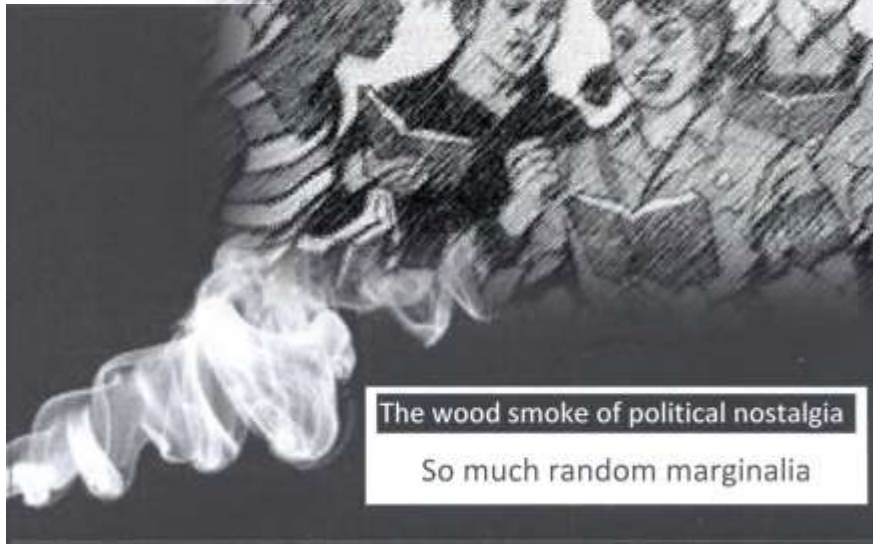


A Recap

_State of the Movement

July 2023

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Background

Global Maoism grew out of the anti-revisionist struggle. That quarrel grew in intensity and consequences from the late 1950s to mid-60s until marking a major demarcation in the international communist movement. The struggle against the new course initiated by the Soviet Union led to ideological division and political splits from the late 1950s in the international communist movement that remained until the end of the Soviet Union in 1991. The CPSU saw its leadership increasing diminished over the decades by dissident and autonomous behaviour among those institutionally aligned to Moscow. From the early opposition in the disputes arose an anti-revisionist trend associated with the ruling parties of Albania and China however it did not materialise on an organisational basis with a “[Beijing Centre](#)” to rebuild and lead component sections .

Components of this pro-China trend, as the anti-revisionists were more commonly labelled, were never as formalized and homogeneous as the pro-Soviet tendency with its international journals and multi-party meetings. The initial break with CPSU dominance saw the Albanian Party of Labour allied with the Communist Party of China. Other ruling parties maintained an uneasy neutralism. There was the exception of the Communist Party of Poland that arose from the ranks of the ruling revisionist parties, although oppositional groups were evident in the ‘Soviet bloc’. Only one Western classic communist party came out as anti-revisionist, the Communist Party of New Zealand. The pro-CPC movements were, after the initial split from the Moscow-line Communist Parties, in many cases in the industrialised nations, based amongst the wave of student radicalism that engulfed the world in the 1960s and 1970s. In the global south, smaller anti-revisionist parties as in Brazil and India, emerged. The anti-revisionist struggle was inspiration for newly re-established parties like in the Philippines and elsewhere,

mainstream communist parties in South-East Asia, like the Burmese Communist Party and Communist Party of Thailand, and some would argue, in Cambodia.

A new communist movement had arisen in the 1960s in opposition to Soviet endorsed revisionism. In its formative years during the polemical exchanges on the general line of the international communist movement, regardless of Albania's vocal and strident challenges against modern revisionism, the ideological leadership belonged to the Communist Party of China led by Mao Zedong. In the struggle against Khrushchev and his successors, the CPC were sensitive to the problem of the equality of parties. The Chinese leadership had suffered in the progress of the Chinese Revolutions the negative experiences of advice and pressure from the Soviet Party and Comintern, an intervention repeated by Wang Ming's contributions during the 1960s.

This well-known history is offered as an argument against efforts to institutionalise the emerging anti-revisionists organisationally. Even with fraternal aid and assistance, selected training opportunities in China and expression of solidarity and internationalism provided to friendly parties and, for some, funding via Albania, the Chinese mantra of self-reliance was over-riding. When the Albanian party was manoeuvring at its Fifth Congress in 1965 to consolidate the supporting Marxist-Leninists organisations into a more institutional arrangement, they did not have the CPC 's support.

Unlike the Albanian party who cultivated visits to the small Balkan state, from the 9th Congress in 1969, the Communist Party of China ceased its practice of inviting fraternal delegates from other parties to its congresses. The practice of sending delegates to other fraternal parties' gatherings was also discontinued. It could be argued that despite China supporting some revolutionary forces financially and through training in other countries in the 1960s and the early 1970s, the global impact was symbolic largely through lower-key, cultural dissemination and an emphasis on the ideological during the Cultural Revolution.. As the intensity of the Cultural Revolution waned in China bi-lateral visits were resumed however in the 1970s these included an eclectic range of invitees and clearly no moves were from Beijing to revive [a \(Maoist-orientated\) communist international](#).

Through the latter half of the last century international anti-revisionist organisational relationships were largely bi-lateral. There were opportunities, particularly at Albanian Party congresses for contact between MLs but largely they were of a nature that saw exchange of papers and tourist visits. Co-ordinated multi-party statements were rare. There were notable exceptions when small regional gatherings occurred: in Europe, the Nordic parties met but these were precisely that – exceptions. [e.g. Joint Meeting of Nordic Marxist-Leninists first-nordic.pdf \(marxists.org\)](#)

International Maoism was largely an expression of solidarity. There were very good reasons why, even in a pre-Internet age, an international network of MLs, exchanging ideas and perspectives, failed to take an institutional form.

The obvious sponsor of such a network refused to take on that task. While the **Party of Labour of Albania/ PLA** was more favourable to the idea of international structures [as it demonstrated in the late 1970s], the **Communist Party of China/ CPC** in Mao's time was

firmly against any resurrection of a Comintern-type organisation. China's ideological allies did not comprise an organised international bloc but maintained bilateral ties with the CPC. A relationship more suited to the Chinese argument for equality and non-interference in other parties' affairs. Although visits were less frequent at the height of the Cultural Revolution, there were still visiting revolutionaries combining tourism and training, local embassy contacts with local 'Friends of China', the distribution of China's publications and radio broadcasts to a global audience and reporting on struggles worldwide. There were political commentaries appearing taken as broad guidance by a receptive readership, notably "Long Live People's War". What there was not was a grand international gathering of strategic importance or an independent structured body where such questions could be addressed.

There was no impetus from China for the formation of a new international. There were a number of considerations that questioned the need for such an arrangement:

1. Such a centre would never be able to understand the concrete realities of revolution in each country
2. It would hinder the development of competent, self-reliant leadership in the different parties
3. On a practical level there was no capacity for the international coordination of the revolutionary movement, certainly neither Albania or China had the financial or personnel resources to sustain such an international
4. The unspoken objection was the experience of the Comintern itself whereby its policies became identified with the needs of the Soviet Union.

As the CPC had denounced the concept of a "Soviet camp", and sought to encourage the decline of the CPSU's hold on revisionist parties, and reassessed its foreign policy priorities, the prospect of creating a smaller, less influential rival international communist organisation diminished. Theoretical articles dealing with the problems of the communist movement in general largely disappeared and very little could be taken as organisational guidance for the anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninists organisations.

Who would a Maoist International recognise? There were Maoist groups internationally, and in each country usually several vying for approval and recognition from Beijing. Italy provides a typical example whereby the "recognised" pro-Chinese Communist Party of Italy (Marxist-Leninist) – **Partito Comunista d'Italia (marxista-leninists) / PCd'I(ml)** had at least seven rival ML groups and factions claiming a maoist allegiance. The Albanian party cultivated its friends and maintained a one country-one party policy that meant recognition once given to the 'vanguard party' was kept. Obviously during the 1960s and 70s a great many organisations uncritically adopted the positions of both the Albanian and Chinese policies, not a bad thing if agitating around the issue of natural justice for Albania over its confiscated gold reserves held in Western nations, however the negative side could be (and was) the lack of independent examination of the vital questions of revolution, especially since there was an objective difference – and all too obvious – in the role of China as a developing socialist state and the tasks of pushing the revolution forward in specific countries. In terms of foreign policy this was starkly seen when the "three World theory" was taken up and championed by supportive-China organisation

while others, in the light of Albanian opposition that went further in denouncing Mao Zedong Thought, followed the Albanian baton.

A number of small Marxist-Leninists delegations had continued to visit China, such as the **Communist Party of Australia (ML)/ CPA (ML)**, however the CCP openly began to mend fences with more independent minded revisionists seen in the visit by the PCE – **Partido Comunista de Espana** - led Santiago Carrillo in 1971. By 1977, Tito was welcomed to Beijing. Albanian foreign policy initiatives' such as the diplomatic relations with the Greek military junta provoked less adverse comments.

Visits by ML organisations to China were easily out-numbered by the visits of bourgeois political personalities [the disgraced Richard Nixon and former Prime Minister Edward Heath to name but two] who were given greater official prominence in China's media. Some disquiet as the seeming neglect of 'Friends of China' did quietly emerge. Still, when Mao died in September 1976 over a hundred Maoist organisations telegraphed their sorrow at the loss of the Great Helmsman using varying degrees of Maoist sentiments and phraseology.

Hoxhism onto CIPOML

It was in the post Mao era that saw first destruction, then the beginnings of any stirring towards international co-ordination after the movement splintered along ideological fissures.

A substantial break was the defection to the Albanian sponsored perspective expressed in the PLA's 7th report and Enver Hoxha's attack first upon China's foreign policy stance, the Three Worlds Theory, and then followed up by condemnation of Mao Zedong as anti-Marxist.

The Albanian leaders praised Mao Zedong in the most extravagant and even sycophantic terms up to and after his death in 1976. *"The work of this outstanding Marxist-Leninist represents a contribution to the enrichment of the revolutionary theory and practice of the proletariat. The Albanian communists and people will always honour the memory of comrade Mao Zedong who was a great friend of our Party and people."* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, November 1976

"Comrade Mao Zedong was an outstanding thinker and theoretician of Marxism-Leninism, who continued the brilliant work of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. To him belongs the merit of the elaboration, defence and application of the general line of the Communist Party of China in the revolution and the socialist construction. He personally led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China and directed the struggle for smashing the counter-revolutionary revisionist traitor groups of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao, Teng Hsiao-ping and other enemies of the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China." (Message of Condolences from Albanian to Chinese Party and State leaders, 9 September, 1976

"The Marxist-Leninist ideas of Comrade Mao Zedong on continuously carrying out class struggle in socialist society, on the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads, and on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat are an immensely

valuable and creative contribution to the theory of scientific socialism... His works on anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggles contain theses of tremendous value, both in theory and in practice, to the struggle against imperialism, especially against the two superpowers and their policies of aggression and war, and to the people of various countries engaged in movements for their own liberation.” Hysni Kapo, 17 September, 1976, at memorial meeting during Albania’s three days of national mourning for Mao Zedong

However, that quickly changed as from Albania we learn that Mao was a “bourgeois nationalist” and his foreign policy – Three World Theory - was an attempt to instigate war between the USA and USSR so that China could dominate a devastated world.

The Albanian intervention saw a consolidation of some forces around the Party of Labour of Albania with a series of regional rallies and joint statements (republished by the PLA) and delegations of the ML organisations participated in conferences in Albania as Radio Tirana informed the world about the strengthening threads of this new international constellation. [Albania Builds An International. Woodsmokeblog](#)

These groups precluded themselves from our consideration having chosen to isolate themselves in the citadel of Hoxhism. This characterisation, an informal descriptive term, used to refer to a variant of anti-revisionist Marxism-Leninism that coalesced in the late 1970s as the divisions solidified after the ideological divergent between the CPC and PLA.

In the split led by Enver Hoxha, some within the international communist movement focused their political allegiance exclusively on Tirana as there was an attempt by Albania to constitute an international. There were supporters in Latin America, such as one of the original anti-revisionist parties from the Sixties, the Brazilian, **Partido Comunista do Brasil /PCdoB** who published *Classe Operaria*, and **the Partido Comunista Marxista-leninista del Ecuador/ PCMLE** who published *En Marcha*. Critics would argue that the dogmatic – Comintern rooted Stalinists – found expression in the split led headed by Albania’s Enver Hoxha.

While it failed to find an organisational expression, the tendency faltered when Albania became engulfed in the general disintegration in Eastern Europe at the end of the 1980s. Some small pro-Albanian forces found expression in a rudimentary attempt after the demise of their state sponsor but failed to unite in a single international alignment. An international gathering saw the formation of the Hoxhist **CIPOML (Conferencia Internacional del Partidos y Organizaciones Marxista-Leninista)**. The Hoxhaist CIPOML was inaugurated in Quito, Ecuador in 1994 by parties formerly associated with the PLA. They adopted A Communist declaration to the Workers and Peoples of the World and went onto publish twice yearly the journal *Unity & Struggle*. Its content made it politically impossible to be confused with the co-existent **Marxistisch-Leninistischen Partei Deutschlands /MLPD**-inspired ICMLOP [International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organisations].

The PCdoB, one of the largest components of the Hoxhist trend, was active within CIPOML until 1992 when it abandoned the idea of reorganising around the pro-Albanian forces and broadened its relations with other parties which saw it re-establish relations with the ruling Chinese party.

One can set aside the individual call of Wolfgang Eggers, in December 2000 for the foundation of the new Communist International (Marxist-Leninist) and accompanying “19 Theses” dismissed by fellow Hoxhaist, Hari Kumar because “*Your approach lacks either common-sense or persuasive power or psychological insight, or, frankly, anything that can commend it*”. [The path towards a new communist Marxist-Leninist International by essentially old-style Stalinist and Hoxha supporters was explored by Kumar \(Alliance \(ML\) Issue No.19 1996\)](#)

The pro-Hoxhaists were still a divided tendency. The journals “*International Struggle / Marxist-Leninist*” and “*Unity & Struggle*” separately aimed to provide a common political platform for a new ML international that proved to have its strength in Latin America . There were 15 parties at the conference of Marxist-Leninist parties held in Quito in 1994, but only 12 approved the decision to continue meeting. The International seminar on problems of Revolution in Latin America initiated by the Quito conference has drawn from Maoist and Guevarist tendencies to discuss revolutionary strategies.

Still splits in the Hoxhist camp solidified as minor oppositional formations emerged in the International Struggle Marxist Leninist (ISML) grouping and Eggers’ minnow Comintern [ML] Stalinist-Hoxhaist who declared war on the ICMPLO and CIPOML.

The Crisis in the Global North

After the death of Chairman Mao, the nature of global Maoism had begun to change, as an ideology it became less reliant on the backing of a state actor and saw it rooted more deeply in an indigenous interrogation and application by activists drawing principally on their analysis of the Cultural revolution.

Whereas the various streams of Trotskyism had unsuccessfully attempted to construct their version of the 4th International from the 1940s to the present day, it was not until the pivotal year 1977 that Albania’s ruling communist party [serious attempt](#) was made to rally an alternative international movement. It was in the following decade that there were three substantive attempts to co-ordinate the international alignment of a fractious and diverse maoist constellation of organisations, one of which was self-consciously described itself as “the embryonic centre of the world’s Maoists” until its demise towards the end of the first decade of the new century.

Discordant voices were those with a predisposition to question China’s continuing socialist credentials. The policy changes in China had its effect of weakening the radical enthusiasm and support for what was developing in China since Mao died. While some were quick to denounce the arrest of the “Gang of Four” by the Hua/Deng regime and speak in terms of a counter revolutionary coup.

Those who defended Mao and the Cultural Revolution without endorsing the enhanced status of the Gang of Four, were a small number in the late 1970s seen in the actions of the **Marxistisch-Leninistischen Partei Deutschlands /MLPD** who republished in various languages their views and analysis. [\[The flavour of the time was seen when after the death of Mao Zedong, the Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany and its predecessor KABD \(Communist Workers' League of Germany\) analysed the revisionist development in China, documented in eight pamphlets published in the CHINA AKTUELL / "China Today" series, and made available online their analysis in English language editions, also posting excerpts from the series REVOLUTIONÄRER WEG on the restoration of capitalism in the People's Republic of China issue. CHINA Restoration of capitalism in the People's Republic of China\]](#)

Those whose allegiance remained with the CPC led by Hua Guofeng continued to form a much-reduced tendency. With the publication of the “Three Worlds theory” – seen as the strategic international line of the People’s Republic of China [and by default, pro-China organisations], there was a clearer break with former Albanian allies and their supporters and further fragmentation. Some could not survive the transition as a core of self-identifying pro-China groups were to spiral off into oblivion.

As the CPC re-established party-to-party links with revisionist parties the *raison d’être* of separate maoist organisation was questioned: what happened to the lines of demarcation against modern revisionism? In China these were abandoned consigned to the undiscussed past. There was the utter condemnation of the Cultural Revolution and the analysis made by Mao since the mid-1950s that fed the post-Mao disillusionment. Other than the subjective element, difficult to quantify, what was observable was the political discrepancies of policy and political rhetoric as post-Mao China projected images and policies in domestic and foreign policies that were in sharp contrast to those upon which a pro-Mao, pro-China identification had been originally built. The waning enthusiasm in the relationship was mutual with little encouragement and minimal coverage of the surviving “pro-China” groups from China, and the suppression in China of mass protest in 1989 further reduced those nominally “pro-Beijing” groups.

These gradually no longer expressed pro-Chinese sentiments (choosing not to identify with an emerging capitalist power, unlike some revisionist surviving groups) but retained and reflected an ideological identification with what they considered the canon of Mao Zedong Thought, such as **the Communist Party of the Philippines**.

The early 1980s had seen confusion, disorientation and collapse within a couple of years of seemingly strong parties in Canada (**Workers Communist party/WCP**), USA (**Communist Party Marxist-Leninist/ CPML**) and Germany (**Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands / KPD**), Spain (**Workers' Revolutionary Organisation / Organización Revolucionaria de los Trabajadores/ ORT**) and France (**Parti Communiste Marxiste-Leniniste / PCML**) sent shivers throughout the international movement and generated an awareness of a trend that developed whereby in the name of fighting dogmatism, a basic Leninist party building orientation was abandoned. As the Canadian WCP suggested, before succumbing to the same pressures,

“Rather than analysing its weakness in struggles and explaining and defending revolutionary positions, The KPD began question the possibility of revolution in Germany and, therefore, the need for a party to lead it.” *Interview with Roger Rashi , October (Spring1981) Journal of the (Canadian) Workers Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist):14*

There was a crisis in confidence expressed in March 1980 at the Third Congress of the KPD, when it voted for the dissolution of the organisation, “We know that we don’t have sufficient answers to decisive questions about today’s world situation and today’s task.” *Semler & Plato. ‘Resolution to the Third Party Congress of the KPD. Rote Fahne Nr 5/1980*

As organisations questioned past practices and policy positions, from the re-evaluation organisations fell under the impact of dissolution and ideological capitulation. Belden Fields records the explanation given in May 1982 by the French Maoist group, **Pour l’Internationale Proletarienne** for disbanding the group: because it had “dissipated itself in concrete tasks, not knowing how to transform the general orientation into well-

articulated activity corresponding to immediate reality.” A. Belden Fields. *Trotskyism and Maoism: Theory and Practice in France and the United States*. New York: Praeger. 1988

Many of the Maoist groups throughout Europe succumbed to society's *rechstruck* (jump to the right) that characterised the Eighties with former activists moving into mainstream politics rather than other left formations. Membership in the post-Mao years stagnated: **the Communist Union (KB)** lapsed into lethargy by 1983 advising its members in Hamburg to join the Greens. In Germany, the ideological disintegration of the K-Groups was due in no small part to their inability to withstand the ideological competition and confrontation with the environmental movement. *'The Liquidationist Tendency Within the Marxist-Leninist Movement'* adopted at the Second Congress of the **Party of Labour of Belgium /PVDA-PTB** in April 1983 spoke of the need for ideological consolidation and awareness of social democratic tendencies developing and disrupting ML forces.

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Further evidence of this trend was in neighbouring France. The attempted unification of the **PCML** and **PCRml** in 1979-80 failed after the abandonment of the publication of the daily newspaper (which kept the name) *'Le Quotidien du Peuple'* after being jointly published from January to April 1980. Each organisation went their separate ways: the PCRml becoming the PCR in 1981 and disappearing from the scene by 1983; the PCML suffers the same fate at its last Congress in June 1986.

The PCMLF that had supported the three world theory, moved near to social-democracy. The PCMLF, the result of a merger of the **Intervention Communiste** and **the Union Revolutionnaire Communistes de France/ URCF**, approach the Socialist Party and at its 6th Congress of the PCML - (June 1986) – dissolves itself, creating the **Parti Pour Alternative Communiste** - the 'Party for a Communist Alternative' /PAC.

Jacques Jurquet, outgoing political Secretary, but also former secretary-general and founder of the PCML, withdrew from PAC because of its orientation towards the French Socialist Party. Jurquet attributed the failure of the organisation to a liberalism that rejected the ideological fight and accelerated political degeneration by seeking agreement without the foundation of principles.

Second Contribution of Comrade Jacques Jurquet, March 23 1985
<http://membres.lycros.fr/edipro/Dohtml/presse/pcmlf/lutte/luttepcmlf.htm>. Accessed May 8 2003)

See: Jurquet, Jacques (2001) *À Contre-courant 1963-1986*. Introduction by Jean-Luc Einaudi. *Le Temps des Cerises*, Pantin These memoirs (in French) cover the years 1963-1986, in which he was one of the leading figures in the French Maoist movement. Jurquet sketched the issues and controversies within the French Communist Party, which led him to choose the Maoist course and become one of the founders and leaders of the PCMLF.

Some small groups survived, such as the Dutch organisation, **Groep Marxisten-Leninisten/ Rode Morgen** [[Rotterdam-based 'Marxist-Leninist Group/ Red Morning'] and **Communist League of Luxembourg** (*Kommunistischer Bund Luxemburg*) /**KOL** remaining with its founding Maoist principles but ceased activities in 1980. Others faded away: the lethargic **Revolutionary Communist League of Britain/ RCLB** quietly dissolved itself in April 1998 shortly after its last national gathering at the 1996 Hoxton conference. It had condemned the suppression of protestors during the Tian An Mein Square incident. Certainly the European movement had changed in composition and orientation.

1980s Changing stance of the Party of Labour of Belgium

Following Mao's death there was readjustment in the political judgement that witnessed a prominent realigning in the changing stance of the **Party of Labour of Belgium PTB/PVAD** that mirrored a similar re-evaluation seen in China under Deng Xiaoping. There was a downgrading of 'the Soviet threat' as America under President Regan [1981-1989] was seen as more aggressive and dangerous and the emphasis on "The Three Worlds Theory" faded and shifted to focus on American Imperialism. The PTB abandoned (as did the Deng Xiaoping's foreign policy) an analysis that Soviet Social Imperialism had become a superpower threat while maintaining criticism of hegemonic behaviour.

The PTB's reading of Gorbachev leadership saw in the changes an opening up; PTB leader and theoretician, Ludo Martens (1946-2011) self-critically advised that "the party and state in the Soviet Union are more complex phenomena than we had thought". By August 1987 the PTB/PVAD reversed its political judgement on the revisionist nature of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The PTB statement "Concerning Marxist-Leninist Unity" argued that communists could not "impose our idea of revisionism on all other parties" and that "we cannot demand that unity be based on this principle" (referring to Mao Zedong Thought).

What had evolved was the approach of the PTB, as expressed in 2004, that

"We continue to suffer from the regrettable splits in the past, which were due to important deviations, revisionist as well as sectarian and dogmatic. In fact, the unity of the communists is not just an option, but an obligation. We must move beyond the past, without burying the discussion about the differences and without asking anyone to give up what he considers as principled. But it is absolutely necessary that the unity over the tasks of the future gains precedence over the differences of the past."

The inclusion of self-declared communist forces into an internationalist co-operative relationship was seen (by the PTB) as essential components of rebuilding unity, the demarcation between Maoism and revisionism was regarded as a matter for the past; the overwhelming need was to consolidate the self-defined communist forces.

In 1985 the PTB had endorsed the principle of maintaining relations with communist parties "whose political line we consider as being right or left opportunist". The arguments for such all-encompassing, and for the Left non-sectarian practice, gradually emerged in response to both changes in Chinese policies and were reflective of an ecumenical approach embracing former opponents in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990.

Ludo Martens told an International Seminar to celebrate the centenary of Mao Zedong's birth in 1992, "Concerning the Soviet Union, Mao also formulated the concepts of state capitalism, dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and fascist dictatorship of the Hitler type. In our opinion all these qualifications did not correspond to concrete reality of the Soviet Union.... [Mao] made arbitrary extrapolation from some very real but partial aspects of Soviet reality. "Mao was charged with not studying the phenomenon and labelling the Soviet Union as revisionist and imperialist when "it was not there in 1969."

The PTB called for solidarity, support and mutual aid amongst all communists. In looking at the roots of the divisions, the PTB concluded that the judgement of revisionist degeneration pronounced in 1963 “have been over-hasty and ungrounded.”

From 1992, the PTB was active through the annual International Communist Seminars in trying to rally a wide encompassing definition of what constituted the international communist movement, inviting contributions and speakers from across the Left political spectrum, included those formerly consigned to the political margins as ‘enemies of the working class’.

The annual May Day International Communist Seminars [ICS] organized in Brussels by the Party of Labour of Belgium proved successful in attracting a wide audience from many different political heritages as the PTB increasingly diverged from their origins as part of the Maoist anti-revisionist Marxist Leninist movement. (Although there are exceptions as reportedly the RCP, USA were disinvited from the 1997 seminar and while Bill Bland was invited to Brussels in 1995 he was denied speaking rights.) Such projects set aside the clear lines of distinction drawn in the historic line struggles waged by the CPC and PLA against revisionism.

The ideological diversity attracted representatives of ruling parties from North Korea and Cuba to the Brussel meetings and while some parties became more vocal in support for the positions of Cuba and North Korea, neither ruling parties could construct a substantial international group recognising its authoritative ideological leadership, while Vietnam was seldom mentioned.

The argument is that revisionism in power collapsed, so “old disputes” should no longer be an obstacle to co-ordinating forces of organisations on the same side of the barricade: Repeatedly the belief was proclaimed that “Whatever one’s opinion about the correctness or necessity of these splits at a certain point in history, it is nowadays possible to overcome these divisions and to unite the Marxist-Leninist parties which are divided into different currents.” [Proposal from Parti Du Travail of Belgium and the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks \(AUCPB\)](#). See also: [1995 | Ludo Martens | On certain aspects of the struggle against revisionism - For the unity of all communists, in defence of proletarian internationalism](#)

The inability to agree on the past has consequences

The PTB issued ‘Proposals for the Unification of the International Communist Movement’ in May 1995 co-sponsored with the **All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks (AUCPB)**, as a means to encourage a process of theoretical and political realignment. Others continued to see such forces as those responsible for the initial divisions and destruction of the communist movement.

Different Leftist currents exist for a reason, and that heritage has a legacy in that each current offer contending analysis and perspectives. So, when one speaks about Khrushchev’s revisionism and the restoration of capitalism under Gorbachev and avoids the Brezhnev period when analysis inspired by Mao suggests that the Soviet Union had been thoroughly converted into a “Social Imperialist” entity. Disputes about the class nature of the Soviet Union is passed over and differences retained in the interests of

pragmatic unity. Taking an agnostic stance on the merits of previously secured historical clarity is not attributed to other Leftists currents that would argue for an earlier date for the degeneration of the revolutionary project; outside the big tent are Trotskyists, left communists and anarchist currents. The Proposals were that such divisions can be overcome because they were now mere historical disputes as if those past judgements made were immaterial and without consequences or legacy: so what, dismissing the past realities of Tito's Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia⁶⁸, Afghanistan, Three World Theory, the Cultural Revolution, military role in Poland, Soviet foreign policy, Hoxha's denunciation of former ally, Mao, Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea, invasion of Afghanistan etc.

The drive for internationalist solidarity that means the unity of views and actions may be for some a form of revolutionary nostalgia, sentimentally privileging the past at the expense of present concerns and the emotional reconstitution and preservation of revered histories. Against them is a past limiting progressive potential of a greater left unity, the idea of many forces on "our side" of the barricades facing a greater enemy. However, these "old disputes" involved political positions that were and are important: if they were wrong, mistaken or right affects subsequent decisions and notions of solidarity that were represented in past actions.

1990s: A decade of many international conferences

The 1990s was a busy decade that saw a repolarization of the international communist movement with rekindled interest in the need to regroup and coordinated communist parties in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact alliance. There has been a number of projects aimed at providing some kind of vehicle for unity of different organisation which self-declare their Marxist-Leninist commitment. These different streams, different venues, different organisations, were different and separate multilateral attempts to coalesce forces around a common position dependent of their ideological outlook. A partial listing illustrates the range of the scramble to overcome the deficiency, symbolic and practical, in their internationalist commitment.

1992+ Brussels annual May Day seminars

April 1992 Pyongyang Declaration

September 1992 Stuttgart Conference of 9 Marxist-Leninist parties from Europe

Essen 1993 – General Declaration on Mao Zedong Thought

September 1993 International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Dr Abimael Guzmán (IEC)

November 1993 European multilateral meeting of ML parties

December 1993 Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism! The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement declares that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism must be the commander and guide of the world revolution.

1994 Moscow Stalin today seminars

August 1994 Quito ICMLPO founding (journal “Unity & Struggle”)

March 1995 Ischia Conference (journal “International Struggle / Marxist-Leninist”)

May 1995 PTB Unity Proposals

May 1995 Sochi Statement at Anti-Imperialist Convention India, Socialist Unity Centre of India

July 1995 *Unity & Struggle* No.1

November 1997 Leningrad Declaration

1997 London - 2nd Conference “International Struggle / Marxist-Leninist”

December 1998 International seminar on Mao and People’s War

June 2001 Nine party declaration on formation of Co-ordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organisations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA) by RIM associates.

Drawing a line under the past may seem an attractive proposition in the face of a “common enemy”; not so attractive if they are strategically regarded as accomplices of that enemy. It is a different matter of co-operating and co-ordinating with co-thinkers than that of tactically working in alliance with a diverse (and often temporary) coalition of forces. Reserving judgement can disguise the suppression of genuine revolutionary positions. Do we now ignore those questions: Was the Soviet Union capitalist? Is China capitalist?

Not all parties fell in line behind the view that previous categorisation of the Soviet Union, as an aggressive capitalist power, was incorrect. In 1985, the Norwegian **AKP (ML)** reasserts the analysis of “the imperialist class content of the Soviet government administration”, and did not accept the view of the foreign policy as “only the result of ‘erroneous policy’ of great-power chauvinism.” Lysetol, Peder Martin (1985). *The Soviet Union: Advanced Capitalism. Class Struggle – AKP (ML) International Bulletin – No17, July 1985 p10-12* The following year, the **MLPD** organised an international “trial” against ‘social Imperialism and Modern Revisionism’ in Hamburg on March 15 1986 with 36 hours of testimony from 100 witnesses from 18 countries. On Charge –30 Years of betrayal of Socialism. Documentary film of the International Tribunal against social Imperialism and Modern Revisionism, 1986 62 min., colour video Verlag Neuer Wag

MLPD - ICMLPO to ICOR

The **Marxistisch–Leninistische Partei Deutschlands/ MLPD** remained an open critic of this strategy. Arguing that the PTB’s “neo-revisionism” blurred lines of political demarcation

and served to rehabilitated the post-56 Soviet Union and its policies, by setting aside the historical ideological concerns of the polemics “anti-revisionism”, it undervalued the contribution of Mao with regards to theoretical understanding of the class restoration, and advances made within the Cultural Revolution.

While the PTB saw loss in the events of 1989-91, the MLPD “welcomed the complete bankruptcy of modern revisionism marked by the collapse of its centre in the Soviet Union”.

This was a major demarcation line in the Marxist-Leninist organizations. Whereas the PTB saw the collapse “as a setback for all communist and progressive forces” the MLPD declared,

“To this view we stand in complete contrast. The conviction of the MLPD is: the collapse of the Soviet Union was not a victory for imperialism, because the Soviet Union was an imperialist country socialist in words, imperialist in action.”

Increasingly in the 1980s, the MLPD was itself involved in an attempt to rally forces being the main organizational force, since 1988, behind a series of international meeting under the description of International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations/ICMLPO. Associated with ‘*International Newsletter*’ publication, ICMLPO was described as a forum of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, with participation based on the following main criteria:

Adherence to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and their creative application in the conduct of the class struggle in each country.
Struggle against modern revisionism, and a positive attitude towards Stalin and Mao.

It played a major role in organising the International Seminar on the occasion the Centenary of Mao's birth. Held in Gelsenkirchen in the Ruhr district on November 6-7 1993, it attracted more than 900 participants from 32 countries and generated a video record and book of some of the contributions from the proceedings entitled *Mao Zedong Thought Lives: Essays in commemoration of Mao's centennial* (1995)

However, the MLPD proved to emulate the PTB, adopting a more inclusive attitude to building co-operation and co-ordination between parties. The ICMLPO attempted to rally organisations towards a new co-ordinated International Communist Movement continued in the following decade with **ICOR- International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations** - founded October 2010 in Berlin, after three years preparatory work, had 41 organisations became founding members.

So, both European contending poles of attraction around the PTB and MLPD attempts at international communication, co-ordination and co-operation had seen both the ICOR and ICS groupings move away from their maoist identities and political allegiances, embracing an ecumenical dilution that included platforming fragments of the revisionist survivors of the end of the Soviet Union.

These attempts to re-institutionalise a communist movement that went beyond bi-lateral relationships did not receive unanimous support. Arguably, the most successful of the European Maoists, the AKP (ML) stated its position that:

“It is necessary to establish the fact that when struggling for a socialist Norway we can’t copy anyone. It is necessary to point out that there is no communist centre in the world that can present to us the correct line. We don’t even want such a centre to exist.”

In the Global North – the settled industrialised areas – maoist organisations generally wilted, restricted to the fringes and even seemingly promising parties like the AKP (ML) liquidated into the Red Party leaving behind a cadre grouping to fly the red banner of Maoism in Norway. Elsewhere, like in the once vibrant German scene, there was the MLPD left as the last party standing as the anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninists proved incapable of making the transition from the initial impetus to organisational stability.

Consistently the Communist Party of the Philippines, the party engaged in the longest sustained armed struggle, basically maintained the bi-lateral relationship arrangements of previous years, although there was the swerve with engagement in some international initiatives like the conference around the journal *Vanguard* and co-operation MLPD. A different attempt at coordinating on an international scale was the creation of the non-party **International League of People Struggle [ILPS]** inspired by Communist Party of the Philippines leader-in-exile Jose Ma. Sison that compromised mass movements rather than overt political parties. It was a broad international anti-imperialist and democratic mass formation emulated by the smaller **World People’s Resistance Movement** that seems to lasted as long as RIM did.

In December 1998 an international seminar on Mao and People’s War on the initiative of the CPI(ML), Communist Party of the Philippines and, the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist, People’s War group saw 27 organizations represented in support of the practice of people’s war and the politics of new democracy. An invitation was extended to the Communist Party of Peru who did not attend. A short-lived website and international bulletin, *Vanguard* was established but no further international gatherings were sustained. The intention was to publicise the articles and news reports of Marxists-Leninist-Maoist parties, an ambition that found its expression in the present day [Redspark](#) website.

Since 1992, the ICS – International Communist Seminar – annually attracted organisations to Brussels, when it coincided with May Day celebrations organised by the Party of Labour of Belgium [later referred to as **the Workers Party of Belgium /WPB**]. Its “big tent approach” incorporated parties of varying degrees of revisionism. Around 200 organisations from throughout the world would take part. The WPB/PTB did politically distance themselves with the establishment of a separate seminar identity [with a separate, now defunct website, <https://icseminar.org>] and moving away physically from their May day celebrations. The last seminar, the 22nd, took place in June 2014.

The competing European initiative, the ICMPLO, associated with the MLPD, also attracted attendance that was politically inclusive. Its designation as Marxist=Leninist

incorporates a variety of organisations but few overtly from the anti-revisionist milieu that the MLPD originally grew from. Speaking at the unveiling of the first Lenin statue in West Germany, Gabi Fechtner nee Gärtner-Engel, leader of the MLPD since April 2017, stated,

“To make it clear: I am neither a Stalinist nor a Maoist – the same goes for the entire MLPD. But we defend the achievements of socialism – and also the representatives of socialism, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao.”

ICMPLO transformed in 2010 emerging as **ICOR / International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organisations**. Its existence had outlasted the ICS; they would argue they have thrived:

“With pride we can say: ICOR has become the living and initiative exponent of the revolutionary associations of the world. Without splits, signs of disintegration or liquidationist quarrels. But considering the tasks the future poses for the revolutionaries of the world, the ICOR is still in its infancy and still has a lot to learn and to build up.” News — ICOR

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of ICOR, MLPD’s Peter Weispfenning, myopically stated the growth of ICOR to more than 60-member organisation,

“is certainly one of the most important proofs that the international Marxist-Leninist and working-class movement has successfully passed the valley of decline.”

ICOR now re-emphasises the importance of founding an Anti-imperialist and Anti-fascist United Front. The initiative of AIAFUF criticised as *an eclectic front with revisionism and opportunism* by the **Communist Party of Brazil (Red Fraction) /PCB(RF)** engaged in a distinct parallel ideological offensive

The original call came from a joint appeal by the ILPS and ICOR in December 2019. What is envisaged was that the United Front would be a movement of allied organizations without democratic centralism and a costly and expensive apparatus, so not a new Comintern-type arrangement. A challenging timetable was set with the promise that “The Front will be launched before the end of June 2020.” The global pandemic interrupted the timetable. A founding conference now planned for September 2023. <https://ilps.info/en/2019/12/30/call-for-building-the-international-anti-imperialist-and-antifascist-united-front/>

RIM: Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

In the 1980s the re-grouping in the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and the European contenting poles of attraction around the PTB and MLPD, could not disguise that Maoism’s *mass appeal* was in the Global south where the maoist slogans still found a resonance in lives lived. While some parties had succumbed to oblivion – in Thailand and Burma – the Philippines’ party sustained a people’s war led by Maoists. In India the flames of Naxibri radicalism continued to inspire and drive some to armed rebellion. There was a societal destabilising eruption of armed struggle in Peru and then later in Nepal, led by self-proclaimed Maoists. It was **RIM/Revolutionary Internationalist Movement** that became associated with this upsurge in revolution and people’s war.

There is also a fundamental question raised by, amongst others, Jose Maria Sison, and repeated in his [2019 interviewed](#) on the 50th Anniversary of Communist Party of the Philippines:

“The CPP has opposed the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) seeking to impose the principle of democratic centralism on communist parties in violation of the principle of equality and independence among them.

At the same time, RIM exaggerated the status and role of the RCPUSA. Since the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943, communist and workers’ parties have become equal to each other and independent from each other.

There has been no Comintern Executive Committee to treat them as national sections of a world party.”

Maoism, in the west, largely faded. Those who self-identified as maoist-inspired were mainly at the political margins of their societies. In those developed industrialised nations, the inability to articulate a revolutionary strategy appropriate to a society vastly different from that that spoke of peasants, landlords and comprador bourgeoisie, did see a decline in the idealist attachment to a distant society like China that began to embrace capitalist market mechanism and the philosophy and culture that accompanied it. What Mao had warned about since the late 1950s, worked to prevent through the Cultural Revolution, had come about: the victory of revisionism in China.

In the autumn of 1980, a communique signed by 13 non-ruling maoist organisation was addressed “To the Marxist-Leninists, The workers and The Oppressed of All Countries” quickly followed by a position paper prepared jointly by the leaders of the Chilean **Revolutionary Communist Party, Partido Comunista Revolucionario /PCR** and the **Revolutionary Communist Party, USA/RCP, USA** led by Bob Avakian. They jointly announced a defence of Mao, the Gang of Four and the Cultural Revolution to rally international support. This laid out the basic principles for the unity of Marxist-Leninists and the line of the International communist movement.

It was in March 1984 that a second congress of seventeen organisations from fourteen different countries adopted the founding declaration of the **Revolutionary Internationalist Movement/RIM** which adhered to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

January 1985 saw, “on the same side of the barricade” but not an official publication of RIM (in all but name), the relaunch of “A World to Win”/ AWTW. Two previous editions had appeared, the first contained an article by Sri Lankan veteran Leader, Sanmugathan, entitled “Enver Hoxha Refuted”. After 32 issues it ceased publication in 2004.

RIM included such notable organizations as the **Communist Party of Peru /PCP**, also known as "Sendero Luminoso" or "Shining Path," the Communist Party of Nepal Maoist, later known as the **Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) /UCPN(M)**, the **Union of Iranian Communist** (Sarbedaran).

RIM presented itself as “the embryonic centre of the world’s maoist” although absent from its ranks were major parties engaged in armed revolution (like in the Philippines and India). It regrouped a core of parties who were initially characterised as pro-Gang of Four and against the revisionist betrayal in China, maintaining a Late Maoism focus on the value of the Cultural Revolution. Indeed, in December 1993, under Peruvian influence, RIM formally adopted Marxism-Leninism- Maoism and “advanced further still in the direction of a communist international of a new type” [AWTW #23 1998 p74](#)

How far they were sharply demarcated from other tendencies which had developed out of the previous maoist movement? *On the Struggle to Unite the Genuine Communist Forces* looked at the principles and forces that RIM was looking towards in its unity drive [AWTW #30 \(2004\)](#)

The latter half of the 21st century’s new decade saw RIM near defunct as many of the one-time RIM organizations have become increasingly critical of each other. The intensified tensions within RIM were not unrelated to the setback of the capture of the Peruvian revolutionary leader Guzman.

What can be said concerning the struggle in, what consisted itself, the International Communist Movement on the role of Chairman Gonzalo was that it was inconclusive, failing to address some of the issues raised in the theory and practice of the Peruvian revolution. It continues to provoke responses as the French organisation OCML-Voie Prolétarienne [Marxist-Leninist Communist Organisation – Proletarian Way] noted in May 1990 expressing support for the Communist Party of Peru “because the positive aspects by far outweigh the reservations and criticisms we are duty bound to raise.” When such reservations were critically raised in its 2017 article “On People’s War in Peru, the betrayal by the leadership of the PCP and the capitulation of Gonzalo”, they argued: “*The way we understand the world is guided by dialectical materialism, not romantic idealism!*”

An unrelated posting (in August 2018) by frequent commentator on the Democracy & Class Struggle website, Harsh Thakor, Resurrecting Flame of Gonzalo Thought and Peruvian Peoples War, provides a brief survey of some elements that contributed to the reversal in fortune for the Communist Party of Peru at the end of the last century. He begins by stating that: No doubt Chairman Gonzalo is the greatest Marxist-Leninist-Maoist leader after Chairman Mao..... I disagree it was Gonzalo who wrote the peace letters in Jail after 1992...”

Disagreements has resulted in many public splits with the RCP USA condemning the UCPN(M) as revisionist after the Nepalese party abandoned its people's war for parliamentary participation. Only in turn for the RCP USA to be criticized by many of RIM’s surviving members for attempt to foist a “new synthesis” and an “undisputed leadership” of Bob Avakian upon the international communist movement. Such a move was subjected to wide criticism such as in *Against Avakianism* by Comrade Ajith (K. Murali). Due to growing internal problems and differences RIM ceased functioning around 2007, though there was apparently never any public announcement that the organization was disbanding. It was the "Special Resolution" published on May 1st,

2012 that formalized the liquidation of RIM, signed by The C(m)PA, together with CPm Italy and the then CPI ML-Naxalbari . [\[see Maoist Road website\]](#)

A factor to the differences in assessment and evaluation of its historical legacy is evident in the documents and line struggle that has emerged over the contemporary response to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement [RIM] that has shaped the current positions in the call for overcoming the great dispersion of forces which characterized the ICM over the recent decades.

The main subjective cause of the emergence and dominance of revisionism within RIM were suggested to be

“the incorrect method of secret discussion of differences, tolerance with opportunist tendencies given the excessive cult of personality and thinking of leaders that long ago had taken flight in the movement; concessions to opportunism that handcuffed to the parties when revisionism openly rose in the ranks of the RIM, and they condemned to their Committees – gnaw it by cancer revisionist avakianism – to silent before revisionist betrayal vile of the revolution in Nepal, to the proletariat, to MLM and to the own statements of RIM, all of which led to its bankruptcy.” [UOC \(MLM\):137](#)

Furthermore, “made common cause with the false Maoism “new” PCN(M) whose lie and program required full compliance with the Peace Agreement of 2006. The betrayal they don’t see in the agreement but rather the politicking by Prachanda and Bhattarai inside the reactionary state. They have not broken with the revisionist line of “Prachanda Path” or are afraid to admit were wrong.”

In September 2018 a joint declaration from a dozen organisations entitled [“In defence of the life of Chairman Gonzalo, hoist higher the flag of Maoism!”](#) stated that:

“RIM was liquidated by revisionism’s handling of the two-line struggle. The maneuver of Avakian was, to state – as a starting point of his “criticism” of the second Right Opportunist Line, revisionist and capitulationist, in Peru – that supposedly “the author would not matter, only the line”, which precisely led to centering the debate on who “the author” was. Or did this miserable not know that the communists of the world would rise when their Great Leadership was questioned? This is how the two-line struggle was derailed. The Problem for the left in the ICM was the hard and complex situation in which the PCP entered after the arrest of Chairman Gonzalo.”

The Communist Party of Brazil (Red Faction) repeated similar concerns:

“RIM ceased to play a positive role when the revisionists of the “RCP” from United States - taking advantage of the problematic situation of the left due to the bend in the People’s War in Peru – turned to totally hegemonize it.” false leaders such as Prachanda and Bathharai or failed prophets like Avakian were exposed and demoralized as "new revisionism", opposed to Maoism.”

The response to the arrest of Chairman Gonzalo, and subsequent development in the Peruvian revolutionary struggle proved to be a destabilising fissure within the various supporting groups enmeshed in the polemical fight around the ROL – Right Opportunist Line - and elements within its leadership supporting RIM’s implication of the imprisoned Gonzalo as its author.

Others from within the broadly defined international communist movement have also raised criticisms and objections of the paean of praise e,g [Stefan Engel of the MLPD](#). The contributions of Chairman Gonzalo, uncritically evaluated (the revolution in Peru had lost momentum), was presented by some as a Universalist checklist, divorced from analysis of concrete conditions. What might be applicable lost in a mantra of learnt reiteration unthinkingly repeated and lifeless in homages in anniversary speeches. If the contribution of Guzman seems ill-served by those who praise him, those who long spun out of any Maoist orbit with its advocacy of the “new synthesis”, had their partisan AVAKARIANIST view of the developments within RIM:

“These past fourteen years have seen major developments, including the collapse of RIM itself. Not only are some of the forces previously united in RIM now sharply opposed to each other, the previous understanding of revolutionary communism itself has, to borrow Mao Zedong’s term, “divided into two”. One strand of the old Maoism has wound up in a social-democratic liquidation of the core revolutionary principles of Marxism, exemplified tragically in the capitulation of the Maoist leadership in Nepal and the termination of the revolutionary war there. Others from the previous MLM movement are stuck in a dogmatist, religious-like upholding of sterile “Maoist” formulas that are equally devoid of revolutionary content. In opposition to this, Bob Avakian’s new synthesis of communism has fully emerged, rescuing the scientific kernel of communism while criticizing and repudiating those secondary aspects in the past understanding and actions of communists that have actually gone against communism’s liberatory nature.”

— Editorial: Introducing a transformed AWTWNS on <http://aworldtowinns.co.uk/>

Despite its chequered history and political legacy, RIM was arguably the most successful attempt to rally overtly maoist forces in an international association. Its experience lurks in the background of contemporary attempts to regroup MLM forces. It failed to perform its function as political disagreements stalled the organisation as parties’ divergent paths (terminatable with the adoption of “A New Synthesis” by the American Revolutionary Communist Party) disrupted its ideological basis, and the split in the thriving Nepali communist movement with the bourgeois republican divergence in Pranchanda’s Path.

A number of parties formally affiliated with the RIM (principally the Communist Party of Italy (Maoist), the Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan and the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) [Naxalbari]) released a series of public statements calling for the two-line struggle that had been raging inside the RIM to be made public. It is also clear that the RCP, USA played an especially factionalizing role in the RIM, especially by organizing the CoRIM on factional lines

A sterile silo polemic with Avakianists followed the three-party “Special Resolution”, with “Letter to Participating Parties and Organizations of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement”, by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA made public on July 3, 2012; this had a short appendix responding specifically to the 3-Party Initiative on May Day 2012.

The various positions from organisations were reposed in the shadow of the RIM’s demise and attempt to start a process of politically summing up the experience of the RIM, thus beginning a process that could inform the revived debate inside the international Maoist movement as to whether a new international coordinating body was necessary, and if so, how such a body would be organized as to avoid the problems that were experienced in both the Comintern and the RIM.

Two principle issues of the debate have been known to all for a while i.e. the situation in Nepal and the controversy regarding Bob Avakian’s “New Synthesis”. An underlying issue was that the beginning of the end for the RIM was the division that was fermented in the RIM regarding the situation in Peru. The political summation of the situation in Peru and the Right Opportunist Line (ROL). However, it is understandable that the movement in Peru continues to grapple with its relationship with Chairman Gonzalo.

The Afghan Maoists publicly circulated two documents critiquing the New Synthesis – one in relation to the RCP(USA)’s Manifesto and Constitution and the other, the Communist Party of Iran (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist)’s adoption of the New Synthesis in sharp and uncompromising terms.

One of the founding groups of the Communist Party of India (Maoist), the CPI(ML)[Naxalbari] provided an account of the increasing centralization of authority with the RCP, USA and parties that are sympathetic to its line, at the expense of bilateral relations between the different RIM parties and a proper leadership role for parties actually engaged in people’s wars like the Peruvians, Nepalese and Indians. Furthermore, the CPI(ML) [Naxalbari] explain how the co-ordinating and directing structure of the Committee of RIM / CoRIM increasingly was unable to dispense with its duties in a democratic manner, as was seen in the case of Peru and the arrest of Chairman Gonzalo. Indeed, it becomes apparent that the CoRIM did not consult with the Movement as a whole on a host of issues and thus was unable to advance to a form of agreement. RIM collapsed.



M-L-M Mayhem! : Onwards Maoist Century!

21st Century Maoism is a different force than in the previous century when it was identified with a state power. Its' 21st century manifestation inspired not by contemporary politics of China, but an understanding of the legacy and that bequeathed in past Maoist practice. Maoist drew upon their understanding and analysis of the experience of communists in the struggles in China, and the appreciation of that that spread globally in the latter half of the 20th century. The shared canonological perspective on the importance of the ideological compass and tactical flexibility that Maoism had demonstrated on China's terrain was not always demonstrated by those who upheld the contribution of Mao and the Communist Party of China.

The International Maoist movement had suffered setback of deflection and disintegration, a period of political chaos and readjustment, as remaining veterans and new recruits navigated the shifting political terrain has engaged in debate and shaped the evolution of a unified communist movement.

There was a legitimate question of definition for Maoists that emerged in the last quarter of the Twentieth century, and remained a contested question in the first quarter of the 21st century. In the latter half of the previous century the history of the anti-revisionist Marxist Leninist movement could not be reduced to the identification with the China of Mao Zedong. That would be a crude distortion of the movement's own dynamics and inspiration, and disregard its own interaction with the societies it was based.

Still, for over a decade, the question of naming names occupied many activists for what you called your politics was taken to represent a philosophy and political approach in the pursuance of revolutionary change. The promotion of the ideological dominance of Maoism as a third stage, not simply replacing the Sixties cumbersome 'Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought', was an assertion of historical interpretation and contemporary analysis that '*Maoism Lives!*'

A contemporary Maoist intellectual - J.Moufawad-Paul, henceforth JMP - articulated what seems to be a counter-intuitive view that Maoism, as an ideological trend, came

forth in the first decade of the 21st century, and rooted in an earlier Peruvian elucidation by the founder-leader of the CPP, Manuel Rubén Abimael Guzmán Reynoso, also known by his nom de guerre *Chairman Gonzalo* (1943-2021). While Mao Zedong Thought was a common reference point in the ant-revisionist movement of the 1960s, however JMP argued that, even since the Chinese communists broke from Soviet hegemony, “then it was simply short-hand for a dominant current of anti-revisionist communism.” JMP asserts that the theoretical developments produced by the Chinese Revolution under Mao Zedong represented a development in universal revolutionary theory. That it should be regarded as a new stage in revolutionary communism, was said to have been articulated by the Communist Party of Peru/ PCP at the end of the 1980s. And following the early assertions of the PCP, that RIM would finally declare in 1993 “**Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!**” **MLM**. It is this moment, moving into the 1990s that Maoism is said to have crystalized as an actual theoretical current.

JMP with revolutionary optimism argues in his 2012 article,

“Maoism, then, is just over two decades old, far younger than Marxism was at the time of the Russian Revolution, and already there have been significant attempts to pursue its operationalization: Peru, Nepal, India... There will be more attempts, and the RIM will rear its head again, and the 21st century will not only be a century of great rebellious upheaval—as is every period of crisis—but it will be for anti-capitalists, in many ways and despite banal movementist claims, the maoist century, just as the 20th century, regardless of the tiny counter-currents of anarchism and reformism, the Leninist century.”

A Diversion into Third Worldism

At the fringes of the movement there were other ideological stirrings that were eventually offered as an alternative path to follow. One was the state-sponsored Juche idea associated with the heredity regime in the People’s Republic of Democratic Korea, the other a transnational analysis based on the political economy of imperialism. Deviations to more fringe allegiances in either a Juche or Third worldism orientation was noticeable amongst individuals rather than organisations (even when posing as an organisation). The technology of the Internet gave such individuals a greater profile than their actual effectiveness in real life. The substitution of a digital existence and argumentation rather than real life collective engagement proved a comfortable individualistic existence that allowed commentary on issues and proved the Eleventh Theses on Feuerbach as set out by Karl Marx.

Set aside from consideration of MIM initiatives are those grouped as a kind of internet fraternity of like-minded individuals detached from their supposed maoist roots. Those individual commentators and grouplets whose existence were advertised principally as a digital existence, posting online reflecting a “third worldist” perspective.

While interesting not materially substantial or sustainable, never a unified tendency and like the post-RIM ‘Avakianists’ and their “new synthesis”, Maoist-Third Worldist claim their ideological positions represents a breakthrough in revolutionary science, one that makes previous ones obsolete. A position shared with those few upholding Juche theory’s universalisms.

While the concept and application of the term “third World” has a broader history, in the context of the international maoist movement, its specific evolution can be traced from an interpretation of what constituted proletarian internationalism and solidarity with struggles in the global south. It found expression in the politics associated with Gotfred Appel, and the **Kommunistisk Arbejdsreds /KAK** formed in Danmark in 1963, and in the American-based tendency from a small group called RADACADS (for RADical ACAdemics) around Harvard University. This evolved into the **Maoist Internationalist Movement / MIM** headed by Henry Park. From its foundation in 1983 building on the familiar notion that the labour aristocracy in imperialist countries were fundamentally counter-revolution; a labour preserved at extext.org.archive.

MIM dissolved in early 2008 following a post that asked, “Where we are at theoretically at the end”. Henry Park (who wrote as MIM3/MC3) had personally difficult last few years dying in May 2011. Tributes from former comrades stated their belief that they had “always recognised MIM as a leader of the international communist movement from its foundation in 1983 to the middle of the past decade.”

There were a few spin-offs from MIM’s disappearance, the maoist Internationalist Ministry of Prison, and the IRTR website (It’s Right To Rebel). IRTR, associated with ‘Paire Fire’ and ‘Serve the People’ acted to extend its ideological perspective from MIM’s “communist ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism from the vantage point of the Third World Proletariat”. An attempted political rehabilitation of Lin Biao during this period saw a ripple of interest in the digital blogosphere but IRTR could not retain its unity of purpose. There was a triumvirate of activists that emerged from its disintegration; from 2009 Monkey Smashes Heaven /MSH internet presence focused on cultural production of Shubel Morgan found on YouTube; while from 2010 Nick Brown provided Third-Worldist maoist news and analysis via (now defunct) anti-imperialism.com until the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Movement / RAIM disbanded in 2019. The short-lived Organisation for the Liberation of Oppressed Peoples reproduced a collection of its writings in “Selected Essays”. The miniscule Leading Light Communist Organisation/ LLCO emerged as a third strand to this tendency.

There was some credulity and appeal in the emergent Third Worldism, theoretically informed by the contributions of the likes of Henry Park and Zak Cope and the endeavours found in various publications. [Cope, *Divided World Divided Class* Kersplebedeb, 2012; *The Wealth of (Some) Nations: Imperialism and the Mechanics of Value Transfer* Pluto Press, 2019; *A Thousand Truths: Maoist (Third Worldist) FAQ* 2014; N.Brown’s *Third-Worldism Marxist Critique of Imperialist Political Economy* 2013 and *The Weapon of Theory: A Maoist (Third Worldist) Reader*].

The LLCO – which Jason Unruhe of Maoist Rebel News/ MRN “authoritatively” describes as the foremost Third Worldist group – produced *The Sun Rises In The East* that provides an outline of “Maoism-Third Worldism”. Summarising what it considered lessons since the Cultural Revolution, it advocates a new universal stage of revolutionary struggle. Although the identification with Maoism was eventually discarded it did draw upon a number of lines of Marxist enquiries to underscore its radicalism.

However, the tendency was subject to critique from Maoists who saw it an ultra-left move away from a revolutionary strategy for change into dead-end rhetoric. The (now defunct) Maoist blogsite, *Democracy and Class Struggle* announced:

“in 2014 our revisionist targets were Prachandism and Avakianism, in 2015 it will be LLCO’s Lin Biaoism... The Leading Light Communist Organisation now completely embraces Lin Biaoism and sees Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a ladder to climb to new position and then throw it away.” They described the LLCO as stranded on a hillock unable to reach the summit of revolutionary change. LLCO no longer considered itself a maoist organisation, claiming to uphold Leading Light Communism. Founder-leader, Brennen Ryan, self-identifying genius, said, “I think of Maoism a lot like Maoists once used to think of Hoxhism, as “dogmatic revisionism”. I see it as a dead trend and a dead end.” Ryan died in 2019.

There were the individual internet contributions that had clear differences between them but politically worked within the same direction of movement even if of marginal impact, their amplified opinions competing for an audience. There was political commentary (of varying quality) from the North American-based Celticfire and Leftspot, Kevin “Rashid” Johnson, and the supposed “social media star” of MRN. Internet spats and personal attacks peppered their exchanges.

Other known manifestations involved a Peruvian tendency, mainly based in exile, that spun out of the experience around Peru People's Movement /MPP and its dog-attack Red Sun website. Other inspired, and possibly venturing beyond “Gonzaloism”, includes the work of the French site, lesmaterialistes.com. Guiding Thought grew from Franco-Belgium endeavours, principally the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist centre of Belgium and Communist Party of France (Marxist Leninist Maoist) joined by the sceptically-regarded Organisation of the Workers of Afghanistan (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist).

MLM Line Struggle on new internationalism

Around 2010 there have been efforts accelerated by some to try to resurrect a new internationalism, of re-establishing a RIM mark 2, or else some new international Maoist organization. This took the form of projects and networks advertised on the internet like the [Maoist Road blog](#). The emergence of a Gonzaloist trend in the second decade of the century saw a minor constellation coalesce on the basis of a prescriptive exclusivity that had a sense of theatre without sustained impact. It became clear that these were advancing contending foundations for any new regrouping of MLM forces.

May Day 2019, fifteen organisations pledge to organize a preparatory meeting this year for an International Joint Conference of the MLM parties and organizations stating this was a call for a unity based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, on the path of people’s war for the development of the world proletarian revolution. [2019 MayDay Red and Internationalist !](#)

Other groupings equally publicize that they were making strides towards holding the ‘United Maoist International Conference’ UMIC. that started as an initiative in the Meetings of MLM Parties and Organizations in Latin America associated with Communist Party of Brazil - Red Fraction and Communist Party of Ecuador - Red Sun. A declared objective pursued since May 2016 and their 5th Meeting of MLM Parties and Organizations of Latin America, parties and organizations.

What was foreseen was that the proposed International Maoist International Conference would “seal and open. It will seal an entire stage of struggle of the communists in the struggle against the dispersion of forces and open a new phase in the struggle of the Communists for the reconstitution of the Communist International.”.

These public pronouncements were part of the ideological struggle to revive and prepare for the gathering of Maoists all over the world; what is anticipated will be a leap forward in the development of the Internationalist Communist Movement and encouragement in the formation of Maoist communist parties in each country. However, what transpired was that engagement in a disembodied ideological struggle had strengthened the self-isolation of currents within “global Maoism” from each other, and brought forth rhetorical good intentions, however each saying to the other that they had not understood what Maoism involved. Page | 25

The experience of the Covid pandemic temporarily paused any attempt to achieve a large unified international conference of all the MLM Parties and Organizations. There was a reinforcement of the trenches. There was a joint proposal signed by the Committee for Building the Maoist Communist Party, Galicia, Spanish State, Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan, Communist Worker Union (MLM) – Colombia and the Maoist Communist Party – Italy to act as the promoters to convene the Unified International Conference with bilateral and multilateral meetings; an attempt to move the process forward amidst the pandemic.

Canadian sceptics

The problems of establishing and agreeing a general orientation involved in uniting on a common platform was raised by the Canadian PRC-RCP - the Quebec Continuator group – that lays into the Communist Party of Brazil (Red Fraction), Red Guard/Struggle Sessions group, the Maoist Communist Party in France, and domestically swipes at “intellectual revisionist Joshua Moufawad-Paul”. ‘Maoism as in itself: against the idealism of the "mainly Maoist" current’ Iskra January 26, 2020.

Canadian critics of all the “participants” in these internationalists architectural drive argued that, “recent events have confirmed that not only are the idealistic and the true Maoists not part of the same movement, but that this scenario will never happen. Indeed, the political options defended on both sides are so divergent that they are unassimilable to each other.” Maoism as in itself: against the idealism of the "mainly Maoist" current. Iskra January 26, 2020

Factional fighting and name calling maybe features on the road to demarcation but could the direction of travel be to a unitary destination? Dismissive of the whole engagement in the international project of communication, co-operation and co-ordination – they were never members of RIM – the Canadian group thought not:

“Currently, there is no, such a thing as an international Maoist movement per se. What exists are Maoist parties and organizations with more or less strong links between them, and in many cases without links at all. For a movement to exist, there must be unity, even if it is relative: common objectives, regular exchanges

of experience, close collaboration and solid organizational links. If there is no unity at all, there is no movement. In history, the only time that an international Maoist movement actually existed was when the Internationalist Revolutionary Movement (RIM) was in place. Ironically, this experience, the partisans of the idealist tendency reject it under the pretext that the RIM defended a “disjointed and eclectic” conception of Maoism. The PCB (RF) declared that “in today's world, unlike the founding or existence of the RIM, a revitalized international communist movement has flourished and developed”. This is a mind-blowing statement totally disconnected from the real world situation.” <https://www.iskra-pcr-rpc.ca/2020/01/26/le-maoisme-tel-que-n-lui-meme-contre-lidealisme-du-courant-principalement-maoiste/> January 26, 2020

However, these critics were unlikely to be invited by any of the proposed international conferences as, by definition, they exclude themselves in their quirky conclusion that

“the Chinese cultural revolution, although a highly positive experience and one with fundamental lessons, has a lesser importance than the experience of more than twenty years of armed struggle and united front preceding the seizure of power in 1949. We say that it is mainly - if not almost entirely - in the experience of the prolonged people's war in China that Maoism finds its material origin, and only in a secondary way in the cultural revolution.”

This, a marginal position, reverses the roots of Maoists for the last half century and predates (and negates) consideration of the cultural revolution as the greatest and most original contribution of Mao to the development of Marxism-Leninism in order to combat modern revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism. It is a position that dismisses the struggles over Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, Maoism and continuity and rupture that has drawn the contours of 21st Century Maoism.

The advice from the Maoist era was clear: “the CPC, to its credit, refused a hegemonic role... and constantly drummed into overseas Maoists the need to think independently about their own conditions” Biel, Robert (2015) *Eurocentrism and the Communist Movement*. Montreal: Kersplebedeb p162.

It is the position, the Philippine party has long argued, that there is no need for a “father-party” and that bi-lateral relations should be the standard relationship with internationalist relationship – In 1994 guidelines for such relationships stated:

“The CPP favors bilateral relations with foreign parties as the principal form of its international relations. Bilateral relations logically and necessarily follow from the principle and reality of the integrity and independence of the CPP as well as its equality with every foreign party with which it relates. The CPP can better handle its bilateral relations than multilateral ones in ideological and political terms and in the most concrete forms of cooperation. “[Guidelines on International Relations of the Communist Party of the Philippines GuidelinesOnIntlRelations-CPP-1994](#)”

Trying to make concrete the notion of ‘global Maoism’, the various searches for consolidation witnessed evidence of an enduring transnational ideological appeal offered from South America. In one camp much of the theoretical justification drew upon the

work of the Communist Party of Brazil - Red Fraction in *El Maoista* magazine. An emerging network of fraternal groups raised fundamental questions in advancing a two-line struggle in the international communist movement. These groups were principally advancing the contribution of the universal validity of Gonzalo Thought and of People's war in their particular understanding of Maoism.

Simply put: Chairman Gonzalo has hoisted higher the flag of Maoism and if that contribution - "the universal validity contributions of the Gonzalo Thought" - is not acknowledged, absolved and actioned, then you are not a Maoist. That definition excludes the Maoist organizations leading the most advanced revolutionary movements today, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) and the Communist Party of the Philippines. The contested argument is that:

“Currently there are four people's wars that exist today, in Peru, in Turkey, in India and in the Philippines. They are the *axis in the proletarian world revolution*. In the international communist movement, the red banner for uniting the movement under Maoism and people's war is being raised.”

<https://tjen-folket.no/index.php/en/2020/05/17/40-years-of-peoples-war-in-peru-long-live-the-armed-struggle/>

The focus on the nature and form of the revolutionary party and a universalist task of initiating the People's War as a strategy for those in imperialist countries separates maoist organisations with some of those engaged in armed struggle against it (as with the Communist Party of the Philippines), while others in far from favourable conditions, supporting it. [See posting Protracted people's war as a strategy for the imperialist countries](#)

Equally intent to unite the various self-identifying Maoist strands beyond the principles of mutual support, cooperation and mutual or common benefit, an alternative view from South America, that illustrates some of the difficulties in arriving at an agreed position, was in the Columbian analysis that covers the divisions in historical legacy and contemporary strategy. [Proposal for developing a General Line for Unity of the International Communist Movement. Negation of the Negation, Organo teorico de la Union Obrera Comunista \(MLM\) No.5 August 2016 \[English language edition\] 2016 Communist Worker Union \(mlm\) Columbia General Line.](#)

Internationalism is in the DNA of the politics

“The Communist party of each country must be a contingent of the International Communist movement, a section of the International and its struggle, part of the world struggle for communism that subordinates the interests of the struggle in each country to the interests of the World Proletarian Revolution.” [UOC \(MLM\): 139](#)

The UOC (mlm) argues that organisationally the form should be a world party of the proletariat and not a World Federation of proletarian parties. The Columbian's view advanced a scaffolding of attributes and policies to build the new internationalism, specifying support for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the fight against oppression of women, and “work on the preparation and development of People's War taking the specific conditions of each country” [\[UOC \(MLM\): 149\]](#) among others as tasks expected of the Party “as part of the new International and directed by it.” [UOC \(MLM\): 150](#)

This theoretical proposition would have dubious practicality and impact in real world struggles. Without collaboration in actual policies or coordination of a general outlook, where is the internationalism in collective decision-making? The UOC (mlm) is not alone in believing that the way forward is to push the ideological struggle, to rally the like-minded and draw lines of demarcation to create a smaller but coherent movement. However, putting the debate in context, the political identification for any grouping amounts to less than twenty committed organisations, far less than what would have been marshalled back in the mid-1960s. And, even as RIM was conceived as an embryonic political centre however the type of International that would emerge was less certain.

“Work to finalize the new Communist International, task that does necessary to clarify in the ideologically to unite politically and build the organisation. The union of Marxist Leninist Maoist in the Program for the World Proletarian Revolution, for Socialism and Communism, is not possible without the principled and intransigent struggle against opportunism, without close ties between the communist organisations in different countries, agreeing joint political campaigns internationally, materially contributing to the tasks, organising meetings or conferences where expands and debates issues of historical experience, the current political situation and the General Line, practicing the method of start from a base unit to fight for conquer a greater degree of unity.” UOC (MLM): 148

Mapping out the existing divisions

The most obvious demarcation line within the self-identifying Maoist movement is the analysis and evaluation of the Peruvian experience led by Abimael Guzmán, universally known throughout his party career as chairman Gonzalo. These differences impact on the conclusions drawn and lessons learnt, and are reflected in the strategic way forward.

The tendency influenced by the **Communist Party of Brazil (Red Fraction) /PCB(RF)** argued its fundamentalist position the problem in the international communist movement is not primarily related to the fact that Maoism is not formally recognized, but rather to the way some conceive it.

“... this is why it is important to start with who defined Maoism as the new, third and superior stage of our ideology; because it is only by starting from what was scientifically established by Chairman Gonzalo that we can understand Maoism as one unit, as one harmonic system. If one does not take the work of Chairman Gonzalo as a starting point, one falls into eclecticism, counterpoising quotes but not understanding the ideas.” This has become a minority position as other voices contest from a variety of contributions in disagreement with the analysis of what was identified as a “Gonzaloist” tendency.

Critical Opposition to Gonzalism

Unlike, and in opposition to the CPB (RF), other organisations express reservations about uncritical wholesale adoption of Gonzalo Thought.

“Deviationist efforts to impose formulations based on Gonzalo Thought over the entire international Maoist movement will not have a positive outcome” stated the Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan, in a wide ranging criticism that, “a one-dimensional/uncritical adulation of the PCP still exists amongst some Maoist parties and organizations, particularly Latin American parties and organizations, and this should also be eliminated by ideological-political struggles.”

The C(M)PA maintained that “it is necessary that—alongside the principled theoretical, ideological and political struggles based on MLM against Avakian’s New Synthesis and Prachanda Path revisionisms—a struggle should also be waged against the deviation that has emerged as Gonzalo Thought. The C(M)PA is no longer obliged to keep the struggles against the latter internal but deems it totally necessary to begin carrying out such a struggle at the international level.” [A Glimpse at the Joint International Statement Sholajwid # 17, June 2018 \(sholajwid.org\)](#) For a critical commentary see [Red PAGES Issue Number 1: January 2021, The Debate on Gonzaloism in the International Communist Movement: On the Recent Exchange Between the C\(M\)PA and the CPB\(RF\)](#)

The Afghanistan organisation explicitly argued that Gonzalo thought "is continuing to play a negative historical role and was even behind the composition of a joint international statement in celebration of international workers day to promote sectarianism...". Whilst others have generalised criticism of concepts associated with the Peruvian struggle in particular, the Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan statement emphasised that alongside MLM struggles against Avakian’s New Synthesis and Prachanda Path style revisionism— “a struggle should also be waged against the deviation that has emerged as Gonzalo Thought.” ["A Glimpse at the Joint International Statement of the Eight Latin American Maoist Parties and Organizations.](#)

The Communist Party of Brazil (Red Faction) counters that:

“The Campaign for Maoism cannot make a great leap only with declarations, studies and debate if it does not advance in more People’s Wars in the world, in addition to further development of those that are taking place. On the other hand, no party can advance the central and principal task of reconstituting or constituting a CP to initiate the People’s War, without understanding and assuming the contributions of universal validity of Gonzalo thought, as an inseparable and indispensable part for the application of Maoism as ideological-political embodiment.”

Furthermore, in order to attack Maoism, revisionism in its most varied expressions points increasingly and centrally against Gonzalo thought, in order to prevent a correct assimilation of Maoism, to empty and reduce its content, and to sterilize it. So the campaign in defence of Chairman Gonzalo and the campaign for Maoism are two strategic and inseparable campaigns, as the Maoist Communist Party (France) affirmed, defending Chairman Gonzalo was defending Maoism.

Others question this, veteran founder-Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines, Jose Maria Sison’s gave a number of interviews and wrote a number of important articles on what was being promoted by supporters of Gonzalo and the PCP theoretical views.

These analysed the strengths and weakness of the Peruvian contribution, critiquing the foundational claims that Gonzalo synthesized Maoism. He noted,

“As I have earlier pointed out, Mao himself constituted in his own lifetime Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism by making great contributions to the development of Marxism-Leninism in philosophy, political economy, party building (especially the rectification movement), the people’s war and the proletarian cultural revolution in socialist society. Mao Zedong Thought has gained universal significance long before Gonzalo called it Maoism. The universal significance of Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism does not depend in any way on Gonzalo who has not really summed up all the great achievements of the great Mao.

“The worshippers of Gonzalo use his coinage of the term Maoism to evaluate him as the greatest Maoist after Mao. They should take him to account for his own conduct of leadership in his own country, his “Left” opportunist line before his capture in 1992 and Right opportunist line soon after his capture. These conflicting opportunist lines have brought about the decline of the people’s war in Peru. And the mystique about him as being responsible for “synthesizing” Maoism should not be used as an ax against those who continue to wage people’s war. Kautsky did not prove himself any better than Lenin when he protested that Lenin’s ideas were not Marxism but Leninism. He was the first among all people to utter the term Leninism against Lenin himself... .

... .Before, during and after the founding of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the foregoing six components of Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism were already acknowledged and propagated in CPP publications and grasped by CPP cadres and members. What the Gonzaloites are doing is to tear apart Mao Zedong Thought or Maoism and exaggerate protracted people’s war as prescription for all countries under all circumstances and require militarization of the party as the principal or essential elements of Maoism. This is not Maoism but a grotesque Gonzaloite distortion of Maoism.”

Sison, Jose Maria (2020) Questions on Mao Zedong Thought/Maoism, Interview by Imbong, Regletto Aldrich

The Columbian view, along with the Norwegian blog, MLM Thoughts and American group, Mass Proletariat <http://bannedthought.net/USA/MassProletariat/2019/MP-OurPresentSituationAndSomeLessons-190201.pdf> , involved criticism of the personality cult developed around the leadership theory of “Guiding Thought” associated with even smaller Gonzaloist trends . Promoted by the Organization of the Workers of Afghanistan (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist), Communist Party Marxist Leninist Maoist – Bangladesh, Communist Party Marxist Leninist Maoist – France and supported by the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Centre of Belgium. <http://lesmaterialistes.com/fichiers/pdf/revues/Theguidingthought.pdf>

“The Marxist Leninist Maoist theory about leaders is diametrically opposed to the cult of personality called “guiding thought”, “ways” and “synthesis” keyed in the RIM; this anti-Marxist conception of leaders in the same experience of the RIM checked to lead to revisionism, to the disaster of communist organisation and defeat, renunciation or delivery of the revolution. Of those anti-Marxist theories derives the pilgrim prophecy that the party of the proletariat can’t be built, it can’t

successfully lead the revolution in one country, but has a great leader that gives shape and national content to Marxism Leninism Maoism.” UOC (MLM): 145

“Defend Marxism-Leninism-Maoism Against Gonzaloite Revisionism!” was the position advanced in April 2020 from the (now defunct) American Organizing Committee for a Maoist Communist Party (MCP-OC). It argued “the defeated people’s war in Peru represented the creative application of MLM to the Peruvian conditions; this alone does not constitute a new ‘Thought,’ any more than the petulant hooliganism of our comrades in Austin might be called ‘Com. Dallas Thought!’” A critical reference to the Red Guards tendency that was to implode in the USA in 2022. Various accounts have emerged online on the collapse of its last manifestation, the “Committee to Reconstitute the Communist Party of the United States of America”.

Late December 2022 saw an unsigned commentary posted on the online Gonzaloist site, *Communist International* highlighted an attempt to liquidate the Committee to Reconstitute the Communist Party of the USA (CRCPUSA). As a clandestine organization it lacked a public profile or organizational documents. Its origins are rooted in the Red Guard milieu that ‘dissolved’ around late 2018 .Unattributed but supportive, was an identified site, [Tribune of the People](#) , an online news outlet that carried reports on the revolutionary movement in the US and supported reconstituting the party. The US-based Internet Blogger, *Black like Mao*, had [commented](#) previously that

“Tribune does not publish materials from ILPS, from FTP chapters, or from Maoist Communist Group, because they do not support these organizations. They publish materials from UNDM, the various European Gonzaloite sects, and the Brazilian because they support these projects. You’re not clandestine, you’re not in the middle of a people’s war, you’re a few people that have decided to go to a few protests, wheatpaste some flyers about the peasant struggle in Brazil, and try to organize tenants. “

With contradictory conclusions drawn by former members, still very disturbing description of misogyny , cult behaviour and a record of some masquerading as revolutionaries can be found under the “Rebellion” category at the reinstated [Struggle Sessions website](#) and the rebuilding [Revolutionary Study Network](#) . Criticism from the American Proletarian Feminist Research Group can be found here: <https://proletarianfeministresearchgroup.wordpress.com/>

Militarized party

While clearly identifying the armed struggle of the masses as the highest form of political struggle, the Columbian UOC(MLM) argue:

It is “very radical in appearance but is actually a theory that undermines the role of the Party and breaks the conscious discipline, feature not only of Party members, but also the actuation of the broad masses in the era of capitalism, for the first time in history they exercise its quality role as protagonists of the revolution.” UOC (MLM): 140

“The policy of the Communists is public, but the character of the organisation is always clandestine” is the approach of the UOC. The conscious unity of Party members, rather than the hierarchal obedience necessary in a fighting unit, and emersion and contact with

the revolutionary masses .A militarised party is thought to denigrate the development of the party ideologically, minimising line struggle through criticism and self-criticism, Marxist education, and too readily categorises line struggle as the plots of police and imperialism , shutting down arguments allowing ideas to move freely within the ranks, it allows resolution by those who believe in eliminating opportunistic thoughts by physically liquidating their carriers attacking the ranks of the Party and its wider relationships.

Combatants of People's War recognise contentious concerns that question what seldom appears in partisan propaganda and sometimes erupt in polemical fury. But here, in a statement not dated by time, is a quietly spoken observation from a leading Indian combatant:

“Our capacity has been reduced to the military needs of the war.” In response to the intense state repression, they have increased their attention to the military attacks and counter-attacks at the expense of the political education of their soldiers, the ethical foundation of their cadres and the politicisation of their supporters.

In the new century the legacy of struggle and the positive methodology of the old parties were ill-appreciated when nuances of leftism prevailed that counterpoised this approach with the preparation of the people’s war. What did not happen in China was a strategy that subsume the political to the weapon, that despise the ideological and political work among the masses forging their class consciousness about the role of the armed people and revolutionary objectives of their armed struggle. In substituting in a small consciously committed group as the cutting edge it draws upon foci theory and the ‘propaganda of the deed’ both discredited in experience, and contemptuous of the mass line and organising the class to face its fight. The tasks of communist seen as traditionally in the struggle to obtain revolutionary leadership through agitation and propaganda, to communicate to the masses a true picture of class relations and interests that exists in society, explain why the socialist transformation is necessary and unavoidable and their own crucial role to perform in this historical transformation.

While the Indian, Turkish and Filipino comrades fundamentally disagree with the assertion that people’s war is an international strategy, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Canada, the Maoist Communist Party of France, the Maoist Communist Party of Turkey and North Kurdistan, the PCm Italy, have been promoting the idea of the universality of people’s war. By the “universality of people’s war” these organizations seem to mean that the sort of people’s war that Mao led in China in the 1930s and 1940s is applicable always and everywhere, including within highly urbanized advanced capitalist and imperialist countries. For these comrades, although they recognize the universality of Maoism, they are said to ignore one part of it and counterpoises the Leninist theory of insurrection without allowing for the enrichment provided by Maoism. They truncate Marxism and an essential element of the military theory supplemented by Mao.

While non-practicing, supporters of the universality of protracted people’s war have not clearly and fully articulated their respective visions of such a political and military

strategy, or have clearly demonstrated the similarities and differences between their line and the failed urban guerrilla line of the 1970's and 80's as practiced in Europe and South America.

In opposition to the “Gonzaloist” recipe are parties and organisations that do recognize the universality of Maoism but deny the universal nature of people’s war and raise significant issues that divide the movement as with the question of the correct revolutionary strategy in imperialist countries. As observed by Banned Thought, “many other Maoists and Maoist parties and organizations disagree with this perspective and promote people’s war only in countries where they view it as appropriate, while promoting mass insurrection (when the time is ripe) as the appropriate revolutionary strategy in the more urbanized and/or advanced capitalist countries. Some Maoist parties also support a mixed strategy of people’s war in wide areas of the countryside, followed at some appropriate time by mass insurrection in the cities. These parties point out that mass insurrection was the strategy of Lenin in 1917 Russia, and that even Mao himself did not argue that people’s war is always and everywhere the appropriate revolutionary strategy.”

The militarised party as a party building strategy has some serious flaws, not least what happens when the general command is "decapitated" by the enemy, how can that vanguard leadership be maintained in the ranks if exercised in a command structure less democratic-centralism and more directed, how can momentum be maintained in the struggle if mass involvement is not regarded as militarily important?

Practitioner and theorist Jose Maria Sison’s comments on the question of people’s war in industrial countries were critical:

“There is no protracted people’s war of any kind going on in any industrial capitalist country. What has been protracted is merely idle talk or hot air about the possibility of waging protracted people’s war. No serious preparations for it are being made.

It is only a “Left” opportunist, a fake Maoist or even an agent provocateur who has disdain for the lasting admonition of the Communist Manifesto to win the battle for democracy against the bourgeois class dictatorship and who clamors for proclaiming and starting a people’s war in an industrial capitalist country without the necessary preparations of the subjective forces and the favorable objective conditions that I have mentioned.” [Sison \(2019\) “On the Question of People’s War in Industrial Capitalist Countries”](#).

Sison’s observations in the battle for the unity of the MLM communist movement were immediately counter with the call to “Defend and apply the universality of Protracted People’s War!” attributed to Ard Kinera, contributor to Tjen Folket Media’s /TFM website.

Arguments accelerated within the International Communist Movement tend to focus less on Gonzalo/Guzman’s praxis and more on those who raise the banner of Gonzalo Thought and how they interpret and what applies in their struggles. Various criticisms have appeared from different sections of self-defined Maoists individual and groups,

some argue it is important to distinguish between the PCP itself—which despite its defeat, was a dominantly revolutionary organization—and Gonzaloist groups today who are often little more than small activist groups.

An article commenting on the demise of a small American activist group, and encompassed the position that nobody should charge Chairman Gonzalo with the simplifications of many of his supporters in Peru and abroad, initiated polemical exchanges on the understanding of the contribution of Chairman Gonzalo and the interpretation and application by some of those activists who identified and support that contribution regarding them as an ultra-left deviation. This was followed by counter thesis from the (former) US Red Guard associate, Struggle Sessions, *A Crackle of Hens* in response to the attacks on “our German Comrades”. This was reinforced by [Tjen Folket Media’s contribution](#), “Answer to Blog Post Against Gonzalo” by Øystein Iversen.

The exchange underscored that for some, anything less than fulsome references to Chairman Gonzalo was objectionable on the grounds that as he is regarded as the one who more than any other has summarize Maoism and more than that: “Gonzalo, furthermore, did not simply “summarize” Maoism; he synthesized it and in doing so brought the whole of the ICM out of increasing darkness. Through the application of this synthesis he developed greater analysis which pushed MLM even further.” [Kavga’s A Crackle of Hens Struggle Session website](#)

As like-minded ally of Tjen Folket Media’s contributors, argued: “Studying and following the PCP and Chairman Gonzalo’s example is necessary and important for communists in all countries that wish to reconstruct communist parties today, because these must be constituted as Maoist parties.”

Whereas one Norwegian blogger opinion was: “I have no desire to keep people away from studying Gonzalo. On the contrary – Gonzalo has written a lot of sense and should be studied. But not uncritical. Not everything he writes is good (see, for example, my article on “Great Leader or Collective leadership?”).” Neighbouring activists contributed to the critique with “Gonzaloism: A ‘Left’ Revisionist Deviation”, by Thomas Berg from the Kommunistiska Föreningen / The Communist Association” [2022] in Sweden. [Direct link](#)

Clearly on this issue of what lessons to draw from the Peruvian revolutionary struggle that is shaping the contemporary politics and alignments and others there was no unity. The struggle of two lines on these issues, goes through the debate in the international communist movement and the RIM and beyond.

However, convergence is unlikely to unify the different organisations as the various joint statements and declarations expressed different criteria for the construction of the ICM from the outset. The history of these declarations constitutes part of the struggle for the reunification of the communists in the world, increasingly separating on distinct political lines. There are mutual accusations of "revisionism" due to discrepancies in the content and the alleged monopoly on the only "true" and "scientific" understanding of maoism results in the quick transformation of differences into matters of principle as initiatives developed in separate ways, expressing distinct political lines in active opposition to

others. Certainly, the hostility directed at the contribution of the late leader of the Philippine Party did not bode well for prospects of a majority international alignment to emerge.

Within the two-line struggle the demarcations are being clearly signalled, with opposition to the position of adoption of Chairman Gonzalo's Maoism is to oppose in fact the whole application of Maoism and People's War and to the unification of the International Communist Movement based on these principles. This is to follow the path of what the Brazilians harshly characterise as the rightist liquidationist tendency, describing it as a more recalcitrant and pernicious form of the new revisionism. Exclusion from the new internationalism will be an ideological choice. In advancing its "Gonzalo banner" it drops the cornerstone of Mao's success in revolutionary struggle in China, the relevance of the politics to the condition of the day.

The Maoist Road

At the start of the second decade the demarcation lines had been drawn and could be discerned into the non-aligned that included the Philippine comrades, the committed Gonzaloists that went onto form the **International Communist League** in 2022 and those striving towards an accommodation around *the Maoist Road* positions nurtured by the **(nuovo) Partito comunista italiano / (n)PCI**.

The Maoist Road saw itself as an arm of the MLM movement engaged in debate and struggle for a new unity of the international movement. Maoist Road provided an avenue for international meetings, its website hosted the publication of texts that had an interest for those against the revisionist lines in Nepal and support for People's War in India, and reports on the accompanying blog (<http://maoistroad.blogspot.com/>) with the support of some other Maoist parties. Its participants had a RIMish background and initiated the appearance of the journal, *Two Line Struggle* in early 2023.

Establishing, as demonstrated by the various historical attempts by international Trotskyism, a small network of international alliances with organizations and groups does not reproduce the influence or effect of the original Comintern. The failure to seriously address the only international Maoist movement that has existed to date, and explain the experience of the RIM, simply in terms of the revisionist positions developed by Avakian and betrayal of the Nepalese revolution, hampers the difficulties in restructuring a supportive internationalist structure through an ideological struggle over the definition of Maoism on the basis that it will give a new impetus to the global proletarian revolution.

The Maoist Road tendency suggests, "CoRIM became arrogant and with its subjective evaluations and sectarian attitude created obstacles and harms to the International Maoist movement. It is important that a summation of its experiences will *include a review of its ideological, political positions in its Declaration of foundation.*" (emphasis added)

Other parties and organizations would also like to see RIM re-established, but recognize the serious difficulties in doing so at present. Including the short-term collapse of the revolutions in Peru (a description contested by some) and Nepal, and the degenerated lines of the parties which had been leading those revolutions, (again, a description contested by some) and also the bizarre political lines and behaviour of some other RIM parties, such as the RCP, USA (not so much a disputed judgement).

The first issue of *Maoist Road* appeared in the Spring of 2011, underscoring signs of efforts by some parties and organizations around the world, to try to resurrect or re-establish RIM and explore how should a new international coordinating body of Maoist forces be organized, especially in the wake of the latest failed attempt. The publication saw the political disagreements and divisions inside RIM made public became clearer providing a realistic picture of the current situation of the movement and illustrated the real ideological differences that could impede any future unity.

2020 began with reports from *Maoist Road* of a successful International preparatory meeting held in Italy in January before the pandemic paralysis and international lockdown. Arguing for a method of unity-struggle-unity and against the spirit of faction and division, it had striven through the *Maoist Road* sharing of information and campaigns and other avenues, for organizations “to arrive at the widest possible unity of the MLM movement”. <https://maoistroad.blogspot.com/> January 2020

There discussions were developed regarding the conditions, the need and possibility of holding a Conference grandly envisaged as a Unified International of Marxist Leninist Maoists of all countries. Previously it had been presented as “let's work together for an International Conference of mlm parties and organisations in the world against revisionism, opportunism and *pretty bourgeois leftism masked by 'maoism'*.”

The main organising sponsors issued a message that still spoke of “The battle for the unity of the MLM communist movement, the struggle between the two lines within it, the definition of a common platform, the organized form with which to continue this work require, as we know, a prolonged work which demands preparatory meetings, new bilateral and multilateral meetings, as well as the exchange of documents, initiatives aimed at the masses, on the tortuous but luminous path of the realization of a Unified International Conference of the communist movement MLM that wins over the fragmentation, surpassing the effects of the collapse of the RIM and responds to the need to unify MLM on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, on the basis of a critical-self-critical assessment of the general experience of the RIM and other attempts to formation of an international organization.”

Internet commentator, Harsh Thakor (coincidentally after interviewing Sison) was not so circumspect. *On the Theory of International Proletariat Military tactics of Mao and Chairman Gonzalo* <http://ottoswarroom.blogspot.com/2020/02/on-theory-of-international-proletariat.html> February 12, 2020

He argued comrades must make a distinction between the positive practice of Communist Party of Peru (PCP) under Chairman Gonzalo and the most sectarian interpretation, naming groups in America, some of which are now defunct, the German Committee Red Flag associated with *Dem Volke Dienen* website and those around *Tjen*

Folket Media. He references Kenny Lake's critical exploration of the debate around the universality of protracted people's war (PPW) <https://kites-journal.org/2019/12/11/on-infantile-internet-disorders-and-real-questions-of-revolutionary-strategy-a-response-to-the-debate-over-the-universality-of-protracted-peoples-war/> and the scathing criticism of Andy Belasario in PRISM blog, *On the so-called University of Protracted People's War* and the "the dubious genius of a Gonzalo...his flip-flop from "Left" opportunism to Right opportunism, which has caused the people's war to decline and nearly total defeat in Peru". <https://www.prismm.net/2019/09/02/universality-ppw/>

Even before the enforced pause brought about by Covid-19, the conditions for convening the unified international conference have been absent with 2020 the year of alternative planning for separate developments on the unitary road in the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist tendencies. None of the current tendencies command a majority allegiance for their vision of a unified movement, and realistically some of the self-declared groups may register more on the internet than anywhere else. While the aspiration for Maoists to unite is voiced, the impetus towards antagonistic contradictions is coming to dominate this current period.

International Communist League

Without any evidence of growing support or consensus, there was an intensification of the division in the two line struggle with the long promised "Unified Maoist Conference" held by those gathered around the positions *promoted by the Coordinator for a Unified Maoist International Conference*.

The reaction to the declaration in December 2022 of the founding of the **International Communist League / ICL** by Gonzaloist organisations went along well defined trench lines. Fifteen communist organizations from 14 countries had come together under the name *International Communist League* after the holding of their Unified Maoist International Conference.

The ICL, essentially presenting itself as the centre of the international communist movement, declared its aim to unify Maoist parties and organizations under its banner and program, while demanding that those who join submit to democratic centralist control by the ICL. The immediate aftermath of the Unified Maoist Conference saw the ICL issue an Appeal to continue the great path for the reunification of the ICM under Maoism stating, "*The dispersion is still the main problem in the ICM and revisionism is the main danger*". The fifteen groups involved, "*aiming at raising the two line struggle and promoting ideological and political unity... will support all the propositions, initiatives, forums, that serve to develop unity-struggle-unity. ... join the red flag of the International Communist League in order to strengthen this new great wave of the World Proletarian Revolution.*"

The online news site, Communist International carried pictures of graffiti and public displays of banners, flags and posters, all actions carried out worldwide throughout January 2023. This social media offensive could not hide the marginal nature of the activity nor that the basis of unity of International Communist League was the theoretical

outlines that a majority of Maoist parties internationally did not uphold. *See Red Pages Theoretical Journal: A Critical Evaluation of Gonzaloism* Number 3: February 2023

In danger of over-hyping, the self-referring ICL was advertised as a great step forward and as the basis and reference point to unify the whole international communist movement. It argued the foundation of the ICL did not close the process of struggle for unity. “The foundation of the International Communist League is the result of a long and complex process of more than four decades for overcoming dispersion and uniting the International Communist Movement under Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the command and guide of the world revolution. Only by understanding this decades-long process it is possible to understand the historical transcendence and deep strategic content of the foundation of the International Communist League.”

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Broadly sets out the foundational basis to defend the three basic principles:

- the defense of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism,
- struggle against revisionism, and
- to be for the World Proletarian Revolution.

While looking forward to expanding its international relations, establishing more Marxist-Leninist-Maoist and anti-imperialist ties, and forging greater unity and cooperation with communist parties and organizations, including those in the ICL, the **Communist Party of the Philippines** reiterated its different perspective and judgement that it did “not presently see the conditions for establishing an international center that assumes the role of world proletarian vanguard”. It welcomed the undertaking to promote Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and carry out revolutionary struggles across the world, reiterating that

“Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties and organizations are the most competent in determining the revolutionary path in their own countries. It is their responsibility to take initiative in determining the line of struggle based on the application of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to their particular concrete conditions.”

Setting out its position in a statement, On the announced formation by the International Communist League, the Central Committee Communist Party of the Philippines, released January 18, 2023, in part, expressed its critical assessments of the ICL’s approach commonly voiced by other Maoists.

It is our view that the most urgent task currently facing communist parties and organizations around the world is to apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to conduct class analysis and social investigation into the varied conditions in their countries, in order to determine the particular strategy and tactics to lead the proletariat and all oppressed and exploited classes in waging new democratic and socialist revolutionary struggles.

Arguing that organizations, while benefit in drawing lessons from the history of revolutionary struggles in different parts of the world, and to exchange views and experiences with other communist parties, they must strive to raise their capacity to become independent and self-reliant.

“It will be counterproductive, however, for them to subordinate themselves to a presumptive international center and lose their independence and initiative in carrying out revolutionary work within the scope of their competence and leadership. ...

The CPP encourages parties and organizations towards greater international unity and cooperation, to conduct bilateral meetings and multilateral conferences and consultations where crucial questions of theory and practice can be discussed, threshed out and agreed upon, while setting aside points of disagreement for further study and discussion. It stated “We must always strive to build unity on the basis of upholding Marxism-Leninism, promoting Maoism as the third stage in the development of the proletarian ideology, exposing and fighting revisionism, advancing the struggle against imperialism and all reaction, and carrying forward the new democratic and socialist revolutions.”

Sentiments that may seem familiar with what the ICL expresses in language and terms that differ greatly in actual meaning. The declaration of two barely concealed antagonistic positions remains muted for the time being.

An aspect of the two-line struggle for a unified international movement has been the gradual crystallisation of blocs emerging around political positions subject to polemic exchange and muted criticisms. Other organisation that have explicitly expressed their reservations and criticisms include:

The Construction Committee of the Maoist Communist Party of Galicia stated in a post on Maoist Road blogsite January 26, 2023 that “From our point of view, launching a new international organisation with political authority without being able to hold a unified conference first, is a practice that leads to separating part of the ICM from the rest. It also leads to making the rest do the same and that the confrontation within the ICM becomes not a two-line struggle, but a sum of useless confrontations between various tendencies, as well as creating a dynamic that ‘forces’ each tendency to differentiate itself from the rest.”

It expressed support for the proposal from the *Communist Party of India (Maoist)* – CPI (Maoist) – to create a world Maoist ‘Forum’, expressed its views on revolutionary violence that defend the universality of the people's war and specifically noted

“We consider that the CWU (mlm) defends its political line with honesty. We must be critical between all communist detachments, but the treatment that certain parties have given to CWU (mlm) is unfair. If in all the international contacts we have had within the ICM, all the organizations have always treated us with great courtesy and comradeship, the same has not happened to CWU (mlm), being subjected to an unfair treatment for an organization that dedicates efforts to contribute to the strengthening of the ICM.”

The *Communist Workers Union (mlm) of Colombia* – CWU (mlm) – has been subject to harsh polemical comments by some of the component groups of the ICL. The organisation had quickly offered its own explanation on December 27, 2022 as to “why

we decided not to participate in that Conference, which far from being «Unified» as announced, represents the positions of a particular hue within the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists.”

Furthermore questioning the status of its claims, “The non-participation in this event, by the comrades of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the Communist Party of India (Maoist), the Construction Committee of the Maoist Communist Party of Galicia, the Maoist Communist Party of Italy, the Maoist Communist Party of Afghanistan, among other Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organizations and parties, is evidence that the Conference held was not «unified» as announced; for our part we renew to the comrades participating in that Conference and of the new organization International Communist League, the fraternal call to give primacy to the general needs of the world class struggle, which impose as a necessity the struggle for unity in a truly unified International Conference of all Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, a struggle to which the Union remains fully committed.“

There was something of a Columbian rebuke with the appearance of their English language edition of the theoretical organ of the Communist Workers' Union (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) *Negation of Negation*, dedicated to the struggle for the international unity of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists, as have been the three previous issues, on this occasion in polemic against "leftism". It advertises that “*the reader will find a refutation to the "leftist" ideas and attacks made by the comrades defending the proposal of bases of discussion presented by the International Maoist Conference promoted by the Coordinator for a Unified Maoist International Conference.*”

Agreement came in criticisms raised by a Norwegian communist group, Revolutionary Communists, (RK) in *Notes on the Founding Declaration of the International Communist League*, their statement of January 6th, 2023 that:

“We uphold the acute necessity of unifying the International Communist Movement (ICM) under Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and welcome any genuine steps in this direction. However, we believe that the level of unity necessary for the founding of an international organization has not yet been reached, nor do we believe the proposal for a General Line has been sufficiently debated on an international level. Therefore we consider the establishment of ICL to be premature, as the international Maoist movement has not reached the ideological unity necessary for organizational unity. We fear that the premature formation of an international Maoist organization will serve as an obstacle to the development of two-line struggle, thus preventing real unity. We hope this fear will be proven wrong, and that the two-line struggle will continue so that a greater unity can be achieved.”

“The founding of the ICL may or may not be a genuine step towards the unity of the international Maoist movement, depending on how the ICL relates to MLM parties and organizations that are outside of it; especially those non-member parties that are actively engaged in People's Wars (India, Philippines... In spite of our criticisms, and although we consider the founding of an international Maoist organization to be premature at this stage, we welcome the increased

collaboration between Maoist forces and hope to continue to engage in comradely criticism and debate.”

Maoist Road’s Clarification, posted, for its comrades and readers, explained it publishes reports on all demonstrations in May Day throughout the world, because they are generally in the camp of proletarians and peoples struggle against capitalism and imperialism for proletarian and socialist revolution.

However, it made clear that at “the same time Maoist Road supports mlm parties and organisations ideological/theoretical/political/organisational struggle against revisionism/opportunism and 'ICL deviation' and now supports the new review, *Two-Line Struggle* engaged in this specific struggle for a true mlm Unified International Conference, for a new MLM International Organisation, after collapse of the RIM. Explicitly it stated, Maoist Road supports ICSPWI/ The International Committee in Support of the People's War in India and PCI(Maoist) as the principal international campaign supporting people's war in the world. The side-lining of the longest running example of the People's War in the Philippines an oversight reflecting the relative development and focus of the solidarity movements.

Better optics were provided with the, not unrelated, launch of another propaganda outlet with the “online newspaper”, *The Red Herald*, covering struggles throughout the world. Appearing in March 2023, produced in English and Spanish, focus on those mainly aligned to International Communist League positions without ignoring people’s war in the Philippines and India. The intention said to be, “*that in a world dominated by media giants belonging to a handful of people, it is more necessary than ever to promote just that type of information, that might hopefully be disturbing to the Masters of War and Destruction.*” <https://redherald.org/about-us/>.

Expanding its publishing endeavour, the MLM publishing house, the French-based Foreign Language Press /FLP tweeted in May 2023 plans for a new initiative: Material, an MLM journal for contending schools of revolutionary thought. J.Moufawad-Paul co-edits the proposed journal with Jin and Van Herzelle, editors at FLP and an impressive advisory committee. Its objective is to foster a “creative, non-sectarian, sharply critical debate and discussion in what we might loosely call and broadly define the ‘socialist camp’”.

The struggle continues.

State of the Movement 2 is a selection of documents that navigates these developments, and signposts further investigation of that journey.

Volume 1 [state-of-the-movement.pdf \(wordpress.com\)](#)