

**NEW PROBLEMS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE
"TWO LINES STRUGGLE": THE STRANGE AFFAIR OF PAGES
MISSING FROM THE SECOND ISSUE**

UNITE



UNDER MAOISM

NUOVA EGEMONIA



On June 19, Nuova Egemonia's editorial staff published in Italian, Spanish and English, a long document entitled **"The influence of Trotskyism in the international journal 'Two lines struggle'."**¹

In this document we criticized the approach and several theses of the second issue of the magazine "Two lines struggle" ² [further referred to as "TLS"] publicized by the website "Maoist Road" (run by Proletari Communist-PCm³) and "Revolucion Obrera"⁴.

On July 13, about a month after the release of the TLS issue, Maoist Road published the following statement: *"The number 2 of TLS is imperfect - the Board informs that missing some pages in the Statement of CPI (maoist) on ICL. The edition will be corrected as soon as. When it is ready, it will be published and will be sent to interested parties and organizations."*⁵ So in this statement it is claimed that in the second issue of the TLS Magazine the text of Communist Party of India (Maoist) [CPI(maoist)] on the establishment of the International Communist League was missing a number of pages and related paragraphs (about seven pages). The same Maoist Road site the day before, which was on July 12, had proceeded to fully publish the relevant text attributed to the CPI(maoist)⁶. On that occasion, it was published with the following "clarification": *"this text was published in the journal TWO LINES STRUGGLE with some few imperfections -the Journal TLS will make some modifications in the next days edition but it is well that the important stand is read by comrades and ICM as soon as."* This is thus the full version of the text attributed to the CPI(maoist) which was published until that time only partially in the second issue of the international TLS journal. A few days later the text was taken down from the Maoist Road website.

On July 15, Maoist Road published a second version of the second issue of TLS magazine, theoretically including the full text of the May 19 document of the Indian CPI(maoist). Number 2 of "TLS" which in the first version had 85 pages thus turned into 95 pages. Up until the date of the publication of this commentary on this strange affair by Nuova Egemonia's editorial staff, however, it does not appear that any changes or additions have yet been made to number 2 of the TLS magazine on the "Revolucion Obrera" website⁷, which continues to publish the old version. Recall that the Union Obrera Comunista (mlm), which publishes Revolucion Obrera, was among the main promoters of the TLS magazine. It does not appear that, apart from the website bannedthought.net⁸, other organizations at the international level have intervened on this issue by providing an update of the initial version.

It should be pointed out at this point that nowhere it was reported in the first version of Number 2 of TLS magazine that the publication of the text attributed to CPI(maoist) was only in partial form. Finally, another important fact, the text attributed to CPI(maoist) first published on July 12 by Maoist Road was dated May 19, 2023.

So, in summary: Number 2 of the 85-page magazine is published in the first half of last June. On July 13, Maoist Road informs that the May 19 statement signed by CPI(maoist) on the establishment of the International League, published in the second issue of TLS magazine, appears to be missing a centrally important part due to a printing and publishing error. So Maoist Road

1 <https://nuovaegemonia.com/2023/06/19/the-influence-of-trotskyism-in-the-international-journal-two-lines-struggle/>

2 <https://revolucionobrera.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/L2L-N2-Eng.pdf>.

3 *Maoist Road* is a website (at: <https://maoistroad.blogspot.com>) published by the Maoist Communist Party of Italy [<https://www.bannedthought.net/International/MaoistRoad/index.htm>]

4 <https://www.revolucionobrera.com/>

5 <https://maoistroad.blogspot.com/2023/07/the-number-2-of-tls-is-imperfect-board.html>

6 <https://maoistroad.blogspot.com/2023/07/the-stand-of-cpi-maoist-on-formation-of.html>

7 <https://revolucionobrera.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/L2L-N2-Eng.pdf>

8 <https://www.bannedthought.net/International/TwoLinesStruggle/index.htm>

provides a second 95-page version of Number 2 of TLS on July 15. Apart from Maoist Road and www.bannedthought.net⁹, no other international sites or organizations have at present made such an integration.

This is obviously a set of data that paints an implausible picture. The fact that there was a misprint concerning the absence of 7 or 8 pages in the May 19 publication of a major document of the Indian CPI(maoist) and so that this error was discovered and corrected only after a month is not very credible, unless one assumes an editorial activity and a political and organizational management completely in disarray, which would totally discredit the promoters of this enterprise.

So the real problem is to make realistic assumptions about the motivations that led the promoters of the journal, at the time of the first draft, to exclude a number of pages from the Indian CPI(maoist) document.

To do so, we must obviously analyze the contents of the May 19th document of CPI(maoist) Indian Comrades, which miraculously reappeared on the international scene on July 12 and then resurfaced a few days later within the second version of the TSL magazine.

More specifically, one has to consider both the content of the parts missing in the first version and the fact regarding the extent of those parts. If one goes to look, one immediately notices that these are a number of issues that are fundamental to the line of the international Marxist-Leninist-Maoist movement. Some of them, of particular importance, concern the question of the universality or not of the "people's war" and that of the analysis of imperialism. The full document of the Indian CPI(maoist) gives a much more accurate picture not only of the second issue of TLS but also, more generally, of the current situation of part of the international Marxist-Leninist-Maoist movement and thus of the different options existing within it on the problem of building an international organization.

In fact, the two previously mentioned questions, that of the people's war and that of the analysis of imperialism, substantiate and repropose the theses of the 2017 Indian CPI(maoist) document¹⁰, recalled in the second issue of TLS magazine by this party as a basic proposal for the international m-l-m movement.

The Indian CPI(maoist), as is abundantly clear from the missing pages in the first version, intends to participate in the debate and set out its positions.

What thus emerges is that the missing pages in the first version highlight the existence of different and, at present, not compatible basic positions among the various documents and contributions in the TLS journal.

This diversity, which precludes to TLS magazine's promoters the possibility of putting themselves forward as a center for the definition of a unified general line, is leaving as the only possibility the one indicated by the Indian CPI(maoist) himself, that is, not a substantially homogeneous international organization, not a re-edition of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement [RIM], but the proposal of an international forum.

However, all this contrasts with the promoters of the TLS journal itself and thus with the project that this journal would like to conduct. The introduction to the first issue of the journal states, "*This*

⁹ <https://www.bannedthought.net/International/TwoLinesStruggle/index.htm>

¹⁰ "*Our Stand on the Formation of an International Organisation of the Proletariat*", by the Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist), 16 pages. A very important discussion of this issue including a brief summation of the Comintern and RIM. [<https://www.bannedthought.net/India/CPI-Maoist-Docs/index.htm#2017>]

journal serves this two-line struggle and serves the building a platform for a genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoist International Conference."¹¹

However, what exactly is meant by "two lines struggle"? On the one hand it is said "struggle against revisionism," on the other hand it is argued the necessity of the struggle against the International Communist League which is carrying, according to the organizations promoting TSL, *"a sectarian line based on replacing the Marxism-Leninism- Maoism with a 'principally Maoism' that breaks the unity of our theory, weakens and disarms it, constructs self-referential extremist/propagandist organizations, tinged with the influence of petty-bourgeois revolutionism"*.

Certainly these kinds of assessments and considerations have little to do with the project of an international forum for debate such as that proposed by the Indian CPI(maoist).

The formation of the International Communist League on a common Maoist basis had the merit of shaking off the confusion and passivity that was emerging in some parts of the international m-l-m movement, within which semi-Avakian and semi-Trotskyite positions were flourishing. It had the great merit of working for decades to set Maoism as the basis for the formation of an international center of the m-l-m movement. Over these several decades the forces that now refer to the League have grown closer together, and various compromises and adjustments on minor issues have fostered a growing unification. The LCI is today absolutely hegemonic among m-l-m movement forces present in Europe; among the m-l-m only the small Italian group of Proletari Comunisti-PCm has opposed the League on this continent. This group over the past decades, as a result of its sectarian hegemonist, economicist and semi-trotskyist positions, has lost virtually all political relations with other Maoist parties and organizations in Europe. Of course, the LCI is completely hegemonic, among the m-l-m-referenced forces, in Latin America and Central America, and is also present in Turkey and other countries around the world.

While the League in fact has constructed unity, this has not been the case with respect to the proponents of other aggregation projects of the international m-l-m movement.

The RIM, as India's CPI(maoist) itself writes, has been decisively characterized by differences and incompatibilities among its various member forces. This party's 2017 document explains why its main historical component never joined the RIM. However, the RIM's eclecticism, which fostered both Avakian and Prachanda opportunism and the subsequent machinations of ex-Avakians and semi-Trotskyites, led this movement to its dissolution. A revival of the RIM that claims to restart from what the RIM expressed as positive is not possible because this distinction between positive aspects to be recovered and negative aspects to be rejected can give only some points of reflection and good insights, but nothing more. To want to make a theory of it means falling into eclecticism and being unable to land on anything but sectarian dynamics and processes.

The 2017 document of the Indian CPI(maoist) basically emphasizes this point. Thus, it is not possible to follow the line proposed by the CPI(m-l)Naxalabari [since years merged into the Indian CPI(maoist)], the Maoist Communist Party of Afghanistan and Proletari Comunisti-PCm Italy in their 2012 document titled "1st Resolution passed by the Special Meeting of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Parties and Organizations of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement - May First 2012."¹²

11 [<https://www.bannedthought.net/International/TwoLinesStruggle/L2L-N02-Eng-Corrected.pdf>]

12 Where, for example, it states: *"Today, facing the crisis and the collapse of the RIM, we must rebuild the international organization of MLM parties and organizations on the basis of the positive and negative experiences of the RIM" ... "The new international organization should have an executive centre, whose internal life must correspond to the stage and methods shared by the political parties and forces that give life to this organization, particularly taking lesson from the positive and negative experiences of the CoRim."* [https://www.bannedthought.net/ International/ RIM/Resurrection/2012/Reso1-120501.pdf](https://www.bannedthought.net/International/RIM/Resurrection/2012/Reso1-120501.pdf)

Therefore, after the dissolution of the RIM there was only one true unified process that developed, the one represented by the Maoist forces that built the LCI. Such has not happened, is not happening today and cannot happen tomorrow for the forces promoting the TLS magazine. The spirit of this magazine is to criticize the LCI. It is not a question here of going to see if all criticisms are wrong, it is a question of the wrong approach to the question of building a new organization and the unconstructive character of the magazine.

The TLS magazine publishes documents that contain mutually incompatible positions and irreconcilable projects. For example, it gathers forces that want to reconstruct a new RIM purified (sic!) of its opportunistic characters. Now, in the second version of the TLS magazine, the full document of the Indian CPI(maoist) reiterates that it wants nothing of that kind and that what is needed is an international forum.

In addition, from the point of view of content, in the missing pages to the first version of the second issue of TLS magazine, the Indian CPI(maoist) upholds basic theses that have always been openly opposed by the promoting groups of TLS magazine such as, for example, the Committee of Construction of Maoist Communist Party of Galicia or the Proletarian Communist-PCm group itself.

All of this most probably explains the real reasons for the absence of the central parts of the CPI(maoist) document, in the first version of the second issue of TLS magazine. On the whole, in its complete form, this document rips to shreds, in terms of content and design of a new international organization, the sectarian political operation put in place by the TLS magazine. In fact, it shows that there is no real common project basis and no real theoretical-political unity on fundamental issues that are decisive for the formulation of a general line of the international m-l-m movement.

In terms of content, the document of the Indian CPI(maoist) upholds some views similar to those of "Marxism-Leninism-Mao's Thought," denying the universality of the people's war and stating that in imperialist countries the revolution will have to follow the path of October¹³. Similarly, the Indian CPI(maoist) argues that the present world is multipolar, going so far as to be essentially silent on the question of the general crisis of imperialism and the particularly acute situation of contradictions in countries with bureaucratic capitalism, which still constitute the vast majority of the world's countries¹⁴. Among other things, the Indian CPI(maoist) document also seems to argue that revolutionary struggles in imperialist countries are a support for the revolutions of oppressed peoples.

One only has to read the documents of the Galician Maoists adhering to the TLS magazine or take the theses on people's war in imperialist countries in Number 2 of "La Nuova Bandiera"¹⁵, the

13 "We believe the generalisation of the experiences of proletarian revolutions of the imperialist era and the classification of the revolutionary wars in different countries of the world into two kinds, on the whole, according to the nature other respective society, economy and political systems. ...Our party says thus basing on Maoist understanding – The experiences of world socialist revolution, especially those of the two great proletarian revolutions in Russia and China proved the above mentioned things. Revolutionary war took place in two different paths in the two countries" [second version of CPI(maoist) document in number 2 of TLS]

14 "Is it correct to classify the imperialist countries into two ranks? Presently imperialist world turned to be a multipolar world. In this condition, we opine that it is not correct to classify imperialist countries as two ranks" [CPI(maoist) document, quoted]

15 Proletari Comunisti-PCm in Number 2 of the magazine La Nuova Bandiera summarizes its theses in this way: "We, therefore, think that people's war is universal and practicable in our country." It is a pity that, as therefore can be seen, the foundation of these positions does not shy away from an economist approach. This position was reiterated almost in its entirety in Proletari Communist-PCm's intervention in the journal "Two lines struggle" where it states "The People's War is a revolutionary **global** (emphasis ours) strategy to resolve the contradiction between the

magazine of Proletari Communisti-PCm (second edition in 2017) to see: 1) that these two groups support the thesis of the universality of people's war, 2) that the conception of the universality of people's war of these two groups is profoundly different, in the case of Proletari Communisti-PCm we have an economicist and workerist version of this issue. Similarly, while the Indian CPI(maoist) talks about multipolarism, the two groups mentioned above fight this kind of thesis. Finally, these two groups deny the third-worldist thesis that revolutionary struggles in imperialist countries should place themselves at the service of those of oppressed peoples.

Proletarian Communist-PCM, in fact, again in "Two Lines Struggle," even accused the LCI of "third-worldism" for claiming that the basis of world revolution would be the oppressed nations.¹⁶ This accusation was based on the theory of the "development of the productive forces" in the different countries of the world, which would resolve the question of the semi-feudal traits of most of the oppressed countries and thus render Mao's theory of bureaucratic capitalism obsolete.

Behind the assumption of the thesis of the universality of the "people's war" theory, Communist Proletarians-PCm does nothing but propose economism and Trotskyism. On balance, the real content of its "people's war" theory is represented on one hand by the strategy of the radicalization of the trade union-economic conflict, which would find an outlet in mass illegality and insurrection, and on the other hand by a kind of re-proposition of Trotsky's "permanent revolution." Thus a directly and immediately socialist revolution in all countries of the world. Practically a re-proposition, at least in part, of arguments similar to those of the UOC (mlm)-Revolucion Obrera, an organization which, however, does not mask itself in a chameleon-like manner. It thus openly denies the universality of the people's war and the question of bureaucratic capitalism.

Now it shouldn't be surprising that in the deleted part, the CPI (Maoist) states sharply, "Among the fundamental contradictions, the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nationalities and people is the main contradiction. Presently this contradiction influences the other contradictions and shows a decisive influence on the other contradictions."

Instead, the contradiction between proletariat and bourgeoisie within the imperialist countries, which according to Proletarian Communist PCm could be put on the same level as the uprisings in the oppressed countries, is placed by the (Maoist) CPI in second place. A bucket of cold water for this group, which blatantly tried in every way not to bring out even this fundamental dissent.

On the other hand, it is evident how Proletari Comunist-PCM tried in every way to hide the basic contradictions on these issues in order to give the impression that there was internationally a vast deployment under its hegemony. One only has to see how even the reference by the Galician comrades to the fact that the UOC (mlm) denies the semi-feudal character of Colombia, and with it the need for a New Democracy revolution in that country, was expunged from the statement in the journal.¹⁷

In the end it turns out that the "Two Lines Struggle" magazine is nothing more than a puzzle of documents and statements assembled out of a precise context. This highlights the failure of the

ruling class and the dominated class for the conquest of power by the latter."

16 "The declaration traces a tendency towards third worldism by stating that the basis of world revolution is represented by oppressed nations. We believe, first of all, that the objective world situation today does not permit such an affirmation, on the one hand because of the uneven development of the productive forces in the various countries of the world, which produces a more complex reality than this generalization"

17 It was stated indeed in the censored piece, which can be found on the website of the Galician comrades: "The most outstanding peculiarity of CWU (mlm) is that it defends a socialist revolution for Colombia which will build a Socialist Republic, and not a revolution of New Democracy, where the proletariat is the leading class and the peasants are the main class, where the cities are surrounded from the countryside, etc., and where the people fight to build a Republic of New Democracy. Nevertheless, CWU (mlm) defends that in Colombia (due to social changes that happened along the years), the social relations have today a mainly capitalist and not feudal character."

attempt to give the image of an international group that is cohesive in its basic intentions, which at this time is clearly lacking. Even between the two promoting groups Proletari Comunista-Pcm and UOC (mlm), as we have seen, there is no real unity of purpose. The statements of the other groups in the magazine, such as that of the Galicians, the Indians, the Filipinos, etc., the only thing they have in common is that they are in contradiction with the LCI, having, however, different ideas and positions, as well as relevant contradictions between them.

These contradictions must be a reason for confrontation and discussion among Maoists, based on the correct approach of the two-lines struggle in the MCI. A healthy confrontation that, by its tricks, the Proletarian Communist-PCm group tried to avoid at all costs.

We do not know why a month later it was forced, on Maoist Road, to backtrack and publish the censored text in full. Probably these games were discovered by someone. The substance is that in this way the games were exposed. His megalomaniac attempt to set himself up as a reference for the international Marxist-Leninist-Maoist movement, playing simultaneously on several tables, failed in this circumstance.

With regard to the Indian CPI(maoist), its merits are immense and the whole international proletariat must recognize in this party a vanguard of its own, but this doesn't preclude the need to fraternally point out to this party the theoretical-political errors contained in its positions. Especially if these errors concern such central questions as the construction of the MLM organization in imperialist countries like ours and the revolutionary strategy to be adopted in our country. In this respect the League's positions are exemplary, characterized by fraternal support for the Indian CPI(maoist) and a principled struggle to impose Maoism as the basis for the unification of the international m-l-m movement. The Comrades of the League speak of m-l-m "mainly Maoism," and the same positions of the promoting groups of the TLS magazine on one hand and of the Indian CPI(Maoist) on the other demonstrate the need to emphasize Maoism, testifying that this is the main aspect of the issue.

For example, could there be an international organization of the proletariat based on m-l-m that does not recognize the centrality of the question of bureaucratic capitalism? How can we talk about the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed countries if we do not recognize this centrality? How can we talk about proletarian revolution as the main trend in the world if we do not recognize the theory of bureaucratic capitalism?

It is one thing to discuss, which is necessary, the forms taken by the development of bureaucratic capitalism in the different countries of the world; it is quite another to deny the essence of this theory and thus fall into apologizing the development of imperialism and the theses of multipolarism.

If we deny the theory of bureaucratic capitalism, we fall into Trotskyism and revisionism. Is it possible to have unity within the international m-l-m movement on the basis of Trotskyism? If one denies the universality of people's war theory and its validity for the imperialist countries as well, one falls into right-wing or "left-wing" opportunism, but in any case the path toward which one proceeds is that of revisionism. Can we pretend nothing towards those who deny the theory of the universality of the people's war? Should we not tell the Indian comrades fraternally, even though they are a vanguard of the international proletariat, that they are getting it wrong today on some decisive issues and that these kinds of mistakes can damage the cause of the great Maoist-led revolution in India?

As Nuova Egemonia's editorial staff we are obviously convinced that there are very different positions within the great Indian Maoist party from those in the document published in the second

full issue of TLS magazine. For example, Comrade Ajith himself, formerly secretary of the CPI(ML) Naxalbari and now a member of the CPI(maoist), spoke out in 2006 in favor of the theory of the universality of the people's war.¹⁸ The Indian CPI(maoist) is the result of the unification of several parties, operates in many Indian states and, as he admitted in the same document published in the second version of the TLS magazine, it cannot follow the debates and events of the international m-l-m movement on a timely basis because of the ongoing revolution.¹⁹ We are convinced that the CPI(maoist) will be able to overcome some erroneous positiofns and thus take, through m-l-m mainly Maoism, the direction of the world Maoist movement. For the moment this direction belongs, as far as we know, with all its possible problems and limitations, to the International Communist League.

Let us now come briefly to the most important question, that of the validity of people's war theory for a country like Italy. Our country is a marginal and semi-dependent imperialist country. From 1921 to the late 1930s, Antonio Gramsci's Communist Party was forced underground for most of its time. Gramsci himself died by the hands of the fascists. This party was formed not only politically but also militarily in the struggles against the rise of fascism and later by participating in the Spanish Civil War. The Resistance saw the development of a true people's war, although with a number of limitations due to the increasingly decisive influence of Togliatti's revisionism. It is clear that in the Resistance the party, the front and potential embryo of a people's army developed. Only Trotskyists and Revisionists can deny that the path of the Resistance was the path of uninterrupted revolution, of people's democratic revolution on the road to socialism. Which path did the Resistance take, that of October or that of the "people's war"? Certainly it could not proceed all the way because of revisionism. If Gramsci had been able to direct it, it would have gradually turned into a revolution towards socialism. With regard to the 1970s, it must be said that there was a great movement of mass struggle with a pre-revolutionary character, which also practiced revolutionary violence in a thousand different forms. We must therefore distinguish the forms of struggle, as the landing point of class antagonism, from the question of the ideological and political conceptions that had hegemony. The problem lay in the absence of a party that would go in the direction of the development of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in our country, capable of standing at the head of the advanced sectors of the masses and their revolutionary struggles and thus reopening the path of popular anti-fascist revolution. A path which was interrupted in our country at the end of World War II by the work of the Togliattian revisionists. Now, in essence, the leaders of combatant groups in the 1970s followed fuochist, anti-Leninist and anti-Maoist lines. All this is irrefutable. They contributed with their conceptions and positions, in one way or another, to the defeat of the heroic struggle of the proletariat and other sectors of the popular masses. In those years, starting from the early 1960s, it was the spontaneists, the economists, the movementists, the militarists who had the hegemony.

Who fought against them for hegemony? Who fought for Maoism? At that time, no one. This is what is necessary to understand. In our country today, the main issue is the theoretical, ideological

18 *"Let us examine a specific issue, the theory of People's War. Even while Mao Tsetung Thought was upheld, for a long period, the dominant trend was to see this as something specific, relevant and applicable solely to the semi-feudal, semi-colonial countries. Shades of this continue to exist among Maoist parties, even today. Yet, the founder leaders of the new Marxist-Leninist parties in the 1960's were quite clear about the universality of People's War. The writings of Comrade Charu Mazumdar are an example. So how can we explain the emergence of the mistaken view that restricts People's War to oppressed nations? This was a deviation. It was not challenged till the forceful presentation of Maoism as the new stage of Marxism-Leninism and the universality of People's War by the PCP."* (CPN(M) - Worker #10)

19 *"We could not immediately express the stand of our Party on the recently formed International Communist League (ICL). The reasons being, the utmost cruel reactionary fascist state offensive of the reactionary comprador bureaucratic exploitive ruling classes of India with the aim of eliminating New Democratic Revolution. The Central Committee of our party was engaged in priorly decided important issues. Our party already released its policy document on the formation of International Organisation in 2017"* (from second version of CPI(maoist) document published in Number 2 of TLS review).

and political struggle for the establishment of an effective party capable of taking up Antonio Gramsci's path on the basis of Maoism. Along with all this, however, we must work to orient and organize the most advanced sectors of the proletariat and mass movements in the direction of a New Resistance, a new anti-fascist popular democratic revolution. The facts are obstinate and these are facts proven now by the sixty-year history of our country's class struggle.

Italy is a country which is increasingly in crisis at all levels, the fascistization of the state is already far advanced, democratic and trade union freedoms are in fact almost non-existent. All this is taking place in the context of acceleration of all contradictions on a planetary scale. For our country, the question of people's war, even if to be further specified in the practice of class struggle and party-building, appears to be not only possible but the only viable path. While the paths based on the October insurrectional model and those already taken by Autonomia Operaia (to which Proletari Communisti-PCm in fact refers to some degree) and the fighting groups in the 1970s are unsuccessful and without perspective. The whole history of the class struggle in our country related to the last few centuries, starting perhaps at the end of the eighteenth century, in one way or another sets before us the way of mass people's war.