

# Maoist Outlook -July 2019

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## Editorial

### **Let us prepare for building proletarian international!**

All of the contradictions that exist between imperialism and oppressed nations, labour and capital and the imperialist powers are intensifying in the world today. The imperialism is undergoing crisis economically, politically and culturally. At present, the monopoly financial capital has been awfully centralised, on the one hand, and the impoverished working class and the oppressed masses are getting infuriated, on the other. From this perspective, the objective situation is getting favourable for revolution. Nevertheless, the subjective condition is still weak.

After the death of Mao, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) that was constituted among revolutionary communist parties and organisations of different countries on the theoretical foundation and ideological guideline of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism had played an important role for revolution. The new democratic and socialist revolutions and the national liberation movements had started developing in several countries in a new way. But, as a result of serious right-revisionist deviation in a section of main leadership rank of the erstwhile Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and in the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA as well the RIM has reached an almost dead and defunct condition now. Hence, the RIM cannot work anymore, and the need to form a new international has been imminent task.

Several communist parties and organisations that were inside and outside of RIM are actively engaged in revolution today. Besides, new Maoist parties have been built up in many countries in this course. Their concern

of building a revolutionary international is growing and some efforts are also underway in this process. But, they are still inadequate.

Therefore, we have to pay special attention to building a proletarian international, now. In this context, we have to pay special attention mainly in two things. Firstly, the ideological basis of such an international should be Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the parties' political programmes should correspond to the socio-economic condition of the given country and secondly, the Maoist parties and organisations, no matter which were and which were not in RIM before, should create a common understanding among them going through intensive and extensive interactions and necessary two-line struggles. We have to make a special effort for both of these tasks. This is how the proletarian international can be built.

Dear comrades, imperialism, different forms of reactions and right-revisionism can create hindrances to this task and our own limitations and weaknesses too can stand as challenges before this mission. We have to go ahead confronting all the hindrances and challenges of this sort. Let us unite and come forward for the preparation of building a proletarian international on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

July 11, 2019

## **Press Communiqué**

Chaired by General Secretary Com. Kiran, the Central Committee Meeting of CPN (Revolutionary Maoist) held from June 27 to July 2, 2019 has been concluded. This press communiqué has been issued to publicize the decisions adopted in the meeting.

1. The meeting had begun with emotional tribute by observing one minute silence to those immortal martyrs who laid their lives in the course of people's war and mass movements carried on nationally and internationally.

2. General Secretary Com. Kiran presented a political report on behalf of the central headquarters. After thorough discussion, the CC meeting unanimously adopted it with necessary amendments. The essence of the report is as mentioned under:

3. Aimed at establishing their hegemony in the world today, intense reciprocal competition is going on among various imperialist countries and power centres in the economic, political and military field. This competition has now converted into a trade war. The danger of nuclear war is growing in the world and cyber war also is going on. On the one hand, several oppressed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been undergoing unbearable pain caused by the oppression of globalised imperialism and on the other they have been struggling hard against those oppressions too.

4. In order to counter the strategy of Belt and Road initiative taken on by China, the US has pursued an Indo-Pacific strategy. In this situation, Nepal has turned to be a centre-stage of triangular fight and thus the question of defending national independence has been more acute.

5. Now, the formation of parliamentarian and neo-reactionary government, communist by name, has been about 16 months. In this period, the problems of national independence, democracy and people's livelihood have been more acute. Keeping intact the unequal treaties including the 1950 treaty and increasing aggressions along the border and to the hydro-power sectors, the Indian expansionism has further intensified its intervention whereas the government, instead of opposing and counteracting it, has silently stood by it. By banning political parties, by killing their leaders and cadres in the name of encounter, by restraining the freedom of expression of journalists and by seizing right of the people like workers, peasants, indigenous nationalities, women, Dalits, Madheshis and Muslims, the present government is heading towards fascism. By running economy along the lines of neo-liberalism and by creating an illusion of 'Prosperous Nepal and Happy Nepali', the government is serving imperialism against socialism. The government has gone to be a centre stage of corruption, land-mafia, smuggling and

commission. It has created the need of organising struggle in a new way.

6.The implementation of resolution, policy, plan and decisions adopted in the last November CC meeting has been reviewed. In spite of some limitations and problems, the CC has concluded that party work is advancing towards a positive direction.

7.When the objective situation has started becoming favourable for revolution in Nepal and the world and the subjective condition of the revolutionaries the world over is weak, the CC meeting has adopted upcoming policy, programme and plan with a resolve of transforming the adversity into compatibility, preparing for new democratic revolution in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, enriching oneself with patience and revolutionary optimism to go towards socialism and communism and becoming firm in strategy and flexible in tactic. In the situation when the oppression, domination and hegemony on the part of imperialism and revisionism have been growing and the problems related to national independence, democracy and people's livelihood have become more serious, the CC meeting has taken necessary and important decisions to enhance struggle in our own initiative and also through unity in action with the political parties that have common understanding.

8.Forcefully opposing and condemning the ban by Oli government upon Biplab group and murder of their leaders and cadres in the name of encounter, the CC has laid emphasis to behave politically with them and seek to find political solution to this problem. Also, opposing the mysterious political line and working style of Biplab group, the CC has drawn their attention to correct them.

Finally, Comrade Kiran, laying emphasis to implement the decisions adopted by the CC and thanking to the entire comrades, concluded the meeting.

Date: July 6, 2019

Kiran

General Secretary

# Correctness of Marxism And The Historical Task of Revolution

(The paper presented in a workshop organized by CPN (Revolutionary Maoist) on May 5, 2019)

- 1.The bicentenary of Karl Marx (1818-1883), the pioneer of Marxism, has been celebrated in several countries of the world by organizing different programmes. The real meaning and objective of organising Marx's bicentenary is to go ahead in a conscious and planned way to comprehend and mainly change the world by recalling and grasping the lessons and contributions of Karl Marx regarding ideology, politics, organisation and revolution.
- 2.Karl Marx, along with his close associate and co-fighter Frederick Engels (1820-1895), pioneered Marxism as a principle of emancipation of the world proletariat, oppressed masses and the humanity as a whole by way of waging relentless theoretical struggle against unscientific thinking, trends and concepts that had appeared in the entire field of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. It was a unique and great epoch-making stride in the world history.
- 3.Marxism was borne during the historical period between capitalism and the dawn of the socialist revolution. Historically important documents like Communist Manifesto and those of Paris Commune were prepared in this period. And they had theoretically guided the revolutionaries to proceed towards the goal of attaining communism by accomplishing socialist revolutions.
- 4.Marxism has three component parts; they are: philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. The dialectical and historical materialism is Marxist philosophy. It favours scientific materialism against all sorts of idealism and metaphysics. Marxian political economy is related to the principles of productive forces and the relations of production; base and superstructure; social being and social consciousness; the struggle between oppressor and the oppressed

classes; the labour theory of value and the theory of surplus value. Marxian socialism is scientific socialism. It is based on class, class struggle, concept of violence, dictatorship of the proletariat and the principles of communism. Marxism is the doctrine of revolution and liberation of the proletariat. It lays emphasis not only to comprehend the world but mainly to change it.

5. Marxism demands its application in class struggle and liveliness of social life. Marxism is a science and it is inseparably linked with implementation. In their lifetime, Marx and Engels also paid attention to its application in addition to invention. After that, Lenin played a remarkable role in application and the development of Marxism. Lenin implemented Marxism in Russian territory. As a consequence, socialist revolution succeeded in Russia in October 1917. It shook the world and imparted influence in several countries of the globe. Leninism emerged amid successful application and development of Marxism. Mao Tsetung, successfully applying Marxism-Leninism in China, accomplished New Democratic Revolution in 1949. The new democratic and socialist revolutions led by the proletariat succeeded one after another in various countries of the world during the Second World War and later. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) was waged in China under the leadership of Mao. It created a huge upheaval in the world revolution. Right in this course, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism emerged amidst the application and development of Marxism-Leninism.

6. The revolution is a continuous process. It attains its ultimate goal passing through several revolutions and counter-revolutions. Following the death of Stalin, counter-revolution took place in Russia under the leadership of Khrushchev and capitalism was restored. In China too, counter-revolution took place and capitalism was restored under the leadership of Teng in 1976 after Mao's death. The world proletarian revolution suffered a serious setback. After the counter-revolution in Russia, Mao had launched the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China in view of preventing it there. Nevertheless, it could not be completed.

7. After this process of counter-revolution and collapse of "Soviet Union" the reactionaries all over the world started shouting that socialism has failed. The entire opportunists, scolding the revolutionary Marxists, started murmuring. The reactionaries, revisionists and revolutionary Marxists put forward their respective reactions and opinions about the counter-revolution.

8. The reactionaries, on the one hand, oppose that the socialist system led by the proletariat is one party dictatorship while on the other they maintain that the socialism has failed, communism has ended and the liberal parliamentary democracy has become immortal. In fact, the socialism led by the proletariat is not a one party system of the communists but it is the dictatorship of the proletariat. The communists do not conceal it. But on the contrary, what is true is that the parliamentary system or liberal democracy, as the bourgeoisie say, is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. In the class society, the state power is based on dictatorship. The question here is not whether there is dictatorship or not but the main question is which class exercises dictatorship upon the other. The bourgeoisie, manoeuvring in the name of democracy, try to make their dictatorship immortal. However, the communists, saying in clear words that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a transitional system and exercising proletarian democracy, make an effort to establish communism by bringing all sorts of state powers and dictatorships to an end.

9. The revisionists say that the main reason behind the failure of socialism in the countries including Soviet Union was a mistake on the part of communists in practicing democracy and pour serious charges upon Stalin for this. In fact, the reason behind it does not lie in the weakness in practicing democracy but mainly in their inability to practice proletarian dictatorship. Although there had been some mistakes and weaknesses on the part of Stalin in identifying and solving contradictions in the then Russian society even then he was a great Marxist-Leninist. Mao's evaluation that Stalin was 30 per cent wrong and 70 per cent right seems to be basically scientific.

10. In the viewpoint of revolutionary communists, there are two reasons of counter-revolution: objective and subjective. Excessive exercise to restore capitalism on the part of the deposed reactionaries, petty-production as the base of capitalist restoration in the socialist society, backing of imperialist powers to the capitalist-roads of the given country, emergence of revisionism within the communist party itself etc. are the objective reasons behind counter-revolution. The lack of necessary vigilance on the part of the revolutionaries in identifying contradictions and the seeds of counter-revolution in the socialist society, in consolidating the revolutionary forces and weakening the counter-revolutionary ones in the party and society can be regarded as the subjective factors behind counter-revolution. Of the aforesaid two factors, although either one can play principal role for counter-revolution in different junctures, but ultimately the objective reason is decisive. A protracted period is necessary for the ultimate victory of the proletariat in the socialist phase and the victory of revolution in the particular country is ultimately guaranteed by the victory of world revolution. Lenin and Mao have shed light well on this question.

11. What the reactionaries think is that the socialist state once it fails cannot ever regain victory and that failure is the theoretical failure of Marxism itself. It is utterly wrong. The revolution attains its ultimate victory amidst a series of victory and defeat. In the history, the bourgeois democratic revolutions too have gone ahead facing several defeats. In this context, Mao's saying is noteworthy. He says that sometimes the forces that represent progressive class are defeated not because their ideology is wrong but because they are not as powerful as the reactionaries in the state of temporary balance of power; but their final victory is inevitable though they are temporarily defeated. Thus, it is clear that though the socialist states have failed it is a temporary failure and ultimately the victory of the proletariat and the oppressed masses is indispensable.

12. Marxism is scientific and omnipotent from both the theoretical and practical point of view. The dialectical and historical materialism in the



field of philosophy, labour theory of value and the theory of surplus value in the field of political economy; class, class struggle, dictatorship of the proletariat and withering away of state in the field of socialism i.e. the propositions of communism are both scientific and coherent from both historical and logical point of view. Conversely, its opposite pole, capitalism i.e. imperialism is unscientific and incoherent from both the theoretical and practical standpoint. Today, it has made its theoretical basis to post-modernism, which declares that history, ideology, man and reality have all come to an end. In the field of philosophy, it has embraced metaphysical and idealist thinking based on nihilism, irrationalism, pluralism and eclecticism. In the field of political economy, it is entangled in an inescapable vicious circle of monopoly capitalism, network of multinational companies, centralisation and financialisation of capital, profitism and economic crisis. In the field of politics, it has been imposing dictatorship of the minority elite class upon majority masses by creating an elusive illusion of democracy. It has already been proved that the freedom, equality and slogans of fraternity it talks of are nothing other than show-tusks of an elephant. Its ultimate result is fascism. Today, the globalised imperialism is going towards fascism in the midst of the intense struggle between neo-liberal open economy and protectionism. Therefore, from both the standpoint of theory and practice the future of Marxism is bright and that of monopoly capitalism is dark. In this way, the ability of resolving all sorts of problems and contradictions in the present era remains with Marxism and the significance of Marxism has further increased.

13. Mao had said that all sorts of reactionaries and imperialism are real tigers tactically and they are paper tigers strategically. It is equally true in the present context as well. Today, the imperialism is manifested in an extreme condition of financialisation of capital and in a new show of multinational companies and global form. Although it has tried to wrap up the world in the fold of World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organisation, it is getting entangled today in the struggle between neo-liberalism and protectionism and an awful trade war. The

imperialism seems to be strong in form, but in essence it is getting weaker day by day. In the same manner, the world proletariat and the communist movement are weak in form but in essence their future is bright. The genuine Marxists must pay attention not merely to form but mainly to essence.

14. After the death of Mao and the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries, the revolutionary communist parties and organisations of different countries of the world, synthesising the guiding principle of the world proletariat in the form of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, propelled the process of revolution forward. Right in this course, Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) was founded. People's war in the countries including Philippines, Peru, India and Nepal continued developing. It created a new wave of revolution and encouragement in the world. However, after some time, a serious rightist opportunism appeared in the rank of main leadership of the erstwhile CPN (Maoist) and the great people's war suffered a severe setback. In the meantime, the leadership of RCP, USA, attacking theoretically upon the history of the world communist movement and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, followed the path of post-Marxism. As a result, the RIM reached to the state of dissolution and the revolutionary communist parties of the world are taking new initiative to organise a new international again. The revolution continues in Asia, Africa and South America as a main trend even today. It is getting organised in a new way in the developed countries as well.

15. Not only are the reactionaries of different shades but also the revisionism is attacking upon Marxism today. A kind of revisionists have been openly advocating neo-liberalism and parliamentarianism and the revisionists of other kind have been favouring capitalism against Marxian theory of surplus value in the pretext that the development of science and technology has made the technology principal not man. The ideological struggle against revisionism has been necessary for revolution today. Also, one should pay attention to the fact that the development of technology is also the development of productive forces.

On the one hand, it demands enrichment of line and on the other the development of productive forces also points towards the need of revolution in production relations.

16. In view of the entire aforesaid issues, we have to pay attention to the tasks of Nepalese revolution and world revolution as well. In this context, the main notable questions are:

First: Guiding principle. The guiding principle of revolution is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and we must grasp it well.

Second: General line of revolution. In the context of Nepalese society, which is in semi-feudal, semi-colonial and mainly neo-colonial condition, which is oppressed by comprador and bureaucratic bourgeois and feudal class, which is exploited, oppressed and intervened internally by comprador and bureaucratic capitalism and externally by imperialism and expansionism, new democratic revolution is indispensable. New democracy is an inseparable part of socialism and we can go towards socialism and communism only by accomplishing new democratic revolution in Nepal. We should accordingly determine line and path of struggle. Use of force is inevitable for revolution.

Third: United front. Revolutionary united front is necessary for revolution. Such a front should be, on the one hand, organised among revolutionary and progressive political parties and, on the other, should base upon oppressed classes, nationalities and sex. Till such a front has not been built, unity in action should be reached on the basis of shared issues.

Fourth: Formation of a unified revolutionary communist party of new type. Formation of a new type of communist party under the guidance of revolutionary principle and on the basis of revolutionary line is necessary to make revolution. We have to unite with genuine communist party and group and individuals today.

Fifth: Proletarian internationalism. Communist party along with the whole communist movement is based on proletarian internationalism. So, we have to, on the one hand, reorganise the international communist

movement in a new way and, on the other, it has been an urgent need to build an anti-imperialist united front as well.

We have to take special initiative and make effort to organise necessary discussion among the communist revolutionary forces on these questions to reach a correct conclusion. In this context, it is necessary to grasp the dialectics of unity, struggle and transformation.

17. The real meaning of celebrating the bicentenary of Marx and recalling the theoretical contributions and practical lessons taught by Marx is to continuously propel forward the process of revolution amid defence, application and development of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the guiding principle of communist party. The historical lesson of world revolution and that of Nepalese revolution too is this. Being specially conscious and serious on this, we have to make our commitment towards it again.

## **Rebuilding the International Centre: Challenge and opportunity**

**Com.Gaurav**

Our party made a clarion call at the occasion of May Day 2014 to all the genuine communist parties to come forward and take painstaking efforts to form an international centre of genuine communist parties and organisations and also disseminated a draft position paper: **“March Ahead to Prepare for the World Proletarian Revolution! Let’s Build an International Centre of the Proletariat!!”**

The paper states, “The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), which was formed by the Second International Conference of the Maoist Parties and Organisations in 1984, has become virtually defunct since 2010. It is an unwelcome event not only for our Party, the Communist Party of Nepal\_Maoist, but for the whole International Communist Movement (ICM) as well. It is a huge loss for the international proletariat, necessary to regain. In such a critical moment, our party is ready to contribute as much as it can and also requests, in the new situation, the

entire Maoist parties and organizations of the world to take on collectively the painstaking task of regrouping the genuine revolutionaries at the international level.”

The document clearly states about the nature of the centre, “Since the RIM has now become virtually defunct, it is not necessary to confine ourselves to make this unity effort only within the framework of the Maoist forces united in former RIM. We think that this initiative should be further broadened to carry on collective efforts from all the Maoist forces of the world irrespective of which was in the RIM and which was not.”

Main reasons for the debacle in the RIM have been clearly pointed out as, “There may be many reasons behind the present debacle in the RIM, but two main reasons seem to be obvious. One, it was due to the neo-revisionist deviation that emerged in the main leadership of the erstwhile Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), Prachanda-Baburam clique. This clique collaborated with the imperialist and expansionist forces, betrayed the Nepalese revolution and deliberately played its destructive role to paralyze the RIM. Two, it was due to “new synthesis” of Bob Avakian, the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (RCP, USA) that intended to introduce it as the guiding line of the RIM. When the question of imposing “new synthesis” as its guideline and replacing certain questions of MLM emerged in the RIM, naturally it created a kind of havoc in the movement. It gave rise to a sharp dispute within the Movement.”

### **Role of neo-revisionists to sabotage the RIM**

The position paper presented by our party has clearly explained the role of its former leaders, who sabotaged the RIM: “One of the founder parties of the RIM, the erstwhile CPN (Maoist) that led great People’s War in Nepal for ten years (from 1996 to 2006) had played a very significant role in strengthening and advancing it. In the course of time, the main leaders of the party, the Prachanda-Baburam neo-revisionist clique divorced from Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, capitulated to imperialism, especially to Indian expansionism and betrayed the Nepalese people’s revolution. Working hand in glove with the international reactionary forces, they deliberately

played a destructive role to liquidate the RIM, which was founded by waging sharp struggles against all shades of revisionism." So far the decision of the party to adopt "Prachanda path" to be suffixed in MLM is concerned it was completely unable to influence the RIM. So called Prachada path which was added in the guiding principle of erstwhile CPN(M) namely Marxism-Leninism-Maoism did not remain for a long period of time .In the later period the formulation was opposed by the red faction. Later, it was removed even in the same party led by Prachanda. In this way, today there is no any sign of Prachanda path anywhere. So it died a natural death. Now it is waste of time to carry on this point as debate of ICM.

The role of RCP, USA has also been clearly exposed in the paper, "The RCP, USA, one of the founder parties of the RIM, played an important role in advancing it in the past. But the ambitious design of this party and its leader Bob Avakian to impose "new synthesis" as the guiding line of the RIM has contributed a lot to liquidating this international centre of the Maoist revolutionaries." Now it is clear to everybody about the anti-Marxist, neo-revisionist and liquidationist trend of "new synthesis" expounded by Bob Avakian and how it was instrumental in sabotaging the RIM. But at the beginning it created confusion in the ranks of RIM. That is the reason why the paper has spent lot of pages in the polemic with RCP regarding the new synthesis", to prove that it was anti-Marxist and right liquidationist deviation.

### **Positive step forward**

In course of time, some parties responded to our call positively. Bilateral discussions were held with some parties. Similar initiatives were taken by other parties as well, which is a welcome step. In this regard, joint statements which were signed by some parties and organisations have come out publicly. Debates and discussions are taking place extensively concentrating in the same issue. Loud voice has been heard widely in favour of forming an International Centre of genuine Communist Parties and Organisations. We should consider these developments as positive step forward in the formation of such a centre.

## **Basis of unity**

It seems that broad agreement is going to be achieved among all Maoist parties and organisations which are standing for an International Centre regarding three cardinal issues, namely, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as guiding principle, fighting against revisionism of all shades and acceptance of inevitability of Peoples' war for all types of countries. All other issues will emanate from these fundamental issues. It has been proved from the consecutive joint statements brought out by Maoist forces at yearly May Days. It reflects that we are very close to initiate such 'international centre'. Definitely it represents a positive step forward in our long course of rebuilding an 'international centre'.

## **Public debate regarding disagreements**

What we have presented before about the 'basis of unity' is regarding the question of minimum level of unity required for the regrouping of the genuine communist parties and organisations in a single international centre. It does not mean that we have achieved unity without a scope of any difference. We have differences which should be recognised. In spite of that we have agreements on basic issues of unity for the reconstruction of a single centre. The method of shorting out the differences is through internal and friendly struggles among the parties and organisations.

But, side by side, public discourse has been started in various political issues among some parties, which are part of the process of forging unity at the international level. This act of public polemic has been practically reflected in the field of organisation. As a reflection of broader unity among genuine Maoist forces, one single May Day statements was expected to be essential. But we were surprised to get two parallel statements with basically same positions. This event has raised the eyebrows of many communists who want to see unity among the genuine communist parties. Such activities have consciously or unconsciously paved the way for emerging two parallel centres in the name of "unity". Carrying out public criticism and counter criticism will not help achieve unity. It does not mean that there should not be debate and lines'

struggle within the ICM. But it should be carried out on the basis of accepted norms. Immaturity regarding the inner struggle of the movement will not help achieve the goal of reshaping the international centre.

There is no scope of any doubt about the necessity of a strong International Centre of Marxist parties and organisations. There is a real basis to materialise this urgent task. But there are also problems and difficulties. It is necessary to be cautious while carrying out public debate with fraternal parties. We should be prudent enough to resolve the confronting problems and fulfil the task bestowed upon us by the history.

July 9, 2019

## **Some Crucial Issues Facing By The Communist Movement**

### ***Com.Pritam***

#### **Slackness in Ideological Struggle:**

More than one and a half century has been elapsed since the bringing out of Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels in 1848, innumerable ups and downs, turns and twists have taken place in terms of revolutions and counter revolutions the worldwide, so to say, from the establishment of epoch-making first socialist state in the USSR to New Democratic Revolution in China as well as the collapse of Revisionist Camp of former Soviet Union and East European countries along with occurrence of counter revolution and the restoration of capitalist roaders in china.

In Russia, commencing from Khrushchev and coming down to Gorbachev, the Soviet revisionism came to resort to its liquidation by abandoning Marxism-Leninism as the guiding principle of the party. In China, the Deng Clique introduced the bizarre theory of "one country two systems" and "whether the cat is black or white, it must catch the rat".



Just after passing away of comrade Joseph Stalin in the USSR and Comrade Mao Zedong in China, the succeeding leadership deviated from Marxist-Leninist ideological path abandoning fundamentals of revolutionary communist movement such as upholding of dictatorship of proletariat, continuation of class struggle and use of force for seizure of power.

An overall theoretical and ideological struggle was carried out by Communist Party of China under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong against Soviet revisionism known as "Great Debate". By then, the world communist movement saw its division into two camps leaning towards CPC and CPSU respectively.

There has been slackness in terms of ideological struggle against all forms of revision and deviation on the part of Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries. Now, it is our urgent and topmost duty to uphold ideological and theoretical struggle to combat against all forms of revisionists and deviationists trends and elements.

### **Leadership Crisis:**

Comrade Stalin and Comrade Mao played great role and provided leadership to move forward the world communist movement. But, Nikita Khrushchev, the proponent of revisionism usurped party leadership of CPSU right after demise of Stalin. Likewise, Huwa Guwa Feng, the middle roader, was elevated to the leadership of CPC by Mao himself proved so feeble and was easily superseded by Deng clique.

Comrades like, Chang Ching and Chan Chun Chuwao, the front runners during "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" were denied access from assuming leadership both in party and the state. Furthermore, they were arrested and imprisoned for life and passed away inside the bars.

Currently there is a dearth of established world leadership in the scene of International Communist Movement after the death of comrade Mao Zedong.

History and experiences have taught us lessons that genuine leadership and correct principle are important and prerequisites for accomplishing and continuation of revolution. But, leadership is all important before and after seizure of state power by the communists, because, such a leadership could come out successful to resolve the mistakes and weaknesses pertaining to theory and principle.

### **Personality Cult:**

The culture of “personality cult” is prevalent within communist movement and communist parties as well and as a result of this culture the principle of collective leadership, one of the fundamentals of Leninist organizational principles is disregarded and overlooked to greater extent and caused harms to the movement.

### **Right and Left Deviations:**

Communist movement has been suffering both from right and left deviations since the time of Marx and Engels. The Critique of Gotha Program by Marx/Engels is self-evident in this context. Communist parties, who adhered to correct Marxist-Leninist principles and played revolutionary role have deviated from right path time and again.

The Right deviation has been the serious threat for revolutionary communist movement. The main causes are due to its rejection and non-adherence to guiding principle (Marxism-Leninism-Maoism), dictatorship of proletariat, class struggle and two line struggle within party, use of force and armed struggle in the name of “creative application” of Marxism-Leninism.

The Left deviation can be deemed as ultra “left” one and its passion for a “prompt revolution”. And the main errors on its part are its blind replication and mechanical imitation of other “friendly” and “fraternal” parties.

### **Sectarianism:**

Sectarian trend has been one of the problems within communist movement and parties that has led to unnecessary splits and divisions

without any serious ideological differences. The result has been disintegration of Marxist-Leninist-Maoists parties and revolutionary forces and making their strength weaker and feeble.

### **Lack of Organizational Network:**

After dissolution of Third International, there has always been absence of an international organizational network to bring Marxist-Leninist-Maoists revolutionary parties and organizations together the world over. Even comrade Mao could not move forward to form an international platform during his lifetime.

As there is a lack of such a common platform and dearth of forging solidarity among fraternal and friendly parties as well as exchanging ideas and experiences among them. That is why it is most urgent and need of hour to build an organizational network for the same.

Likewise, there is weakness in building cooperation in launching joint struggle and agitation based upon common programs and slogans in favor of the oppressed peoples and nations the world over.

The founding of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) was an effort as an international forum. But, because of erroneous policies and tendencies maintained by some of the leaders of some parties in the Committee of RIM (CoRIM), it could not come out successful to keep itself intact and is now almost non-existent.

### **Conclusion:**

Communist movement has come across a long history of more than one and half centuries, and, we have seen, experienced and gone through many epoch making phenomena over this period of time. On the backdrop of all these phenomena, we should and must look at the things that where and how the successes have achieved and mistakes and weakness have committed as the movement went on.

At this juncture, even though, Communist Movement has been a global phenomenon and Communist Parties are in existence in several countries around the world (it is a known fact that more than one communist

parties are in existence and functioning within a country too) and running their activities, however, they have not been capable of leading any victorious revolution.

We have to be effortful to maintain friendly and fraternal relationship among Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionary parties and thereby move ahead to forge a principled unity for world revolution. We have labored to some extent to make this goal a success. Now, our utmost duty is to move forward by strengthening relationship both in theoretical and organizational fields to combat all sorts of no-revolutionary ideas and thoughts.

At the same time, we must be vigilant in terms of day-to-day world affairs and express our views upon such issues. Likewise, we must initiate theoretical discussions to make both retrospection and introspection of the failures and successes in the history of the communist movement to pave a righteous way in the time to come so that a favorable condition could be burgeon to constitute a common international platform and organization.

## **Marxism and role of technology in the development of society**

### **Com.Basanta**

Man is a conscious animal. He is involved in labour to bear out his material necessities. The use of man's knowledge, skill and tools as a whole in social practice is known as labour. Marxism believes that the basis of development of society is labour and it makes man different from animal. Man's necessities are incremental; as a result, he needs to develop his knowledge, skill and tools as well to help meet his new needs. All he does this is through social practice. In the language of political economy, the human labour and the tools he utilises in production as a whole is known as productive force. Marxism regards that this very productive force is the motive force of the given society.

In the beginning of savagery, man used to live natural life and his body organs were his tools of labour. In the course of his struggle for survival, his body organs turned insufficient to meet his needs. In order to fulfil his necessity man first started using hand-projectiles, developed bows and arrows, discovered fire and forged iron by smelting iron ores in due course. Had not man developed the tools of his labour i.e. technology, perhaps he would have been wandering in jungles and eating roots even today or would have extinct a long before. With growing necessity of mankind and the development of society, tools and the technology too developed further. This very process of development continues even today and will do so in the days to come as well. It is, in fact, the manifestation of dialectical unity between the necessity and freedom i.e. the matter and consciousness.

What do knowledge and tools mean? Mao says, "Man's cognition stems from practice. We use the axe and machinery to transform the world, and our cognition, is thus deepened. Tools are extensions of human organs. The axe is an extension of our arms while the telescope is an extension of our eyes. The human body and its organs can all be extended."<sup>1</sup> This is Marxist outlook as regards cognition and the instruments of labour. In view of this, the development of instruments of labour i.e. technology is the development of productive forces. Precisely in this context, Lenin writes, "The development of these natural resources by methods of modern technology will provide the basis for the unprecedented progress of the productive forces."<sup>2</sup> Thus, Marxism regards that the basis of development of human society is the development of productive force, which advances ahead with the infinite process of development of man's cognition and science and technology. Nevertheless, man's role is decisive in it.

In his famous work, 'The origin of the family, private property and the state power', Engels has stated that the main reason behind the change of ages is connected with the development of instruments of labour. In his opinion, bows and arrows that men developed during their natural life of savagery was a milestone marking the entrance into barbarous age.

Likewise, the invention of iron by smelting iron ores had in fact opened the door for the mankind to enter into civilized age from the barbarous one. It is the historical materialist view as regards the interrelation between technology and the development of human society.

With the passing of time, the productive forces developed further and it resulted in a considerable growth in production. It not only generated growth but also raised a question of ownership that who is to possess the excess production i.e. the surplus. It was in fact the manifestation of contradiction between productive forces and the relations of production. Marxism believes that this very contradiction is the motive force of human society. When this contradiction culminates to the point of antagonism then the old relations of production change and, as a result, it takes the society to a new height. This is how the society develops. Right on this question, Marx writes, "At a certain stage of development, the material productive forces of society come into conflict with the existing relations of production or – this merely expresses the same thing in legal terms – with the property relations within the framework of which they have operated hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an era of social revolution. The changes in the economic foundation lead sooner or later to the transformation of the whole immense superstructure."<sup>3</sup> This is what Marxism says about the development of society.

In the long course of history, the human society has undergone development through many stages. In the past, the slave-owning society had emerged from the womb of primitive society; the feudal society had emerged from the womb of slave-owning society and the capitalist society had emerged from the womb of feudal society exactly through this process. And, this is the very objective process through which the communism, via scientific socialism, will emerge from the womb of capitalism itself. The dialectical and historical materialism teaches us this. Though the invention of bows and arrows and iron was not less significant in relation to the development taken place in the then primitive society, however, the counting of industrial revolutions in the modern world has

begun from the invention of steam engine. The invention of steam engine is considered to have brought the first industrial revolution. The invention of electricity and steel, the development of computer technology and lately the development of robotics and artificial intelligence are regarded as the bases that second, third and the fourth industrial revolutions have rested on respectively. The previous revolutions too had created debate at the outset. But, the domain of those debates was narrow as compared to that of today. The robotics i.e. automation and artificial intelligence, the bases of the fourth industrial revolution, have qualitatively widened the field of this debate today. Noteworthy now is that the things believed to be impossible a few years before have been practically proved to be an objective reality now.

An online media published from Hong Kong had publicised news with a heading "12 Chinese robots taking over our everyday jobs"<sup>4</sup>. The news goes: one, "Chinese firm halves worker costs by hiring army of robots to sort out 200,000 packages a day". Two, "Chinese court named as Qiaoxi has introduced robot guides, who can guide where you need to go based on the services you are looking for, have knowledge about court proceedings and litigation, and also are able to provide legal consultation services to visitors". Three, "Roughly a quarter of China's ammunition factories have replaced workers with robots". Four, "A robot named Aidam scored 134 out of 150 in the maths paper for Gaokao, China's college entrance exam, in less than 10 minutes". Five, a "Chinese robot dentist is first to fit implants in patient's mouth without any human involvement". Six, "Xiaoyi, became the first artificial intelligence robot to pass China's medical licensing exam". Seven, "A dumpling factory in China is unstaffed and the robots do all the work 24 hours a day but those dumplings are not as tasty as those prepared by man" etc. All these things were beyond imagination before. However, they have become an objective reality before our eyes now.

The latest development of science and technology is not limited to a certain sector only. It is multi-dimensional. It extends to a wide range of 3D-Printing, Artificial Intelligence, Robotics, Nano Technology,

Autonomous Drones and Vehicles, Biotechnology, Neuro-technology etc. All this has brought about a profound effect in the human society today. Some of them along with examples have been presented as follows.

Apart from this, many machines like Hadrian X that can lay 1000 bricks an hour to erect a building wall and Transplanter that can sow paddy seedlings in one Hectare of farmland only in three hours have turned up in daily use. The drones without pilots and vehicles without drivers have been successfully tested, and the developed nations are preparing to work with them soon. Many people are aware that a 'female' robot named Sophia has been awarded citizenship by the Government of Saudi Arabia. She can spontaneously and instantaneously reply questions asked by any person. It is today's reality created by the development of science and technology.

Although Marx did not have opportunity to perceive these developments in his lifetime but, he has dealt with the relation between workers and the automation of machines. He writes, "Once adopted into the production process of capital, the means of labour passes through different metamorphoses, whose culmination is the... automatic system of machinery... set in motion by an automaton, a moving power that moves itself; this automaton consisting of numerous mechanical and intellectual organs, so that the workers themselves are cast merely as its conscious linkages."<sup>5</sup> Even in the initial stage of technological development Marx had correctly anticipated that the development of technology can reach to automatic machines and said whatever the level of its development be it is man's consciousness that controls the machine, not the machine itself.

The point on which I want to draw attention is that the first and the second industrial revolutions had in due course created a wide field of employment for workers, though some questions were raised in the beginning. But now, the robotics and artificial intelligence, the foundation on which the fourth industrial revolution rests, have started replacing man by robots from those jobs the first and the second industrial revolutions had created and consequently have placed man at such a role that he establishes conscious linkage with the machines. It has affected not only



the manufacturing field but the service sector as well. It is a new phenomenon very much different from that of the first and second industrial revolutions.

This phenomenon has come up with an alarming contradiction. When the robots, involved in production, do not purchase but the people who consume are deprived of purchasing power caused by job loss, then what is to do with the production? The obvious result it leads to is not only the collapse of capitalism but also the complete dissolution of the human civilization as a whole. It is the main aspect of the challenge posed by the development of science and technology at present. In addition, the ecologists too have been raising fingers that the uncontrolled use of technology is pushing the entire humanity towards complete destruction. In this context, David Attenborough says "The collapse of civilisation and the natural world is on the horizon"<sup>6</sup>. He said it in the UN Climate Summit held in Poland among delegates gathered from more than 200 countries recently.

Precisely in this context, Peter Frase, a left sociologist and a senior journalist, has brought to public an important book in 2016. It is named as – **Four Futures: Life after Capitalism**. Right in the first sentence of introduction of that very book, he writes, "Two spectres are haunting Earth in the twenty-first century: the spectres of ecological catastrophe and automation." In this book, the conclusion he has drawn is that the end of capitalism is at close because of these two spectres.

Not only has he drawn up a conclusion that the end of capitalism is imminent in that book but also has anticipated four possible social systems that come into being depending upon the then level of production and the policy of distribution the society adheres to. They are: one, when the production is abundant and the policy of distribution is egalitarian after capitalism, then the social system will be **Communism**; two, when the policy of distribution is egalitarian but the production is not abundant, then the social system after capitalism will be **Socialism**; three, when the production is abundant through renting of software by a few rich people but the social hierarchy does not change, then the social system after

capitalism will be **Rentism** and four, when there is scarcity in production and the class hierarchy too does not change in the post-capitalist society then a tiny section of the privileged elite class will resort to exterminate the entire jobless and 'useless' people to make their way unchallenged forever. He has termed it **Exterminism**. The four possibilities he has anticipated in the post-capitalist era are not merely the outcome of his subjective imagination, there is objective basis to arrive at this conclusion.

The effects of the development of science and technology are rampantly visible here and there these days. It has come with a sharp debate in the world. Obviously, the angles of deliberation are different but the debate is sharp and expressive. This debate as a whole can be categorised into two main streams. They are: the status quo bourgeois stream and the pro-change proletarian stream. They have been discussed in brief as follows.

First of all, let us talk about the status quo bourgeois stream. Mainly the working class people who stand by this stream think that the robotics and artificial intelligence may put at risk the opportunity of jobs and, as a consequence, bring about an existential threat to the humanity itself. Tom Watson, a columnist has published an article headed "When robots do all the work, how will people live?"<sup>7</sup> Likewise, a report prepared by McKinsey and Company writes, the "Robot automation will take 800 million jobs by 2030"<sup>8</sup>. Wall Street Journal writes, "Half of Japan's working population could be replaced by robots or artificial-intelligence programs within the next 10 to 20 years, Nomura Research Institute said in a report released Wednesday."<sup>9</sup> In the same way, Dr. Yuval Noah Harari, a famous historian and professor of the Hebrew University Israel, states the "Artificial intelligence and automation will create a 'global useless class'"<sup>10</sup> etc. The working class people that side with this stream seem to be more apprehensive because they see their jobs lost to robots but don't see any alternative way to deal with this problem.

The capitalists and their institutions also have their say on the social role of automation and AI as well. They seem very happy with this. "The Bank of America has recently claimed that automated systems will be doing nearly half of all manufacturing jobs within a generation – saving an

astonishing \$9 trillion in labour costs”<sup>11</sup>, Tom Watson writes. Likewise, the PwC report proudly writes, “AI will contribute \$15.7 trillion to the global economy in 2030, more than the current output of China and India combined”<sup>12</sup>. All this shows the seriousness of the upcoming situation, the fourth industrial revolution is giving birth to. It must not be taken casually as before.

On the other, responding to a question – how can the problems of unemployment that automation has caused be solved – Bill Gates, one of the richest persons of the world, says, “The robot that takes your job should pay taxes.”<sup>13</sup> Not only this, he has indirectly signalled that the tax so collected should compensate to those workers, who lose their jobs to robots, and those who need. The capitalist class that extract extra surplus value by using technology are very much content with the development of artificial intelligence and the robotics.

Now let’s talk about the pro-change proletarian stream. Those, who call themselves a communist, claim to represent this stream. However, all the wings, which fall under this stream, do not have common position vis-à-vis the possibilities and challenges brought in by the development of science and technology. They are divided into different trends, which can mainly be categorised as follows.

First, it is a trend that claims to be proletarian in name but represents the bourgeois trend in deed. It can be said as the rightist revisionist trend. They seem to be worried about the challenges created by robotics and artificial intelligence, nonetheless, they neither have a clear idea of nor have any agenda to solving the challenges in a scientific way. In essence, this trend does not have any basic difference than that of status quo bourgeois stream. It is a trend that trails behind the status quo bourgeoisie.

Second, it is a trend that claims to be revolutionary in name but is orthodox in deed. The followers of this trend agree that technology comes with new possibilities accompanied by challenges in the beginning, but do not think necessary to go into the depth of the problem. They put this

question aside by recalling the precedent of the past that the Luddite rebels in the beginning had broken machine-run handlooms for they thought their jobs were snatched, but when more jobs were created, they were happy. They think it as a usual process and so don't think necessary to take note of the role the development of technology plays in deciding ideological and political line, strategy and the tactic of revolution. Without taking trouble of undergoing concrete analysis of the concrete condition they think what they understood correct yesterday is so today as well. In this way, they fall prey to subjectivism in analysing the objective condition of the country and in sorting out a revolutionary line to fit it. In essence, it is a conservative Marxist trend. It takes hold of revolution in a dogmatic way but cannot develop it.

Third, it is a trend that places technology at the fore and pushes Marxism-Leninism-Maoism aside in the pretext of creatively analysing the specific objective condition created by technological development. The apologists of this trend believe that man's role in production has been plummeting because technology has become the main productive force in the society. According to them, anyone can make use of science and technology as per his necessity because it is a non-class thing like nature and everyone can entertain equal right with them now as man did with nature in the early days of primitive society. They argue no capitalist state power can control science and technology because it is the knowledge that any person irrespective of the class he comes from can use it. By so saying, they argue that class struggle is no more principal aspect in the present day society.

Right in this context, a Nepali academic left theoretician Ramesh Sunuwar writes, "As a result of the revolutionary change, the revolution, which the science-technology has brought in the field of production, it is possible that the entire problems and conflicts that emerge from the lack of necessary means in the social life are going to end."<sup>14</sup> This concept that believes the development of science and technology solves the problem of class conflict does not go along the lines of Marxism. Without a doubt, it is related to post-modernism and post-Marxism, not to the dialectical and

historical materialism. The fact is that class antagonism between the 'global useless class' along with the entire working class people that are awaiting to lose their jobs to automation at one pole and the capitalist ruling class that entertain monopoly in science and technology and entire means of production at the other is sure to sharpen further in the days ahead. Notwithstanding this fact, why does he make such a ridiculous logic? It is a serious deviation from Marxism, not its creative development.

Likewise, their logic that the development of science and technology has increased the scope of economic production is correct. It paves way for building abundant collective wealth, which is one of the necessary prerequisites to build communism. Nevertheless, their doctrine that "The productive force of the present epoch is science-technology and so shall the upcoming socialism base on science-technology"<sup>15</sup> does not have any relation to Marxism. It is technologism. In the pretext of creatively developing Marxism, the thinking that pushes the working class masses away from Marxism stands against proletarian stance. Unsurprisingly, this trend has thus become an honest advocate of the bourgeoisie.

Fourth, it is a revolutionary trend based on Marxism. The revolutionaries with this trend believe that the development of science and technology is the outcome of comprehensive knowledge that humanity has ever achieved in the course of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment. In fact, it is the development of productive force, which has strength to take the human civilisation to a new height, never attained before. This unprecedented development of science and technology has come with great possibilities and formidable challenges. The communist revolutionaries with this trend believe that they need to develop strategy and tactic of proletarian revolution to change this possibility into reality and get rid of the challenges. Hence, a genuine communist today must grasp it as mentioned under.

The development of artificial intelligence and automation is in fact the development of productive force, which is now confronting with the prevailing capitalist relations of production. The capitalists always lay emphasis on developing and using technology so that it helps them

extract more surplus value from their investment. However, it causes to shrink the scope of employment, grow even extensively than before the number of unemployed and semi-employed people, the flock of 'global useless class' to paraphrase Harari, and it thus widens inequality gap between the rich and poor further. All this leads to such a situation in which the contradiction between productive forces and the relations of production i.e. the contradiction between capital and labour approaches towards its explosion.

Not only this, the development of science and technology has been contributory to sharpening other basic contradictions of the world as well. In the present situation, when the US imperialism has fallen back in global competition and neoliberalism too has failed, it is now attempting to re-establish world hegemony with the slogan "Make America Great Again". The super powers mainly Russia and China are cautiously watching this move of the US. The trade war has been intensifying mainly between the US and China. All this has hastened the worldwide process of polarisation among the imperialist powers and the inter-imperialist contradiction too is further sharpening. Some people even foresee that this state of affairs can go up to catastrophic World War III, to be fought with the devastating nuclear weapons. In addition, the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and people, the principal contradiction of the world today, has also been intensifying. One must not lose sight from the fact that the development of unprecedented productive force caused by new inventions in science and technology is the root cause behind the intensification of all basic contradictions of the world at present.

Precisely speaking, the contradiction between the newly developed productive forces and the prevailing relations of production is sure to go towards its climax, in the days to come. The imperialist ruling classes will attempt to moderate this contradiction by way of introducing some cosmetic changes in their regular politico-economic policies.

Notwithstanding this, any reform is not likely to alleviate this contradiction even for a brief period in the given situation and the imperialist world order, which fathered this, cannot resolve either. In this way, the

imperialist system is getting entangled in such contradictions that they cannot be mitigated even temporarily by peaceful means. What it shows is that the days ahead will be the days of chaos and rebellion all across the world. The signals of this situation are already visible on the horizon.

In this situation, there are only three possibilities before the world ahead. They are: one, the emergence of a wave of the proletarian revolution in most parts of the world two, the catastrophic Third World War and three, the spontaneous but speedy dissolution of the human civilisation itself. The first one opens the way forward to replacing the prevalent capitalist relations of production and establishing the socialist one in its place. This is the main trend today. The second one destroys everything the humanity has ever achieved. And, when both of them do not happen, then the third one comes into play. It will result in the worldwide unemployment, scarcity, starvation, 'illegal' immigrations, ecological disasters, communal and religious clashes, regional wars and the likes. Eventually, all this will gradually lead the entire human civilisation to an end. In whatever way gets the capitalism collapsed, it correctly justifies what Marx and Engels had meant by writing "Whatever the capitalists produce are all their grave-diggers" in Communist Manifesto. In this way, the communist revolutionaries, the proletariat and the entire oppressed classes all across the world have to consciously strive hard to catch the first possibility; there is no any other option left. The success of socialist revolutions will not only safeguard the human civilisation but also open the door towards a prosperous and egalitarian human society, the communism.

In conclusion, as a result of the sharpening of contradiction between the unprecedented development of productive forces and the out-dated capitalist relations of production, the world is now leading towards a great upheaval amid the present state of 'the calm before the storm'. In this situation, there is no other way left before the communist revolutionaries than working for the preparation of world proletarian revolution not only to liberate the oppressed classes from the clutches of imperialism but to safeguard the human civilisation as well. The science and technology do

not have their own class; they serve the very class that leads them. Only after the success of proletarian revolution can the vanguard of the proletariat utilise the development of science and technology for the collective interest of proletariat, oppressed classes and the masses of the people. And only then, the science and technology will not be a curse that snatches human job but will be a boon that serves the human civilisation, prevents ecological disasters, reduces working hour of the labours, provides employment to the 'global useless class' and in this course creates abundant collective wealth necessary to build world communism. Thus, the development of science and technology has been not only preparing the objective ground favourable for the world proletarian revolution almost all over the world but also is bringing communism closer by amazingly developing the productive forces, necessary to create abundant collective wealth for the humanity.

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