



**Four years building Red Guards - Los Angeles: a
summation on accumulating forces for the coming
Protracted People's War**

The following has been a long-time coming. No amount of self-criticisms can excuse the inexcusable lateness of this summation. Only recently have we begun producing more polemics and summations but we will rectify this by aiming to

publicize regularly on our website. We understand that a fundamental component of being a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist, pre-party formation on the road toward building a principally Maoist Communist Party is regular summations of our work. Not only for our political sharpening but also for the benefit of the larger Maoist movement in the United States - for them to learn from, for us to be corrected on.

The struggle, rupture against Great White Nation Chauvinism, revisionism and the construction of Red Guards - Los Angeles

In the beginning, there is always chaos. In the end, there is always peace. But the former is forever, the latter forever temporary.

From approximately 2009 to 2014, the founders and some members of Red Guards - Los Angeles (RGLA) were members of the arch-revisionist Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), and their youth league, the Young Communist League, USA (YCL). Many of us came from the petite-bourgeois Immigrant Rights Movement. Some came from political organizing in Mexico inside a similar revisionist youth league and around the Zapatista solidarity movement. A minority of original members had little-to-no political organizing backgrounds, near-totally contained in nonprofit paid work.

Inside the CPUSA and YCL, there was intense struggle - as there has essentially always been since the Party's founding in 1919 - between different poles of revisionism and a minority of underdeveloped Marxist-Leninists, and within that minority genuine anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninists as political leaders.

We will not get into the entire history of the CPUSA and YCL, as that has been undertaken by various scholars and bourgeois historians, and to a lesser degree anti-revisionist historians. The most important surviving aspects of this internal struggle, in our final analysis, were (i.) American Exceptionalism - which we call Great White Nation Chauvinism - (ii.) the revisionist liquidation of violent

revolution, (iii.) the liquidation of oppressed nations within the prison house of the U.S. and (iv.) the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

There is obviously far more errors than we can ever sufficiently list, but most of them were not immediately known to us as understood concepts since our political development was still young.

i. Ever since the Party's founding, while only two lines exist in all Communist organizations - one proletarian, one bourgeois - the CPUSA enjoyed a smorgasbord of different-flavored revisionism. One strong current was that the Party within the U.S. did not need to launch a socialist revolution because of the unique and advanced character of U.S. capitalism. The working class was so voluminous, so already-centralized-and-exploited, and that the electoral process allowed room for genuine democratic representation. This was and continues to be a legacy of Great White Nation Chauvinism. The U.S. is a settler-colonialist capitalist empire - generally before the 1940s, before the end of World War II, the U.S. was more of a capitalist-expansionist country, quickly turning into a global imperialist empire. It is national chauvinism because it denies its own recent past in the conquest and genocide - the colonization - of indigenous nations and groups, a necessity in establishing settler-colonialist hegemony. It is national chauvinism because it downplays the enslavement of forced African labor in the primitive accumulation of capital for building U.S. capitalism. It is national chauvinism because it erases the violent colonization of the Chicano Nation as a legally-justified post-Mexican-American war treaty. To call this anything but Great White Nation Chauvinism is violent absurdity, ahistorical amnesia, settler-colonialist apologism. Every fiber of the contemporary CPUSA and YCL is infected with this intoxicating patriotism and exceptionalism - even when they posture as soft anti-imperialists and defenders of "people of color" (grouping actual oppressed nations into this postmodernist flatten

category!). We vehemently struggled against this as part of our regional YCL and CPUSA chapter, the Southern California Young Communist League and the Communist Party, in approximately 2013 to the very end. Prior to 2013, we were still vastly underdeveloped.

ii. Additionally, we struggled in defense of the Marxist conception of socialist revolution (at the time we did not grasp the Maoist concept of revolutionary violence) and in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat - to which the CPUSA argued (see point i. above) was outmoded, unnecessary, relegated to the more savage oppressed nations of the world. The most shocking display of chauvinism came at a congress attended by the youth league where a proposal was put forth to party delegates in the signing on as support for the Palestinians in their revolutionary war against the Zionist settlers. The indigenous, Latino and Chicano members and Black and white anti-revisionists supported this resolution. But it was stalled because the soft Zionists delegates counter-argued for upholding the two-state solution and literally shunned the idea of a free and liberated Palestine as a nation in charge of its own territory and exercising self-determination over the settler-Jewish and Zionist population. This only served to cement our position that the CPUSA was a Great White Nation Chauvinist organization.

One interesting story was when the majority of the SoCal YCL was living in a commune-like apartment in Skid Row and received a visit from the Labor Secretary and National Chairman at the time of the Party on two separate occasions. The Labor Secretary was more self-critical and open to criticism of the Party, especially its past chauvinism such as its apologism/support of the Japanese-American interment camps. However, he asserted that much of this chauvinism was in the past. He pointed out the progress the Party has enjoyed,

including a leading role over a certain large union's national retirement committee(!). The Party Chairman was a far-more unapologetic racist. Upon entering our home he criticized the posters of revolutionaries - including some martyrs - such as Che, Farabundo Marti, Leila Khaled, Ulrike Meinhof, Stalin (the Party's Central Committee hates and hated Stalin), etc. We defended them all, especially the Latin American revolutionaries who gave their lives to their class and nations. The Chairperson's liberal argument was that the glorification of violence would turn away supporters or future members and that it did not sufficiently represent American Marxists or American heroes, like Frederick Douglass, Eugene V. Debs, Angela Davis, etc (we did have a Joe Hill poster). He left with his revisionism, the stench of his putrid chauvinism still lingering in the apartment.

iii. Perhaps the most egregious error and point of line struggle was over the basic understanding of oppressed nationhood within the U.S. We had read Engels, Lenin, Mao and Stalin on the national question - on our own since the Party never made any attempts to study his works. We united with the Marxist concept of nationhood. While not fully grasping Harry Haywood's thesis on the Black Nation, we were supportive of his struggle against white national oppression and chauvinism. We were more underdeveloped and open to struggle on the Chicano Nation and indigenous nations. But we absolutely despised and struggled against the Great White Nation Chauvinism, i.e. U.S. patriotism. The arch-revisionists argued for its compatibility with Marxism, flattening the relationship and differences between oppressor nation nationalism and oppressed nation nationalism. We wrote polemics against national CPUSA leadership on these points. This erupted into a fierce line struggle, the peak of our young organizational theoretical development, and ended with two leaders of the SoCal YCL being expelled after a small Party show trial. In a

Shakespearean twist, one trial participant was a former FMLN guerrilla, who had brought in one leader to the Party, and ex-comrade of the SoCal YCL. As Maoists now this was no surprised as things can turn into their opposites. Additionally, the former guerrilla revealed himself to be a spineless opportunistic liberal, publicly criticizing the revisionist FMLN while justifying SoCal YCL's leadership expulsion for the very same reason - of having the youthful arrogance of anti-revisionists to publicly criticize the Party. Two-line struggle is everywhere because capitalism is everywhere. Line struggle does not wait for a forum or email thread or scheduled meeting. It must be embraced, for the betterment of the actual organization, especially a Communist Party, for its correct leadership in revolution and building socialism and Communism. Subsequently, after the expulsion the SoCal YCL dissolved and severed all ties with the CPUSA and YCL. It was then that we more formally began studying and embracing what we knew at the time as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, but principally Marxism-Leninism.

iv. In regards to theorizing how the proletariat in the U.S. would smash and then seize state power, we were consistently told that the concept-and-phrase of the dictatorship of the proletariat was off-putting to the sensibilities of the working class. Dictatorship, after all, they said, can be seen as a "Stalinist" so-called "vulgarization" of Marxism. It would perhaps offend the Baby Boomers and millennials in imagining red flags and AK-47s wielded by the workers. It, as a concept and theory, should be replaced with a "pro-people coalition government" - a unity between the country's bourgeoisie and the proletariat in co-managing capital - or something similar and more liberal to appeal to the anti-Communist majority. This was their orientation. Red liberals were their base. Not the advanced section of the masses, and especially not to Communists. The CPUSA was and is a fake mass party that is scrambling for relevancy, like a dying dinosaur trapped in the tar pits of history. The masses themselves

throw away the CPUSA and its liberal revolving-door membership - similarly to the Democratic Socialists of America and all revisionist social-democratic parties that peddle reformism-masked-as-revolution. These parties are far behind the militancy of the masses they attempt to organize. If revisionism wasn't one of the primary dangers to the masses and revolutionary Communists in the US, these traitors to the working class would be laughable. Revisionism without power is an ever-present annoyance and potential danger. Revisionism with political power is an enemy of the people and merits complete annihilation from the face of the earth. Since we know the already-established revisionist "parties" are hegemonic and that their trajectory is to integrate into the capitalist state we make no confusion as to who are friends and enemies are. Revisionists, including the Dengist and Krushevite Marxist-Leninist who peddle capitalist poison like "socialist" snakeoil salesmen, are the enemies of the people and revolution. They must be attacked with mass participation and revolutionary anti-revisionist principally Maoist leadership. The masses, while already knowing the bankruptcy of revisionism, must be mobilized into offensive attacks against revisionists as conditions escalate. As for now, the less powerful revisionists must be isolated. The more powerful revisionists must be bombarded and exposed to the masses as the true enemies that they are. We will go more in depth and length on how to combat revisionism in the U.S. later on in this summation.

After the two leaders expulsion and the dissolution of the regional youth league - leaving the regional Party with zero youth or young adults - we decided on preserving forward as a united organization but under a sharper political line, one which would either be anti-revisionist Marxism-Leninism or Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. One of our members was more seriously studying the Chinese revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the suggestion was for the Chinese Cultural Revolution defenders of Mao's red line - the Red Guards

- as a name to adopt. Principally, the Red Guards represented internal struggle and external struggle, upholding anti-revisionism, genuine Marxism, and revolution, in building socialism and Communism. Secondly, the Red Guards represented the rebellious youth who dared to struggle, who smashed up the old bourgeois world - as the Red Guards themselves said, "the bigger the mess the better!" - who attacked treacherous revisionist leaders leading people off a cliff or into the marsh, as Lenin had said. While there certainly was excess, the Chinese Red Guards represented an advancement in socialist political economy. They served as a lasting example of mass initiatives in defense of revolutionary Marxism in the trench of combat against revisionism and capitalism inside the Party.

Although we were living in Boyle Heights, we decided on Red Guards - Los Angeles and not Red Guards - Boyle Heights, because we had always planned to branch out to other corners of the city and even county. And for a brief moment we were autonomous, not beholden or united with any national formation. As all things, this had a dual character. It was progressive because we could decide on what we saw as more important on the ground in our community. But it was shortcoming because we had little-to-zero political guidance, which was a necessity. We were mostly Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, with one member-leader exception, only because we upheld Protracted People's War as the main method of making revolution led by the Party, United Front and the People's Army, and that socialism was not automatically established in the Communist seizure of state power - the class struggle continues into socialism. But we did not fundamentally grasp the core tenants of Maoism, which we would later come to understand as principally Maoism.

Soon after, we began looking toward other national formations. We looked toward Marxist-Leninist-Maoist and anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninist organizations, and even one "Maoist"-Third-Worldist group - Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Movement (RAIM). Early on Third-Worldism wasn't fully understood as a

coherent line, and in actuality currently it still isn't. There are many disagreements within this camp - around the actual existence of a white proletariat to the revolutionary subject not being the proletariat of the oppressed nations but rather its respective lumpenproletariat. Our attraction to Third-Worldism was rooted in our experience under Great White Nation Chauvinism, and so we saw Third-Worldism as a centering of oppressed nationalities but this was and remains to be the only superficial saving grace of a politically confused, lost and largely irrelevant ideological trend. Even our local RAIM contact admitted Third-Worldism wasn't a theoretical necessity and recommended a development and adherence to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism - however, with an emphasis on Marxism-Leninism and not principally Maoism. That would come later.

At the time (August-October 2014), we could only find a handful of Maoist organizations (as far we knew, only two). There was line struggle over which direction we should go - anti-revisionist Marxism-Leninism or Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Third-Worldism was never a serious alternative; It was only discussed because we were in communications with one of their members in Los Angeles, one who was a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, no longer Third-Worldist, in the process of leaving RAIM. In our research, we found the National Communist Party - Liaison Committee (NCP-LC), the National Communist Party - Organizing Committee (NCP-OC) (which gave birth to the Maoist Communist Group), the American Labor Party, the Party of Communists, USA (PCUSA), etc. Other national formations like the International Socialist Organization or the Party for Socialism and Liberation or even the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (RCPUSA), were never serious choices as we saw them as either the Trotskyite sloganeering class-traitors (or failed red newsies) that they were or in the case of the RCPUSA a strange post-Maoist unarmed so-called Party. RGLA was studying Mao's works, re-reading Lenin and Marx in search of clarity and direction. We agreed on the need for political development, but understood some of it had to come from outside of the organization due to our own underdevelopment. Both leaders, each representing the two different lines -

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and anti-revisionist Marxism-Leninism - were tasked with researching and presenting on their respective ideologies. The group would then go with one or the other, democratically. Finally, after some time, it came down to the PCUSA and the NCP-LC, although we united more with the NCP-OC but couldn't find enough summations, polemics or statements on their work to make an informed decision (also, perhaps through a misreading, we had thought the NCP-OC had gone underground). We united more with the NCP-OC in part because of their strong stance against patriarchal violence, especially inside Communist organizations.

As detailed in the subsequent polemics and criticisms against the NCP-LC, we - RGLA - should have spent more time, more energy and rigorous investigation and study to seek truth independent of the NCP-LC's bias renditions and stance on the allegations. We should have not sufficed with their explanations of approximately three male abusers, two of which who would remain in New York City and even national leadership largely unchecked, or with liberal accountability, for most of the short life of the NCP-LC. The NPC-OC was also characterized as "Gonzaloite" without any concrete explanation or theoretical arguments other than a superficial casting off as elevating clandestinity, which was correct. Simply put, we should have struggled principally and mostly with the NPC-OC, not the NCP-LC.

No amount of self-criticisms can suffice in our own severe errors at that conjunction. But this is not a cathartic apology. This is a Marxist, principally Maoist, self-criticism theorization of our organizational-political errors. Our errors originated primarily, mainly, from our own weak, incomplete grasp on Maoism. And so the NCP-LC line won out.

What also aided our decision in uniting and integrating with the NCP-LC was their public positions on the Party, the universality of Protracted People's War, their developing stance on proletarian feminism, their position on the oppressed

nations-colonies within the U.S., the mass-line (which was fundamentally wrong in retrospect because of its absence of the militarization of the Party and masses and in bringing up the progressive and advanced sections of masses to building the People's Army and preparing for revolutionary war), among other positions, because of our research and their supposed seriousness of their historical mission and the dedication expressed with its members to our members in private meetings. The PCUSA line was ill-informed, virtually politically empty with its leading proponent attempting to push us to join with no good Marxist argument for doing so. In the end, we united with the underdeveloped, and in actuality revisionist, Maoist line, joined the NCP-LC and began a more serious path toward building the Maoist Communist Party.

It was also around this time that some individuals in Austin, Texas, had begun exploring the formation of a Maoist pre-party formation soon after our organizational announcement. Shortly thereafter, the Austin comrades had asked us if we would unite with their adopting the name Red Guards in naming their collective Red Guards Austin. We of course said yes, feeling honored that something so new would be considered worthy of reproduction. This began a relationship that would forever change RGLA, and by extension the east side of Los Angeles.

This act and moment perhaps cemented what would become an inspiring revolutionary relationship in co-building and co-political development that would eventually lead to RGLA rupturing with a principally Marxist-Leninist (in other words, underdeveloped Maoism) Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and transforming into a principally Maoist formation. Looking back, this was nothing short of historical - readers must pardon the subtle arrogance, the swelling of pride in reflecting on this genesis. History is made by the masses. Additionally, it is a collection of daring moments guided by selfless revolutionaries.

RGLA also continued a close relationship - an actual official relationship - with the NCP-LC. We signed on as an official Los Angeles chapter, took part in regular phone calls, nationally-coordinated study and position papers, engaged in criticism/self-criticism - however collectively underdeveloped. This was RGLA's main exposure and guidance into the world of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Unfortunately, we would later come to reflect on its vast theoretical and practical shortcomings.

It was with the NCP-LC that we learned about the Universality of Protracted People's War, Proletarian Feminism, the mass line, and a deeper study on the three instruments of Maoism - the Party, People's Army and United Front. We also, understanding our vast underdevelopment on Maoist political economy, began an informal nationally-coordinated study on the Shanghai Text Book. Unfortunately, due to a lack of discipline and other wrecking liberalisms, we abandoned that project early on and RGLA began their own independent study, not just on political economy but on the New Communist Movement in the U.S. We wanted to see how pre-Maoist groups had broken with other revisionist parties and built new Party building projects. Our study, led mostly by one member, focused on the Bay Area Revolutionary Union/Revolutionary Union/RCPUSA to the League of Revolutionary Struggle, the longest running anti-revisionist Marxist-Leninist pre-party formation of its time. In our exploration of past movements, we reviewed polemics between different groups, studied different lines on national liberation, feminism and party concepts and trajectory.

**"Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement":
Focusing on political development**

We decided on taking this internal study to the public. We launched our "Not Just Another MLM Study Group" based out of the anarchist bicycling brigade, the Ovarian Psychos, first La Conxa community space. It was decided, at the time, that we needed to both recruit and also even out or political development within

the cadre. During this time, for many reasons but predominately lack of discipline (which is lack of proper political development), only a minority within RGLA were seriously studying and applying Maoism. One member had a learning disability and so a facilitator dedicated countless hours, nights, to synthesize all print materials and condense them into bullet points, images and videos. This proved to be effective, at least for the aim of building up even political development - a minority began retreating more and more into self-imposed political abandonment, substituting political study and work with going out with friends and families, masquerading their abandonment with postmodernist excuses (again, further lack of political development - mostly on the organization's part, and secondarily on their part).

Our study groups revolved around thorough research and visual presentation, typically PowerPoint and documentaries. We met several supporters and allies. Some that went on to become more integrated in the revolutionary indigenous movement in the U.S., labor organizing near Los Angeles, and even a few supporters that would eventually become brief members of our mass project Serve the People - Los Angeles.

One such die-hard supporter was Comrade Behrooz, a Kurdish Iranian revolutionary who was an aspiring young guerrilla during the late 70s in Iran. Due to his political activities, occupying a supportive role with the Organization of the Iranian People's Fedai Guerrillas, an underground Marxist-Leninist focoist organization, Behrooz fled to Turkey and eventually came to the U.S. and began a sympathetic relationship with the RCPUSA in the Bay Area. But after deep personal troubles, struggling internally with his demons - that would eventually ultimately take their ultimate toll), Comrade Behrooz moved down to Los Angeles and became a staple face within the larger Los Angeles leftist movement. Comrade Behrooz was an unapologetic supporter of the Kurdish resistance to the Turkish and Iranian capitalist aggressors. He supported the Filipino, Indian,

Turkish and Peruvian Maoists. He was involved in many democratic, progressive and revolutionary struggles.

He became a staunch dedicated pupil-and-teacher of RGLA for a large duration of the study group. We learned a lot from the people's struggle in Iran and the daring Protracted People's War being waged in India. We heard his songs, his singing and guitar-playing. We heard his corny jokes, his broken English criticizing our pop-culture reference in our study materials, especially anime. He hated Pokémon with an unusual passion. Comrade Behrooz constantly asked to join the cadre but due to some big political disagreements, namely on gender theory and practice, we had to put his vetting process on hold.

Around June 2015 we noticed Behrooz' absence at our regular study groups. He sent us a message apologizing, saying he was ill. But he never returned. We attempted to contact him, messaging him through social media, leaving several voicemails. One member went to his apartment building but the person who answered the door said Behrooz had moved out.

But then a friend of his notified us that he had died, initially reason unknown. Later it was said to have been a heart attack.

RGLA was crippled with devastation over his loss. It was an emotionally dark period and some members did not take the death well. Alcoholism and improper handling of mental illness had always been an issue with several members.

The organization organized an event commemorating Comrade Behrooz' memory, invited supporters of his armed organization and we proclaimed him an honorary member of RGLA, a wish finally fulfilled - although posthumously but with great respect.

We are left perpetually remembering him. We are made more committed, made more disciplined and courageous, a sentiment captured in the words of The Organization of the Iranian People's Fedai Guerillas:

On this red and glorious road, we will give many martyrs, who will constantly be replaced by other true combatants. The movement will go through many ups and downs, and will still go forward like a roaring torrent; and it is thus that the masses will turn to the struggle, and with their active participation in the armed struggle, will bring about the conditions for the creation of the all encompassing party of the working class; and it is in this way that the working class party not by "words" but by "action", will be formed.

A supporter of ours, additionally, wrote a poem dedicated to his memory:

The Guerrilla is Remembered

*they are great actors, these men
and women, but they do not act.
they have many names, many faces,
many birthdates, many home towns.
they have many stories, most of
which are incomplete little truths,
careful and critical not to tell too
much, to not jeopardize the lives
of those still waging war against
iran, iraq, syria, turkey, india or the
philippines*

*they have many stories of how they
got to the u.s., escaping agents of
state terror, treacherous ex-comrades*

*whose blood has been replaced with
snakes, escaping death threats, slow,
menacing messages of ‘your next,’
‘we will find you,’ ‘we will rape your
sisters, your mother, and we will let
them live, all because of you, traitor,
Communist, guerrilla.’*

*the guerrilla ultimately begins a new
life begrudgingly, attempts at
normalcy, buys an ipod, watches
netflix, hates pokémon, eats
mcdonalds, learns to like it, but still
chain-smokes and re-appropriates, or
what the bourgeoisie calls stealing,
from markets regularly.*

*but the guerrilla doesn’t forget; it’s a
commitment for life, to be a guerrilla,
even after combat, after the dust
settles, after the smoke clears and the
nakedness of struggle is laid bare.*

*the guerrilla, unexpectedly facing
life, after not having died, finds
himself facing the ultimate dilemma
of what to do now.*

*after living a clandestine life of
illegality, of subterranean politics,
of sleeping on the forest floor, on*

*reading marx and mao on the forest
floor, of making love on forest floor.*

*jose maria sison, a former guerrilla
himself, once said that the guerrilla is
like a poet, the way he moves through
the struggle and scenery, each step
closer toward merging with the
ultimate poem: the people’s war.*

*and it’s true, and the guerrilla should
also be remembered when they fall in
kurdistan, in rojava, in india, in the
philippines and elsewhere.*

*the guerrilla is remembered by our
work, by our commitment to honor
their memory, to honor their struggle
to build revolution.*

During this time RGLA had begun working more closely with another leftist organization, the youth league of the Salvadoran revisionist Party FMLN, the Juventud Sur de California Farabundo Marti para la Liberación Nacional, the JFMLN. It was within JFMLN that we struggled over important Marxist questions like revisionism, the Party and revolution, and capitalist restoration. We had co-organized a Marxist-Leninist retreat during our line struggle and fall out with the CPUSA and National YCL earlier and decided on continuing our relationship, sharing a commitment to anti-revisionism Marxism-Leninism. We focused mostly on our growing understanding on the Marxist concept of the economic base and superstructure as well as the Marxist position on oppressed nations and national liberation.

The longest lasting joint project was the monthly movie screening community events known as Cine Revolucionario. The demographic we served and orientated to was the Spanish-speaking masses, mostly Central Americans. The experience overall was a failure in developing Communists and in building for PPW - a central tenant now in all our organizing. The movies ranged from revisionist apologism for Pink Tide Socialism to urban guerrilla documentaries or film adaptations - all to illicit, haphazardly, a dialogue with the masses of revolution and its correct path - which we ourselves were struggling over. The movie screenings lasted approximately a year. While there was a sizeable turn out, most Cine Revolucionario being held in East Los Angeles or, before our expulsion, at the official Southern California CPUSA headquarters in Mid-City.

The JFMLN soon disbanded due to internal Party contradictions principally the antagonistic relationship between the JFMLN youth and its Party leaders over questions of electoralism/parliamentarianism over orientating toward the masses. As a revisionist Party, the FMLN only concerned itself with modifying the bourgeois state, trying to mimic the rest of the revisionist Pink Tide Socialism of South America, ideologically led by the late Hugo Chavez of Venezuela.

With the election of non-Party member Mauricio Funes in 2009 with the backing of the country's national bourgeoisie, the country for the first time ever had a progressive left-leaning presidency - albeit capitalist revisionist to the core. The country and its international supporters were drunk with revisionism-masked-as-victory. But the Salvadoran masses saw right through this - with most correctly cynical, and the remnants of the Communist Party of El Salvador criticizing the country's continued membership of the Central American Free Trade Agreement, the imperialist equivalent of the U.S.-Mexico-Canada's North American Free Trade Agreement. The Salvadoran masses and the proletariat continued being exploited, killed, disposed of, mostly in the independent-of-FMLN mass struggles like environmentalism. Such as the case in Cabanas and other departments in the country fighting against Canada's junior imperialist mining companies taking

over of the Lenca River, the main river cutting through the small country, poisoning the country's water with cyanide used for extracting gold from the earth. Communist and other left activists were disappeared, murdered, some of their corpses stuffed in wells or left elsewhere as symbols of threats to other would-be anti-imperialist environmentalists. For many, the death squads of the Salvadoran Civil War never came back. Many were absorbed into the FMLN state, made into policemen or soldiers - brutalizing the proletariat and oppressed people, some even continuing murdering the people.

The JFMLN were correctly critical of the FMLN's narrow-minded and self-serving strategy of securing FMLN seats in departments and overall electoralism. As all line struggles must, the youth-leadership struggle eventually ended with the JFMLN disbanding with some members going on to continue organizing but most seeing this as a way out from organizing politically altogether. And a small fraction kept in close communication with RGLA to politically struggle and a smaller fraction eventually unite around Maoism as the reconciliation with how to be a Communist within the capitalist restoration and revisionism of the supposed "Communist" party. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976 illuminated the way for the international proletariat and its anti-revisionist Mao Zedong Thought, and eventual Maoist, parties to combat capitalist restoration and left valuable lessons on how line struggle against capitalist roaders, the enemies, within the party.

Because the JFMLN disbanded without ever providing an analysis on their victories, because we are familiar with certain internal line struggles that took place throughout the years, we will briefly touch on their failure to create and maintain a genuine revolutionary organization.

The JFMLN's biggest mass project was the Unión Salvadoreña de Estudiantes Universitarios (USEU), a university student organization that would politically develop students by engaging them on the Salvadoran culture, history,

immigration to the United States, and more. The project was great at engaging alienated Central Americans, principally Salvadorans, who were looking to learn more about their identities, families, and imperialism. USEU blossomed through the UC and CSU campuses, quickly growing to over a dozen chapters throughout California and, at one point, over 300 members. Its popularity spread like wild fire and only within four years it had blown up to those numbers - at one point, USEU was the third or fourth biggest Latino groups, on and off campus, in the U.S., according to their Facebook page.

As stated, chapters grew quickly throughout campuses, but most chapters had little to no guidance and they quickly became cultural organizations that would mainly celebrate pupusas and cumbias; most chapters recruited principally Salvadorans without taking into consideration class analysis and family backgrounds to new recruits. At its core, the main problem was that there was only a quantitative leap and not a qualitative one. Many students who joined were liberals with pro-capitalist ideology. What brought them to the national-cultural fold was the blue-and-white (Central American colors) fundraising signs of making pupusas.

Very few chapters had solid leadership that would ultimately get mass members to undertake the study of Marxism. Because of all this, there was line struggle not only against the FMLN, but also line struggle against Communism and even line struggle against political lines in general within USEU; liberals that were not sympathetic with any left political lines, which became the majority, looked to dissolve USEU's points of unity that ultimately were the last vestige of the organization resembling anything political at all.

USEU lasted more or less like eight years (it might still exist today, but who knows). The project was at first great at making 21st century socialist or, at the least, liberals who sympathized with 21st century socialism, but at its worst it gave room to anti-Communism, who at times would go as far as even critically

supporting the fascist right wing parties of El Salvador like ARENA or GANA, and gave room for national chauvinism to grow within its rank. In the end, people weren't being transformed into Communists. Petite-bourgeois Salvadoran students were left petite-bourgeois in their ideology - with many going on to drop out of activism altogether and integrate into the capitalist state.

The failures of the group were traced back to leadership. It was a revisionist Popular Front tailing the masses proudly. They let their mass organization be taken over by liberals. Revisionists leading liberals creates nothing revolutionary, only a self-fulfilling reproduction of anti-Communism. One biggest contradiction was the fact that USEU was ultimately a secret mass organization of the JFMLN that eventually, when discovered to be its mass project, USEU leadership turned antagonistic to the JFMLN, Juventud being mainly alumni at that point, and ruptured with the JFMLN. The organization's leaders were kicked out by liberals!

The JFMLN had no cohesive understanding of political lines, their meanings, and ultimately how to build Communism on a step by step basis. They knew tactics to engage people to get them to politically develop to a point but they could not get over the hump in seeing and reflecting how whatever they were doing was building Communism. Although they studied Lenin and Marx and other Communists, they had no concept of a cohesive and revolutionary political line and were mainly supportive of any line as long as it was anti-capitalist without a thorough understanding of contradictory political lines. Even though most folks stopped organizing with the FMLN out of frustration with the parliamentarianism, many continued supporting 21st Century Socialists and stayed principally within academic circles.

The JFMLN were highly influenced by Gramsci, and in cultural hegemony and transforming the superstructure. But they had no concept of what it means to build a Communist Party and how that will happen. They rejected the existence of revisionism and believe that there are many ways to reach Communism so,

therefore, there's no need to line struggle with other folks who identify as Communists; they believe that one can learn just as much from revisionists getting paid +\$100,000/year who know no class struggle as they can from Communist parties and revolutions throughout the world; many actually went out of their way to state that Maoism was not universal, not applicable to El Salvador (but electoralism was, obviously), and that the Shining Path had gone too far, although they uncritically supported focoism. Their line was that they can unite with people as long as they consider themselves as Communists.

With the founding of RGLA, the JFMLN were briefly part of our political development but there were competing revisionist currents within the youth organization, and the majority upheld a Pink Tide Socialism revisionism. A minority aligned with Maoist positions and continued to struggle alongside us. One of our organizational goals, knowing the JFMLN was heading toward a rupture with their party, was to struggle for unity and eventually offer our organization as a continuation of Communist organizing but under the ideological banner of Maoism. However, in the final instance, the youth wing positioning themselves incorrectly as outside and behind - a tailist stance - of fighting revisionism and building an anti-revisionist Communist Party in the U.S. Organizationally, their final words to us were, more or less: "It is your job to build the Party. Once you build it, we will come."

That is not how a genuine Communist Party, an armed and illegal, principally Maoist Communist Party capable of leading PPW in this country, is built. It is built through the mass line and mastering revolutionary violence in uniting the advance, bringing up the intermediary and isolating the most reactionary elements of the backward and raising up the more progressive elements.

Till this day it is evident the FMLN, and by extension all fronts and organizations like their support committees and their surviving youth wing, are complicit in their defense and reinforcement of Salvadoran capitalism and therefore are firmly

against the masses. The party, like all revisionist parties, has only one sealed fate: its destruction through the masses guided by genuine revolutionary Communist forces. Unfortunately, we are nowhere near their spheres of influence to alter their political course, nor can we obviously intervene in their internal country affairs. What is unique, however, about their party is its solid mass base in the U.S., as well as other parts of the world, which all operate under Democratic Centralism.

Revisionist internationalism: a disorder

After the dissolution of the JFMLN some of its former members went on to organize in various leftist internationalist solidarity organizations. RGLA also experimented with various forms of internationalism. But at many times our internationalism wasn't concrete or coherent. Many times it was internationalism for the sake of internationalism.

It was from this basis that in 2015 RGLA co-founded the Rojava Solidarity Committee of Los Angeles (RSCLA) with the Los Angeles chapter of the Black Rose Anarchist Federation (BRAFLA), some unaffiliated Trotskyites and other leftists and anarchists.

A member of BRAFLA and an American leftist activist had just come back from Turkey in support of the Kurdish People’s Protection Units and the Women’s Protection Units (YPG/YPJ) – specifically in the Rojava town of Kobane. They had survived a terrorist suicide bombing in the town of Suruc, leaving approximately 100 wounded and [30 dead](#)¹. The attack happened at the Amara Culture Centre where the Federation of Socialist Youth had 300 members staying.

¹ “Suruc massacre: At least 30 killed in Turkey border blast.” - <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-33593615>

The Black Rose member along with an American leftist activist returned to the U.S. and wanted to organize support for Kobane as well as popular support and education on the Rojava revolution.

RGLA had always supported national liberation struggles, especially from our experience with Great White Nation Chauvinism. We saw it as our duty, as mostly oppressed nationalities especially, to show support and build solidarity. But we were unsure exactly how to accomplish this end.

A mutual friend of comrade Behrooz reached out to us to see if we, too, had wanted to organize a leftist coalition or committee in support of Kobane. We said yes and after a few foundational meetings began the RSCLA. One of our first immediate efforts was mostly online in creating an infrastructure for financial international support for Kobane. After that, there was a need to do an action in solidarity with our comrades overseas and against the fascistic Turkish state and President Erdoğan. A rally and protest was planned at the Consulate General of Turkey. We invited and collaborated with several Kurdish, Armenian and other Middle-Eastern organizations. The protest had a mass character with no direct actions, except for some of our members sneaking into the building to hand-deliver a letter denouncing the Turkish repression on the Kurdish Nation, ethnic minorities and leftists, and only a few incidents with the consulate’s security. Overall, the event can be accurately described as a press event with a mass character. And so in that regard, it accomplished its job. But RGLA took the position that it was best to follow the lead of RSCLA and the small Kurdish solidarity movement in Los Angeles as a whole, liquidating any concrete manifestations of anti-imperialist and revolutionary internationalism.

While there is certainly nothing wrong with general internationalism, the best manifestation of it is in building revolution in the belly of the imperialist beast, the U.S. – a proud backer of the Turkish state. We needed more daring, direct action against the consulate but also a more massive anti-capitalist and revolutionary

presence, connecting all our mass struggles and channeling them into revolutionary internationalist support of the Kurdish Nation.

Another event was organized at a high school in East Los Angeles. The event was primarily a fundraiser but also serving to politically educate certain sectors of the masses and local leftists on the Kurdish national liberation struggle as well as the general leftist movements in Turkey. Each participating organization, including RGLA, prepared statements in support of the YPG/YPJ and revolutionary forces in Turkey or fighting in Rojava. We were honored when a visiting member of RGA represented RGLA in delivering a speech and presentation on the history of the revolutionary movements, namely Communist, in Turkey and Kurdistan. A Kobane supporter, via video call, spoke on their struggle and a member of BRFLA also gave a report back from their time overseas.

Our participation in the committee lasted approximately a year. We found ourselves mechanically going to meetings, most of which appeared to be ineffective. It was during this time that STPLA was in full swing and had co-founded DBH and so our support of STPLA took up most of our time. We agreed to drop our participation but non-antagonistically.

As of today RSCLA still exists and maintains a Facebook [page](#)², but we are unsure as to how active they are.

Afterward, RGLA continued on with the study group, finishing its truncated course through the Communist Party of Indian (Maoist) Marxist-Leninist-Maoist study course and an overview of the New Communist Movement. But we knew we had to have something concrete at the end of this process. But what? What was learned from studying these revolutionary wars or these revolutionary organizations? What good are ideas if not transformed into actions? We were

² <https://www.facebook.com/rojavasolidarityla/>

determined to be like the guerrillas, as Mao said, and move among the people like fish in the sea.

The masses are the motor of revolution; the party is their self-sacrificing vanguard driver; and PPW is the road we are on

We had to build with the masses, integrate ourselves in their daily lives, investigate what the problems were in our community, conduct a social investigation and class analysis, organize the advance, bring up the intermediary and either bring up or isolate the backwards.

We began meeting with some members of the East Los Angeles Brown Berets. Their leadership was a regular participant in our study groups. We struggled over the different lines of nationalism, from reactionary porkchop nationalism to revolutionary nationalism, and the limitations of all its entirety. We struggled over the correct materialist understanding of Chicano national identity. We had come to unity over the nature of today's proletarian revolution - of Protracted People's War. We talked about starting a community defense project co-led by RGLA and the Brown Berets with one of the elements begin an eastside copwatch. We prepared a document of purpose to unite around and planned follow-up meetings. The project eventually ended, even before it officially began. Unfortunately, rather quickly, it was evident the Brown Berets were severely politically underdeveloped, unorganized and not a serious organization at this time. It was treated more as a social club with group outings, firmly based in the credibility won by a nostalgic past of historic struggles. With the exception of RGLA's MLM study group, there was essentially no political development or coherent political line being adhered to, as far as we knew. However, over the following years, the East Los Angeles Brown Berets would undergo qualitative transformation. Politically, they were moving more toward embracing Maoism, rejecting Chicano cultural nationalism while affirming their Chicano national identity. Many within the organization, the adherents of cultural nationalism -

which also happened to be some of the more undisciplined ones - left. As of today, 2018, the organization is still in the process of regrouping but RGLA now holds them in a higher regard and we are optimistic that if they continue to adhere to a revolutionary political line, cultivate mass links, treat internal political development serious and overall maintain a working relationship with RGLA, they may go on to reclaim some of the prestige of the Chicano Movement but rupture with its reformism and be one of the first contemporary Brown Beret organizations to seriously mobilize for national liberation and socialist revolution under the scarlet banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism.

By this time we had decided on creating a mass organization who would conduct a social investigation. RGA had already started their Serve the People - Austin mass organization. We supported the name and its adherence to Maoism, both in carrying on the legacy of revolutionary organizations in the U.S. during the New Communist Movement and in rupturing with the capitulation of rightism. We saw Serve the People organizations, early on, as needing to be different in some way from what was tried in the past. But, at least for RGLA, we were unsure how to carry the masses to revolution. We decided that we would, through trudging the unforeseeable road ahead of us, stumble but find the way. In April of 2015 we launched the Serve the People - Los Angeles mass organization, as a project of ours, with an incomplete strategy but bold vision. Visions, however bold, are empty ideas disconnected from reality without the grounding of a revolutionary strategy armed with a set of revolutionary tactics.

A survey model was chosen to assist in gathering information and ideas. The organizers created a sort-of checklist with services and items, such as food, clothing, jobs, shelter, childcare, adult daycare, tutoring, etc. The application and its genesis was wrought with an underdeveloped political understanding of a thorough social investigation and class analysis. We merely researched a few websites, got a general idea of the economic and demographic make-up of Boyle Heights. We began handing out surveys, both in English and Spanish, at some

events we as RGLA were tabling at. We went to local parks, handed out our surveys. We distributed them online, had supporters do the same. Eventually we began gathering the ideas given to us, saw some scattered patterns - mainly revolving around food, clothing, jobs. However, some surveys had everything checked off. Instead of discovering a bold pattern that would stick out, it was evident our community was exploited and oppressed. We would later discover, with the future highly-developed STPLA, that home-ownership was but a small fraction of the overwhelming majority, that homicides and reactionary violence against the masses was consistently high. But since we knew, as a small developing unit, we couldn't possibly get people revolutionary solutions during that era, let alone jobs or homes, we would do what was the most available to us. This happened to be food, but like all things in the universe that would change. For a complete summation of STPLA's initial work in 2015 and 2016, please read their "Two Years of Serving the People of Los Angeles in building community power."

The first half of the STPLA's history can be summed up as struggling against economism. The second half which we are witnessing is a more correct Maoist application of the revolutionary mass line, the road to PPW.

As STPLA was developing through the class struggle with its more militant revival of the anti-gentrification movement - which we are proud and bold in affirming that STPLA played a leading role in this revival - the organization co-founded the Defend Boyle Heights coalition approximately in November of 2015. For a more complete summation of DBH's work, please read their "Defending Boyle Heights and fucking shit up: a 2017 summation and report back from our Hood Solidarity Tour."

Prior to November 2015, most of the anti-gentrification resistance in Los Angeles largely focused around activists informing other activists about their analyses on gentrification - most of which revolved around hugely incorrect positions on

oppressed nationality representation and bourgeois reformism, a firm and hopelessly futile stance in legalism. Overall a near-complete waste of time that squandered the fury of the masses facing displacement and slumlord harassment and lost the seizure of time/moment. However, there were momentary examples of militancy but they were exclusively individualistic and spontaneous. This took the form mostly of property damage and intimidation tactics. This must be analyzed as adventurism and ultra-leftism not because of the tactics but because of the missing mass participation and support. The tactics, and those who carried out such actions, prioritized immediate vengeance but devoid of a mass base and its development. While not commandism - because revolutionary leadership was absent - it failed to mobilize the masses. But without the participation and support of the masses, what can be done? What objectives can be reached? What movement can be built on a foundation without the masses? A building collapses without a strong foundation built correctly. The failure of the pre-2015 anti-gentrification movement in Los Angeles rests entirely on the wrong political line (petite-bourgeois individualism). From the erroneous political line stemmed wrong tactics and a willfully-absent strategy. The masses saw this - for the section of the masses that bothered to pay attention - and went on struggling without revolutionary leadership and a political analysis. DBH is the necessary leadership, adhering to and developing a razor-sharp analysis on gentrification with a concrete defensive strategy for fighting against gentrification. The coalition is playing a guiding and supportive role, especially this year - 2018 - and the anti-gentrification movement/war overall is quickly moving into a closing sub-stage within the strategic defensive in Boyle Heights. As we have stated in our "From rebellion to war: escalating the anti-gentrification war from strategic defensive to equilibrium," the time for activism is over. Now is the time of war. Gentrification is a manifestation of the principal contradiction of capitalism's warring classes - the all-powerful proletariat and the decrepit and flailing bourgeoisie. Imperialism is fueling this war in both camps, accelerating the confrontations and a glorious and bloody protracted fate.

**The end of a beginning, the beginning of an end: RGLA's gender
rectification campaign and the Women's Popular Defense Units**

Rupture is the foundation of unity and motion. All things change, some into their opposites.

Soon after RGLA formed and right before we integrated into the NCP-LC, we began fraternal communication with Maoists comrades in Austin who were in the process of forming their own cadre collective. They also were inspired by the proletarian organizations during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of 1966-1976, particularly the Red Guard formations, as well as our own struggle against Great White Nation chauvinism and revisionism within the CPUSA and YCL, and adopted by the name Red Guards Austin. We were reciprocally inspired and energized, propelled more into serious Maoist organizing and development. However, little by little, we began experiencing and seeing threads begin to unravel within our national organization, the NCP-LC. The formation of the organization had begun on turbulent ground with looming allegations (since proven to be correct and true) of violence against women comrades within the New York City chapter and milieu. Several people had contradictory or supplemental stories on these incidents but we were left largely confused and no longer trusted leadership. Criticisms were made to leadership, both verbal and written, but a lazy culture of communication and bureaucracy created a sense of hopelessness. RGLA cadre were voted into brief national leadership and sought to correct many of these errors but the weight of the patriarchal incidents of violence and growing allegations became too great. During this time period RGA had been reached out to integrate into the NCP-LC as their Austin chapter but RGA had strong criticisms against the NCP-LC - even before the patriarchal violence within the New York City branch. RGLA, with strong vestiges of revisionism, sought to struggle from within still and reform the national organization. Eventually Austin's line won out. It was decided that Austin would release a public statement with their criticisms of the NCP-LC's politics and

patriarchal gender practice but also criticizing RGLA for our patriarchal gender practice (at the time our organization nor Austin had known about one of our cadre's having committed violence against a woman in our close circles). RGLA coordinated a public statement at the same time to accompany RGA's announcing our disassociation of the NCP-LC and announcing a gender rectification campaign with RGA's guidance. RGLA reached out to the other two branches in Kansas City and Philadelphia of the NCP-LC prior to the release of both documents and struggled with them to join us and RGA in continuing the Maoist Party building effort. Both chapters refused.

Immediately, more allegations (since proven true and correct, as well!) came to surface from New York City. More survivors came forward. This cemented that we had made the correct decision in following RGA's lead. New York City scrambled to rectify but it was too hurried and, with few exceptions, insincere. They immediately suspended several members, elected new leadership and plans for their own gender rectification campaign. We continued some communication with the branch. Criticisms and self-criticisms were published. But more importantly a survivor came forward in Los Angeles revealing the violence she had suffered at the hands of our cadre. After internal deliberation and the participation of the survivor/victim, we immediately expelled the cadre and created a semi-separate gender rectification campaign for him.

The gender rectification campaign was largely internal but we made exceptions for meeting irregularly with the survivor, former cadre and abuser's romantic partner and close supporters of the organization and supporters of STPLA.

We had the participation of a left-leaning therapist who recommended some ideas and criticized some of ours. But in the end, the final analysis was not to invite the therapist again for many postmodernist theoretical positions, such as flattening so-called "verbal violence" with physical violence. There was intense interrogation and self-interrogation as to how all the men in the cadre had a

lifelong history of patriarchal behavior and needed to transform to be better revolutionaries. During this time the former cadre and abuser was revealed as being a manipulator and extremely dangerous liar. Struggle sessions pressed on. We lost several members who, through a lack of Communist discipline, capitulated and abandoned the campaign.

So called "activist burn out" was named as the culprit for many of these men falling out of the rectification campaign. In the beginning, the meetings were several hours long, multiple times per week, month after month with only a few breaks. In addition to burn out, many people were showing characteristics of suffering from alcoholism - problem drinking, drinking to the point of falling over drunk, self-destructive behavior, black outs, etc. Substance abuse and alcoholism was nothing new to our collective and its members and supporters. Colonized and exploited subjects have a history of self-administering poison. It has been widely documented that hard drugs like crack cocaine were injected by the White Nation government/CIA mercenaries via high-ranking leaders within the lumpenproletariat into oppressed nation proletarian communities, such as the Black and Chicano nations and Black and Chicano enclaves. In addition to crack cocaine, heroine is another harbinger of death and destruction. In the Chicano Nation, heroin is still one of the most dominant and destructive poisons ever unleashed into our barrios. A legacy of destruction, perpetuated by the highest strata of lumpenproletarian cartels profiteering off the blood of the proletariat like parasites, hand in hand with the state and its criminal justice system.

And so it wasn't much of a discovery or revelation that many comrades suffered from untreated or under-treated mental illness, using drugs and alcohol as self-prescribed medicine. Substance abuse and alcoholism has been proven to be connected, not as a cause of course but as a coping mechanism, to untreated mental illness.

In our case, alcoholism was the primary destructive form of improper handling of mental illness. Our collective, back then, was in no capacity to treat afflicted comrades. Till this day we very well may have permanently pushed away or allowed some comrades to slip out of our hands due to this lack of capacity. But we cannot dwell in the past; in order to correct these grave errors we have taken serious time to study and reflect on the true nature of addiction under capitalism, growing our understanding of various personality disorders and mental illnesses. RGA's paper on contradictory behavior and addiction gave us the weaponry of insight and we read and applied it to our daily lives. Sobriety and professional therapy was collectively prescribed to campaign participants who exhibited alcoholism characteristics. But since many comrades were and are proletarian in their class origin they had no health insurance, and Los Angeles' main mental health provider is the Los Angeles County Men's Jail, known as Twin Towers. Mentally ill, drug-addicted or alcoholic proletarians are almost doomed in our city, and perhaps the entire country. We, since birth, since our class origin, are sentenced to a slow death in this colony. The proverbial carrot dangles in front of us, representative of bourgeois lies, that mislead the proletariat as a whole, as a class, into the grave. It is only an armed and vigilant vanguard Communist Party that can steer the proletariat in its historical course, away from bourgeois domination and into the victorious pages of history.

While substance and alcohol abuse is borne out of incorrect handling of mental illness and stress and trauma, activist burn out traces its root cause to political under development, manifested by petite-bourgeois hyper-individualism. It is largely invented. It exists but its existence is built upon wrong expectations and inability to handle momentary defeat, failure and a lack of Communist discipline and courage.

We have, since, created a strong culture around sobriety and Communist prestige, always striving to be exemplary revolutionaries among the masses and ourselves. As revolutionary Communist, Maoists, we should all strive to be sober.

Sobriety, only in part, allows for us to be healthier, and thus physically and mentally more capable. Sobriety allows us to be more in control of our faculties. We are more dependable. The masses look to sober, self-sacrificing revolutionaries with more trust and respect. These, while subjective, play an important role in solidifying links with the masses. We have also seen the attitude from certain comrades that "since we are not in the midst of people's war" there's no need for such supposedly extreme positions. But we must be in perpetual preparation - is this not a core tenant of the Maoist theorization of militarizing the Party and the masses? Furthermore, and to correct that idea, are we not in the midst of class warfare? Has the war against our oppressed nations and exploited class not already been initiated hundreds of years ago? The Maoist Party will only be constructed through armed class struggle!

Many of our supporters and members, even leaders, suffered from burn out. That is to say, many of us suffered from an incorrect political position on political organizing. Among other errors, revolutionaries and activists who burn out expect too much, too soon. This burn out led directly to demoralization by many in the cadre organization. We got frustrated at each other, refused to air out these criticisms and talk openly about the problems at hand. We refused to strive to become sober, or to reduce our alcohol and drug consumption. Leaders left. Members quit. For several moments in our history, RGLA dangled by a string with members dropping like flies - all due to political activist burn out. And we did not know how to handle it internally. We de-prioritized politics. We subtracted Communism from the Communist revolutionary - which through subtraction negates itself. The concepts of burn out and self-care subtract the personal conviction, the will and its manifestation through initiative, from Communist politics. Burn out is a political deviation and nothing else.

During these dark periods within the organization we emphasized slow and steady political work, largely absent of urgency or revolutionary theory. We prioritized the well being of our comrades, ourselves, primarily and over their

political transformation and development within the class struggle guided by Maoism, applied by our organization. Well being is important but cannot be subtracted from political work. The two are connected, and that connection must be emphasized. We capitulated to petite-bourgeois self-centered hyper-individualist demoralization. It is hyper-individualism because it prioritizes the individual above the collective, the masses and revolution. The logic of burn out is that everything else must be put on hold until the comrade can regain their will or initiative. The worst sort of deviation of burn out culture is the concept of self-care. The self-victimization of an activist or revolutionary that alleges to need a "break" - or, let us call it what they mean, to stop organizing for revolution for virtually and literally anything else not political to occupy (distract) their mind! This concept is all rooted in an incorrect political line. It forgets one crucial aspect of Maoism: the revolutionary Communist is a soldier. The revolutionary soldier knows nothing else but the Party, the masses and revolution. They, we, live and die for this. Everything else is subordinate to this. Our self-care is non-existent. If we need a break, it is only because the break is a necessary part of our missions and overall trajectory. A break, which really is only a rest period, is needed for the mind and body to be at its sharpest. Soldiers need rest. But rest is not self-care. It is a natural component to all soldiers, especially active duty soldiers. No one is in a battlefield 24 hours a day, seven days a week. If this were the case, all wars would be over in a matter of days or weeks. It is because the soldier if fatigued is disorientated and puts themselves and their unit or squad in danger.

To be a Communist is to be self-sacrificing. To be a Communist is to be aware of one's own mortality and the inevitable laying down of one's freedom or life, spilling our blood, for the masses, the Party and revolution. To be a Communist is to commit to revolution forever, all the time, with every ounce of being, with unshakable dedication, with every breath of air coming in and leaving our lungs. To be a Communist is to be a revolutionary soldier of and for the people - and, yes, rest periods are not only allowed, they are mandatory but only for the effectiveness of all the Party's organizations. Within our current strategy, our

trajectory and our own expectations, all of this combined enables us no longer to be burned out.

We have no illusions of what awaits us. We do not retire at the end of the day and wallow in our dissatisfaction, in our pessimism or dare touch the petite-bourgeois intoxication of reactionary nihilism. We are revolutionary optimists. Like the PCP Maoist have said and our RGA comrades have echoed these words, we are condemned to win!

Like Presidente Gonzalo said in his interview with El Diario when asked if there was anything he was afraid of:

Fear? I believe that fear and lack of fear form a contradiction. The point is to take up our ideology, and unleash the courage within us. It is our ideology that makes us brave, that gives us courage. In my opinion, no one is born brave. It is society, the class struggle, that makes people and Communists courageous--the class struggle, the proletariat, the Party, and our ideology. What could the greatest fear be? Death? As a materialist I know that life will end some day. What is most important to me is to be an optimist, with the conviction that others will continue the work to which I am committed, and will carry it forward until they reach our final goal, Communism. Because the fear that I could have is that no one would carry on, but that fear disappears when one has faith in the masses. I think that the worst fear, in the end, is not to have faith in the masses, to believe that you're indispensable, the center of the world. I think that's the worst fear and if you are forged by the Party, in proletarian ideology, in Maoism principally, you understand that the masses are the makers of history, that the Party makes revolution, that the advance of history is certain, that revolution is the main trend, and then your fear vanishes. What remains is the satisfaction of contributing together with others to

laying the foundation so that some day Communism may shine and illuminate the entire earth.

Pessimism is rooted in revisionism because it attempts to annihilate proletarian revolution from within, or even before it begins. Gonzalo in the same interview said:

Let's remember that Chairman Mao said: only the revisionists and opportunists are pessimists, the proletariat and Communists are always optimists, because the future is ours--it is historically determined so long as we keep to our course.

The few remaining members continued on in the gender rectification campaign, determined in their embracing sacrifice to carry the campaign to its conclusion, come what may. It was this spirit that helped ground and propel its adherents.

It was decided that in order for the gender rectification campaign to truly mature, it had to materialize in concrete ways - putting into practice what we were learning. This is from where the "Unlearning Patriarchy" series came from. The idea from its inception was to continue on the gender rectification campaign of all the organization's members and supporters and to grow it into something bigger and theorize on different ideas of what the material goal would be for the campaign. An idea we came to was in producing a collection of self-criticisms by the male supporters of the organization including a summation of the entire gender rectification campaign.

As explained in our "With proletarian women and revolutionary theory anything is possible: criticism and self-criticism on incorrect gender theorization and practice," our Unlearning Patriarchy series largely stemmed from an urgent need in bettering our gender behavior and practice and we subsequently de-prioritized our Maoist politics. We understood the Marxist analysis of patriarchy as a secondary contradiction under capitalism but we didn't apply nor practice it.

Because of the poor gender practice by the men in the organization, interpersonal relationships became primary. That alone is not an error, just as long as it is momentarily and briefly given priority but not in substitution of Maoist politics, of revolutionary theory. The emancipation of women will not come from a bettering of gender practice. As el Movimiento Feminino Popular stated in their 1974 document "Marxism, Mariategui and the Women's Movement,"

For Marxism, women, as much as men, are but a set of social relations, historically adapted and changing as a function of the changes of society in its development process. Woman then is a social product, and her transformation demands the transformation of society.

The transformation and emancipation of women depends and demands on the destruction of contemporary capitalist society and its transformation into socialist society with the participation of women revolutionary soldiers.

We did not and are not abandoning bettering ourselves, especially the men, in our gender practice. In fact, we have decided inside our organization that a bettering of gender practice is mandatory and permanent for all male members of the cadre. We must still make this primary in our personal lives but never in substitution or liquidation of our politics. Politics in command is not conditional; it is universally necessary in all Communist work. Proletarian feminism, as a revolutionary trend in feminism that we are seeking to further develop and adhere to, asserts that capitalism is the principal form of exploitation against women as they have been integrated into the workforce, into proletarian jobs. While they are underpaid, harassed and even brutalized, they are part of the proletariat who have an invested interest in the elimination of all oppression and all exploitation. Only in the changing of the economic base can we begin to majorly change the superstructure - the place where patriarchy, now as a largely ideological gossamer, lives and will die.

It was because of this and criticism we received that we focused on transforming the Unlearning Patriarchy series away from postmodernism and largely inconsequential zine collection of self-criticisms and a summation and toward a militarized feminist women's defense project in collaboration with the O.V.A.S. based out of their autonomous community space in Boyle Heights, La Conxa. This is still in its early stages but more summations and polemics shall be released in the near future.

In referencing, again, our document "With proletarian women and revolutionary theory everything is possible: criticism and self-criticism on incorrect gender theorization and practice:"

We assert, now, that the contradiction between proletarian men and women is not generally antagonistic and therefore does not require a revolution between men and women to resolve this contradiction. The non-antagonistic contradiction between proletarian men and women however may, at times, become antagonistic and often results in violence and even murder of women. However, there is a direct correlation between the contradictions of capitalism and the precarious economic position the proletariat occupies. Violence exists in proletarian neighborhoods. Violence against women exists in proletarian neighborhoods. Violence against women exists in the oppressed nations in proletarian neighborhoods. This violence does not exist constantly but rather under regular peaks of sharpen imperialist economic crises like recessions, massive job loss, offshoring, outsourcing and state policies that heightens the exploitation of the proletariat and increases the level of national oppressed by the white nation against the internal colonies/oppressed nations like mass housing displacement (gentrification). Capitalism perpetuates violence, not the other way around. The former is explained by Marxism, the other is upheld by

postmodernism and revisionist “Marxist”-feminism and other non-Marxist feminist schools of thought.

It was difficult for us early on and only until recently to theorize a correct understanding of a feminism that didn't liquidate Marxism, Maoism, and answer correctly on the question of the role of proletarian women in socialist revolution. But in our continued political development in Maoism, specifically in studying the works of Maoism's originators Presidente Gonzalo and the Communist Party of Peru, were we then able to answer these questions. Not in rhetoric, polemics or slogans but with a concrete strategy and Guiding Thought and illuminating theory.

Maoism, specifically its aspects of the militarization of the Party and the masses, holds the answers to the emancipation of proletarian women. Proletarian women becoming soldiers in their own transformation as well in the transformation of society is not only one method for women's emancipation, it is the only true method. Everything else capitulates to reformism, postmodernism, nihilism, and therefore capitalism. Everything is bourgeois.

Again, we return to our document on proletarian feminism and state and reaffirm:

This is a path we have already embarked on and we cannot be removed from it; our feet are firmly planted and our resolve is growing harder and harder like Communist soldiers – becoming.

This – patriarchy’s hegemony – will not change, no matter how many bell hooks reading groups we are a part of; it will not change, no matter how many more self-care books are published; it will not change, no matter how many feminist seminars are conducted – even if they call themselves anticapitalist or even Marxist; it will not change, no matter how many men’s circles gather to learn how to be emotionally available and vulnerable with their intimate partners; it will not change, no matter how

gender-diverse your organization is in its membership. Healing is impossible. Representation is not power. It, alone, is identity politics. Revolutionary war – principally Protracted People’s War – is the only solution.

The time for "unlearning" is over. Now is the time to unleash the revolutionary vengeance and violence of proletarian women and their militarization! Now is the time for men to become disciplined and principled Communist soldiers. Now is the time of great preparation in building socialist revolution. Now is the time of war.

The rise of fascism and the fall of Communist leadership: oppose ultra-democracy!

And then a great fascist beast was elected president of this country, rising up from the waters of decaying moribund capitalism, American imperialism. A great beast of deceit that promised the salvation of the Great White Nation.

Trump came into power at the political moment of capitalist crisis, declining profits and a necessary distraction, where two sectors of the bourgeoisie were competing for dominance with the more reactionary fascist camp winning out. But many mistakenly saw Trump as an anomaly or a more aggressive but unique manifestation of reactionary fascist-capitalism.

RGLA, eagerly and urgently, began going to anti-Trump and pro-Black Lives Matter protests, the majority of which had a militant character.

Protests against Trump post-election had increased, with numbers of those attending protests in the US totaling in the millions. But these protests had little effect on the political organs that carried out Trump's orders. The failure of broad liberal and reformist #Resistance spoke to the current state of the Left, who looked to protest devoid of revolutionary leadership as being key, who looked at

protesting for the sake of itself. It was and continues to be a metaphysical outlook on protests and by extension the world.

RGLA and its supporters jumped from protest to protest, eager to be among the radical masses taking over Freeways, streets, City Hall lawns, etc. But we didn’t engage enough with them. Through a default baseline of simply being present at protests, even if we managed to get to the forefront and lock arms among ourselves and the masses, we were only really hoping to establish relationships with the rest of the masses. This wasn’t the mass-line method of leadership. It was osmosis-as-substitution-for-leadership.

Trump did not establish fascism, which generally still does not exist overall - while aspects of fascism do in fact exist in the Repressive State Apparatus. Nonetheless, with Trump we saw a renewed rise in fascism from the backward white supremacist petite-bourgeoisie and masses. Austin began the Communist antifascist movement in this country. Los Angeles took a play out of their playbook and applied it in our city, specifically the neighborhood of Boyle heights and established an antifascist coalition, Smash Fascism - Los Angeles (SFLA).

We reached out to leftist organizations, individuals and even some parties. The response was overall largely under-enthusiastic. Most collectives and parties had no urgency and hesitated and treated SFLA as an annoying job. Meetings were avoided, or at best not committed to. Attendance was low. Most of the enthusiasm and serious commitment came from un-affiliated individuals or STPLA volunteers who were still sorely under politically developed. Of these individuals, in and out of STPLA, the main political current was anarchism. This is where most of the line struggle stemmed from.

Only two actions were completed under SFLA - one was a semi-militant confrontation with white chauvinist Trump supporters in the city of Cudahy and the other was a far more militant confrontation with neo-Nazis and white

chauvinists in Orange County. This was a physical fight with SFLA supporters physically confronting and fighting alongside other antifascists.

SFLA died one night when an anarchist proposed that the coalition become a collective in allowing unaffiliated individuals to join. The proposal came from a lack of organizational participation from the coalition's supposed members. Therefore, their criticism was not without its merits. But instead of setting forth a path for rectification and more serious integration and applying discipline, a liberal and highly reckless line was put forth and then won. Majority voted in favor of turning the coalition into a mere collective of individuals. This voting bloc did not concern themselves with the possibility of infiltration from sole individuals not vetted or held accountable by an organization. They did not concern themselves with developing a political analysis on how to effectively fight, or smash, fascism. RGLA and some members of STPLA affirmed that the only way in achieving this end was by constructing the three instruments of Maoism: its Party, Army and United Front - which SFLA was supposed to be a proto-version of. And so RGLA and STPLA immediately pulled out of the organization but allowed it to go on knowing it was most likely fail, which it did.

Here we can say our errors were 1.) devolving to ultra-democracy and 2.) putting unprincipled unity above putting politics in command and embracing rupture.

On the first point, our appointed leadership for the coalition and facilitator of the meetings was consistently "opening up the space" to counterpoints, wrong positions, and unable or unwilling to exercise Communist leadership and make executive decisions. In other words, what was principal for them was democracy and not centralism. The facilitator and inefficient leader would not apply rectification after receiving our criticism, and we failed in stepping in and removing them. It was important to give every single attendee at a meeting equal voice and voting power, even though they had barely begun volunteering or organizing against fascism! Mao refers to this as ultra-democracy, which is

rooted in petite-bourgeois conception of leadership, organizing and prioritizing the feelings of people and not developing revolutionary soldiers steeled in the discipline of following orders. Of course the coalition failed; it was put in inexperienced, underdeveloped hands and leadership was politically underdeveloped - not one member but all members. In conclusion, we and only we self-destructed SFLA. We confused a Maoist United Front with a revisionist and largely anarchist Popular Front.

On the second point, we were eager to start a similar project to Austin's Smash Fascism project. RGA had put out the national call, after all. We united with the analysis to prepare for a rising fascism, both state and non-state fascists building up their organizations and terrorism against the masses. We saw and agreed with the necessity of growing into a force to confront and neutralize local fascists. In this hurry, we reached out to any and all left-leaning groups. The list of potential members and allies was not wrong - it was a good composition of the different progressive elements within our society - churches, mosques, temples, labor organizers, revolutionary Chicano nationalists, other Marxists, etc. But it failed. We failed. Our conditions in Los Angeles weren't as sharp as Austin or in the South. SFLA had to go outside of the City of Los Angeles a few times to confront white supremacists, such as a pro-Trump rally with Nazis participating in Anaheim. We were on defensive, mostly waiting.

Today SFLA lives on only as an occasional social media post or re-share on Facebook. Its future as of yet is undetermined. It could rise up as the necessary antifascist pole in Los Angeles with better political development and leadership. What is true and alive today is the reality that fascists, mostly Nazi "skinheads," have been coming into Boyle Heights attempting to antagonize antifascist organizers. With little to no exception, the antifascists of the eastside have dealt with these Nazis brutally and convincingly. We are witnessing a steady rise of fascism nationally and in particular a more daring, albeit stupid and suicidal, Nazi youth presence infiltrating our Boyle Heights proto-base area. STPLA, RGLA

supporters and others are actively working with antifascist comrades. Together we will effectively neutralize the fascist threat. For fascists to enter into Boyle Heights or East Los Angeles is an announcement of an already-lost local war: the militants of Boyle Heights are thirsty for blood and vengeance and they will not rest until the skulls of fascists are snugly pressed and crushed underneath steal-toe boots. This is not satisfactory. We must be at a point when the mere name of Boyle Heights and its militants makes the fascists shudder and rethink their entry onto our streets.

Maoism is the firestorm that cleanses the earth through incineration

From our humble beginnings, as hungry students of Maoism, we have always retained our appetites for theory and revolution. We have committed serious political errors. We are guaranteed to commit more. But what we are unapologetic for is our treading, the necessary trek, in grasping Maoism, however difficult, however any missteps are behind or ahead of us. It's as if there's a spark in the distance and we're moving toward it but the closer we get the bigger the spark becomes, transforming from a little spark into a firestorm. This is the mission of RGLA, and the entire Red Guards Maoist movement. Nothing less.

Even though RGLA was founded in October 2014 as a Maoist pre-Party cadre, we did not fully leap from Marxism-Leninism into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and then again from an incomplete Marxism-Leninism-Maoism into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, until recently. Our political development mirrors that of the entire contemporary Maoist movement having started approximately around 2012/13 with the NCP-OC. It has only been recent, as well, that the national movement has come to the near-consolidation of a few political lines - the most important one being on how we define Maoism, which we are forced to distinguish from the phony Communists claim of "Maoism" who

distance themselves or attack Chairman Gonzalo and the Communist Party of Peru.

RGLA devoured theoretical contributions of the international line struggle on Maoism which took place within the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) and their publication "A World to Win." We studied the older documents of the RCPUSA, valued Bob Avakian's early defense of Mao and the red line of the so-called "Gang of Four," led by the heroic and revolutionary martyr Jiang Qing, and watched and read as he and his party turned into a revisionist New Synthesis sham. We studied the Communist Party of India (Maoist) study course (this is where our earlier study group got much of its material), even though we would later on go to critique its laden Mao Zedong Thought dominance. We studied the Communist Party of the Philippines, the theoretical contributions and internal struggle made public within the Communist movement of Turkey. And then with the political advancement of RGA and their bold assertion as the inheritors of the Maoism as synthesized not by any of the above-mentioned parties or organizations but instead from down south in the jungles and mountains of the South American Andes, the Maoism birthed in the streets of Lima and the jungles of Ayacucho, the Maoism brought to the world principally by the Communist Party of Peru (In Spanish, the acronym is PCP) and Chairman Gonzalo.

Whereas before RGA's defense and allegiance to the PCP, we were emphasizing without knowing it the Marxism-Leninism of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and not focusing on an authentic and powerful Maoism. After reading the General Political Line and other published works of the PCP, after struggling with other Maoist formations but principally with the guidance and criticism of RGA, we were able to burst through an antiquated and incomplete grasp of Maoism proper - a Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Marxism-Leninism - which could best be understood by the following:

- i. Upholding the Marxist line on establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat to govern over the proletarian state,
- ii. which will be carried to fruition by the three instruments of Maoism: the Communist Party, the People's Army and the United Front,
- ii. waging two-line struggle and subsequent cultural revolution as the necessary method for defeating capitalists within the Communist Party,
- iii. Protracted People's War as universal in waging proletarian revolution, not the so-called "October Road" or insurrection - a false dichotomy because, since PPW is universal, it has existed throughout history but in broken up, un-synthesized manifestations. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 is an example of PPW, with the war beginning in February 1905 with the masses against the Czar and his armed lapdogs and concluding in 1917 with the storming of the Winter Palace, smashing the old Czarist state, seizing power and building a state of a new type, a worker's state.

It is wrong here to say the above-points contradict Maoism proper. It is more correct to say the above-points only paint an incomplete picture. The Peruvian experience - the Peruvian masses guided through People's War by Presidente Gonzalo and the Party - applied all above-mentioned points and more, as developed by Mao. This experience, this historic experiment in synthesizing Maoism, tested out Mao's advancement of the entirety of Marxism as an ideology to new heights - of which it has yet to be surpassed.

Now we define ourselves as principally Maoist by asserting that:

- i. Maoism was synthesized by Chairman Gonzalo and the PCP in the 1980s during the People's War of Peru waged by the vanguard of the Peruvian masses from 1980 until the present.

- ii. Maoism has three instruments - the Maoist Communist Party, the Maoist People's Army and the Maoist United Front - however, its conception and construction also has a Maoist approach - where all three are constructed concentrically.
- iii. Maoism is invincible if the Maoist Communist Party is militarized as well as the masses, which means the Party is comprised of militants and soldiers of the Maoist People's Army - and that in application of the mass-line method of leadership the Party and its organizations build up the masses into Communist soldiers, armed with invincible Maoism, capable of waging Protracted People's War under the guidance of the Party, and that the revolution is safeguarded by a sea of armed masses who would fight until the last drop of blood spills from their veins.
- iv. Maoism is the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat and revolutionary violence is the weapon the Party and all of its organizations use in fighting in the class struggle, in and outside of Protracted People's War.
- v. Maoism puts forth the universality of Protracted People's War as applicable anywhere on earth, from semi-feudal and semi-colonial nations to fully imperialist nations - contrary to what the comrades in the Philippines, India or elsewhere say - (while their words may disagree, their reality of waging PPW in their respective countries defends this line - it is like an universal truth, untouched by acknowledgement or lack thereof); furthermore, it is the proletarian method of revolution; a denial of this, whatever the excuse - such as that other parties calling themselves Maoist disagreeing with the universality of PPW - is a unequivocal renunciation of Maoism.
- vi. And that a Guiding Thought, or a principal pinnacle of leadership that inevitably comes from Democratic Centralism, will always emerge in all revolutionary situations where the Party is advancing toward socialism.

The PCP referred to their Guiding Thought as Jefatura or Great Leadership and it was embodied by Presidente Gonzalo in Gonzalo Thought. Like Mao to the Party and masses in China, like Lenin to the Party and masses of Russia, so to is Gonzalo the Guiding Thought of the Party and masses of Peru - and also the majority of Latin America, principally in South America.

Lastly, Maoism and Mao Zedong Thought are not the same. But in addition to this, Maoism wielded by Communist parties engaging in People's War or in preparation for the initiation of the armed struggle do not automatically qualify themselves as Maoist. Just like how the title of Communist is adopted by revisionist parties and formations without much international control does not qualify them as actual Communists. Without an adherence to the above six points you cannot be a Maoist. These are not RGLA synthesized points. These are not RGA's synthesized points. These are Maoism's guiding principals, developed by the PCP and they belong to the international proletariat.

Now we claim allegiance to the Maoism synthesized by the revolutionaries, above all else Chairman Gonzalo, of Peru. Now we can hold high the scarlet banner, red with the blood of the international revolutionary martyrs of the proletariat, of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism! The world trembles before our feet with the weight of the Four Great Teachers we hoist up to the sky: Marx, Lenin, Mao and Gonzalo. We are the children of Gonzalo, inheriting the invincible theory of the proletariat's emancipation, servants to the people and Communist soldiers of Maoism.

**On the synthesis of Unified People's War as the universal application of
PPW within the capitalist centers of the world**

Make wiping out the enemy's effective strength our main objective; do not make holding or seizing a city or place our main objective. Holding or seizing a city or place is the outcome of wiping out the enemy's effective

strength, and often a city or place can be held or seized for good only after it has changed hands a number of times. – “The Present Situation and Our Tasks,” Mao, Dec. 25, [1947](#)³

... the people's war of universal validity is the answer to the imperialist world war, it implied at present and in perspective the transformation of the imperialist counter-revolutionary war into a revolutionary war, into a people's war, into a war for the conquest of Political Power for the proletariat and the people (be it a State of New Democracy or a State of Dictatorship of the Proletariat); thus, for the Communist Parties the problem lays not in centering the attention on the imperialist world war but on the people's war, because only from the latter will derive the Political Power led by the proletariat. – “HOIST, DEFEND AND APPLY MARXISM-LLENINISM-MAOISM, PRINCIPALLY MAOISM!” PCP and the Communist Party of Spain, May 1, [1987](#)⁴

There is one area in which RGLA is beginning to struggle over. Chairman Gonzalo's application of Maoism to Peru came in the form of the Party's Guiding Thought, Gonzalo Thought. Located inside the Peruvian Guiding Thought contained the theorization of the application of PPW in the capitalist center of Lima and urban cities with a principal component in the countryside - similar yet different from Mao's application of People's War in China. Mao argued for organizing in the countryside and encircling the cities. Gonzalo, of course, argued for that but with the advancement of an infiltrated and integrated component within the cities to carry out armed Party actions. Support bases would be built in the Party-controlled countryside. But in the city Party Fronts would be the principal form of organizing, working in unison with countryside bases for the coordinated bombardment against the cities in the final blows to the weakened bourgeois state. It is theorized by the Communist Party of India

³ <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/red-book/ch08.htm>

⁴ <http://library.redspark.nu/1987 - Hoist, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism!>

(Maoist), as well as others, that this insurrection occurs in the final stage of PPW, its strategic offensive. However, history has shown rolling attacks inside urban centers throughout revolutions, including People's Wars, have been effective - such as in the case of Vietnam.

Not a lot has been made public on the theorization of PPW in the capitalist-imperialist centers or on Unified People's War. Although the PCP's own writings puts this squarely, particularly, in Gonzalo Thought and not generally in the universal tenants of Maoism proper, we can see a universality of this application of PPW to fully developed capitalist countries with rural or countryside-like conditions like the vastness of U.S., Canada, Mexico, Central America, Brazil, and hundreds if not thousands others. We are hard-pressed to think of a fully-developed vast capitalist country on earth where Unified People's War is not applicable.

The PCP's General Political Line, specifically the [Military Line](#)⁵, lays out Unified People's War as it was applied in Peru, borrowing - or synthesizing - from the International Communist Movement throughout history:

Furthermore, Chairman Gonzalo specifies that in the cities armed actions should be carried forward as a complement, since international experience, as well as our own, demonstrates that this is feasible. He draws lessons, for example, from what happened to the guerrillas in the Philippines which recast themselves in the countryside and left the cities quiet, especially the capital, resulting in the isolation of the guerrillas. In Brazil, the revolutionaries also carried out armed actions in the countryside and city, only they neglected to specify which was principal. In Vietnam, important armed actions were carried out in the cities. Thus, taking into account the peculiarities of the cities in Latin America, where the percentage of the proletariat and of the poor masses in the cities is

⁵ <https://gplpcp.wordpress.com/military-line-of-the-Communist-party-of-peru/>

high, the masses are ready to develop actions complementing those in the countryside. In the cities, however, the New Power or Support Bases are not being built, rather the Front is solidified through the Revolutionary Defense Movement of the People (MRDP) with Resistance Centers that carry out the People’s War and prepare the future insurrection, which will occur when the forces of the countryside assault the cities in combination with the insurrection from within.

Where does the countryside exist as the most populated area of the peasants and masses? In the world, approximately 51 percent of the population lives in the cities - even in China more people now live in the cities - approximately [52 percent](#)⁶. The Communist Party of India (Maoist) - but more accurately authored by the Party's precursors, the Communist Party of India Marxist-Leninist (People's War) - in their document "[Urban Perspective: Our Work in Urban Areas](#)"⁷ argues for a strategy focused on the urban zones, on the urban proletariat and its allied classes and sectors.

The document states:

Thus it is clear that the armed struggle and the movement in the rural areas will play the primary role, and the work in the cities will play a secondary role, complementary to the rural work. However, while giving first priority to the rural work, we must also give due importance to the urban struggle. Without a strong urban revolutionary movement, the ongoing people’s war faces difficulties; further, without the participation of the urban masses it is impossible to achieve countrywide victory.

The document goes on to summarize the Indian Maoists application of organizing in the urban centers by developing a broad spectrum of organizations, ranging

⁶ <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/18/world/asia/majority-of-chinese-now-live-in-cities.html>

⁷ <http://www.bannedthought.net/India/CPI-Maoist-Docs/UrbanPerspective.pdf>

from secret, open/semi-open, infiltration (fractional), Party mass covers, and legal democratic.

The CPI (Maoist), or at very least its precursors who would go on to merge into the Party, are influenced by the PCP - especially in the urban setting:

The situation of the urban poor in the slums and poor localities is worsening continuously. The slum population of India today stands at 4.1 cores, spread in 607 towns. The largest mega city, Mumbai, has 49% of its population in the slums. Our Party has so far paid limited attention to the organizing of this section. Other revolutionary parties, particularly the Peru Communist Party (PCP) have been particularly successful in this respect. In fact the shantytowns of Lima have been the strongholds of the revolutionaries for a long period. We too should work at creating such strongholds in India's major cities.

In short, the CPI (Maoist)'s application of PPW to India is Unified People's War. What Presidente Gonzalo theorized has been carried out and applied or more correctly, like any universality, it has been discovered by those paying keen attention to their material reality, such as revolutionary Marxists.

The era of organizing a People's Army exclusively in the countryside with bases of support encircling and then taking over the cities is gone. We repeat for the anticipation of misreadings and criticisms built on misreadings: we argue that building exclusively in the countryside is obsolete, but instead building bases in the countryside in combination with forging bases, albeit of a different form, in urban centers. We are in the era of proletarian revolution, of decaying capitalism, imperialism, and of national liberation struggles. Unified People's War answers the Maoist question as to how PPW would look like in a capitalist country. It is not an insurrectionist war and it is not an exclusively rural and countryside war.

Much like in Peru and India, a Unified People's War in the U.S. would take advantage of much of the rural areas, but especially the thick covered forests area in the hundreds, if not thousands, of mountain ranges - from east to west and north to south. Guerrilla zones and even base areas could be set up with minimal military overcoming of the U.S. Forest Service and other state rangers. A corresponding base of support in the most immediate urban area - with a spectrum of Party organizations going from legal to illegal - to the rural base area acts as a guard and outpost of the revolutionary forces. This should be repeated throughout the country, including its internal colonies. This physical geographical pattern is also a political pattern where one is dominant over the other. The urban centers would be primary. But the countryside would be necessary yet secondary - but one without the other is a doomed dogmatic and outdated application of PPW.

Indian reservations would also be strategic territory because of their anti-federal trespassing laws, the autonomy/sovereignty inherit within the indigenous nation and group's territory. For this reason but not only this reason Communists must be better in organizing with the indigenous population. California, Arizona and New Mexico are homes to country's highest concentration of indigenous nations and groups, with California and Los Angeles in particular leading. The Indigenous population, nations and groups, makes up a large sector of the masses. They are the masses. We must fully integrate into their daily lives, their workplace, their cultural events, their struggles. Socialist revolution is impossible without the full integration and participation of the indigenous proletariat and its allies of the indigenous nations. We must develop correct Marxist positions on the indigenous oppressed nations, necessarily differentiate between nations and groups to guide a correct revolutionary approach but also cut through divisions with a class analysis that unites, carefree of anyone's feelings, the international proletariat.

One of the largest, if not the largest, and most damaging mass uprising in U.S. history in the latter half of the 20th century happened right here in Los Angeles,

[1992](#)⁸. After a verdict in a white-majority Simi Valley finding all LAPD officers involved in the brutal beating of an unarmed New Afrikan man, Rodney King - despite video recording documenting the entirety of the beating, from beginning to end, with Rodney King's body finally giving out and flopping over in vicious surrender. Approximately 62 people were killed, the majority of which were New Afrikan, followed by Chicano and Mexican and Central American casualties. The rebellion cost the city and state more than a billion dollars in damages. In the end, the only thing that ended the rebellion/riot was the state's deployment of armed military from the National Guard and U.S. Marshall into the city of Los Angeles. The state's soldiers patrolled the streets as if in Iraq or Afghanistan, operating on guerrilla warfare hostile Rules of Engagement (ROE). A state of emergency and curfew had been called by the city of Los Angeles and the military reinforced and militarized that curfew and order. Soldiers were instructed, as in all armed conflicts, to shoot to kill if fired upon - a standard ROE in hostile enemy territory. Footage, such as video and photos, is widely available documented soldiers crouching behind local businesses such as hamburger stands, mechanic shops, liquor stores and markets. Many of the soldiers who made up the U.S. Marshall and National Guard had just gotten back from a deployment overseas in the Middle East, some even returning from the imperialist Operation Desert Storm, which secured the joint oil monopoly between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia.

The rebellion, the so-called LA Riots of 1992, saw the New Afrikan and Mexican, Central American and Chicano masses outnumber law enforcement, possible one-to-10. In certain areas in South Central Los Angeles police were unable to penetrate. That is, there were semi-autonomous anti-state zones. While no class-based revolutionary organization with hegemony led the uprising, there was a spontaneous crude and blurry political line against all law enforcement, the capitalist state and the entire White Nation.

⁸ <https://www.cnbc.com/2011/02/01/Americas-Most-Destructive-Riots-of-All-Time.html?slide=11>

Unfortunately, the proletariat of the oppressed masses was largely unarmed - with the lumpenproletariat being the most well-armed comparatively.

Out of all mass classes, the petite-bourgeoisie Asian-Americans, mostly Koreans, were the most well-armed and organized sector. But because of their class nature (origin and stand) they only organized along their own interests and relatively small capital. Later on, however, petite-bourgeois church leaders began uniting the reformist elements of all national sections of the city to end the uprising. This movement gained a lot of support from the city and state. But was largely ignored by the proletarian and allied youth of the masses.

While a revolutionary class analysis and assessment is missing from the LA uprising, some key observations to make are that:

- i. Without a highly disciplined revolutionary Communist organization - in part capable of centralizing and synthesizing the demands of the masses into a program - the masses uprising, however righteous, will fizzle out. The masses rebellion is the fire. The revolutionary organization is the arson, guiding that fire to its inevitable conclusion, burning it all down. Capitalism's crises is the accelerant.
- ii. The masses must be militarized and armed, in all scenarios - through peace and war. They themselves must be prepared to use those arms against the reactionaries of the state - and even the revisionists who would lie and trick them into treacherous peace accords.
- iii. Revolutionaries must be integrated fully with the masses. The masses should know us, trust us and see us as self-sacrificing people's soldiers here and now. The masses respond to leadership, structure and well-thought out strategy - but only if it resonates with their reality, their needs and their desires.

iv. Following from the first point, the masses should be integrated into revolutionary formations that can already operate as independent as possible from the capitalist state, and be as sustainable as possible. But not to simply segregate from the state but to be prepared to engage with it in armed combat for a protracted period.

Perhaps the most important lesson to take away from the five-day semi-guerrilla war is broken down into two parts a.) that revolution in the U.S., and all urban centers of capitalism-imperialism, is possible. Furthermore, the U.S. history is but a trajectory marked with nothing other than a series of linear battles, conflicts and wars - all of which are fueled by class and national oppression - there are no exceptions, and b.) that the Maoist truthism that without a People's Army the people have nothing is reaffirmed, and that should be guiding all of our mass work; the Maoist application of the mass-line method of leadership is toward the formation of the People's Army in preparation and then subsequent guidance through the PPW.

The Chicano National Question (reprinted from the Maoist Conference for Line Struggle book – with updated theses)

I. Recent editions, self-criticisms, criticisms and revisions:

With the presentation of the following Red Guards - Los Angeles (RGLA) position paper on the Chicano Nation, we received criticism, most good and united with at the time of the Maoist Conference of Line Struggle (MCLS) and afterwards - mostly from Red Guards Austin (RGA).

For that, we are indebted to the Maoists in the country who tirelessly sharpen our analyses and the analyses of other pre-party formations.

The end-result of two-line struggle is for the mastery of guidance for People’s War by the genuine proletarian line. We understand that under the capitalist mode of production and the rampant and treacherous revisionist hegemony in the U.S. Communist movement, we must engage ruthlessly in line struggle. Nothing short of the future of the Party, the People’s Army and the United Front is at stake.

One particular point we must self-criticize for was our erroneous theorization and claim that contemporary colonialism lives on mostly in the superstructure of society instead of in the economic base. We arrived at this conclusion due to the fact that in comparing Chicano national oppression from the mid-1800s to the early 1900s - with the public lynching of people of Mexican descent, including Chicanos of course, the restrictive anti-Mexican/Chicano laws, the regional (but actually national) and repressive relegation to second-class citizenship - the settler-colonialism of that era looked distinct from present-day colonialism. While true things have changed, as all things do, we made the mistake of not studying the different forms of colonialism.

There is no such thing as one monolithic colonialism. Spanish, Dutch, British and French colonialism were global conquests of foreign territory for the expansion of the respective kingdoms (focused on the exterior). But settler-colonialism was more about the permanent moving in and supplanting the native populations, the colonization of the native population and conquering of native territory (this can be thought of as focused on the interior). European settlers were principally motivated for the conquering of the so-called New World, not for enriching their respective empires, but for making a new home and kingdom of their own. South Africa, Israel, New Zealand and Australia are examples of present-day settler-colonialist countries.

The U.S. became the new superpower principally because of the enslavement of Africans and the genocide of the native nations and groups, including the

Chicano Nation, for the primitive accumulation needed for building capitalism. The blood of Africans and the bones of the natives laid the foundation for the construction of White Nation settler-colonialist capitalism.

Therefore, we say now that colonialism does in fact *still exist*, but specifically *settler*-colonialism, which means the country’s internal colonies are fully colonized and not, as we have erroneously theorized earlier, semi-colonies.

Another point of agreement that we now self-criticize for is on the naming of the Chicano Nation and the over-usage of the term “Chicanx” to be interchangeable with Chicano for the mere sake of inclusion of Chicano trans people. This was an error principally for the reason that in this position paper and the larger book we did not offer a single Chicano trans case study or analysis of trans Chicanos. For that, we self-criticize twice for opportunistically presenting an inclusive naming of the paper and book without actually having the substance to qualify it and for not taking the research of Chicano trans people and Chicano revolutionaries seriously. We aim to better our analysis by dedicating time and energy in this pursuit.

But most importantly, and our gravest error, was that the Chicano Nation would move toward national liberation prior to or during socialist integration into a countrywide dictatorship of the proletariat. While we did not idealistically wish for a Communist Party of the Chicano Nation or Aztlán, we now warn that it would be dangerous to the countrywide socialist revolution – precisely because it would abandon the rest of the oppressed nations within the prison house U.S.

We say that the fundamental and antagonistic contradiction of national oppression exists and continues to rack up national casualties, deaths, imprisonments, deportations, economic and political repression.

RGLA operates in the Chicano Nation. We understand our national context. We are part of the Chicano Nation’s up-and-coming leading Maoist revolutionary

organizations. We have consistently maintained Chicano leadership in the organization and in all mass projects and organizations. There is a growing Maoist presence and leadership growing. Inside our nation there exists intense line struggle, with nationalism representing the capitalist line and Maoism representing the proletarian line.

We take lessons away from the Kurdish national liberation movement and the liquidation of proletarian theory and leadership (at the time Marxism-Leninism) and the capitulating to petite-bourgeois leadership by the PKK (which now calls for democratic federalism). We must uphold and represent a Communist line. Nationalism poses a reactionary threat to the national liberation movement of the Chicano Nation. The nationalists would lead the nation through a bourgeois national liberation movement. Like revolutionary China with its Communist Party leading their national liberation movement, so too must the countrywide Maoist Communist Party led but not exclusively focus on one nation at the expense of others.

Precisely because of the criticisms we have received, namely from RGA over our subjectivism and incidental chauvinism - of putting the Chicano Nation as the center of our analysis without contextualizing its relation to the Black Nation as the Southern - or, the Sunbelt - we have revised our position on Chicano national liberation by theorizing two possible scenarios or theses as detailed below. We are not laying out two options but rather possibilities as a warning and urgent push into immediate theorizing and struggling over the countrywide national question.

For Chicanos, as a colonized nation, self-determination is of the utmost importance. The question of national self-determination, at its most profound essence, is really a question of *freedom*. There are several positions on the national question and specifically the Chicano Nation, but generally there are two

possible outcomes, or theses, in the movement toward Chicano national liberation. They are:

- i. ***The separatist line:*** *that the liberation of the Chicano Nation may exercise its right of secession from the U.S. and establish an indigenous republic of the Southwest governed by its own national Communist Party before, during or after countrywide PPW.*

With this trajectory of the Chicano national liberation struggle, the nation could take the form of an independent indigenous republic of the Southwest. But even though it could be governed by the proletariat of the oppressed indigenous nations and the Chicano Nation of the Southwest, it would effectively abandon the entirety of the rest of the internal colonies such as the native nations outside of the Southwest and especially its immediate neighbor to the east, the Black Nation. That sort of prioritizing of Chicano national liberation over all other oppressed nations - even if governed by the proletariat of the Chicano and indigenous nations - is counter-revolutionary for its abandonment of the countrywide proletariat. We would effectively abandon revolutionary (continental) internationalism and say with this secession and construction of the independent republic, you are all on your own, come what may.

The size of the indigenous population and nations in the territory and their kettled reservations must factor into any national analysis, even if it’s only speculation. Educated and informed speculation is not a hindrance to a revolutionary movement. It enables revolutionaries to strategize for possible outcomes – even though those ideas are truly only tested when applied.

Indigenous revolution is part and parcel to the history of the Chicano

Nation and its Southwestern territory, but revolutionary class struggle also has a place in the heart of the Chicano Nation history, as laid out in the book – miner, port workers, railroad workers, and agricultural and industrial proletariat struggles in and out of California, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Texas, Colorado, Utah, and parts of Kansas, Oklahoma and Wyoming.

However, we are against a federation model giving separate oppressed native nations complete autonomy without a centralized body of leadership. We are against federalism, not for wanting to dominate the Chicano, Black or native nations or its people (contrary to what nationalists or Third-Worldists would idealistically prefer argue – scientific socialism is not about preference) *but rather for arming them - us - with the weaponry to guard the revolution and defend it against counter-revolutionary forces.*

The secession of the Chicano Nation, while a right for any oppressed nation in exercising self-determination, would support a dividing up of oppressed nations in the country and not uniting the oppressed nations as the strongest weapon against their principal enemy: U.S. imperialism.

An enemy surrounded by one army under one centralized command is far easier to topple rather than several autonomous armies surrounding the enemy. War calls for discipline and hierarchy – especially the greatest war on earth, PPW against the U.S. – an army capable of annihilating the enemy from the face of the planet with revolutionary vengeance.

As Communists, especially operating within the Chicano Nation, *our*

aim ultimately is to unite the people and the proletariat, not to delineate unnecessarily oppressed nations from one another. That would be bundism, which we reject. The principal national enemy of the Chicano Nation, other indigenous nations and the Black Nation is the oppressor White Nation, the U.S. So, then, a more effective strategy is uniting the proletariat of all oppressed nations against the U.S.

The Chicano Nation is oppressed by the U.S. Our complete freedom, beyond national freedom, will only come when the U.S. is destroyed and reconstructed under socialism administered by the dictatorship of the countrywide proletariat.

- ii. ***RGA’s sunbelt thesis as generally summarized in “Condemned to Win”:*** *That PPW will initiate in the sunbelt region – the Southern half of the U.S. mostly following the Northern borders of both the Chicano and Black nations – specifically in the Black Nation; that both the Chicano and Black nations will not secede but integrate, without their own separate national parties, into the countrywide project of socialist construction under one multinational Communist Party.*

The multinational countrywide Communist Party is a necessity for the destruction of the U.S. and the liberation of all people, all oppressed nations, from national oppression and capitalist-imperialist exploitation. To advocate for one oppressed nation to be liberated while the rest are still being held captive in the prison house of nations is treacherous. The nationalist line is: we matter firstly. The Communist line is: all of us or none of us – but not as a moral choice, rather a political-military strategy.

National liberation is not being liquidated in this thesis but rather it is

integrated into the socialist revolution because anything other than a centralized militarized Maoist Communist Party leading a countrywide PPW will guarantee colossal failure. The Party’s role would be to form and lead national liberation-specific organizations to win over and militarize the oppressed nations’ masses under a Communist line and reject a nationalist line. Nationalism leads to capitalism. Internationalism leads to Communism.

In the past, the national question has been poorly theorized – with either capitulating to Great White Nation Chauvinism and liquidating national liberation struggles entirely or abandoning socialist revolution in favor of nationalist-capitalist segregation. These two lines have been well documented in the New Communist Movement. But even as far back as the 1940 and 50s, the arch-revisionist CPUSA led by Earl Browder had pushed the liquidation of oppressed nations, namely the Black Nation as theorized by Harry Haywood, in favor of a more patriotic American (chauvinism) trajectory toward socialism. This has plagued the national Communist movement into the present and is embodied in the revisionist Chicano national minority line.

And so a line must be clearly demarcated by Maoists that we must not liquidate the right to self-determination of oppressed nations, in our outside of the U.S. The oppressed nations/internal colonies of the U.S. require painstaking dedication of theoretical study – especially the native nations lightly touched upon in this book. Failing to treat the right of self-determination for oppressed nations seriously is a rejection of Leninism. Maoists must not tail national liberation struggles; when we are nationals of those oppressed nations in question, we mustn’t merely be critical supporters but instead be active participants – to win over a proletarian line from a nationalist-capitalist line.

Whatever scenario is to come to fruition, a central truth that cuts through the two theses presented is that the Chicano Nation has played and will subsequently play a crucial role in the coming PPW in some resemblance of unison with the Black Nation. The Maoist forces within these nations, namely RGLA in the anti-gentrification movement and RGA in the antifascist movement, have already planted the seeds to grow into the most advanced pre-Party formations in the Sunbelt region. Following that premise, a Communist Party must be leading the Chicano national liberation movement ensuring that a nationalist hegemony capitulating to capitalism does not win out. Whereas the first thesis called for a separate national Maoist Communist Party of Aztlán, the second thesis still gives priority to Chicano national liberation but working in unity with the Black Nation and all-around priority given to concentric construction of the countrywide Maoist Communist Party, the People’s Army and the United Front.

Because each of the two theses uphold the Chicano Nation as an oppressed nation and internal colony and does not dispense with its necessary liberation and freedom, these theorized trajectories all fall under the Chicano National Liberation line. The theses are not options. We are not arguing that we can pick and chose one over the other; we are theorizing of a future where the possibilities revolving around the oppressed Chicano Nation and a Maoist Communist movement will produce one of these two possible outcomes, and we will move toward the realization of the second thesis, that is, formally adopting RGA’s Sunbelt thesis.

National liberation is a permanent aspiration of an oppressed nation throughout its continued oppression; but if the oppressor nation – in our case, and most of the world, being the U.S. - is destroyed, then the oppressed nation ceases to be oppressed. Both theses are predicated on a revolutionary war – PPW – intended on destroying the U.S. For our people, our class and our nation to be free, the U.S.’s domination over our lands must cease to exist.

We are experience a growing hegemony of the Maoist movement in the country, but principally in the Chicano Nation with RGLA and Red Guards Austin, the latter being the principally-Maoist leading pre-party force. We must seize the time.

Another point of earlier disagreement and criticism was on our position that Chicano Nation capitalism is distinct from the rest of the country’s capitalism, whereas the Chicano Nation is exploited and oppressed by stunted, corrupted, state-and-non-state capitalism. There are strong aspects to bureaucratic capitalism, as theorized initially by Mao and later on by other Marxist-Leninist and Marxist-Leninist-Maoist thinkers, but principally by Presidente Gonzalo and the Communist Party of Peru, as part of the Maoist theory of New Democracy as applied in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial nations. It is true that the Chicano Nation is not semi-colonial or semi-feudal, although it once had a feudal mode of production. The Chicano Nation no longer has a peasantry and its proletariat is big, from the West Coast to the middle of Texas and the border of the Black Nation. Where once we couldn't convincingly claim the Chicano Nation has or does not have bureaucratic capitalism, we now agree with RGA's criticism that bureaucratic capitalism is exclusive to semi-colonial and semi-feudal nations. We still maintain that capitalism within the Chicano Nation certainly has a public (state) and private (non-state) character, that there is acute corruption and white imperialist aggression that denies or severely hinders national Chicano development. But it is not the same as semi-feudal/semi-colonial bureaucratic capitalism. For that, we offer a self-criticism in not having more thoroughly studied the concept and allowing ourselves to be confused by oppressed nation capitalism versus oppressed nation semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism.

II. The U.S. oppressed nations

The following is a condensed summation on RGLA’s upcoming book on the Chicano national question, “Colonization and Vengeance: Toward a Maoist

Position on the Chicano Nation" ideally due out soon. The book is finalized and in its last editing stages.

The United States of America is a country housing several oppressed nations within it like a multinational prison - similarly as how Lenin described Tsarist Russia.

These oppressed nations are:

- i. The Black Nation, or what some theoreticians refer to as New Afrika.
- ii. Puerto Rico, or Borinquen.
- iii. The continental indigenous nations, including Alaska.
- iv. The indigenous nations outside of the continental U.S.
 - a. Guam
 - b. Virgin Islands
 - c. Hawaii
 - d. Mariana Islands
 - e. American Samoa
- v. The Chicano Nation of the Southwest, or what some theoreticians refer to as Aztlán.

Another general self-criticism is in order. We do not have a position on every single oppressed nation within the U.S. This is only forgivable if there is a genuine effort in the near future for the general U.S. Maoist movement to take up the task of theorizing on the oppressed nations in the U.S. We will dedicate more study and discipline in developing a position and analysis on more oppressed nations, beginning with the continental indigenous nations and groups, with the hopes of differentiating between the two and have our positions guide our future political work.

Nonetheless, our position on the U.S. overall is that the fundamental contradiction in the U.S. is the private character of the aggregation of wealth with its public character of production, generally.

However, the existence of oppressed nations within the U.S. is also a fundamental contradiction: between oppressor nation (principally the U.S.’s Euro-American Nation, or White Nation) and the oppressed nations - which is similar to the international, or global, contradiction between imperialist nations and oppressed nations.

So, then, the two fundamental contradictions facing the Chicano Nation are capitalism and national oppression, with the latter being generally primary although in certain specific moments - prolonged or brief - capitalism can be the primary contradiction and national oppression can become secondary

III. The Chicano Nation as an oppressed nation

The Chicano Nation developed during the mid-1800s throughout the early 1900s with the Mexican-American War. The main factors for the U.S.’s pursuing a war with Mexico was to gain access to the Western ports, as well as securing the resource-rich lands of the Northern part of Mexico, specifically Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California. It was a historical necessary step along the march toward developing American capitalism. In fact, it only took one year after the end of the war and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo for settlers en masse to move to different parts of the newly-acquired territory for the Gold Rush, but mainly in Central and Northern California. It is not happenstance that this also marks one of the darkest and bloodiest eras of anti-Mexican and anti-Chicano oppression. The lynching of Mexicans and Chicanos is an historical reality that has been largely forgotten and buried. But thousands were hanged, brutalized, mutilated and killed. Laws were passed legally displacing or discriminating against the original nations of the region - particularly the indigenous Mexicans/Chicanos. Laws like California’s Indentured Servant Act of

1820 which formally recognized the legality of enslaving natives, including native children, into slave labor and auctions. Or like the Anti Vagrancy Act of 1855, known as the Greaser Act, which made it illegal for Mexicans and Chicanos to literally move around California. Or state mining taxes of 1850 on foreigners and Mexicans, taxing non-white miners \$20 per month, effectively excluding all non-whites from the early mining capital.

These examples of the legality of national oppression will have to suffice - for the sake of time and patience.

IV. Chicano Nation mode of production

The Chicano Nation has undergone a transition from feudalism to capitalism. Big landowners had Mexican and Chicano peasants working in the agriculture and farming industry, living on the property as temporary tenants. This was, however, prior to the literal dividing up of the countryside by the U.S. railroad companies - a manifestation of growing and expanding capitalism, forcing the peasantry and weaker petite-bourgeoisie to move into urban centers and factories and mines to become proletarian. This was co-facilitated by the state when many of the most repressive anti-Chicano/Mexican laws were repealed, officially facilitating a proletarianization of natives, Chicanos and Mexicans.

Medium-to-big landlords attempted to survive as a class - feudalism flailing to survive as a mode of production as the unforgiving march of history went on - through mass rebellions, such as the insurrectionary independence movement led by Juan Cortina in the mid-1800s in Texas, a cattle-rancher and family landowner who lost big chunks of land after the 1848 treaty. Cortina and his followers wanted to establish a Chicano republic, a Republic of the Rio Grande in Texas.

The minority position of the emerging Chicano proletariat meant that they were not yet able to act as a class. In their place, the landlords and bourgeoisie fought

for their class and national interest. Therefore, most Chicano rebellions of the 1800s till the early 1900s remained bourgeois to petite-bourgeois in nature.

But eventually capitalism reigned supreme as the dominant mode of production, although forever-stunted in its development by white national aggression, with pockets of semi-feudalism surviving in the countryside of the Chicano Nation, lasting largely until approximately the 1940s. But the economic boom from the Second World War further proletarianized large sectors and classes of the Chicano Nation, integrating former peasants and petite-bourgeoisie into the proletarian rank and file.

Therefore, contemporarily the dominant mode of production in the Chicano Nation is capitalism, but specifically stunted state-non-state collaborationist capitalism.

V. Do Chicanos constitute an oppressed nation?

In order for a group of people to constitute a nation they need to meet the Marxist criteria of nationhood developed by Stalin; namely, if they have a common language, a common economic way of life, a common culture, and a shared territory. This, as we see it, is not an isolated ahistorical Stalin interpretation of nationhood but rather a thoroughly investigated and lasting Marxist comprehension of nationhood. We stand by the criteria not because Stalin developed it (for that would be dogmatism) but because it is the most advanced and soundest method of analyzing nationhood to date - a method and criteria still widely used by revolutionaries and academics alike, by the capitalist state and the international anti-revisionist and Maoist Communist movement.

We can say confidently that, yes, Chicanos do in fact constitute a nation, an oppressed nation at that, where Chicanos have a common language, economy, culture or psychological world outlook and territory or land. This is in direct opposition to the revisionists’ claim that Chicanos only make up a “national

minority” and not a nation. The arch-revisionist Communist Party, USA, is the originators of this line within the Marxist camp since 1939. Most Trotskyites and Marcyites hold similar lines, give or take some opportunistic posturing or phrase mongering like the Party for Socialism and Liberation and both Freedom Road Socialist Organizations (Fight Back and Refoundation).

Not only is the Chicano Nation an oppressed nation, but it is also an internal colony of the U.S. It differs from a colony because it is not completely dominated by the U.S. It retains limited freedom, specifically political and cultural freedom. However, the capital extracted from the Chicano Nation, the means of production within the Chicano Nation and the land within the Chicano Nation are all under the direct control of the White Nation of the U.S. In this way, then, the Chicano Nation is an internal colony. Additionally, in order for the Chicano Nation to be a full colony it would have to have a feudal mode of production, but it does not.

Generally, there are three lines on the Chicano Nation:

- i. The Socialist Reunification of Mexico line
 - ii. The National Minority Line, or the Chicano Nation liquidationist line
 - iii. The Chicano National Liberation line
-
- i. *The Socialist Reunification of Mexico Line*

A political line developed during the early 1900s and then rehashed during the height of the New Communist Movement is the idea of returning the territory ceded to, or rather stolen by, the U.S. after the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 at the end of the Mexican-American War - although the line goes as far back as the 1850s with roving so-called bandit and insurrectionary Tiburcio Vasquez. Originally, it was proposed by Mexican and Chicano nationalist and other insurrectionaries. But it received its theoretical development and concretization in the 1970s by groups such as Union del Barrio, Centro

de Acción Social Autónoma - Hermandad General de Trabajadores (CASA-HGT) and Movimiento de Liberación Nacional. Today, it is not as popular as it once was. But Union del Barrio and a minority of others still uphold the line.

It is a thoroughly revisionist and even racist position, despite its militant posturing. It is revisionist because it liquidates the Marxist conception and position on nationhood. The Southwest region, regardless of one’s thoughts or opinions, is a vastly different area culturally, politically, economically and linguistically from Mexico - and even from the rest of the U.S. Union del Barrio and the other pan-nationalists claim the Chicano Nation belongs to Mexico, that it is undeserving of independent nationhood, for in their ultimate flat analysis all of Latin America, including the U.S. in it - which they dub Nuestra America - is one, vaguely, ignorantly and proudly.

A reunification of the Chicano Nation with Mexico would be disastrous. There is nothing progressive of integrating into a narco-fascist corrupt capitalist empire. How would this reunification strengthen or advance the proletarian struggle? It wouldn’t. It would devastate the Southwest, sending it backwards, not forwards.

Even the socialist part of their reunification line is inconceivable. They advocate for a reverse national liberation revolution while also simultaneously defeating capitalism and establishing a pan-American socialist republic. Why not just launch a Global People’s War to build immediate Communism too while they’re at it?

Two contradictions cannot exist at the same time, occupying the same exact place; one has to overcome the other; one is primary, the other

secondary. So, which is it? Does the Chicano Nation need to be returned to Mexico first? Or does it and the rest of Mexico need to launch a socialist revolution first? To advocate for both at the same time is, at best, an idealist death wish, or, at worst, a treacherous death wish.

ii. The National Minority Line

A popular line, perhaps the hegemonic position, on the Chicano Nation is that it simply does not exist. These proponents say: it is a made-up nationalist conception meant to divide the multinational working class in the U.S. (because it’s already enjoying some unity?) They say: Chicanos, like all “people of color” are minorities who suffer from racial oppression and discrimination. But not from national or colonial oppression. That’s all. Nothing more.

The revisionists (as closeted anti-Marxists) and those boldly anti-Marxists share unity in their hatred of Chicano nationhood. They detest the idea of a liberated socialist nation at war with its surroundings, advancing the proletarian struggle in the U.S. and internationally. Wouldn’t a national liberation struggle, and the construction of an independent socialist republic, weaken the world’s leading imperialist power? They don’t see it this way. For them, it complicates their perfect vision of an Americanized socialist republic. How can we build socialism, they ask, if natives, Black and Chicano people scream they are not free and have the arrogance to demand national liberation prior to socialist integration? These revisionists forgive settler-colonialism. They don’t want to end settler-colonialism - they want to make it socialist. They don’t want to end the United States as it currently exist, but rather dress it up in red and give it an empty slogan for a name.

They’d keep the blood-drenched imperialist flag if a revisionist Soviet Union was hoisted by its side! But we know Marxism and national liberation are not simply compatible; they are inseparable. It is a revisionist and chauvinist project to attempt to do so.

In the end, proponents of the National Minority Line are proponents of - either ignorantly or consciously - the continued settler-colonialism by the U.S. over its colonized subjects and nations.

iii. *The National Liberation line*

If theoreticians subscribe to and defend the argument that Chicanos constitute a nation, and that it is an oppressed nation within the U.S. prison house of nations, then what must subsequently follow is the question: is the characteristic of the particular national liberation struggle progressive or reactionary?

By progressive in this context we mean, will it advance the proletariat struggle toward socialism. By reactionary in this context we mean, will it reverse the proletariat course, moving away from socialism and into something reactionary.

We say the former, not the latter. Chicano national liberation is generally progressive.

As mentioned earlier, in order for the Chicano Nation to exist, it must have a common language, a common economy, a common culture or psychology and most importantly a common connection to a shared land base or territory.

So, then, let’s unpack this briefly. In our Chicano Nation position book we spell out the following in far more detail so if there are questions or comments, which we are sure there will be, please bring them to our attention:

a. Language

While Spanish remains the main language spoken by most Chicanos and people of Mexican descent, English is also common. Since the 1930s and 40s, during great repression against the Chicano Nation, the Chicano proletariat was inventing its own language, borrowing from Spanish, English and New Afrikan culture. This produced Caló, a Pachuco, proletariat-developed language still spoken today - even by newly-arrived Mexican immigrants, and most if not all sectors and classes. Although we cannot definitively qualify with hard data to which extent is used nationally.

Nonetheless, even prior to the 1930s and 40s, most Chicanos spoke English and Spanish but probably more Spanish. However, today, many researches like the Pew Research Center suggests that English will dominant in the entirety of the so-called “Hispanic” population in the U.S. - including the Southwest. The jury is still out. Whether the national language is Spanish or English matters little to none in the respect of its validity of existence.

Therefore, we would argue that the national language would now, today, primarily be a mixture of both languages, English and Spanish, with English being the dominant language in the near

future.

b. Economy

As mentioned above, settler-colonialism and stunted, corrupted, collaborationist state-and-non-state capitalism make up the main system or common economic way of life that ties in all Chicanos - of all classes, from the proletariat to the bourgeoisie.

c. Culture

A national Chicano culture exists. This is perhaps the easiest of the nationhood criteria to prove. There are distinctly Chicano music, fashion and world outlook, a common psychology. It can be characterized as having aspects of traditional Mexican culture, borrowed aspects of New Afrikan culture, indigenous culture and U.S.-exclusive based characteristics. Interestingly, we see another common aspect that nuances all aspects of Chicano culture: a normalized mistrust of government and bourgeois politics generally. Even newer Mexican and Central American immigrants that assimilate into the Chicano Nation share this position.

VI. The territory, or land question

One of the central questions for an oppressed nation is the question of land. Another easily identifiable national characteristic of the Chicano Nation.

We can say rather confidently that this applies coherently to the Chicano Nation - a nation that had been thrust atop the U.S. so-called Southwest, occupying the complete or partial territories of the 10 states of California, Arizona, New Mexico,

Texas, Nevada, Utah and parts of Colorado, Oklahoma, Wyoming and Kansas. All stolen by the U.S. after the war. These are the borders of the Chicano Nation. This is the expansive territory inhabited by Mexicans and then Chicanos for hundreds - and in some cases, thousands - of years. Their way of life was violently and totally altered by the switching from Mexican citizenship to U.S. citizenship, a second-class status, a colonized second-class status. This reality remains unchanged.

VII. Internal colony

A colony is a completely dominated and dependent oppressed nation. It is politically and economically dominated by an imperialist country. The only freedom the colony and the colonized have is of cultural expression, and even that is limited such as the anti-Spanish language regulations in schools popular in the early 1900s - something which today is becoming more popular due to the rise of alt-right fascism - and anti-Chicano history education, such as the banning of ethnic studies (which included native and Chicano studies) in Tucson, Arizona.

An internal colony is a colony but exclusively located within the land base of the occupying parasitic settler-colonialist country. It is different than the external colonies located outside of the imperialist or colonialist country. An example of an internal colony is Palestine, with its national territory occupied and divided by settler-colonialist Zionist Israel.

Again and it bears repeating, the specific type or dominant characteristic of capitalism in the Chicano Nation is state-and-non-state collaborationist capitalism. That is, an underdeveloped capitalism dependent on the oppressor nation - in our specific case the imperialist Euro-American Nation. While no longer feudal or semi-feudal, the Chicano Nation has backwards characteristics of corrupt state and city officials profiteering through semi-secret dealings with big landowners, multi-millionaire investors and other private capitalists. We see this as a combination of state and non-state capitalism. Brown, or Chicano,

capitalism is riddled with cronyism, nepotism and political corruption. There cannot exist a fully developed colony, internal or not, while it is a colony, while it is colonized.

The relationship between the Chicano workforce and the largely Euro-American owners of the means of production shows not only the exploitative aspect of capitalism but also the national oppression and settler-colonialism faced by the Chicano proletariat. But the relationship between the Chicano workforce and its white counterparts also show a vast discrimination totally, and particularly in wages. It is sometimes described as colonial labor. It is more in line with how colonial masters dominate their subjects, but with pay. This served, and serves, to benefit capitalism - but not proportionally for the White Nation.

VIII. Chicano genocide - ongoing state repression and cultural war of ideological annihilation

Similar to the “kill the Indian, save the man” campaign from approximately 1879 to the mid-to-late 1970s which coerced assimilation of native children into the U.S. White Nation as continued genocide through boarding and vocational schools, Chicanos have also had their (our) history ripped away from us, hidden from us, erased even within us - with many Chicanos claiming to be Hispanic, Latino, etc.

This is not entirely the fault of the Chicano intelligentsia or even the whole of the Chicano Movement capitulating into petite-bourgeois cultural nationalism or civic reformism. It is more so the blame of the educational system under the ideological apparatus of the state. Public education - from elementary to high school, with one or two schools nationally being the exception, is devoid of Chicano culture and most importantly Chicano history. Chicano has been regulated to irrelevance as a relic of the 60s and 70s. Chicano has become - or more correctly stated, has been turned into - a costume that can be put on or

taken off. In other words, the white supremacist capitalist state is all-around destroying the Chicano Nation.

What is this if not an aspect of a campaign, whether stated clearly or implicit, of genocide?

But of course ideology is one thing, just one - albeit fundamental - component of genocide and national oppression.

What of the police killing of Chicano youth and Mexican and Central American immigrants in the Chicano Nation? The millions who were deported, and will continue to be deported? The ICE raids? The increasing homelessness of our people? The permanence of unemployment? The displacement occurring in the urban centers of the nation? The close to 300,000 Latinos - with a majority of them being of Mexican descent - incarcerated? So-called Hispanics make up approximately 19 percent of the inmate population - not including immigration detention centers - while only comprising approximately 16-to-17 percent of the country’s population.

While our bodies are no longer swinging from branches, we remain a brutalized and colonized population, an oppressed nation.

Ultimately, the goal is for the abolition of nations, but not without the exercising of national self-determination by the internal colonies. Additionally, the goal is for the unification of all genuine Maoist Communist forces into a countrywide Maoist Communist Party marching forward toward the destruction of the U.S. and the annihilation of our shared enemies.

Thank you all for being patient, attentive and for putting forth the necessary energy in struggling over these issues. We reaffirm the Maoist position that rupture is the bases for fundamental change and for unity. We struggle for the correct line for the sake of our class and our nation’s liberation. We will not rest

until we have won the establishment of Communism throughout the country, throughout Turtle Island.

Every breath, every step, every theorization must move the Maoist closure to the coming Protracted People’s War. The White Nation capitalist state has already been waging a war against its internal colonies and the country-wide proletariat. It is pass the time we organize and fight back with revolutionary vengeance.

Gentrification is a trench of proletarian battle - the duty of Communists is to build and seize the moment (reprinted from the Maoist Conference for Line Struggle book)

The following was a presentation given at the first-ever Maoist Conference for Line Struggle in the country organized by the Kansas City Revolutionary Collective. The following document has been edited with the recommended criticisms raised by our comrades throughout the country.

On behalf of Red Guards - Los Angeles and the community-in-resistance of Boyle Heights, we bring salutations and express solidarity with everyone present here today.

We are grateful to the Kansas City Revolutionary Collective for taking the initiative and leadership in organizing the Maoist Conference for Line Struggle (MCLS).

While this convening is but only one step closer to revolutionary unity in our prison house of nations, we are confident it is that much closer to building revolution, a step closer to the realization of the great cleansing through Protracted People’s War on the bloody soil of our country, and overall this convening is one step closer toward the realization of a Maoist Communist Party.

For that, RGLA and the progressive masses and revolutionaries in Boyle Heights are grateful for the extended invitation and we hope to make adequate use of our brief time here this weekend.

In the following presentation we aim to offer an analysis of gentrification in general in the U.S. from a Maoist position. It's the first analysis of its kind that our collective has undertaken as far as we are aware.

We argue gentrification as an acute manifestation of an aspect of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, and in particular we will assert an analysis of how that is manifesting here in Boyle Heights. We aim to focus on the class character of the anti-gentrification fight, connecting the changing national economy with the changing geography and class character of the neighborhood, highlight some important political struggles, fundamental problems and developments in the movement, and offer a theorization of the future of the movement as part of a more revolutionary offensive strategy.

Our presentation will briefly go over the history of Boyle Heights while also presenting a class analysis of the community. Next we will make some comments and address some contradictions found throughout the city and country, followed by a reaffirming of gentrification as a manifestation of capitalism and the de-proletarianization of communities due to the changing national, and global, economy. Lastly, we will go over some lessons in mass-line organizing in Boyle Heights, and offer some theorization on what the future of the anti-gentrification movement will or should look like.

I. The local and historic situation: a social-economic and class analysis in Boyle Heights and Los Angeles

Boyle Heights is a relatively small (barely more than six square miles with a population of approximately 109,396) but highly-militant neighborhood in the huge metropolitan corporate-and-entertainment city of Los Angeles, a

contradiction in and of itself. Almost completely boxed in by the 10 Interstate Freeway to the north, the 5 Interstate Freeway and Los Angeles River to the east and the 60 State Freeway to the south - separating downtown bourgeois Los Angeles from the proletarian-majority east side of the city - like a concrete man-made barricade.

Boyle Heights is a largely proletarian and semi-proletarian neighborhood - with a median income of \$38,614, with approximately 80 percent renters. The average median income of the entire city is \$52,024. More than 30 percent of the population lives below the poverty line.

Boyle Heights was founded in 1899 by an Irish settler-bourgeoisie and big landlord, Edward Boyle. But prior to that the area that would be later known as Los Angeles and Boyle Heights in Southern California was captured by the Spanish in 1542 and then settled by Mexico in 1781.

Ever since its contemporary inception, Boyle Heights has always been a working class community, made up of different nationalities. Early on, Eastern European immigrants such as Russians, Jews, Poles and Serbians settled in Boyle Heights and worked in close-by downtown Los Angeles and elsewhere in the city - mainly in the construction trades, especially the Serbians.

After the Great October Revolution of 1917, the world was shaken by the Bolshevik storm in Russia. Capitalist governments of the world quickly devised plans on repressing the subsequent tidal waves crashing onto their respective shores.

In the U.S., especially under the fascistic leadership and feverous anti-Communism of attorney general Alexander Mitchell Palmer, immediately after the revolution, the government launched repressive programs and raids to round up, arrest, brutalize and deport Communists, anarchists, unionists and other leftist radicals. Approximately six-to-10,000 people were arrested. Hundreds lost their

jobs. About 500 were deported. These were known as the Palmer Raids of 1919 and 1920. An ideological driving force behind the raids was the racist anti-immigrant sentiment, specifically targeting Eastern European proletarian immigrants. The First World War had just ended two years prior in 1918. The U.S. had entered the war on April 6, 1917, a few months right before the Bolsheviks would seize power in Russia, and almost immediately pull out from the imperialist war. Anti-German and anti-Eastern European including Russian sentiment (even though Russia had fought on the side of the Allied Forces prior to the Bolshevik Revolution) was prevalent in the American masses. Once the war was over, the U.S. state and reactionary factions of the white populace set their eyes on Mexicans, Chicanos and New Afrikans - especially with the latter’s Great Migration from the South into more urban centers, especially Los Angeles’ manufacturing hub.

Oppressed nationalities and ethnic minorities were barred from purchasing homes in certain areas - through oppressive discriminatory housing practices - specifically restrictive covenants, or deed restrictions. These covenants were made to stop oppressed nationalities from living in predominantly Euro-American (white) neighborhoods. Chicanos and New Afrikans were not allowed to buy homes in many areas. Or if they were allowed to purchase their homes, deed restrictions would not allow them to live inside the home.

Red lining was also a huge factor in the continued oppression in the housing industry for oppressed nationalities. If an oppressed nationality was lucky enough to have some saved-up capital but still needed a loan to purchase a home, they had to take out home loans from banks. But the banks were mostly not giving out home loans to Asians, New Afrikans, Chicanos and some Eastern European immigrants because their neighborhoods were deemed too hazardous, colored red in the city zoning maps.

Banks were favoring homogeneous neighborhoods, all white, or all black, etc. They would give out loans faster to a New Afrikan or Chicano family if they would self-segregate. But if they wanted to take out a loan to purchase a home in places that had a more diverse neighborhood, they would be denied.

The local banks, but also the federal agencies created by FDR like the Federal Housing Administration and the Home Owners Loan Corporation, all favored segregated communities and added more obstacles for oppressed nationalities or ethnic minorities to move into predominantly white areas. This officially, legally, continued until the 1950s, but it lasted longer - and to a certain extent and in certain communities, it still exists.

Most whites moved out of now-predominantly Black and Chicano neighborhoods and into the Westside and Northern section of Los Angeles like the San Fernando Valley where it was easier to take out loans. This was White Flight. Those left behind were largely oppressed nationality and ethnic minority renters, with a smaller percentage being homeowners. Just look around the Westside of Los Angeles, not too far South of course, it remains largely white and affluent. While places like Boyle Heights and historic Watts were redlined, left without federal capital, left to rot.

And after the Second World War, the white proletariat came back home, back to work. Rampant job loss, unemployment, and for the oppressed nationalities that stayed on they were denied higher positions in trades or companies, denied membership into most unions. These factors kept the proletariat of the oppressed nations from becoming bigger and more powerful. It excluded them en masse. The proletariat of the Chicano and New Afrikan nations were denied their development, and so their specific capitalisms were stunted. What occurred was a large lumpenproletariat began to emerge around this time, approximately during the 1940s and 50s. Many of the bigger and more dominant gangs of today can trace their origin to this era. We begin to see not only large-scale

lumpenization of oppressed nationality neighborhoods, but of internal oppressed nations - namely the Chicano and New Afrikan nations.

Simultaneously, white supremacist terrorist organizations - most notably the KKK and Spook Hunters - were regularly coming into Chicano and New Afrikan neighborhoods to terrorize the masses, to ensure they wouldn't leave their enclaves - Chicanos and Japanese on the other side of downtown Los Angeles in the east side, New Afrikans below Central Avenue in South Central Los Angeles. Most of these white vigilantes and KKK members came from the neighborhoods of Huntington Park, Bell, South Gate, Inglewood, Compton, Gardena, and West LA - literally surrounding oppressed nationality neighborhoods. Of which, West LA is the only one which largely survived as predominantly white.

In response, many - maybe most - gangs in oppressed nationality neighborhoods were formed around a sense of community defense against white power violence. Others were formed more as cultural social clubs, typically for young men. But both initiatives overlapped.

With the launch of Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, mass movements were created to address issues of national oppression and discrimination in Los Angeles neighborhoods - trained by the organizers and leaders left over from the Community Service Organization of the 1940s and 50s - like Cesar Chavez, the Young Citizens for Community Action who would later turn into the Brown Berets, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (where many of the Black Power and Black Panther inspiration would come from).

Boyle Heights gained national attention during this time period. So much so that during the 1960s and early 70s Boyle Heights was known as the Chicano cultural and political epicenter of the country.

The fire of the growing Chicano Movement was, arguably, sparked by the Chicano high school walkouts of 1968 known as the "blow-outs." The high schools are located in Boyle Heights and East Los Angeles, and still stand today. Rebellious youth highlighted Chicano national oppression - primarily the legal and reformist aspects, such as in public education and access to higher education. The Brown Berets were one of the most fundamental groups during this time. And then came the Chicano Moratorium with its climaxing march in August 29th, 1970 - which resulted in the pig-sheriff's martyring of Chicano journalist Rubén Salazar, activists Gustav Montag and José Angel Diaz, and Brown Beret Lyn Ward.

And today Boyle Heights remains in the national spotlight - an almost uninterrupted history - of the housing projects and murals of Estrada Courts, the Chicano gangs like White Fence and Varrío Nueva Estrada, the mariachis at Mariachi Plaza hustling for work, the struggling Mexican vendors and Chicano shopkeepers, the leftist nationalists and Communist Chicano students and activists.

Los Angeles in the 1970s was a place and decade of civil unrest with the Chicano and New Afrikan proletariat experimenting with different forms of organization and ideology - with the bourgeois reformist movements for civic engagement and political representation on one end of the spectrum and the firebombing of local banks, universities, high schools and government buildings on the other end - suspecting in being carried out by groups like the Chicano Liberation Front or the Emiliano Zapata Unit.

And although from the 1980s until recently the Chicano Movement has all-but receded and been decimated, Boyle Heights has consistently remained a strong front for Chicano national identity.

When the national liberation struggle and the proletarian revolution advances, if there is ever to be a base area or support bases in the Southwest, the Boyle Heights neighborhood of Los Angeles would have to be one of them.

Resistance is written into its historical DNA.

II. The national situation: gentrification and resistance all across the country

We are sure to contextualize anti-gentrification as part of a national movement - and in some cases, international (such as in the working-class neighborhoods of Istanbul) - where cadre-led initiatives and campaigns are part of a larger revolutionary strategy.

We see this in the Bay Area of California, Austin, Texas, the Pilsen neighborhood of Chicago, in Atlanta, in four out of the five boroughs of New York City - perhaps most notably in Brooklyn and Manhattan’s Harlem. And of course here in Boyle Heights, Los Angeles.

From October to November Serve the People - Los Angeles (STPLA) led an action against gentrifiers from a downtown Los Angeles alternative-opera for using the same Boyle Heights park that, at the time, we were using for our distribution. The series of confrontations climaxed in late November when local high school students on their own began fighting back against these gentrifiers when they were kicked out from their rehearsal space. The opera had hired a native security guard who, unbeknownst to the opera and their sellout supporters like comprador bourgeoisie Boyle Heights nonprofit Self-Help Graphics & Art, was aligned with us and would give us intel on the opera production team. He notified us about the high school students and we drove over within minutes and helped in confronting and kicking out the gentrifiers. From then STPLA met with community organizers, mainly from the immigrant rights movement, and co-founded the coalition that would later go on to be called Defend Boyle Heights.

Collectives, coalitions and other anti-gentrification formations are in regular contact with DBH, seeking advice, political guidance and feedback. One specific example was the recent DBH-led tour of the east coast - visiting Chicago and New York City, two historical areas fighting gentrification and displacement. All contacts shared their support and sought political guidance and leadership from DBH.

The coalition presented an analysis of the state and non-state capitalist collaboration of gentrification and the subsequent revolutionary militant resistance that is needed in combating it. RGLA proudly supports DBH and unites with their analysis.

Today, it appears that DBH is making the first steps toward a national planning of a countrywide anti-gentrification conference where different groups and individuals can trade valuable experience, share and struggle over different political lines. We see this as part of the progressive movement from the middle stage into the end of the strategic defensive into strategic equilibrium within the war against gentrification.

In and outside of Los Angeles, we have seen a pattern of gentrification - which can be boiled down to, simply, all classes warring with each other for either their basic survival or supremacy - but principally the proletariat versus the bourgeoisie.

The classes in power - the bourgeoisie, specifically of the White Nation, and petite-bourgeoisie of both white and Chicano nations (at least for the Southwest) lead these gentrification efforts. It is, as we’ve mentioned before, a collaboration between state and non-state capitalists. Between private developers and investors and with corrupt city and state bureaucrats.

Resistance to this has been diverse - from militant and daring direct actions, individualistic ones or coordinated and strategically-guided ones, to reformist

capitulation. (We don’t qualify resistance with the mentioning of the identity politic of the oppressed nationality-driven gentrification masked as local or national progress, i.e. gentefication or hoodification; this is squarely banished into the category of gentrification).

Overall, gentrification must exist in the context of a national struggle and not left to be regulated as something small and local. It is capitalism after all and capitalism doesn’t only exist in one or two cities.

III. Gentrification as a hyperfocalized point in capitalism

Here in Los Angeles, specifically Boyle Heights, the Los Angeles City Council, specifically its Department of Cultural Affairs and the Planning and Land Use Management (PLUM) committee, and private entities like transportation mega-monopoly Metro, Sheppard Mullins law firm and dozens of real estate agencies/investors (like Adaptive Realty) and speculators. A collaborationist pact between state and non-state capitalists.

It should be noted that city council member Jose Huizar, apart from being chair of the PLUM committee, also oversees Boyle Heights as part of his District 14. Huizar funnels in thousands, and even millions, of dollars into charities and nonprofits who align with his and the city’s overall redevelopment plans for Boyle Heights and other parts of Los Angeles. His accepting of approximately \$30,000 in campaign contributions from gentrifiers farther West in the city has also conveniently been ignored by his allies and supporters. Huizar is also preparing his wife to take the helm for his seat when his city council term is up.

It is a blatant and bold flexing of the nepotistic corruption of city politics and the reformism - and a deeper analysis of the counter-revolutionary aspect of reformism - of the ideological apparatus of the nonprofits.

In the final instance, the nonprofit sector, just like the city government it serves and benefits from, serves capitalism. It, like the bigger state, is beyond reconciliation.

Because gentrification is a mere development of capitalism, within it great white chauvinism remains a permanent aspect to this contradiction. Most redevelopment policies have a pro-white supremacy over the proletarian, semi-proletarian and petite-bourgeoisie oppressed nationality neighborhoods. From mass evictions of Chicanos, Mexican and Central American immigrants and New Afrikans in substitution for white proletarians and white bourgeoisie and petite-bourgeoisie in their place, to the demolition of oppressed nationality public and private housing projects and outpricing of oppressed nationality small businesses and shops, gentrification, at least in the Southwest and parts of the Midwest and East Coast, retain a strong white supremacist character.

But some anti-gentrification activists commit the error of prioritizing a secondary aspect of a contradiction, or a secondary contradiction altogether, instead of the actual primary contradiction.

An example of this in Boyle Heights is displacement where the contradiction between displacer and displaced - that is, between petite-bourgeois and bourgeois gentrifiers and low-income proletarians and semi-proletarians - is a secondary contradiction of our society’s overall primary contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The secondary contradiction, while important, is not the most important. It is not principal. It is a descriptor. So if a group only focuses on gentrification without contextualizing its order in the hierarchy of the contradictions of capitalism, the group is doom to never resolve the contradiction.

Another example is when anti-gentrification individuals and groups focus on the racial, or national, contradiction, almost entirely leaving out a class analysis.

Some go as far as equating gentrification with colonialism. Because of the fact that most or many gentrifiers are white settlers and are displacing non-white people.

But global Spanish, British, Dutch or French colonialism no longer exists. In its place we have imperialism led by the settler-colonialist U.S.

Countrywide, gentrification is a manifestation of the fundamental contradiction within capitalism. Inside the oppressed nations, however, the fundamental contradiction may switch from capitalism to national oppression, but it is capitalism which is the dominant contradiction generally.

Nonetheless, it is a harder contradiction to analyze only because gentrification taking place in an oppressed nation will naturally have a chauvinistic character or aspect. But no two aspects can co-exist identically; one must overcome the other. So which is it? Is the primary aspect the white oppressor versus the oppressed nationality or is it between the proletariat versus the bourgeoisie?

In our analysis, generally it is the latter. But of course we know in certain moments in time, the secondary can become primary - especially as national oppression in the U.S. changes.

IV. The correlation between leisure spaces and the de-proletarianization of centers of production

Boyle Heights is mainly made up by residential buildings - houses mixed with apartment buildings and three public housing projects, Ramona Gardens, Pico Gardens/Las Casitas (the place where RCPUSA member Damian Garcia was stabbed to death by gang members with alleged undercover pig-work in building for May Day) and Estrada Courts, and one private housing project, Wyvernwood Garden Apartments. But it has a heavy industrial and commercial center, mainly

in the South and Southwest portion of the community, neighboring the City of Vernon - which has also consistently been a commercial and industrial hub.

Many Boyle Heights proletarians work in the City of Vernon, in the rendering plants, Farmer John Meat Packing, metalworks and manufacturing plants.

While it is good that Maoists are organizing proletarians and their allies, it is largely being done outside of the points of production. This must change. Maoists must begin integrating themselves better into proletarian jobs and organize en masse. We in Los Angeles will self-prescribe this monumental task to us in the not-so-distant future.

In the future, local Maoists must focus on the proletariat at points of production. As of now, this is perhaps the U.S. MLM movement’s weakest area of theorizing, organizing and overall presence.

The industrial sector of Boyle Heights was once more flourishing. Fish canneries, meat packing warehouses, textile factories, metalworks and other centers of light-and-heavy production once occupied the warehouses and industrial buildings in Boyle Heights. Now, while some still remain, many have been turned into art galleries, artist live-in lofts, breweries and cafes.

Today, there are approximately 20 art galleries in Boyle Heights, most occupying buildings which have been boarded up, dilapidated and empty for years since the companies moved out or went out of business.

The shift from production-based economy to a service-based economy - with an imperialist finance-capital character - has turned proletarian centers into bourgeois and petite-bourgeois playgrounds where small-to-big bourgeois investors flip these commercial properties.

The economic effect is near-total. It is not confined in only the buildings themselves or their use. These new residents - a new demographic of petite-bourgeois artists and “creative” or “cultural workers” have moved in, bringing with them speculative investors building new businesses to cater to this new demographic. These new businesses, which Boyle Heights has not had before, include independent breweries, gourmet coffee shops and mid-to-high-end bar restaurants. It is a class domino effect, replacing the proletarian character of the neighborhood with a non-proletarian character. The more common proletarians working in the art galleries are general production and carpentry workers - those who paint, build sets, do framing, art props and other elements for art installations, but they are a relative minority.

The industrial section is turning into a nightlife-centered scene of leisure with little-to-no worthy commodities or means of sustenance coming out of the factory buildings and warehouses. The source of employment is insignificant. However, the profit being generated, and the finance capital invested into these galleries and businesses, is significant. It is in the multi-millions, perhaps nearing a billion or barely surpassing it. The buildings’ real estate market value is in the millions. Art pieces typically go for thousands. The art gallery owners, who are almost always curators, are real estate investors and venture capitalist millionaires or close to being millionaires - many coming from New York’s wealthy and pretentious art scene, such as Michelle Maccarone of Maccarone Gallery or Adam Lindemann of Venus Over Manhattan.

However, it is incorrect to see the gentrification in Boyle Heights as principally over artists or even art, white or not, moving into an oppressed nationality-majority neighborhood. It is more correct to see this as a correlation to the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, that of being between the warring classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

Although production jobs are still one of the most popular jobs - 15.5 percent for men and 12.6 for women - the majority of residents work in the service and sales/office industries - 19.1 percent of men work in service and 36.5 percent of women work in the sales/office industry. Up until the 1970s and 80s, many Chicanos, Japanese-Americans and others worked in the tire plants, aircraft factories, waste management factories and auto assembly factories in or around East Los Angeles, Southeast Los Angeles or Downtown Los Angeles - some of the more notable ones were the Firestone-Florence Plant, Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company. Most, if not all, of these centers of production have been ironically turned into centers of consumption like mega shopping malls. This, of course, is not exclusive to the east side. The General Motors auto plant in the San Fernando Valley, once a center of generational sustenance, is now a shopping plaza. To add insult to injury, the plaza retained the name The Plant using a modified GM Pontiac emblem. Even a mural of GM-produced cars stands nearby. This is the changed economy.

But the crisis of consumption and production is still subordinate to the principle contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

One area in the changed economy of Los Angeles is the involvement and contradiction between the public transportation companies and the auto industry. Initially, the auto industry was dominant and the economy was pushed away from public transportation into encouraging Los Angeles residents to buy cars, economic cars to flashy cars, to embrace car culture. Especially during the 1950s. But eventually with the decimation of the national auto industry the public transportation industry, now a monopoly under Metro, overcame the auto industry as the more dominant economic force. Going beyond mere transportation and into landlording.

Today, Metro occupies one of the top tiers of the gentrification forces of Los Angeles City and County.

RGLA has not done enough research into this contradiction to present a more complete summary and analysis. But we aim to flesh this out more thoroughly in the near future.

V. Mass-line organizing, the role of Maoists and recent developments in the struggle

Maoists must be ready for defeat but only in the trajectory of a prolonged process toward victory. When one errs, it is tantamount to search for the reasons for the errors and lessons to draw upon the experience. In Los Angeles, Maoists are struggling to do so. We have often overemphasized a particular aspect of a secondary contradiction forgetting the general primary contradiction as the main thing. Much of this has already been discussed earlier.

STPLA, as a mass-line organization, is one of the leading forces in Boyle Heights fighting gentrification and building community dual power (to be explained in the next section). RGLA is proud supporters and guides to STPLA.

Maoists must be daring and masters in applying the mass line - especially in coalition and other eclectic-prone settings. Maoists must be calculated with their daringness too; For what is the mass line if not the correct environment where the acceptance and guidance of the application of revolutionary violence is developed.

For RGLA, this was a point we had difficulty in grasping. Only recently have we begun a heavy and consisted campaign in propagating revolutionary violence in the context of anti-gentrification resistance. We aim to offer an analysis and summation in the near future on this campaign.

Additionally, Maoists ideally should be starting coalitions, initiatives and projects. Not simply joining them. This area is proto-United Front work, but obviously in the absence of a Maoist Party and People’s Army. The Maoist United Front must

have Maoists in positions of leadership - but organized and centralized in the carrying out the Protracted People’s War. But until then, we do not simply wait for the objective conditions to develop. We build up the subjective conditions. Maoist must begin, or continue, building the skeleton of the three instruments of Maoism. The Maoist collective must act as the head, as the Party. The mass programs or Serve-the-People projects must be where the seeds are planted in the creation of the People’s Army. The broader coalitions, be they anti-gentrification or anti-police brutality or our country’s national liberation struggles (this one would be ideal and be perhaps prioritized), should be the proto-United Front.

And all three must move forward concentrically, militantly, carrying with them the sparks of Maoist dual power.

VI. Future steps on the road in building community dual power

Maoists in Boyle Heights have defined and theorized the concept of community dual power as something to aspire and build toward in the anti-gentrification movement.

We define community dual power as the general exercise of self-determination geographically, politically, culturally, socially and economically by a community facing gentrification. Specifically, this will look like the proletariat and their allies controlling what businesses move in, being vigilant over evictions and rent-hikes - up to and including implementing retaliatory actions against landlords, property managers and other antagonistic elements. Self-determination will not be complete, nor can we say with certainty that a Party, People’s Army or subordinate structure will be created by this time - a timeline we have yet to theorize, so we do not consider this self-determination to be an actual dual power. Instead, we modify the concept by making it a pre or proto version of actual Maoist war-time dual power with instead community dual power.

The anti-gentrification movement is at an all-around strategic defensive with legal-to-illegal direct actions and semi-legal mass mobilizations making up the majority of the work. But allied groups have been mass-building for years, prior to RGLA or STPLA. However, this mass-building has suffered from economism, political stagnation and tailism. All three errors are far from being dead and may resurface inside RGLA or STPLA if we are not careful and veer away from the path of revolutionary theory and violence.

STPLA has already begun a rectified version of their mass-building with its implementation of a tenants outreach and organizing initiative. The short-term goal in the project is to popularize the political line of STPLA while simultaneously directly servicing tenants with either repair work, mediation between tenants, food and clothing or legal resources - which we try to stay away from because of their inherent reformism/legalism - all the while advancing a class polarization within each building between the mainly proletarian tenants against the apartment manager and landlord bourgeoisie, pushing for more class-based independence away from property managers and landlords. We are aware that we must be careful in this regard that we don’t fall into economism or right deviations - a constant ever-present threat. The only way to defeat economism within a mass-line organization is by wielding and popularizing revolutionary violence.

The mid-to-long-term goal is in setting up parallel proletarian leadership groups as People’s Committees at each apartment building we organize. The People’s Committees will function as mini-tenants union locals, under direct guidance of STPLA and therefore under the political leadership of RGLA.

The long term goal is in politically developing the committees into bases of support for a more advanced struggle toward community dual power in tenant rent strikes, occupations, direct actions against landlords, etc. - all the while

principally adhering to developing revolutionary violence with the masses as the deliverer.

Red Guards - Los Angeles again wishes to thank all the revolutionary collectives present here today, and especially Kansas City Revolutionary Collective for extending the invitation to us, for organizing the MCLS. We are emboldened, made almost arrogant, with the amount of revolutionary commitment and discipline exhibited by all the authentic and principally-Maoist collectives in the country.

May this conference be the first, and not the only, one of its kind in the prolonged road toward building the Maoist Party, toward building the People’s army, toward building the United Front and unleashing the fury of the masses in Protracted People’s War.

Organizing at the point of production

“We, the workers, shall organize large-scale production on the basis of what capitalism has already created, relying on our own experience as workers, establishing strict, iron discipline backed up by the state power of the armed workers. We shall reduce the role of state officials to that of simply carrying out our instructions as responsible, revocable, modestly paid “foremen and accountants” (of course, with the aid of technicians of all sorts, types and degrees). This is our proletarian task, this is what we can and must start with in accomplishing the proletarian revolution. Such a beginning, on the basis of large-scale production, will of itself lead to the gradual “withering away” of all bureaucracy, to the gradual creation of an order--an order without inverted commas, an order bearing no similarity to wage slavery--an order under which the functions of control and accounting, becoming more and more simple, will be performed by each in turn, will then become a habit and will finally die out as the special functions of a special section of the population.” - Lenin, Sate and

Revolution - Ch. 3, Experience of the Paris Commune of 1871. Marx's
Analysis

Marxists want the abolition of the state through the dictatorship of the proletariat, constructed through PPW of the masses with the proletariat and its vanguard Maoist Party at the forefront. The smashing of the bourgeois state and construction of the proletarian state requires the working class to exert their expertise with production as central administrator - where once we were only relegated to the producers and not the managers, the new proletarian state would finally put the reigns of production in the hands of the proletariat.

That is only partially the answer as to why it is imperative, why it is a fundamental component of Marxism, to organize the proletariat at the points of production. The other reason is for the proletariat, absent of our new revolutionary state, to exert control, violently when need be, over the means of production. The proletariat of this country, if organized under Maoist leadership, can shut down and momentarily cripple the economy. More so, easily, in the Chicano Nation – with its ports as points of international import and the Southwestern, especially California, region’s heavy agricultural industry.

Why the state machinery is smashed and reconstructed under proletarian design, the means of production cannot be smashed, generally, but must be seized. Workers, revolutionary armed workers, can and must choke industry to the point of near-asphyxiation.

Therefore Maoists, as Marxists, have to be organizing at the points of production, particularly within the most important industries of the country. This still remains where the industrial proletariat exists. No socialist revolution is possible without the industrial proletariat, especially in a capitalist-imperialist country like the US and Canada. While manufacturing has been reduced by capitalist exporting industry overseas in search of super-profits through the exploitation of the Global South proletariat, the US is the second leading country in manufacturing –

making [\\$2.2 trillion](#)⁹ in value added to manufacturing in 2016, just after China.

The U.S. still has centers of industry that, if controlled by the countrywide proletariat, can put the US economy to a screeching halt. This is something Marxists must never forget, de-prioritize or liquidate. If Marxists liquidate organizing the proletariat the site or point of production, they cease to be Marxists.

Our new but growing Maoist movement in the U.S. is either not present or advancing in point-of-production struggles, let alone in overall workers' struggle. Perhaps the only exception is the Maoist Communist Group's New York City chapter and their work in organizing apartment maintenance workers and cafeteria service workers with neither being Communist organizing *at the centers of capitalist production*. This must change. Maoists must interrupt and destroy the yellow unions and labor aristocracy's hold on the proletariat, especially the countrywide industrial proletariat. As an organized force, we are absent in the heavy manufacturing industry, construction trades, state infrastructure, auto industry and durable, or even nondurable (smaller commodities), industries.

Our saving grace has been the effective Maoist presence in the countrywide anti-gentrification movement - building revolutionary struggle against big bourgeois landlords and medium-to-big real estate companies. Even though we may not be struggling side by side with the proletariat at the points of production, we are heavily involved in the housing struggle - which is a vital area of struggle since the real estate/housing industry in combination with finance and insurance – not including the construction industry – is the country's largest contributor to the GDP at 20-30 [percent](#)¹⁰. Maoists, in this particular area, must organize proletarian tenants into formations, like STPLA's People's Committees, to seize power from the landlords in the early stages (of which we find ourselves in today)

⁹ <https://fas.org/sqp/crs/misc/R42135.pdf>

¹⁰ <https://www.statista.com/statistics/248004/percentage-added-to-the-us-gdp-by-industry/>

but then move on to complete takeovers of apartment buildings then neighborhood blocks then complete neighborhoods, escalating attacks on the bourgeois landlords and the state or private utilities companies that work hand-in-hand with the landlords. Istanbul sets a good example for Communists, even though they are not Maoists, in organizing against gentrification and creating a strong base of support in an urban center.

In addition to the housing industry, three key industries Maoists should be paying attention to and organizing in are: 1.) durable goods industries, 2.) heavy manufacturing, 3.) construction, 4.) natural resources and mining, and 5.) imports of goods and services, and then give priority to the service sector, transportation and other lower-priority capital-circulating industries farther removed from commodity production.

While manufacturing is only [12.5](#)¹¹ of the country’s Gross Domestic Product, it was the fastest growing industry in [2017](#)¹², and may steadily climb or maintain a small resurgence over the next coming years.

The imports of goods and services is another important industry due to the proletariat’s direct connection and control over commodities coming into the country from overseas. The industry’s percentage was [14.69](#)¹³ in 2016, a significant figure.

There is far more that needs to be written and theorized on the question of point-of-production organizing. Let this serve as theoretical motivation for more Marxist, specifically Maoist, work on organizing at the centers of production in advanced capitalist countries, but specifically in the U.S.

¹¹ <https://www.epi.org/publication/the-manufacturing-footprint-and-the-importance-of-u-s-manufacturing-jobs/>

¹² <https://www.bea.gov/newsreleases/industry/gdpindustry/gdpindnewsrelease.htm>

¹³ <https://www.bea.gov/newsreleases/industry/gdpindustry/gdpindnewsrelease.htm>

We are, after all, Marxists and so our call is to organize the industrial proletariat as the leading force within the masses to make revolution, to wage PPW, and to fortify the seizure of power through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The first, not the last - Build up the Red Guards!

As the first contemporary Red Guards collective in the country, borne under a hot unrelenting sun in the Southwest Chicano Nation, - all of us, even the non-ethnically Chicano, forever altered by our national experience - we feel a special obligation to track our existence, our barely-beginning history and not shy away from providing suggestions or lessons where we feel we have earned a place of authority, a position of demanding study and criticism.

Every arc starts from somewhere. Every arc rises, peaks and falls: all three make up its very being. In many ways, more or less, this is applicable to RGLA. We started off in the fall of 2014 with zero experience in Maoist practice and only a rudimentary grasp on Maoist theory. We peaked momentarily in spurts fueled by moments of seizing opportunities, of transforming and advancing in Maoism through class struggle and class struggle alone, as it permeates all things on the earth.

The historical task of which we have already embarked upon is nothing short of monumental. We are the first Maoist collective to start up, immediately followed by our comrades-in-arms RGA, and then followed by and under their leadership Red Guards Philadelphia (now defunct), then Red Guards Pittsburgh, Red Guards Kansas City and most recently Red Guards Charlotte. While no summation as of yet exists for the liquidation of Red Guards Philadelphia, the Red Guards principally Maoist movement continues to be growing, both qualitatively and quantitatively.

The contemporary Maoist movement began roughly around 2012/13 mainly in the east coast, particularly in New York City - with the NCP-OC's first congress

being held in 2013. But the Maoist movement back then - with its center in student organizing - only now exists as a memory and contains valuable lessons on not repeating those errors. Now, the U.S. Maoist movement is an integral part of the countrywide antifascist and antigentrification movements. U.S. Maoism, as it is now, sparked in the heart of the proletarian urban centers, mostly populated by oppressed nationalities. Line struggle has always been a permanent part of our movement. We say ours as soberly claiming membership to this countrywide movement, without apology, not hiding errors, not taking steps back from accomplishments.

We hope this document is studied, criticized and read by not just Red Guards collectives but by all Maoists and those striving to become Maoists.

Our future only knows one trajectory - through the furnace of class struggle where we are forged anew to reemerge resilient as steel, conditioned by the beautiful fire of Maoism. A fire continuously fueled by the blood and sacrifice of our international and immortal martyrs.

We say, in resounding proclamation:

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism!

Long live Presidente Gonzalo and his inextinguishable Guiding Thought!

Long live the Red Guards!