible

Rote Fahne: Do you have a special message for your international friends?

Shambuyi Kalala: Yes. It is important that the comrades support the rebellion. They must know, that the progressive words of Kabila do in no way conform to reality. The movement paves the way for the democratic discussion about the further development. This is of great significance and must be supported, even if quite different political currents are represented in it and their declarations do not sound very revolutionary. The revolutionary forces must have the opportunity to organize themselves.

Regards to all the comrades!



**Glory to 82th Anniversary Of The
Great October Revolution Led By Lenin!**



PEOPLE'S WAR IS ADVANCING WORLD-WIDE