



Communism

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Keeping up with the times

The Covid-19 crisis opens a new era, because it carries with it a whole bundle of historical contradictions. Humanity can no longer live as before, it faces a challenge which consists in finding its place in the Biosphere. It can no longer simply continue to carry the capitalist mode of production, which very clearly leads to destruction in all areas. There is the need for a break.

We can imagine that this is not simple. It involves a great determination in the face of capitalist corruption, an ability to look to the future, a sense of involvement to make things turning in the right direction. Without a sufficient ideological level, without an adequate cultural reading, we cannot turn off, carry this rupture, we are caught up by the old era and its values.

With the Covid-19 crisis, a double phenomenon has unfolded. On the one hand, there was an effect of surprise, of fear, of anguish, in the face of an event that seemed incomprehensible given the capitalist claim to propose a stable world. What is unfolding then seems therefore incomprehensible, calamitous, a catastrophe and there is a headlong rush in social-Darwinist reasoning, that the weak must perish.

However, on the other hand, there was and there is a sense of understanding that a whole period has ended. With the confinement, the closing of the borders, the partial shutdown of activities, the cessation of capitalist triumphalism ... all of this has dialectical been a breath of fresh air as well. It was finally the proof that capitalism could not perpetuate itself without knowing blockages, that it is not able to swallow up private life and the whole of society, and even the planet, without being stopped by something. Capitalism appears to be outdated.

What arises as an alternative is Socialism or barbarism. Either there is an awareness, a going beyond old values and the affirmation of Communism - whether at the level of society or in relation to nature. Either there is an identitarian, national withdrawal, an escape in the spirit of concurrence, competition, with an acceptance of the disaster and the attempt to take advantage of it to dominate others.

Either popular democracy, with the working masses deciding the orientations of society on a basis of sharing, cooperation, compassion, refusal of hierarchies, unification of social and productive forces, or militarism and the quest for a national savior, leading to fascism and imperialist war.

Either the bourgeoisie is politically put aside, its state dismantled, its state apparatus liquidated, with popular power around the working class, or the upper bourgeoisie takes control of the state and pushes capitalism to participate in the imperialist battle for the redistribution of the world, mobilizing in a nationalist and militarist manner.

This alternative does not arise formally. It will take time before it arises at all levels of society. On the side of popular democracy, we do not get out of capitalism easily, whether in terms of mentalities or the establishment of new forms of production. There are many obstacles, such as the workers' aristocracy, a social layer bought by the capitalists, or even the nefarious influences of a petty bourgeoisie seeking to abuse the masses to negotiate with the bourgeoisie.

On the Reaction side, it is difficult to get the country from political liberalism, ideological relativism, generalized individualism... to the same values, but nested in an aggressive "collective" project requiring participation in "the national effort". Capitalism in its liberal form and capitalism in its fascist form are both the same and not the same; the transition from one to the other is not smooth.

It goes without saying that what is decisive here will be the general crisis of capitalism and more precisely the forms it will take. We can already see that the economic dimension of the crisis is terribly deep, that it surprises by its expression, that it strikes almost by surprise this or that sector.

Unemployment, precariousness, brutality in everyday life, anxiety for maintaining its social existence... all of this can be the breeding ground for fascism, while the bourgeoisie necessarily seeks an exit through capitalist rationalization and imperialist war.

Conversely, the prolonged nature of the situation contributes to reflection, to awareness. And we can even see, in a relative way, that people who had turned their backs on the values of the dominant way of life, who did not trust the capitalist pretensions, who sought an alternative way of life ... suddenly found themselves having a certain value, instead of appearing as mere freaks as before.

Obviously, it is most often elementary steps, of withdrawal, while it is not only a question of realizing that the pace imposed by capitalism is unbearable. If we stop at that, we do not see that capitalism has had its day and that it is not a question of slowing down history, human activity in general, but quite the contrary of accelerating it. It is not about making a hippie approach triumph in order to "calm", "frame" or "roll back" capitalism, but rather to have an active humanity, protagonist of new choices, allowing a new development. You have to live up to the times.

Nevertheless, we can thus already read behaviors, attitudes, positions that pass into the universal, the planetary dimension, in opposition to the cynical, individualist, nihilist values of capitalism. The common denominator of all is that it is considered that we "can't do the same anymore". The refusal of nuclear power or of hunting, the requirement of a high standard in health, the detestation of waste or religious divisions, the affirmation of the sharing of cultural goods, whether for music, films or images in general... Such phenomena, whether they are aware of it or not, come tendentially into conflict with the 24 hour a day demands of capitalism.

This does not mean that people have grasped the full scale of the disaster, nor that the process is not recuperable in itself with a modernization of capitalism. What there is here is a deep contradiction between, on the one hand the battle for existence, with the need to work in order to have a salary to live, to integrate socially, with also alienation making us appreciate what capitalism offers... and on the other, in a way not necessarily understood, a cultural, material, psychological need to breathe, to temporize, to stop incessantly running by following the desiderata of capitalism, to flourish by doing things differently, in a better way. To what extent this contradiction will be positive, in what form, that is the real basic question.

In any case, it is possible to say that the people who have grasped with satisfaction this break, this moment of pause in the capitalist machinery, represent the point of the emerging consciousness that we must put an end to all this, that we must change everything, that nothing is right anymore. Of course, we are still a long way from coming to the affirmation that we must destroy what destroys us, nevertheless a process has started.

Concretely, we can say that the great capitalist impetus founded on the collapse of Soviet social-imperialism and the integration of social-fascist China into the international division of labor is now over. What shatters is the capitalist consensus that was maintained between 1989 and 2020, based on a relative rise in the standard of living on a global scale, the absence of major wars across the world, technological modernization and better access to health.

This period between 1989 and 2020 was a crossing of the desert from the point of view of the communist strategic proposal, it was extremely difficult for the revolutionary vanguards around the world to experience. The thesis that capitalism goes to war seemed out of date; capitalism was expanding mass consumption and seemed to overturn the claim that exploitation leads to impoverishment. The way of life of the masses was changing, whether with computers, internet, cell phones, the reinforcement of cinema and television in everyday life. A vast petty-bourgeoisie was getting stronger in the imperialist countries, developing cultural activities that seemed fulfilling or at least entertaining.

The ground conquered with so much difficulty in the years 1960-1970, place of the engagements in the years 1980, literally evaporated in 1989. The collapse of Soviet social-imperialism allowed the Western imperialist countries to appropriate new markets, and through the integration of social-fascist China, capitalist production and consumption have been greatly enlarged.

In such a context, the reconstitution of the avant-gardes was a difficult struggle, requiring patience and tenacity. In France, the CPF (MLM) is based on a process born in the 1990s, with the affirmation of Maoism at the very beginning of the 2000s, for a major operation of ideological reconstruction of fundamental principles. In Belgium, a country with a similarly great revolutionary tradition, the process of aggregation of forces assuming the break with capitalism led in 2010 to the formation of the MLM Center.

But it is not just about reclaiming the Communist heritage. It is also about deepening, to be up to the challenges of the time. The animal question, in particular, arises with all its acuteness. In the background there is the contradiction between city and country, with humanity's place in the biosphere as the backdrop to a battle for the future direction to be taken.

We do not understand people who say they want revolution, but who have no concrete, practical point of view on all the burning issues of our time and whose speech could be in 1980, in 1960, in 1930, or even in 1900. To imagine that one can lead a revolutionary policy while being completely out of date culturally is simply an aberration strictly equivalent to the petty-bourgeois fascinations for anything that appears as a new cultural or social phenomenon.

You have to be anchored in your time, in your society. Revolution is not a cosmopolitan process. What is called people's war is not a technical concept, but a popular reality, with the people made up of concrete people, existing with their sensibility in a well-defined material reality. It is necessary both to be in phase with the people and to be a vanguard turned towards overtaking reality, there is the productive contradiction defining the communists.

This is all the more true at a time of crisis and when one says crisis it means revolution. What is ending is a time when revolutionaries were marginalized or corrupted by capitalist momentum. It was a time of relative neutralization of antagonisms. We can even say that, since the 1950s, the capitalist countries have experienced such a neutralization, the revolutionary wave being expressed mainly in Africa, Latin America and Asia. The people of the capitalist countries were crushed by capitalism and its values, they were integrated into its process, adopting the way of life that it demanded. We are now at the breaking point.

An authentic life is only possible in the fight for liberation and before that, it is in a socially isolated way that such an approach emerged, whether in the French "leftists" around May 1968, in violent workers' initiatives. Italians of the 1970s, in the Berlin squats of the 1980s. There was a complete break between avant-gardes prisoners of their alternative style and the broad masses entirely cut off from their approach and even inaccessible by their disdain for what was not the traditional capitalist way of life. The situation changed with the onset of the crisis; the antagonistic stall with the 24 hours a day of capitalism takes on its meaning!

The project of recomposing the proletarian fabric by the democratic movement of the masses violently tearing up capitalist hegemony at all levels can resume its natural course. The need for Communism can be expressed again, sector by sector in the popular masses, posing as a strategic hypothesis addressed as broadly as possible.

This is a process in which we are only at the beginning. But our pride is to have prepared, to be on the front line in this start. And we have confidence in the victory of this process of overcoming the general crisis of capitalism, by the victory of the popular masses country by country in a prolonged process and the establishment, as final achievement, of the world socialist republic.

Marxist Leninist Maoist Center [Belgium]
Communist Party of France (marxist leninist maoist)



Uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Center [Belgium]

July 16, 2010

The failure of the process of unification of the revolutionary communists of Belgium through a process of discussion and common practice within the framework of the Marxist-Leninist Bloc is now evident. Does this failure mean that the experience was a waste of time? No. The Maoists who took part in this experiment not only experienced the insurmountable limits of other components of the ML Bloc (essentially the heirs of the “pro-Albanian” current, widowers of the PCMLB).

The fierce debates for the development of a political, ideological and strategic unity have allowed us to refine and clarify our own understanding of these problems, to grasp better than ever the specificity, originality, strength and correctness of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist positions and to highlight the neo-revisionist character of the core of the ex-PCMLB.

The first break within the ML Bloc (with those who were to constitute the “Class against class” group, essentially active today as a Marxist-Leninist pole at the heart of the Red Help in Belgium) appeared to be motivated by the differences in the relations between organizations politics and mass organizations (in this precise case: Red Help. But the discussion had a more general scope, possibly concerning the trade union committees or the antifascist struggle).

The second rupture (which marks the definitive failure and liquidation of the ML Bloc) was manifested by our opposition, in the preparation for May 1, to political and ideological compromises with the revisionists and their allies of the Humanist Party. But behind the debates which it seems to have given rise to these ruptures, there has been an underlying, increasingly evident fracture line which relates to the neo-revisionist nature of the “core pro-Albanian”. The question of the People's War soon became the central issue.

Hardly the break with the current "Class against class!" consummated, the core of the ex-PCMLB revealed its neo-revisionist character by pushing with all its weight to make the Bloc stand out as far as possible from the experience of the Communist Fighting Cells (CCC). A critique of the CCC experience is necessary, but it must be a critique serving revolutionary progress, a critique recognizing the contributions of this experience, a critique aimed at dialectically going beyond that experience.

The relentless, increasingly virulent and provocative attacks on Maoism (through Party theory or the theory of triple oppression) were ultimately aimed at the very revolutionary and dialectical essence of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism: People's War as a vector for the emergence of the new against the old.

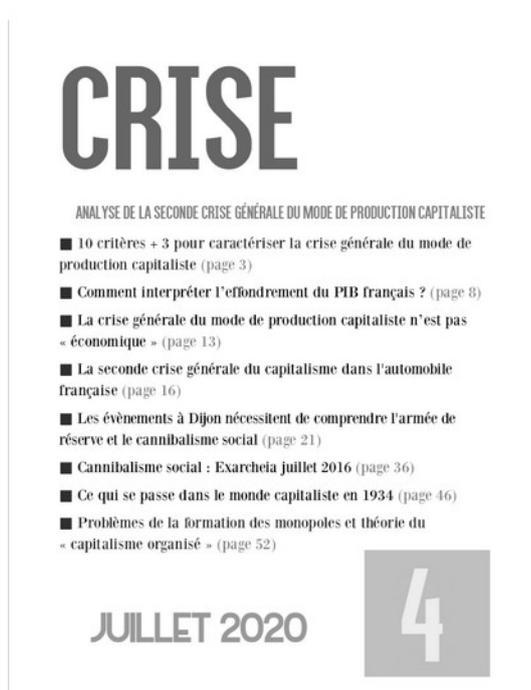
The MLM Center (Belgium) assumes all the theoretical documents produced by the ML Block, and therefore mainly those published in the journal *Clarté*. Our constitution as a Maoist Center requires us to clarify and refine our positions, freed from the shackles placed by the ex-PCMLB, who are today unmasked as neo-revisionists.

The importance of the journal "Crise"

The journal in pdf format "Crise" i.e. *Crisis* was launched in May 2020 as a French-Belgian French-speaking initiative. The idea was very simple: it was a question of having a media in order to be able to provide a whole series of documents on the second general crisis of capitalism, to know its social, economic, political, ideological, military aspects, etc. Both dense and accessible articles were to provide insight into aspects of the crisis, modeled on the regular analyzes made by the Communist International in the 1920s-1930s following the first general crisis of capitalism. Without such analyzes, it is naturally impossible to orient oneself and to have a correct look at the evolution of the crisis, because obviously this phenomenon cannot be linear, like all phenomena.

There were thus five issues from May to August 2020, with the idea of a publication at least monthly for a whole period, and in any case a publication with a long-term perspective in order to have a real documentary base available for activists. It is of course a question of achieving a back and forth of exchanges between the concrete experiences made in relation to the crisis, within the framework of the revolutionary process.

The first issue, in May 2020, thus lays the theoretical bases of the initiative, with on the one hand the explanation of the principle of crisis (and its scope), on the other a warning about the deviation claiming that an "organized" capitalism would form itself. The target here is Eugen Varga and Paul Boccara, the theorists of "state monopoly capitalism".



The second issue, in June 2020, analyzes more directly many concrete aspects of the crisis, while highlighting the issue of imperialist war as a "way out" of the crisis; however, we should also note a study of the overfeeding imposed by the capitalist way of life to broaden its base. The third issue also dates from June and consists mainly of a presentation of the second general crisis of capitalism in its theoretical aspects. However, there is an observation of the decadence and militarism imposing themselves in capitalist society, an observation forming the true background of the review, completely in the spirit of the Communist International.

The fourth issue, in July, is in this respect quite exemplary of the approach taken. A small theoretical article on the crisis accompanies analyzes of the expressions of the economic crisis, observations on the decadence of capitalist society and a denunciation of the theory of "organized" capitalism. The fifth issue, in August, is in the same perspective.

We can in fact say that the review *Crise* - whose subtitle is "Analysis of the second general crisis of the capitalist mode of production", is composed, for its five issues, for a third of articles on the economic crisis, for another third of articles helping to define the aspects of the general crisis, finally a good of article on the tendency to imperialist war, the decadence of capitalist society and the refutation of the theory of "organized" capitalism.

Turkey, weak link in the chain of dependent countries

If we take the 500 most important global companies, we find, for Turkey, on the 420th place the Koç Holding, which brings together 113 companies including credit institutions, an oil refinery, tractor factories, bus bodies, tourist companies, the production of household appliances in particular with Beko, etc. Important though less powerfully, there are also Sabancı Holding (notably with one of the textile leaders Kordsa Teknik Tekstil), OYAK Holding, and three state monopolies: Turkish Airlines, Halkbank and Vakıfbank. In any case, we are very far from an imperialist-type export of capital, in a country where a quarter of women marry before the age of 18. Moreover, for a significant part of their activities, all these main Turkish companies are in close partnership with companies from imperialist countries (Toyota, Citibank, Philip Morris, Carrefour, DuPont, etc.).

Turkey is in fact a very active dependent country. This can be read in the following figures. Its foreign direct investment was \$ 27 million in 1991, \$ 1 billion in 2005, \$ 4.7 billion in 2015. On the surface, it is very impressive. However, in reality, in 2015, this represented only 0.32% of foreign direct investment in the world, against 0.01% in 1991. This remains deeply marginal. Turkey took advantage of the capitalist momentum after 1989, but has not changed its base. Moreover, in 2015, Turkey experienced a penetration of foreign capital of 16.5 billion dollars, much more than its own capitalist interventions outside its territory.

The expansionist aggressiveness of Turkish militarism

However, despite this very clear weakness from an economic point of view, Turkey is particularly aggressive. It is active with Azerbaijan against Armenia, it occupied part of Cyprus in 1974, it makes Iraqi Kurdistan a satellite, it intervenes in Libya, it actively supported the Islamic State in order to take advantage of its military penetration into Syria and it decided, in the name of offshore oil drilling, to assume a frontal position with France and Greece.

A sign of this trend, Turkey produces 70% of its weapons and the goal, by 2023, is to achieve this at 100%. It is difficult to see how this is technologically possible, as evidenced by the purchase from Russia, to the chagrin of US imperialism, of the highly advanced S 400 anti-aircraft and anti-missile defense system.

The question of where such aggression stems from is of great importance. There are really many revolutionary organizations in Turkey since the 1970s and they are frantic on precisely this issue. Some see Turkey expressing an aggressiveness peculiar to capitalism, others see it as the activity of an American satellite, of a neo-colony. Some speak of semi-capitalism, others of capitalism with feudal remnants in the superstructure, or of bureaucratic capitalism.

Turkey's matrix: the general crisis of capitalism

It is by no means a coincidence that Turkey becomes particularly aggressive in the context of the second general crisis of capitalism. This country was born from the first general crisis of capitalism. It is even a component of it.

Since the founding of the Republic of Turkey by Mustafa Kemal in 1923, this country has experienced countless political, economic, military and ideological upheavals, to the point

that in fact it has been in permanent crisis for no less than a century. Half of its existence, at least parts of the territory have been under a state of emergency!

It must be understood that the country was born on the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, which generated the expulsion of more than a million Greeks from its territory, to which must be added the Armenian genocide in the background from 1915 to 1923. Turkey succeeded at its foundation in expelling from its territory the foreign armies aiming at a permanent occupation, but came under German control, then under British control, finally under American control. There has been permanent instability, with military coups in 1960, 1971 and 1980. There is also a significant Kurdish national minority, which has been tirelessly suppressed militarily for a century, while the country has also important other minorities, such as Lazs, Circassians, Arabs, Zazas, many Caucasian peoples, etc.

The Turkish regime, crossed by violence

Turkey is thus a country of immense culture, but also of immense complexity. There are a lot of minorities, the country was formed from above; it is at the same time a mixture of peoples and nations and at the same time it forms a real unified block. The central state has been, since its birth, ultra-paranoid. During the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the imperialist countries indeed wanted to carve up the Turkish part of it and sent occupying troops. One part was to come under British rule, another under French rule, Greek and Armenian areas to be established and Istanbul to form a small state.

This nightmare scenario from the Turkish point of view is a key to this ultra-militarist Turkish device, benefiting from a huge popular echo in the name of the “defense” of national interests, but in reality in the service of large landowners allied to a upper bourgeoisie linked to imperialist countries and serving as intermediaries. Within such a framework, the army plays an omnipresent role, and its clandestine interventions - through “disappearances”, murders, counter-guerrillas - have been innumerable.

This makes this country one of the main weak links in the chain of dependent countries. The country was born on the job, in the framework of the first general crisis of capitalism. It has been relatively “frozen” with the clash of the American and Soviet superpowers. But once the general framework has been called into question by the second general crisis of capitalism, it sets off again.

Kemalism

Kemalism is born as a national bourgeois response to the attempt at imperialist partition of the country. This explains its ultra nationalism, its insistence on the absolute primacy of the central state and on the need to modernize the country. The first military successes of Mustafa Kemal and the development of the first general crisis of capitalism resulted in a compromise and Kemalism established a regime with the recognition of the imperialists, in exchange for their significant penetration into the country.

Turkey is then a country as if blocked. The bourgeoisie began its war of independence but sold itself from the start, in alliance with the big landowners in order to establish the new regime. The authentic national bourgeoisie, which arrived too late historically (and partly non-Turkish and notably Armenian), has withdrawn in front of a “turkified” bourgeoisie sold to imperialism.

Throughout the 1920s, Turkey then experienced a terrible trade deficit, while the capital of the imperialist countries appropriated railway companies, mines, industries, businesses, banks. In 1924, Germany already had 2,352 of the 4,086 km of railways; in 1937, 42% of

exports and 36.5% of imports were with Germany. Turkey will also indirectly support Nazi Germany, maintaining its massive economic exchanges until the very end of the war.

This was a continuation of ever greater pressure on the masses. Many strikes had been bloodily suppressed by the regime, while in January 1921 the leadership of the Communist Party of Turkey had already been physically liquidated. From 1931 the police had full latitude for arrests; in 1934 the parliament gave Mustafa Kemal the name Ataturk, “the father of the Turks”. In 1936 public holidays and the ban on child labor were abolished, with even a labor law taken over from fascist Italy; in 1931 the press was controlled and in 1939 any organization headed by the state; in 1943 agrarian products were taxed at 12%, hitting hard small peasants, etc.

The change of supervision after 1945

The CHP, the Republican People's Party, which had been pro-Nazi Germany, lost control after World War II to the DP, the Democratic Party, which was pro-American. Turkey “benefited” from the Marshall Plan and a massive military support, the companies of the capitalist countries invested in Turkey in a deep way, this country switching over to NATO in 1952 and in 1955 in what will be called the CENTO, making this country a pro-imperialist fortress on the borders with the USSR. It was then the army that took control, starting to build a military-industrial complex.

It was thus the army who overthrew the DP government in 1960, which had been unable to stabilize the regime despite its pro-religious and nationalist demagoguery, leading in particular to the Istanbul riot of 1955 against the last Greek community, with numerous deaths and very significant damage to buildings linked to the Greeks (4,348 stores, a thousand houses, 110 hotels, 27 pharmacies, 23 schools, 21 factories, 73 churches, 2 monasteries, a synagogue...). This caused the exodus of more than 100,000 Greeks.

The DP, which became the AP (Justice Party), resumed power a few years later, accompanying the transformation of Turkey into a productive base for the imperialist countries, the trade deficit from 1960 to 1972 being between 113 and 677 million dollars according to the years. Turkey then depended very largely on the United States and West Germany, then on France, Japan, Great Britain, Switzerland, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium. Soviet social-imperialism was also ever more present, providing between 1966 and 1979 \$ 2.7 billion in credit, more than the United States between 1930 and 1974. However, instability continued to the point that the army intervened to intervene again, for a second coup, in 1971.

The 1970s and the systematization of ultra-violence

In 1970, the Turkish regime was in agony. A quarter of the country's budget went to the military, compared to only 4.7% for agricultural development where 65% of the population lived in 1970, and 3.8% for health. In 1970, more than a third of the inhabitants of the cities lived in shanty towns (the “gecekondus”, a building built overnight); more than half of the population was illiterate. 55% of children die before they turn 18. Emigration became massive to West Germany, but also to Austria, Switzerland.

In this miserable context, marked by revolts whereas imperialism became increasingly oresebtn as the large landowners crushed the peasants, the army then fell into crushing. The 1971 coup set off a sequence that would extend into the late 1990s, with a systematization of ultra-violence. Faced with the uninterrupted crisis, the army took the lead as such and generalized arrests, murders, torture, violent interventions, legal and clandestine, direct or through nationalist mafia networks. These notably acted in a terrible way with their

massacre, in December 1978, in the city of Kahramanmaraş, of a thousand left activists, including their families.

May 1, 1977 had already been marked by shootings against the crowd, killing dozens and dozens of people, while 600,000 people demonstrated. The secret services, MIT, were developing strategies directly with US imperialism, to counter the multitude of revolutionary organizations resulting from the first three initiatives of the early 1970s, the THKO, the THKP / C, the TKP / M-TIKKO, who were developing the armed struggle. The clashes spread, with around ten deaths per day, more than 5,000 in total, including more than 2,000 militants of revolutionary organizations.

With the economy on the brink of collapse, the army then took the initiative of carrying out a new coup in December 1980, arresting 650,000 people, placing 1.6 million people on black lists, etc.

From the 1980s to open expansionist assertion

The army directly managed the country from 1980 to 1983 and the revolutionary organizations were not able to reorganize themselves until 1987, then reaching a high level of combativeness during the 1990s. The revolutionary organizations which then had the most success were the DHKP / C (Guevarist), the MLKP (Hoxhaist), as well as relatively the TKP (ML) and TKP / ML (both Maoists). They got bogged down, however, while conversely the PKK enjoyed ever greater success among the Kurdish masses, reaching great scale and clearly succeeding in subduing the revolutionary organizations to its own agenda, except for the DHKP / C.

The failure of the revolutionary organizations to turn things around in the 1990s was similar to the success of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. He was elected mayor of Istanbul in 1994, prime minister from 2003 to 2014, when he became President of the Republic. Its political domination corresponds to quite a change in Turkish reality. Islamist Recep Tayyip Erdoğan advocated a reactivation of the Islamic-Ottoman ideology, and no longer simply a “Turkish” republicanism. He was in tune with an upper bourgeoisie seeking expansion.

The mistake of the revolutionary organizations in Turkey was thus very simple. They all considered Turkey to be fully subjugated to US imperialism through the military. However, the arrival of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to power corresponds to the arrival of a new faction in power. We have proof of this with the trial of hundreds of people at the end of the 2000s, accused of being part of the Ergenekon network made up of soldiers and members of the secret service. This was the beheading of the Kemalist state apparatus. The American response included the attempted coup in 2016 through the Islamic congregation Gülen, which failed.

But the new regime managed to take hold. It goes beyond the Kemalist nationalism born of the first general crisis of capitalism to add to the neo-Ottoman aims and placed it as its main aspect.

The question of the PKK and Rojava

Turkey's expansionist assertion could not concretely be followed by the Kurds, which explains why the PKK was the only movement able to hold out against the nationalist-Islamic wave, since the revolutionary organizations had made the mistake of believing that there would be a status quo in the following of the United States.

The PKK, Kurdistan Workers' Party, is historically a very incoherent movement; born on a communist basis, it nonetheless immediately sought military confrontation in the late 1970s with the revolutionary organizations in Turkey, and has often been a follower of the coup against them until today. The PKK does not tolerate competition.

Conversely, it can at times express a real internationalism and a great sympathy for them, by a natural convergence, in particular of its base. Moreover, the PKK expresses a democratic battle of the Kurdish masses and this produces self-denial at times, a democratic struggle of great depth. It is also all the more difficult to apprehend the PKK by the fact that the Kurds are historically divided territorially in several countries (Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria).

In any case, in order to subsist politically and especially militarily in the case of the existence of armed branches, all revolutionary organizations in Turkey, with the exception of the DHKP / C, then literally followed the PKK. This is true from June 1998 with the Platform of United Revolutionary Forces (BDGP), bringing together the PKK, TKP (ML), MLKP, TKP / ML, TDP, DHP, TKP-Kıvılcım. And this will take on an even greater scale when in the Syrian civil war, the Kurdish forces establishing an independent zone, Rojava, bringing in Turkey and Rojava the establishment of the United Peoples Revolutionary Movement (HBDH), with the PKK, TKEP / L, TKP / ML, MKP, TIKB, DKP, MLKP, THKP-C / MLSPB, DK.

Is this an adequate choice against expansionist Turkey? In fact, in the background, there is the question of knowing if Turkey really exists and if the revolution is defined in its framework, or if it should disappear in favor of a regional framework of near-eastern dimension. It goes without saying that the PKK is pushing in the latter direction, due to its national agenda being defined over several countries, while conversely there is a reading considering that a national framework is always specific, like for the DHKP / C and TKP / ML (the latter having withdrawn from HBDH precisely on this issue).

Turkey's pan-Turkish headlong rush

The revolutionary organizations were thus overtaken by this emergence of an openly aggressive Turkey; in their eyes, it was inconceivable. Why did the revolutionary organizations in Turkey make this mistake? In fact, they didn't see that Turkey was coasting. By 1974, Turkey had already occupied part of Cyprus, affirming its expansionism which then, with the collapse of Soviet social-imperialism, was all the more expressed. There are indeed many peoples in the world who are part of Turkish history, with its language and culture: the Uzbeks, the Uighurs in China, the Azeris, the Kazaks, the Kyrgyz, many peoples of Russia such as the Yakuts or Tatars, Turkmens, etc.

Many of these peoples lived in the USSR, and US imperialism overwhelmingly supported pan-Turkism in order to help destabilize its competitor. Today's Turkey is in fact, sustaining this approach, which is culturalo-racialist fanaticism, freewheeling. Thus, a significant portion of people of Turkish origin in Germany, Austria, Belgium, France, Switzerland... refuse any assimilation, defining themselves as "Turks", only marrying between Turks, etc. Pan-Turkism aims at the union of the Turks and this as far as China and Siberia.

There was space there for the Turkish upper bourgeoisie, with its massive Cold War army, ultra-aggressive on the basis of "modern" Turkey, to rush into an expansionist orientation.

These inordinate ambitions literally carried a new political wave in Turkey, of which Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is the direct expression. The Muslim dimension is, however, also extremely important here, as pan-Turkism, already widely present in Kemalism, has merged with the Muslim Brotherhood, of which Qatar and Turkey are the strongholds.

Turkey's Ottoman headlong flight from and Qatar

There is no (Sunni) Islam without a Caliph and it is the Ottoman Empire which for several centuries has played the role of the Caliphate. Its collapse in 1918 sparked the birth of Islamism as a movement to reconstitute a caliphate. Launched into its expansionist ambitions, Turkey has reactivated the ideology of the Ottoman Empire, proposing itself as “protector” of Islam. This leads it to have a very important influence in Albania and in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This neo-Ottoman Islamic line is obviously in conflict with Saudi Arabia's claims to offer itself as the model and guardian of Mecca. The Saudi “Wahabis” are thus in open conflict with Turkey, which is based on the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood, whose stronghold is Qatar. The “Arab Spring”, in which the Qatari channel Al-Jazeera played a big role, was in fact a series of pro-Muslim brotherhood revolts, notably in Egypt.

Qatar has very little investment in Turkey, but very targeted, supporting it when its debts are too important, making in 2008 the acquisition for more than a billion dollars of the second group of media (led between 2007 and 2013 by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's son-in-law), buying Turkey's largest television satellite for \$ 1.4 billion, earning 49% in military vehicle production with even a Qatari military representative on the board.

Turkey and the double dynamic of its headlong rush

Turkey is in a double ideological system: on the one hand, as an “extension” of the Ottoman Empire, it claims to be the heart of Islam, which justifies its hegemony; on the other, there is a non-religious racialist discourse. This tinkering is based on expansionist inclinations, but at the same time it can only hold up through expansionist inclinations.

It can be said that, from the start, Turkey has been the weak link in the chain of dependent countries, because it was born in a tinkering resulting from the first general crisis of capitalism, that it maintained itself artificially in the framework of the cold war and that with the second general crisis of capitalism its headlong flight literally turns into a detonator.

The national bourgeoisie which immediately played the role of bureaucratic bourgeoisie at independence, in alliance with the large landowners, took advantage of its importance during the Cold War to establish its bases and prolong its flight forward by means of a neo-Ottoman perspective corresponding to its redoubled aggressiveness while the second general crisis of capitalism asserts itself.

Turkey has thus always been in crisis since 1923 and it tilts, depending on the nature of the general crisis at the world level, in such and such aggressiveness. It is losing itself, as reflected in religious fanaticism and irrationalism.

The turmoil of Turkish history will thus be at the heart of the second general crisis of capitalism. Large-scale upheavals are inevitable. Turkey will experience an intense period of crisis during the 2020s and will be one of the countries at the heart of the revolutionary question at the global level.

The situation of MLM internationally

The outbreak of the Covid-19 crisis has literally scattered organizations claiming to be Marxism-Leninism-Maoism at the international level. The reason is very simple to understand: the crisis has put a lot of problems on the table, many questions have arisen, and as it is already not easy for an organization to answer them, to achieve an international unity is even more difficult.

It goes without saying, moreover, that certain trends are clearly an expression of the crisis itself. When the Ajith Indian, the American Bob Avakian or the university professor Moufawad-Paul in Canada say that Maoism is not a “dogmatic” science, that one must draw to find what is useful, they express a relativism that is completely in tune with the decadent bourgeoisie. These intellectuals also correspond to a whole wave of petty-bourgeois students using Maoism as folklore, as an identity vector on social networks, associating it with all post-modern student nihilism.

We are here entirely outside the labor movement and socialist experiments. Moufawad-Paul thus accuses of “dogmatic” those who oppose the principle of the “big bang”, without ever addressing the question of why both Stalin's USSR and Mao Zedong's People's China refuted it. This is exemplary of an eclectic approach, where petty bourgeois do as they see fit, “drawing inspiration” from Maoism to carry out trade union or anarchist activities, most often both.

Conversely, the crisis could only lead to a withdrawal for those who chose isolation at the base. There are indeed too many problems on the table, they must be resolved. The Communist Party of the Philippines, which recognized Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as an ideology in 2016, has always refused privileged links around Maoism and we can bet that it will all the more maintain its splendid isolation, following its own agenda. all the more complicated with the crisis. The Communist Party of India (Maoist), which follows the same principle, will do the same because of the even greater complexity of the Indian situation, unless it takes on an international ideological struggle in which it has never wanted to participate.

So remain those who assume it, but what does this fight look like, when the crisis has shaken up the situation, or even changed it completely? The very terrain of controversy is entirely different. One need only read the review of the Belgium MLM Center and the PCF (MLM) by the UOC (MLM) of Colombia to see how complete the gap is. The UOC (MLM) simply does not understand the issues raised. It is therefore difficult to see how the UOC (MLM) will be able to help the reformation of an international platform announced several years ago by the Maoist CP of Italy, supported by the revolutionary CP of Canada. Either such a platform will not be put in place, or it will be put in place with a minimalist discourse that is totally inadequate for the scale of the crisis.

It is true that a minimalist speech is sometimes better than anything else. In this case, the Latin American movement claiming the definition of Maoism by Gonzalo, who also has support in Germany, Austria ... considers that everything that revolves around the Covid-19 crisis is an artifice put in place by the bourgeoisie to hide that it all started with the financial crisis of 2008. We would have thought that since May 2020 there would have been a change of orientation, but not even. Such a position, of course, reinforces the internal implosion and prevents any ideological expansion.

We are thus witnessing the beginning of a recomposition, by the simple fact that reality poses a rethinking. Everything will be decided by the ability to face the second general crisis of capitalism... and for that, it must already be recognized!

Document of the UOC(MLM)

[Original version by the UOC(MLM)]

A Refutation of the Communist Pontiffs of France and Belgium

Last worker's Day, among the jointed declarations of MLM Parties and Organizations, there was one signed by the Communist Party of France (MLM) and the Marxist Leninist Maoist Center of Belgium entitled: *With the people's war, under the banner of the MLM, before the second general crisis of capitalism!* In that statement, which seems more like anathema to communist pontiffs, the comrades expose: "their" Marxism "well understood"; refuting with phrases the "heretics" who in different parts of the world are fighting to lead the forces of the world proletariat to the fulfilment of its historical mission.

The statement of the comrades could be dispatched with any phrase, as some comrades do it, however, it is necessary to take their ideas seriously and refute their mistakes because some are disqualifying phrases without any argument, others only show "their" contradictory and mutilated Marxism, and others coincide with the ideas of mistaken comrades who seek to introduce within the Maoist Leninist Marxists, formulations and dogmas contrary to Marxism.

The comrades begin affirming: *"We are entering a new Era..."* Do they mean that we are in a different era than that of the World Proletarian Revolution? However, from what they saying below, everything seems to indicate that they are not talking about something different, but that it is a "small" slip, a meaningless phrase that belies those who pose as "infallible" Marxists.

Later arguing why, we are entering a "new Era" they state:

"This general crisis appears with COVID-19, a disease whose virus that produces it is the result of a mutation that comes directly from the contradictions developed by the capitalist mode of production: the contradiction between humans and animals on the one hand, and the contradiction between cities and the countryside on the other"

First, the economic crisis of world capitalism already existed since 2008, even the imperialist agencies already announced the decrease of the world economy and warned of the worsening of the social crisis days before the appearance of the Coronavirus. The Coronavirus pandemic shows an extreme flare-up of it, revealing it in all its magnitude around the world. Second, it is unilateral and inaccurate to refer to a "contradiction between human beings and animals", when the exact Marxist formulation refers to the contradiction between society and nature, since there are no humans outside of society and nature is not only animals.

Then they sentence in bold:

"We affirm, on this First of May, 2020, that the capitalist mode of production is a complete obstacle to the development of humanity and to the valorization of life itself. All the states that are at the service of the capitalist mode of production must be overthrown, so that humanity can establish socialist, dialectical and non-destructive relations with everything that forms the planetary Biosphere!"

Without going too far into reasoning about what they mean by the "valorization of life itself, it is incorrect the suspicion that the comrades have that there are States that are NOT at the service of the

capitalist mode of production is striking. What would those States be? An unfounded "suspicion" when it has already become evident that imperialism has become a world system of exploitation and oppression, subjecting all modes of production and putting all States at its service.

In the words of the *Proposal for the Formulation of a General Line for Unity of the International Communist Movement* of the UOC (MLM), it is stated:

“Imperialism, as an internationalized mode of production, chained all countries —with their specific modes of production— in a single world economy, where the economy of each country is a link in a single chain, which obeys and serves production, the realization of surplus-value, accumulation and centralization of world capital.”

Consequently, ALL STATES "are at the service of the capitalist mode of production"

Later and also in bold, they give us another papal sentence:

“In imperialist metropolises, where capitalism triumphs 24 hours a day, there must be a spirit of rupture to equalize, an ability to be consistent to the end in the affirmation of communism. We underline the growing weight of subjectivity in the imperialist metropolises and remember that revolutionary consciousness never arises mechanically, but as a fracture with the dominant values”

Proletarian ideology is a break with bourgeois ideology, but it does not emerge from an exclusive struggle in the sphere of ideas. It arises from the contradictions of capitalist society and class struggle but it develops independently of the struggle of the spontaneous movement that has the same base.

However, the “fracture with the dominant values” in the social field is only possible through the revolutionary activity of the masses. By merging socialist consciousness with the labour movement. Therefore, according to Engels, proposing a "cultural battle ..." outside the class struggle is pure "ideologism", it is, among other things, a coincidence with the “cultural revolution” advanced by Avakianist revisionism a few years ago, and from which it cannot arise but, as the practice has shown, a sect.

And from that anti-Marxist statement, they conclude the following statement, also highlighted in bold:

“We affirm here that only a correct dialectical materialist understanding of the crisis can lead to a correct political and cultural orientation, not to mention the ideological and scientific dimension”

A sophism that only the enlightened pontiffs understand and not the mortal revolutionary proletarians, for whom it has always been clear that only based on the dialectical materialism of Marxism, that is, on the materialist conception of the world, on the dialectical method and the position of the class of the proletariat, they can derive a correct political orientation for their revolutionary practice.

But not there for the pontifical discourse:

“Anyone who does not use the concepts of the Biosphere, who does not want to understand the dignity of the reality of the animal issue, who has never understood the scope of global warming, who does not use the city/country contradiction in his approach ... cannot understand our times”
Poor of us who do not use the concepts of Biosphere (capitalized) and who definitely cannot understand the entelechy of the "dignity of the reality of the animal issue"!

However, such discourse only seeks to obfuscate the proletarian conscience, since for Marxism it is clear from the very beginning that there is a contradiction between society and nature, which has

been pushed to the extreme by imperialism, especially in the last 30 years, highlighting it as one of the most important contradictions in today's society, because the subsistence of life itself on the planet is at risk.

A problem recognized by the Communist Workers' Union (MLM) in the *Program for the Revolution in Colombia* (to save nature from the depredation to which capitalism has subjected it) and in the *proposal for the formulation of a General Line for the Unity of the Movement International Communist*:

*“Imperialist capitalism is a social regime that survives on the **depredation** of the only two sources of wealth: the **labourforce and nature**; their life expectancy depends on strangling society and destroying nature. Transforming the relations of men with nature is only possible by transforming the current social relations of exploitation into social relations of collaboration. The aspiration to save nature without touching the power of capital is bourgeois reformism, repudiating natural disaster, but it does not attack its main cause: the capitalist mode of production. Stopping the destruction of nature is part of the proletariat's socialist program because it demands to end to the cause of its destruction: imperialist capitalism”.*

But pontificating over the biosphere and other matters of that nature has a purpose: to highlight as a main global contradiction the contradiction between society and nature or, as their Declaration says: "between human beings and animals." It is not possible a ruse of intellectuals, but the own confusion of the companions. Concerning the current world main contradiction, the situation created by the crisis and the pandemic had put completely clear that this is the contradiction between the global proletariat and the global bourgeoisie; the fact that also left bare the error of the comrades who mechanically and dogmatically affirmed that such a contradiction, since the 60s of the last century or since the rise of imperialism, has been the contradiction between the imperialist countries and the countries, peoples and oppressed nations.

With apologies to the reader for the length of the quote, it is good to bring up the words of the *Proposal for the Formulation of a General Line for the Unity of the International Communist Movement*:

“At present, the main world contradiction pits the global proletariat against the global bourgeoisie, being, finally, the contradiction that best and most concentratedly expresses the fundamental contradiction of the system; the most decisive for being its direct manifestation in the field of class struggle, and as such, the one with the greatest revolutionary influence over the other world contradictions of imperialism, the one that most helps the advance of the revolution and the progress of society, accelerating the transition to socialism.

The world economic crisis that started in 2008 has especially aggravated the world contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, reaffirming its character as the main contradiction in the imperialist world, in extension and depth, where the vast majority of the world population lives subjugated by the chain of salary, he accumulates misery amid the wealth he produces, and supports with his workforce a few monopolistic parasites that privately appropriate world production.

Both the bankruptcy of medium and small owners, as well as the ruin and displacement of millions of peasants by capitalism and wars, massively swell the ranks of the proletariat, whose existence is increasingly threatened by unemployment, cuts in benefits, massive dismissals and the reduction of the real salary, unleash their rebellion in massive mobilizations, strikes, general strikes, uprisings,

against the crisis, against the "rescue plans", against the world system of wage exploitation, no longer exclusively in oppressed countries but also in the imperialist countries where the workers' movement reawakens, not only of the industrial workers but of all the workers against a system that is not even capable of supporting its wage slaves, strangled by the imperialist parasite that appropriates all the social product.

The extension and depth of the world contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie reveal that capital is a social relationship where - for the first time in the agony of capitalism - the owners of capital and the owners of the job are face to face; fact of utmost importance for the World Proletarian Revolution, but of little interest to many revolutionary communist comrades, tied to the analysis of another previous period, which no longer corresponds to the current world reality and the perspective towards which objective trends of society point.

This is a great divergence between the Maoist Leninist Marxists, about what is the main world contradiction at present: between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, or between the oppressed countries and the imperialist countries.

Independently of the wishes and the will, the undervaluation of the world contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is wrong and out of focus position in the political, idealistic in the ideological, and common with the post-MLM revisionism of the PCR, EU whose underestimation of the weight of the proletariat derives from the denial of its leading role in the World Proletarian Revolution."

The anathema of the communist pontiffs of France and Belgium indicates that exits two tendencies within the Maoist Leninist Marxists have led the movement to ruin, and qualify without further arguments: the first, of wanting to "make Gonzalo a classic from Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in an abstract-formal approach (...) a stereotypical style led to this tendency to deny the Covid-19 crisis, to see it as a kind of bourgeois conspiracy to mask the crisis and strengthen political and police control"; the second, in the case of the Maoist Communist Party of Italy, of having "a syndicalist-populist approach" which they miss talking about "the people's war" when before "it seemed to him simply anarchism" the armed struggle being waged there, and the case of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Canada, "openly assumes that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is an entirely secondary event, much less important, for example than the Chinese revolution that culminated in 1949." A trend "that is part of a union-populist approach, without any depth, without any breadth."

Immediately, the comrades were condemned as heretics! And not because there are not some deviations or misconceptions in the condemned comrades, but the comrades in their pontifical style, simply take out a phrase to utter their condemnation, thereby only showing their ideological poverty. Then they pass another sentence, also highlighted in bold:

"We affirm that there are three lines in the movements that claim to be Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. There is the opportunist line of the left, which proposes a turnkey ideology in which Gonzalo would be the universal key to do what we want as we want, which is leftism. There is a right-wing opportunist who wants to unite all Maoists regardless of ideological content. Finally, there is the correct line that makes the teachings of Gonzalo and the Communist Party of Peru the correct interpretation of Maoism and advocates the formation of guiding thoughts to go to the people's war".

To begin with, the communist pontiffs show here their lack of dialectics and their mechanistic Marxism, since the two-line struggle is inherent in our movement; that means, the tendencies and nuances do not exist outside of Marxism, Leninism, Maoism, but rather they fight within the International Communist Movement itself.

Indeed, there is a "leftist" line based on the belief that "the teachings of Gonzalo and the Communist Party of Peru" are the "correct interpretation of Maoism and advocates the formation of guiding thoughts to go to the people's war", in whose bosom there are also nuances; one of whom is represented by the communist pontiffs who signed the declaration, another is represented by the comrades of Brazil and Germany, and other comrades are halfway there; they all have in common to claim the correct interpreters of the teachings of Gonzalo Thought and the PCP.

This needs to be specified to differentiate comrades and comrades from those who also in the name of "the teachings of Gonzalo Thought and the Communist Party of Peru" supported the "letters of peace" and championed the Right Opportunity Line - LOD, which also has followers among some organizations that also call themselves Maoist Leninist Marxists, as is the case of the "Maoist Communist Party of Colombia, but who are people who are no longer part of our movement, precisely because they abandoned the ideological basis of Marxism.

There is also a correct line that during all these years has fought both against right opportunism and against "leftist" deviations; it is a line that has not sought to become a "red fraction" because it accepts the fight of lines as something necessary and beneficial for the development of our movement; and various parties and organizations at different times have played a prominent role, as is the case with the comrades of the Communist Party of Maoist India, and others modestly as in the case of the Communist Workers' Union (MLM) of Colombia against the act of betrayal in Nepal and to Prachandist and Avakianist revisionism.

As is only natural, within this line there are also nuances.

Finally, in the middle of these two lines, there are comrades halfway, but in general, our movement has managed the fight against the main danger, right opportunism or revisionism and conciliatory centrism, reaching to differentiate the field over the years from the Maoist Leninist Marxists of all kinds of opportunists.

Recognizing this situation is part of the application of dialectical materialism to the analysis of the phenomenon, where the depreciation made by the communist pontiffs of France and Belgium have no place because they start from subjectivism. On the contrary, Marxism Leninism Maoism allows us to understand that the existence of diverse tendencies and nuances within our movement, do not obey the bad assimilation of the "teachings of Gonzalo Thought and the Communist Party of Peru", but to the changes in the objective situation, the evolution of imperialism in recent decades and the sharpening of its contradictions, disagreements in evaluating the experience of our movement and understanding the deeper causes of defeat in China. Issues on which it is necessary to promote the study, research and the fight of opinions that the MRI never addressed, and a large part of the MLM Parties and organizations have avoided, problems that are decisive in advancing the unity of the communists towards a new regrouping.

In this regard, the silence of the parties and organizations face of the *Proposal for the Formulation of a General Line for the Unity of the International Communist Movement*, presented by the Communist Workers' Union (MLM) in 2016, shows not only the contempt for solving the

fundamental problems of the World Proletarian Revolution but also the dogmatic and sectarian attitude, in addition to confusion and nationalism. There has not been a solid argument against what was raised there, except for some critical ideas from the comrades of "Reconstitution of Communism" in Spain, which in addition to not being correct, have not deserved an answer because the comrades do not share the basis of unity from the Maoist Marxist Leninists; they, like Avakian, and as the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) already did, believe that "new communism" must be "done", "re-founded" or "rebuilt".

But instead of making some serious reference to serious arguments, instead of making the effort to understand the dialectical materialism of the unity of the communists, the communist pontiffs only manage to complain and incidentally attack us with a gratuitous insult:

"It is a great pity that Prachanda's international refutation did not extend politically to the point of becoming an international unit. It is necessary to underline here the damaging role of the UOC (MLM) of Colombia, which yesterday denounced the Maoist Communist Party of Italy as centrist and finally became one of its vassals"

"There's none so deaf as those who will not hear and none so blind as those who will not see", says popular wisdom and the communist pontiffs locked in their schismatic reverie, are not able to warn that there was indeed a BIG BREAK and that the struggle of the communists (in which they also participated) prevented Prachanda's revisionist platform and especially Avakian's from imposing itself in the MCI.

The lack of dialectic of the comrades prevents them from noticing that several comrades, who initially adopted centrist positions of conciliation with Prachandism, definitively broke with it and some even bravely and publicly admitted their mistakes, as is the case of the Galician comrades. UOC (MLM) has not changed its firm ideological and correct political positions, but the wrong comrades who have rectified which is a source of joy for the Maoist Leninist Marxists of all countries, this bothers to the communist pontiffs because they do not see beyond their noses. For those who are not scared by the insulting words, as well as for comrades who are not familiar with the events of recent years, it is necessary to do a bit of history, for which we apologize in advance regarding the length of the quotes.

On February 17, 2007, the companions of France, who now pontificate wrote in "On the subject of Nepalese revisionism and the international communist movement"

"What happened next was of greater importance. There have been, since June 2006, documents from the Communist Party of India (Maoist), which criticized the prospect of "peace accords" in Nepal. There were also, from the second half of 2006, the numerous pronouncements of the Communist Workers' Union (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) of Colombia.

The UOC (MLM) of Colombia had the just initiative to seek to precisely identify Nepalese revisionism and rightly calls for Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communists to unite under a real red flag. Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communists must support this initiative.

Likewise, it is clear that within this process, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) has a great role to play, as much as the Communist Party of Peru, since the fact that the Nepalese revisionism began to expose itself when attacked the people's war in Peru.

As the UOC (MLM) did in its call to the proletariat of all countries and the Marxist Leninist Maoists, we have to lay the foundations for a new definition, to guide the international communist movement, within the grandiose perspective of the world revolution."

On August 31st, 2016, the call was published in Workers' Revolution: Let's unite and draw a clear line of demarcation between Marxism and revisionism!" which had been sent by the UOC Executive Committee (MLM) in April 2013 to the following parties and organizations:

To the signatories to the Joint Declaration of December 26th, 2011 **THE INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF COMMUNISTS DEMANDS THE DEFEAT OF REVISIONISM AND CENTRISM!**

Arabia – Maoistes Arab, Argentina – PCP Maoísta, Bangladesh – Party Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Estado Español – Colectivo Odio de Clase, PC MLM de Francia, Partido Comunista del Ecuador Sol Rojo, Perú – Base Mantaro Rojo, Panamá – PC (ML) Panamá, Colombia – UOC MLM

To the signatories of the Joint Declaration of December 26th, 2012 **THE INTERNATIONAL UNITY OF COMMUNISTS DEMANDS THE DEFEAT OF AVAKIANIST REVISIONISM, CENTRISM AND ALL FORMS OF REVISIONISM!**

Afghanistan - MLM Workers Organization (PM), Arabia - Maoistes Arab, Bangladesh - Party Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Belgique - Center MLM, Ecuador - Communist Party of Ecuador - Red Sun, Spanish State - Hatred of Class, Spanish State - PERUCRPM and Reconstruction Group, Spanish State - Red Flag Communist Organization, Panama - PC (ML) Panama, Peru - Mantaro Rojo Base Committee, Colombia - UOC MLM

To other Marxist Leninist Maoist parties and organizations:

Afghanistan - Communist Maoist Party of Afghanistan, Germany - New Peru, Brazil - Revolutionary Front, Colombia - Maoist Organization of Colombia, Ecuador - Reconstruction PC of Ecuador MLM, Spanish State - Great March towards Communism, Spanish State - Proletarian Revolution, State Spanish - UCCP, India - Free speech, Mexico - Lijuc Gran Marcha, Communist Party of Turkey / Marxist-Leninist (TKP / ML) And also, he was personally sent to some Comrades from various countries.

As seen among the signatories of those correct statements, there are the now Communist pontiffs and among the serious arguments that were expressed there and that the comrades now ignore them were the following:

*"The Joint Declarations of December 26, 2011, and 2012, and the pronouncements of various parties against pseudo-MLM revisionism, already contain and express a common basis of unity in the principles, which enables the Maoist Leninist Marxists to unite to draw a clear line of demarcation between Marxism and the main revisionist danger.

The Communist Workers' Union (MLM) considers that the Maoist Leninist Marxists today have "a general identity with a base of unity characterized by recognizing the historical merits of the MRI and accepting its defeat at the hands of revisionism; for the commitment to fight for the unity of the Maoist Leninist Marxists in the MCI on condition of a deep demarcation with revisionism and conciliatory centrism; for the defense of the fundamental principles of Marxism Leninism Maoism on the class struggle, the State, the revolution, the historical role of the masses, the path of revolutionary violence of the armed masses to overthrow the old State, the historical need for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat including semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries in the form of the New Democracy State, the need to continue the revolution under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, imperialism as the last highest stage of capitalism and the prelude to socialism, the expiration of the democratic revolution bourgeois old type, the validity of the World Proletarian Revolution and the leading role of the proletariat in it, the necessity of the Party as a political detachment and superior form of organization of the proletariat, the inevitability of crises in capitalism, the danger of war world, the revolutionary role of wars and crises as it happens with the present"*.

He added about the correct method to fight for unity:

*“Consolidate the general base of the unity of the Maoist Leninist Marxists treating their differences (including differences of principle) consciously practising the **method of Unity - Struggle - UNITY, as contradictions within the people.** Without this method and **without the common thread of a General Line** to discuss and take a position on essential questions, the fight over everything and against everyone will cease to be a fight for the unity of the Communists, and will end up undermining the task of defeating and isolate the main revisionist danger.”*

And it ended:

“In charge of the international unity of the communists, the commitment and fundamental struggle of the Communist Workers' Union (MLM) is for the New International.

*In this perspective, in these years the UOC (MLM) has proposed to contribute to the theoretical defeat of pseudo-MLM revisionism and to contribute to the elaboration of a **proposal for a General Line for the unity of the International Communist Movement.**”*

As can be seen, consequent with its words, its line, and its plan, the UOC (MLM) submitted that proposal to the Marxist Leninist Maoist movement for discussion in 2016.

And as the facts demonstrate, the Joint International Declarations of recent years signed by the UOC (MLM) are correct and make no concessions to revisionism, centrism, or "leftism". The world has changed for the good of the revolutionary Marxist line and this has been of great importance for the advance of the revolution, but the communist pontiffs cannot notice it.

The commitment of the Communist Workers' Union (MLM) with the International Communist Movement and with the World Proletarian Revolution, have their orientation that corresponds to the understanding of the development of contradictions and only have to do with the struggle between right and wrong within our movement. Hence the insult that the UOC (MLM) became a vassal of the PCMI is an offence that only denotes the visceral hatred of the communist pontiffs for the comrades in Italy and the great bourgeois European disdain for a small organization in a small country, which according to the "wisdom" of those pontiffs is "semi-feudal and semi-colonial". In this same anti-Marxist tone of the "know-it-all", the spiel against the Communist Workers Union (MLM) continues:

“It must be seen that the failure of the UOC (MLM) is all the more damaging since this organization had the qualities of its defects. He did not understand the notion of semi-feudalism, semi-colonialism and mistakenly considered his country, Colombia, as capitalist. However, this reflected a very fine observation of the development of agro-industrial (bureaucratic) capitalism in his own country. The UOC (MLM) should have played a major role ideologically in the current crisis, due to the nature of the crisis. But since he has been arrogant with the subject of animals and climate change, he has not adequately grasped the city/country contradiction, he has failed to make a qualitative leap that would have been of great value”

A statement contrary to his sentence of lines below where they stand out with the usual bold:

“The basic problem of each country is the question of assimilating the principles of dialectical materialism and the concrete study of reality from a revolutionary subjectivity that recognizes the dignity of the real”

Precisely, the scientific rigour of the Communist Workers' Union (MLM) led him to conclude, after the examination of Colombian society that this was a capitalist and semi-colonial country. In other words, to recognize the real capitalism that developed in an oppressed country, renouncing empty doctrinal formulations that seek to frame reality to empty formulas. That is the dialectical materialist method that allowed him, from the class position of the proletariat, to conclude that the

claim to make a New Democracy Revolution in this country is an illusory reactionary petty-bourgeois aspiration. This is the depth of the revolutionary conclusions of daring to **recognize the dignity of the real**.

Concerning the development of capitalism in oppressed countries, it is necessary to quote, once again apologizing to the reader, what was said in the *Proposal for the Formulation of a General Line for the Unity of the International Communist Movement*:

“To condition, the revolution of the proletariat in the oppressed countries to an alleged capitalist development similar to that of the imperialist countries is to revive the rotten revisionist theory of the "productive forces", opposed to the proletarian revolution burying a dying system. It ignores that oppressed countries, even those with elemental conditions of industrial development, have been incorporated into an internationalized mode of production and that imperialism has become a world system of financial enslavement.

In the oppressed country, capitalism is a mode of production that interweaves, influences, undermines and tends to dominate the surviving precapitalist modes of production, all integrated into the country's social-economic formation, united to the world economy by the internationalization of capital.

*The capitalism of an oppressed country is an aspect of the world mode of production, **an aspect of imperialist capitalism**, therefore, subjected to its inevitable economic crises and bearer of the fundamental peculiarity of modern capitalism "**the domination of the monopoly associations of the big businessmen**" It is **component and dependent** of a dying world system of oppression and exploitation. It is monopoly capitalism closely linked to world financial capital, only marked by the deep marks of the shackles of semi-colonial dependence, imperialist parasitism, and its tendencies: both to stagnation, to violently and artificially contain technical progress, the pace of growth of certain branches of production, including the entire economy of the oppressed country; as to accelerate their development - **the most general tendency under imperialism** - by accentuating the decomposition of the peasantry, sweeping away vestiges of precapitalist modes of production, or assimilating them, and even in some cases reinforcing them, but always subjecting them to the needs of world production, of the realization of surplus-value, the accumulation and global centralization of capital.*

*Denying the existence of the capitalist mode of production in oppressed countries, claiming to be "strange capitalism", "not national but artificially introduced by imperialism", "no producer of capital goods", "no articulated national market", "no classic "... means moving away from Marxism along the path of the already defeated 19th-century Russian populist petty-bourgeois theories, unable to objectively study the laws of operation and development of the oppressed country's social-economic regime, to which the capitalist mode of production is not exported, but capital, which acts and influences its germs and capitalist development originated in the economic process of the ancient feudal society. The considered "defects" of capitalism in oppressed countries are the characteristics of semi-colonial dependency and its role in the world economy; they do not suppress the **essential characteristics** of all capitalism: production of merchandise under a regime where accumulated capital buys and exploits wage labour of free workers.*

The rise of capitalism in the bowels of the old feudal society of oppressed countries is an economic law recognized by Lenin, Stalin, and Mao. The capitalist predominance in the social-economic formation of some oppressed countries was admitted by some Leninist Marxists in the 60s of the

last century and timidly by the Maoist Leninist Marxists of the 80s. The complete dominance of the capitalist mode of production over the other modes of production in the social-economic formation of oppressed countries, becoming the determinant of the capitalist character of their society, it is a real phenomenon of the last and current period in the dying phase of capitalism, accelerated and highlighted by the economic crisis of world capitalism unleashed in the dawn of the new century. Even so, except in exceptional cases, this undeniable trend is still ignored by the revolutionary communists and reason for fierce struggle among their ranks.

It is not only a problem with the scientific method of investigation for the strict knowledge of reality, seeking the truth in the facts; It is above all a fight against theories that are foreign to Marxism, which has influenced the ranks of Marxists since the 60s of the last century, passing directly from the social democratic economic literature to being erected as a "Marxist guide" to know the reality of the economic social formation of the oppressed countries.

*Foreign theories to Marxist political economy, which serve the reactionary conjugation between the material — economic — interest of the small owner and the opportunistic political commitment auxiliary to imperialism on its deathbed. They are the theories of the fear of recognizing the sign of modern times in the proletarian revolution and the proletariat the gravedigger of imperialism. They are the theories of the petty-bourgeois propensity to "look back," denying not only the existence of capitalism in oppressed countries but also capitalism's historical victory over feudalism, on which the world's maximum program of proletariat proclaimed in the **Communist Party Manifesto**.*

*Longing for the return or the existence of an "independent and monopoly national capitalism" under imperialism is an absurd contrast to the reality of the integration into the world economy of all the old isolated national economies, and contrary to recognizing in imperialism the superior and last phase of capitalism, after which only the socialism of the World Proletarian Revolution follows. To deny capitalist development in oppressed countries, under the pretext of its dependent, unequal, unbalanced, and unclassified character is to ignore the nature of imperialism and the essence of its semi-colonial domination: real economic and political dependency, at the exclusive service of increasing accumulation and world imperialist centralization of capital, and against the masses and the progress of society in oppressed countries, whose disjointed and unbalanced development is an articulated pinion in the **great chain** of the world economy, imperialist world production and world market.*

Limiting the development of capitalism to the peasant revolutionary path - of the bourgeois revolution - ignoring the slow, painful reactionary landowning path for the peasantry, but the most common under imperialism, is to "forget" the ABC of Marxism on the agrarian question, "forgetfulness" that leads to the awarding of a fantastic "evolution of feudalism or semi-feudalism", both the unbalanced decomposition of the peasantry in the oppressed countries —almost always accelerated by blood and fire—, as well as the unbalanced concentration of the population and misery in the great cities, ignoring in the great division between the city and the countryside a necessary condition for the development of the capitalist mode of production, a great inequality typical of capitalism that only socialism can create the conditions to eliminate it."

Furthermore, there is no arrogance when considering the problem of the contradiction between society and nature (not "with the issue of animals and climate change") in its proper dimension, as expressed by the Program for the Revolution in Colombia and the *Proposal for the Formulation of the One Line for the Unity of the International Communist Movement* already mentioned above; on

the contrary, the UOC (MLM) starts from the humble recognition already expressed by Federico Engels in *The part played by labour in the transition from Ape to Man*:

“And in fact with every day that passes we are learning to understand its laws more correctly and getting to know the more immediate and also the more remote consequences of our interference in the usual course of nature. Especially since the mighty advances made in the natural sciences in the present century, we are in a better and better position to know and, hence, to control even the more remote natural consequences of at least our most ordinary productive activities. But the more this happens, the more will men not only once more feel but also know their oneness with nature, and the more impossible will become the senseless, unnatural idea of an antagonism between mind and matter, man and nature, soul and body which arose in Europe after the decline of classical antiquity and which obtained its most elaborate expression in Christianity.

(...)

However, to carry out this control requires more than just knowledge. A revolution is needed that completely transforms the mode of production that exists until today and, with it, the current social order.”

Later, and regarding the recognition of the **dignity of the real**, the comrades continue in the declaration and with the same already familiar bold:

“This constitutes the basis for the generation of guiding thought that guides communist commitment in class struggles that, by definition, have a national framework”

Precisely, a dialectical anti-Marxist and anti-materialist theory fought by Marxism from its founders to the present day. A theory that corresponds to the old bourgeois ideas about the "supreme saviours" and the superstitious faith in the "geniuses" who "illuminate" the struggle of the masses with their "thoughts", "ways" and "new syntheses"

That is the "Maoist" version of the cult of personality, which was directly criticized by the Masters of the world proletariat: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, who clearly expressed their rejection of everything that contributed to the superstitious prostration before any authority.

This is clearly expressed in the *Proposal for the Formulation of a General Line for the Unity of the International Communist Movement*:

“Committees and not individuals direct the Party at all levels. Without leaders, the proletarian revolution cannot triumph, but they are historical products that materialize the application of Marxism Leninism Maoism to the study of reality and the transformation of the world, into a program, a tactic and an organization, and not as ideas from heaven to the brilliant heads of almighty bosses”

The Maoist Marxist Leninist theory of chiefs is opposed to the cult of personality of the so-called "guiding thoughts", "ways" and "synthesis" coined in the MRI; this anti-Marxist conception of the bosses, in the MRI's own experience, was found to lead to revisionism, the disaster of the communist organization and the defeat, resignation or surrender of the revolution. From these anti-Marxist theories derives the peregrine prediction that the Party of the proletariat will not be able to build itself, it will not be able to successfully lead the revolution in a country, if it does not have a brilliant leader who gives national form and content to Marxism Leninism Maoism.

Opportunists have always been the defenders and promoters of the cult of personality: Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao, in socialist China; Arce Borja, in the Communist Party of Peru; Avakian, in the PCR, EU and the MRI. In the name of fighting the cult of Stalin's personality, the revisionists who slavishly promoted that cult during his life ended the achievements of socialist construction in Russia; in the name of Mao Tse-tung thought, the new bourgeoisie usurped power in China.

The current fight against pseudomaoist revisionism has forced this discussion about the glorification of the bosses again. The comrades of the Communist Party of India (Maoist) put it this way: The 'fight against dogmatism' has become a buzz phrase among many Maoist revolutionaries. They talk about rejecting the "outdated" principles of Lenin and Mao and developing MLM to the "new conditions" that have supposedly emerged in the world of the 21st century. Some of them describe their effort as 'enriching and developing' MLM as a new path or thought, although this is initially described as something confined to the revolution in the country in question, which at no time assumes an inexorable universal 'character' or of universal 'significance'. And in this exercise individual leaders are glorified and even deified to the point that they appear infallible. Such glorification does not help in the collective functioning of the party and party committees as a whole, since that line is never questioned, as long as it comes from the infallible individual leader. In such situation it is extremely difficult on the part of the CC [Central Committee], not to mention the cadres, to fight a serious deviation in the ideological-political line, or in the basic strategy and tactics even when it is clear that they are against the interests of the revolution. The 'cult of the individual' promoted in the name of the way and of thought provides a degree of immunity to deviation from the line if it emanates from that individual leader" (Open letter to the Communist Party of Nepal Unified (Maoist) from the Communist Party of India (Maoist), Central Committee - July 20, 2009)"

And to finish this refutation of the communist pontiffs of France and Belgium, it is necessary to make at least an allusion to another phrase characteristic of "leftism" within the Maoist Leninist Marxists, and also highlighted in bold in the Declaration of the Comrades: **PEOPLE'S WAR UNTIL COMMUNISM!**:

An affirmation of those who claim to defend the historical importance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, which developed, not through the People's War but through the revolutionary mobilization of the masses in the massive criticism of the followers of the capitalist path and whose purpose was to banish them from all leadership positions, both in the State and in the Party.

People's War to Communism is an empty and false "leftist" phrase. Because it is not part of the teachings of the historical experience of the construction of socialism, the first stage of communism, and because it does not correspond to the development of the class struggle in the march towards communism.

In socialism, as a stage of transition to communism, where there are still classes and class struggles, where still, according to Mao, it is not known who will win, there is a need for organized violence, for the State that is no longer properly a State, according to Lenin in the *State and the Revolution*: "There is still necessary (...) a special apparatus, a special machine for suppression, the "state", is still necessary, but this is now a transitional state. It is no longer a state in the proper sense of the word; for the suppression of the minority of exploiters by the majority of the wage slaves of yesterday is comparatively so easy, simple and natural a task that it will entail far less bloodshed than the suppression of the risings of slaves, serfs or wage-labourers, and it will cost mankind far less. And it is compatible with the extension of democracy to such an overwhelming majority of the population that the need for a special machine of suppression will begin to disappear. Naturally, the exploiters are unable to suppress the people without a highly complex machine for performing this task, but the people can suppress the exploiters even with a very simple "machine", almost without

a “machine”, without a special apparatus, by the simple organization of the armed people (such as the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, we would remark, running ahead).”

Lenin's words in his Salute to the Hungarian workers on May 27, 1919, are forceful:

“But the essence of proletarian dictatorship is not in force alone, or even mainly in force. Its chief feature is the organization and discipline of the advanced contingent of the working people, of their vanguard; of their sole leader, the proletariat...”

The State of Dictatorship of the Proletariat, about which the "leftists" refer very little is no longer properly a State, insofar as the functions of the government increasingly become matters of the administration of social things (planning and control), perfectly achievable by the masses and officials without any privilege, eligible and removable at any time; and where the central pillar of the state machine, the professional army needed by the parasitic classes to crush the vast majority, is made unnecessary by replacing it with the people in arms; consequently, war becomes a thing of the past, except to face foreign aggression or carry out international war.

Concerning the new type of state, the "forgetfulness" of the teachings of the Paris Commune by the communists is where the main error and the deepest cause of the defeat of the proletariat in Russia and China, especially, keep on maintaining a special army separated from the masses, which in China was not touched by the Cultural Revolution, becoming an instrument in the hands of the new bourgeoisie to crush the people and allow them to restore capitalism.

But going back to the phrase of the "people's war until communism", it is clear that to the extent that the proletariat triumphs in more and more countries that the socialist camp is expanded and that all countries are dragged into the revolution, the people's war will also be extinguished, along with the State; to the point that when the last bastion of the reaction falls, almost the next day, the rifles may be melted to be used to satisfy the needs of society. A rifle will no longer be needed to make any lazy man work or to change an inept official.

Therefore, one of the first institutions that are extinguished in the transition from socialism to communism, are armies and their reason for being, wars, caused by private property and the exploitation of some men by others.

In summary, Communist pontiffs should be more concerned with examining their anti-Marxist dogmas before condemning "heretics."

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