

An International Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Publication

# VANGUARD



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

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## CPN (ML) IPWI

## POP

## CPP

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## TKP/ML

## CPN (ML)

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RESIST  
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# ETERNAL GLORY

## TO THE THREE TOP LEADERS OF THE INDIAN REVOLUTION

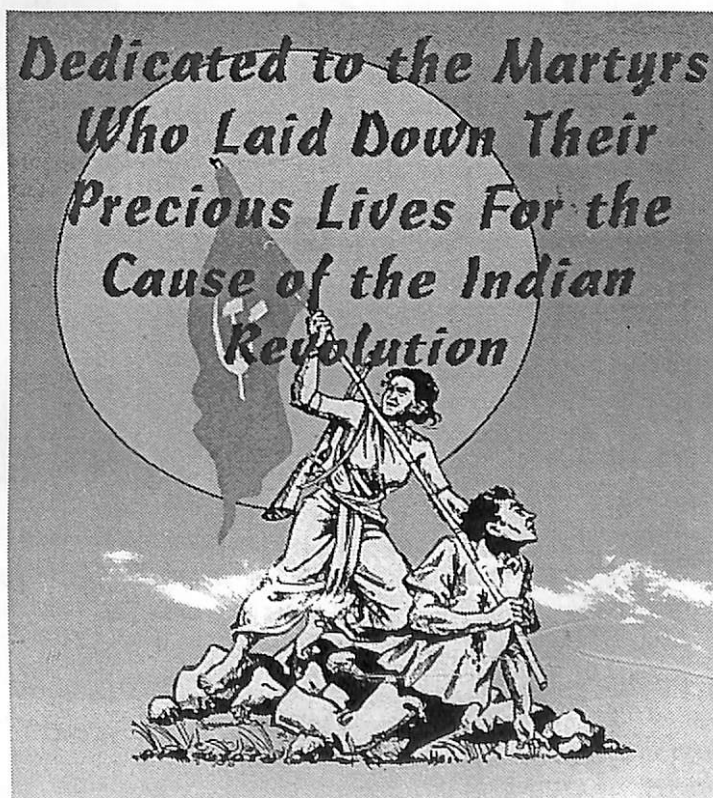
**Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) [People's War]**

**O**n December 1, 1999, three central committee members of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)[People's War] were arrested, brutally tortured and shot dead by the Andhra Pradesh police force, on instructions of its chief minister, the fascist Chandrababu Naidu. On information provided by a traitor, they raided a house in Bangalore, where the three had gathered for a two-day meeting, and arrested them on the first afternoon. They were then airlifted to Hyderabad and barbarically tortured throughout the night. The torture was so severe, that horrendous marks were visible on Com. Shyam's body and one of Com. Mahesh's legs were chopped off. The next morning they were taken to the Koyyuru forest area of Karimnagar district and shot dead in cold blood. The police/government gave out their standard story, of four naxalites 'killed in encounter after intense gun battle.' The fourth person killed was an ordinary peasant from the area, to give authenticity to the fake encounter enacted.

Com. Shyam, aged 44 (Nalla Adi Reddy) was concurrently also a member of the CC secretariat. Com. Mahesh, aged 40 (Y.Santhosh Reddy) was also secretary of the Andhra Pradesh State Committee of the party. Com. Murali, aged 39 (Seelam

Naresh) was also the secretary of the North Telangana Special Zonal Committee (NTSZC). Since the North Telangana region (also part of the AP state) had been made part of a separate state committee (the NTSZC) in August 1995, it had been decided that regular meetings (once or twice a year) would take place between the secretaries of the two regions, together with a secretariat member of the CC, in order to coordinate activities for the entire AP state. The December 1 meeting in Bangalore, was a part of this arrangement.

All the three comrades had joined the revolutionary movement in their student days, and having worked for over two decades amongst the people of AP, were personally instrumental in developing the movement to its present strength. Rich in experience, and with a deep study of ideological and political questions, at a young age they rose step by step to become members of the central committee of the CPI(ML)[PW]. They not only built the movement at its roots, but also played an important role in steering the party along the correct track,





against the numerous ideological attacks from without and the two crises (1985/87 and 1992) within the party. In spite of the inhuman torture they faced, they did not reveal a single secret to the enemy. The history of their lives reads like the history of the revolutionary movement in AP.

### Com. Shyam – A Pioneer

**N**alla Adi Reddy, who was popular amongst the revolutionary ranks as Com. Shyam was born in a middle peasant family in Kottagattu village of Karimnagar district. After the suppression of the Naxalbari/Srikakulam struggles in 1972, it was the peasant struggles of Karimnagar/Adilabad in 1977-79 that was to revive the revolutionary forces in South and Central India. Com. Shyam was one of the initiators of this movement.

Com. Shyam was studying in a college in the small mandal town of Jammikunta, when he came in touch with revolutionary ideas in 1973-74. During those years he was instrumental in building the Andhra Pradesh Radical Students Union (APRSU), not only in Jammikunta, but also in many institutions of Adilabad. He

mobilised and led a large mass of students for the formative conference of the APRSU held in 1975. At that time, he also took responsibility as an artist, enacting cultural programmes along with his fellow comrades. He was amongst those students from Huzurabad town (near his village) who participated in the protest demonstrations, led by famous Telugu revolutionary writer, Sri Sri, against the World Telugu Conference.

During those early days, there was, as yet, no movement in the villages, no direct contact with the party after its decimation in 1972, and the left, sectarian line still dominated. In line with the understanding of the then AP State Committee, Com. Nalla Adi Reddy played an important role in carrying the mass line amongst the youth, and infusing a new impetus in the region, after the collapse of Naxalbari and Srikakulam.

He was badly tortured for weeks, in order to get information of other leading comrades. But, in the heroic tradition of the great communists worldwide, he said not a word.

In 1975, Com. Shyam decided to become a professional revolutionary. In June 1975, with the declaration of Emergency and the launching of fascist attacks throughout the country by the Indira Gandhi government, Com. Shyam and other comrades boycotted their degree examination as a mark of protest, left their studies and directly entered the battlefield. Thus began his underground life, and he was sent to Jagtial (in Karimnagar district) to organise the masses. He was therefore one of those comrades responsible for building the famous Jagtial peasant upsurge of 1978, which was the spark that lit the prairie fire in Karimnagar/Adilabad that slowly engulfed, not only entire rural AP, but also spread to Dandakaranya.

As many comrades were arrested during the Emergency, Com. Raghu (as he was then known) gathered those remaining outside and helped build up the Karimnagar-Adilabad movement. He was elected as secretary of the Adilabad district committee of the party, when a separate committee was set up in 1979. At the 12th State Conference of the party of AP, held in 1980, he was elected to the state committee, and in 1982 he became a member of its secretariat. At that time, he gave direct leadership to the Adilabad movement and also the Workers' movement of the Singareni Coal fields.

When repression intensified, as the movement began to get deep roots in NT and spread to DK, the party decided to annihilate some of the most cruel police officers. It was Com.



Raghu who led the batch involved in the first such action. A notorious police officer in the coal-mining belt was targeted. In this period, Com. Raghu and Com. Saroja, having developed a liking for one another in the course of the movement, got married in 1982. In 1984, he was elected as the secretary of the AP State Committee and ably led the rectification movement against the six evils in the party. During the first inner-party crisis, that was precipitated by a clique led by the very secretary of the CC, he rallied the entire AP party rank-and-file forward.

But, during the first major enemy offensive (1985-87), Com. Shyam was arrested in May '86. He was badly tortured for weeks, in order to get information of other leading comrades. But, in the heroic tradition of the great communists worldwide, he said not a word. Though this resulted in a permanent damage to his health, causing continuous pain in his limbs, it did not in any way detract from his spending most of his time moving in the forests and fields of NT and AP.

**W**hile recouping from the effects of torture in the jail, Com. Shyam devoted much time to studying the Marxist-Leninist classics. Also, realising that there would be little chance of his getting bail, he continuously sought an opportunity to escape from jail. Finally, he drew up a concrete plan with two other comrades. While being shifted to a jail in Adilabad, the three comrades disarmed the police guards and escaped, that too, with two rifles of the policemen. So, after two years in jail, he rejoined the revolutionary

movement in 1988, and was coopted into the state committee.

In August 1990 he was again elected as the secretary of the AP State Committee and a member of the newly formed COC (Central Organising Committee). He then extensively toured AP, DK and the NT areas to fill the gap that had occurred in his understanding of the movement due to his two years of incarceration. He attended the 1989 military camp to improve his military knowledge. He played a significant role in the formulation of the specific tactics that were adopted during 1990, when there was a temporary (not even a year) let-up in the repression in AP.

**D**uring this period, the second internal crisis erupted in the party; yet again precipitated by the secretary of the CC — till then, the two-decade old undisputed leader of the party, Kondapalli Seetharamaiah. Again Com. Shyam worked hard to unite the rank-and-file of the party, to overcome the crisis and march forward. During this time he began writing reports and analysis, synthesising the movement and solving problems as they cropped up. He also began taking political classes and was on the editorial board of the military magazine, Jung, that

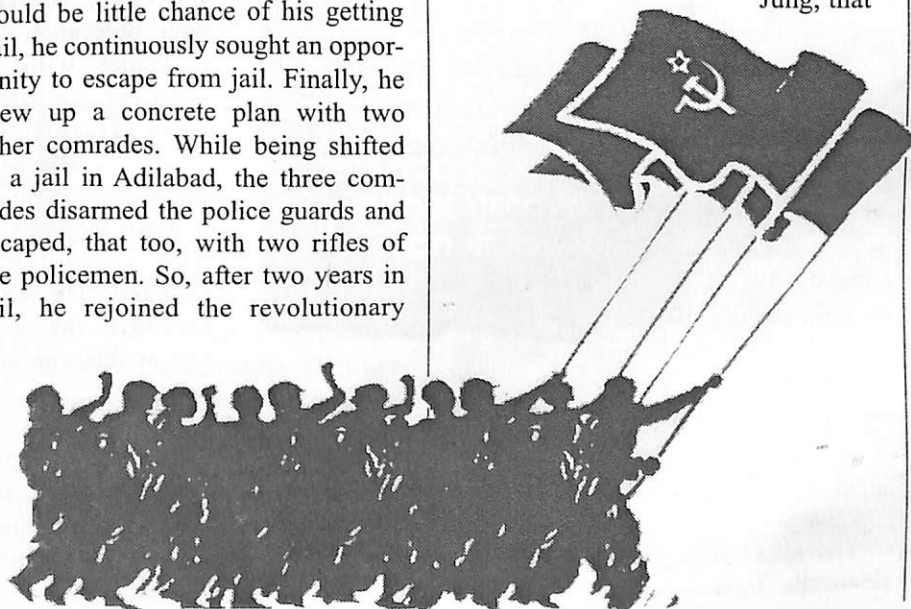
had been newly started by the then COC.

After this internal crisis was resolved, the new team that formed the leadership of the party, devoted time to refine and prepare the basic documents of the party.

Com. Shyam played an important role in this team. The documents prepared in this 1992-94 period, and adopted at the Special Conference in 1995, acted to lay the strong political and ideological foundations for extending the CPI(ML)(PW) into the all-India party, that it now is. Com. Shyam, who spent his first 18-20 years chiefly in practice, providing guidance and leadership at every crucial turn of events, at this juncture took up the task of concentration on practice-theory-practice, so as to provide ideological leadership as well. From 1990 to the day of his martyrdom in 1999, Com. Shyam spent his time attending SC and other meetings, or for field studies in the AP and NT areas.

Throughout his revolutionary life, Com. Shyam has played an important political and ideological role in the party. During 1982, when clashes took place between the CPI(ML)(PW) and the Vimochana (later Janashakti) party of the CPI(ML), Com. Shyam was a part of a delegation which held discussions to prevent the clashes. He clearly saw that their physical attacks on the CPI(ML)(PW) was due to their right opportunist line.

Com. Shyam also participated in the unity talks held 5-6 times with the MCC during 1990-95, as part of the CPI(ML)(PW) delegation. In the preparation of the 15-year 'political and organisational report' to be passed at the 1995 Special Conference, Com. Shyam actively put forward his views at the extended meeting of the COC convened specifically for the formulation of this document.





In 1998, when some liberal intellectuals of Hyderabad met a party delegation comprising himself and Com. Mahesh, and held detailed discussions with them, the latter pointed out the mistakes in their bourgeois democratic ideas. At the same time, they agreed that there was a need on the party's side, for the correction of some mistakes that had occurred. This was not a mere verbal assurance given, but was seriously followed up with a discussion in the CC, and the drafting a circular on behalf of the CC to undertake a rectification. And just prior to his martyrdom, after a detailed study of the movement in the North Telangana Guerrilla Zone, he had just completed a 40-page document on the manifestations of economism in the work, and how it should be corrected.

The loss of Com. Shyam to the revolutionary movement, will be a gap, difficult to fill, for quite some time.

### Com. Mahesh – Beloved Son of a Historic Village

Kadivendi village in Warangal district gave birth to the first martyr, Com. Doddi Komaraiah, of the glorious Telangana armed struggle of the 1940s. This village also gave birth to many a heroic fighter against feudalism and imperialism over the last six decades. And Com. Yerramreddy Santhosh Reddy was the beloved son of this historic village.

Right from his child hood he grew up amidst communist politics. He had the advantage of observing revisionist and right opportunist politics from close quarters. In the late 1970s, he actively participated and led the Radical Students movement while studying in a college in Warangal city.

Those were the days when the revolutionary students movement, led by martyr Com. Anjanna gained an upper hand, throwing up scores of activists as professional revolutionaries. Com. Santhosh too, within a short period, became a professional revolutionary and joined Osmania University in order to build the student movement in Hyderabad City.

In 1981 he was elected to the Hyderabad party city committee, when it was first formed. Not only did he revive the revolutionary student movement in the city that had stagnated for nearly a decade, but he also built the workers, women and democratic movements. He played a prominent role in planning the escape of Kondapalli Seetharamaiah from jail in January '84. In 1984, the party sent Com. Santhosh to Khammam as a district organiser with the responsibility of rejuvenating the movement in that district. But in 1985 he was arrested, due to the tip-off by a betrayer.

In the five years he spent in jail, from 1985 to 1990, he concentrated on study to improve his political-ideological knowledge. Not only that, he gave particular attention to moulding fellow comrades languishing in jail, and led the party units in various jails. In fact, by the time of his release, not only did the long jail term not dampen his spirits, but he came out as a mature political leader.

He took charge of the North Telangana forest area and re-estab-

lished live links with the Khammam movement. In 1991 he was elected as the secretary of the North Telangana Forest Division (NTFD) that had been formed for the first time and later was also elected to the regional committee and worked in that capacity upto 1993, when he was entrusted with the responsibility of the South Telangana region. He then directly shouldered the responsibility for building the movement in Medak District. He became the secretary of the regional committee and put in enormous effort to study the movement at the ground level to understand the short-comings and where it needed to be corrected.

In end 1993, at a plenum, Com. Mahesh was elected to the AP State Committee, and he was later elected as its secretary. During the 4-5 years after his release from jail he not only led the North and South Telangana movements, he also shouldered the responsibility of the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. He analysed and placed before the state committee the numerous problems

faced by the mass organisations. In 1995 he led the AP delegation to the All India Special Conference of the party. Here, he won the admiration of the entire conference delegation as a leader with a clear-cut political understanding, when he convinced them on two issues, and got the party's understanding changed. He was elected to the new CC at this conference.

Those were the days when the revolutionary students movement, led by martyr Com. Anjanna gained an upper hand, throwing up scores of activists as professional revolutionaries.

During the past four years, Com. Mahesh put in immense effort in enhancing the average understanding of the whole party through the experiences of the movement in AP. What is



more he played a leading role in countering the massive attack launched by the enemy in AP. With the enemy aware that the heart of the CPI(ML)[PW] lay in AP, they focused their major effort to destroy this base. In this they were assisted by the World Bank and the imperialists.

Since the last few years there was a three pronged attack on the movement. Large-scale repression and the murder of large numbers of activists, sympathisers and leaders was combined with a continuous ideological barrage by liberal elements, and vast funds by the World Bank for rural development projects to wean away the masses from the influence of the party. All this came at a time when, the party in AP was just recovering from the internal crisis created by Seetharamaiah and repulsing the physical attacks by the Janashakti party.

Com. Mahesh played a commendable role in steering the party through this intricate situation, rebuffing all attacks, physical and ideological, promptly.

First, the credit for ensuring that the state committee did not lose its initiative during the past 7 to 8 years, when the officers of the enemy's SIB machinery made a concentrated effort to wipe out the state and central leadership, goes to Com. Mahesh.

**T**hen the 1995-98 was a period in A.P., during which fake Marxists, feminists, voluntary organisations and reactionaries posing as progressives, launched a big offensive against Marxism in general and the CPI(ML)[PW] in particular. They presented arguments that Marxism was inadequate to solve the caste question, women's question, etc., and launched a major attack on the role of violence in changing history. Com. Mahesh was a young ideologist who played an

excellent role as the secretary in ensuring that the party did not lose its initiative by immediately countering the arguments made by these elements in the light of Marxist principles. Not only that, in practice too he implemented the party's line in the formulation of tactics to be adopted in AP on the caste question, women's question and other issues.

Finally, Com. Mahesh led the AP State Committee in exposing the policies of 'Vision 2020' which was prepared by the World Bank, but touted as a great vision of the fascist Chief Minister. Also, enormous efforts were put in, to expose the World Bank funded programmes, in the rural areas (like Janmabhoomi, Mahila Janmabhoomi, Women's credit schemes, water schemes etc.) which sought to wean away the masses from the party's influence and lull their fighting spirit.

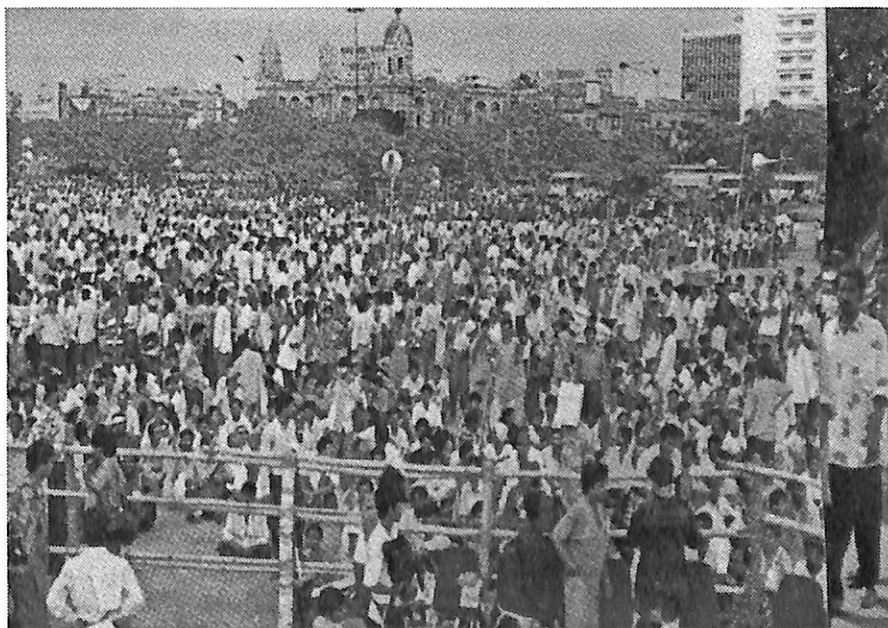
Com. Mahesh was a general, who got ready for warfare, formulating counter-tactics against the enemy's tactics and deploying the revolutionary forces accordingly. He displayed an exceptional calibre in creatively applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete problems facing the revolutionary move-

ment. This was brought out most clearly at the AP State Plenum in February 1999 where he placed before the delegates a concrete programme for carrying out the Rectification Campaign to purge the party of the evils of liberalism, spontaneity, economism, bureaucratic attitudes and subjectivism.

Com. Mahesh, was a beloved leader of the people, a leader who combined theory and practice, most skillfully steering the revolutionary boat past hidden rocks in the stormy seas.

### Com. Murali – A Down-to-Earth Leader of the Masses

**F**or the two decades, from 1981 to 1999, Com. Murali stood like a rock amidst the mighty tidal waves of the revolutionary movement within North Telangana. To say that there is not a single village where he has not set foot, there is not a section of the rural masses he has not mobilised, and





**CPI (ML) [PW] guerrillas assess their gains after a series of military actions.**

there is none in the revolutionary camp of NT who has not heard his name, does not amount to an over-statement, but a simple and straight forward fact.

Com. Seelam Naresh joined the Radical Students Union in 1981-82 while studying in the polytechnic college at Sircilla. He hailed from a middle-class family of neighbouring Jagitial town, in Karimnagar district. At the young age of twenty he became a professional revolutionary and in the 1982-84 period personally built the peasant movement in Kamareddy area of neighbouring Nizamabad district. Leaving college, he directly entered the battle field, and lived as a steeled and tempered guerrilla. He sacrificed his married life, leaving behind a wife and child in the village, as she was not prepared for revolution. In end 1984 he was elected to the Nizamabad district committee when its first district conference was held.

In the massive repression launched from 1985 onwards, Com. Murali, with responsibility for the movement in the entire area stretching from Nizamabad in the west to the North Telangana Forest Division in the east, not only personally resisted these onslaughts, but also organised fellow leaders and squads to resist. He led the

squads through numerous encounters and ambushes set up by the enemy, and on each occasion successfully countered the enemy's plots. In 1987 Com. Murali was elected as secretary of the district committee — first of Nizamabad, then Karimnagar — and as a member of the North Telangana Regional Committee.

**W**ith the heavy losses of leadership comrades in Telangana, Com. Murali was instrumental in weathering the storm and facilitating the growth of new leadership teams throughout North Telangana by 1989. In 1989, the North Telangana regional committee was reorganised and Com. Murali was elected as its secretary. He was also elected as a state committee member of AP in 1990. He continued as the regional committee secretary of North Telangana till 1995 when a NTSZC was formed.

Due to the rapid growth of the movement in North Telangana, and its categorisation as having developed to the primary stage of Guerrilla Zone, about this period, it was decided to separate NT from AP and organise this region under the NT Special Zonal

Committee (equivalent to a State Committee) while the rest of AP continued to function under the AP State Committee. In 1995, when the NTSZC was formed, he was elected as a member of its secretariat. He was also elected as alternative CC member in the Special Conference, held in the same year. In 1997 he was elected as the secretary of the NTSZC and also became a full member of the CC.

During the last decade of his life, Com. Murali held leadership responsibilities, and devised effective tactics through the ebbs and flows of the movement. As part of the leadership centre, he was instrumental in formulating counter-tactics that effectively dealt with the changing methods of the enemy. During 1987-89 he underwent a training to achieve the required techniques for military life. A special mention must be made here of the initiative shown by Com. Murali in devising counter-attacks against the enemy's counter-insurgency operations.

In the enemy's heightened offensive since 1997, Com. Murali worked hard in reviewing the short-comings in the plans for the raids and ambushes conducted against the enemy's armed forces, and in educating the squads about it. Recognising weaknesses in the squads and district committees, he guided them through patient discussions, present at all times in the field with them. He was like a pillar for comrades of North Telangana who drew confidence by his very presence. In his martyrdom the Indian revolutionary movement has lost a young and down-to-earth leader of the masses and the party.





## Fake Democracy Vs Revolution

**T**he much touted 'largest democracy in the world' disguises a brutally ruthless regime. With a sham independence in 1947 the Indian rulers have sold the country to the imperialists reducing the masses to a perpetual state of poverty seen only in sub-Saharan Africa. Nearly 600 million live below the poverty line. Added to this, is the inhuman system of untouchability against 14% of the population, and the criminal killing of thousands of women each year in so-called dowry deaths. The sufferings of the people of India probably surpasses that of any other country in the world — both in extent and depth.

And to maintain this despotic rule, the rulers have unleashed their fascist fangs just as any tin-pot dictator of Latin America. Thousands of communists were brutally massacred by the Nehru government in 1950 to crush the Telangana movement.

**H**anging communists on roadside trees, rape, loot and torture by Nehru's forces outdid the ruthlessness of the colonial rulers just three years after so-called independence. Again during the Naxalite insurgency of 1967-71, over ten thousand communists were killed, double that arrested, with most being subjected the horrifying tor-

tures. And in the last decade, the Indian ruling classes have surpassed probably any other country in the world, in their ruthlessness.

In this decade 3000 of the CPI (ML)[PW] alone have been killed and thousands more arrested and tortured. In Kashmir, to suppress the nationality struggle of the Kashmiri people 70,000 have been killed in this decade. In Punjab another 50,000 were massacred, and in the various nationality struggles, of the North East another 50,000 have been killed.

A large part of these, have been extra-judicial killings, combined with inhuman tortures, rape and sadistic maiming. Added to these are the thousands that have been killed in state sponsored hindu fascist communal violence, specifically against Muslims, and now even against Christians. In other words, in this decade about two hundred thousand have been killed in state-sponsored terrorism.

Today, the Indian rulers and their imperialist sponsors are panic-stricken at the growing strength of the revolutionary forces. The unification of the erstwhile CPI(ML)(PU) and the

erstwhile CPI(ML)(PW), and the growing country-wide influence of the PW party has unnerved them even further.

Genocidal props of the establishment, like Chandrababu Naidu, Advani, Vajpayee and the various hindu fascist outfits are being vigorously promoted by the imperialists, to sustain the crumbling order. Imperialism, particularly US imperialism, is more directly intervening in every aspect of the economic, political and social life of the country.

The country is being ravaged, the people destroyed. Today, a drought and famine of gigantic proportions stalks the country,

while the TNCs, their comprador agents mint billions out of the poverty. Oasis of extreme wealth coexist in a vast desert of poverty.

With this growing gap between the rich and the poor and the existence of a revolutionary force to rally the masses, more and more people in the country seek revolution. With the murder of three CC members and a large number of other leaders of the party and the masses, the enemy has not been able to stem the tide of revolution. As the other report in this issue indicates, the revolutionary forces led by the CPI(ML)[People's War] have, in fact, stepped up their attacks. The brutal killings have strengthened people's resolve, that there is no alternative to a protracted people's war for the liberation of the country. #

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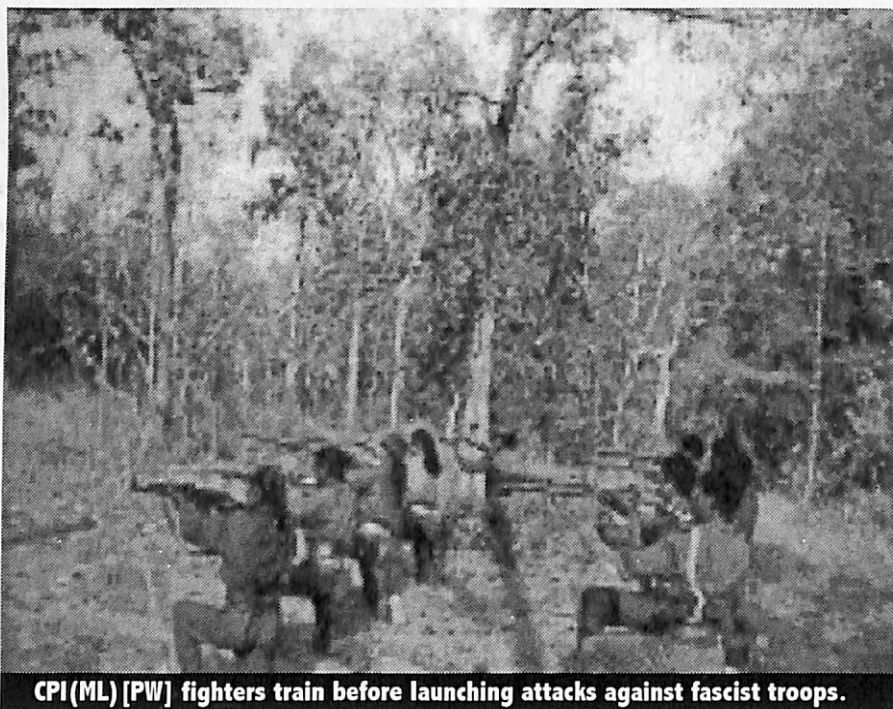


# THE CPI (ML) [PEOPLE'S WAR]'S **COUNTER-OFFENSIVE**

**I**n just one year from the Martyrs' Day of 1998 to that of 1999 (July 28 is Martyrs' Day — the day Com. Charu Mazumdar was martyred) a total of 270 comrades were martyred in the regions of AP, Bihar, North Telangana and Dandakaranya of India.

These included a large number of senior comrades from the state committees of the party, regional committees, district committees and SAC (Squad Area Committees) members. Also martyred were commanders and deputy commanders of the squads, leaders of mass organisations and a number of women comrades. Of these, the party lost 110 comrades in North Telangana, 100 comrades in the South Telangana and East Region, 30 in Bihar and 30 in Dandakaranya.

In a people's war that adopts the mass line, the ranks of the fallen martyrs are continuously replenished by new cadres, new fighters and new mass leaders. So, in spite of these heavy losses the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) [People's War] was able to launch a counter-offensive, to hit at, not only the mercenary forces in the field, but at the very top — at those directing the operations from a safe distance. The aim was to destroy the morale of the enemy forces, build the confidence and morale of the people's forces and



**CPI (ML) [PW] fighters train before launching attacks against fascist troops.**

the masses, and to equip the guerrilla army with weapons and ammunition.

In the six months from September 1999 to March 2000, in a series of actions, a large number of weapons were seized and a few of the most notorious and ruthless top police officers and politicians were wiped out. The enemy thought that, with the martyrdom of the three Central Committee members on December 1, 1999 being added to the list of the earlier killings, the revolutionary movement would be defeated. On the contrary, since December '99 not only has there been a veritable movement of retaliations against the killings of the top leaders, but also, a number of

lethal actions have dealt a serious blow to the reactionary forces. Let us look at some of these actions during that six month period.

## **Actions on Police/Paramilitary**

**O**n September 4, '99, the notorious Assistant Inspector General of Police (AIG), Umesh Chandra, was annihilated in broad daylight in the heart of Hyderabad city. This demon, while he was a Superintendent of Police (SP) in the districts, had personally been responsible for the brutal torture and



murder of a large number of comrades, including senior leaders like state committee member (AP), Com. Reddappa and regional committee member (Rayalaseema) Com. Venkataswamy. While S.P. of Karimnagar, it was he who organised a betrayer to re-enter the squads, with a scheme to murder the top leaders of the party. Through this covert operation, the North Telangana SZC (Special Zonal Committee) member, Com. Malkapuram Bhaskar, was killed while asleep.

**O**n September 4, this monster was travelling, with his armed bodyguard, in a car which halted at the traffic lights. Guerrillas, belonging to a special squad of the CPI (ML)[PW], in a swift operation, shot dead the bodyguard, while the injured AIG tried to flee. He was chased and shot dead on the busy city road. The guerrillas retreated to safety, inspite of a massive red alert all over Hyderabad.

Besides this action, in September '99 the PW guerrillas wiped out 17 police personnel and seized a minimum of 17 rifles in AP (including North Telangana). Some of the main actions were :

\* On September 1, a Sub-Inspector (SI) of police was killed and two policemen seriously injured when guerrillas attacked them, when they were moving on a motorcycle near Jeddangi village in the East Godavari district (AP).

\* On September 5, a special police constable was shot dead by PW guerrillas in a busy market place in Parkal town, Warangal district (NT). His AK-47 rifle was seized.

\* On September 13, guerrillas conducted a raid on the Papannapet police station in Medak district (AP). Five police personnel, including a head constable were annihilated and the police station was dynamited.

Simultaneously the guerrillas raided the residence of the SI and seized his pistol.

\* On September 20, PW guerrillas ambushed a police party which was combing the forest in Mutharam mandal in Karimnagar district (NT). In the landmine blast, four policemen, including an SI, were wiped out.

\* In an attack on the Railway Protection Force (RPF) personnel, in the Boath area of Adilabad district (NT), four rifles were seized. The guerrillas stopped the train in which the RPF personnel were travelling and seized the arms.

About the same time, in Bihar, during the Lok Sabha (parliamentary) elections, there were a series of actions targeting the police. In this election 150 companies of the CRPF (Central Reserve Police Force), 102 companies of the BMP (Bihar Military Police) and another 60,000 policemen were deployed to conduct the election farce, to determine the 'free will' of the people.

Inspite of this large police force, in the first two phases of the elections, 54 people (a large number being police personnel) were killed and more than 60 injured. In the districts of Palamau, Rohtas, Hazaribagh and Patna mines were used to attack the vehicles. In Palamau alone, 25 were killed and 15 injured. Some examples:

\* In Chainpur PS, Palamau district, PW guerrillas ambushed a tractor carrying police personnel. When a convoy of CRPF were crossing a bridge, the third vehicle got blown up by landmines. Nine CRPF men and a watchman were killed. Though the CRPF retaliated, the guerrillas retreated to safety.

\* On the day of elections, a PW squad in Panki PS, Palamau district, destroyed a police vehicle, in which a BMP man, two district policemen and

a magistrate were killed and eight others injured.

\* On September 17, in village Teora, Rohtas, in a landmine blast, two BMP men were killed and ten injured.

\* Besides the PW, the MCC also carried out armed actions to convert elections into a "festival of arms collections". It conducted a number of armed operations in which 20 persons were killed including a magistrate, CRPF men and a number of polling officials. Also, nineteen people were injured in these attacks. These took place in the districts of Hazaribagh, Palamau, Chatra and Januie.

In the month of February 2000, in three major tactical offensives — in AP in the south, in MP in Dandakaranya (DK), and in Palamau district in Bihar — the PW guerrillas wiped out at least 40 policemen and seized a large quantity of sophisticated arms and ammunition from the enemy.

Let us look at these three actions :

\* On February 12, during the state assembly elections in Bihar, six CRPF men were wiped out by the PW guerrillas in Palamau district. This action sent shock waves down the spine of the ruling classes.

**A**fter the big losses they suffered in the parliamentary elections five months earlier, they had sent even larger police/paramilitary forces to the 'Naxalite' affected areas. Just prior to this action the rulers were boasting that the elections would be 'peaceful' due to the presence of massive police forces.

So shocked were the rulers, that the prime minister himself stated, in an election speech a few days later, that such an action was impossible unless the perpetrators had links with the 'ISI' (i.e., Pakistan Secret



Service). Of course, the PM could not understand that depending on the masses is far more effective than the ISI.

\* On February 18, the PW guerrillas made a daring attack on the armed outpost of the AP Special Police at Darakonda village in Vishakhapatnam district. In the raid seven policemen, including a sub-inspector of police and two head constables belonging to the 5th battalion of the APSP were killed. A huge cache of sophisticated arms — 24 SLRs, one AK-47 and three sten guns, along with a huge quantity of ammunition — were seized.

Unfortunately, in this action two important comrades — comrade Naveen (alias Balakrishna), a former all India student leader of the AIRSF, and Com. Satyanarayana, deputy commander of the special guerrilla squad of the East Division — were martyred.

The attack began just as the policemen were to have dinner. The guerrillas climbed the roof of the adjacent building and asked the policemen, over a loud speaker, to surrender. When the latter refused, petrol bombs and smoke bombs were hurled at

them, causing panic and confusion. While one batch of guerrillas attacked the camp, two other batches took care of the two roads that led to Darakonda, to prevent additional forces from reaching the village. The exchange of fire which took place with the reinforcements that tried to reach the scene, resulted in the injury of three police. They soon fled the area and returned only the next morning to retrieve the injured lying at the police station. Through the night the injured police were not even given a drop of water by the villagers.

\* On February 20, in a landmine blast, 23 policemen were wiped out in DK. The attack took place 10 kms from Narayanpur town in Bastar district. The dead included an additional Superintendent of Police, a sub-inspector, an assistant sub-inspector and two head constables, besides the 18 constables. This action was, in fact, the single largest incident in the history of the revolutionary movement till date.

The ambush was planned by laying a trap to draw the enemy forces deep into the jungle. 'Information' was leaked that some 'Naxalites' were camping in the Bakulradi Area. Based on this 'tip-off', the police engaged a

private matador van so as not to attract attention. As they approached the area they were successfully ambushed. At least 11 SLRs were recovered from the scene of the action.

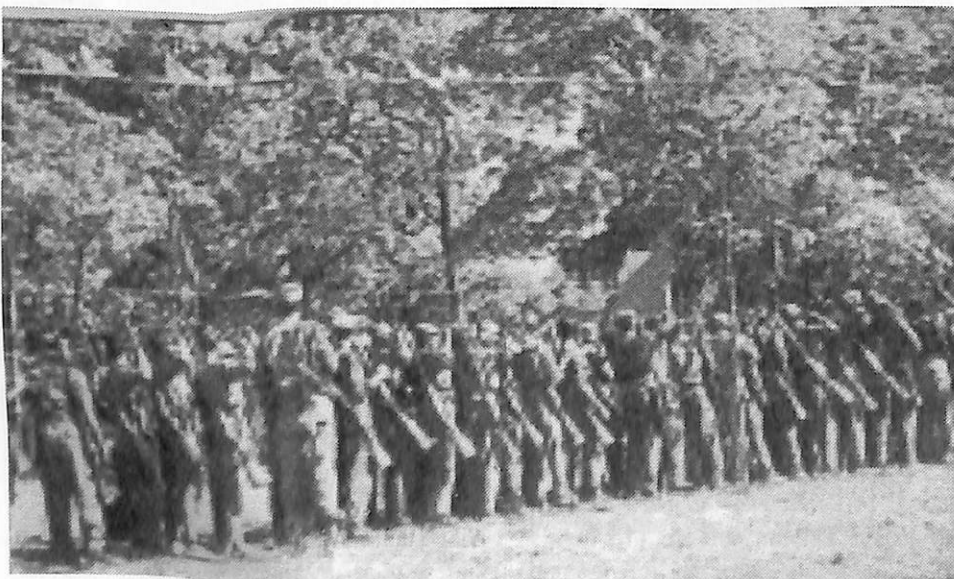
In the month of March 2000, two more actions gave a large haul of arms.

On March 5, PW guerrillas from North Telangana, crossed the Godavari river into DK and executed an effective raid on a police station in Sironcha taluk of Gadchiroli district (Maharashtra). The raid was conducted in a novel style. Three guerrillas, in civil dress, entered the police station on the pretext of talking to the Station House Officer on some urgent matter.

When they were allowed inside the station, they whipped out their automatic weapons and asked those inside the room to surrender and explained that the station was surrounded by guerrillas. Meanwhile the guerrilla force, which had surrounded the station in company formation, announced over the loud speaker that no harm would be done if the policemen surrendered their weapons without resistance. Most of the policemen surrendered immediately.

One policeman who tried to resist was shot and sustained injuries. After seizing the weapons and ammunition the guerrillas retreated safely across the Godavari river. This raid gave a good cache of weapons — 20 SLRs and 13 other rifles.

In Bihar, in early March, the party suffered a big loss with the gruesome murder of 11 of its members, including a senior state committee member, Com. Srikanth, in Jehanabad district. But, within a week the guerrillas hit back. On March 11, BMP jawans, after conducting several raids in villages, while returning to their headquarters, were ambushed. A landmine explosion killed all the nine BMP men. The guerrillas walked off with





eight rifles and a huge quantity of ammunition.

But, besides these actions on the police and para military forces, there have been a number of attacks on the political big-wigs of the Telugu Desam party (TDP) who have surpassed the tin-pot dictators in the art of political extermination. Also retaliatory actions against the killing of the three CC members spread like a wave.

## Attacks on Political Leaders

**T**he political establishment of Andhra Pradesh, led by the TDP, and its genocidal chief minister, Chandrababu Naidu, is not only one of the most ruthless butchers of AP, but their terror outfits are also training counter-insurgency forces from other parts of the country. Naidu, who openly acts as one of the chief stooges of imperialism (Clinton personally honoured him while in India) in the country, is also one of the most notorious executioners of democratic and revolutionary forces.

And it was his main hatchetman and Home Minister for five years, who was personally responsible for the murder of about 1000 revolutionaries, who was annihilated by PW guerrillas on March 7, 2000. In fact, after the killing of the 3 CC members of the CPI(ML)[PW], two senior ministers were wiped out, in retaliation — one in Madhya Pradesh and the other in Andhra Pradesh. But the attacks on these leaders began well before; they have increased in intensity in this six month period.

On August 11, '99 a former minister of the TDP, and a mafia goon of Kurnool district (Rayalaseema), Budda Vengal Reddy, was annihilated by a special squad of the PW. Budda and his gang had a notorious record of terrorising people, molesting women,

and for murder and mayhem. No wonder he ideally suited the TDP chief, Naidu. This Budda would even mercilessly kill anyone who obstructed his gaining lucrative contracts. He consistently attacked the Radical Youth League and other revolutionary mass organisations.

This hooliganism reached a zenith on July 17, '99 when his gang attacked a dalit (so-called untouchables) colony and set fire to their houses killing five dalits and four from the backward castes — all of whom were sympathisers of the CPI(ML)[PW]. Since then, fearing for his life, he had stepped up the number of armed bodyguards — both government commandos and his own mafia.

Yet the tyrant could not escape the people's wrath. One day, while he was holding a meeting with his party men in the party office (opposite the DySP's office) PW guerrillas arrived in a jeep dressed as policemen. The jeep stopped right in front of the building. As the squad commander and deputy commander, dressed up as Circle Inspector and Sub-Inspector, went into the building, the bodyguards at the entrance saluted them. Three other guerrillas, dressed as police constables waited at the entrance. The two comrades went into the meeting room, shot Budda and one of his henchmen. The other henchmen fled in terror while the guerrillas calmly walked out to safety.

**O**n September 15, three days prior to the second phase of elections in AP, PW guerrillas annihilated the sitting member of the AP legislative assembly of the TDP of Sirpur in Adilabad district (NT). His three gunmen were also shot dead and their arms seized.

Dressed in yellow uniforms like TDP members, the PW guerrillas entered the TDP office where the MLA was holding a meeting. They

shot the four, picked up their weapons, and walked out.

In the fortnight following the murder of the three CC members, the panic-stricken bourgeois media reported that over 100 violent acts had taken place all over AP targeting government property, telephone exchanges, revenue offices and houses of ruling TDP members.

But what shook the establishment even more, was that even in neighbouring Madhya Pradesh (MP), the guerrillas annihilated the Minister of Transport, Likhiram Kawre, on December 15, '99. This lumpen, 'elected' to the Assembly from Balaghat district, was hacked to death when he returned to his home town. The local unit of the party openly issued a statement saying that this was in retaliation for killing their three CC members. And, in March, came the attack on the chief despot, Madhava Reddy.

Earlier he had served as the general secretary of the TDP, and when Naidu took power through a palace coup, ousting his own father-in-law, this man was his home minister for five years, from 1995 to 1999. Since the last six months he has been the Panchayat Raj Minister. He had the highest security given to VIPs in the country — the Z Plus category — that provides a bullet proof car, a pilot car with ten gunmen armed with automatic weapons, a personal security officer handpicked from the best of the police cadre, and continuous radio links between the three vehicles.

On the present occasion, on his campaigning visits to his home district of Nalgonda, he was provided with an additional escort of two van-loads of specially trained policemen. Yet, while returning from one such trip, PW guerrillas blew his car up in a landmine blast.

*continued on page 13*



# MASSES AROUSED TO RETALIATE AGAINST THE BRUTAL MURDER OF THEIR BELOVED LEADERS

*(As reports have come in late to the People's March office, we now present below mass demonstrations and actions that took place in the immediate wake of the Koyyuru encounter)*

**O**n December 1, 1999 three Central Committee members (Com. Shyam, Com. Mahesh and Com. Murali) of CPI(ML)[People's War] were arrested at Bangalore by the AP Police, airlifted to Hyderabad the same day, and after being tortured severely they were murdered on the morning of the 2nd in the Koyyuru forest of Karimnagar district. With this heinous murder of three leaders,

people from all over India held big demonstrations, and took up retaliatory actions, condemning this false encounter.

Demonstrations started on December 3rd in Jagitial where Com. Murali's funeral march was held with the participation of thousands of people. The fascist Chandrababu Naidu government had put many hurdles to the people who were attending the funerals of Com. Shyam and Com. Mahesh.

The government stopped all buses to those districts. The police also stopped all other private vehicles that were coming with people. Several people who were coming in trucks were threatened and sent back. In this way, the police put several obstacles for the people. Yet the people did not

turn back. Thousands of people attended the funeral marches.

After the funerals were over, from December 8 to 14, a Protest Week was observed throughout AP. A two-day bandh was observed on December 15 and 16. On the 15th several revolutionary parties, mass organisations held a mammoth demonstration in Hyderabad. The demonstration, starting from the old MLA quarters, going through Basheer bagh, Khairatabad, ended at the Raj Bhavan.

The police stopped the demonstrators. The processionists said that they would peacefully give a memorandum to the governor on the false encounter. But the police didn't listen to their words. So, the people broke the police cordon and marched ahead giving slogans : 'Chief Minister down, down !', 'End to state violence !', 'All encoun-

*...continued from p. 12*

With meticulous planning, out of the entire convoy the blast hit the target with an accuracy that astounded even the police chiefs, killing the minister, his personal security officer and the policeman driving the car. So panic stricken were the ruling classes with this action, that the very next morning, the Union Home Minister, the Speaker of Parliament and several members of parliament flew from Delhi to Hyderabad to attend his funeral.

Since then, to step up counter-insurgency operations, the home minister convened a meeting of the five chief ministers of the PW affected states on April 4, 2000, where they jointly called for the setting up of a central command at Delhi, and for the banning of the PW throughout the country. Also three days of meetings were held with the FBI chief from the USA on how to better fight 'terrorism'.

At each step in the growth of the revolutionary movement, the enemy has continuously stepped up its instruments of repression. But the move-

ment has continued to grow. This happened in 1978/79 in Karimnagar/Adilabad districts (NT), in 1985-87, in 1992 and again now. From being a force in just two districts of AP in 1978/79 the PW is a major force in AP, NT, Bihar and DK and has a presence in nine states of India. What is more, the rapid pace of total capitulation to imperialism by the existing central and state governments, has increased the burden on the masses ten fold, making them even more receptive to revolution. There is no doubt that whatever steps taken by the enemy, the Indian revolution will grow from strength to strength. #



ters are police murders!', 'Dismiss Chandrababu government!', 'Suspend DGP Dora!', 'Police should be prosecuted for the murder!'

On December 16th, the second day of bandh, people held a dharna in front of the secretariat at Hyderabad, demanding a judicial enquiry on the encounter of comrades Shyam, Mahesh and Murali. Although the police cordoned off the area, Varavara Rao, Gaddar, Chandraiah (IFTU), Shyamala Rao, Vimala (VIRASAM), Raju (FDSU), Laxminarasaiah (advocate), Vijayakumar (Janashakti) and Phani suddenly dashed to the main gate of the secretariat shouting slogans. The police arrested all the persons and sent them jail.

**E**normous retaliatory actions took place all over the country during this Protest Week with the participation of people in large numbers. In the last week of December, 5000 people participated in a protest march in Guntur district

though government had promulgated prohibitory orders.

The police destroyed a meeting condemning this encounter in Dachehalli of Guntur district On January 11. Heavy police forces were deployed in that town. The people who came to that meeting were severely lathi charged and dispersed. The speakers Ratnamala, Varavara Rao who came to address that meeting were arrested. The police followed Gaddar's movements every second.

Ratnamala, the President of the AP Civil Liberties Committee demanded a judicial enquiry into this encounter and demanded to punish the police officials responsible for the murder. The CPI(ML) Janashakti, CPI(ML) Pratighatana, New Democracy, OPDR, PUDR also demanded a judicial enquiry on this false encounter.

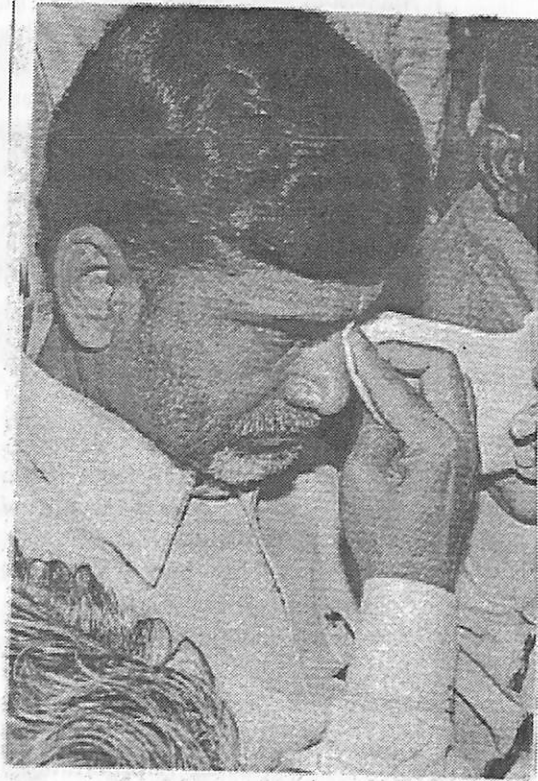
A relay fast programme was taken up in Hyderabad from January 1, by the Struggle Committee Against Fake Encounters, demanding the stopping of false encounters, and for a judicial

enquiry into the Koyyuru encounter. Mammoth processions were held all over the country. On December 6th a big procession was held in Delhi demanding a judicial enquiry and punishing the police officers responsible for the Koyyuru encounter. In Calcutta a big procession was held on December 15.

**O**n the same day, several democratic and revolutionary organisations and persons took out a procession in Patna. The participant organisations were : All India People's Resistance Forum (AIPRF), Jana Mukti Sangharsh Vahini, Sarvahara Chetana, CPI(ML) Ekta Pahal, Nari Mukti Sangharsh Samithi, Democratic Students Union, Krantikari Buddijivi Sangh, and the Jana Samvad. Democratic and progressive intellectuals, such as Pradhan H Prasad, Preeti Sinha (Editor of Philhal), Bhupendra Kumar, Mithilesh Kumar and several other progressive intellectuals participated in the rally at Patna.



People's militia train in preparation for assisting the CPI (ML) [PW] guerrillas in combat.



They held a meeting near the All India Radio Station in Patna. Several speakers asked the people to build powerful resistance movements and demanded to punish the police officials who were responsible for the murder of Coms. Shyam, Mahesh and Murali.

**I**n the 2nd week of December processions were held in Bombay and Chandrapur of Maharashtra. Public meetings were held in Bombay and Surat on 22nd and 23rd respectively.

In Karnataka also big processions were held before the chief minister's house. The Karnataka Rytu Coolie Sangha, the AIPRF, the AIRSF, the Revolutionary Youth Front and other revolutionary and democratic organisations participated in this procession. They demanded that action be taken on the Bangalore police who collaborated with the AP police in murdering the three central committee members.

Along with these protest demonstrations, people enthusiastically par-

ticipated in a number of actions against the state and ruling party leaders. The militant actions started on 3rd December night when a state RTC bus was burnt down near Indaram village in Adilabad district. Starting with that incident, several government offices, jeeps and other vehicles, court buildings, Central and state government offices, guest houses, telephone exchanges, railway stations, rail tracks, properties of ruling party leaders and landlords all over the country were smashed. Several ruling party leaders and police officials were annihilated.

On December 5, a police van was ambushed by the People's War guerrillas near Khanapur town

of Adilabad district. The van split into pieces in which one sub-inspector along with three police were wiped out and one circle inspector and six police were seriously injured. In the second week of December two police personnel were annihilated in Eturunagaram and one head constable in Warangal town. Several places of South Telangana, Nallamala forest region, Rayalaseema, East region virtually burnt with people's anger.

On December 16, People's War guerrillas annihilated the transport minister of Madhya Pradesh, Likharam Kavre, by attacking his house in Sonapuri village of Balaghat district.

On the same day a rail track was smashed by People's War guerrillas near Tarena railway station in Bihar. Rail traffic was disrupted in the Patna-Gaya section. On December 18 another rail track was blasted in Palamau district of Bihar. The same day people blasted the Kajra-Navadhi railway station in Bihar.

**T**he people's anger was so intense that all the ruling party leaders and government officials of AP immediately ran to Hyderabad from the small towns for their safety. Even the gram sarpanches of the ruling party ran to Hyderabad in fear. With fear for their lives, 700 VIPs in AP got police protection and the police, fearing for their lives confined their movements to their station buildings.

The central and state governments were terrified with this escalation of people's actions. In total, people as well as the guerrillas conducted nearly 150 militant actions in response to their beloved leaders' murder. Below, we give some of the militant actions, date-wise, that took place in the fortnight after the fake encounter :

### DECEMBER 3 :

A state RTC bus was burnt down near Indaram village of Adilabad district.

### DECEMBER 5 :

1) A police jeep was ambushed by landmines by the People's War guerrillas between Khanapur and Tarlapadu villages in Adilabad district in which one SI and 3 policemen were wiped out and one Circle Inspector and 8 other policemen were seriously injured.

2) Two RTC buses were burnt down between Khanapur and Pembli villages in Adilabad district.

3) The house of the Single Window (cooperative society) president and Sarpanch of Lodpalli, Narsinga Rao's was blasted.

4) The house of the ruling TDP leader of Penchikalpet, Srinivas, was blasted.





5) In Jatarla village of Bazarhatnoor mandal (Adilabad district), the house of the former minister and the ruling Telugu Desam leader's house, was blasted. One car and tractor were burnt down.

6) One RTC bus was burnt near Matchupet (Karminagar district) village.

7) In the mandal centre of Mallapur (Karimnagar district) former sarpanch and landlord, Kolluri Rangarao's house was blown up.

8) Former sarpanch of Donur (Dharmapuri mandal of Karimnagar district), Kondapalli Vasudeva Rao was annihilated.

**DECEMBER 6 :**

1) The people lured the police by decorating with red banners the Mangapet cross road in the Eturunagaram area (Warangal district). When the police came to remove the banners, the People's War guerrillas fired, in which two policemen were wiped out, and one ASI and two other policemen escaped with serious injuries. The guerrillas seized five weapons from the police includ-

ing one AK-47, 3 SLRs and one other rifle.

2) The ruling TDP leader of Cheryal mandal and DCCB director, Narsimha Reddy's house and other instruments, were burnt in Vechareni village (Warangal district).

3) At Cheryal-Siddipet highway one oil tanker and two state government buses were burnt.

4) One railway track was blasted near Vempalli railway station in Adilabad district.

5) In Jaina village of Dharmapuri mandal and Mangela village of Sarangapur mandals (Karimnagar district) marphones (mostly used by officials) were destroyed by people.

**DECEMBER 7 :**

1) One forest guest house was blasted in Jam village of Sarangapur mandal

2) One telephone exchange, plant room and generator were burnt down in Mamidalapalli of Veenavanka mandal (Karimnagar district).

3) One state RTC bus was burnt and another destroyed near Gannaram village of Ditchpalli mandal (Nizamabad district).

4) Two court buildings were blasted in Kollapur and Veepanagandla (Mahaboobnagar district) towns.

5) One bus was burnt down near Vurugonda village.

6) The MRO office at Addateegala (East Godavari district) was blasted.

7) The forest office building at Velugodu town (Kurnool district) was blasted.

**DECEMBER 8 :**

1) One state RTC bus was burnt down near Gudihatnoor village of Adilabad district.

2) The district BJP leader and local ZPTC leader Devu Sambaiah's house was burnt in Koppula village of Warangal district.

3) The ruling TDP leader of Vardhannapet and chairman of the Rayaparti Single Window, Jinugu Animireddy's house (Warangal district) was blasted.

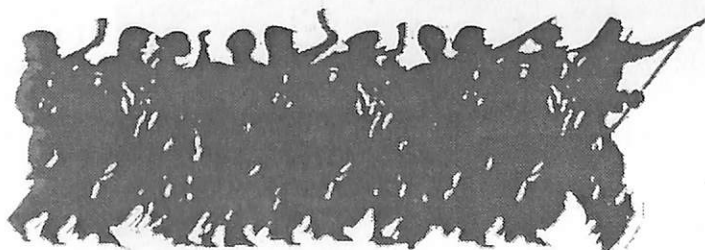
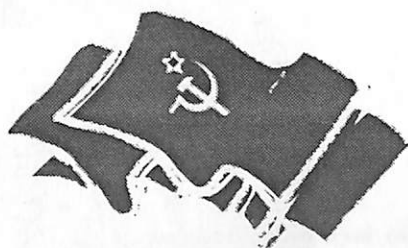
4) The marphone at Kotularam village in Nalgonda district was destroyed.

**DECEMBER 9 :**

1) Former Sarpanch of Ankusapur village (Kataram mandal, Warangal district), Mahaboob Baig's house, was burnt.

2) The MRO office at the district headquarters of Mahaboobnagar was blasted.

3) The MRO and MDO offices at the mandal centre of Atmakur (Anantapur district) were burnt down.





4) A state RTC bus was burnt in Kambadur village (Anantapur district).

5) An AP state RTC bus was burnt at Nagalapura area of Tumkur district (Karnataka state).

December 10 : 1) The TDP mandal president of Bikkanur, Jukanti Mohan Reddy's house, was blasted in Rajampet village of Nizamabad district.

2) One van belonging to the Girijan Corporation was burnt at Ajamnagar of Bhoopalapalli mandal of Warangal district.

3) The ruling TDP leader and vice-Chairman of the Zilla parishad, Narra Keshav Reddy's house, was blasted in Bandharam village of Medak district.

4) A Single Window Office at Kolluru village of Aler mandal (Warangal district) was burnt down and records were destroyed.

5) The chairman of the Kalwakurthi Agricultural Market (Mahaboobnagar district), Sampathi Parvata Reddy's house, tractor and scooter were burnt down.

## DECEMBER 11 :

1) A special party armed reserve head constable was shot in Hanamkonda town by urban guerrillas of the People's War in Warangal district. The head constable escaped with serious injuries.

2) A water supply office was blasted in Parkal town of Warangal district.

3) A culvert at Warangal-Khammam road near Illenda village of Vardhannapet mandal (Warangal district) was blasted.

## DECEMBER 13 :

1) The house of a ZPTC member, Ashok's house, was burnt in Ponna

village of Mutharam mandal of Karimnagar district.

2) The Sarpanch of Adivi Srirampur (Karimnagar district), Chota Narayana's house was burnt .

3) Two co-axial repeaters belonging to the telecom department were blasted between Gannaram-Chandrayanpalli villages in Nizamabad district.

4) A State RTC bus was burnt near Gopalapur of Chityal mandal (Warangal district).

5) Nalgonda district Congress president and chairman of the district cooperative bank, Mereddy Jaipal Reddy's house was blasted.

6) Another director of the DCCB, Mereddy Jaipal Reddy's house in Parvedula village (Nalgonda district) was burnt down.

7) A cinema talkies cabin of the TDP leader, Venna Sambasiva Reddy

was burnt in Ganapavaram of Guntur district.

8) A telephone exchange at Nutimadugu village of Kambadur mandal (Anantapur district) was burnt down.

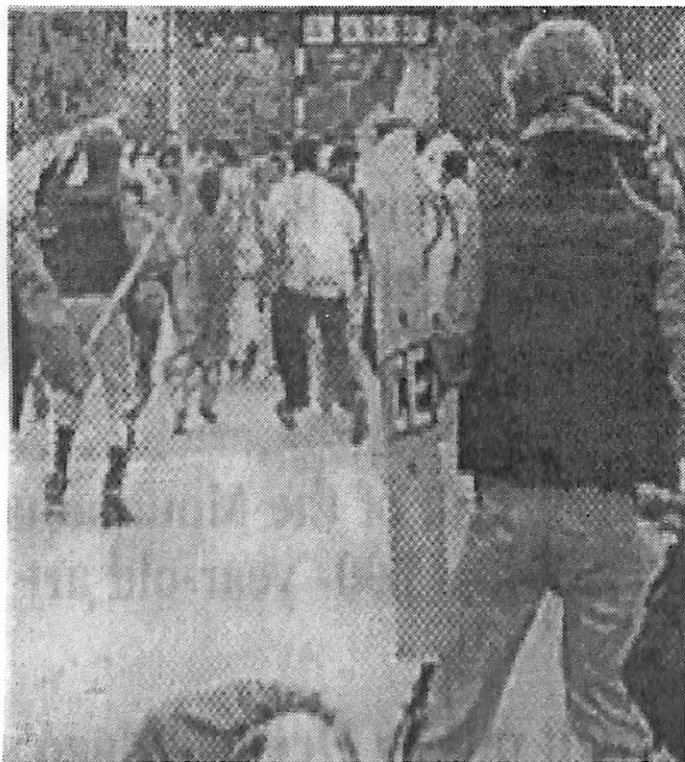
## DECEMBER 14 :

1) A railway track between Nadikudi and Pondugala railway stations (Guntur district) was blasted.

2) The mandal parishad office at Kanaganapalli (Anantapur district) was burnt.

3) Former Tungur (Sarangapur mandal of Karimnagar district) president and present MPTC member Rajagopala Rao's house, his Suzuki motor cycle, VCP, TV, telephone and other articles were burnt down.

4) A marphone at Tirmalagiri village of Nalgonda district was destroyed.



Indian fascist troops violently disperse protesters.



**DECEMBER 15 :**

1) The MLA of Kamalapur (Karimnagar district), Muddasani Damodar Reddy's house was blasted.

2) Former president of the Rechapalli (Jammikunta mandal of Karimnagar district), Ramachandra Reddy's house was blasted.

3) The TDP leader and president of the Veenvanka mandal praja parishad, Balakishan Rao's house was blasted in Challur village (Karimnagar district).

4) The landlord of Tadicherla (Malhar mandal of Karimnagar district), Srinivasa Rao's house was burnt.

5) The landlord of Marrisipalli (Kataram mandal of Karimnagar district), Pratap Rao's house and tractor were burnt down.

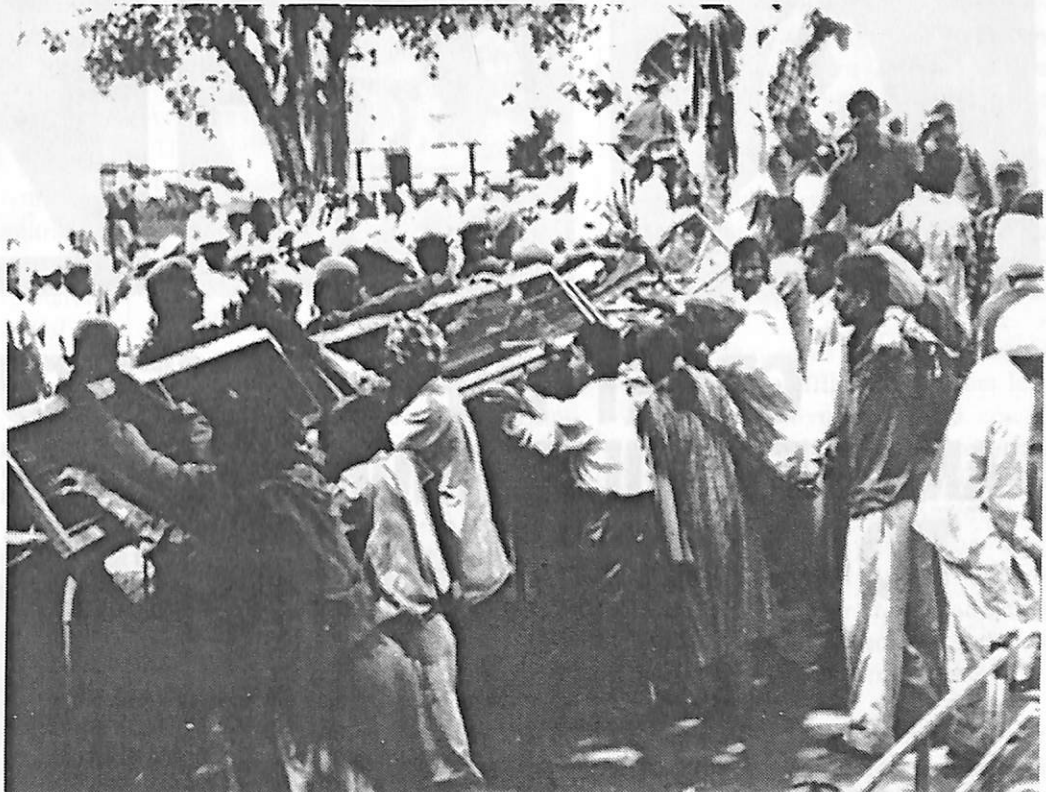
6) A culvert at Chandrayanapalli road (Ditchpalli mandal of Nizamabad district) was blasted.

7) The Market chairman of Kamareddy, Ponnala Laxma Reddy's house was blasted in Akkapur village (Macharam mandal of Nizamabad district).

8) The TDP office at Choutpalli (Kammarpalli mandal) was blasted.

9) The office and furniture of the Talmadala railway station in Nizamabad-Secunderabad section were burnt down.

10) The telephone exchanges at Sardana and Pathur villages of Medak district were burnt down.



**Indian masses vent their anger on Indian fascist troops.**

11) The forest department office at Burgupalli was burnt.

**DECEMBER 16 :**

1) The Uppalvai railway station (Nizamabad district) was blasted.

2) The mandal president of Basheerabad-Kammarpalli (Nizamabad district), Gopikishan's house was blasted.

3) The marphones at Tekriyal of Kamareddy mandal and Kalojivada village of Tadvai mandal (Nizamabad district) were destroyed.

4) At Mallapur mandal (Karimnagar district) landlord Chandrasekhar Rao's house was blasted out.

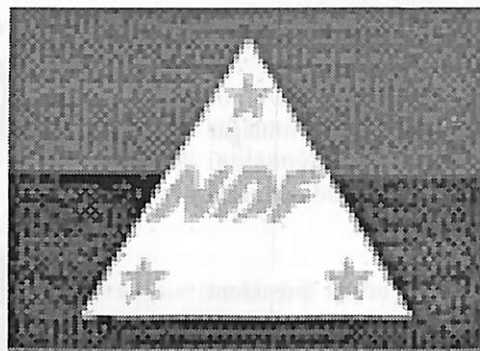
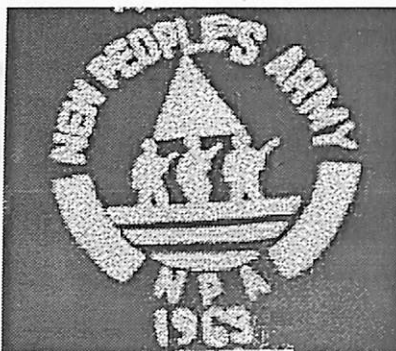
5) The marphone at Bontanapalli village and a jeep at Regunta village of Veenavankamandal (Karimnagar district) were burnt down.

6) A C-dot telephone exchange at Shankarpatnam mandal centre was burnt down.

7) A culvert at Bandalaragu near Veldurti (Guntur district) was blasted.

8) A guest house at Penakacharla dam in Anantapur district was blasted.

9) The Amaravati Express train was stopped at Chalama railway station (Kurnool district), passengers were asked to get down and its 15 bogies were burnt down and destroyed. Afterwards the People's War guerrillas addressed the 600 passengers. They explained to the people the circumstances leading to the train's stoppage and told them about the fascist atrocities of the state and central governments in which three people's leaders were brutally murdered. After addressing the people, the guerrillas and people destroyed the railway station also. #



# GREET THE 21st CENTURY AND NEW MILLENNIUM WITH THE RESOLVE TO INTENSIFY THE REVOLUTION

*Message of Armando Liwanag, Chairman  
Central Committee, Communist Party of the Philippines  
December 26, 1999*

**A**s we celebrate the 31st anniversary of the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, we greet the 21st century and the new millennium with resolve to intensify the people's democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat.

We are determined to complete the revolutionary struggle for national independence and democracy that started more than a century ago. Our revolutionary forefathers heroically fought and won against Spanish colonialism which had ruled the country for more than three centuries. They proceeded to fight the aggression of US imperialism. Carrying forward the revolutionary legacy, we shall continue to fight US imperialism and its puppets even for another century.

On the broad scale of history, the new-democratic revolution through

protracted people's war, which we are now carrying out, is a short period. But we are ready to pursue it for as long as necessary to win complete victory. We are confident that within the first few decades of the 21st century, we shall be able to establish the people's democratic republic and proceed to the socialist revolution.

Our revolutionary struggle is part of the world proletarian revolution. We are benefited by the historical experience and current struggles of the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world. And we resolve to continue contributing the best we can to the resurgence and advance of the world proletarian revolution against imperialism and all reaction.

**I**n the decade that is about to pass, the imperialists and all reactionaries have gloated over the fall of the revisionist regimes and misrepresented it as the end of the socialist cause. But from year to year, the crisis of the world capitalist system and the new world disorder have worsened. The

people have no way out other than through armed revolution.

Indeed, the revisionist betrayal of socialism has allowed the imperialists and all reactionaries to intensify the oppression and exploitation of the people under the slogan of "free market" globalization. But in turn, the people's suffering generates revolutionary resistance. We are certain that in the forthcoming century the proletariat and oppressed peoples shall win far greater victories than in the century that is about to pass.

## I. Certain victory of socialism over monopoly capitalism

**A**s Marx and Engels have taught us, the contradiction between the social character of the forces of production and the private character of appropriation under capitalism is irreconcilable. Lenin has further taught us that such contradiction sharpens and becomes more violent in the era of imperialism.



Thus, the outgoing century has been characterized by grave economic crises and wars and has become the most violent in the history of mankind.

**T**he adoption of ever higher technology in the imperialist countries intensifies the contradiction between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat. By increasing the constant capital for equipment and raw materials, the monopoly bourgeoisie cuts down the variable capital for wages in order to maximize profits and counter the ten-

dency of profit rates to fall upon the increase in production.

The result is the chronic and ever worsening crisis of overproduction relative to the shrinking of the market. The crisis deepens as the monopoly bourgeoisie cuts down the cost of labor by laying off workers, presses down wage conditions and further concentrates productive and finance capital.

The average growth rate of all imperialist countries is stagnant and fluctuating downward. The growth

rate of the US is above the average because it has the lead in high technology, attracts foreign investments in US securities from Japan and the European Union and draws the most advantage from the exploitation of the underdeveloped countries. The biggest bubble of finance capital in the entire history of capitalism is puffed up in the United States by the overvaluation of monopoly assets.

The two other global centers of capitalism are afflicted by higher levels of unemployment. As a consequence, the workers' strike movement is more vigorous in the European Union than in the US. However, in Japan, the monopoly-bourgeois state has gone into heavy public deficit-spending to counter the decade-long recession and hold back an outbreak of the workers' strike movement.

**U**S imperialism is the main promoter of the neoliberal myth of free market in order to scapegoat the working class and social spending by government as the cause of stagnation and inflation and to dictate trade and investment liberalization, privatization and deregulation on all other countries. In fact, state monopoly capitalism and protectionism are growing in various forms and ways to serve private monopoly firms in all imperialist countries.

The monopoly bourgeoisie has used state power to cheapen labor and to appropriate public resources. The result is the rapid inflation of assets in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries. The concentration and centralization of capital in the imperialist countries, chiefly in the US, is proceeding at an unprecedentedly rapid rate, reducing all other countries to the status of loan beggars and consigning them to plunging levels of poverty and misery.

The recent Seattle meeting of the WTO went into shambles as the imperialist powers themselves accused



Police disperse protesters at the Seattle meeting of the WTO.



each other of being in fact protectionist and likewise the client states accused the imperialists of being protectionist against them. Right in the belly of the beast, US imperialism, the American workers and people of various nationalities encircled the WTO and denounced the imperialists. Their protests were suppressed by brutal police action. But the battle in Seattle has signaled a new wave of mass protests, which is likely to strike again at the forthcoming IMF-World Bank meeting.

At the base of the global economic and financial crises in the '90s is the fact that all types of goods and services are now overproduced relative to the shrinking global market. Under these circumstances, the competition among imperialist countries is sharpening. The few South Korea-type economies, touted since the '70s as newly industrialized countries, are being crushed under the weight of the industrial surpluses of their imperialist masters. Thus, the workers' strike movement has sprung up dramatically in such places.

The countries, previously betrayed by revisionist regimes and now complete adjuncts of the US-ruled capitalist system, have become dumping grounds of surplus products and speculative investments from the West and are plunging from one level of economic and social degradation to another. In varying degrees, they have become neocolonies of the imperialists, are ruled by the comprador big bourgeoisie and are descending to the general condition of the third world.

**R**ussia today is an imperialist power relative to the oppressed nationalities within its borders and in its environs. But economically, it does not have much to offer to the world capitalist market beyond oil, which is in global oversupply. Like Russia, some East European countries offer steel, which is also in global oversupply. China is

the biggest sweatshop for the production of low value-added consumer goods and finds itself hemmed in by its own overproduction and that of a few underdeveloped countries engaged in the same line of production.

Although Russia and China have become subordinated to the world capitalist system, the US and other imperialist countries remain wary of assertions of national sovereignty by these countries, their possession of nuclear weapons and the possible resurgence of revolutionary forces. The US and other imperialist powers covet these countries as neocolonies and wish to prevent them from becoming industrial competitors.

The strategic line of the US-led imperialist alliance is to encircle Russia and China with the NATO and the pro-US European military forces and the US-Japan security partnership and to further weaken their economies through the local comprador big bourgeoisie in order to render useless their nuclear and other weapon systems.

The end of the cold war between the US and the defunct Soviet Union has not meant the end of tensions due to imperialist acts of intervention and aggression. The US and other imperialist powers have been encouraged by the internal weaknesses of China and Russia to intervene in their internal affairs and commit or threaten acts of aggression within their borders and in their vicinity.

By becoming adjuncts of the world capitalist system and continuously deteriorating economically and socially, both Russia and China have become polarized internally and

become hotbeds of social conflict. The new big bourgeoisie is extremely intolerable to the people as it ceaselessly robs them and inflicts terrible suffering on them.

**T**he great legacy of Lenin and Stalin is still alive in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. There is a proliferation of parties inspired by such legacy even as phony communists and social democrats are still prominently competing with the blatant anticommunists. The proletariat and people are beginning to stir. The revolutionary forces are gradually developing.

The imperialists expect that in the first or second decade of the next century the rulers of China would peacefully cast off the signboards of socialism and the communist party as in Russia. But workers' strikes and peasant uprisings have broken out although sporadically. It is only a matter of time before a genuine communist party arises under the inspiration of the great legacy of Mao.

The overwhelming majority of the countries of the world are semicolonial and semifeudal. What-ever industries some of them established in the past are being destroyed under the terms of neocolonialism and neoliberalism, as dictated by the imperialist countries bilaterally or through such multilateral agencies as the IMF, World Bank and WTO.

The imperialist countries require the client countries to accord national treatment to foreign investors, press down wage levels, privatize state assets, deregulate and open up their economies to the dumping of surplus

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**At the base of the global economic and financial crises in the '90s is the fact that all types of goods and services are now overproduced relative to the shrinking global market.**

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goods and to the flow of speculative investments.

Since the late '70s, the client countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have suffered from the global overproduction of raw materials, the ever deteriorating terms of trade and the ever rising levels of foreign debt. A few of them, like those in Southeast Asia, have gone into the production of low value-added semi-manufactures for export. But these have become overproduced in the '90s.

Together with the former revisionist-ruled countries, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are now in the landscape of social and political turbulence. There is widespread counterrevolutionary violence instigated by imperialist powers and arising from the rivalries of reactionary cliques spouting the slogans of chauvinism, ethnocentrism and religion.

The US and other imperialist powers have taken the initiative to wage wars of aggression, such as those against Yugoslavia and Iraq, and have used high-tech weapons and economic sanctions that are far more deadly and indiscriminate against the people than the weapons in the hands of rival reactionary groups that launch civil

wars and coups against each other, often attended by massacres.

Amidst the widespread counter-revolutionary violence, however, there are countries where Marxist-Leninist parties are leading protracted people's war along the line of the new-democratic revolution. There are other revolutionary movements fighting for national self-determination or merely against authoritarianism. There are also states, like those of North Korea and Cuba, which are standing up for their national independence and the socialist aspirations of their peoples.

In our region of Southeast Asia, the depressed economic and social conditions due to the financial crisis of 1997 have caused unprecedented social unrest. As a consequence, the Indonesian people have overthrown the long-running US puppet dictator Suharto and the East Timorese people have won their national independence. Like the

Filipino people, the other peoples of Southeast Asia are disgusted with the ruling systems of big compradors and landlords and wish to make revolution.

All basic contradictions in the world capitalist system are sharpening. The main contradiction is the one between the imperialist countries and the oppressed peoples. So far and for

a long while to come, it is this contradiction which is directly generating the conditions for the revolutionary parties of the proletariat to wage armed revolution.

The contradiction among the imperialist powers are intensifying on economic, political and military

issues. But so far, the US-led imperialist alliance is holding insofar as they are united in oppressing and exploiting the people of the world and trying to contain and engage Russia and China, which they fear as imperialist rivals if uncontrolled and not further weakened.

The outbreak of war in the contradiction among the imperialists can result from the continuous worsening of the crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system, the rise to power of fascist forces in any imperialist country (including Russia) and the realignment of imperialist powers in exploiting the oppressed peoples. Only the revolutionary people led by the proletariat can stop fascism and war or turn the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war.

In the imperialist countries, where the contradiction between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat is intensifying in varying degrees, the monopoly bourgeoisie always tries to

**In the Imperialist countries, where the contradiction between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat is intensifying in varying degrees, the monopoly bourgeoisie always tries to shift the burden of crisis to the client countries.**



French workers demonstrate against government cuts on social spending.



shift the burden of crisis to the client countries. But it never ceases to extract surplus value from the proletariat in the imperialist countries. The rate of exploitation and the rate of unemployment have increased in imperialist countries.

The polarization between the proletariat and the rest of the people upholding the banner of socialism on one side and the monopoly bourgeoisie and its fascist forces on the other side will proceed faster as the struggle of the oppressed people and the interimperialist contradictions further intensify.

Even as imperialism has benefited from the revisionist betrayal of socialism in the Soviet Union since 1956 and in China since 1976, the material conditions that have emerged cannot be contained and controlled by monopoly capitalism. Thus, in so short a time, imperialism has been thrown into an unprecedented economic and social crisis.

**S**uch forces of production as the higher technology and the more educated and highly skilled proletariat are appropriate to socialist relations of production and not to capitalist relations of production which are dominated and driven by the motive of private profit. In fact such forces of production are again and again straining against the capitalist relations of production, trying to break these fetters.

The technology now available for production can wipe out poverty in a world where more than four-fifths of humanity live below the poverty line and one-half live on less than two dollars a day. But greater production means overproduction relative to the market in the capitalist system. For the monopoly bourgeoisie to maximize profits, it increases the rate of exploitation on those workers who remain on the job and keeps the overwhelming majority of the world's



**Anti-riot police block the way of demonstrators out to protest the pro-imperialist and anti-democratic policies of the US-puppet Estrada regime.**

work force in a condition of unemployment and underemployment.

Desperate in offering new products for accelerated profit-taking and capital expansion, the monopoly bourgeoisie has commercialized communications technology previously reserved for its military forces. This same technology is now available for the revolutionaries for conducting revolutionary propaganda and other work and for economic planning and socialist democracy in the future.

Imperialism tries to pass itself off as a new thing with the alias, globalization. But this signifies something old, a retrogression to the "laissez faire" rapacity of capitalism as it raced towards monopoly capitalism or imperialism from 1870 and onwards to the first interimperialist war in 1914.

"Free market" globalization since 1980 has brought to the current decade the most irrational destruction of productive forces and the most avaricious concentration of capital and thus an unprecedented crisis and disorder in the world capitalist system.

As the 20th century draws to a close, the stage is set for the great bat-

les in the epochal struggle between the proletariat and the monopoly bourgeoisie. The current grave crisis and great disorder in the world capitalist system are the prelude to great upheavals and social revolution in the 21st century.

## II. The Ever Rotting Domestic Ruling System

**F**rom decade to decade, the chronic crisis of the semi-colonial and semifeudal system has deepened and aggravated. The endless series of IMF-directed structural adjustment and stabilization programs and the shift of emphasis in official pretense, from World Bank-directed "development" under the Marcos regime to the GATT and WTO-directed "free market" under the post-Marcos regimes have made the ruling system more rotten than ever before.

During the prolonged period of Marcos fascist dictatorship, infrastructure projects, raw-material production, construction of tourist facilities and even sheer bureaucratic and military waste of resources were passed off as economic development.





Budgetary and trade deficits widened and public borrowing mounted until the US-instigated fascist regime became untenable.

In the post-Marcos regimes, all top-level puppet politicians are under orders by imperialism not even to pretend that they are for industrial development. The controlling term for them is "free market", while they are leashed to the production of raw materials plus low value-added semimanufactures for export. They are required to liberalize trade and investments in favor of foreign monopoly capitalism, privatize state assets and deregulate against labor standards, environmental protection and other social concerns.

The low value-added semimanufactures (semiconductors, garments, toys, shoes and the like) account for around half of gross export receipts. But their import content run as high as 90 percent. These types of goods are now under deteriorating terms of trade due to global overproduction, like raw materials since the late '70s. It is actually the export of contract workers that fetches more foreign exchange earnings than any export product.

Public works and private construction of residential and office towers have been used to pump-prime the economy. This has not stimulated any kind of lasting domestic production but only the importation of construction equipment, structural steel and luxury goods for the exploiting classes. This has merely aggravated the perennial trade deficits and the rapid increase of the local and foreign public debt as well as promoted in the neoliberal way the shadiest credit transactions and contracts between the foreign lenders and suppliers on the one hand and the bureaucrat capitalists and cronies on the other hand.

The Philippines remains a backward agrarian country and yet it has become a net food importer of rice, corn, sugar and meat. This is the effect of trade liberalization which allows the dumping of agricultural surpluses from other countries to the

detriment of domestic agricultural production. Food security is also ruined by the rapid reclassification of agricultural land as commercial and industrial land for real estate speculation, by the alienation of public land, mineral, forest and water resources under various pretexts and by the escalating campaigns of military suppression in the countryside.

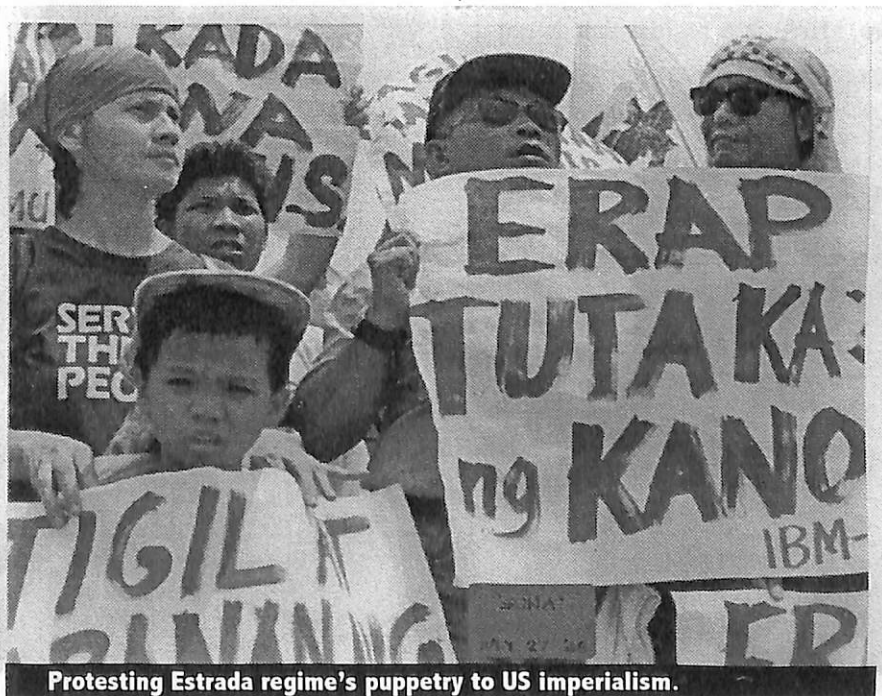
Just as they are banned by their imperialist masters from promising industrial development, the ruling politicians are banned from promising land reform. Even the few pieces of rice and corn land, previously covered by a tokenistic land reform program of the reactionary government, are now being reclassified as commercial or industrial land and are being repossessed by the landlords or bought from the state by real estate speculators.

The entire economy and the reactionary government are dependent on foreign credit. But the foreign credit that is now available is merely for stabilizing banks and for a limited number of public works.

The US-Estrada regime has grave difficulties in raising revenues in the form of tax from a depressed economy, tariff from liberalized trade and proceeds from sale of dwindling corporate assets of the state. A large chunk of the budget is gobbled up by debt service and military and police spending. Consequently, there is a scramble for limited funds among the office of the president, national departments, Congress and local officials.

The US-Estrada ruling clique is running a government that is bankrupt. It has imposed an unannounced austerity program at the expense of

**There is practically a return to colonial times and to the ways of the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship in terms of puppetry, corruption, deceptiveness and brutality.**



Protesting Estrada regime's puppetry to US imperialism.



the people. It is under orders from its imperialist masters as well as its big comprador-landlord patrons to carry out the most treasonous and stupid policies.

The ruling clique declares that the Philippines can compete globally only by auctioning off the national patrimony. Thus, it is campaigning for the rewrite of the 1987 constitution in order to allow unrestricted foreign ownership of land and all types of businesses, including the exploitation of natural resources, public utilities, banks, retail trade, schools, mass media and advertising.

The rewrite to make the reactionary constitution far worse than it is now is also meant to adjust it to the Visiting Forces Agreement which surrenders national sovereignty and territorial integrity to US imperialism, remove the formal guarantees of civil and political rights and prolong the terms of office of the ruling clique.

There is practically a return to colonial times and likewise to the ways of the US-Marcos fascist dictatorship in terms of puppetry, corruption, deceptiveness and brutality. The ruling clique consists of direct political descendants and the most notorious cronies of the late unlamented fascist dictator.

The US-Estrada regime berates the people for marking the declaration of martial law on September 21 and condemning the human rights violations under the US-Marcos regime and admonishes them to forget about these. At the same time, it collaborates with the Marcos family in evading the enforcement of the US court decision to compensate the victims of human rights violations. This family and the most notorious Marcos cronies are keeping their concealed ill-gotten assets and taking out from sequestration those ill-gotten assets that are still under litigation.

The US-Estrada regime is escalating military and police campaigns of suppression and perpetrate human rights violations with impunity without having to declare martial law. In fact, entire communities in both rural and urban areas are being subjected to zoning and search operations as well as forced mass eviction and evacuation. An increasing number of people are victims of warrantless arrests, illegal detention, torture, extrajudicial killings, including massacres.

**T**he rising level of oppression is directly connected with the rising level of exploitation by the imperialists and a narrow ruling clique. Brute force is used to compel people to leave the land which Estrada and his cronies covet for acquisition and likewise intimidate the people in general. The regime cynically describes as land reform the most vicious corporate tricks of land-grabbing and praises the big comprador-landlord Eduardo Cojuangco as the godfather of land reform.

Together with the big comprador Lucio Tan, Estrada insults the workers by claiming they are "pampered". The US-Estrada regime freely uses the military and police forces to threaten and attack workers, especially during strikes. Here is a regime that is not

satisfied with the detrimental effects of the so-called free market economic policy and the labor flexibility policy. It goes further with its propensity to fling insults and use physical force against the workers.

The reasons are clear why the US-Estrada regime has terminated the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. It considers the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law as an obstacle to a policy of brutality against the people. It is terribly afraid of negotiations on basic social, economic, political and constitutional reforms because it is hell-bent on rewriting the 1987 constitution for the benefit of the imperialists and the local exploiting classes.

It is necessary for the broad masses of the people to rise up and fight for their national and democratic rights and interests. As far as the armed revolutionary movement is concerned, it is ever more necessary to intensify the basic tactical offensives for wiping out enemy units and seizing their weapons as well as to launch special tactical offensives to punish the most notorious traitors, human rights violators and plunderers and to serve notice that foreign oppressors and exploiters are not welcome in the country.



**NPA red fighters drill before a tactical offensive.**



It is no longer sufficient to denounce as farces the periodic elections, staged by the reactionaries, and to implement a policy of revolutionary dual tactics towards reactionary candidates. It is necessary to actively prevent the most notorious malefactors from running as candidates and to take punitive action against them. Assaults on their armed convoys can serve to dispel the illusion of democracy conjured by the electoral farce of the enemy.

It is absurd that on the basis of mere suspicion the enemy can do as he pleases to harm and kill revolutionaries and that revolutionaries should abstain from arresting, trying and punishing those who have

**At whatever rate the armed revolutionary movement can carry out the just punitive actions, the socio-economic and political crisis of the ruling system is accelerating.**

committed the most dastardly crimes against the people. Moreover, the ruling system would become even more wobbly when it becomes unable to conjure the illusion of democracy.

**A**t whatever rate the armed revolutionary movement can carry out the just punitive actions, the socio-economic and political crisis of the ruling system is accelerating. The all-round bankruptcy of the reactionary state limits the amount of spoils available for amicable mutual accommodation among the rival political factions of the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

The bureaucratic corruption of those in power becomes more easily exposed by those who are out of power. The contradictions among the reactionaries have become more bitter and tend to be more violent. Reports are already rife that the US-Estrada regime would not last until the end of its term, either because there would be

a coup, an assassination or a declaration of incompetence against Estrada.

An increasing number of the members of Congress are rankling that Estrada has accused them of thievery through the traditional pork barrel. But he has turned the congressional pork barrel into a presidential pork barrel and has made Congress a beggar. In the style of Marcos, he and his

son grab the lion's share of the graft in public works and goes around vain-gloriously ladling out public funds.

In obedience to the dictates of the IMF and World Bank, the Estrada regime is laying off a great number of civil employees of the reactionary government. These lowly paid employ-

ees are now engaged in a protest movement to retain their jobs. Officials and employees at the provincial and municipal levels of the reactionary government have also expressed their outrage at the arbitrary reduction of internal revenue allocations for them.

In contrast to the civil bureaucracy, the military and police forces get a far higher proportion of budgetary allocations, especially in the name of military modernization. Many of their officers are running criminal syndicates engaged in robbery, kidnapping for ransom, smuggling and prostitution. No less than Estrada himself and his criminal associates are engaged in criminal operations, of which the most lucrative is technical smuggling. This also accounts for lessened tariff collection.

By following and carrying out the neocolonial and neoliberal dictates of its imperialist masters, the puppet regime of Estrada oppresses and exploits the Filipino people and

inflicts intolerable suffering on them. They are therefore resisting the regime with increasing resoluteness and militancy.

The US-Estrada regime is already isolated as a result of its own blatant antinational and antidemocratic policies and acts. A broad alliance of the toiling masses, the middle social strata, respectable institutions and anti-Estrada reactionaries is now further isolating the regime.

This broad alliance has conducted nationwide mass protest actions against the return of the Marcoses and Marcos cronies to power with Estrada, against the corruption of old and new cronies, the plan to rewrite the 1987 constitution and the suppression of press freedom.

The leaders of the broad alliance have repeatedly warned Estrada that they can arouse and mobilize the people to remove him from power, as in the case of Marcos, for violating the most fundamental rights of the people. The broad alliance can be further developed to oust Estrada or compel him to resign.

**W**hile always ready to cooperate and coordinate with other forces, the progressive mass organizations and alliances of the workers, peasants, women, youth and other sectors have repeatedly launched nationwide mass protest actions. The issues include wages and workers' rights, agrarian reform and food security, women's rights, student rights, the Visiting Forces Agreement, the repeated oil price hikes, human rights violations, and so on.

The people recognize that legal protest movements are important and necessary for exposing the antinational and antidemocratic character of the ruling system and the current ruling clique. They also recognize that the armed revolutionary movement is the



most important and most necessary weapon for overthrowing the ruling system of big compradors and landlords and establishing the people's democratic system on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance.

The people condemn the US-Estrada regime's termination of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and ridicule the so-called localized negotiations under the auspices of a GRP-controlled "national peace forum" as nothing but a futile psywar scheme to solicit surrenderees and fragment the revolutionary movement and as a complement to the escalating military and police campaigns of suppression, under Oplan Makabayan, against the revolutionary forces and the people.

The people welcome the alliance of the National Democratic Front and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front against the US-Estrada regime. This alliance involves mutual respect and mutual support against the common enemy. All the revolutionary organizations within the NDFP, including the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army support the Moro people's struggle for self-determination and democracy.

The struggle against the US-Estrada regime is part of the long-term struggle against the ruling system. The Party can go into any alliance to isolate and destroy the current regime. At the same time, it maintains its independence and initiative and develops its own revolutionary strength in the process of fighting every regime that the ruling system can still put forward until its final overthrow.

### III. Intensify the revolution

**T**he Communist Party of the Philippines is well prepared to lead the Filipino proletariat and people in accomplishing the new-democratic and socialist

stages of the Philippine revolution. It has a correct ideological, political and organizational line. It has been tempered by decades of revolutionary struggle, has learned lessons from its experience and from abroad and has clear fighting tasks. It has won significant victories and accumulated strength.

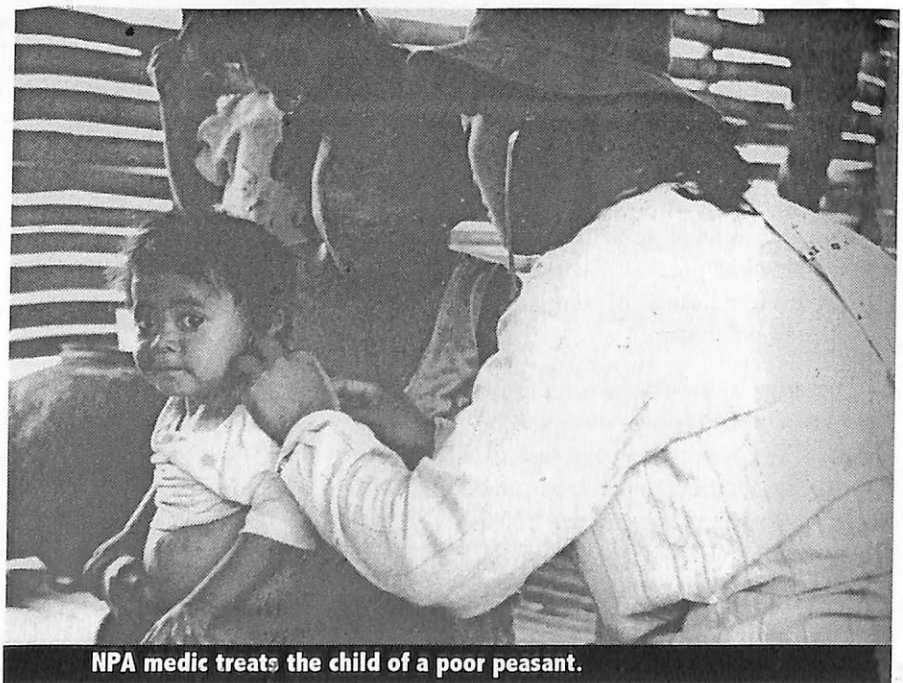
The Second Great Rectification Movement has reaffirmed the basic revolutionary principles put forward by the First Great Rectification Movement and by the congress of reestablishment of the Party in 1968. It has successfully reinvigorated and strengthened the Party in an all-round way, for the protracted people's war along the line of new-democratic revolution.

The Party upholds Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its theoretical guide and ideological line and integrates it with the practice of the Philippine revolution. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the telescope and microscope of the revolution. It guides us in comprehending the history and current circumstances of the Philippine revolution and world proletarian revolution and provides us with the foresight, up to the stage of consolidating socialism, combating revisionism and preventing the restoration of capitalism and staying firmly on the road to communism.

By grasping the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method of the revolutionary proletariat, the Party has understood well the history and current circumstances of the Philippines. It has summed up its revolutionary experience in a comprehensive and profound way and has learned lessons from both positive and negative experiences.

Periodically and on a timely basis, it sums up and analyzes experience and engages in criticism and self-criticism in the course of current work in order to improve work and the style of work and further clarify the revolutionary tasks and methods of carrying them out. Thus the revolutionary struggle of the people is advancing from victory to victory.

**T**he Party has repudiated and combated subjectivism that took the form of empiricism and dogmatism and ultimately led to revisionism, liquidationism and reformism. The unremoulded petty-bourgeois elements who systematically generated subjectivism have openly



NPA medic treats the child of a poor peasant.



Massive protests greeted the signing of the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) giving US military forces unhampered use of Philippine territory for basing and aggression against other countries.

exposed themselves as traitors and degenerates serving the ruling system and the imperialists. The worst of them are shamelessly either in the service of the US-Estrada regime, imperialist-funded agencies or Trotskyite, racketeering and bourgeois-liberal grouplets.

**T**he Party has frustrated the imperialist ideological offensive, which proclaimed capitalism and liberal democracy as the end of history and misrepresented the fall of the revisionist regimes as proof of the futility of socialism. The Party has reaffirmed its foundational criticism and repudiation of modern revisionism and is vindicated by the full unmasking of the revisionist renegades as the agents of capitalist restoration.

The level of ideological consciousness of all Party cadres and members has risen as a result of ideological struggle in the Second Great Rectification Movement and of the application and verification of correct ideas in the course of revolutionary practice. Formal study courses at primary, intermediate and advanced levels, study meetings in leading organs

and units, social investigation, summing up of work and criticism and self-criticism are continuously being undertaken.

The theoretical organ of the Party and Marxist-Leninist classics in books and pamphlets are widely distributed in the Party. For the benefit of comrades with less formal education, simplified texts and illustrated study materials have been designed. Master copies of educational materials are available in computer disks for reproduction. A website is maintained on the internet and appropriate materials have been posted on it.

The Party steadfastly carries out the general political line of new-democratic revolution through a protracted people's war in correspondence with the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions of the Philippines. This revolution is a preparation for socialism, which is realizable only after the overthrow of the ruling system dominated by foreign monopoly capitalism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

As the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the Party vigorously conducts underground work among the workers and rapidly promotes both the current general line and Marxist-

Leninist education among the workers. It guides and encourages the trade union movement and all the political struggles of the working class. It builds the Party organization among the workers in an underground way. Thus, it can play its leading role effectively and be at the core of the entire workers' movement.

In view of the fact that there are so many workers being thrown out of their jobs, the Party

should be able to dispatch more proletarian revolutionary cadres and worker-activists to serve in the New People's Army, link up with peasant masses and do mass work among them. Thus, the leadership of the Party and the working class and the worker-peasant alliance are further strengthened.

**I**t is fine for the armed revolutionary movement that the reactionary government has abandoned its pretenses for land reform. The solution of the land problem is the main content of the democratic revolution. It concerns the peasant masses, the biggest and most oppressed and exploited class in the Philippines. It can be realized only by integrating revolutionary armed struggle, land reform and mass-base building.

In the process, the peasantry is the main force of the revolution. It is the class that directly sustains in a big way the armed revolution nationwide. It has enabled the Party to build the New People's Army and wage a protracted people's war by which political and military strength can be accumulated until conditions are ripe for a successful seizure of the cities.



The New People's Army is mainly a peasant army under the absolute leadership of the Party. It operates in more than 80 guerrilla fronts nationwide. It is still in the stage of strategic defensive. After a significant period of expanding and consolidating its mass base, it is launching tactical offensives against enemy weak points with increasing frequency and on an expanding scale. It is determined to wage extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base.

It has recently demonstrated its fighting capabilities with well-planned and well-executed tactical offensives, including raids, ambushes and arrest operations, on the basis of accurate intelligence and prompt reconnaissance. These are attainable because of Party leadership, wholehearted mass support and competent and courageous NPA units. Among the outstanding achievements of the people are raids and ambushes which have resulted in the capture of weapons and arrest operations which have resulted in the capture of enemy officers, including a general.

**T**he people's army has been instrumental in the building of the organs of political power, the revolutionary mass organizations and Party branches in the countryside. Mass campaigns are being carried out with regard to mass education, land reform, production, public health and hygiene, self-defense, settlement of disputes and cultural devel-

opment. The villages are being turned into economic, political, military and cultural bastions of the revolution.

Towards the solution of the land problem, the minimum land reform program of rent reduction, regulation of interest rates, raising farm wages, improving farm-gate prices and promoting production is being carried out. At the same time, despotic landlords and landgrabbers are being thwarted. There are exemplary cases of land confiscation from despotic landlords. And lands that have been grabbed by landgrabbers are returned to the rightful owners. The ultimate goal for the benefit of all landless tillers is the free and equitable distribution of land to them in the maximum land reform program.

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**The legal mass movement has surged vigorously this year. The workers' trade unions and mass organizations of peasants, fishermen, urban poor, women, youth, religious believers, teachers, health workers, lawyers and other professionals have made protests on multisectoral and sectoral issues.**

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ly forged alliance of the NDFP with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front is of great significance and consequence in the armed struggle against the common enemy.

The legal mass movement has surged vigorously this year. The workers' trade unions and mass organizations of peasants, fishermen, urban poor, women, youth, religious believers, teachers, health workers, lawyers and other professionals have made

protests on multisectoral and sectoral issues. The multisectoral and sectoral legal alliances of progressive forces have demonstrated their increasing ability to conduct nationwide and local mass actions, independent of the anti-Estrada reactionary forces as well as in combination with them in order to isolate the US-Estrada regime.

The Estrada regime is hell-bent on using the coercive apparatuses of the state in order to suppress the armed revolutionary movement as well as the legal democratic movement for the purpose of throwing the country wide open for exploitation by the imperialists and the narrow ruling clique of big compradors and landlords. The people must therefore be resolute, vigilant and militant in opposing them.

**T**he people's war must be intensified. There must be the basic tactical offensives that are aimed at increasing the armed strength of the revolutionary movement. There must also be special tactical offensives aimed at punishing the most notorious traitors, violators of human rights and plunderers and demonstrating that the oppressors and exploiters are not secure from punishment wherever they are.

The Party follows the organizational principle of democratic centralism by promoting the line of centralized leadership on the basis of democracy and democracy under the guidance of centralized leadership and by opposing bureaucratism and liberalism. It has strengthened itself by taking deep roots among the toiling masses and recruiting Party members from the ranks of advanced mass activists.

The number of Party members has increased since the start of the Second Great Rectification Movement. More importantly, their quality is high because of their education in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the intensification of mass work. A significant num-



ber of cadres and activists from the ranks of the workers and educated youth have been dispatched to the countryside to serve the people's army and peasant masses.

Party branches are built in factories, transport lines, urban poor communities, in schools, offices, reactionary institutions and in haciendas and in the barrios. The proportion of Party members from the ranks of workers is increasing rapidly. So is the proportion of those from the peasantry.

The Party is healthy and growing because it has removed from its ranks revisionists, liquidationists and the incorrigible opportunists of the "Left" and Right variety as well as the centrists. These opportunists lorded over organs and units by acting as bureaucrat centralists towards those within their organizational scope and as ultrademocrats, liberals and anarchists in relation to higher organs.

**F**or the Party to lead the new-democratic revolution to complete victory, we need far more members than the current few tens of thousands that we have. We need at least hundreds of thousands. To move towards this direction, we must from one period to another have an organizational-educational plan by which we can systematically recruit Party candi-

date-members from the ranks of the advanced mass activists.

The call is to recruit Party members boldly but not to allow a single undesirable in. All honest and hardworking mass activists who are willing to accept the Party Constitution and Program can be recruited as Party candidate-members. Within the period prescribed by the Party Constitution, candidate-members should be elevated to full members after taking the Party primary course and fulfilling trial work.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism and broad anti-imperialist solidarity, the Communist Party of the Philippines leads and carries out the Philippine revolution. Workers and oppressed peoples must unite in order to overthrow imperialism and all reaction and achieve national and social liberation.

History has proven that socialism can be established and built in one country after another. But to attain the ultimate goal of communism, the revo-

lutionary proletariat and people must first defeat imperialism on a global scale. Before this global victory, the ruling proletariat and the people in socialist countries must also combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and further consolidate socialism.

The era of imperialism and proletar-

ian revolution continues. It takes an entire historical epoch to bring about the global defeat of imperialism and conversely the global victory of socialism. All genuine communists,

from generation to generation, are ready to wage revolutionary struggle for any length of time in order to achieve the victory of socialism in a series of countries until the ultimate goal of communism is reached.

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**There shall be  
great battles in the  
epochal struggle  
between the proletariat  
and the people  
of the world on one side  
and Imperialism  
and reaction  
on the other side.**

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It is certain that in the early decades of the forthcoming century there will be a conflagration of people's wars and broad anti-imperialist movements on an unprecedented global scale. The socialist and anti-imperialist movements are bound to resurge. There shall be great battles in the epochal struggle between the proletariat and the people of the world on one side and imperialism and reaction on the other side. To repeat for emphasis, there shall be far greater revolutionary victories in the 21st century than in the outgoing century.

All genuine communists are optimistic that when the proletariat and people again build socialist societies in the forthcoming century, they shall apply well the lessons they can learn from the actual restoration of capitalism by revisionists and from the proven teachings of Comrade Mao on the need for a series of cultural revolutions under proletarian dictatorship in order to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism until the global defeat of imperialism leads to the realization of communism. #





# AGRARIAN REVOLUTION:

## Bottom line for the success of the people's war

*(Reprint from LIBERATION, publication of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines.)*

**I**n early November, President Joseph Estrada, with the media in tow, distributed certificates of land ownership awards (CLOAs) in a town in the Bondoc peninsula (Quezon province). A knee-jerk reaction to a series of successful tactical offensives of the New People's Army in the area, long deemed a stronghold of the revolutionary movement?

The photo-op was obviously intended to make the public believe that the Estrada regime was seriously implementing the bogus Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP). More to the point, to counteract the concrete gains of the agrarian revolution.

Over the past 30 years, the underground peasant movement has carried out the revolutionary agrarian program in varying degrees, from reducing the prices of farm inputs to de-facto transfer of land ownership rights to the peasants. At the local level in many areas, these gains have effectively checked landlord resistance.

For the peasant family the gains have meant a bit more food on the table and more energies devoted to social life - and less money and time spent to serve the pesky landlord and his parasitic underlings. Before, every harvest time meant distraught mothers bending their backs in low-paying

farm work, or children working instead of going to school just to help the family make ends meet.

Simple as these changes may seem, they form the basis of widespread peasant support for the people's democratic revolution. Yet before attaining them, the peasants and their comrades in the guerilla zone have to go through painstaking struggles.

Before 1994, when the movement was mired in military adventurist errors, the NPA led the peasant masses into believing that they could achieve the highest possible target of owning the lands they tilled through military strikes against the landlords and the military. The program and tactics provoked disproportionate reprisals and even increased land monopolies. The state armed forces wiped out much of the agrarian revo-

lutionary gains and many of the local peasant organizations.

The Second Great Rectification Campaign refocused on lowering land rents as a minimum program. This and deft alliance-building, based on careful class analysis, slowly but surely chipped away at the political power of the landlords. A story of relative success in this regard is that of the peasant mass movement in San Antonio.

### Taking root, bearing fruit

**S**an Antonio is a coconut-producing town in Southern Tagalog, where landlords made peasants surrender up to 80% of their harvest as land rent. The government plan to make the town a center



Members of revolutionary peasant association discuss their problems.





for cattle-raising and exotic-fruit production, for mineral exploration, and for tourism only worsened the lives of the people. Landlords started selling land or entered into joint ventures with foreign capitalists.

For instance, in Barangay Masayahin the town mayor induced the peasants to join a cooperative for planting rubber trees and pineapples. But the local office of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) forbade them from planting food crops.

**T**hings remained so until the Pambansang Katipunan ng Magbubukid (PKM), the peasant mass organization of the NDF, came into the scene. Ka Muloy, a PKM village organizer, recalled how in 1990 the PKM cadres gave them the courage to stand up to the despotic landlord, Inocencio Dee.

"Before the *kasama* came, Dee's caretakers not only dictated the price of our copra, but they also ate our best poultry and pestered our daughters. We did not dare complain, fearful that Dee would evict us from our farms," Ka Muloy said.

Ka Muloy organized one of the several barrio peasant organizations. The first demands they brought up to Dee were the rights to plant root crops between the rows of the coconuts and to use Dee's working animals for free-rights they enjoyed some 20 years back.

Dee's angry response was to call on the Philippine Army to set up camp in his 1,000-hectare land claim and bade the soldiers to harass the peasant leaders. Several leaders were threatened with death. Subsequently, soldiers strafed the house of Ka Muloy's cousin. Unfazed, the barrio organizations protested and, in a show of unity, set up in San Antonio the district organization of peasants and farm-workers.

Ka Muloy admitted that, in 1992, the organization committed the big mistake of campaigning for the inclusion of Dee's holdings in the CARP. They demanded, and were quickly issued, CLOAs by the local DAR. However, Dee disregarded these CLOAs which the DAR itself apparently also never took seriously. To make things worse, most of the 20 landlords in the province decided to follow Dee's leadership and oppressed their tenants even more.

Acknowledging their error, the San Antonio peasants concluded that no reactionary regime would ever do any real land reform. They decided to strengthen their organization and strive for realistic and lasting changes.

"First we dinned in the minds of our members that we did not owe the landlords anything, that the lands have been paid for many times already by the labor of our ancestors. We gained confidence in talking business to the landlords directly as equals, not as servants. We dealt with despotic landlords one by one and refused to be cowed when despots like Dee started shouting at us."

In 1996, the San Antonio organization got Dee to agree to lower the land rent to 70% of the harvest. The NPA watched from the sidelines and let the peasants exercise their new-found power.

"When we first demanded total land transfer (in 1992), it was the NPA that negotiated with the landlords while we said nothing. So when the NPA left, we didn't know how to fight the fascist army when Dee sent it against us," Ka Muloy pointed out.

Last year, the peasants decided to push for a 50-50 sharing scheme because the economic crisis was driving them into further penury. Dee got wind of the plan and invited three of the leaders to a meeting at the mayor's office, ostensibly to discuss the matter. But when the three leaders showed up, they were arrested by the police on the charge that they engaged government troops in a recent encounter with the NPA.

"We quickly organized a week-long protest camp-out in front of the town hall. Dee soon realized that our organization was much stronger. His children tried to convince him to ease up on his feudal ways and his eldest son asked to negotiate with the PKM."

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**"Before the *kasama* (NPA) came, Dee's caretakers not only dictated the price of our copra, but they also ate our best poultry and pestered our daughters. We did not dare complain, fearful that Dee would evict us from our farms,"**

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By the second day, hundreds of PKM members from other parts of the province came to support the protest action. They pledged to stop the copra dealers of San Antonio from buying copra in their hometowns to force the traders and landlords to agree to the sharing demanded by the peasants.

**T**he DAR provincial and municipal directors limply offered to mediate in accordance with CARP processes, but Dee dismissed them outright. The peasant leaders told the bureaucrats that virtually all the landlords in the province hated the DAR, since it reneged from releasing the cash payments promised to them at the start of CARP implementation by the Aquino regime.

Later, Dee and his ilk realized they had little choice but to recognize the



**Philippine peasant: Enjoying the fruit of revolutionaty struggle.**

power of the PKM with regards to land and related issues. "Some landlords would rather negotiate with the revolutionary government to get a reasonable deal. The revolution treats the landlords fairly if they treat the tenants fairly and if they give some support to the local guerilla movement," said Ka Muloy.

The negotiations were completed without fanfare. No paper trail either, unlike the useless documents required by the bogus CARP. Agreements were done on the basis of word of honor. The armed power of the people serves as guarantee that the landlords comply. This shows that the agrarian program of the revolution goes much farther in addressing the basic human needs of the peasantry, who make up 70% of the country's 73 million people.

### Despotism and deceit

**B**ut not all landlords are amenable to deal with the revolution. Take Dominador Tomas for instance, whose landholdings cover 2,000 hectares. His

private goons work hand in hand with the state troops in running after and shooting down peasant leaders at every opportunity. He refuses to deal with his tenants and regards as wimps the landlords who negotiate with the representatives of the revolutionary movement.

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**The people's local governments have allotted tillage rights to the poorest peasants while encouraging collectivized farming and simple mechanization.**

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Tomas has agreed to have some 50 hectares of his cattle ranch developed into a sham agrarian reform community (ARC) by the DAR. But the DAR bureaucrats and their ghost NGOs

only enriched themselves out of the hundreds of thousands of dollars in foreign funding for the project, with nothing to show in terms of "reform". The peasants, in fact, have been driven deeper into debt after the collapse of the lending scheme started by the DAR.

The revolutionaries in San Antonio are confident that Tomas and his minions will eventually be isolated and booted out as the people's armed struggle gathers more strength.

### The seeds of change

**I**f the San Antonio experience is replicated in all the 81 guerilla fronts, the revolution can build the rudiments of the infrastructure for the future socialist construction all over the country. In some regions where the revolution has gained relative advance, landlord families have abandoned the lands they grabbed early in the century. The people's local governments have allotted tillage rights to the poorest peasants while encouraging collectivized farming and simple mechanization. The people are taught that surplus earned must be used for social projects and not squandered on trivialities.

The final objective is still the total seizure of political power. Along the way, local democratic governance is being established in the rural villages, spreading towards the urban centers.

In San Antonio, one dirt-poor town hard to tell apart from another drab town, that seed of the future is stirring into life. One who goes there may notice that gambling is banned, usury is discouraged, and rogue policemen and soldiers are disciplined. But by whom, nobody is telling. When villagers talk to inquisitive strangers about military encounters, they seem to talk in riddles. A paradox of the revolution-you see it happening, yet you don't. #



# *The ARMED STRUGGLE Continues to Advance*

## On the Victorious Ambush of the Benito Tesorio Front against the Fascist AFP Troops in Linumot, Jones, Isabela

*Fortunato Camus Command  
New People's Army,  
Northeastern Luzon  
July 8, 2000*

**T**his statement aims to clarify some particular events and related issues regarding the victorious tactical offensive launched by the Benito Tesorio Front of the New People's Army on June 27. In this offensive, fourteen troopers of the 502nd Brigade of the Philippine Army, including Col. Josefino Manayao were killed.

### THE 502nd BRIGADE LAUNCHED A MASSIVE AND EXTENSIVE COMBAT OPERATION AND NOT A PLAIN CIVIC AND MEDICAL ACTION

As early as June 23 (till the day of battle), the paid reactionary troops already launched a widespread and massive military operation covering the barrios of San Guillermo, Echague, Jones and San Agustin. It was a triad operation which included combat operations, intelligence operations and a Civic Action (CIVAC) in Dicomay Dos, Jones, Isabela.

It is clear that the militarized CIVAC of the AFP is only a cover to camouflage the said widespread military operation. More than three companies of the AFP from the 54th Infantry Brigade, from Brigade

Headquarters and from the 5th ID itself conducted the widespread combat operation. On the day of the battle itself, there were three platoons of reactionary troops on board four military jeeps, one M35 truck and two logging trucks, aside from one platoon which was stationed in Linumot.

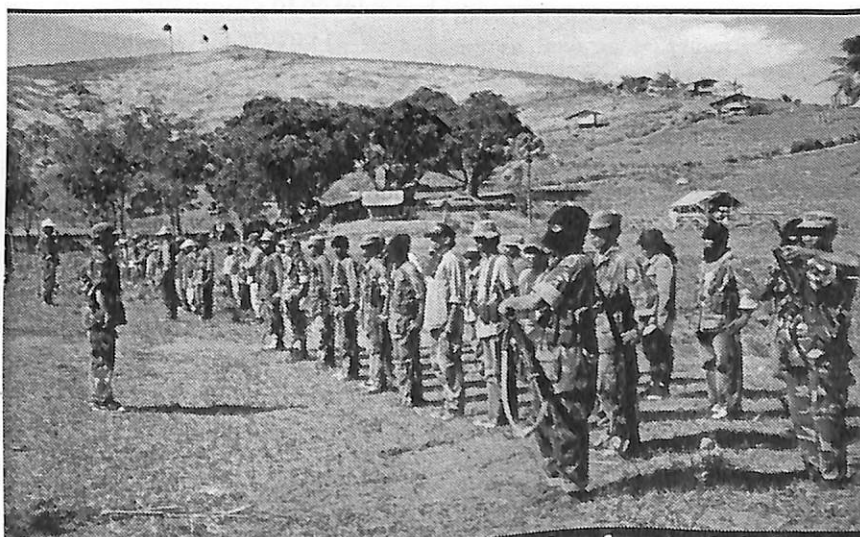
The CIVAC conducted by the AFP is but a part of their counter-insurgency operations, as stated in their "Oplan Makabayan"... Together with their other programs like ACCORD, ALPS and SRA, CIVAC is but a component of the psywar arsenal of the reactionary state to camouflage its innate wanton, inutile, fascist and anti-people character.

One must also bear in mind that these medicines and medical service have already been paid for by the people through their taxes to the government. Thus, the people owe no debt of gratitude and have nothing to be thankful for to the AFP.

Instead of alleviating them, CIVAC/Medical Mission imposes a heavier burden on the people. In Dicomay Dos, the cost of feeding the AFP "Mission" was even greater than the "service" rendered to the people. In exchange for a few medicines, tooth extractions and a new litany of promises, the masses had to slaughter several cows and four pigs in order to feed the visiting bureaucrat officials and AFP troops.

The NPA organizes, mobilizes and aids the people in demanding and fighting for the services that should rightfully be theirs -- services that are not palliative, stopgap measures or part of a charade but services that are longterm and truly serve the people.

These can never be provided by the reactionary government nor by the CIVAC of the fascist AFP. These can only be acquired through the people's revolutionary movement.



**New People's Army guerrillas make preparations for a tactical offensive.**



## ON THE SO-CALLED VIOLATION OF THE RULES OF ENGAGEMENT

The AFP has gone all-out in its attack and criticism of the revolutionary forces of the NPA. According to them, the NPA has violated the Rules of Engagement of the Geneva Conventions and Protocols I and II; that it has targeted "non-combatants" of the AFP.

In the said ambush, the NPA consciously and strictly adhered to the correct conduct of war.

First, all of those hit by the NPA were combatants. Those targeted were military men in uniform who were armed with high caliber weapons, all regular combat forces of the AFP.

Second, the NPA took into account the civilian status of those others who participated in the AFP activity in the area. It let pass the civilians, government employees and officials headed by Governor Dy and Mayor Sebastian of Jones, who left the area earlier on June 26, one day before the ambush.

Third, the NPA also let pass two logging trucks carrying around two platoons of the AFP in consideration of the civilians who hitched a ride with them.

Fourth, the NPA also let pass a military jeep (part of the convoy) with a Red Cross insignia, as well as the military jeep immediately behind it, which might have carried non-military doctors and medical officials of the AFP.

Fifth, a civilian who hitched a ride on the trailer of the M35 truck that was hit was allowed to leave the ambush site immediately.

Sixth, the encircled AFP forces were given a chance to surrender but they refused. They might have thought that the large AFP force in the vicinity would render support so they

deliberately remained firing. There were two AFP platoons which were at the head of the convoy aside from the platoon stationed in Barrio Linumot.

## THE REASON FOR THE NUMEROUS BULLET WOUNDS OF THE KILLED FASCIST AFP TROOPERS

The numerous bullet wounds of some troopers could not be avoided. Why? First, those who died first under the truck were used to serve as trenches or cover by their colleagues who still continued to exchange fire. Second, the fighting became prolonged because they refused to surrender. Had they surrendered immediately they would have survived.

The NPA endeavoured to avoid hitting the reactionary troopers in the head at close quarters. We challenge the AFP to come out with the autopsy report and conduct a gunpowder burns test on the heads of the dead to prove that there was indeed close firing at the heads. Let a neutral organization, like the International Red Cross conduct the tests for verification.

## ON THE USE OF LAND MINES

The NPA's use of land mines is extremely selective and not indiscriminate. The NPA used a land mine to bring the vehicle of the reactionary AFP troops to a standstill. Measures are taken to ensure that it is used only against enemy combatants.

The reactionary government fiercely condemns the NPA's use of land mines. But the AFP wantonly and indiscriminately bombs people in different parts of the country. The indiscriminate bombing of Mindanao by the AFP has been pervasive in their fight against the MILF. Two hundred fifty and 500 pounder bombs are dropped using airplanes and rockets from helicopters, howitzers and cannons that hit both Moro and non-Moro communities.

Here in Northern Luzon, the people still remember the reckless bombing of the AFP which took the lives of many people and caused the evacuation of whole communities in Marag Valley, Paco Valley, Zinundungan Valley, Conner Complex in Apayao, San Mariano, Ilagan and other areas. Wherever there is people's resistance, the paid AFP troops sow violence and cruelty.

## ON THE ISSUE OF TREACHERY

The reactionary AFP accuses the NPA of treachery. On this issue, it is important to clarify two points:

First, treachery is the betrayal of one's class and country. The correct definition of a traitor is one who does not serve the broad masses of the people but a few ruling classes -- foreign imperialists, big landlords, comprador bourgeoisie and bureaucrat capitalists who have long been oppressing the Filipino people. They are the real and ultimate traitors to the toiling masses and to the country. On this basis, who is the traitor? No less than the US-Estrada regime together with the AFP and their sycophants.

Second, the reactionary AFP is spreading the lie that the use of the element of surprise in battle is treachery. It deceitfully equates treachery with the element of surprise.

There is no armed force that does not use the element of surprise in battle to defeat its enemy. Between two warring forces, the use of the element of surprise to defeat the other is normal. The NPA wages a protracted people's war. In the process, it uses guerrilla tactics to accumulate strength...It is infantile, stupid and insane to equate treachery with surprise. It is injurious for an army not to use the element of surprise in battle.

The AFP has overwhelming superiority in arms and personnel with the billions being spent by the reactionary government, outside of the logistical



support and advice of US imperialism to crush the revolutionary forces.

**502nd Brigade,  
Scourge of the People**

**T**he people of Jones, San Agustin and Maddela are against the continued operation of logging concessions in Jones. They are also against the ingress of foreigners who have been permitted to mine in the area -- the Royal Cement Mining Corp. which is owned by Australian capitalists. This mine presages environmental destruction and the dislocation of people's livelihood. The deployment of AFP troops in the area is to ensure the operations of these foreign interests.

In implementing its counter-insurgency program, the AFP has no qualms violating the democratic rights of the people and the proper conduct of war.

The following are only some of the past and current crimes of the 502nd Bde:

**A. Terrorizing and Suppressing the People**

- Continuously terrorizing and threatening people suspected to be NPA sympathizers or members of mass organizations
- Using schools in Villa Bello and Dicamay Dos, Jones and other barrios as military barracks whenever the AFP mounts an operation in the area. This endangers the children and disrupts their study -- a violation of Protocol II and the Geneva Conventions.
- Illegal arrest and criminal indictment of suspected NPA members as in the case of UP Diliman student Kerima Tariman and Peter Amodo of PUP Sta. Mesa.
- Coercion and intimidation of civilians and former NPA members to serve as guides in military operations.
- Illegal search and ransacking of

houses in Sitio Germitan, Villa Bello; Sitio Diarao, Dicamay Dos; and near-by barrios on February 2000.

- Severely mauling Edmundo Dizon to the point of unconsciousness in Sitio Salay, Dipintin, Maddela, Quirino on September 1999. His house was also ransacked.
- Sexual abuse of Elma Barrera, a teacher, by Capt. Dimas of the 54th IB on Sept. 1999. She was forced to leave her school in Sitio Sangaydi, Villa Gracia, Maddela, Quirino.
- Illegal arrest and detention by the 54th IB of several peasants suspected to have connections with the NPA: Henry Buticas of Disimungal, Quirino, Arnel Viernes and Ambot Claro of Ysmael, Maddela, Quirino and several others in Sitio Salay.
- Intimidation of a pregnant woman named Maria of Dolores, Quirino on November 1999 by the 45th IB resulting in her miscarriage.
- Mauling of youths Danny Dolatre and Niger Bartolome of Villa Bello on July 3, 1998.
- Burning down the houses of poor peasants Pedro Lorenzo, Sator Lorenzo and Eddie Maltez of Villa Bello, Jones, Isabela on July 4, 1998.
- Summary killing of two peasants who went hunting in Bannawag, Jones on January 1998. The machetes and watches of the two were seen in the hands of AFP troops camped in Sto. Domingo, Jones.
- Burning down a house in Sitio dibulod, Dicamay Dos, Jones.
- Destruction of the rice crop of Juan Sanguayan as well as that of a group of farmers in Sto. Domingo, Jones. This caused one of the victims, Condring Casalamitao to become paralyzed.
- Promotion of vices in barrios where the AFP camps or operates -- marijuana, gambling, drunkenness.
- Robbery under the guise of being NPA.
- The fake surrender of residents of Minuri and Sto. Domingo who were suspected of being NPA sympathizers. They were projected as NPA surrenderees in the mass media.

**B. Cases Violating Protocol II Provision on Hors de Combat**

- Summarily killing of Marcelo "Ka Mega" Astraquillo who was captured on August 24, 1999, in Gayung-Gayong, Delfin Albano, Isabela.
- Summary killing of Lydia "Ka Ren" Sicat, an NPA recuperating inside a house. She was shot in the head at close range by 45th IB troops headed by Lt. Rodriguez.
- Summary killing of Cesario "Ka Deo" Piesa after an ambush by 21st IB troops on an NPA unit in Bgy. Dicamay Dos, Jones on January 30, 1998. Witnesses say that though he was captured alive, the military forced the barrel of an armalite into his thigh wound till he eventually died.
- Summary killing of Sofronio "Ka Egan" Ordonez. He was shot in the head at close range after being captured weaponless in Dialanis, Villa Gracia, Maddela, Quirino on January 23, 1998.
- Summary killing of Alfonso "Ka Nero" Fernando who was captured by the 77th IB in Kasibu, Nueva Vizcaya on October 1995.

The 502nd Brigade has many more crimes not listed above but those mentioned are enough to show just how brutal these so-called "heroes", humanists and "meek lambs" of the mercenary AFP troops really are.

**Tactical Offensives in Other Parts of the Country**

**N**ineteen (19) high-powered firearms were seized and two elements of the Citizens' Armed Forces Geographical Unit were killed in a raid by the New People's Army on a detachment in Bukidnon. The raid was conducted on a detachment of the 5th Special Forces Battalion in Barangay Kagalangan, San Fernando on February 12. Confiscated were an M60, nine M14s, six Garands and



three M16s. Also seized were a .38 and a .357. Before conducting the raid, the guerrillas cut off the detachment's electricity and communication lines to prevent the enemy from calling in reinforcements. They burned the detachment before retreating.

New People's Army (NPA) guerrillas torched a telephone company relay station in Makilala, North Cotabato in the southern island of Mindanao on February 4. Punitive action was taken against Smart Communications Inc., a maker of cellular phones, for its refusal to abide by the taxation laws and regulations of the revolutionary movement and the people's democratic government.

Three soldiers died in an encounter between Red fighters and soldiers of the 69th IB in Tarlac a city in Central Luzon. The firefight occurred in Barangay Cut-cut, Tarlac City on January 6. The site of the gun-battle is a village within the 6,000-hectare Hacienda Luisita owned by the family of former President Corazon Cojuangco Aquino.

Three policemen were killed when Red fighters raided the headquarters of the Philippine National Police (PNP)'s 702nd Provincial Mobile Group in Sta. Fe, Danao, Bohol in the central part of the Philippine archipelago. The 702nd Provincial Mobile Group is the PNP unit primarily responsible for waging suppressive campaigns against the people and the revolutionary movement in Bohol province.

The raid was launched on December 2 by about 50 New People's Army guerrillas who were in police uniform and aboard a truck and 10 motorcycles. The Red fighters were able to come close by playing a ruse on the policemen. Pretending to hold a Christmas party, the guerrillas brought with them two roasted pigs, bread, rice and drinks.

Six policemen and soldiers were wounded in two separate ambushes by the New People's Army (NPA) this December in Samar another island province in central Philippines.

Three policemen assigned to the Philippine National Police (PNP) station in MacArthur, Eastern Samar were seriously wounded in an ambush by NPA guerrillas. The policemen, who were aboard a patrol car, were ambushed on December 22 in Sitio Palanas, Barangay Vigan, MacArthur, Eastern Samar.

Earlier, another ambush was launched by the NPA on December 15 against Philippine Army elements in Barangay Lale, Pinabacdao, Samar, wounding three soldiers.

Seven elements of the Citizens Armed Forces Geographical Unit (CAFGU) were killed in an ambush by Red fighters on November 7 in San Miguel, Surigao del Sur in Mindanao. They were part of a truckload of CAFGU.

On February 5, an NPA unit ambushed a soldier and six elements of the Civilian Armed Auxiliary (CAA) in Namolo 2, Barangay Santol, Binalbagan, Negros Occidental in central Philippines at 5:15 in the afternoon. Killed were Cpl. Domingo Romero of the 11th IB and two ele-

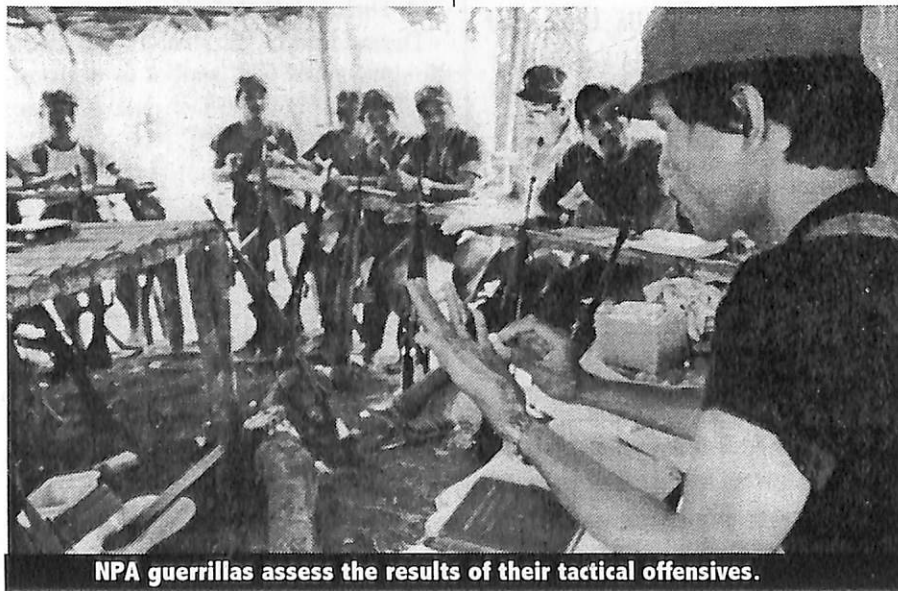
ments of the CAA. One CAA was wounded and three were allowed to escape.

The enemy was taken by surprise and was unable to offer any resistance to the NPA. They were drunk while walking back from the gambling center from which they extorted money every Saturday while claiming to give it protection. Four M14 rifles and ammunition were confiscated in the 10-minute encounter.

The ambushed unit was part of a contingent of Philippine Army soldiers stationed at a detachment in Tilangkoy whose services were being used by warlords like Alfredo Montelibano Jr. Montelibano coddles the unit and uses it to terrorize the peasants in the area.

On January 11 at 11:30 in the morning, a guerrilla unit successfully disarmed private goons of the despotic landgrabber, Mr. Yap of Guihulngan, Negros Oriental. The armed goons did not resist. One shotgun and four .38 revolvers were confiscated from them.

The New People's Army in Southern Tagalog launched a number of tactical offensives. From these offensives, the NPA gained 25 high-caliber firearms, one M72-A2 (anti-tank weapon) and 22 short arms. The



**NPA guerrillas assess the results of their tactical offensives.**



NPA also confiscated communications equipment, punished a police official and captured two officers of the AFP and PNP. The most important key to the victory of each tactical offensive was the support of a broad and deep mass base that continues to cherish the NPA and rejoices in each of its triumphs.

January 7. An NPA platoon raided the PNP detachment at Barangay Pagbahan, Sta. Cruz, Occidental Mindoro. One M16 rifle and one cal .45 pistol was confiscated. A wounded policeman was brought to the hospital after which the detachment was burned to the ground. After three days, an NPA blocking force thwarted the advance of the enemy's reinforcement troops.

February 13. The NPA raided Metro Manila Development Authority chief Jejomar Binay's ranch in Barangay Bayawang, Rosario, eastern Batangas. The NPA disarmed Binay's private army who harassed workers and residents of the ranch and surrounding areas. Two M16 rifles, one

M14 rifle, two shotguns, three grenades, three rifle grenades, one 9 mm, one cal .380 pistol, two cal .38 pistols, ammunition and other equipment were confiscated.

May 6. A seven-man NPA unit raided the house of Captain Abarrientos of the Philippine Army in Pangil, Laguna. Three Garand rifles and a baby M16 rifle were confiscated without a single shot being fired. Before leaving, the comrades explained matters to the family and others who were around and warned against gun-owners who abuse the masses.

May 14. At 8:00 in the evening, an NPA squad raided Navy Captain Togonon's unguarded bunkhouse at Sitio Absukot, Barangay Tubili, Paluan, Occidental Mindoro. The comrades confiscated a baby M16 rifle, ammunition, a baby chainsaw and a cal .45 pistol magazine without meeting any resistance. This was punitive action taken against a syndicate of pirates who victimized people from Paluan to Lubang Island.

June 10. At around 8:40 in the morning, an NPA squad ambushed five goons serving despotic landlord Ding Quintos at Sityo Kasuy, Barangay Balansay, Mamburao, Occidental Mindoro. The goons were responsible for killing and evicting farmers from lands being grabbed by Quintos. The NPA confiscated one carbine, one shotgun and one cal .38 revolver.

June 15. A six-man team punished Barangay Capt. Max Lemeta of Barrio Calayo and his three companions in Barangay Wawa, Nasugbu, Batangas. One 9 mm pistol and a magazine were confiscated from them. The four were responsible for abducting and salvaging peasant leaders opposing their ejection from Hacienda Looc, Nasugbu.

July 6. A special tactical offensive involving the entrapment of Army

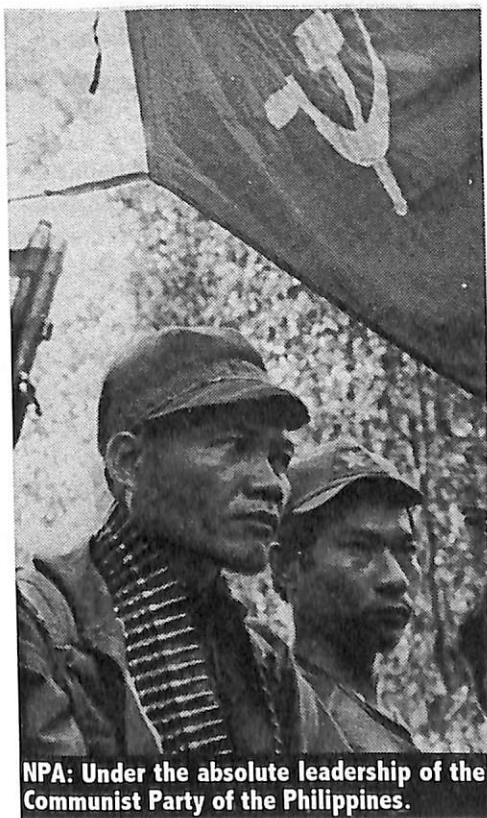
Maj. Noel Buan, intelligence chief of the Southern Luzon Command (SOLCOM), was successfully undertaken. Buan was captured and swiftly spirited away from Laguna. His capture remained confidential until he was declared a prisoner of war in the first week of December.

October 30. An NPA squad raided the compound of Keangnam Construction Company, a Korean company in Sta. Rosa, Mulanay, Quezon, for refusing to pay taxes according to the rules of the people's democratic government. Eleven trucks and other construction equipment were burned. Office equipment were also confiscated.

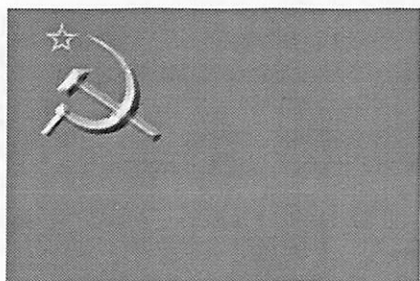
November 1. A 12-man NPA team attacked the PNP station at Pola, Oriental Mindoro at around 8:00 in the evening. Immediately confiscated from the armory were two M16 rifles, an M14 rifle and one anti-tank weapon (M72-A2). Also seized by the NPA were two cal .45 pistols, one cal .38 pistol, one 9 mm pistol, ammunition and a magazine, one VHF base radio, and other military equipment.

November 3. In a surprise attack, an undersized NPA platoon raided the police station at Dolores, Quezon. Comrades immediately played a ruse on P/Chief Insp. Abelardo Martin, who was armed with a pistol. The police chief and his two other men were disarmed while other weapons and military equipment were being seized. The NPA was able to control the town within 10 minutes as soon as other elements of the platoon assumed their respective assignments. The NPA captured Martin.

Confiscated from this raid were five M16 rifles, one M14 rifle, two 9 mm, four cal .38 pistols, four rifle grenades, ammunition, two base radios (HF and VHF), one VHF hand-held radio, one colored TV and other military equipment. #

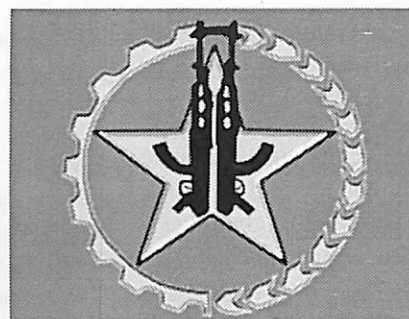


**NPA: Under the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines.**



Party Flag

TKP / ML



Army Flag

# NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY AND LOW INTENSITY WAR STRATEGY

The "National Security Policy Document" has been the first matter on the agenda of public opinion since it was adopted by the National Security Council meeting on October 31, 1997. Every sector interpreted, put forward ideas in accordance with the classes and groups that they represent. We will not deal with these but with what the "National Security Policy Document" is all about. It is not possible to interpret the document and develop the correct attitude towards it without comprehending correctly what the document is and its implications, and what is the nature of the National Security Council.

Firstly, it must be understood that this "document" does not reveal the policy only of the present-day Turkish state. From the point of view of the Turkish Republic, the main lines of "National Security Policy" had been formed by the Kemalist fascist dictatorship since its establishment. This policy was concretized in the person of Kemal Atatürk and his party CHP. It has become the policy of the state.

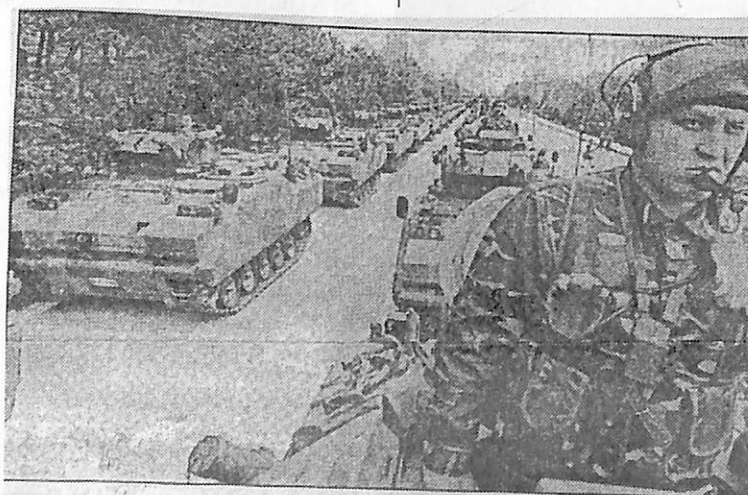
The main lines of this "policy" survived up to the 1950's.

After the second inter-imperialist war, US imperialism which took the place of German imperialism in controlling the Turkish Republic, carried out a "New Structuring" of the Turkish Republic. It aimed to create a "small America" with the formation of so-called democratic parties. But it was not possible.

"National Security Policy" is applied by the National Security Council to organize the state into a

new type of state dominated by the imperialists and their local collaborators. The National Security Council whose core is formed by the army is the most concentrated form of the state.

Communists have stated for years that the bourgeois Parliament is there to deceive the people. The constitution of the Turkish Republic speaks of "laws and justice"; but this is all meaningless. The Turkish Republic is not based on the main principles of the bourgeois state model but on fascist state organizations. But many sectors



Turkish Republic Armed Forces parade in a show of force.





in Turkish society do not comprehend this.

Their inability to understand arises from their evaluation of Kemalist ideology and Kemalist dictatorship as having a progressive, national liberationist mission. They can not comprehend the nature of the army, the National Security Council, the National Security Policy Document, the role of imperialism in this, Low Intensity War Strategy of imperialism, unless they see the fascist, racist nature of Kemalism and organisation of Kemalist state which is suitable to this. Some superficial, formal evaluations can be made.

It must be stressed that there is nothing national in the so-called "National Security" doctrine. Nationalism has been used by the Turkish Republic yesterday and today. It has tried to cover up the exploitation and raid of the imperialists, their policy to secure market areas and their interests under the name of "nationalism".

It has become apparent that all internal and foreign policies of the Turkish Republic which is a semi-colony of imperialism, are determined by the imperialist bandits which Turkey serves and has been its gendarme. The National Security Policy Document which is shaped by the National Security Council, can not be explained or understood without seeing this.

The shaping of the National Security Policy Document is very much dependent on the shaping of NATO policy. The curtain has been raised to reveal this fact as we look at the decisions adopted in the last NATO meeting in which the new NATO concept was formed.

NATO which has determined that the first half of the 21st century will be a process of "armed uprisings", suggests forming "security policies" both in central and in every country

especially in dependent semi-colonial countries and the organization suitable to these. It has been determined by Pentagon war experts and the NATO that the "internal threat" is the main threat instead of the "foreign threat" which was the main one in the previous period.

And again, it is very apparent that the Low Intensity War Strategy which is a formulation of counter-revolutionary imperialist war strategy since the 1960's, is applied in many countries under the control of NATO. NATO is an international security organization, war organization of the imperialists and their local collaborators. The "security" in the countries which is related in NATO is provided as suitable to NATO norms, NATO policy.

Client states are organised for Low Intensity War Strategy which is an imperialist strategy that is applied by the leadership of NATO completely. It is not a simple thing that not only armies but also politicians, senior officers, intelligence establishments, civilian fascist forces, trade unions, etc., all civilian and official state establishments have been directed by the personnel trained by the CIA.

National Security Policy is determined by the imperialists and their local puppets as shown by the following: "Every state, must implement a national security policy and apply this against internal and foreign threats to insure their survival and continuity."

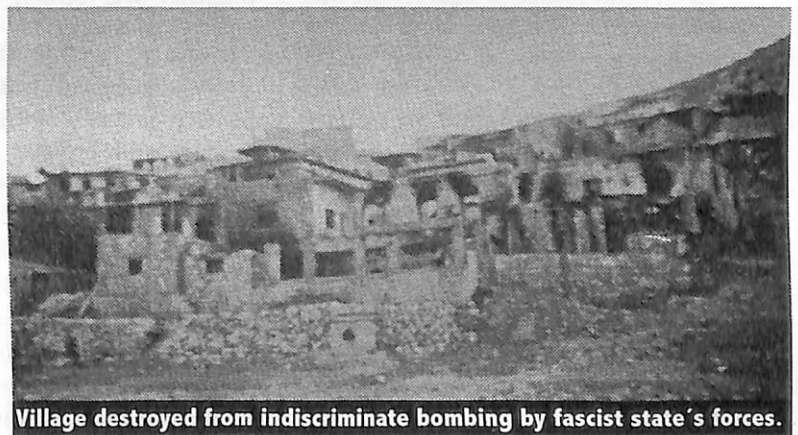
The formulation of the national security policy must take into account the national interests and objectives, even as the developments in the national, regional and

international arena are also taken into consideration. National Security Policy is meant to protect its survival against every type of political, social, cultural internal and foreign threats."

The duties of the National Security Council is explained in the 188th article of the 1982 fascist constitution as below: "The National Security Council tells the Ministers' Council the duties on making the decisions about the formulation and implementation of the National Security Policy and providing the coordination that is required.

The decisions about the measures for the existence of the state, its independence, sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the country, the welfare of the people and the defense of the nation's security which the National Security Council must make are deliberated on by the Ministers' Council. The "National Security Council, determines, applies and makes them apply the "security policy" in the framework of imperialists' purpose. The part that says "tells to Ministers Council" is a complete lie and apparently only a formality. It is merely a process of formal "parliament system".

It has done extensive agreements according to the economic, political, military developments after the Second World War, and the attitude of the US and NATO regarding these developments.



Village destroyed from indiscriminate bombing by fascist state's forces.



Every agreement has advanced the interests of the US under the name of "internal and foreign threats". The state has been completely organized according to the Low Intensity War Strategy. "Communism" is determined as the first and top threat, and this is seen as dependent on the existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The "Document" was formulated according to this. The National Security Council was organized according to this.

The second principal agreement was made after the 1980 coup d'etat. In the name of "internal and foreign threats", an agreement was forged in accordance with the economic, political, and military interests of the imperialists. With the January 24th decisions of the IMF and World Bank, Turkey had to shape its policies according to the neo-liberal economic model and act as the gendarme of the US in the Middle-East and the Caucasus.

In this context, "communism" is still the priority threat. But in this case it is organized against the "internal threat". The mission of "the green front against the red front" which was applied by US against Soviet Union, was given to the Turkish Republic. Army, police, intelligence, trade unions, universities, working life is completely shaped according to this. State bureaucracy is supervised by and under the control of the US and CIA experts.

The third principal agreement was made in 1992. This agreement came to the agenda as a result of the NATO losing its original function and looking for new missions after the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the disappearance of the "communist" threat. On one hand there is the requirement of being a member of NATO, and on the other hand there is the deadlock against Kurdish national liberation struggle and social liberation struggle which is being carried out by the communist vanguard.

"Search and destroy" which is a stage in the Low Intensity War Strategy, was put into application in 1992. The state formulated its "security policies" completely according to this. The National Security Council was organized according to this.

Removing the weaknesses in the state that is organized according to the Low Intensity War Strategy, making active the establishments that were weak, making functional the ones that were dormant, reforming the ones that were insufficient was how the process was started. The important elements for making the state effective for the war were put in place.

Special Forces Commandership, Intelligence Service of Gendarme, special teams, village guards, indiscriminate killings by death squads, massacres were used heavily during this term. The policy of exile, burning the villages down, emptying the villages, strategic hamlets, area ruling etc. were applied in the 1990's intensively. The decision of creating a war economy was applied in this term. Counter-guerrilla style of Low Intensity War Strategy became completely dominant.

Psychological warfare was used heavily. Psychological warfare was revived and brought functional. By seeing the weakness of the style that was used before, applying both CIA, MOSSAD, National Intelligence Organisation and various imperialist war experts, new units were formed. New experts were trained. These war experts have prepared the "document" of the National Security Council with

the Low Intensity War Strategy perspective dated October 31, 1997.

This document which was prepared by the "Social Relations Headmastership" of the General Secretariat of the National Security Council which is related to the section of Psychological War of Low Intensity War Strategy, is nothing but approving again and arranging again the principal programme of the Turkish Republic which is determined by NATO strategies since the Second World War.

The Social Relations Department is an instrument of war formed by various

universities, televisions, newspapers, magazines, war experts from private establishments, social relations experts, professors, journalists, doctors, writers, teachers. The Turkish History Magazine which is published by Social Relations Department, is one of the principal psychological warfare instruments. The war programs in televisions, newspapers, radios are organized by the Social Relations Department.

These types of Low Intensity War Strategy instruments are arranged again in National Security Policy Document under the light of the projects which are offered by the experts from CIA, Pentagon, National Security Organisation, MOSSAD.

Metehan Demir said that all of these arrangements are made by the war experts that we mentioned in his article in Turkish Daily News dated November 6th, 1997 as follows: "We have learned from the declaration of senior generals in the Turkish Armed Forces that internal and foreign poli-

National Security Policy is meant to protect the state's survival against every type of political, social, cultural, internal and foreign threat.



cies have been formed by a think-tank in the General Staff Headquarters."

According to the same article, this think-tank was formed in 1983. This war instrument which was not functional before, has become effective by enlarging its authority and working areas with orders and regulations of Cevik Bir, Vice Chairman of the General Staff Headquarters in 1995. As an expert put it, "This council is now working in full capacity".

As it is seen, the National Security Policy Document is nothing but forming the state again according to the Low Intensity War Strategy. In the framework of this "document" which is prepared by war experts, the state makes it obligatory even of its senior officers to take psychological war education lasting five weeks. This education which is given under the name of "Public Diplomacy Course", aims to correct the "degenerated" parts of state bureaucracy which is

firstly Demirel and Ecevit were educated by the CIA and related establishments according to the Low Intensity War Strategy.

This is an organisation type that has been applied since the 1950's. For example, senior bureaucrats of the Transportation Ministry, (Post Telephone Telegram, Turkish Railways, Turkish Airlines, Sea Bank, State airports, etc) general managers, transporting organisation directors are trained by the "Psychological Defence" book which is prepared by Refik Korkud who is one of the Low Intensity War experts in 1975. There are a lot of examples of this. By studying and investigation, this can be seen and understood easily.

This fascist "document" does not contain any aspect that serve the independence, democracy, and getting rid of the darkness of the Middle Ages as traitor Dogu Perincek once said. On the contrary, this "document" is accepting firstly the rule of US imperialism, the "structural adjustments programmes" of the IMF and World Bank without reservation. It paves the way for the policy of privatization. This is in accordance with "reforming" the Turkish Republic state according to the requirements of the Low Intensity War Strategy of NATO.

The war which is being carried out with this perspective, will shape state policy in the 2000's. "Reforms aimed at the development of local and cultural properties" will be made on the basis of "acceptable violence" as the continuing violence of war against the Kurdish National Liberation Struggle. All of these are targeted by the head of state and the servants of the state. PKK will not be given a role in government but they want to win over some sections of the people.

**T**he Social Liberation Struggle which is being developed by the proletarian vanguard party will be severely tested



Protesting against the fascist policies of the Turkish Republic.

"This war instrument is forming two main sections as "foreign office" and "internal office". The National Security Policy Document was prepared by this organ."

"Experts who are related to the National Security Department, are studying such topics as terrorism in the Southeast, threats to peace and order, the activities of the far right and left with the contributions of academicians. "The draft that is sent to National Security Council by the think-tank, forms the essence of National Security Council's agenda and the decisions that are adopted." "The Head of the General Staff, Commanders of forces and senior officials are regularly informed by the reports which are prepared by this think-tank." (quotation from Aydn Özkök)

related to the National Security Council and to reform them.

"Public diplomacy" is another name for psychological warfare. The ones that attend this course are the present and future members in the hierarchical organisation of the National Security Council. These are the persons who will direct the prime-ministers, and other ministers. The National Security Policy Document which comprises the state policies will be applied by these expert personnel. At the same time, this is organising the state as counter-guerrilla type.

It must not be forgotten that this organisation and education of state bureaucracy is not a new application. It is a known fact that hundreds, thousands of senior bureaucrats including



by these counter-guerrilla methods. The labouring class and other working people will be under control by The Economic Social Council etc. which are counter-revolutionary instruments. Those that they do not control are bought by such formulas as "Social peace", "Social compromise" formulated by Koc. Then they violently suppress the ones that are not bought.

The position that "flexibility in the justice system must be put aside" by eliminating the inertia of state bureaucracy and bringing all establishments of war more functional must be understood in this light. Being ready to do battle with various states including firstly against Greece in order to protect the interests of the imperialists is the main "foreign security" content of this "document".

In the document dated June 11, 1997 called the New Strategic Concept, the Turkish Republic State has stressed that the army must be based according to this. But the "internal threat" principle is there, too. According to this, the Turkish Republic State has formulated the so-called "two and a half war strategy" which is suitable to itself.

The "document" gives special importance to the Turkish Republic's projects aimed at protecting the interests of US imperialism. The Turkish

Republic is important for the petroleum in the Caucasus and Caspian Sea. They will follow such a policy from now on.

There are criticisms of "Political Islam" which refers to the common accounts in the country and out of country of Islamic capital, the army-TUSIAD ( the most powerful organization of big businessmen and industrialists in Turkey) and TOBB (secondary organization of businessmen and industrialists in Turkey) capital. This is part of the efforts to repair the "Secular Kemalist Republic" with Kemalist ideology. It is an ideological reconstruction.

The things that are said about "Turkish nationality, racism and nationalist mafia" and the the base of the point that the traitors like Perincek jump immediately, the effect of surviving rent of war, illegal money, narcotic smuggling is increasing on the Turkish Republics politics.

The section within the police organisation, that forms special police teams, and makes alliance with Islamic capital, presents a threat to the army and the other sections of the ruling classes. Also, this presents a picture of instability in the international stage which is damaging to the interests of the Turkish Republic. Otherwise, it is not against civilian fascist centres.

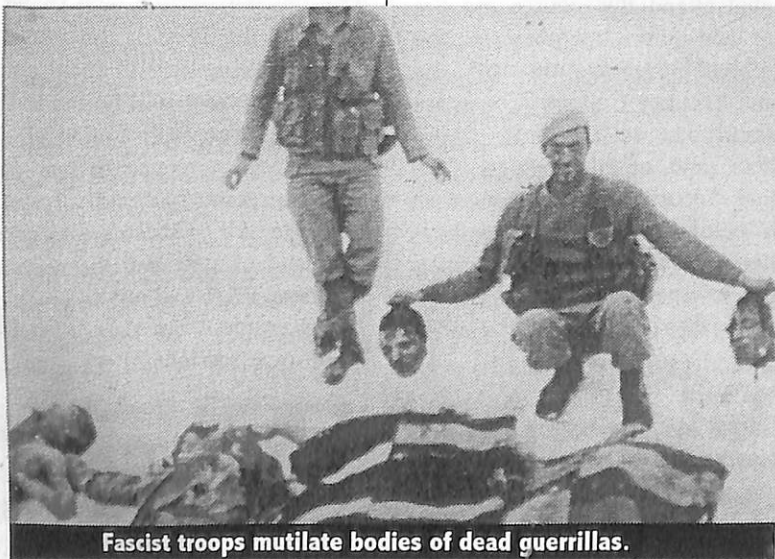
As a result, the fascist document named National Security Policy Document is a document that reconstructs the military within the framework of NATO, according to the economic

programmes of the IMF and World Bank, in the axis of the New World Order, and ideologically with Kemalism. Economically, politically, militarily, the Turkish state is organised against the struggle of the working class and other working people of Turkey and the Kurdish national liberation war.

It is our duty is to reconstruct the Party armed with the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist science which is the scientific ideology of the proletariat in all areas and to advance the people's war that is the war strategy of the proletariat under the banner of the Party.

The workers and other toiling people have begun to take action against the structural programmes of the IMF and the fascist document. They say: "This winter will soon pass away." Yes, but for this winter, spring, summer of the fascist dictatorship to pass away, we must bring class consciousness to the masses, organise them in order to fight the enemy in all fields. And WE MUST WIN!

This "document" is accepting firstly the rule of US imperialism, and the "structural adjustment programmes" of the IMF and World Bank without reservation.



Fascist troops mutilate bodies of dead guerrillas.



**FASCISM THAT IS BOGGED DOWN  
IN THE MARSH AND DEGENERATING  
CAN NOT SAVE ITSELF THROUGH  
PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR OPERATIONS!**

**THE VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR  
IS INEVITABLE!**

**T**he aim of the war is to defeat your opponent. There are two classes, two ideologies, two policies, two armies, two practices, two authorities. The struggle for power between the exploited and exploiters is the history of society with classes.

The essence of the matter is that unjust wars are the wars for continuing and spreading the exploitation, and preventing the masses from improving their living conditions. On the other hand, just wars are the war for preventing the spread of exploitation, demolishing the exploitation and preventing the return of exploitation. Human history advances in the heat of this class struggle.

Of course, class struggle is not fought out only with the means of weapons. This covers every area of the life of society and all means of human culture. The class struggle, which is fought between armies - armed forces-, is carried out in the field of culture, art, ethics, economy, theory, etc.

Two opposing classes, two opposing authorities carry out a merciless struggle using various methods based on their own standpoint and viewpoint.

The comprador big bourgeoisie and landlords, who are tied to the belly of imperialism, hold state power in our country. They maintain their power with a white fascist dictatorship. Because of his dependence to imperialism, history of injustice and weakness, they use fascist violence and dominate the country with white terror. As a result of their class nature and their oppression, their defeat is historically inevitable. They have no respect for human values, they practice the worst behaviour fitting of degenerate and ignoble values of their classes and that of the imperialists. The methods that they apply are not the methods of classical art of war but the dirtiest methods of a decaying class.

The methods that are hatched in the imperialist war headquarters under

the name of Low Intensity War and applied against peoples and guerrillas in the wildest way, have only one aim: to suppress the people and their army and provide stability to the system.

We do not have to go to many examples in history about how the oppressors fall down to show that their power will not last forever. The history of the Turkish Republic is itself the most telling example of this. Since its establishment, the fascist Turkish Republic has not found any kind of stability.

The liberation struggle of the people of Turkey and that of the Kurdish nation have not given the Turkish state any rest. Our people have revolted against the authority and rule of fascism... defeated... revolted again... defeated again... but revolted again.



Media people protest suppression of press freedom.



As Mao said, "the logic of the peoples is like this!" This situation will continue until victory. Where there is tyranny rebellion is inevitable. Those who do not urge the people to revolt abet tyranny!

This is the development and the logic of societies in history. History hands to the proletariat and peoples victory, to exploiters defeat. Class struggle which is advanced by the TKP/ML (rural Guerrilla War led by the proletarian vanguard, or protracted People's War) and the National Liberation War of the Kurdish nation led by the PKK ( applied guerrilla war) have created the worst problems for fascism.

### Low Intensity War Strategy and Psychological War

**F**ascism changed its tack when it failed against the guerrilla war with traditional war and counter-guerrilla methods in 1992. As we have pointed out previously, Low Intensity War which is hatched in imperialist war headquarters and applied against guerrilla war in other countries, was put into use in

our country after 1992. It meant putting in front the counter-guerrilla methods in the most aggressive and intense degree.

The Special War Department which was established officially in the 1950's and counter-guerrilla methods which are applied in the process, existed under various names. This establishment which we call counter-guerrilla directed against all underground and above-ground forces was given a legal form by the Ciller government in 1993.

According to a retired general, "This has been in force for the past 30 years. But its organisation was not healthy. In response to the negative reaction from public opinion they pretend that it is a new thing. But what is done is merely rearranging the conditions and con-

tent of its programme according to the new condition. Legality and funding are created for the secret forces of the Special War Department as a special army."

By arming the counter-guerrilla forces with a series of possibilities, the violence against the people has risen to more intense level. It is not only the Special forces that apply such methods. All the state forces have stepped up their activities to a higher level.

Forced evacuations, emptying the villages, burning the villages down, burning the forests, disappearances while in custody, torture and desecration of the dead, mutilation and displaying the cut organs to the people to create terror, massacres and killings with the use of secret death squads, applying terror against

The Turkish Republic has embarked on a dirty war exposing itself as the enemy of humanity.





democratic demonstrations and demands, the policy of taking no prisoners, shooting the democrats and patriots, food embargo and military blockade in guerrilla regions, strategic hamleting, etc. are applied. These hardships have been imposed on the people on top of the worsening of the living conditions, high inflation, and the rise in unemployment due to the policy of privatisation.

**W**hile the people are attacked and oppressed on the one hand, narcotic smuggling, gambling and extortion are organised consciously on the other side. Turkey has become a paradise for narcotic trafficking, gambling houses, black money. The Turkish Republic has embarked on a dirty war exposing itself as the enemy of humanity. Every way and method is used in this dirty war. It is burying itself in the muck and mire of complete degeneration and immorality.

The fascist state does not only use the method of launching wild attacks against the guerrilla and the people in the guerrilla region, emptying the areas, burning villages and forests, food embargo, disappearances while in custody, killings by secret death squads. It also uses other methods. One of these is the way of "conquering the castle from the inside" by infiltrating mass organisations. Another is by destroying the morale of the people and its army through psychological warfare. (We cannot elaborate on the method of "conquering the castle from the inside" in this article. It is taken up in another article.)

The aim of psychological warfare is to interfere and disorient the human mind and feelings to achieve certain results. This is applied to create terror by means of threats to sow demoralisation among the people and their organisations. Aside from threats the fascists also use deception and disinformation. Once people are disoriented, the gap is filled by the propaga-

tion of religious beliefs or the official state ideology: Kemalism.

The Turkish Republic often boasts that the state is stronger than ever and that it has crushed the revolution and the national liberation struggle claiming that the latter can no longer recover. State propaganda harps on the strength and stability of the state. They make up news about dead guerrillas to misinform the people. Based on the thesis that "informing the journalists means reaching the people", newspaper bosses and managers are given regular briefings. The aim of these briefings is to brainwash journalists (and professors). The Press is used in its psywar operations.

In accordance with the policy of wartime media, the press is censored and press people are charged if they print stories without the permission of the authorities. Even the prime minister and other ministers have to follow this policy. Those who do not follow

their orders are called in and scolded. They want to show that the state is strong and stable, that there is peace and order in the war regions, that the revolutionary and patriotic forces have been demolished, etc.

But after saying that they have "demolished" and "destroyed" the guerrillas, they announce that they are again launching "the most comprehensive operation which has been done up to now." They make fun of the people. They act as if the people are stupid. The thing, which has been demolished is demolished once more. Later it is demolished once more, once more. But in fact it is not demolished. Because they say that we will demolish them soon and every time they announce operations that are said to be bigger than the biggest one.

With the betrayal and submission of Semdin Sakik, psychological warfare has accelerated. From the existing level, psywar has risen to a very high



"Women, do not just support, be involved in the struggle!"



pitch. They made a series of declarations thinking that they have acquired a great opportunity for a good propaganda after catching the second man of the PKK. They brought him to the country in a big operation with much fanfare. Now, Sakik was telling everything, explaining everything that he knew and guessed. What he said were exactly the same as the ones that the Turkish Republic state has claimed for years regarding the necessity for and the success of the Special Forces, etc.

**E**ven before the Interior Affairs Minister's declaration that "we are starting psychological warfare", fascism has already been using such methods. But they have stepped up their attack on the minds of the people. They bombard the people with lies and slander.

For example, different scenarios were invented on how Sakik was "caught". Hired journalists were used to write scenarios and invent stories. It was not important that they did not contradict one another. What is important here is not the details but the success in showing the state as strong but PKK as weak.

All things have two aspects: developing and degenerating, forward and backward, positive and negative aspects. We see these two aspects in every process. Sakik represents the degenerating and traitor aspect of this process. Many declarations attributed to Sakik fill the newspaper pages even as Sakik was in custody and it is forbidden to have these documents according to the laws of the bosses-landlords.

The state has issued threats against the people and organizations that it wants to silence. A cauldron has been prepared for all those who oppose the state. Even writers who see their future "working within the system" and who want to "solve" the Kurdish problem within the boundaries of the system are thrown into the cauldron

anyway. Prominent writers have been expelled from their jobs. The lies about "independent journalism" and "independent writers" have come to naught once more.

**W**e must build a broad front to oppose the fascist policies of the state. It wants to implement the McCarthyist policy of the US in the 1950's under Turkish conditions different from the US of the 1950's. No fascist force can silence a broad front of communists, revolutionaries, patriots and democrats who oppose fascism.

If fascism cannot suppress the opposing voices in the cities with wolf traps and the sham democratic game, or silence people through bribery, all the more that it cannot silence the voice of the eagles of the mountains

tricks and massacre; but these tricks cannot be effective against the guerrillas.

In the same way, it is once more proven that it is impossible to demolish the guerrilla struggle either through the classical warfare or through the counter-guerrilla war. The policy of the Turkish Republic intended to marginalize the guerrilla and maintain a situation of an "acceptable level of violence" will also not succeed. Neither fascism nor direct interference of imperialism can demolish the guerrilla and communist organisation that is guided by the correct line and rectifying its weaknesses continuously and learning its lessons from setbacks.

Guerrilla warfare is the most vital element against psychological and every kind of warfare conceived and employed by fascism. Guerrilla war-



that give them force, inspiration and courage.

Today's guerrilla culture cannot be equated with the bandit culture in history. Although they have a common denominator of the two being illegal and waging armed struggle from the mountains, why they stay there, how they live and, how and why they fight differ very much. For this reason, the bandits can be subdued with Ottoman

fare must be supported, sustained and developed even in the cities. In this way we can effectively protect our positions in the cities and make them important components of the revolution.

We will resist against attacks. We will drive back the attacks in solidarity with revolutionary-democratic forces and we will overcome the psychological warfare of fascism. #





# ISOLATION CELLS ARE AIMED AT KILLING THE MIND !

*(excerpts taken from BULLETIN OF THE COMMITTEE FOR STRUGGLE AGAINST TORTURE THROUGH ISOLATION - Issue Number 1, June 2000)*

Prisoners in Turkey's jails are confronting a massacre let us prevent the massacre.

Isolation cells are torture let us take a stand against death by torture.

The defenders of human rights, democrats, progressives, Marxists, those who are against fascism; All Europeans who are against torture;

We are the families of the sons and daughters who are political prisoners in Turkey's jails.

Think about a country where defenceless prisoners are murdered behind wire fences, doors with iron gratings and behind four walls in the prisons. Think about a country where the state dresses up its role of executioner as being extraordinary security precautions.

In this country, mothers and fathers see their sons and daughters come out of the prisons in coffins. Into their hearts are burned the newspaper images of bodies of prisoners torn to pieces, burned, perforated by bullets.

In this country mothers and fathers receive the corpses at the morgue of their children who were alive when they went into prison. In the prisons of this country, horrors are experienced that human beings and humanity recoil from.

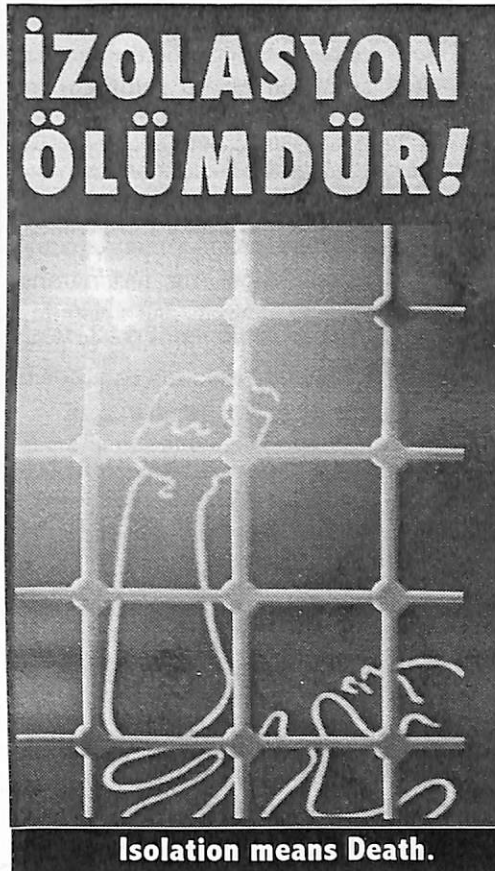
Yes, this is the country that they tell you is "becoming democratic", and is in fact Turkey under the rule of fascism. "Will there be an operation again?" "How many of our sons and daughters will lose their lives this time?" "Which mother will have her heart broken"

While we think about such things, we do not get a wink of sleep, because sleep is denied to us. We have been nervously watching the TV news for information of new attacks and massacres. When our imprisoned sons and daughters were on hunger strike or Death Fast for the sake of a decent life, their bodies disintegrating slowly, we ourselves were unable to swallow our food. While they were hungry, we did not set out food on our own tables

We lived through the pain of our sons and daughters during the Death Fasts, the Buca(Izmir) massacre, the Umraniye(Istanbul) massacre, the Ulucanlar (Ankara) massacre, which took place on our soil". Our children, very much loved by us, were savagely killed in the prisons which are under the security and control of the state.

There were no limits to the savagery that was practised; they did things that would make a Hitler seem compassionate. The images of bodies torn apart in Nazi concentration camps were repeated in our country, where the deception is practised that it is a "democracy". In our country the prisons have been turned into a lake of blood.

The pain that we have lived beside and the smiling eyes of our sons and daughters, along with the deep love



they feel for the people and their warm hearts have also filled us with warmth. To us the sons and daughters in prison live as human virtues, they embody honour in resistance. Inside we wept tears of blood, but we also held our heads high. Because they were the honour of humanity in the face of oppression. They resisted with their revolutionary identity. They did not bow down. For this reason every kind of cruelty to them was deemed lawful" Wherever you are in the world, it is a right and a duty to resist oppression. In our country, because the prisoners have made use of their rights, THEY WANT THEM TO BE PUT IN ISOLATION CELLS.



The defenders of human rights, democrats, progressives, Marxists, those who are against fascism; All Europeans who are against torture;

Once again the prisons are on the agenda in our country. The fascist state in Turkey is once again preparing attacks on political prisoners. Policies of carrying out new attacks to make the prisoners surrender and annihilate them are being brought on the agenda. They are impatient to reinstate the ISOLATION CELLS which were repelled by the resistance of our sons and daughters.

The fascist state in Turkey is completing preparations for turning the prisons where our sons and daughters are incarcerated into torture centres and put them into isolation on account of the thoughts they harbour"

With isolation which will last days, months, years, they aim to make our sons and daughters surrender, to annihilate them through torture"

The fascist state in Turkey is preparing to commit the greatest crime against humanity through the torture which will be practised in the isolation cells.

Our sons and daughters and we ourselves will resist while fascism in Turkey commits this crime. In this struggle, we also want to see you on our side. We want to see you on our side refusing to permit Nazi measures like ISOLATION being implemented in our country.

Fascism in Turkey and the European imperialists, with Germany at their head, want to import into our country experiments with ISOLATION CELLS; they want to kill our sons and daughters in isolation cells the same way they killed RAF (Red Army Faction) prisoners in Germany.

All the imperialists who are in agreement in saying that the fascism of Turkey is "democratic" are telling a

lie aimed at deceiving the entire world. They turn a blind eye to Turkey's fascist practices, they support them for the sake of their own interests in the Middle East, the Caucasus and the Balkans. It is in these conditions that fascism in Turkey finds even greater strength to put pressure on the people and the opposition and on our imprisoned sons and daughters above all.

Will you remain silent in the face of this? European democratic public opinion, will you find it convenient to remain silent while the revolutionaries of Turkey and political prisoners are murdered?

We, as the families of political prisoners, will wage a struggle against isolation. We will be at the side of our sons and daughters and will not let them be killed.

We will not permit our sons and daughters to be savagely slaughtered as happened in Ankara Ulucanlar Prison. We want to see you at our side in this struggle.

## THE FASCIST STATE IN TURKEY WANTS TO TURN THE PRISONS INTO TORTURE CENTRES

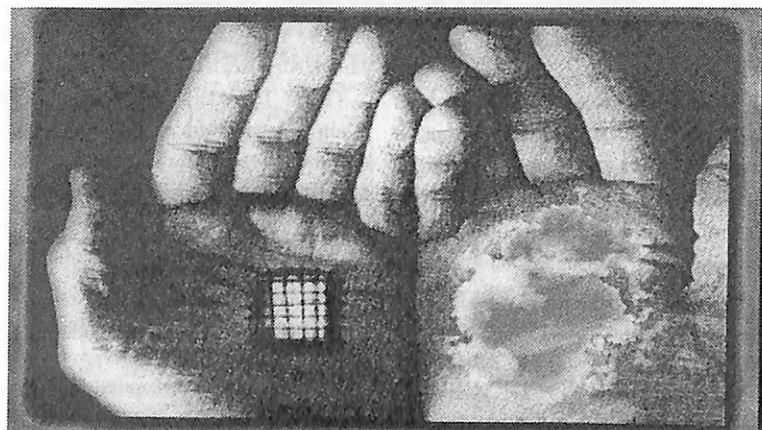
The cell-type prisons, that is, isolation prisons, have been on the agenda in Turkey for a long time. In the near future they will also put them

into practice. The cells and the prisons will be turned into torture centres along with the cells.

A police interrogation ending after a week is not the kind of torture we are talking about; what we are talking about are days, months and years of it inflicted on hundreds, even thousands of political prisoners.

Because isolation is a means to make revolutionary prisoners surrender. Fascism in Turkey will insist on bringing in cells where every kind of torture can easily be applied. In the cells the prisoners will be forced to surrender; this period will be bloody and will be carried out openly " nearly 10,000 prisoners are face to face with these tortures and massacres. This appeal, this cry is the cry of 10,000 prisoners. They will try to trample on the honour and human virtue of the prisoners, make them abandon their beliefs, thoughts and ideals and empty their minds, destroy the love of the people and their homeland in their hearts and extinguish the flame of freedom in them. They will attack the prisoners who think, live and produce for the people, aiming with every inhuman method to make them submit.

For years, fascism in Turkey has tried to make the prisoners submit to the fascist system. With bans, pressure and arbitrary practices they have intimidated prisoners, with massacres



**Silent cry: F-Type Prison Cells**



they have aimed to drive them back. Prisoners have resisted this. And in these acts of resistance a large number of prisoners have lost their lives. Massacres were carried out for this purpose.

The cell-type prisons have again been placed on the agenda; for years they tried to put them into operation earlier but somehow they did not succeed. They are seeking to transfer to our own country the experiments in isolation carried out in European countries. At every point when the isolation prisons have been put on the agenda, the prisoners have repelled the attack, paying a heavy price. In the acts of resistance to isolation, in the 1996 Death Fast, 12 prisoners lost their lives.

In Ulucanlar(Ankara) 10 revolutionary prisoners were tortured to death with special cruelty. But once again they were unable to make themselves surrender. They created a tradition rare in the world's annals of captivity. This is a tradition of prisoners dying, facing torture, having their bodies torn to pieces, and yet refusing to surrender.

**F**ascism in Turkey has prepared a long-term programme of attacks. The centre of these attacks is once again the isolation prisons. And once again the aim of these attacks is no different. "Surrender, all those who do not surrender will be destroyed." While doing this they will also practise another kind of torture, namely, WHITE DEATH.

Today, an even more multi-faceted policy of repression is on the agenda than was the case in the prisons of the 1980 fascist junta. Rather than against one prisoner at a time, this will be the practice of repression, torture and massacre directed against 10,000 human beings. For this reason, the fascist authorities in Turkey, a land in which 20 million people are hungry and 40 million are impoverished, are

spending millions of dollars on building isolation cells.

The Prime Minister of Turkey Ecevit has explained the attacks on our sons and daughters with words like "in order to be able to carry out the programmes of the government, the solution of the prisons problem is vital", "without public order being guaranteed in the prisons, public order in the country cannot be guaranteed".

The prisoners, who are behind four walls and in the hands of the state, still make the state feel insecure. It is not enough to bring onto the agenda the creation of prisons within the prisons in which to carry on the torture of isolation. In our country in recent years, in 42 prisons alterations and repair work have been carried out and 4,000 cells built. In six provinces contracts have been completed and construction started on cell-type prisons to be finished by the middle of 2000.

Moreover, in 16 provinces contracts have been presented and in several provinces they are talking about searching for funding to build "F type", "Y type" and "H type" prisons. There is no law, no law-governed state which has seen this form of mass torture. However, this is only possible in fascist regimes. It is the duty of all human rights defenders, democrats, progressives, Marxists to take a stand against the repression, torture and massacres of fascism.

Wherever they are in the world, nobody with a conscience can remain silent in the face of massacres and torture. Above all, it is more important to stop massacres when, as is happening in our country, we have clues months in advance that they will be carried out. In the cell-type prisons of Europe, in time, those incarcerated develop psychological and physical illnesses. The results of investigations and tests available to us prove that cells damage the health of their inmates.

## ISOLATION CELLS ARE TORTURE

Isolation in cells is like being buried alive;

**T**ry to form an image in your minds of what a cell is like. A morgue in which the prisoner will be pushed through a hole that is 50 X 50 centimetres (that is the entrance to the cell). It is a coffin that is 2 X 3 metres square" (Note: the Turkish word "tabutluk" translated as "coffin" actually means a room in a mosque where coffins are stored, and is also a colloquial term for a room in a police station set aside for torture.)

In a rather narrow area, where there is nothing else except a toilet, a bunk bed, a table and a chair it is cold, airless and even a view of a piece of sky is denied within its four walls. Thick walls which make the prisoners remember that they are in a grave at every three metres. The world ends at a distance of three paces"

No other human beings, no air, no sound. It is a cemetery which in a conscious way seeks to destroy everything that involves life. A thick iron door, locked for 24 hours, into which is built a viewing slit which a pair of eyes can peer through but which makes it difficult for even light to penetrate into the cell. That viewing slit is opened from time to time to count the prisoners and check whether or not they are still alive. Once a day a foot pushes a food tray under the door, in the same way you might give food to a dog. Everything will be planned and organised for the implementation of torture.

Nothing involving humanity, nothing beautiful is permitted within these coffins. A cell 2 by 3 metres square is solitary confinement from within and without aimed at insulating people from contact with the world. it is



aimed at isolating them. They are planning to condemn prisoners to be left on their own for days, for months in such coffins. In such coffins human voices and sounds are banned"

Chatting, smiling, expressing pleasure, being able to share with friends a sense of anger to their faces will be forbidden" The pleasure of drinking a glass of tea or smoking a cigarette with a comrade or friend will be forbidden.

"How are you?", "Are you well?", "Is something bothering you?", "Do you need anything?" - these are questions nobody will be able to ask, or answer". A cemetery in which you will not be able to discuss or share with anyone something you might have read in a newspaper or book or seen on TV.

You will not be able to sing folk songs and marches with a loud voice alongside your comrades, while walking back and forth in the prison courtyard you will not be able to read poems aloud to your comrades. Nor will there be walking back and forth in the courtyard. You will take three steps and thick and high walls will confront you.

For nearly 24 hours a day they plan to put a prisoner in these coffin cells, for an hour or a few hours they might get out into the exercise area. The light of the sun will not dazzle your eyes when you lift your head. You will not see the clouds passing swiftly across the sky. Your eyes will not be able to perceive how blue the sky is. Because in these coffins the walls of the exercise area are raised in such a way that only a tiny piece of sky can be seen. The sun is forbidden, the sky is forbidden."

The prisoner will be constantly in the shadow of and observed by the warden and every step he or she takes

will be checked. In this coffin a human being will not be left able to think for a week or even a day. However, prisoners will have to reckon with staying for years in these cells.

The fascist state which is the architect of these cells plans as its aim the wearing down of the prisoners psychologically and making them submit.

The defenders of human rights, democrats, progressives, Marxists, those who are against fascism; All Europeans who say you are against torture;

It is the imperialists who are the architects and masterminds behind the isolation cells. America and the imperialist countries of Europe. The USA, which has carried out psychological experiments in laboratories, has given the findings of such experiments to countries like Turkey.

"Despite being told they would be paid extra, it was seen that the subjects



were in such a situation that the experiments could not be extended another two or three days. For some subjects the experimental conditions were even so unbearable that it was necessary to end them before a psychological analysis could be carried out." (Gross and Schwab, "Evaluation of Sensory Deprivation Experiments", cited in "Silent Death", p55, by Umit Kazan)

The above quotation is a brief example of the effects on subjects that the experiments using cells in the USA have had. THE CELL IS A WORLD ALL BY ITSELF" HOWEVER, HUMANS ARE SOCIAL CREATURES. The cell is a world where no other sounds can be heard. Speaking to someone you know is the most important means of social communication.

The people of our country are accustomed to living together and sharing, and have been formed according to this culture. They have been brought up like this all their lives. For people from our country to be condemned to live alone is tantamount to a death sentence.

Cells are an attack on the social existence of humans. The effects of the cells are prolonged torture, and amount to a very slow death.

In Germany the RAF prisoner Ulrike Meinhof told about the effects of the special cell known as the "Dead Cell", and what she saw the cells did

to the health of human beings. "My head feels like it is bursting, the back of my head feels like it is about to split, all my memories are disappearing as though chopped off with an axe" my cell spins round and round, you wake up, open your eyes and the cell spins around you. In the afternoon it is as if the sun has suddenly stopped.

Everything is turning round and I cannot get rid of the feeling that I am permanently moving, I am shivering but I do not know if it is because of heat or because of cold."

The reason is not obvious, but I always feel cold, and it is an effort to talk in a normal tone of voice" Words are losing their meaning and I can



only guess what they mean. I cannot pronounce the sounds "s", "z" and "sch". Everything seems to be made of plastic, including the wardens, the visitors and the air conditioning system"

I cannot clearly remember visits half an hour after they end, I wonder if they happened today or last week. Even having a shower once a week has a very different feeling."

Even resting for a moment creates a feeling which lasts for hours. Times and places seem to blend into one another."

### SOLITARY CONFINEMENT IN CELLS IS AN ATTACK ON THE HONOUR AND THE THOUGHTS OF HUMAN BEINGS

**T**he aim of the cell-type prisons with regard to prisoners is, by means of depersonalisation, to degrade them and treat their honour as human beings as though it were nothing. They want honour and human virtue to be hurled to the ground by means of offensive searches, arbitrary regulations and pressure.

Prisoners are to be compelled to turn traitor and cooperate. Even today prisoners have to confront arbitrary attacks by wardens and soldiers. They want to search them using violence and forcing them to strip naked.

"After your identity has been established, you are brought to an empty room, you are stripped of all your clothes except underwear. Your clothes are subjected to the most minute search, and then they want you to remove your underwear. The pretext is SECURITY. They are holding a detector in their hands, but never mind that!

SECURITY harms the honour of the captive. Because for them a pris-

oner who defends his or her honour is a threat to their security. If you were to refuse to completely undress, they start to threaten that they will use force, will cancel your remission or put you in isolation. They undress you by force.

This story is not about prisons in our country. It is a short excerpt from a story told by a human being who spent three years in a cell in the cradle of democracy, England. If such practices take place in the prisons of England, "the home of democracy and human rights", you calculate what prisons in Turkey which is ruled by fascism will be like. They want prisoners to abandon their beliefs.

The fascist authorities want everybody to think the way they do. For this reason revolutionary thoughts are not tolerated. The idea of shutting up prisoners in cells on their own is to get them to abandon their beliefs. The cells are an attack on beliefs. It is a method of torture applied to get people to abandon their beliefs.

Nobody can be subjected to torture to make them renounce their beliefs. Nobody can be kept in cells for years to make them renounce their beliefs.

While those who renounce their beliefs will live on, those who do not will be killed in the cells as a form of torture lasting years. This is an attack on universal human values created over thousands of years. It places no value on the rights won by the democratic struggle of the peoples of the world. This aggressive policy is directed at all of humanity. These are Nazi methods aimed at emptying minds by force.

It is in the cells in our country that they want to compel prisoners to give up their honour and abandon their thoughts. Everybody who lays claim to defending freedom of thought and values created over thousands of years must take a stand against this.

### ISOLATION IN THE CELLS IS A POLICY OF DESTRUCTION; THEY WANT TO KILL PRISONERS "LIKE A FISH OUT OF WATER"

**F**ascism in Turkey is aiming to weaken the prisoners by isolating them and abolishing their unity, calculating that their spirit and consciousness will surrender by putting an end to the dynamism they possessed before going into the cells. Fascism wants to build prisons where prisoners will be alone against all sorts of attacks.

"The terrorists must not communicate with one another. Because when the prisoner does not communicate he or she will die like a fish out of water" when the sources which nurture the terrorist spirit and idea are cut off and dried up, his or her revolutionary side, that is, the destructive side, will be eradicated" (The Ministry of Justice of Turkey's Handbook on Management of Prisons).

It is this that is the objective of the cells. Fascism in Turkey has only one solution to the problem of the prisons, and that is to destroy the prisoners. The quotation above on the "cells" openly states the aims. To destroy the spirit and ideas of the revolutionary prisoners means to destroy their revolutionary beliefs, political identity, honour, virtue and convictions and kill their hopes.

The cells are torture chambers for each individual and at the same time a way of subjecting people to a life of intense ideological attacks.

Who knows what will be done to prisoners isolated in cells by the fascist state in Turkey when today, those living collectively in the dormitory-type prisons are the target of organised massacres and are collectively killed by torture. There will be no end to the repression and torture". Until even a



prisoner who denies his revolutionary identity will be made to submit to every kind of dishonour.

In the cells prisoners will be made to either "surrender" or be "destroyed". the meaning of "surrender" must be the renunciation of beliefs.

## DEMAGOGY AND THE CELLS

**T**he new name of the cells: "F Type", "Y Type", "Turkish Type", "Room System", "Small Dormitory" It is known what has gone on in our country, and the world knows of the experiments that have been conducted, and of the policy of destruction, torture and attacks lived through in relation to the cells.

For this reason, while they try to deceive the peoples of our country by changing the names of the isolation cells, they are trying to deceive European public opinion and counter-act any future reaction by telling lies about "Turkey becoming democratic". They will talk about "small dormitories", "room systems", "Turkish Type", "F Type" and "Y Type."

The defenders of human rights, democrats, progressives, Marxists, those who are against fascism; All Europeans who say you are against torture; All these things are lies.

The name of isolation cannot be "Turkish type" in our country, where our people are accustomed to living

together and being abandoned means death. All these names mean just one thing: WHITE DEATH, THAT IS, ISOLATION.

The democratisation of Turkey is just for show, in actual fact there is no democracy for the people of Turkey. In this Turkey which is said to be democratising itself, 10 prisoners in

Ankara/Uluçanlar were murdered towards the end of 1999 for demanding an extra ward because there was no space to sleep. They were tortured and injected with chemical substances. A country where such things can be seen is not democratic. It has only one name: FASCISM.

"The security problem in prisons" is demagogy which has been fabricated to introduce cells. In Turkey, every time a new government comes to power, the first thing the new justice minister says is that "the state does not control the prisons, but it will take control". Following these words, new attacks and new massacres come about. The present government's first action was to kill with torture 10 revolutionary prisoners in the Uluçanlar jail.

When Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit went to the USA, he brought with him the blood of 10 revolutionaries as a present. In order to prepare legitimate grounds for the transfer to cells, using the pretext of security in the prisons is demagogy. The prisoners in Uluçanlar were savagely tortured and slaughtered simply for demanding another ward.

For years in the prisons, the state has not been concerned with the right to life of the revolutionary prisoners. The prisoners have encountered massacres and borne witness to torture. The threat to the lives of the revolutionary prisoners, a threat of death by torture, arises from none other than the fascist state in Turkey.

## "EUROPEAN QUALITY" IS THE LABEL FOR TORTURE IN THE CELLS

**T**he defenders of human rights, democrats, progressives, Marxists, those who are against fascism; All Europeans who are against torture;

The creator of the isolation cells is Europe. Fascism in Turkey wants "modern prisons". "Modern prisons" taken over from Europe are "cells". America and Germany are the architects and brains behind the cells.

In 1999 at an "anti-terror summit" in Turkey, a journalist asked the German Federal Chief Prosecutor Kai Mehm, "how do you deal with terrorism?" The Chief Prosecutor said, "Not the way you do it (murders and massacres must be what was meant). We put terrorists in jail for life and if they do get out they don't even think about doing anything else."

Germany, heir to the Nazis, has influenced the world in the use of cell-type prisons for torture and massacres. In the 1970s the so-called "Maximum Security Areas" and "Dead Cells" were used to practise every kind of torture and massacre against RAF prisoners. The findings derived from these cells were treated like experiments and passed on to countries like ours.

It is Germany's practices with "isolation" cells that fascism in Turkey is taking as a model. Look at what RAF prisoners who spent years in these cells have to say about them: Karl-Heinz Dellwo, who stayed in a Maximum Security Area, defined it like this.

"The cells are different from normal ones with two horizontal doors and two windows. It is about 5.9 metres long and 1.8 metres wide. It is about 3.5 metres high. The doors and windows have armoured glass (which is especially thick so as to stop bullets). The windows are important because they cannot be opened by us. The only thing that can enter from outside is a special ventilation tube. The windows are 1.1 metres wide and 1.5 metres long.

Fifty per cent of the surface is bulletproof glass, fifty percent is framed. To give you an idea of them; they



weigh about 400 kilogrammes. Except the exercise area, there is no contact with the outside. No solitary confinement or isolation is as hi-tech as this window. It has been constructed in such a way that no sound can come in or go out. To communicate with other parts of the prison from this area, there are headphones connected to loudspeakers by sockets in metal boxes."

Again, Ulrike Meinhof on June 16, 1972 made her feelings about the "Dead Cell" known: "I have a sensation that my head is exploding (a feeling that is partly one of the head being torn into thousands of pieces, partly that it is exploding). My brain and spinal cord feel like a vegetable in an oven, which is very slowly collapsing inward."

**OUR APPEAL IS TO EVERYONE WHO SAYS THEY "ARE OPPOSED TO MASSACRES AND TORTURE"**

**Y**ou have a continuous feeling of being controlled by remote control without noticing it, you feel like you are under an electrical current;

You feel that your perceptions are being broken and cut" you cannot explain at all whether you shake because it is cold or hot; why does a human being feel cold, why does he or she shake, this cannot be explained.

It requires a great effort to speak in a normal voice, you find yourself speaking in a loud voice and almost shouting. You have a feeling that your voice has been destroyed. Henceforth you do not recognise what words mean, you can only guess...

Henceforth you have no control over sentence structure, grammar, word order, and your head aches.

When you write, after two or three lines you can no longer remember the first line "You have a feeling of being burned up and turn to ashes" The sense of time and place blend together."

This is dying very slowly, while spread out over time. The defenders of human rights, democrats, progressives, Marxists, those who are against fascism; All Europeans who say you are against torture.

Fascism in Turkey is preparing to carry out a massacre in the prisons. Behind four walls they will close the cells to make the prisoners abandon their beliefs, those prisoners who resist will be massacred.

The cells are an attack on beliefs. To prevent the massacres before they happen is possible by supporting those who resist. Fascism will not be able calmly to commit massacres if all European public opinion takes the side of the prisoners. Otherwise they will find it easy to massacre at their leisure.

**D**efenders of human rights; in our country the right to life of prisoners counts for nothing. We are on the threshold of a massacre. The cells are the pretext. The cells are an attack on the minds of human beings. They are an attack on thoughts. They are an attack on freedom and the right to life.

Now is the time for solidarity. Today is not the time to be silent. We want to see the defenders of human rights take the side of the prisoners in our country. We want you to make their just demands your own.

Isolation is the greatest torture. It is a torture lasting a whole life long. Under which law can punishment be changed into torture? In Turkey this will be done. Isolation means death by torture. Torture to last years.

All those against torture; hear the cries of the prisoners in Turkey's jails. Take the side of prisoners against torture and death by torture. Come out against isolation cells; it is necessary for democrats, revolutionaries, progressives, defenders of human rights to do this. Oppose isolation cells; oppose fascism. All

European defenders of human rights who are against the torture of isolation which will be applied to prisoners from Turkey and against WHITE DEATH, revolutionaries and democrats, progressives, Marxists, all human beings who are against fascism, we want to see you take our side.

Those who say torture is a crime against humanity, those who say torture is dishonour, those who say that not opposing torture is to be an accomplice in it, come out against torture and against isolation in the cell-type prisons.

Let us prevent the massacre of the prisoners. We call on you to show solidarity with the prisoners in turkey against cells and against massacres. #

**All those against torture; hear the cries of the prisoners in Turkey's jails. Take the side of prisoners against torture and death by torture.**



# THIRD TURBULENT YEAR OF PEOPLE'S WAR

Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

## A GENERAL REVIEW 1. BACKGROUND

**W**ith a new Plan for the new stage of advancing in the direction of creating base Areas the historic process of Nepalese People's War has entered into the challenging fourth year passing a turbulent third year. The third year of People's War has

remained qualitative in character compared to previous two years from the point of view of its intensity, vigourousness and profusion in experience. The Nepalese People's War has completed three years by getting a fierce and forceful counter-revolution and immense opposition and providing strong resistance to it in the great process of maturing the rebellious party as Karl Marx stated. This historic advancement of People's War is developing in hue with, as Lenin said creating abnormal and complex situation by own self in the process of one's

own development. It is advancing incessantly as Mao said with its own dialectical rules of dynamism of People's War and with ups and down, losses and achievements and ebbs and flows.

Setting aside the suppression and conspiracy of reactionaries and revisionists, one after another, the People's War in Nepal has entered into fourth year with grand success which is in essence the symbol of success of five hundred martyrs of revolution, entire people's militia and the general Nepalese masses communist revolu-



People's guerrillas conduct training in preparation for launching armed actions against government troops.





tionaries and working classes of the world including the RIM and above all Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the great Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) guided by it. On this historic occasion an attempt is made to present a general review based on experiences in the third year.

## 2. WAVE OF PEOPLE'S SUPPORT AND EMERGENCE OF LOCAL PEOPLE'S POWER

**P**eople's War entered into third year with the initiation of Third Plan's second campaign along with grand success achieved in various activities like capturing thousands of quintals of grains from feudal and landlords to distribute among poor peasants, incidents of seizing land, mass mobilization and events of organisational expansion. Millions of people observed the Second anniversary of the People's War with great enthusiasm as their great celebration of real people's democracy with various military and nonmilitary programs on the historic occasion of People's War entering into the third year. In this enthusiastic background the second campaign of the Third Plan, which gave priority to military actions, advanced ahead. Actions of different scales advanced nation-wide particularly concentrating intensified attack on armed forces of the enemy by means of raids and ambushes in the principal areas of struggle.

Along with success of military actions and mass mobilization, preliminary features of new people's power appeared openly in proposed guerrilla zones especially in hills of Western Nepal. Practice of people's power started openly after overpowering principally the enemy's local agents and police force by people's guerrillas in the areas where political vacuum was created because of mass

boycotting of reactionary local election.

People's co-operatives, collective labor and farming, construction of rail tracks, bridges, memorials for martyrs, registration, purchase and sale of land, people's security, people's culture, people's court and running of schools etc. became preliminary daily exercises of new people's power. People in those areas felt themselves for the first time the master of their own destiny. For the first four months of Third year the main areas of Western Nepal experienced a de-facto liberated area. With some differences in degree, many areas in Eastern and Central hills also exercised preliminary people's power.

During this time an extraordinary wave of people's support and organizational expansion developed in favor of People's War from the capital city to all over the country. The reactionaries and revisionists who were clamoring about People's War as "terrorism" and devoid of people's support' were dumbfounded to see the open endorsement of the people to the call for Nepal Bhand made by underground Front Committee for the first time.

**I**t was made clear from the nationwide support of the people during "Nepal Bhand" that People's War is the only revolutionary alternative in the Nepalese society and it has the support of the masses.

Valor and skill of war shown by people's guerrillas in numerous actions during this period showed explicitly the development taking place in the military strength of the people. From the events of secondary districts in Western Nepal where the masses by themselves confronted the enemy police force seizing arms, to guerrilla activities of Tanahu Kalikatar that symbolized the pinnacle of Third Plan, have proved this fact.

Thus the first four months of the third year become memorable symbolizing enormous mass support in favor of People's War and the period of exercising the new people's power in different parts of the country specifically hills of Western Nepal. No hypocritical propaganda by the enemies and opportunists can erase this historic truth from the heart of the Nepalese people.

## 3. BARBARIC FEATURE OF ENEMY'S STRATEGY

**I**t is well known truth that anti-people and anti-national ruler of the old regime have tried to nip-in-the bud the People's War by resorting to genocide and state terrorism since the day of the historic initiation. Revisionist cliques, who were engaged in the tug of war for power and were for sale, completely submerging themselves in corruption were in competition in the conspiracy against great People's War. After the experience of one and a half years they saw that People's War has flourished among the mass of the people and got strengthened day by day. In this context the imperialists and mainly the Hindu fanatic ruling clique of Indian expansionism speeded up pressure on their lackey Nepali parliamentarist clique to suppress People's War by all means. It is worth noting the vicious and conspiratorial series of propaganda made against People's War through public statement by the American Embassy in Katmandu and the linking of the Nepalese People's War with Pakistan by the Indian media.

The fact that a single spark of Maoist People's War can terrify imperialists and expansionists proves how hollow, weak and corrupt the world system they claim to be mammoth is. It is in fact the result of the defeat of the imperialist world system in the brink of political and cultural degeneration and entangled in severe eco-



conomic crisis. This further corroborates the analysis of revolutionary communists that the world revolution is at the near horizon.

It is also well known fact that against this background the Nepali ruling class hatched a conspiracy for mobilizing the army and introducing a so-called anti-terrorist bill in the parliament against the Nepali people and the People's War. But the Nepali people immediately branded the bill as terrorist and resorted to nationwide struggle against it. In the capital itself people's pressure mounted against the so-called: terrorist bill and mobilization of army. The reactionary ruling class was forced to suspend the idea for the time being in the face of people's wrath.

**P**eople took the episode of enacting the law as their victory and defeat for the national traitors and the mass murderers. The wave of mass support for People's War and the emergence of the embryo of new people's power that ensued have been described earlier.

Experience from class struggle and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has taught us that when reactionary ruling classes foresee imminent danger to their rule, they present themselves against the masses quite differently. This different method of reactionaries is nothing but to scrap and throw into dustbin the constitution, laws, democracy, human rights and values and institutions so far spoken aloud by themselves and to swim in the pool of blood of the people. Under the Third Plan, our great Party had already alerted the entire Party, the

fighters and the people against such lunacy of the reactionary classes.

At last the same thing happened that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism had taught us and the Party had cautioned. To trample the people and People's War, Girija Prasad Koirala of the fascist Nepali Congress Party discredited for mass murder and treason was seated on the Prime Minister's chair under the direct instruction of Indian expansionists. In the post of Inspector General of Police, Achyut Krishna Kharel, a criminal and notorious mass murderer of people's popular movement of 1990 was appointed. A so-called special security committee representing army, police and the government has been constituted in an underground conspiratorial way. For them neither a Bill nor any formal decision nor parliamentary values nor human right was to be honored. This started the barbaric rule of reactionary class from the second week of fourth month of the third year.

Under the so called 'Kilo Sera Two' operation, a fascist campaign to massacre all, burn down everything and plunder everything" was launched. Rampage of murderers called commandos equipped with most modern means of communications arms and helicopters was unleashed. Especially in the districts

influenced by the



People's War, disappearing the bodies of the best sons and daughters of the people after mass murder, killing en

masse dozens in one place by shooting indiscriminately at unarmed teachers, students and guardians while observing guardian's day, mass murder of the group taking part in a marriage procession, slaughtering popular leaders of the people after arrest from home, plundering villages after their encirclements, commit barbarous crime of mass rape and murder, interfering nakedly at the peaceful and lawful activities of Maoist supporter students, women, workers, peasants and oppressed nationalities nationwide as well as in the capital by imposing undeclared war on class organisations, attack on Maoist supporter newspapers, killing in false encounter, those sleeping at home, eating meal and walking on streets compelling the supporters of People's War to sign the paper for surrender forcibly at gun point, making false propaganda and blacking out the whole activities of People's War from the media and torching peasants huts, have become the daily routine of the reactionary rule of the fascists from the last week of May (1998).

Within the last months of the third year, the fascist Girija Koirala clique of reactionary regime has murdered 500 party members fighters and supporters, hundreds of women have been victim of rape, thousands of poor peasants households have been plundered, and thousands have been jailed and subjected to inhuman tortures.

Along with this vicious suppression, the reactionary ruling clique intensified such activities as hatching conspiracy for internal sabotage and misleading people about the great Party and the central leadership spearheading the People's War. In this immoral and heinous act, the Nepali ruling clique has not only availed the services of US imperialists and Indian expansionists to train its murderer gangs but also assistance of Fujimori, the murderer of the Peruvian people, has been received. Months long training programs have been conducted on genocide, suppression and conspiracy





People's militia is organized for village defense.

against people and People's War at Lima of Peru and at Katmandu of Nepal.

Thus, it is clear that the present parliamentary fascist cliques of Nepal like the reactionary ruling cliques of the world has adopted the strategy of sowing illusion and creating division and encirclement and annihilation under the common policy of 'burn everything and kill everyone'. Since the last eight months they have been adopting the same strategy against the Nepali people. The rhetoric of 'democracy, parliamentary onus', and human rights' have entirely been proved to be farce in the eyes of the people.

## 5. FOURTH EXTENDED MEETING OF THE PARTY AMIDST REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE

**O**ur Party had visualised seriously about the fascist move of the enemy and betrayal of revisionist group specially under the Third Plan and generally from the beginning of the historic People's War. No nervousness and deviations emerged amongst militants and the mass of people from the fas-

cist move of the enemy and revisionists because the Party, militants and to certain extent mass of people were alerted to prepare against it. It was because these were expected in the class war.

As per the plan, the Party militants and the mass of people continued with the act of countering disinformation, breaking encirclement and mounting resistance. The Party maintained lively contact with masses in face of severe difficulties. New landmarks of sacrifice, devotion, bravery and self-sacrifice were created by responsible Party members and important guerrilla fighters against the reactionary brutality, while staying amidst the people. Party members and fighters successfully set hundreds of examples of historic ideal of self sacrifice for the Party and revolution.

In the main areas of struggle when massacres in dozens were carried out in one village after another, the poor peasants inspired the Party continuously asserting, 'let the Party continue People's War for which they were ready to sacrifice everything'. Hundreds of women victims of barbaric rape by the reactionary joined the People's War with hatred and helped to raise the revolutionary initiative of hundreds of thousands of working women to new heights.

The Party got the opportunity to understand more deeply the level of patience, sacrifice, devotion and bravery that the mass of people possess for creating their own history under the leadership of the Party. Relations between the people and the party further strengthened.

Under the circumstances of repression and resistance the Party convened the Fourth Extended Meeting of the Central Committee in the middle of the third year. Understanding fully the sentiments, seriousness and feeling of responsibility brought about by the class war the meeting after intense discussion passed unanimously the resolution "New Plan for New stage" in the form of leap in the direction of creating base areas. Many concrete and important decisions have been made by the Extended Meeting linking the three instruments of democratic revolution i.e. the Party, army and united front, with the glorious aim of creating base areas.

**O**n the basis of the synthesis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, a historic specialty of Nepali society and the experiences of two years of the People's War, the Party has enumerated principal conditions for creating base areas in Nepal. With extensive theoretical analysis about guerrilla zone and base area, the Extended Meeting has laid special emphasis against the dangers of guerrillism and reformism in the military field. This analysis and decision is clear to act as the revolutionary line for the Party for a long time to come.

The Extended Meeting took most seriously the question of the process of transforming continuously the Party, the main among the three weapons of revolution along a proletarian line as per the need of safeguarding against the conspiracy and pollution of enemies and opportunism, at a time when Right revisionism poses the greatest danger. It was decided to reinforce further the uni-



fied leadership of the Party emphasizing on the need to link the concept of two-line struggle with the synthesis of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China and Com. Mao.

In order to strengthen the Party unity against the danger of bourgeois pluralism and wage struggle unitedly against enemies and revisionists at the present situation of war a decision was made to centralise further different levels of leadership and to establish consciously among the masses the role of different tiers of leadership, in particular the role of the General Secretary at the centre.

The decision to establish the Party leadership amongst the masses in a more unified and centralised way is a decision of far reaching importance indissolubly linked with the decision of advancing ahead in the direction of creating base areas.

Grasping with greater firmness the scientific inference that "Without a people's army, the people have nothing", the Extended Meeting decided to develop local military organisational as the Secondary force under the direct leadership of local Party and, to create platoons with the aim of developing them into companies under the direct command of regional commanders as the Main military force of the people, to develop people's militia under each area command as the Base force. Besides this, important deci-

sions are made regarding centralisation, decentralisation and placing to develop the war skills of military formations.

The Extended Meeting has laid stress on making the revolutionary United Front still broader and as practical as a means for new people's power at local level and for propaganda and revolutionary mass struggle at the central level. For that purpose concrete decision has been made to initiate to develop the local people's power in accordance with the principle of

three-in-one committees, while at the central level a united front consisting of different fronts, nationalities and the left, progressive, patriotic and democratic forces would be developed.

Besides the above major decisions, the Extended Meeting undertook evaluation of contemporary political situation of the country, synthesised a number of questions related to the Party history, decided to rectify the Party and prepared a new detailed framework of the New Plan. The Extended Meeting further decided to implement the plan to advance in the direction of creating base areas from a particular date with a special bang.

The successful completion of the Extended Meeting convened under adverse conditions and attended by 100 percent of expected representatives was itself a telling blow against the reactionaries while a symbol of victory for the Party, the fighters and the masses of people.

The Extended Meeting has laid stress on making the revolutionary United Front still broader and as practical as a means for new people's power at local level and for propaganda and revolutionary mass struggle at the central level.

## 6. DECLARATION OF NEW DECISIONS AND REACTIONS TO THEM

The convening of the Extended Meeting and declaration of its decisions became a telling blow to the reactionaries and revisionists who were exercising mass slaughter and State terrorism since four months. Reactionaries who clamoured that Maoist movement was under control and the revisionists who parroted the same were dumbfounded by this declaration.

After some period of guarded silence the media of reactionaries and revisionists centred their attack on the decisions of the Extended Meeting particularly the centralisation of leadership and its establishment. New and old revisionists appeared very active in such attacks. For months they tried to spread false propaganda regarding the decision on the role and establishment of leadership labeling it as 'personality cult', 'dictatorship', 'evolution of kingship', 'creation of god' etc., and tried to mislead the masses. They resorted to the notorious Goebble's style of propaganda by labeling 'good' to a particular leader and 'bad' to the other, under the reactionary strategy to create division among the Party leadership and make one stand against the other.

After all what is the mystery behind attacking the issue of centralization of leadership and establishment by the reactionaries and revisionists? Are they really serious enough for not letting to develop 'personality cult', 'dictatorship', 'kingship' within the revolutionary Party of the proletariat? That is not the case for sure! Because they have been worshipping such personality cult, dictatorship and kingship. They should have been elated to see the same being repeated in the revolutionary party,



but why are they creating a storm against the revolutionary party of the proletariat and its leadership? This is a crucial question for entire revolutionaries and the mass of people. Many of the honest people also are found to be confused on this question.

Simple fact is that reactionaries resort to mass killing and state terrorism for not being able to bear the truth when the proletariat and working masses try to create their own state machinery against the reactionary state machinery. Similarly, when the proletariat and working masses try to establish their own leadership against the leadership of the feudals and bourgeoisie that becomes intolerable to them. So they attack with their full might to discredit and not let the proletarian leadership get established among the masses.

Even here, when the Party proposed the Plan for creating base areas as the new political power and tried to centralise the leadership and establish it in the form of new leadership, it became a matter of beyond toleration to the old regime, old leadership and its revisionist lackeys. Leadership is the key, but the question is leadership of which class? Entire history of revolution and class struggle in fact is the history of struggle for leadership. Again the important point is leadership of which class is struggling against whom? It is obvious that proletarian democracy is dictatorship for the reactionaries and likewise 'democracy' of feudals and bourgeoisie is dictatorship for the proletariat and the working masses.

Mao said: To be attacked by the enemy is good, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves.

Similarly, the earth-shaking two-line struggles in the International Communist Movement are nothing but ultimately the history of the struggle for leadership. From the First International unto the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the struggles waged by Marxist-Leninist-Maoists against anarchism, sectarianism and mainly right-wing revisionism are all for the leadership of the proletarian class. Baking dared to call great Karl Marx as a 'dictator', Kautsky labeled Com. Lenin as 'conspirator and dictator' and what Trotsky and Khrushchev said to Com. Stalin? The whole world knows. Have not the modern revisionists labeled Com. Mao as 'worshipper of the personality cult', 'dictator' and 'war monger'?

So, no room is there to be confused from the propaganda of the revisionists. When a rightist capitulator running away from class struggle goes to the lap of feudal monarchy just to save his skin, leaving the Party, revolution and the people, then he exposes his hypocritical culture by labeling the great Party leading the People's War as 'monarchy' from the lap of reactionaries and rightist revisionists.

We also saw how a common surrendering fellow is carried on the shoulder with great fanfare by the reactionaries and revisionists as soon as they find him. It should, therefore, be understood that when somebody has no faith in the revolution, the Party and the people, and the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, in order to conceal his rightist, surrendering character, he

at first attacks the Party leadership. Objectively that forms the part of the strategy of the reactionary class.

Among the conspiracies designed by the reactionaries and revisionists of the world over against proletarian revolutionary parties, the prominent ones are to try to alienate leadership from ideology, policy and program, alienate cadres from the leadership and mass of people from the Party. The attack on our Party end its leadership is the result of reactionary conspiracy to break such indissoluble relations which cannot be objectively separated out.

How a communist revolutionary perceives the attack by reactionaries and revisionists? He understands the way Mao has stated: 'It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves 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 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.'

## 7. PROCESS OF QUALITATIVE DEVELOPMENT IN PEOPLE'S MILITARY CAPACITY

The Third year of people's war was of qualitative nature from the angle of enhancing people's military capacity. The success of a series of high level military actions by the people's guerrillas during the so-called Operation Kilo-sera - two by the enemy and especially after the Extended Meeting, proves it.

In the process of learning war through war itself the guerrilla fighters have been enhancing the skill of



war qualitatively albeit confronting numerous difficulties, incurring huge losses, overcoming the natural limitations and drawbacks of apprenticeship and learning from every event. The bravery shown by people's guerrillas, their courage and instances of self-sacrifice have been inscribed in history as glorious episodes of Nepalese revolution.

When the fascist Girija Parsad Koirala seated on the Prime Minister's chair after sucking the blood of hundreds of revolutionary warriors and mass of people had arrogantly announced the Maoist movement to be under control through a press conference, right the very next day the reactionaries and revisionists met with a deadly blow from hundreds of successful actions in the form of ambushes, raids, sabotages and, propaganda actions planned nationwide, as special bang. This successful blow responded to the state terror with red terror and played a far-reaching role in entering into the great plan of creating base areas. That successful bang clearly showed that the massacres by the reactionary regime cannot extinguish the flame of revolution but plays an important role to inflame further.

In this context, people's guerrillas successfully raided the Laliya police post in Dhanusha and captured rifles and bullets kept there. Similarly in the process of the great bang, the guerrillas, as part of high level and successful military actions, raided Phalate police post seizing all arms and ammunitions there in. The same day guerrillas raided the police post at Nirmal Basti in Parsa seizing all arms and ammunitions. Immediately after that the guerrilla platoon in Rolpa, fought bravely with hundreds of enemy armed police force and succeeded in eliminating some, driving away others and later on breaking the encirclement of further hundreds of police force supported by helicopters, to safety.

Presenting a model of intelligence and art of armed guerrilla warfare the guerrillas attacked dozens of police forces stationed at the Jhimpe tower at Saunepani in Salyan district and seized large number of rifles, bullets and other items. In this context, guerrillas granted amnesty to 10 police personnel who had surrendered after educating them. This incident has again clearly showed that guerrillas of the people's war are not butchers like the reactionary gangsters but they are the great revolutionaries who treat the prisoners of war well and grant honorable amnesty to those surrendering before them.

Immediately after this, guerrillas raided the police post at Bhattedanda in Lalitpur as part of continuation of valor of historic Bethan action and seized all rifles and ammunitions available there. After a few days, demonstrating another model of skill of guerrilla warfare, guerrillas ambushed a contingent of police forces, which was out to terrorize the people at Jhelmeta in Dang, forced to surrender and seized all rifles and bullets but granted amnesty to the police forces after educating them. In Dolpa of Karnali zone also guerrillas attacked successfully on a contingent of police force by ambushing them and captured their arms, and ammunitions.

**T**hese are test examples of guerrilla actions taken place during the later months of the third years. In between, hundreds of actions like seizing of banks and arms in the banks, capture arms from feudals and annihilation of informers and criminals involved in genocide, sabotaging Minister's quarter in the capital in the police posts in different parts of the country and the factories of bureaucratic capitalists, seizing grains from landlords and distributing among poor peasants were successfully accomplished. Apart from these if propaganda actions of

different kinds are to be counted the number would be in thousands.

The actions after the Extended Meeting or those undertaken specially after the historic bang of October 17th, 1998, prove the failure of the enemy's so-called kilo-sera -two operations, on the one hand, and the process of qualitative enhancement of the military capability of People's War, on the other.

## 9. Conclusion

**F**rom the above analysis it is clear that the advancing historical stream of People's War is getting further strengthened with its entering into the fourth year after completing the third year. It has resisted successfully the conspiracy, suppression and terror of the enemy till today. Today, the imperialist, expansionist, feedlots and revisionist elements, at the pretext of the so-called election, are preparing for more dangerous conspiracy and heavy repression against the historic stream of the People's War advancing as inseparable part of world proletarian revolution.

The great Party, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), which has been leading the People's War based on the all-powerful principle of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, has been attempting to forge broader and stronger unity with all left, progressive, patriotic and democratic forces inside Nepal and communist revolutionaries along with justice-loving people outside Nepal in order to resist that conspiracy. It is a matter of pleasure for the entire revolutionary Nepalese masses of people that the RIM Committee which has been advancing steadfastly to establish a new international to advance the world revolution based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and all Parties and organisations under it have been extending strong support and sincere help to the People's War in Nepal. #



# ADVANCE IN THE GREAT DIRECTION OF CREATING BASE AREAS!

**T**he great People's War [PW] initiated in Nepal, now in its fourth year, is advancing in leaps and bounds, and in the process, is unfolding numerous questions of far-reaching significance for the international proletarian revolution, especially in the arena of inner-struggle and class struggle. As the reactionary state, as expected, unleashed a genocidal suppression campaign under the garb of the so-called operation kilosera-two since end May 1998, the glorious Party of the proletariat-by con-

vening the historic fourth extended meeting (EM) of the Central Committee [CC] In August 1998 followed by the fall meeting [Plenum] of the CC in July 1999 gave a tit-for-tat response 'with the plan for qualitative leap in forging the three weapons of revolution [i.e. the Party, the Army and tile United Front] and in advancing the PW to a new stage of creating base areas.

As a result two roads of revolution and counter-revolution, and two states, a new democratic Republic and the monarchical parliamentary dictatorship, are contending for supremacy with ever greater vigor and violence.

This qualitative process of the past one year naturally demanded a qualitative higher level of sacrifice from the valiant martyrs whose number was more than six hundred as against the combined figure of around one hundred in the previous two years. Our red salute and honor to the great martyrs!

Base areas are the strategic bases for the PW and are at the very heart of the whole gamut of protracted PW with the strategy of 'country side surrounding the cities'. Hence the strategic goal of any PW is the creation of base areas the sum total of which would be the ultimate new democratic republic. On the contrary, guerrilla zones are merely transitional stages in the formation of base areas and cannot constitute as a separate strategic goal.

The key differences between a guerrilla zone and a base area being the question of proletarian political power, which materializes only at the stage of base area. Hence, any Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary familiar with the dictum of 'All is illusion except the political power' would realize the cardinal significance of base areas and be wary of dangerous pitfalls of aiming at anything lower than the Base Areas in the scheme of a PW. Rather an extended emphasis on the development of guerrilla zones can lead to guerrillaism of a roving rebel type and in essence constitute military reformism. There are quite a number of negative examples of this type in



**The People's War is for the future of the children.**



the international communist movement.

Our own past expressions like 'preparing grounds for guerrilla zones', or 'concentrating all efforts for developing guerrilla zones' etc., in the previous plans could unwittingly provide grounds for such a contagion though such expressions were made in the purely tactical and immediate sense.

In this context, the fourth EM has made a qualitative leap in the theoretical grasp of the concept of base areas and put forward the slogan of 'Advance in the great direction of creating base areas' for the new plan. Of course the rapid pace of development of PW in the country, particularly the sprouting of local people's power especially in the main zone of the Western Region had provided a material ground for this enhancement of political consciousness of the party.

It is however, important not to fall prey to any mechanistic thinking of expecting Base Areas to be fully developed or stable at the very beginning but to visualize them to be of different types, e.g. temporary, stable and

relatively stable. Also the process of creation of Base Areas would be varied and the proletarian revolutionaries have to be very creative and discerning to discover or develop universal prerequisites for a Base Area, like the presence of a strong people's army a strong mass base, a correct Party, an economic base and a favorable terrain as specified by Com. Mao would have to be fulfilled.

**I**n the specific case of Nepal and in the current juncture of the adverse international situation, the local Base Areas would need special protective cover at the national and international level as well. Nonetheless, plan for the great leap towards the creation of base areas as envisioned by the historic fourth EM has given a tremendous boost to the all round development of PW and the recent upsurges of near-open People's Committees in the main zone of the Western Region have brought the question of Base Area to the immediate agenda of revolution in the country. This is a great victory for the international proletariat, and the challenges and opportunities associated with it need to be addressed with greater zeal and acumen by all the

Marxist -Leninist -Maoist revolutionaries.

A qualitative leap in the process of development of class struggle demands a qualitative leap in the development of the three weapons of revolution, i.e. the Party, the Army and the United Front, as well. Hence the fourth EM and the subsequent Plenum have taken certain concrete decisions of far-reaching theoretical and practical import to forge the three weapons accordingly.

The Party, as the highest form of organization of the proletarian vanguard is the key and the leading weapon of revolution, and hence needs to be forged ever more sharply and firmly with the further development of PW, for this it is above all necessary to visualize the Party as a living organism composed of unity of opposites and hence teeming with contradictions all the time--high or low, visible or invisible, but never absent and not as a monolith.

Moreover, as an objective reflection of different classes in society various non-proletarian ideas and Right, Centre and 'Left' tendencies crop up and contend within a proletarian Party. Therefore, a correct approach and mode of conducting two-line struggle with proletarian politics in command; with a view to uniting and not splitting and with a sincere and open method rather than a conspiratorial one, as outlined during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution [GPCR], is fundamental to the forging of a unified and centralized proletarian Party capable of leading the PW. Also, the impor-







tance of centralization, which is essentially a centralization of correct ideas followed by that of thought, policy, plan, command and leadership, gets further enhanced with the higher level of development of PW and it needs to be correctly build up on an equally enhanced democratic foundation. The centralization of leadership and formation of a unified command system are all the more warranted by the specific demands of the war situation.

The fourth EM and the subsequent Plenum have, therefore, resolved to firmly grasp and implement the advanced lessons of the GPCR, the highest pinnacle of the proletarian ideology, in the matter of forging a unified and centralized Party with proletarian politics in command and have taken several concrete decisions as regards to the centralization of leadership and the mode of establishing the chain of leadership within and outside the Party. Consequently, through a rigorous process of unity-struggle-transformation a strong proletarian headquarters under the leadership of General Secretary Com. Prachanda has been crystallized and an unprecedented level of newer unity on a newer basis has been achieved in the Party.

**H**owever, the Party is fully alert not to exaggerate or to minimize the role of the leadership, especially after the bitter lessons of fraternal Parties in recent years, and is determined to uphold the lessons of the GPCR in training millions of successors to the revolution. The rectification campaign, currently underway within the party should lay firm foundation in forging a revolutionary Party of a new type worthy of leading the PW.

The creation of Base Areas would ultimately depend upon the military capability of the People's Army. Only when the armed forces of the reac-

tionary is wiped out from a particular

area and the masses are in a position to defend themselves militarily against the enemy counter-attack can one practically talk of a genuine Base Area.

However, till the Third Plan our military capability was acknowledgedly armed forces in three categories, as Main force, Secondary force [or local force] and Base force. The main force to be organised at Platoon level onwards was to be commanded by the Regional Bureau, the Secondary force to be organised at Squad level onwards to be commanded by the District Committee, and the Base force was to be the armed militia, consequently.

**T**he beginning of the fourth year of the PW saw a qualitative leap in the military capability of the people's armed forces, when a series of successful high level guerrilla actions in the form of raids and ambushes against the enemy commando forces and the regular armed police forces shook the whole country. The guerrilla raid against the enemy's special commando force camp in Jajarkot district [Western Region] in June 1999 by a special Task Force [equivalent to a make-shift Company] of people's guerrillas, which captured 20 rifles and more than two dozen of enemy troops [who were released subsequently], can be cited as a good example of growing military capability of the revolutionary forces. Still there is much to be achieved, and the latest Plenum has rightly put the utmost emphasis on army-building to realise the goal of creating Base Areas

The question of United Front [UF] is directly related to the exercise of political power. And hence its umbilical cord with the prospective Base Areas need not be hammered at. The emerging local political power in the prospective Base Areas are exercised through UF Committees, or the three-

in-one committees, mostly composed

of various stratas of peasantry and rural petty-bourgeoisie. The sum total of such local UF committees would ultimately be the Revolutionary UF at the central level, or the New Democratic People's Republic.

However, because of uneven pace of development of revolution in different regions and because of the highly centralized nature of the reactionary state in Nepal, some preliminary form of revolutionary UF at the central level is seen to be both necessary and possible from the early phase of the PW.

Such a Front of anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces would be primarily an instrument of struggle and would, as an embryonic centre of future political power, act as a coordinating body for the local UF Committees.

The Fourth EM and the recent Plenum have, therefore, resolved to initiate the formation of such a new Revolutionary UF at the central level in place of the currently existing United People's Front, which is found inadequate with the changing times and requirements. With the coming into existence of the Organizing Committee of the New Democratic People's Republic, in whatsoever a rudimentary form it may be, there would be two antagonistic centers of political power, and that would constitute a big leap in the process of revolutionary change in the country.

Let the reactionaries of the world tremble at the emergence of a new proletarian power in the lap of the Himalayas, which would ultimately be a Base Area for the world proletarian revolution.

Forward to Creating Base Areas!  
Eternal Glory to the Great Martyrs!  
Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!



# WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEOPLE'S WAR IN NEPAL

*"Women hold half the sky"*  
- Mao Tsetung

**I**n Nepal, women's active participation in war can be traced to the days of centralized feudal state expansion campaign in the end-eighteenth and beginning nineteenth century particularly to 1815 in the battle of Nalapani in Deharadun (at present in Northern India) where Nepalese women and children together with their menfolk offered a heroic resistance against the British army who not only outnumbered them but also had better equipment and despite all these they (the

Britishers) could seize on Kalanga fort only on their third attempt after incurring heavy losses on the British side.

Similarly, women were mobilized during the anti-Rana movement by various anti-Rana political parties during 1947-50 culminating in the overthrow of the Rana regime in the year 1950. Similarly women took active participation in the democracy movement of 1990 which ended 30 years of one-party rule of the autocratic monarchy, 'Panchayat', replacing it with monarchical parliamentary system. However, in all such movements women were mainly drawn from the known political families or from

urban educated women and were mainly based in urban areas.

It was only after CPN(Maoist) started the People's War that women from the grassroots, mainly rural women, started getting mobilized. Today they are professional fighters in guerrilla war. The traditional weapons such as stones, sickles and sticks which women huddled on enemies on earlier movements have now been upgraded to holding guns, rifles and gun powder. Earlier they were looked upon as mere helpers or as reserve force for political movements but today they are leaders, commanders of guerrilla squads constituting of men and women.



Women break out from the confines of home to take active part in the People's War.



This development should be understood under the background that the Section 10 of Act 1960 of the Nepalese Government bans the recruitment of the Royal Nepal Army. Realizing the double exploitative state of women, CPN(Maoist) has rightly targeted them for unleashing their doubly repressed energy to attack the system which has been responsible for their present pathetic state. In each guerrilla squad it has made the policy of recruiting at least two women guerrillas (in each guerrilla squad there are about 9-11 members).

**W**omen guerrillas work as combatants at night and do propaganda and production work during day time. Where circumstances demand exclusive women's guerrilla squads have been constituted, but this is more of an exception than the rule. One incident in Rolpa is worth mentioning where an exclusive women's guerrilla squad was responsible in annihilating a feudal tyrant who was also known to exploit women sexually.

At every village, area and district levels women have been mobilized under women's mass organization. In revolutionary stronghold areas people's courts have been established where along with other cases, cases against women's exploitation have been brought to book with the combined effect of Village Defense Committee, women's mass organization and the people.

Many cases of land usurpation of widows or single women have been restored to them through such courts. Many defaulting husbands who have taken to drinking and beating of their wives, or practicing polygamy, sexually exploiting women have been disciplined through such courts. One such interesting case in Parvat district is worth mentioning.

A school teacher was known to exploit women sexually while promis-

ing them to help find matches for their marriages. He was brought to people's court and was made to stand up and down holding his ears for several minutes and was made to apologize for his crime and was let off after warning him of greater consequences, should he continue with his crime.

Where women are not directly involved in fighting guerrilla warfare they are working as support force for the People's War. They function as organizers, as propagandists, as cultural activists, as logistics suppliers, as nurses for the wounded fighters and cadres, as espionage workers, as cover for the party cadres or combatants, as visitors and source of inspirations in jails and in martyr's family households. They are also trained to prepare locally-made gunpowder.

Because culturally women have been associated with household work, women activists have been most effective in mobilizing masses in new areas as they are easily accepted at household level. This has facilitated male cadres to have access to households in new areas. It has been generally observed that in places where local women were mobilized, such places eventually became stable bases for sustaining the movement. Also because of women's multiple role inside and outside the house she provides a good cover for many logistic and espionage work for party cadres or guerrillas.

**I**n regard to women's firm commitment to People's War it has been generally found that they often take time to decide to join the movement, but once they are into it they stick to it much firmer than the male cadres. There have been fewer cases of surrender or running away from war fields. They are also found least liable to disclose party related secrets. They are thus found to have greater perseverance and patience than men (although they lag behind men in their theoretical knowledge).

This may be due to the fact that women have more to gain from this movement than men, i.e. for them it is not only the question of escaping from class oppression but also gender oppression. After all, breaking off double chains requires greater strength and strong will power!

Following cases and instances of women exemplify the different roles women have been playing in People's War in Nepal.

**Dilmaya Yonjan:** She was the first woman combatant who heroically gave her life in the successful Bethan armed raid. She was killed while she was igniting a bomb. What makes her martyrdom even more meaningful is that she belongs to an oppressed nationality of the Tamangs.

**Lali Rokka:** She was a social activist and health assistant in a remote Rolpa district. She was picked up from the health post and shot dead. Her fault was that she actively exposed the reactionary role of a local NGO in her area.

**Bindia Chaulagai:** A young woman in advanced stage of pregnancy

**It has been generally observed that in places where local women were mobilized, such places eventually became stable bases for sustaining the movement.**



was tortured in police custody for providing food for guerrillas in the jungles. The torture resulted in premature delivery of the baby, which ultimately led to its death followed by her own death few days later.

**Sunsaro Budha:** Wife of a Party activist was tortured before her 2-year-old child. When she did not reveal whereabouts of her husband, her child was tortured but she still did not buckle. The police then brutally killed her, leaving behind the injured child.

**Kamala Bhatta:** A teacher and President of ANWA (R) Gorkha district was raped and killed by the special commando force of the armed police while she was returning from mass work amongst women in the village.

**Devi Khadka:** She represents a living symbol of barbaric state repression. She was repeatedly raped in police custody leading to laceration of her womb. She was raped because she did not yield to police pressure in signing death certificate of her brother who was languishing in jail. Today she is alive and actively engaged in the People's War.

**Chiniya Lama, Nirmala Devkota, Manju Kuwar and Suvadra Sapkota:** They along with three other male cultural activists were killed by police. Their "fault" was that they had been mobilizing and organizing villagers with progressive culture.

**A**part from the above instances, mass rape of women and incidents of airlifting of women in helicopters to be raped elsewhere and killed have been reported in the revolutionary stronghold areas.

In the initial stages women were tortured and raped, but now the recent trend is to kill them as well. This signifies that even the reactionary armed forces have now acknowledged

women as invincible fighting force. The mass scale of state repression on women also acknowledges participation of women in various capacities in the People's War.

## ROLE OF PEOPLE'S WAR IN WOMEN'S TRANSFORMATION

*"People's War is a total war"*

*- Mao Tse-tung*

**P**eople's War has affected women in different ways. First of all, PW has brought fundamental changes in the Party activist's family life. Earlier before the party launched the PW, there were many contradictions in theory and practice in relating to gender issues within the household and the outer social life.

For example, the strong preference for sons, early arranged marriages for daughters, practicing polygamy while advocating strict monogamy to women, practicing feudal cultural customs such as fasting on auspicious dates, practicing untouchability to menstruating women and lower caste people, strong attachments to private property, relegating women to household activities while men engaging in active politics, etc. prevailed.

But today with the launching of PW many wives have left home with their husbands to join the

movement leaving children to alternative support system. Those wives who have decided to stay back at home have become more economically independent and are more politicalized because of the compulsions of circumstances, the subjective efforts of the Party to politicize them and the overall political atmosphere created by PW. Repeated search operations, warrants, warning and torture, sometimes even rape, have made them even more defiant and aggressive against the state machinery. Even children have not been spared from such attacks, thus politicizing them at an earlier age. They are found actively assisting village defense committees, taking part in cultural activities, helping in propaganda work, espionage work, etc.

Since most of the able-bodied males are forced to go underground in the revolutionary strong-hold areas, women and children are left to fend their property and to face police force.



**Women guerrillas learn the art of war.**



Absence of men in household has reversed earlier gender roles. For example, today women are found to ploughing agricultural fields, which is not religiously permitted. They are found roofing their houses, something which is not culturally accepted..

Today women in revolutionary areas are defying widowhood ceremony when their husbands are killed by police force. On the other hand the Party is consciously trying to transform their bereavement into a source of strength, to avenge the killers. These days newspapers carry such resolutions from these women.

Take the case of Sangeeta Budha, a resident of Rolpa. Her husband was killed by police force in the year 1997. According to her it was she who worked in her father's house when her father was arrested. Today after the killing of her husband she has taken to jungle to join guerrilla warfare to avenge her husband's killers. Also, PW has effectively transformed otherwise a reactionary Hindu celebration "Teej" \* into a revolutionary platform for propagating in support of PW and exposing state repression in Nepal.

\* "Teej" is a day long fast imposed on women in order to pray for longevity of their husbands or for those unmarried they keep fast to pray for eligible husbands. Women in their bridal dresses and make-ups dance and sing on this day in public areas.

Absence of men, together with police atrocities have made women more co-operative amongst each others. On top of this, the Party has launched campaigns for community-based market system, co-operative labor such as 'parma' system (a traditional labor-exchange practiced within few farm households) at larger scale,

building new and maintaining old roads, installing community water sources, community based fodder or fuel collection, installing new 'Chautara' (public rest places) etc. Take the instance of one such 'Chautara' constructed at the border of Rolpa and Salyan districts which was constructed by local villagers in remembrance of local women martyrs Kumari Budha,

Sunsara Budha and Lali Rokka.

Collective farming has particularly helped those de-facto single parent households where husbands are either away to serve in the PW or have gone away to work in remote urban centers. In some places it has even managed to win the heart of such families whose male members are serving the reactionary military and police forces.

**W**ith the provision of people's trials women now feel more secure at their own home and outside as defaulting husbands and roving men are duly punished. Also the women have become more aware of their legal right, and their oppressive state. On the other hand, repeated rape, molestation by police force and the protection given by the state, to goons and rapists have

exposed the class character and gender bias of the state. This has enhanced political consciousness of the masses.

Earlier rape victims were stigmatized, but today with the institutionalization of rape and murder perpetuated by the state, the earlier sense of shame has now given way to a sense of class hatred, and rebellion against the state machinery. At one end, indiscriminate sexual harassment by the police has alienated even the ruling class women from the existing state; at the other end, it has strengthened co-operation among the oppressed masses against the state.

PW has given a revolutionary alternative life to young aspiring men and women. Women's lives, particularly in rural areas are so monotonous, set in a repeated pattern of reproductive activities. The marriage being arranged at much younger age, they have no way of escaping from this beaten track life cycle. For aspiring women to venture out of village means almost getting trapped into prostitution or being trafficked to India (it is estimated that about 150,000 women from Nepal are trafficked to urban centers of India !) or are trapped to low paid sweat shops where sexual harassment is rampant. Thus for such aspiring women, the PW offers them challenging opportunity to work side by side with men on equal term and to prove their worth mentally and physically.

PW has also given alternative dignified life to many socially abandoned women, women abandoned by their husbands, women who have been left in lurch after losing virginity by cheaters, women who could not afford to get married, are found helping PW in various capacities. For them heroic death in the course of PW is more attractive than every death imposed on them by society.

PW has helped in instilling progressive norms in people's lives.

Collective farming has particularly helped those de-facto single parent households where husbands are either away to serve in the People's War or have gone away to work in remote urban centers.



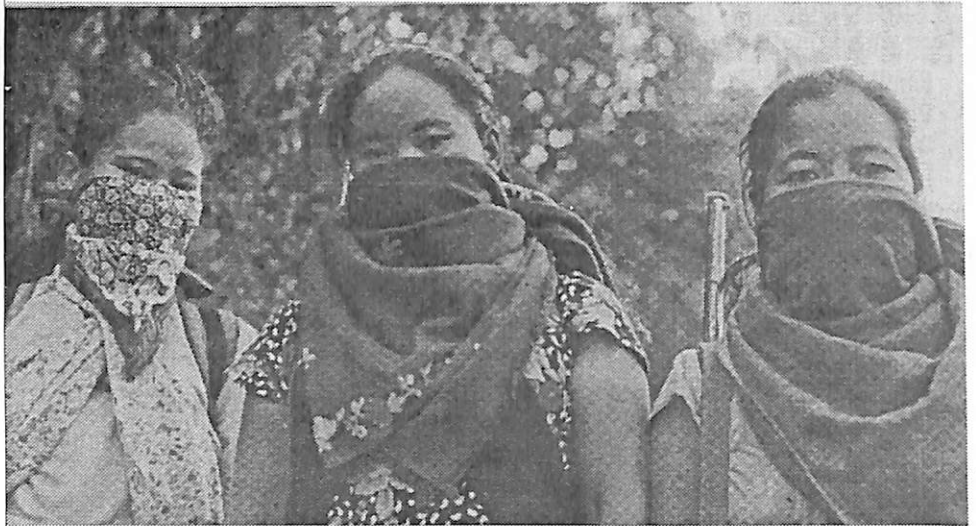
Today, the new generation of women activists is defying the traditionally arranged marriage system and opting more and more for love marriages on ideological grounds. They no longer fall head over heel for begetting sons; in fact they are limiting the number of children to a bare minimum so as to continue their revolutionary activities.

**M**en are found to be more sympathetic and cooperative in running the family life. Today, strict monogamy is being enforced on men by the Party. Thus married men found indulging in illicit relationships are severely punished. Similarly, married women found indulging in illicit relationships are also not spared. Those who have reasons to divorce are encouraged to divorce and remarry. There have been cases of remarriages. Women and men who have lost their spouses in war have remarried. Such cases, although limited, are being encouraged by the Party.

PW has also ushered in a creative literary environment for women. As a result many new women are coming forward to share their experiences of PW, police atrocities etc. by writing their memoirs, poems, feature articles and theoretical articles in newspapers and journals.

PW has thoroughly exposed the sham activities of NGOs / INGOs like 'Atria-Milan-Kendra' (Mothers get-together centers) that construct temples and spread religion in the name of organizing women have been exposed and discredited.

Nepal being a country of diversities, PW has affected women of different nationalities like Indo-Aryan Tibeto-Burman and others in different ways. PW has helped Indo-Aryan women to break the restrictive feudal life imposed by the puritan Hindu religion by unleashing their repressed energy. It has given meaningful lives to Tibeto-Burman and other women who are relatively free and have



**Women guerrillas take on non-traditional roles in the People's War.**

greater decision-making rights by giving them challenging work. PW has not only unshackled their class and gender oppression but also their nationality oppression. PW has particularly affected scheduled caste society, whose women are economically, socially, politically and sexually exploited by unleashing their hatred against the state.

PW has qualitatively and quantitatively changed women's movement in Nepal. While it has shifted the geography of women's movement from urban centers to rural areas, within urban areas, it has qualitatively changed women's movement from a feminist movement to a broad-based women's movement with class perspective as the key link. Today wider issues such as state repression on women, human rights of women, state repression on the masses. etc. are being focused along with other feminist issues.

**R**ampant mass rape on rural women perpetuated by the state are seen to affect urban feminist activists as well. They are now increasingly being involved in Human Rights organizations to show their concern for human rights abuse of women and children. Such atrocities perpetuated by the state in revolutionary strong-hold areas has

resulted into sending of a team of 6 exclusive women journalists to probe women's condition in Rolpa, Rukum and other districts. They have exposed the atrocities let loose by the government in both national and international media.

PW has also forced different women's organizations (which was rarely possible before PW started) to come under the same platform to organize protest rallies or joint press conference against state repression, to rally against beauty contests, etc. The coming together of 7 women's organizations owing allegiance to different political parties to organize protest rally against brutal rape and torture of Devi Khadka in police custody is one such example.

### ROLE OF REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN MOBILIZING THE WOMEN

**I**n an over all context of Nepal, feudalism is the principle contradiction women have to face. As a result remnants of feudal values tend to seep into even Party organizational structure. This affects women in particular as they have to fight at two fronts, from class perspective and gender perspective.



This becomes particularly challenging for women and Party organization when women in leadership in various committees and guerrilla units are not easily accepted because of feudal prejudices. This is where the policy of CPN(Maoist) towards encouraging women's participation in PW at every level becomes important.

**S**imilarly, with the increasing influence of imperialism in urban areas, there is danger for women to be swayed towards sectarian feminist influence. This is especially true for well-to-do educated women who have joined the movement revolting against the feudal domination at home. Because of their class background they may be more sensitive to gender issues than class issues. This if not checked may lead to reformism and right deviation within the Party.

Hence, the Party should counter this danger by bringing class element to play the leading role in women's movement. This can be only achieved if the Party genuinely follows mass line' as advocated by Chairman Mao whereby Party is deeply rooted within the downtrodden masses while at the same time not antagonizing anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces. However, one must also be careful that gender issues do not get postponed due to overzealousness of applying class consciousness. This may lead to adventurism and "left" sectarianism in the Party.

Hence, both these extreme tendencies must be checked by making well-to-do educated women more class conscious and poor women (men in particular) to be more gender sensitive.

Also one must be theoretically clear that the anti of exclusive women's organization in MLM organization is mainly to prepare women activists who are mainly class conscious and are also gender sensitive so that they can effectively represent

themselves in other mass organizations and local United Fronts.

Objectively there are many grounds for women's participation in PW. However, subjectively they still lag behind men because of their long history of subjugation, their poor literacy level, their lesser exposure to outside world etc. Hence subjective input by CPN (Maoist) on its women's members is very crucial.

Today, PW faces a new situation where young men and women are fighting together in war front and underground organizational work. In such a situation the question of sexual morality must be faced in such a way that one should not fall into anarchism in the name of sexual freedom. Also, because the culture is predominantly feudal one must be aware that conservatism may often prevail in the name of restraining sexual freedom. The Party has thus issued certain rules and regulations to handle such situations. In fact new cultural values and norms are being promoted to break away from feudal decadent culture.

**T**oday PW has entered into the stage of preparing base areas. Hence today the challenge lies in making women's power not only for destroying the old society but also for constructing a new progressive society. This can be done by enabling them to participate in productive activities and in decision-making body of the embryonic local anti-feudal, anti-imperialist New Democratic state in the prospective Base Areas.

One should bear in mind that not solving or postponing women's issues at the local level will hamper proletarian cause in the long run as women are the most oppressed force among the oppressed classes and groups. Such shortcomings will ultimately affect the Party's and political line in terms of becoming either rightist or ultra-leftist. This is where the spirit of Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution must

be inculcated into the party life right from the beginning. Namely the slogan "It is right to rebel" is an apt action oriented slogan which aims women to rebel against feudalism in their society and to fight against right and left tendencies in their Party.

## CONCLUSION

**W**ar, particularly class war, is by itself a great educator for the mass in the sense that it exposes the class character of the state. Particularly for women it also exposes the patriarchal nature of the feudalbourgeois state. This is no less true in Nepal where women are being triply punished for challenging class structure and the patriarchal structure of the existing state by being tortured, raped and killed.

Since women suffer most due to feudal economic relation, backward and oppressive feudal culture (and perverted imperialist culture in urban areas) and patriarchal state machinery, they can be a reliable force for anti-feudal and anti-imperialist New Democratic Revolution. Women are also the most reliable force to push New Democratic Revolution up to Communism as their total emancipation can be realised only after abolishing private property which is possible only under Communism.

The women's question has become an important question for all the classes. In today's class war, imperialists are trying to rise women as peace-makers to maintain their status-quo while MLM forces are steeling women to violently hit against the system which has been responsible for their double exploitation.

Let us therefore hail- "Working Women of all Countries, Unite. You have Nothing to Lose but Your Double Chains!!" #



# THE PEOPLE'S WAR MARCHES UNSTOPPABLY TOWARD THE CONQUEST OF POWER COUNTRYWIDE!

(REPRINTED FROM THE RED SUN, A PUBLICATION OF THE PERU PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT)

**T**here are many things that could be said about Peru today, but one thing that no one can now deny is that the People's War carries on victoriously, although some hack writers of reaction seek to present things as if there were only "isolated columns", etc.; now it is impossible to sell the hoax of pacification.

What is happening is that the Communist Party of Peru, in a masterful way, is resolving all the problems that the Revolution faces, applying Gonzalo Thought, which is the all-powerful weapon, specifically principal, of the Peruvian Revolution. We are going to show how the old state is sinking more and more, at the same time that the People's War is emerging from the bend in the road.

Peruvian reaction: three tasks, three failures. Our beloved and respected Great Leader (Jefe), Chairman Gonzalo, has established that in the face of the situation our homeland has been living through since 1980, Peruvian reaction must fulfill three tasks: 1) restructure their old state, 2) reinvigorate bureaucratic capitalism, and 3) annihilate the People's War.

Regarding the first task, everyone familiar with the situation in Peru recognizes that the reptile Fujimori is nothing more than a puppet of the military; it is a military clique that in actuality dominates the old state, and the current regime is a genocidal and country-selling fascist regime. But we must be clear: the root problem is not which regime controls the old state, although such a regime may be the

principal enemy of the moment; rather, what is most important is the state system itself. The old Peruvian state is a bourgeois dictatorship, a landlord-bureaucratic state, and it doesn't matter who is in command because they cannot change the fact that this state will always be the state of the oppressors and exploiters, a reactionary and anti-people state.



The Fascist Fujimori surrounded by his generals.





Thus, it is not enough to cry "dictatorship", we must be clear about this; if not, we would be tailing behind the opportunists. The old state is a bourgeois dictatorship with a current regime that is fascist, genocidal and countryselling; this fascist regime is the one that, during the past decade, in applying a fascism adapted to combat the People's War, has sought to restructure the old state. They have increased repression to levels never before seen in the country; they have formed the SIN, under the Machiavellian command of Montesinos (some 18.3% of his promotions have reached the highest rank of divisional generals, they have even tried to put a SIN officer in each ministry—a world record?); concretely, they seek absolute power and have transformed the country into a country filled with spies, where snitching is the order of the day; they have transformed the communications media into unconditional megaphones of the regime; there are only some newspapers (linked to the bourgeois "opposition") that don't sing the same tune and these are exposed to systematic blackmail by the regime.

**C**orporativism is applied in the form of a militarized corporatization linked to "low intensity warfare", a corporativism that is promoted by the presidential ministry through COFOPRI, FONCODES, WADE, development committees, etc. The "judicial reforms" clearly show how this fascism is really a shame-faced fascism because, in essence, it totally negates the demo-liberal order and only maintains a parliament as a sewer to flush its laws. They systematically violate their own constitution—Fujimori's petition for reelection is only a logical result of this process—but in no way is it the first violation, nor the last. They have done everything possible to restructure the old state but have not succeeded; a clear sign of this is what they, themselves, say; the puppet put

forward three motives for his reelection (once again violating their own constitution) and one of these is precisely the "reorganization of the state".

Today there is more corruption, more struggle, the contradictions are sharper within the heart of the old state; the state is not the "modern state" that, copying Chiang Kai-shek, is proclaimed by the puppet. It is an ineffective, rotten state without any long-term perspective, whatsoever. Now, after a decade with the current regime, we can confirm that their "reorganization of the state" has been a failure that has only generated more popular resistance, more conflicts among the factions of the bourgeoisie, intensifying their incapacity, in sum, more favorable conditions for the People's War.

With respect to their second task. A fascism modeled after Pinochet's has been applied in the economy, strengthening the monopolies, particularly those linked to militarized corporativism, most clearly in the countryside. They have proclaimed that they have resolved the economic problems and, in some cases, they have even tried to compare Peru to the "Asian tigers", in order to put forward that bureaucratic capitalism can develop itself and resolve the nation's necessities; but the reality is that the only thing that they have been able to achieve are transitory blossoms without any real substance.

They have financed some so-called reforms through selling off the state monopolies to some native and foreign bloodsuckers; the only ones who have benefited from the regime's political economy are the foreign imperialists and their lackeys in the country. They are the imperialist organisms, managed by Yankee imperialism, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) and the World Bank, that dictated the regime's political economy without taking into

account the real necessities of the people; it doesn't matter if the regime presents doctored statistics; the people know their situation, because they feel it in their own stomachs, they feel it when they don't have anything to feed and clothe their children.

Furthermore, these doctored statistics are so blatant that bourgeois institutions like the Universidad del Pacifico and the Asociacion de Exportadores (Pacific University and Exporters' Association-Tr.), in one recent case, had to protest when the National Institution of Statistics and Information (INEI) presented the official figures. Look at some of the so-called real "successes" of the current regime: the Special Solidarity Tax (IES or ex Fonavi), through which they loot the people of more than \$500 million per year, which the regime spends however they want, which has resulted in an enormous scandal, now that it has been shown that it has not resulted in any real benefit for the people; the foreign debt is growing to more than \$30 billion; a million workers have been laid off (according to figures from CEDAL), at the same time the few who have enough work to survive (only 17% of the economically active population) must nowadays work 9 to 12 hours per day, with no regard for the 40 hour work week; this is not in special cases, it is the general rule.

**U**nemployment in the country grew 19% from June 1990 to October 1991; 43 out of each 100 homes in the country live off donated foodstuffs. In the current year alone, there has been an increase of unemployment of 9.5% and a reduction of real wages on the order of 2.42%; similarly, the profitability of businesses fell 18% and, added to this, the export of intermediate goods in industry fell 23%, the fall of capital goods by 21 %, industrial employment fell 6.4%, the industrial



index of the Lima Stock Exchange fell 63%, and the profitability of industrial enterprises shrank by 29%. There is a profound crisis, and if the aforementioned figures are not proof enough we can add the fall in national production and, by way of example, indicate how the productive sector in Loreto shrank by 35% by year's end. In sum, in 1999, Peru has had a negative growth rate of -2%.

Now the reactionary economists, themselves, have to recognize it; for example, the ex-minister of economy, Carlos Bolona Behr, says, "we are in the midst of a severe economic crisis." Ten years with the current regime have only served to take the old state to one more profound crisis; there is no way out for bureaucratic capitalism; thus, of their famous economic miracle only smoke remains. As we can see, their second task has also resulted in an all-round failure.

**W**ith respect to their third task. This is their principal task, the most urgent, without which the other two make no sense at all, because the People's War is what will bury the old state. The same reason for which Fujimori made his coup d'etat in April 1992 was precisely due the fact that the People's War since 1991 had begun to develop within the strategic equilibrium and, as such, Yankee imperialism saw the necessity of stepping up to direct command of the counterrevolutionary war, applying their strategy of so-called "low intensity warfare"; therefore, it is clear that those who lead the counterrevolutionary war are the Yankee military commanders (one reliable proof of this is how Fujimori, himself, recently had a meeting with the Yankee general in charge of the "Southern Command" to receive directives after the failure of the "Aniquilador" campaign).

We must keep in mind that the strategy the enemy is applying is

adapted to combat the People's War and, since the Support Bases are the backbone of this, their campaigns take the form of campaigns of encirclement and annihilation directed against the Support Bases and the revolutionary forces. Following this logic, with their intentions of finishing off the People's War, they must develop massive campaigns of encirclement and annihilation to crush the New Power; in the last few years they have developed, among others, the campaigns "Aries", "K u r u i n z e", "E x t e r m i n a d o r", "Cojo Uno", "Cojo Dos" and, since September of last year to the first days of January, they have unfolded the campaign "Aniquilador" ("Annihilator", also called "Operation Annihilation").

But each one of these has been defeated by the People's Liberation Army with the support and direct participation of the heroic masses of the Support Bases. In the campaign "Aniquilador" approximately 3,000 troops of the armed forces participated, assisted by the paramilitary police forces and rondas equipped with helicopter gunships, artillery and even warplanes. They have carried out genocides and mass arrests (they say they have arrested 200 comrades, but not one with major responsibility!), but all this has been entirely in vain; the official spokesmen of the armed forces have had to publically announce that the much propagandized "Aniquilador" campaign has been an all-round defeat. This is news that should fill us with the most profound joy and delight: it is another magnificent victory for Chairman Gonzalo and the Party!

To understand well the magnitude of this great triumph we must recall

what Chairman Mao teaches on the role that these types of campaigns play in a protracted people's war: "The Red Army's operations take the form of counter-campaigns against 'encirclement and suppression'. For us victory means chiefly victory in combating 'encirclement and suppression',

*Having crushed the "aniquilador" campaign signifies a great victory and clearly shows that the People's War is coming out of the bend in the road implied by the arrest of Chairman Gonzalo.*

that is, strategic victory and victories in campaigns. The fight against each 'encirclement and suppression' campaign constitutes a counter-campaign, which usually comprises several or even scores of battles, big and small. Until an 'encirclement and sup-

pression' campaign has been basically smashed, one cannot speak of strategic victory or of victory in the counter-campaign as a whole, even though many battles may have been won.

The history of the Red Army's decade of war is a history of counter-campaigns against 'encirclement and suppression'. Thus, this victory principally indicates victory in each countercampaign. Hence, is the significance clear? Having crushed the "aniquilador" campaign signifies a great victory and clearly shows that the People's War is coming out of the bend in the road implied by the arrest of Chairman Gonzalo. Among the magnificent actions (see the list at the bottom of the present article where some examples can be seen) carried out by the PLA during the last months of 1999 and the first ones of this year, we must highlight the powerful and devastating blow to the enemy with the ambush carried out by a PLA company in which a helicopter was destroyed and nine members of the reactionary armed forces were annihilated, and wounding many more, which was a direct blow to the gener-



al staff of the enemy army; furthermore, it achieved the capture of a great quantity of weapons. It was an accurate blow that had great repercussions at the national, as well as international, level and with it died the hoax of pacification. (Afterward it came out that the reactionary army general who was in the helicopter and who fled with his tail between his legs is now going to be court-martialed for "an act of cowardice". We ask: When have reactionary, high ranking army officers shown any courage?)

Therefore, despite all the massive campaigns of encirclement and annihilation, despite all their hoaxes that are part of the psychological war, which are part of the "low intensity war" and, despite their arrest of Comrade Feliciano and other comrades at different levels, they have not been able to fulfill their task of annihilating the People's War; on the contrary, it is coming out of the bend in the road. It is because of the incapacity of the armed forces that Yankee imperialism is now escalating their direct intervention to combat the People's War; but this doesn't matter. "Welcome, Yankee imperialist gentlemen, you shall drown in the sea of armed people!"

After this quick summary, everyone can see that the fascist regime has totally failed in their three tasks. Therefore, what is left for the Peruvian reactionaries to do? Well, now comes the tragicomic scandal of the so-called "presidential elections."

The next presidential elections form part of the low intensity war. Facing the next presidential elections, first we must reaffirm ourselves on what Chairman Gonzalo teaches us:

"1) The Peruvian state is a landlord-bureaucratic state, a dictatorship of feudal landlords and of the big bourgeoisie under the control of North American imperialism; opposed to this, the people struggle for the construction of a state of New Democracy

that requires the destruction of the old existing order.

2) The Peruvian state, like all states, is sustained, defended and developed by utilizing violence; faced with this, the people need revolutionary violence, following the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside.

3) The elections are a means of domination of the landlords and big bourgeoisie; for the people they are not instruments of transformation nor means to overthrow the power of their masters. From this comes the just orientation of using them solely with the goal of agitation and propaganda."

Starting from this, we must see what role elections play, with respect to the People's War, and then we are able to see that elections only serve to "legitimize" governments so, in this way, they can proclaim their so-called "democracy" that is nothing more than a bourgeois dictatorship. What democracy is there for the peasants who live in servitude to the landlords? What democracy is there for the workers who die in the mines to ensure the wellbeing of some parasites that haven't lifted a finger in their lives? What democracy is there for the intel-

lectuals who are jailed for "apology for terrorism" for the sole fact of having said what the real situation of the country is? What democracy is there for the women who live like slaves from double exploitation? What democracy is there for children that die of curable diseases, hunger and malnutrition while the country's riches go abroad? What democracy is there for the elderly who don't have enough to eat because of the old state's politics of continually cutting their retirement benefits? NONE!

This vile system lives off the blood of the people; we have mentioned some cases, and only some, but what is real and concrete is that there is nothing, simply nothing, of democracy for the broad masses of people. There is simply nothing because the old and decrepit Peruvian state, that is rotten to the bone, will always defend this system of those who have, but it is never going to satisfy the needs of the people. Hasn't nearly 200 years of the history of the republic sufficiently demonstrated this? So that now, when the people have risen up in people's war under the leadership of the Party to carry forward the democratic revolution and set up the People's Republic of Peru, when the People's Committees and Support Bases



Peruvians protesting fascist policies of Fujimori regime.



(which together make up the People's Republic of New Democracy in formation), to talk of elections within this old system only serves to counterpoise the People's War and fool the people by trying to make them believe that we live in the best of all possible worlds. Therefore what the PCP put forward is very just and correct: ELECTIONS NO! PEOPLE'S WAR YES!

Let us see how this current farce is being shaped. What does the so-called opposition propose? In their much-extolled "Agreement of Governability to Guarantee Democracy, Justice and Peru's Development", all the opposition puts forward how they want to resolve the needs of the reactionaries.

Regarding the first necessity, of restructuring the old state, they talk about "reforming the state" such that "structuring an administrative apparatus that responds to an agile state..."

Regarding the second necessity, of reinvigorating bureaucratic capitalism, they put forward: "Utilize the arrangement between the state, businesses and workers as an instrument to define medium and long-term sectorial policy... creating for this end a National Council of Labor and Productive Arrangement."

Regarding the third necessity, of annihilating the People's War, they put forward: "Modernize the armed forces and Peru's national police ... which includes improving and specializing their equipment and raising the level of their remunerations" in order to "make a frontal assault against terrorism..."

These are concrete, real measures. If the verbiage about "democracy and

justice" is discarded, isn't this the same thing that the puppet Fujimori put forward? YES, because what we are dealing with is corporativism, in the economy (promoting private monopolies), modernizing the state and strengthening the armed forces for "a frontal assault" against the People's

War. It is no coincidence that both factions in essence puts forward the same things, it is because they both represent the interests of the big Peruvian bourgeoisie. Thus, no one should be

*There is a generalized repudiation of the regime, and the so-called opposition will not be capable of sidetracking this powerful movement of the masses*

fooled by the demo-liberal demagoguery of the opposition, because the very foundation of the opposition's "unity" is based on fascist measures, which is the same content as Fujimori's program. For the people there is not going to be any real difference if the "President of the Republic" is called Fujimori, Andrade, Toledo or whatever; the regime, that emerges as a result of this fraudulent farce will be a more openly pro-imperialist one, more genocidal, than the current one; it is the military who has real power and they submit themselves unconditionally to the Yankees, no matter which puppet resides in the Presidential Palace.

**T**he people don't need a state that only mean the continuation of hunger, misery, exploitation and oppression; the people need a state that guarantees their rights, a state that serves the necessities of the people; that is, they need a People's Republic of Peru.

Therefore, the upcoming presidential elections only serve the counter-revolutionary war, and in no way do they serve the needs of the people.

The revolutionary situation is in growing development.

From what has been put forward above we can see that, on the one hand, reaction can't continue governing the way they have before, they have no way out; on the other hand, the uprising of the masses is growing more and more (for example, see the struggles of the street vendors, the protests of the civil construction workers, the uprisings of the peasantry, etc.). There is a generalized repudiation of the regime, and the so-called opposition will not be capable of sidetracking this powerful movement of the masses that is developing more and more, because the masses don't want to live a minute longer under this system of exploitation and oppression. All of this is promoted by the People's War, which advances unstoppably throughout the national territory, thanks to the masterful application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, principally Gonzalo Thought, being made by Comrade Julio, who is now leading the People's War, together with the other comrades of the Central Committee. The People's War is the only way out, the only path for our people. Therefore, now, when the Party is coming out of the complex bend in the road, having almost finalized the reorganization of the Party and all its apparatuses, having put down solid bases to successfully carry forward the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee, it is more necessary than ever before to strengthen our forces to fulfill what correspond to us, and we must leave aside all the pettiness that some people are centering on who like to take advantage of the bloodshed by the people and, in this way, do nothing but center on their own rotten individualism. We should carry forward a broad campaign of support for the People's War, carrying forward the boycott abroad and, thus, serve our people, our Party and our Great Leader (Jefe), Chairman Gonzalo, more and better. #



# SOME ACTIONS BY THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY

IN THE PERIOD OF SEPTEMBER, 1999 - JANUARY, 2000

99/09/10

The PLA enters the community of Boca Anapati, Satipo, Ayacucho.

99/09/17

A company of PLA fighters, armed with shotguns, carbines and machetes, enters the community of Santo Domingo de Maveni, at the foot of the Pangoa river that flows into the Tambo river.

A company of PLA fighters attacks a helicopter in the jungle between the Eric and Anapati rivers, in Ayacucho, annihilating nine officers and soldiers and confiscating a large quantity of material.

99/10/07

In the morning, a company of PLA fighters carried forward a violent incursion in the town of Unibn Mantaro, the annex of Sivia, in the jungle of Ayacucho. They confronted ronderos for more than an hour, and more than 20 ronderos were wounded.

99/10/08

In the jungle of Satipo, Junfn, the PLA lays mines that seriously wound more than 10 troops of the reactionary armed forces.

99/10/08

The PLA enters the community of Conaire, Palmapampa, Ayacucho and confiscates different kinds of merchandise in various trading posts.

99/10/12

50 PLA fighters enter the community of Iribamba-Choymacota, 25 kilometers from the Sivia district, in the province of Huanta, Ayacucho confiscating food and medicine.

99/10/09 and on.

There are constant confrontations between the PLA and the armed forces in the Pangona zone of San Martin de Pangoa and the settlement of San Juan de Pueblo Libre, in the central jungle of Junfn. Inhabitants of the zone report that for 48 hours they could hear powerful detonations and blasts from heavy weapons in the tangled vegetation.

99/10/14

There is a confrontation between PLA fighters and MI-17 helicopter gunships when the combatants cross the Ene riverbed. Five soldiers are wounded in that confrontation.

99/10/14

Some 30 PLA fighters enter two settlements in the Huancayo districts of de Santo Domingo de Acobamba, some 97 km northeast of Huancayo, with the goal of finding food and medicines. The combatants also reached the settlements of Balcon and La Libertad, where the inhabitants gave them foodstuffs.

99/10/17 and before.

In the Ene river valley, the PLA transmits defiant radio messages against the reactionary armed forces. The objective of these transmissions, according to military intelligence sources, was to "lead military patrols present in the zone to wrong points and set up possible ambushes."

99/10/16

In Anapate, Satipo, the PLA confronts the armed forces.

99/10/18

The PLA combats ronderos and helicopter gunships for an hour and 45

minutes near Santa Fe de Capireni, Satipo. Many ronderos were annihilated.

99/10/20

The PLA confronts the armed forces in the locality of Sanabamba, in the jungle region of Huanta.

99/10/23

In the jungle, near the military base of Mazamari, Satipo, an explosive device is left by the PLA on a path in the dense jungle, wounding six soldiers of the armed forces.

99/10/24

Six more armed forces soldiers are wounded by explosives and transferred to the military airfield of Mazamari, Satipo.

99/10/25

The PLA carries out an armed agitation and propaganda action, with





painted slogans in the settlement of Canaan, located 10 km west of San Martin de Pangoa. The slogans have been made along two km of the road, in the church, the school, the water reservoir, the electric plant and the walls of a concrete bridge.

99/11/03

Armed agitation and propaganda in the Cachicaddn district, in the province of Santiago de Chuco, Trujillo is carried out. During a festival, combatants light bonfires in the nearby hills with the hammer and sickle.

99/11/03

The PLA annihilates an army captain and wounds a lieutenant and six other soldiers in an ambush. The clash lasted around 30 minutes. The PLA column, with more than 25 combatants was, according to reports, led by a woman.

99/11/03

In the valley of the Mantaro and Ene rivers, in the Vizcatdn sector included within Huanta province, within the borders of Junin and Ayacucho departments, the PLA attacks a helicopter that was evacuating a soldier wounded by a mine, who later died. The PLA annihilated two officers and three soldiers. The heli-

copter was destroyed so it couldn't take off.

99/11/04

A PLA column attacks the reactionary army on the Ene river, near Tincaveni, in the jungle of Junin, annihilating a captain and wounding four soldiers.

99/11/10

The reactionary Peruvian army attacks a camp with 25 PLA fighters. The encampment-probably a People's Committee-was located in Camantavishi, in Alto Anapati, near the Mantaro and Ene rivers, in Vizcatdn, Huanta, on the border with Junin and Ayacucho. The PLA resists in a prolonged confrontation, annihilating a prominent ronda leader in the zone and wounding a captain and three soldiers.

99/11/16 -Two actions.

The PLA carries out an ambush in the zones of Maveni and Somaveni river, Ayacucho. A rondero is annihilated and four more are wounded.

99/11/16

A PLA column made up of 20 combatants sets fire to a house that belonged to a local public official of Uchusquillo, in the province of Carlos Fermin Fitzcarrald, Ancash.

99/11/19

Using a boobytrap, 30 PLA fighters seriously wounded one of the soldiers who were chasing them on the bank of the Tingaveni river, in the province of Satipo. A little while earlier, the fighters had carried out an assault on the jungle community of Alto Chichireni.

99/11/23

The PLA enters Alto Chichireni, a hamlet located in San Martin de Pangoa. Chichireni is located south-east of Satipo, a short distance from the Ene and Vizcatdn rivers. Afterward, the combatants retreated and laid a trap for the soldiers who followed them. Various ronderos were wounded.

99/11/28

Two soldiers of the reactionary armed forces are annihilated and one is wounded during a confrontation with the PLA in the district of San Martin de Pangoa, Satipo. The guerrilla combat occurred on the 25th and 26th of November.

The PLA annihilated a National Police commander, on the Huallaga river, on the margin of the village Shamiro, in the district of Padre Felipe Luyando, Leoncio Prado province.

99/12/21

At the Countersubversive Base at Aucayacu, five soldiers of the armed forces are killed, seven are seriously wounded and some others are wounded. One version of events was that it was an accident, but indications, such as the number of wounded, lead us to think that this was actually a PLA attack. The armed forces declined to comment on the event.

00/01/06

The PLA confiscated food from the Glass of Milk Program, along with bundles of used clothing and medicine destined for corporative projects in the villages of the Ene river in Huancayo. The boat that was transporting the shipment was intercepted by 30 heavily-armed combatants, and some of them boarded it, forcing the ship's crew to dock the ship in order to later seize the contents, while the rest stood guard. If there were 30 who intercepted the boat, then the PLA column must have had at least a 100 combatants. #



# THE TACTICAL LINE OF THE INDIAN REVOLUTION

MAOIST COMMUNIST CENTRE

## THE CENTRAL TASK OF THE OF THE REVOLUTION: SEIZURE OF POLITICAL POWER BY ARMED FORCE

**C**omrade Mao Tse-tung has said, "The seizure of political power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war is the Central task and highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of evolution holds good universally." This principle is equally applicable to the Indian Revolution too. The Central task of the Indian Revolution also is the seizure of political power, and to accomplish this Central task, the Indian people will have to be organised in the people's army and will have to wipeout the

armed forces of the counter-revolutionary Indian state through war and will have to establish, in its place, their own state-the People's Democratic State and will have to establish their own political authority. The very act of establishment of the state machinery of the people by destroying, through war, the present autocratic state machinery -- the army, the police, and the bureaucracy of the reactionary ruling classes -- is the Central task of the People's Democratic Revolution of India.

2. Tactics are the tactical principles to be followed to accomplish this Central task of the revolution, that is, the seizure of political power by armed force, by war. Through which tactical line is it possible to accomplish this Central task ?

The Path of the Russian Revolution, or the Chinese Path ? The very Path of the Great Chinese Revolution is the Path of the New Democratic Revolution of India.

3. The revolutions accomplished by the working class till date, have achieved success, on the whole, following two tactical lines. One is the tactical line of the Soviet Revolution. The second one is the tactical line of the Chinese Revolution.

4. The tactics of the Soviet Revolution is : Inflict decisive smashing blow, at a hurricane speed, first, on the urban centre which is the well-fortified, consolidated and well-organised controlling centre of the state power of the enemy, crush the heart of the enemy's state machinery. Establish the Centre of Power of the revolutionary state in the urban area. Then spread the revolution rapidly to the countryside -- march forward by smashing the enemy's state machinery in the countryside. Capturing the urban area first, through war of strategically quick decision, establishing revolutionary authority in the urban area, and thereafter, capturing the villages and establishing the revolutionary authority in the countryside -- in this way, capturing from the reactionaries the state power of the whole country through insurrection and establishing the revolutionary political authority of the people -- such is the general Tactical Line of the Russian October Revolution.





5. The victory of the Soviet Revolution at the end of the World War I, inevitably, intensified further the crisis within the system of World imperialism.

The colonies are the strong pillars of the imperialist system -- imperialism is affluent through the exploitation and oppression of the colonies.

The great success of the Soviet Revolution created a high tide in the national liberation revolutions in the colonies against imperialism and their "indigenous" agents.

In such a condition, a very important question demanded urgent solution from the communists of the colonial countries. The question was one of tactics: what tactics is to be followed in the colonial countries to accomplish the national and democratic revolution?

Is it the tactics of the Soviet Revolution? Will the cities become the storm centres of the national and democratic revolution too? Should the Communists of the colonial countries too pay prime importance to the task in the cities as was done by the Russian Bolsheviks?

**T**he Communist Party of China under the leadership of Com. Mao Tse-Tung gave the correct answer to this question.

The Chinese Party went into practice. They accumulated vast experiences through various right and 'left' deviations and mistakes. They learnt from those mistakes and also achieved

great successes under the correct leadership of Mao Tse-Tung. Through the revolutionary war and the victory attained in China the truth that has come out with international significance is:

The tactics or the path of the Soviet Revolution is not applicable to

the national and democratic revolutions of the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries. Due to the colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal characteristics and the consequent uneven political and economic development of these countries, the revo-

lutions in these countries cannot follow the path of the Russian Revolution. Rather, the revolutions in these countries can be victorious only by following the tactics or the path of the Chinese Revolution as shown by Com. Mao Tse-Tung. What is that tactics, what is that path?

**A**rousing and organising the overwhelming majority of the people to wage guerrilla war in the countryside under the leadership of the proletarian party; inflicting crushing blows on the landlords and the agents of feudalism -- the local armed gangs, the bad gentry, etc.; organising armed resistance against their armed guards -- the police and the army and creating an unending flow of revolutionary armed forces of the huge peasant masses through the struggle of smashing the feudal rule and liberating the peasantry; organising the huge peasantry as the staunchest supporters of and the

participants in the revolutionary struggle; building up of a powerful people's army and people's militia and establishing dependable, strong and self-sufficient base areas or liberated areas in the vast countryside; gradually surrounding the urban areas by constantly expanding these base areas (in such a situation the cities under the control of the enemy will look like small islands in the ocean of the vast rural liberated areas); and finally capturing the cities by way of decisively smashing the state power of the reactionaries and establishing the state system and political authority of the people throughout the country -- this is the tactics of the Chinese Revolution, the path of the Chinese Revolution, as shown by Chairman Mao Tse-Tung.

6. It is about twenty years since the Chinese Revolution attained complete victory. During this period much more valuable experiences have been added to the history of the national and democratic revolution -- the history of the liberation struggles of Vietnam, Laos, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia, Philippines, Congo, Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Palestine and the countries of Latin America.

These direct experiences also bear the very lesson that the revolutions in the colonial, semi-colonial (neo-colonial) and semifeudal countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have achieved and are achieving victories and will be achieving victories and only by following the tactics of the Chinese Revolution alone, and this teaching is equally applicable in the case of the Indian Revolution too.

7. In the case of semi-colonial and semi-feudal India also this very tactics is applicable -- the National and Democratic revolution or the people's Democratic Revolution of India too can gain success only by following the path of the protracted people's war as shown by Mao Tse-Tung -- the path of the Chinese Revolution. The Characteristics of the concrete objec-

The colonies are the strong pillars of the imperialist system -- imperialism is affluent through the exploitation and oppression of the colonies.





tive condition of India, like those of the prerevolution China clearly point to this path. (See the "Perspective of the Indian Revolution"-section 43.)

### The Vast Countryside is the Weakest Position of the Enemy — the storm-centre of the Revolution

**T**he peasantry is the Firmest Ally of the Revolution. Agrarian Revolutionary struggle alone is the Key to Mobilize the peasantry in the people's war.

8. As Chairman Mao has said, "Generally the revolution begins, develops and succeeds, first of all, in those places where the counter-revolutionary forces are comparatively weak." As in all semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries, the vast countryside of India is the weakest position of the enemies of the Indian Revolution or the reactionaries.

Firstly : It is in the vast countryside of India that the military forces of the reactionaries are the weakest. The armed forces of the reactionaries are not evenly distributed throughout this vast sub-continent, nor it can be so. If any attempt is made to deploy adequate forces at all places of this vast country, the system of social production will come to a halt, the economy will collapse -- the State will go bankrupt.

That is why the counter-revolutionaries have kept their military strength concentrated mainly in the cities ( or have been compelled to do so). It is in the cities that they are very strong in military strength (for the time being).

While the strength of the armed forces of the reactionaries is quite inadequate in the vast countryside of India and while it is also inconvenient for the counter-revolutionary army to move in the countryside for the inade-

quacy of the transport and communication system, the people's armed forces -- the people's army and the people's militia, on the other hand, can advance and retreat easily, according to the needs of the struggle, in the vast countryside. The vastness of the countryside, the inadequacy of the transport and communication system and the isolation of the remote countryside from the military centres, and above all, the inadequacy of the reactionary armed forces in comparison to the vastness of the country and the population, if all these are taken into consideration, the military strength of the reactionaries is very weak in the countryside compared to that in the cities, and as such, it is at this place, that it is, from the military point of view, most advantageous for the revolutionary people's army to strike the enemy.

Secondly : As an inevitable result of the uneven economic development, the countryside, and specially the remote -- countryside of India, is economically less dependent on the urban areas. So the countryside liberated from the enemies can, to some extent, exist as economically self-sufficient areas and can even advance towards economic development to a good extent. The economic and social development of the base areas can and will immensely help to enhance the strength and capacity of the people in their fight against the enemy.

Thirdly : As in all other semi-colonial and semi-feudal India too, the overwhelming majority of the countries, in population (about 70 percent of the total population) are peasants living in the villages. They (i. e. the peasantry) are extremely oppressed

and shattered under the pressure of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal social system of India. They are being forced to live a very wretched and poor life. The ruthless exploitation and oppression of the pro-capitalist landlord-tenure holders, usurer-money lenders, and traders on the one hand, and on the other hand, the exploitation and oppression of the international capitalism, the imperialism ( including the social imperialism ) and the comprador-bureaucrat capitalists under the

pressure of these two mountains the road of agricultural, industrial as well as economic and social development of India is shattered. The exploitation and oppression of imperialism and their agents, the comprador bureaucrat capitalists and feudalism, has not only crippled the development of the working

class, it has also crippled the life and livelihood of the peasantry who constitute the overwhelming majority of the country's population, and they earnestly want a radical change of this system.

**A**s without the national and democratic revolution, directed against feudalism and imperialism and the comprador capitalists, the path of agricultural, industrial as well as economic and social development cannot be opened and the basis of the socialist revolution, the path of real emancipation of the working class, cannot be laid down, so, the peasantry also cannot achieve liberation. As, on the one hand, the question of the liberation of the working class is connected with the national and democratic revolution or the people's democratic revolution, so also the question of the liberation

The economic and social development of the base areas can and will immensely help to enhance the strength and capacity of the people in their fight against the enemy.



of the peasantry is equally connected with it on the other hand.

In the present era, the national and democratic revolution is not the old bourgeois democratic revolution led by the bourgeoisie; rather, it is an inseparable part of the world proletarian revolution and it is the working class which alone can lead it. The peasantry, shattered and oppressed under the pressure of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal system, is the firmest and the most dependable ally of the working class in the national democratic revolution, and it is the armed agrarian revolution which alone is the key to the creation of the unending flow of the armed revolutionary forces of the vast peasantry and the establishment of the invincible people's army. It is only by leading the peasantry in the national and democratic revolution along the path of the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla warfare and protracted people's war, as shown by Mao Tse-Tung, and it is in this way alone, that the working class (and their party, the Communist Party,) can achieve leadership in the revolution. This is an unquestionable tactical principle and a condition too of the leadership of the working class in the democratic revolution. It is on the basis of this armed revolutionary alliance of the working class and the peasantry that a broader united front - a united front for conducting armed struggle which is one of the magic weapons of the revolution, can be built up comprising all forces opposed to feudalism, imperialism and the comprador capital.

So, it is only by adhering to the path charted by Com. Mao Tse-Tung that the working class and the communist party, by taking the agrarian revolution as the axis and by depending on the vast countryside, the weakest position of the enemy, and on the peasantry, the overwhelming majority of the population and the principal ally of the revolution, can arouse and organise the peasantry for

guerrilla warfare, can establish the people's army through liberating them from the exploitation and oppression of the reactionaries, can gradually turn the vast countryside into self-sufficient, strong and dependable base areas into great military, political, economic and cultural bastion of the revolution, and from these base areas, can strike effective and strong blows against the urban areas, the comparatively stronger bases of the enemy, and can gradually liberate the cities from the enemy, and in this way, through Protracted People's War, can establish the authority of the people throughout the country.

As was the case in China and in all other colonial, semicolonial and semi-feudal countries, the storm centre of the Indian revolution too is the vast countryside, and only by depending on this vast countryside and adopting the tactics or the path of the Chinese Revolution as shown by Com. Mao Tse-Tung -- by way of following the path of the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla struggle and the protracted people's war, the Indian people can uproot feudalism, imperialism and social-imperialism and the comprador-bureaucrat capitalists who are weighing heavy as mountains on the shoulders of the Indian people, and can build up a new India.

9. It cannot be denied that, at the initial stage, that is, up to a certain stage of development of the people's war, the military strength of ours is liable to remain weaker than that of

the enemy. But this strength of the enemy and the weakness of the people are never absolute, they are relative, they are temporary. By way of relying on the vast rural areas and on the poor peasantry, by way of strictly pursuing the mass line and the principles of

...gradually turn the vast countryside into self-sufficient, strong and dependable base areas into great military, political, economic and cultural bastion of the revolution...

guerrilla struggle and the protracted people's war, in words and in deeds, as shown by Chairman Mao, the military strength of the people can gradually and definitely overwhelm that of the enemy as the revolutionary war draws out and can finally inflict decisive defeat on the armed forces of the enemy.

However strong the forces of the enemy may be and however weak may the people's forces be at the beginning of the revolutionary war, through the realisation and creative application of the total teachings of the flexible strategy and tactics of the guerrilla war and the Protracted People's War, it is possible to build up a new type of army, that is, the red army, and to establish one after another advanced base areas in the backward rural areas, and it is entirely possible to carry forward the revolution towards its final victory by gradually consolidating and expanding the people's army and the base areas through struggles.

Beginning with the great Chinese Revolution, the very historical experiences of the revolutionary wars of the countries like Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, etc., bear testimony to the above truth.



**The Building up of the Protracted People's War is the focal point of all works and activities.**

**Building up of the People's Army and the establishment of the Base Areas in the countryside is the Basic, Principal and the Central Task of the present time.**

10. If the path or the general line of the protracted people's war as shown by Chairman Mao is accepted, then the line and policy and the planning and method of all works and activities, or the whole line of work must be built up and directed keeping in line with the general line of the protracted people's war.

The very general line of the Protracted People's War points out that the basic, principal and the central task of the present stage of the revolution is to arouse and organise the people, planfully, for agrarian revolutionary guerrilla war in the countryside -- especially in the remote countryside (which is most favourable for the building up of the guerrilla war, the people's army and the base areas, not only from the economic and political points of view, but also from the geographical and military points of view), and to build up the people's army and the rural red base areas through the guerrilla war.

**B**ecause, it is only through the realisation of this task, that it is possible to enhance and expedite the revolutionary high tide throughout the country, it is in this way alone, that the basis can be laid down for the building up of new base areas and the gradual consolidation and expansion of the people's army and base areas.

Relying on the base area and with the help of the people's army it will,

on the one hand, be possible to consolidate deepen and expand the agrarian revolutionary struggles more and more, on the other, through this very work, it will be possible to consolidate and expand the people's army and base areas more and more, and the path of carrying forward the revolutionary war towards new successes will also be opened. As a matter of practice, building up of the red army and the red base areas is an indispensable and a very important step towards the building up of the Protracted People's War.

And exactly for that reason, the imperative and the urgent task of all genuine communists is to unflinchingly stick to the path of the Protracted People's War and firmly to grasp the task of building up of the people's army and the base areas as the principal and the central task of the present time and to orient the whole of our present activities the whole of our line of work keep line with this principal and the central task. Their imperative task is to firmly carry on the principal and central task of the present time by adhering to the correct line and policy and the planning and method to the correct line of work, simultaneously with carrying out the struggle against the right and "Left" opportunism of various sheds and colour on these questions.

**Predominance must be given to the work in the Countryside.**

**The correct Relation Between the works in the villages and the cities. On the Line of Work in the Urban Areas.**

11. If the correct general line of the Indian Revolution the general line of building up of the Protracted People's War is to be materialised, if the line of building up of the people's army and the base areas in the countryside through agrarian revolutionary guerrilla

la war is to be materialised as a firm and indispensable step towards building up of the protracted people's war, emphasis must be given on the work in the countryside, and specially on the work of building up of guerrilla struggles in the remote countryside, which is most favourable for building up of the people's army and the base areas-this task must be given preference to.

**I**n the special situation of India-where as a result of the betrayal and opposition from the revisionist leadership of various traits and character and the weaknesses of the genuine revolutionaries, the consistent application and development of this correct line have continued to be seriously retarded, and for that reason, the work in the backward remote countryside too have continued to be almost neglected, in such a condition, utmost importance must be given to the work in the countryside and specially to the work in the remote countryside, and upto a certain stage, a large proportion of the best revolutionary organisers must be deputed for this work.

If, as a result of pursuing this policy, there are some temporary difficulties in the work of the urban areas, that should be admitted. If this is not done the ostentatious declaration that agrarian revolution is the essence of the New Democratic Revolution, or speaking of the development of the agrarian guerrilla war in the rural areas or of the building up of the people's army and red base areas or the talk of organising protracted people's war will all become mere lip services.

12. The development and expansion of the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla warfare in the countryside is significant not only for the peasant struggles, it is of extraordinary significance for the development and the correct orientation of the struggles of the working class and the vast masses of the urban people too.



Practical experience itself teaches us that, in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, any struggle be it in the rural areas or in the urban areas isolated from the task of building up of and the development of the agrarian revolutionary armed struggle, can not but, in the ultimate analysis, be deprived of being economist, reformist and revisionist. Any struggle in the countryside or in the cities can, in the real sense, earn a revolutionary character only by being co-ordinated with the task of building up of and the development of the agrarian revolutionary armed struggle, or in other words, by being developed centring around the agrarian revolutionary armed struggle and being auxiliary to it. Before the outbreak of the agrarian revolutionary war, the aim and the task of all struggles and organisations is to develop this war.

**W**hen such war has begun, the task of all struggles and organisations is to become united with this war and to further develop this war. It is not at all possible to build up and carry forward agrarian revolutionary guerrilla war and protracted people's war if this principle is not practiced in words and in deeds.

For the purpose of preserving their anti-revolutionary revisionist line, the bourgeois-revisionist leaders in India have all along been trying to conceal the above truth. They have all along been opposing the development of the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla struggle in line with their opposition to the very development of the armed struggle -for the seizure of state power. All where, all the struggles-be they in the rural areas or in the urban areas, and be they anti-feudal struggles or anti-imperialist struggles they have continued to keep them isolated from the development of the agrarian revolutionary armed struggle.

Actually, the purpose of all the so-called struggles under their leadership

is to keep the peasantry as well as the whole of the rural and the urban toiling people away from the only path of the liberation-the path of the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla struggle and the protracted people's war. Only the development and expansion of the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla war in the countryside can expose the working class and peasantry, as well as to the vast mass of the population, the false revolutionary mask of the bourgeois revisionist leadership.

**T**he very development of agrarian revolutionary guerrilla warfare in the countryside creates a new revolutionary tide not only in the revolutionary peasant struggles but also in the struggles of the working class and the vast masses of the urban population and it is by being co-ordinated with and auxiliary to the development and expansion of this agrarian revolutionary guerrilla war and protracted people's war that the struggle of the working class and the vast masses of the people be they of armed form or of other forms-can attain the character of the genuinely revolutionary class struggle saturated with the ideas of agrarian revolution and protracted people's war, and can extend strong help to the development of the guerrilla struggle and to the building up of the people's army base. And all these go to prove correctness of giving preference to the building up of the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla struggles in the countryside.

13. As the Great Communist Party of China says, if peasant masses are to be genuinely led to the path of agrarian revolutionary guerrilla struggle, the activities of the bourgeois revisionists are to be fought against with strong determination. The class consciousness of the peasant masses is to be raised hundredfold and they are to be fully aroused with the political line of the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla struggle and protracted people's war.

As has already been mentioned earlier, the bourgeois-revisionists, the advocates of the "Gandhian Path" the "Peaceful path" and the "Parliamentary path", have all along been exerting their utmost to foil the development of the revolutionary armed struggles of the peasantry. Their repugnant role in the peasant movements of Telengana and Naxalbari is an undeniable proof of this. One of the main tactics of the revisionists to keep the peasant masses away from the path of armed struggle is to deceive them with bluffs of land reform in the legal way and to keep their struggles confined "within the four-walls of the movements for some partial demands and reforms."

As the Communist Party of China says, the struggles that are being fought by the poor peasantry of India against dispossession of land and for getting back the land, for reduction of rent and against various kinds of rents and taxes, are certainly necessary ; but, these movements are to be closely connected with the struggle for the seizure of power through armed struggle, and the armed struggle is to be developed as the principal form of struggle; because, otherwise, it is impossible for the peasantry to achieve complete liberation by way of totally uprooting the feudalism."

"It is only by depending on their own revolutionary armed strength that the peasantry will get back their own land, be able to keep possession on such land, and will be able to achieve genuine liberation ; otherwise, they will get nothing. If the peasant masses abandon armed struggle even after that, they will lose everything earned through revolution." These very great teachings must be conveyed to the peasant masses if they are to be led towards the agrarian-revolutionary guerrilla struggle and the protracted people's war.

In determining the correct line of work in the countryside these teachings are to be followed.



14. But to give preference to the work in the countryside does not necessarily mean that the struggles ensuing from the direct contradiction between imperialism-social imperialism and the comprador-bureaucrat capital on the one hand and the working class and the vast masses of the population on the other, or other democratic struggles in the urban areas are to be neglected or disregarded, or the entire works in the urban areas are to be excluded altogether. Because :

Firstly: The total exclusion of the work in the urban areas or the denial of the importance of the struggles of the working class and of the vast masses of the urban population against the direct exploitation and oppression of imperialism, social imperialism and comprador bureaucrat capital or of the struggles for national and democratic rights amounts to disregarding one of the fundamental contradictions of the Indian society and the struggles ensuing from it, disregarding the indispensable (leading) role of the working class in the New democratic Revolution, and also disregarding the revolutionary role of the vast masses of the people of the urban areas. As a result, ultimately, the development of the agrarian revolutionary armed struggle itself as well as of the whole revolutionary war is liable to be hindered and to come to a stop.

Secondly : The spread of the revolutionary politics and revolutionary struggles (including the complementary guerrilla struggles ) in the urban areas can and will arouse an advanced section of the working class and of the toiling people of the urban areas too to participate directly as organisers and soldiers in the agrarian revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside. Again, the spread of the revolutionary, politics and of the complementary armed struggle in the urban areas can be by way of arousing and organising the innumerable toiling people who come from villages everyday and keep

direct contact with the villages, can help immensely the work of building up agrarian revolutionary armed struggle in the rural areas and can and will help the struggle in the rural areas, directly and indirectly, in different possible ways. To neglect the work in the urban areas is to neglect all these things.

Thirdly : To disregard or to abstain from giving proper importance to the work in the urban areas, till it is encircled from the countryside, after liberating the rural areas, is to leave the urban areas as a zone of free movement for the enemies up to that time, to allow the enemy the opportunity of accumulating strength and of deploying their total strength against the revolutionary war in the countryside and thus to weaken the in the countryside itself.

Fourthly: If the working in the urban areas is abandoned, the revolutionary red base areas become isolated from each other, and as a result, the revolution suffers set back.

Fifthly : The ultimate aim of the revolution is to finally capture from the enemy the urban areas too, the fortress of the enemy. If the struggles and activities in the urban areas are neglected this ultimate aim also will not be achieved. etc., etc.

As a matter of fact, the building up of the revolutionary war and the building up of the people's army and red base areas in the countryside, as one of the most important and indispensable step towards, revolution, is not the task of the peasantry or the people living in the countryside alone. The working class, the students and youth of the urban areas-all have to take part in this work, have to take part as organisers and as soldiers. Without the active role, help and support of every revolutionary class, party and group of the urban areas, and specially the that of the working class and the toil-

ing people, the process of the great changes of the new democratic revolution cannot advance successfully.

So, there can be no question of disregarding or neglecting the work in the cities while giving preference to the work in the countryside. The meaning of giving preference to the work in the countryside is : up to a certain stage of development of the revolution, the work in the countryside should be given more importance compared to the that in the urban areas, and at the same time, the work in the urban areas should also be given proper attention-the work and struggles in the urban areas should be build up and gradually developed keeping in line with the line of protracted people's war and centring around the task of building up of the people's army and the rural base areas.

One of the basic principles of the line of protracted people's war in relation to the work and struggles in the urban areas is : instead of severely damaging the revolutionary forces in the urban areas by way of pursuing the wrong line of trying to organise "insurrection". Or "decisive" battles, till the urban areas are encircled from the countryside, to follow the correct line of building up the struggles in the urban areas as subordinate to and complimentary to the struggles in the countryside, to help the struggles in the countryside in all respects, to play direct and indirect role in the building up of and gradual development of the people's army and red base areas in the countryside and to continue to make fuller preparation from beforehand so that the cities may be liberated in proper time when the countryside is liberated and the urban area is encircled from the countryside.

The line and policy of work in the urban areas may it be the general line and general policy or the particular lines and policies for particular tasks, or may it be the plan, method and style of work in the urban areas, all these



must be in conformity with the above mentioned basic principal. A clear line of demarcation must be drawn between the line of work in the urban areas till the cities are encircled from the countryside by way of liberating the rural areas, and the line of work when the stage of liberating the cities is unfolding, when the time of liberating the cities matures.

The attitude of waging "insurrection" or "decisive" struggles in the urban areas even before the stage of encirclement of the cities from the countryside or the stage of capturing the cities has matured and the line and the style of work ensuing from such attitude on the one hand, and on the other hand, the attitude of maintaining absolute peace till that stage comes the outlook of finishing the responsibility simply by waging some so-called democratic struggles (or Gandhian style of struggles), or by organising a few so-called anti-imperialist and democratic rallies or processions (or some fanciful cultural programme and composition of songs, poems and dramas, etc.), all isolated from the principal task of building up of the armed struggle for the seizure of state power or the task of building up of the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla-struggle and the people's army and liberated areas in the countryside, and the line and style of work ensuing thereof both these opportunist lines and trends must be opposed.

**I**n a word, in conformity with, 'the line of the protracted people's war, that is, the line of liberating the countryside and encircling the urban areas from the countryside, first, and then capturing the urban areas, there must be a comprehensive line or revolutionary struggles (armed struggle and other forms of struggles auxiliary to it) for the urban areas also, and this must be executed with unflinching firmness and devotion.

16. To build up the work and activities in the urban areas and to lead it in

accordance with the correct line and correct orientation, there must be in the urban areas, as in the countryside, a well disciplined and well organised communist party organisation. As all the works and activities of the party in the countryside and in the urban areas remain under the party centre when the party centre is in the urban area, so, also after the inevitable transfer of the party centre to the countryside, all the activities of the party in the countryside and the urban areas must remain under the control of the party centre itself.

### **People's War and People's Army are the main forms of Struggle and Organisation. The relation between the principal and non-principal forms of Struggle and Organisation**

17. If the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought on the question of the state and the path of Protracted People's War as the path of New-Democratic Revolution of India are accepted, and if the task of building up of the people's army and red base areas through the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla war in the countryside is really to be carried forward as the primary, principal and the central task of the present time, people's war and people's army must be considered as the principal forms of struggle and organisation throughout the whole period of the stages of the protracted people's war, and even after that, according to conditions.

At the present stage of building up of the revolutionary war, the guerrilla struggle and the guerrilla army must be taken as the main forms of struggle and organisation, not only in words but in deeds too. To be more precise, at the present stage of development of the revolutionary war, all genuine communists must take up as the main task the task of building up of guerril-

la struggle giving preference to the countryside and of building up of an underground party and a guerrilla army (which is the primary form of the future red army) under its leadership through this guerrilla struggle.

18. In the special situation of India, where the revisionists of various shades and colour wearing the mask of communism, have all along been, in words and or in deeds, advocating the line of accomplishing revolution through the so-called Gandhian path of non-violence, or through the so-called "peaceful path" or the "path of election"; where the immense importance of the agrarian revolutionary guerrilla struggle or of the armed struggle for the seizure of state power and the immense importance of the building up of the people's army for the establishment of military power for the party and the people have all along been denied; and above all, where the path of protracted people's war as the path of revolution has all along been opposed; and on the contrary, where the revisionist mass movements, totally isolated from the agrarian revolutionary armed struggle or armed struggle for the seizure of state power have all along been one-sidedly emphasized, in such a situation, the people's war and the people's army are to be really built up as the main form of struggle and organisation.

**M**assive and protracted ideological struggle and revolutionary political propaganda campaign is to be systematically conducted in the correct line and with creativeness (specially in the light of the bitter experiences of the past struggles) and the false revolutionary pretence of the revisionists be thoroughly unmasked, on the other hand, more and more people are to be mobilized for guerrilla struggles and in guerrilla organisations, with conscious and diligent efforts and with earnestness, firmness and boldness.



For the very special situation in India as mentioned above, in the process of conducting ideological struggle and revolutionary propaganda work, the path of building up of guerrilla struggle and guerrilla organization, building up of people's army (specially regular army) through guerrilla struggle and establishment of red base area and organising protracted people's war, giving preference to the countryside, must be systematically and regularly upheld to the people as the only and absolutely inevitable path of their liberation.

At the same time, the revisionist mischievousness must be unmasked of those who advocate only for the other forms of struggle and organisation, or those who accept revolutionary armed struggle and armed organisation as the main form of struggle and organisation in words only, but refrain from building up of guerrilla struggles in the practical work and indulge in serving only the other forms of struggle isolated from the work of developing revolutionary guerrilla struggle.

**P**olitical power grows out of the barrel of a gun', having guns we can create party organisations, we can also create cadres, create schools, create cultures, create mass movements. All things grow out of the barrel of a gun. According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of the state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army.

Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun (that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the aimed bourgeoisie and landlord; in this sense, we may say that only with guns would be transformed" (problems of war and strategy-Mao Tse-tung). In order to lead the propaganda movement and the practical work in accordance with

the correct orientation, every genuine communist must clearly realise the significance of the above teaching, of Chairman Mao and must arouse the people also to understand this.

**A**s Chairman Mao has said "every party member should be prepared to take up arms and go to the front at any moment "the whole should pay deep attention to war, should study military affairs and prepare itself for fighting". To build up war and army as the main forms of struggle and organisation or even to build up guerrilla struggle and guerrilla organisation as the first step towards this aim, these teachings of chairman Mao have to be realised and followed.

19. However, as Chairman Mao has said, "giving stress on armed struggle does not mean abandoning other forms of struggle on the contrary, armed struggle cannot achieve success unless co-ordinated will, other forms of struggles" and exactly for this reason, at the present time, both in the countryside and in the urban areas, with the aim of building up and developing guerrilla struggle and guerrilla army as the main forms of struggle and organization the skill and the method must be acquired to build up other suitable forms of struggles and organisations, complementary to the building up of guerrilla struggle -- keeping in view the place, time and condition and the level of thinking and consciousness and the fighting spirit of the backward sections of the people.

The skill and method must be acquired to co-ordinate such struggles with the guerrilla struggle and to develop guerrilla struggles, the principal and central form. In this context, other forms of struggles and organisations mean only those struggles and organisations (including those mass struggles and mass under the leadership of the underground party) which help to build up and develop armed struggle or

guerrilla war for the seizure of state-power.

20. There is, among the people, a tendency overestimate the strength of the enemy, especially the strength of the police forces and the army and the state machinery. Here lies the root cause of the tendency of accepting helplessly, often without any protest, all sorts of exploitation and oppression of the hated enemy, and the root cause of the capitulationist mentality amongst the people also lies here. And it is exactly for this reason, that, while explaining to the people the relative and temporary superiority of the strength of the enemy compared to that of the people and the consequent impossibility to destroy the enemy at a single stroke, through "insurrection", the strong sides of the people and the superiority of the strategy and tactics of the guerrilla struggle and the protracted people's war must, at the same time, be very strongly and persistently upheld.

**I**t is to be impressed on the people with all emphasis that, however strong the military strength of the enemy may be, and however weak the military power of the people may be for the time being, by relying on the vast countryside, the weakest position of the enemy, and on the vast masses of the peasantry, eager for the agrarian revolution, and by following the flexible strategy and tactics of the guerrilla struggle and the protracted war it is entirely possible to defeat the enemy forces in individual, partial battles (in different single battles) by way of mobilising superior forces of the people (a number of times, stronger than that of the enemy forces) against the individual sections or parts of the enemy forces, and thus, through such a war of protracted nature, to diminish bit by bit, the enemy's strength and to gradually enhance the strength of the people, and finally, to overwhelm the strength of the enemy and to destroy them decisively.



This truth is to be emphatically upheld with the living examples and experiences of the revolutionary protracted wars of China, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, etc., so that there may develop amongst the people sense of self-confidence, courage and a faith in the victory of the revolutionary war.

**Firmly grasp the Class Line  
and the Mass Line.  
Carry on work relying on  
and centring around the  
Working class  
and the Poor and  
Landless Peasantry.**

21. Whether there is urge for realising the object of the class-analysis of the society, whether the correct class-line and the mass-line are followed in the practical work Whether there is genuine respect and love for the working class and its firm ally, the poor and landless peasantry-whether their is firm reliance and faith on them.

Whether there is the intention to realise the significance and the indispensability of the all-embracing leadership (the working class and of the revolutionary unity of the working class and the peasantry in the revolution;

Whether in conformity with the class line, the work and activities, as well as struggles in the urban areas are being organised by completely relying on and centring around the working class, whether the working class is being aroused to class consciousness and to the consciousness of the leadership, whether they are being activated in the revolutionary work, and whether there is the effort of bringing up professional revolutionary organisers and soldiers from among them; again, whether in conformity with the class line itself, the works and activities in the countryside are being carried on depending on and centring around the most reliable and the firmest ally of the working class, the

poor and landless peasantry, and whether there is the effort to bring up more and more cadres from among them.

**T**o a faithful communist, these are questions of principle. The advancement and the success of the National Democratic Revolution of India depend to a great extent On whether there is a positive approach on the part of the communist revolutionaries on the above mentioned questions and whether works and activities are directed accordingly.

As a matter of fact, however correct the thesis may be, put forward in writing or during theoretical discussions on the class analysis of the Indian society and the role of different classes in the revolution, if that bears no connection with the day to day work, if there is no correct appraisal of different classes and categories (strata), then such class analysis becomes totally meaningless.

Many people will readily accept these formulations from the theoretical point of view. But the fact is that, most of the revolutionary intellectuals, who think themselves to be communist revolutionaries, an overwhelming majority of them don't even have the mind to go to the working class and the peasantry, let alone the question of being integrated with them on the basis of revolutionary politics. One of the reasons for the temporary failure of the struggles developed after the Naxalbari struggle is the lack of realisation of the importance of correctly following the class line and mass line in practice.

Lessons must be drawn from this. The importance of the role of the revolutionary intellectuals in the New Democratic Revolution cannot but be emphasised; but It must also be understood, and more clearly understood, that revolutionary struggles in the real sense, or revolutionary party and people's army in the real sense, none

of these can be built up with the petty bourgeois revolutionary intellectuals alone.

As a matter of fact, the revolutionary war in the real sense and the revolutionary party, the people's army and the united front in the real sense, as the weapons of the revolution, none of this can be built up without the active support and firm role or participation of the working class as the most advanced and the most revolutionary class of the society, and the peasantry (and specially the poor and landless peasantry) who constitute the overwhelming majority of the Indian population and who are the firmest and the most dependably the working class and who are the principal force of the revolution.

22. Learn from the past experiences. Firmly follow the correct class-line and the mass line. Arouse the working class to class-consciousness and to the consciousness of the leadership, activate them in the work of the revolution. Give preference to the work to the countryside. Build up guerrilla struggle and army for the seizure of state power, relying on the countryside and the peasantry (specially the poor and landless peasantry). Build up guerrilla struggle and guerrilla army as the main forms of struggle and organization of the present time. Build up the people's army and the rural red base area through revolutionary guerrilla struggle -- direct all activities in the countryside and in the urban areas towards the goal of accomplishing the primary, principal and central task of the present time -- the building up of the people's army and the base areas in the countryside

Remain faithful to line of protracted people's war in your activities. Follow Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought in all your activities. Our victory is inevitable. #





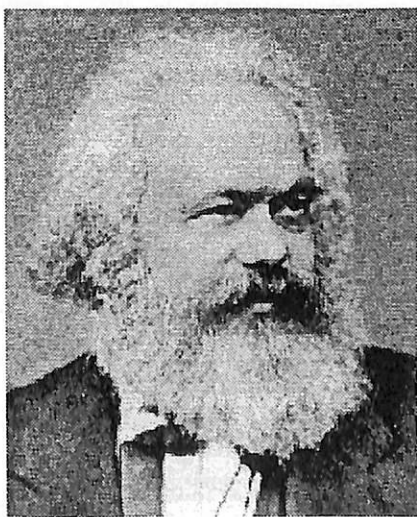
# BREAKING THE CHAINS (PART 1)

## ESTABLISHING THE PROLETARIAN IDEOLOGY AND THE REVOLUTIONARY LINE FOR "BRAZIL COMMUNIST PARTY RECONSTITUTION" AND RETAKING THE ROAD OF PEOPLE'S WAR

Revolutionary Communist Party of Brazil

### INTRODUCTION

**T**he process of implacable struggle against the opportunism that has plagued the red communist banner has led us to the path of the reconstitution of the Brazilian communist movement. This movement has for a half century been defeated largely by the hegemony of reformist opportunism and revisionism, together with the repressive and savage action of the bureaucratic state and the big landlords (latifundium) on behalf of imperialism, through the annihilation of most of the cadres who have been strengthened by the revolu-



**MARX: Father of Scientific Socialism**

tion after decades of struggle.

The merciless and consequent combat against opportunism, revisionism and all counterrevolutionary tendencies has established the objective understanding of an irrefutable reality, the absence of a revolutionary movement in our country. It is important to recognize that in spite of all the heroism of so many comrades who have selflessly given their blood for the liberation of our country, and despite the spirit of combat and devotion of the proletariat and our people, the reaction and imperialism have in the last decades effected a serious defeat on the revolutionary movement to its near extermination.

The Communist Party of Brazil, founded in 1922, originated from a process of intense struggles within the newly born proletariat under the influence of the incipient

Great Bolshevik Revolution. It was largely influenced by anarchic-unionism, and although in contact with and under the direction of the Communist International, it was very feeble in theory, suffering the violence of the bourgeois state and attacked by a huge and poisonous reformism. At the same time that it had to face the violence of the Brazilian state, the proletarian tendency did not impose, develop or solidify itself at the Party's direction. One example was in 1935, when though the Party produced a

revolutionary line, the defeat of the insurrection and its incorrect evaluation created conditions for raising a more elaborated reformism that will brand the Party from then on. Another example was the August Manifesto (1950), in advance of the 4th. Congress of 1954, whose resolutions approached a revolutionary line but turned into rightism.

At every moment when conditions were created to defeat the opportunist, reformist and liquidationist line, particularly under Prestes' direction (from 1943 up to the 70's), the comrades involved in the task of reconstituting the Party on a revolutionary focus could not do it in a complete way because of various errors such as eclecticism, vanguardism, militarism, etc., which favored their enemies to defeat them.

**F**rom all this process that began with the "1962 Rebuilding"(PC do B), the more advanced step was achieved by the PCR (Revolutionary Communist Party) led by comrade Manuel Lisboa. From a theoretical, political and ideological point of view, Manoel Lisboa formulated the most correct criticism of the reformism, revisionism and opportunism of the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB), the left opportunism of many fractions and the dogmatism of the Communist Party of Brazil (PC do



B). He deepened the struggle against revisionism, pointing out the road to the Brazilian Revolution. In his paper "Twelve Point Letter to the Revolutionary Communists", where he makes a correct analysis of social classes and lifts the banner of Protracted People's War, he synthesizes and correlates a set of strategic and tactical factors of great validity up to now.

**T**he PCR (Revolutionary Communist Party) however, with its limitations, could not and did not have the time to polarize its position in the ideological fight against opportunism and reproduce, develop and forge the right practice according to the deep formulations it developed.

It is important to emphasize that although it originated out of the Party and after the rupture with the revolutionary christianism, the APML (Popular Marxist-Leninist Action)

produced ideas very close to the PCR (Revolutionary Communist Party). But its non-traditional Leninist structure and the marks of its origin led it to join the PC do B (Communist Party of Brazil) that at that time did not firmly support Mao Zedong Thought, upheld since the process of 1962, swerving from the route that it was developing.

On the basis that the Communist Party is only one, it is indispensable for the proletarian cause in Brazil and at the same time for the world proletarian revolution to understand what has happened to the revolutionary movement, mostly to the communist movement in our country. Without it, one cannot avoid repeating the same mistakes. But the right and fair comprehension of this process cannot be obtained if we do not understand the international context in which it occurred, that is, the process of the international revolutionary and communist movement.

Establishing clearly the line means following the historical development of the communist movement from its foundation by Marx and Engels with the Communist Manifesto in 1848, up to our present time; rescuing its glorious experience; delineating truths from lies, socialism from revisionism; refuting the reaction's defamation and falsification; cleaning up the heroic pages of the proletariat's struggle from the trash and mire heaped upon them by the enemy and their agents -- renegades, trotskyites, revisionists, opportunists and

traitors. This is unequivocally fundamental and essential. That is, sweep away all the reactionary garbage to absorb the pure and powerful proletarian ideology, assimilating its basis, essence and development to revitalize the revolutionary process. Without the exact, deep and scientific understanding of all this process and without an objective explanation, one cannot dare to be a consequent proletarian revolutionary.

**W**ithout establishing a clear explanation of the line however, no matter how much one intends, claims and proclaims to be a Marxist; one cannot advance but risks falling into opportunism of every kind. One has to start from the objective and historical truth that class struggle under any condition will never stop, it is the motor of history and no matter how advanced the revolutionary proletarian process has been or has ever retrogressed, the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary tremors will never end until the whole of mankind becomes communist.

Under the light of a just and scientific understanding of the international revolutionary historical process and its theoretical and practical development, we will be able to realize what has happened to the communist revolutionary movement in our country, refuting the subjective and vulgar interpretation that sees it as an endless process of "breaks" (schisms). Breaking the chains that have historically bound us to false conceptions.

Breaking the chains of reformism, legalism, electoralism and pacifism. Breaking the chains of opportunism and revisionism and fight permanently to stay free. This is the crucial and determining question for clearly settling down the path to the current Brazilian revolution, using positive and negative lessons out of the whole process, theorizing and practicing Marxism as a guide for revolutionary



ENGELS: The closest collaborator of Marx.



action, forging ourselves – as Lenin points out – in the revolutionary violence and in the irreconcilable fight against opportunism and revisionism.

Breaking the chains for establishing and incarnating the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mostly Maoism, which is a new, third and superior phase of Marxism, establishing and absorbing the revolutionary and proletarian line and retaking the route to the people's war, reconstituting the PCB (Communist Party of Brazil) and making the revolution in our country, serving the world's proletarian revolution.

Breaking the chains to objectively see the revolution and struggle to accomplish it.

Dare to fight, dare to win!

## I. INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

### The Ideology of the Proletariat and the International Communist Process

**I**n the process of the historical development of the international communist movement as a result of the confrontation between revolution and counter-revolution, between revolutionary Marxism and opportunism-revisionism and between the proletarian and non-proletarian line, the scientific ideology of the proletariat in permanent combat has known both triumph and failure of the revolution. Thus has been its development: triumphing, failing and triumphing again and providing the next generation of revolutionaries a better understanding of what true Marxism is in its permanent and dialectical development.



**LENIN: Developed Marxism further and founded the first socialist state.**

Thus, Marxism as the only and fundamental doctrine, theory, ideology and policy of the proletariat -- from its appearance and up to the present -- passing through triumphs and failures of revolutions, has not disappeared but has proceeded with all its potency and transcendence, lifting the red banner of the violent revolution that sways among the iron battalions of the world proletariat and among the sea of miserable people that everyday stand up against the capitalists, the big landlords and imperialists. This banner swings at the top of the guns of the guerrillas up in the mountains and burns bright in the dungeons in the hands of thousands of imprisoned revolutionaries who live and die fighting under the torture of mercenary executioners.

Nevertheless, it has not always been possible to see the whole process clearly. The violent struggle between revolution and counter-revolution has at times resulted in significant defeats for the communist movement, creating a new revisionism -- modern revisionism -- stimulating leftism and spreading all sort of misunderstandings, including organizing "armed

groups" and smuggling false "marxist" conceptions into the movement.

The scientific socialism founded by Marx and Lenin, a signal and inextinguishable event in the history of humankind, revealing the proletariat as the most advanced and releasing force, has armed the proletariat with the most powerful science. Marxism came to light in a head on and irreconcilable fight against utopian and anarchist conceptions of socialism and against various idealistic and metaphysical ideas.

**T**hus, history knew the glorious Paris Commune of 1871, and Lenin remarkably developed Marxism to a new era. He studied and developed dialectical materialism, analyzed imperialism as a new, particular and superior phase of capitalism, the phase of its largest development, the monopolist capitalist stage, agonizing and parasitical, and the stage for maturing of the objective conditions for the worldwide triumph of the proletarian revolution. Comrade Lenin developed the theory of the new type proletarian



party as a vanguard detachment, the theory about the state and the dictatorship of proletariat, about the peasant question and the strategic worker-peasant alliance, about the relationship between democratic revolution and socialist revolution, about the building of socialism in just one country and formulated that in the imperialist period, period of the proletarian revolutions, imperialist wars and passage from capitalism to socialism, the national liberation fight, is an integrated part of the world proletarian revolution. The great Lenin emphasized the fight against opportunism not separated from the fight against imperialism as an indispensable condition for revolution.

He also taught that the appearance of opportunism in the workers' movement is definitely linked to the appearance of imperialism. He affirms that under conditions of monopoly capitalism, the accumulation of capital enlarges the rows of proletariat whom Engels called the "aristocracy of the working class" in his preface to the second edition of "The Situation of



STALIN: Defender of Leninism

the Working Class in England", who serve as an objective supporting basis to the opportunist groups inside the workers' and the communist's movement. On this subject, Marx affirmed in a letter to Sorge (April 4th.1874: "In what the urban workers are concerned here (in England) one regrets that the whole group of chiefs has not entered the Parliament. It would be the safest way for us to get rid of those scoundrels".

**D**espite not having lived in the period of imperialism, Marx and Engels observed the appearance of this phenomenon. as Lenin in "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism" said, "Since the middle of the 19th century there existed in England at least two distinctive features of imperialism: large colonies and the monopolist profits (due to the monopolist situation of the world market). In both aspects, England was an exception among the capitalist countries and Marx and Engels, analyzing this exception have pointed out in a perfectly clear and definite way its link with the victory (temporary) of opportunism in the English workers movement".

The opportunism of the Second International defended by Bernstein and Kautsky, mainly by Kautsky, is the first organized manifestation of revisionism. It had as its social basis the working class aristocracy. Opportunism arose as a bourgeois ideological form quite efficient to fight revolution. Lenin said "to combat imperialism without implacably fighting opportunism is just vain phraseology". It was in the implacable fight against the opportunism of the Second International, not separate from the fight against imperialism, that Leninism was formed and developed. Lenin called the "heroes" of the Second International social-chauvinists and social-imperialists -- socialist in words and imperialist in practice. It was in defending Marxism against all fallacy that Lenin headed and led the

first victorious proletarian revolution, opening a new era.

With Lenin's premature death, comrade Stalin continued his gigantic work in the building of socialism in the USSR and the implementation of the Third International. Stalin spearheaded the building of socialism, defeated the petty bourgeois and counter-revolutionary groups inside the Party, the likes of trotskyism, bukharinism, etc., as well as the nazi-fascist aggression in the Second World War; and with the triumph of the Chinese Revolution in 1949, there was a great leap in the world proletarian revolution, raising it to the stage of strategic balance. A staunch defender of Leninism, comrade Stalin, in his remarkable work, "Foundations of Leninism", systematized what he called "The theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general and theory and tactics of the dictatorship of proletariat in particular".

**L**eninism, as Stalin taught, has developed and formed itself under the existing conditions of the imperialist period, in the tenacious, resolute and irreconcilable fight against opportunism expressed in the rottenness of the social democracy of the Second International and the revisionists Kautsky and Bernstein. Leninism constituted the second stage of Marxism, "Marxism in the period of imperialism and the proletarian revolution".

With the death of comrade Stalin under the new conditions of class struggle in the USSR, an ideological confrontation in the CPSU (Communist Party of Soviet Union) and in Soviet society, and a strong international tension, the counter revolution of Khrushchev took over the Party and the Soviet State. The 20th Congress of the Soviet Party (1956) under Khrushchev against Stalin, ordered the bourgeois restoration in the USSR, starting a long process of



division and confusion in the international communist movement.

Chairman Mao Zedong, the commander of the second biggest and most important revolution, was in charge of unmasking the new revisionism, denouncing the clique of traitors led by Khrushchev, showing the social-imperialist nature of the capitalist restoration started in the Soviet Union, plus the dangerous rivalry - threat, intimidation and agreement - that began with North American imperialism, disputing and sharing the domination and influence over the nations and people of the planet.

Chairman Mao, after studying the events restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union, their causes and consequences, headed the most implacable fight against modern revisionism and opportunism. He made a great contribution to Marxism in its three parts, Marxist philosophy, Marxist political economy and Marxist scientific socialism. He synthesized and explained dialectical materialism in a clear and deep way, established that contradiction is the only fundamental law in nature, in society and in thought. He systematized questions on contradiction; the main contradiction, its main aspect, its particular and universal aspect, the role of antagonism in contradiction, the antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradiction, the identity and struggle of opposites.

**O**n the relationship of practice and theory, he goes even deeper than Lenin, stating that knowledge derives from practice, indicating its two leaps; the one that goes from practice to knowledge and the other from knowledge to practice, the latter being the principal.

On political economy, he deepens the Leninist thesis on the analysis of imperialism, defining bureaucrat capitalism and how, through the export of capital and colonial policy, capitalism

develops itself in the dominated countries. He also developed the Leninist thesis: "Politics is the concentrated expression of economics" and "political work is the life line of economic work," emphasizing that "politics must be put in command".

Chairman Mao also made great contributions to the political economy of socialism as in The Great Leap Forward and The People's Communes. On class struggle and on the revolutionary fight and socialism, he deeply analyzed the Soviet experience and bourgeois restoration in the USSR starting from the 20th Congress of Soviet Communist Party and taught, "one must never forget class struggle".

Unmasking Khrushchev's revisionism, Chairman Mao showed that differently from the old revisionism of Bernstein and Kautsky which expresses the corrupt bourgeois parts of the working class, contemporary revisionism has for its social base, a bourgeoisie of a new type rooted in the Soviet bureaucracy, besides the small property bourgeoisie. He reaffirmed the Marxist-Leninist thesis that class struggle must be maintained under proletarian dictatorship. He defended the need for continuing cultural revolutions under the dictatorship of the proletariat to assure the passage from socialism to communism.

Based on an experience of more than 50 years in Party struggle and more than 20 in armed fight, Chairman Mao developed the Marxist-Leninist thesis of the Party, formulating the concept of the two-line struggle within the Party, which is a reflection of class contradictions in society during the period of building socialism as well. That is why he postulates that it is critical to have a permanent ideological struggle against opportunism, dogmatism and revisionism, which would be the main danger, and to assert the supremacy of the proletarian line of the Party as an indispensable condition for the victory

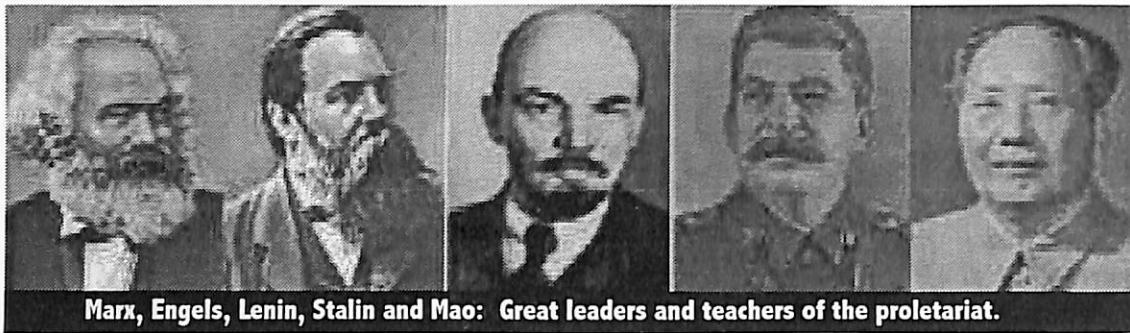


**MAO: Developed Marxism-Leninism and defended it against modern revisionism.**

of the revolution, for building socialism and for the passage to communism.

Chairman Mao maximized the political and ideological line of the proletarian revolution identifying the three fundamental tools for revolution: the Party, the People's Army and the United Front; the Party being the principal and the correct handling of their relationship being decisive in the success or failure of the revolution. He formulated the splendid theory that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and "all communists are supposed to understand this truth: power comes from the gun. Our principle is: the Party commands the gun and we will never permit the gun to command the Party ... According to the Marxist theory of state, the army is the main component of state power. Whoever wants to take over the state power and keep it has to count on a powerful army. To those people who laugh at us as defenders of the theory of omnipotence of the war we say: yes, we are defenders of it and this is not bad, it is good, it is Marxist.

The weapons of the Russian communists created socialism. We will create a democratic republic. The



Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao: Great leaders and teachers of the proletariat.

resulting mostly not from a theoretical-practical effort of Marxism but from the crisis of anarchic-unionism in the country as well as economism, dogmatism and mechanicalism.

experience of class struggle against imperialism teaches us that only by arms can the working class and other toiling masses defeat the bourgeoisie and the armed landlord class. That is why we affirm that only with arms can one transform the whole world”.

Chairman Mao gave a superior dimension to the military question, developed and systematized the military line of the proletariat -- the people's war, and also developed the Marxist theory of the State in his thesis of a New Democracy. Marxism, in the era of imperialism, under new conditions of total militarization, has in Maoism the comprehension that revolution is the main tendency in the world today and that the stage of a worldwide strategic offensive has started.

**W**ith people's war we have the line of advance and materialization of the revolutionary violence of the people, led by proletariat and its Party, for accomplishing socialist revolutions in the imperialist countries and democratic revolutions in the dominated countries. Likewise, in carrying out cultural revolutions to follow the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and assure the passage from socialism to communism, Maoism is the barrier of revolutionary Marxism from any and all revisionist and opportunist tendencies in their new superior and third stage.

Leninism has established itself and been accepted as the second stage of Marxism. The same did not happen to

Maoism. Although the practical theoretical actions and deeds of Chairman Mao are undeniable historical facts, some so-called Marxist-Leninist groups do not recognize them and others just consider them as contributions. This is however a long and hard struggle to raise the consciousness of revolutionaries. When comrade Stalin coined the expression Marxism-Leninism, affirming Leninism as a new stage of Marxism, there was no small hysteria of communists and socialists, leftists and rightists. Up to now most groups that call themselves Marxist-Leninist do not accept the great work, the paramount role that comrade Stalin played and accuse him of having degraded Leninism.

Only Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, used nowadays in a creative way in accordance with the particular conditions of every reality, can clear up the opportunism, revisionism and other counter-revolutionary tendencies taking over the revolutionary struggle and people's war against imperialism and its regime. Only the revolution, led and guided by Maoism, can openly and fiercely oppose imperialism, revisionism and opportunism, integrating and giving impulse to the world revolution.

Only from this stance can one understand the national process identifying errors and weaknesses that have overwhelmed the revolutionary and communist movement in Brazil. We can state that the Brazilian revolutionary process, under the impact of international conditions of class struggle, has revealed firstly a weak assimilation of Marxism-Leninism theory,

Dogmatism has led to a subjective interpretation of the social economic formation, the analysis of classes, generating rightist, reformist and opportunist conceptions of the national-social-democratic revolution that turned into national reformism. And with the thesis of development from the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (1956) it has gained a pseudo-Marxist formulation.

The process of the communist and revolutionary movement in Brazil will be studied along with its contradictions, advances and failures. Before that, it is important to describe how the ideology of the proletariat, the scientific ideology -- Marxism -- has been developed organically as an international movement.

## II. FROM THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE TO THE PRESENT DAYS A Brief History of the International Communist Movement

**T**he history of the International Communist Movement has been a glorious process of struggle in which communists all over the world have fought and continue to fight for the unity that could lead us through a worldwide revolution and to the bright future of humankind, communism.



In this struggle, full of heroism and courage, three Internationals were constituted. The Workers International Association or First International, founded by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in 1864, erased the anarchist stance of Bakunin and Proudhon, affirming Marxism as the only doctrine of the proletariat. Because of the tough and irreconcilable fight against utopian, blanquist and anarchist socialist conceptions, Marx and Engels were accused of dividing the First International. Their answer was that without the division, the International would have probably died from a unity with no principles whatsoever. According to Lenin, the First International "has launched the basis of the international proletarian struggle for socialism; ... it is unforgettable and everlasting in the history of the workers for their liberation."

**A**fter Marx's death (March 14, 1883) Engels founded the Second International in 1889, whose main contribution was to lead the creation of several working parties under Marxist direction. Engels died in August 5, 1895, and the Second International fell into the revisionism which was implacably fought by Lenin. It was buried by World War I with Kautsky and Bernstein in 1919, and with the foundation of the Third International or Communist International by comrade Lenin, the commander of the Great October Proletarian Revolution.

In the same way that Marx and Engels developed the Communist League and later the Workers International Association, Lenin conceived the Third International as the World Proletarian Party, a powerful tool for uniting and impelling the revolution on a world scale, fighting imperialism, opportunism and revisionism.

In the 1920s the first challenges of revolution arose in a developed country, Germany, and in a backward

country, China. The ideological struggle against internal reaction in the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Party, under the command of comrade Stalin, got stronger, defeated the counter-revolution and impelled the

In the 20th  
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CPSU, Khrushchev  
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cowardly  
betrayal of the  
International  
Communist  
Movement

building of socialism with industrialization and collectivization.

New difficulties followed with the ascent of fascism in Germany and Italy, demanding a new approach on how to conceive and solve problems, as for instance, the question of alliance and united front. The United Front policy against fascism was formulated and the Red Army defeated Nazi fascism under the leadership of comrade Stalin. In 1943 the Third International was dissolved as it had played its role in developing communist parties and the complexities of every country demanded more independence and action. The Third International was replaced by COMFORM -- the information committee.

In 1947, at the International Conference of Communist Parties and Workers, Andre Jidanov, introducing the evaluation of the Soviet Communist Party about the post-war situation, called attention to the danger of dispersion of the international

communist movement already facing intimidation and threats from reaction headed by the US that alleged that the parties received orders from Moscow.

**T**he fight for unity of the international communist movement required a serious struggle against opportunism, which was becoming clear among different European parties as well as modern revisionism that showed up in 1948 with Tito, in Yugoslavia. The pernicious influence since the 1940s of Earl Browder, secretary general of the US Communist Party, over a group of parties mostly in Latin America, with his opportunist theories of "peace and democracy, American imperialism as a new type and convergence of socialism and capitalism," has helped to prepare the road so that after Stalin's death in 1953, Khrushchev's coup gave a great impulse to revisionism. The appearance and domination of revisionism in the Party and in the Soviet state was a result of class struggle in Soviet Union and in the Communist Party, under conditions of the building of socialism and the proletarian dictatorship. It was the ascent of a new type of bourgeoisie expressed in the state and in the Party bureaucracy for restoring capitalism.

In the 20th Congress of the CPSU, Khrushchev and his group began the process of the cowardly betrayal of the International Communist Movement and opened the door to his revisionist theories by attacking the memory of comrade Stalin. Pretending to combat Stalin's personality cult, he cowardly attacked Stalin's leadership to erode the proletarian dictatorship. In the 1957 and 1960 Workers and Communist Parties Worldwide Conference in Moscow, China's Communist Party and Albania's Labour Party fought hard against revisionism but the CPSU's influence succeeded in defending it and in facilitating the approval of ambiguous standpoints. In the 22nd Congress in 1961, the position of



modern revisionism and revival of capitalism in the Soviet Union were systematized in the international communist movement.

**C**hairman Mao, unmasking the opportunism of Khrushchev, pointed out that the theories of modern revisionism were condensed in the "three peacefuls and two wholes": peaceful coexistence, peaceful transition and peaceful competition; party of the whole people and state of the whole people. Khrushchev distorted the Leninist theory of peaceful coexistence that distinguishes the relations among the states and the ones within the state, and defined the general line of the International Communist Movement as one of "peaceful coexistence". For Khrushchev the central problem was to stop the war because the atomic bombs could not differentiate between exploiters and exploited thus men should fraternize with each other to prevent the annihilation of humankind.

"Peaceful transition" meant that revolution did not need revolutionary violence because a change in the social system was possible through "peaceful ways": elections, parliamentarism. And with "peaceful competition" the socialist system should, to destroy imperialism, through emulation demonstrate the superiority of the socialist system and thereby make the people and the imperialists accept socialism.

With the theory of "state of the whole people", Khrushchev denied the class character of the state and assumed a position against the dictatorship of the proletariat. With his "party of the whole people", he denied the class character of the Party as a proletarian party. In this way, Khrushchev made that the resolutions of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU the new program for the communists and altered the Communist Manifesto with

the bourgeois slogan "liberty, equality and fraternity".

The Communist Manifesto is the communist program and denying it has intensified the class struggle between Marxism and revisionism. On July 14, 1963, the "Propositions on the General Line of the International Communist Movement", better known as the "Chinese Document" was published, followed by the "Nine Comments". Here, Chairman Mao and China's Communist Party sharply unmasked modern revisionism in all its parts, raising high the principles of Marxism-Leninism. With the start of bourgeois revival in the Soviet Union and the domination of revisionism over the Soviet Party, the communist movement was confused and Chairman Mao and China's Communist Party raised high the red banner to face the counter-revolution, fight imperialism and modern revisionism and lead the world proletarian revolution.

Studying scientifically the experience of building socialism in the Soviet Union, Chairman Mao could objectively understand the causes leading to the restoration of capitalism and how it was developing in China.

The aggravation of the international situation with the US bombing of

North Vietnam and the policy of pacification of the revisionist Soviet Union meant increasing danger for the Chinese and the World Revolution alike. A very rich knowledge would determine the launching of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Starting in 1966, it mobilized as never before the broad masses in great numbers for mercilessly sweeping away the bureaucracy and bourgeois ideology in all their forms.

**“T**he Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a revolution that reaches man in his depth. It represents a new stage marked by a deeper and larger development of the socialist revolution in our country. Despite having been overthrown, the bourgeoisie tries to corrupt people and conquer their heart through ideas, culture, customs and old habits of the exploiting classes, aiming at their revival.” (Peking Informs—August 15, 1968, n.33)”

With the Great Cultural Proletarian Revolution, Chairman Mao's influence increased the world over. The Chinese Communist Party started a new revolutionary struggle in order to recover proletarian power taken by the revisionists Liu-Shao-Shi







and Teng-Siao-Ping and continue the revolution under the dictatorship of proletariat.

**C**hairman Mao says: "The Great Cultural Revolution is the first one and in the future such revolutions will necessarily occur repeatedly. In order to know the result of a revolution -- who will be the winner -- a long period of time is demanded. If it is not led successfully the revival of capitalism will be possible. All members of the Party and the people of the whole country must avoid believing they will calmly sleep and everything will be fine after one, two, three or four great cultural revolutions. We have to maintain a very special attention and not reduce our vigilance".

Thus Chairman Mao, in the national and international class struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, has become the great teacher of the proletariat and the commander of the world revolution. However it was not possible to obtain unity in the fight against Soviet revisionism as long as Albania's Working Party did not accept Mao Zedong's theory as the most advanced expression of Marxism-Leninism. Meanwhile, some other revolutions have triumphed as for instance the victorious people's war in Vietnam which, by destroying and chasing away the imperialist yankees, forced imperialism to reevaluate its counter-revolution policy. But with the defeat of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, the Vietnamese line of advance fell into Soviet revisionism and Russian social-imperialism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that had for ten years prevented bourgeois revival in China was interrupted with the coup of Teng Hsiao-Ping's clique, made possible by the errors of the proletarian advance after Chairman Mao's death.

After all these events, a long period of revolutions was concluded. With

Soviet capitalist revival in 1956, the Chinese Revolution rose in defense of Marxism-Leninism holding up the proletarian revolutionary banner and with Maoism, it solved the question on how to continue the world proletarian revolution. With capitalist revival in China in 1976, the world's reaction was equipped with a new means to attack Chairman Mao's ideas, denying the validity of Marxism-Leninism and Maoism, attacking him ferociously with revisionism and dogmatism.

**Chairman Mao, in the national and international class struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, has become the great teacher of the proletariat and the commander of the world revolution.**

Since then, the communist movement has deepened its dissolution in an acutideological struggle without an axis for its reconstruction, many times with sectarianism, dogmatism, among all the confusion created by the modern revisionists. With the nearly complete collapse of revisionist power (followed by Teng Hsiao Ping's and Castro's crisis), all of Chairman Mao's statements and provisions were confirmed:

"Socialist society takes a very long historical period. Classes, class struggle, struggle between socialist and capitalist tendencies are constant. Socialist revolution only at the economic field of the means of production does not assure stability. There must also be a complete socialist revolution in the political and ideological fields. The struggle to know who "will

win", either capitalism or socialism, requires a very long period of time. Not only tens of years but anywhere from a hundred, maybe hundreds of years before victory. It is necessary therefore to be prepared for a long rather than a short period of time. As to work, it is preferable to face this task as a hard one, not an easy one. There are more advantages than disadvantages to think and behave in this way. The one who does not clearly understand this situation or does not understand anything will make great mistakes. In this historical socialist period, we have to maintain the dictatorship, leading revolution up to the end if we want to prevent capitalist restoration and undertake the socialist construction so that we can create conditions for the transition to communism". (The Pseudo Communism of Khrushchev and the Historical Lessons He gives to the World"- July 14th, 1964).

**T**he struggle in the international communist movement is continuing up to now, demarcating the line between the new falsifiers of Marxism and the true communist parties that strongly fight to defend the purity of the proletarian ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. There has been a link among Maoists, within the Internationalist Revolutionary Movement (IRM) and among its forces, it unmistakably projects the heroic and glorious Communist Party of Peru that has been leading the revolution and the people's war for 17 years, guided by Maoism and by Chairman Gonzalo's ideas which have brought great contributions to the proletarian ideology, to the support of worldwide revolution, raising in the highest mountains the glowing ideology, making the imperialists all over the world tremble in anger and fear. #



# COLOMBIA



## US INTERVENTION AND REVOLUTIONARY ARMED RESISTANCE

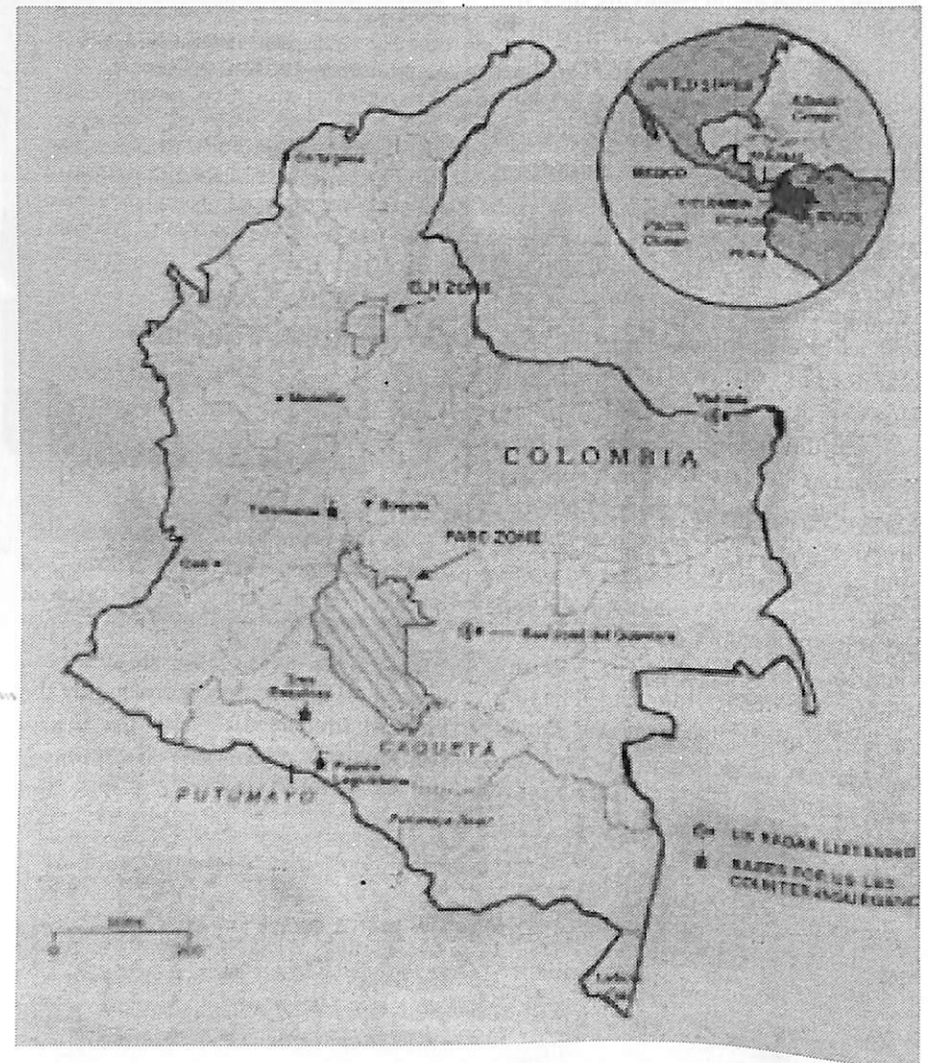
by Augusta Bejar

(Reprint from *LIBERATION*, publication of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines)

**F**or some time now US imperialism has been conducting an international campaign of slander against the revolutionary people of Colombia to lay the ground for its direct military aggression. Narco-terrorists! This is the label that the imperialist psywar machine uses to discredit the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of Colombia. The principal target of this demonization is the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia - People's Army (FARC-EP), the main guerrilla organization conducting armed struggle against US imperialism and its local puppets in Colombia.

### History of intervention

**A**s the dominant imperialist power in Latin America, the US has had a long history of intervention in Colombia. In 1903, it carved out the then Colombian province of Panama to build the Panama Canal. In April 1948, it had a hand in the assassination of the left-leaning Liberal mayor



of Bogota, Jorge Elicier Gaitan. This assassination led to 10 years of intense factional violence between the two dominant parties of Colombia (Liberal and Conservative parties) and caused

the deaths of about 280,000 people between 1949 and 1958.

In more recent years, the US has cloaked its intervention in Colombia



under the guise of an anti-drug war. Since 1989, all US military training, advice, arms and services to Colombia have been officially earmarked for the drug war. Supposedly, all US military aid and personnel are restricted to the "drug interdiction" operations of the Colombian military. But it is a different story altogether on the ground.

According to classified documents of the US and Colombian military acquired by Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, both the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the US Defense Department advised the Colombian Defense Ministry before it set up 41 clandestine intelligence networks (death squads) in 1991. In fact, they were directly involved in designing and funding these intelligence networks. The "reservado" documents reveal that the order creating the program explicitly states that the networks' only function was to target "the armed subversion."

General Barry McCaffrey, head of the US Office National Drug Control Policy, is more brazen. He says, "It is silly to make a distinction between anti-drug operations and counter-insurgency war because the traffickers and insurgents work closely together."

## Godfather of drugs

**W**hat is truly silly is for US imperialists to portray themselves as guardians of morality and champions of "anti-drug" efforts. The real godfathers of drugs are the imperialists themselves.

US imperialism has long dominated and distorted the Colombian economy. In Colombia, as in the rest of the Andes, coca is part of the natural pharmacopoeia and its use can be dated back to at least 3000 BC. It is used as a masticatory (like the Philippine nganga and betel nut) and serves as a mild stimulant and medicine among Indians and rural inhabitants. It also provides an important nutritional component to the restricted highland diet since it has relatively high amounts of vitamins, minerals and natural oils.

The rapid expansion of the Colombian cocaine industry since the '80s must be viewed within the context of the world economic crisis generated by imperialism. In the late '70s, depressed prices hit primary commodity exporting countries. Colombia,

whose economy then principally depended on coffee, was severely hit by this crisis. With the depressed price of coffee and other Colombian cash crops (cotton, bananas, sugarcane, tobacco) the production of that other traditional crop, coca, dramatically took off with land barons becoming drug barons and vice-versa.

Colombia's distorted economy is clearly illustrated by the following figures: 68 percent of all arable land is owned by only 4 percent of the population and powerful cocaine cartels control 60 percent (as high as 90 percent in some areas) of this total; campesinos (peasants) who comprise 63 percent of the rural population own less than five percent of the land. In 1989, 1.7 million out of the 30 million population were "involved" in the narcotics industry and today this is even bigger. For many years now, Colombia's income from the contraband export of drugs has far outstripped the total value of its legal exports.

There is widespread government complicity in the cocaine business whose profits have gone into traditional third world investments like livestock raising, real estate and tourist enterprises. Local adjutants of imperialist godfathers turn a blind eye to the real drug barons, make token arrests of petty dealers and producers and train their sights on the true victims of this distorted economy - the revolutionary masses and their armed organizations.

## The revolutionary armed struggle

**T**hirty-five years ago, on May 27, 1964, combined military and police forces, under the advice of the US military mission, attacked the peasant masses of the Agrarian Movement of Marquetalia. They accused the peasants





of setting up an "independent republic" that was the "center of banditry" in Colombia. It was on this day that the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia was born.

The FARC and other revolutionary armed organizations of the people have their roots in that period of Colombian history known as "La Violencia" (1948-1958). These 10 years of factional strife between the Conservative and Liberal parties amounted to a civil war. Though it ended in a power-sharing agreement in 1957 (rotating presidency and equal division of cabinet portfolios and congressional seats between the two parties), central government control of many far-flung areas was weak. This gave the peasant masses an opportunity to exercise their democratic power, manifested in the establishment of many peasant associations and movements.

In an interview, a FARC representative described the FARC as a "political-military, Marxist-Leninist organization which combines all forms of mass struggle in pursuit of power for the Colombian people." The FARC is estimated to have 15,000 members and control a third of Colombia's 1,025 municipalities and a quarter of its 35 million population. It has 60 guerrilla fronts, mainly concentrated in southern Colombia. It has a proven capacity to hold close to 300 prisoners of war over extended periods lasting almost a year. In 1997, the FARC shut down 10% of Colombia's mayoral elections.

Within its strongholds, FARC has instituted its own public services and even agricultural credit banks. Guerrilla cops fine boaters along the Caguan River who do not wear life jackets and collect tolls along the Caqueta dirt roads for their improvement. In Putumayo province, guerrilla auditors make sure that mayors properly spend federal funds allocated for education and other services.

## US military aid

**A**larmed over the growing strength of the FARC and other armed organizations of the revolutionary masses, the US has upped military aid to \$600 million (a 100 percent increase over 1999). Colombia is now the biggest recipient of military aid in Latin America and the third largest in the world, next to Israel and Egypt. At the same time, the US instructed newly installed President Pastrana to initiate peace negotiations with the guerrillas. Formal peace negotiations between the FARC and the Pastrana government have been going on since January 7, 1999.

This is not the first time that the FARC has entered into peace negotiations with central government in Bogota. In March 1984, the FARC signed a ceasefire agreement with then President Betancur which took effect in May 1985. It then set up a legal political party, the Union Patriotica (UP) which won seats in both congressional houses in the March 1986 elections. The ceasefire was short lived. The government disbanded the peace commissions responsible for mediating disputes between the guerrillas and the government. At the same time, the estate launched a murderous campaign against the UP members (450 members murdered between 1985-1987), and refused to recognize areas controlled by the guerrillas.

In this new round of negotiations, 14 years after the first, the Pastrana regime is trying a new tack. By conceding to the FARC responsibility over areas they already control, Pastrana thinks he can "draw the guerrillas into Colombian society." Thus Pastrana has withdrawn government troops from five towns of the guerrilla strong-hold and recognized the legiti-

macy of FARC-supervised elections in the town of Cartagena del Chaira.

But the FARC says it has no need to integrate into "normal" Colombian society since it is already part of the society it is building. Skeptics of the FARC's sincerity in the peace talks aver that the guerrillas see the talks as a way of buying time to consolidate their territory. On the other hand, the peace talks is the carrot in Pastrana's "carrot and stick" approach. Defense Minister Luis Fernandez Ramirez admitted that Pastrana was taking the "carrot and stick" approach by engaging in peace talks while pre-paring the military for all-out war.

For its part, the FARC says, "Peace will only be possible in so far as the causes of the war are resolved, that is, the enormous economic, political and social inequalities." In a statement on May 17, 1999, the FARC made this declaration:

"We hereby declare before the whole of Colombia that we are beginning this peace process for a peaceful solution to our national tragedy with the same firmness and conviction with which we hold high our rifles."

As Comandante Ruso, a leader of FARC's southern bloc says, "We have every intention of governing as much of this country as we can."#



# THE PEACE TALKS LEGITIMIZE THE FARC



perpetrators of the killings of many Colombians. Later on, they were called "pajaros" (birds), so called because they wore ponchos and carried a revolver beneath the ponchos, killed people and flew off.

Much later, beginning 1977 they were called "limpios" (the clean ones) because they succeeded in splitting the guerrilla movement. One part went to work with the government and the other part stayed with us. So those who stayed with the government were "limpios", without foreign ideas, neither communist nor socialist, did not struggle for demands, and now they are called the paramilitary.

*From Hora del Pueblo, Spring 1999-2000, no. 6-7, pp. 56-61*

*Jose Antonio Rojas, European representative of the International Commission of FARC (Colombia)*

**Hora del Pueblo:** News about the murder of peasants, unionists and politicians keeps coming out of Colombia. Does this level of killings continue, or is there now some diminution of the policy of murder on the part of the most reactionary sections of the army or the paramilitary about which you express your opinion?

**Juan Antonio Rojas:** The killings continue because this is in pursuance of a state policy: the theory of national security and the low-intensity conflicts continue to eliminate those who are shaping up to be a country's future social leaders. So, under this policy, the best of the Colombian people continue to be assassinated, and this is being done all the time.

That is to say, there have always been the paramilitary since 1948, when they were called "Chulabitas", because they come from a region called Chulabita. So they took this name and operated together with the army and the police and became the

And it has been the same policy: the military has trained and directed them. This would seem to be an obsession on our part, but we can cite concrete examples. President Pastrana was shown a long list which included names of military men, names of colonels. Immediately General Rico and General Millán, who were involved with the paramilitary, were dismissed. Last May (1999), there was the order to arrest General Uzcatique who was involved in a massacre known world-wide; they said there were paramilitary groups. And with the investigations



going on, it has been found out that a general and a colonel have already been detained.

So, the policy of murdering people's leaders, union leaders and peasants goes on at present. It is one of the fundamental points to pursue on the negotiating table, to continue seeking a solution to the political, social and economic problems. And all social sectors of the country are aware of this.

**HP:** The paramilitary groups are therefore basically directed by sections of the army, but do they also enjoy the support of social sectors, economic sectors, like the most reactionary employers or the landlords?

**JAR:** There is support from social and political sectors: there is support from ranch owners, there is support from industrialists, there is support from landlords. There is also the participation of narcotraffickers.

For example, Pablo Escobar, in his time, murdered several leaders of the Patriotic Union. This is because there is a relationship between the paramilitary units and the groups of narcotraffickers, so that favors are asked, the reactionary military is asked the favor of eliminating a leader of the people and, as a contractual obligation, its airplanes, goods and drugs are allowed to take off. Such is what happened to narcotrafficker Gonzalo Rodriguez Gacha.

Everybody remembers that Gonzalo Rodriguez Gacha was the perpetrator, that is, he was asked to contract hired assassins to murder Jaime Pardo Leal, but this was because the latter had made compromises with the army.

Nowadays the notorious narcotraffickers at the national and international level are Carlos Castano and Fidel Castano. These two personalities at the moment control a part of the trade

in cocaine and they are the heads of paramilitary groups. If there were no complicity of the state army, they would not have been able to go on patrol as they are now doing, clashes would have arisen between the army and the paramilitary, between the police and the paramilitary.

Where the paramilitary groups are, is a totally militarized zone and they never run up against each other. But what the farmers say is, there are reserve corps of the army troops in one part and a reserve corps of the paramilitary in one part about ten or twenty minutes away. And in many parts where fighting has taken place in which the guerrillas

reach their bases, the military immediately comes in support of the paramilitary groups. With air force, with helicopters and planes, they come in aid of their colleagues in murderous attacks against the Colombian people.

**HP:** Pertaining to narcotrafficking and drugs. You know that the communications media frequently claim that guerrilla units are involved in narcotrafficking. What do you have to say on this?

**JAR:** There is a phrase coined against us by US ambassador Lewis Tam around about 1981. In a press statement he said that in Colombia there were no guerrillas, but there were narcoguerrillas. This was because he meant to show that the guerrilla movement has no ideology, no political causes, but has turned into an armed branch of narcotraffic. Later on they kept on using the government communications media, and the US has intensified this campaign against us in order to discredit the movement.

What is the reality about this? Before this they branded us an armed branch of Moscow, a beachhead unit of Cuba and the Soviet Union, and for this we had to be destroyed and the surroundings cleared away, referring to all those who had relations with us.

After the fall of the Berlin wall, when the Soviet Union collapsed, we continued to fight, we continued the combat. So a pretext had to be sought in order to discredit us and what better excuse than narcotraffic. Linking the guerrilla movement with narcotraffic created a bad image. And they have achieved it. In some countries,

one sees its impact, and in some sectors, including the Left, they ask us whether it is true that we have connections with narcotraffic.

They do so because it is said that in some regions where we are, there are fields sown with marijuana, coca and poppy. It has to be said for sure that where we are, there are fields of marijuana and poppy. But we are also in places where there are banana trees, and we have never been called narcobananeros; we are also in places where there is petroleum but we were never called guerrillo petroleros; and there are also places where there is coffee and we have never been called cafetoguerrilleros.

The narcotraffic phenomenon has several aspects, one being those who traffic on drugs towards outside. This is done by the so-called "cartels" set up by a group of people who are very bold since they have so much means, they have airplanes, ships, cars, bank accounts, and they are those who bring the drugs outside. These groups

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**A pretext had to be sought in order to discredit us and what better excuse than narcotraffic. Linking the guerrilla movement with narcotraffic created a bad image.**

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of narcotraffickers are linked to the political class, that is to say, the Cali Cartel, the Medellin Cartel, the Bogota Carter have links with the politicians and the military.

There is a trial called the Chovil trial; those investigated in connection with this were the former president Ernesto Samper; the former defense minister Fernando Botero who spent 36 months in jail for having links with narcotraffic; two controllers; two former procurators and several liberal and conservative senators who are in detention and are paying dearly; and in turn there is the investigation of tens of leading politicians.

So these people are involved in this. There are many firms which have been shut down. The chain of intermediaries of the cartel run from there downwards. They have intermediaries in a district which is in charge of purchasing the available drugs and has to use a lot of cash for this. It earns less than the central chief. The district in turn has intermediaries in the towns, and these town intermediaries are the ones who buy the drugs, and they buy from the farmers.

So, the Colombian farmer cannot be considered a capitalist but a pro-

ducer of hallucinogens, like one who produces cassava or one who produces corn. This farmer never goes to the district capital, much less the country's capital. The farmers of this crop earn more than when they grow beans, corn or coffee, but they do not become rich because they are left with so little profit, since all the profits are in the hands of the intermediaries, then there are the profits of the cartels, and then the biggest profits in the consuming countries, principally the United States. For example, statistics show that a kilo of coca in Miami costs US\$19,000, paid in Miami, but when it goes to the market, it becomes US\$ 120,000, the dollars grow so many fold. Now, this money is laundered in US banks.

Noam Chomsky says that 40% of the money from the drug trade is laundered in US banks so that trade in drugs represents some US \$700 billion. So there are banking connections. The chemicals used to process coca are not produced in Colombia; we do not produce acetone, ether or permanganate. The industrial countries produce them and take them into Colombia.

It is curious that nobody gives account of the entry of these chemicals that are necessary for the produc-

tion of coca. And it is more difficult for a tank, a road tank with gallons of acetone or ether, to enter than it is to turn out a kilo of coca.

So, for this we have to defend the farmers, the coca growers. We said that we have to organize them to come out and to raise demands proper to them as Colombians: it is the right to have land to till, but not only to have land to till but also to work in the countryside with dignity, for the farmer to live with his children, with his family, and to enjoy health, to have education, to have potable water, to live as a human being.

Therefore, in point number 10 of our Platform for a Government of National Reconstruction and Reconciliation approved by the Eighth Conference in 1993, we stated that the solution to the problem of the cultivation of hallucinogens should be an economic and social solution.

And it is not a military question, because at the present time what the government in doing is to fumigate the fields with defoliantes that kill the flora and fauna, the birds and the butterflies, the earthworms, all these wealth that our country possesses. Thus we are against it. We are against the military's pursuit of the farmers to prosecute them. ...

We have a proposal for crop substitution. We are proposing that some people be engaged to seek this solution, that is to say, there must be the participation of the international community, that there must be our participation. For this we are proposing a town with special characteristics, the municipality of Cartagena in Chairá, to try this experiment.

In some regions under our control we are undertaking pilot projects to help the people to grow other crops, and



FARC-EP panel faces government representatives at the negotiating table.



not only to grow them but to have markets for them. Regarding this, we think that there must be the participation of the international community, that is to say, the consuming countries and the countries producing the chemicals for the production of narcotics.

**HP: Going back to the peace process, what is the position of the United States on this matter and on the possibility of this national reconciliation and the establishment of genuine democracy and social justice in Colombia?**

**JAR:** The problem is that the United States is playing several cards at the same time: it is playing the military card, the card of direct intervention, the card of indirect intervention, and it is also playing the card of having a solution to the conflict. So, in this order, it has come up with different declarations. For example, immediately after a combat which took place in Caquetá in March 1998, the head of the southern command was there, in the theater of operations, and from there a state department report was issued that we would seize power in five years, which we did not say, although we are making so much effort to make it certain. After this report, meetings took place with the governments of Venezuela, Panama, Ecuador, Argentina and Peru, stating the necessity of creating a multinational force.

At the moment, various problems are coming up on the borders with Panama. There is group of delinquents who are harassing the Panamanian police and passing themselves off as members of the FARC, and they are creating complications with the Panamanians.

In Ecuador a problem is cropping up, they want to militarize the borders because there is a movement of arms

and drugs. And in Peru, where no single incident has arisen, Fujimori is making a speech in the United States on the danger that the FARC poses on Peru and is militarizing the borders after a publicity campaign about this danger.

This means that they are, all at once, playing the card of US intervention, that is to say, there are American advisers, there is military aid, there is, for example, the military aid to Colombia of about US\$ 400 per year, and moreover there is the aid to combat the narcotraffic. The gross amount is more than what it gives to many of the countries of Latin America and other countries of the world. So there is this interference.

And then, right now that the process has taken on a positive dynamic, the state department has made some announcements supporting the peace process being pushed by President Pastrana. So, one does not know what cards they are playing.

We said, all right, we will do everything possible to advance this process. We are calling on all peoples and nations: instead of attacking,

instead of creating more conflicts, find a solution to the problems being suffered by the Colombian people.

**HP: What is the importance of the existence of demilitarized zones for the negotiations with the government?**

**JAR:** We have agreed to dialogue in the midst of war, but we state that there must be a physical space where there would be no danger for the commissions who would be in the talks, for people who would go and visit the areas. For example, there are guests from the international community, so we need security for these people. So, it was set forth that a military clearance is needed for this. Because this is the only guarantee we can give them since the paramilitary groups are also where the military is.

This has a political importance for us. It is the recognition given a political-military organization as a belligerent force. That is to say, with this recognition, all policies of deligitimization, that it is a movement in the service of narcotraffic, that it is terrorist, will totally go off. With this



**FARC-EP leaders enjoying some light moments in a jungle camp.**





demilitarization, they are showing that we are a political-military force.

But we are also demonstrating that there is a capacity for administrative measures since normal everyday life goes on there: banks continue to operate, the mayors continue to function, the police continues to function; an agreement was made between the FARC and the municipal government to create a mutually agreed police force in charge of civilian problems; normal everyday life continues.

In San Vicente, an airport is functioning and some airplanes arriving there belong to the military. An army plane landing at a guerrilla-controlled airport! This is politically very important for us. It is important because it is such a big area, 42,000 square kilometers, a territory as big as Switzerland or one of the small countries in Europe.

There is this recognition on the part of the state. This has had good results, because as it is said, everyone has gone there and we are inviting the national and international community to visit the cleared areas.

With this we intend to remove all the bad image they have created about the guerrilla movement and to show that we are leaders of the people, union leaders, political leaders who, left with no other choice, have been forced to take hold of arms to defend with guns what has not been allowed us to defend by political means.

**HP: What is the economic situation in Colombia?**

**JAR:** That is one of the most complicated points in the agenda of the negotiations because we have explained that the model being applied in Colombia is negative for Colombia.

It is negative because they have privatized a number of enterprises, have laid off thousands of workers. It

is negative because with the opening of the free market, that is to say, with the removal of the customs barrier, many small and medium-sized enterprises have collapsed and all the workers are out on the streets. It is negative because the neoliberal policies have completely abandoned the primary sector of the economy, and even agriculture: the fields have been completely neglected. Colombia, a country with a productive potential to feed millions of people is right now importing corn, importing rice, importing products that could be produced for export. Why? Because of the model.

This model is causing so much problem, that is why there is social protest that appears to be one of the deepest in recent years. Industry dropped 13% in the first quarter of 1999. The sector at the head of the economy in Colombia was the financial sector. It was liquidating utilities worth millions. But it seems it has also entered a crisis this year because with the collapse of small and medium-sized enterprises, there are portfolios that are difficult to recover and a crisis has set in.

That is why we are opposed to this model; it caused serious problems for Colombia, and not only Colombia but neighboring countries as well, such as Venezuela, Mexico and Ecuador, which this model has subjected into such a deep crisis that it is difficult to see how to get out of it.

Our country is sufficiently rich today: we have petroleum, coal, cobalt, gold, platinum; we are the leading exporter of fine coffee in the world, we are banana exporters, 40% of the land is forested, we have 14 million hectares for production, for agriculture. Therefore the important thing is to have an economic model which supports production in the

countryside, which supports small-industry production, which supports medium enterprises, and which adopts

a policy for developing its economy. That is why this is one of the most sensitive points in the negotiations.

**HP: Are some foreign countries involved or have they committed themselves in the peace process, and what is the situation in this regard?**

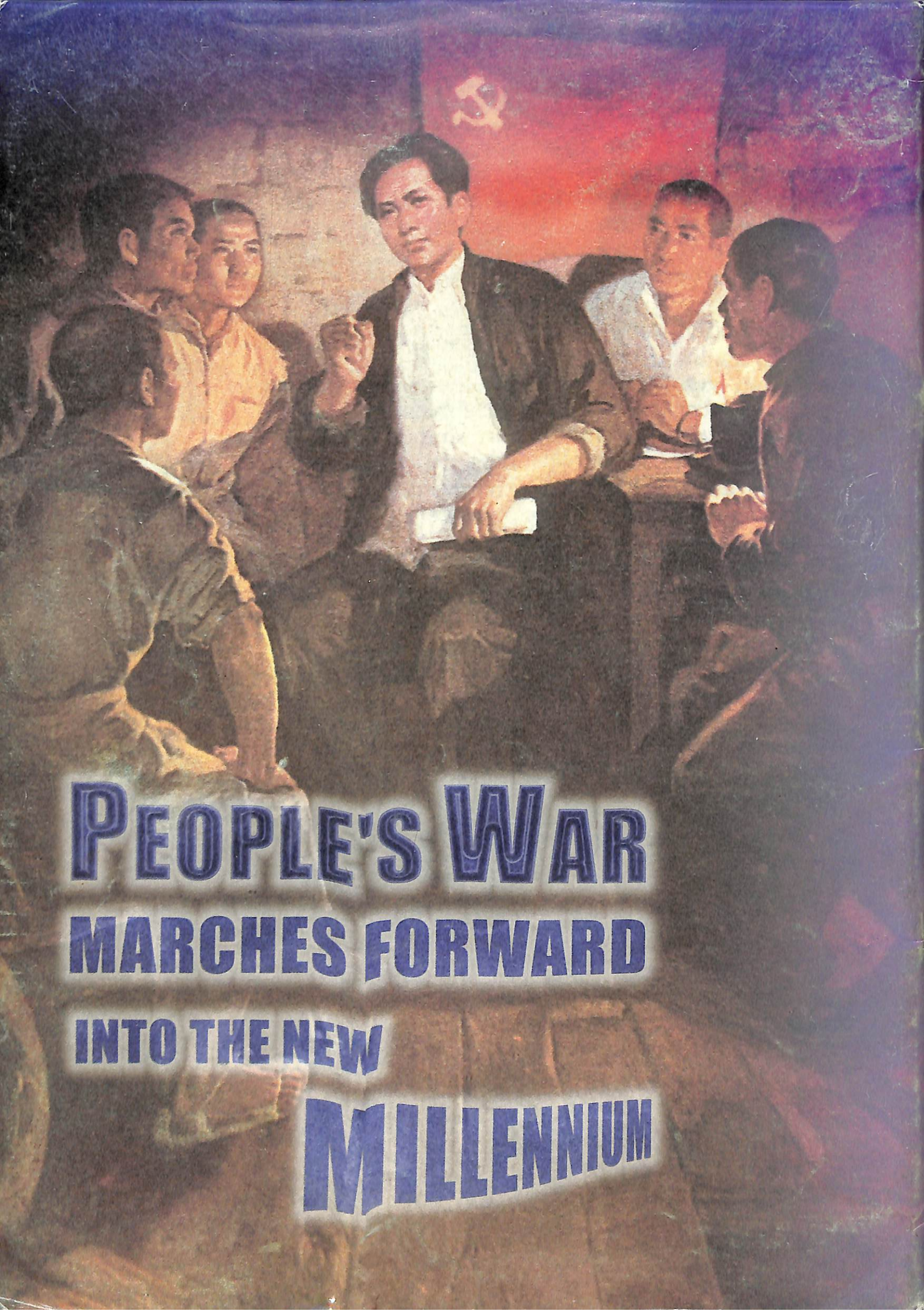
**JAR:** Since the beginning of the process, facilitators have been appointed: Mexico, Costa Rica and Ecuador. What do we expect from these countries? That when there is a deadlock, when there is no advance, these countries then begin to facilitate the talks. And this helped. For example, there was the problem of clearing out the military. There was the problem of having left 130 military troopers in one area, and the government and the military got together because they said that it was necessary.

So these countries went to the area, to San Vicente, interviewed the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and were shown proofs that indeed there was the military. So they went to the government and said: "Look, if you do not demilitarize, which is a compromise you made, it will not work".

Right now, there is talk of identifying and broadening this participation. Initially, there are seven countries which are under discussion regarding participation: Spain, Italy, Switzerland and Norway and -- from America -- Costa Rica, Mexico and Venezuela, the facilitator countries that would have the same significance, that is, they are neither mediators nor intermediaries - we Colombians have to solve our own problems -- but will facilitate the process themselves. When a problem crops up, then these governments are approached so that they could talk with the parties and an agreement could be reached. #







**PEOPLE'S WAR**

**MARCHES FORWARD**

**INTO THE NEW**

**MILLENNIUM**