

Interview with Comrade Prachanda



Nepalese People's War during the short period of five years. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and objective reality have taught us that in the present era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, there exists a universal objective basis, in general, for the initiation, defence and development of people's war in the oppressed and underdeveloped countries of the Third World. The main problem in implementing the strategy of protracted people's war in such countries is, in our opinion, the problem of subjective preparations. The principal aspect of subjective preparation is the question of the development of a militant communist party of a new type based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The rapid development of people's war is inevitable today after this leadership problem is solved through intense struggle

against alien tendencies in the proletarian movement, mainly right revisionism. For the masses there is no alternative to rebellion and revolution, given the objective background of exploitation, repression and poverty prevalent in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries of the Third World.

In Nepal, our first effort was to correctly grasp the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. For this, we strove to link ourselves with the arduous and challenging ideological struggle waged by the genuine communist revolutionaries of the world against the Chinese counter-revolution after the death of Comrade Mao Tsetung. Taking the synthesis of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the highest expression of conscious class struggle, as our starting point, we delved into serious study. We made a particu-

Revolutionary guerrillas guarding red people's power on the "roof of the world" - Rolpa District, western Nepal. Photo courtesy of Li Onesto/RW.

We are pleased to present here an interview with Chairman Prachanda, leader of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and the People's War in Nepal. The interview took place on 28 May 2001.

Chairman Prachanda, we would like to thank you for accoring an interview to our journal. Our readership has been following the advances in the People's War since the beginning with the greatest interest and enthusiasm. How do you explain the spectacular success in advancing the People's War and arousing the masses, in only five years?

First of all, I feel honoured and ex-

press my heart-felt gratitude towards *A World to Win (AWTW)*, which is well established as an important and leading ideological weapon of the international proletariat, for providing me with this opportunity for an interview. With deep appreciation of the genuinely internationalist support of AWTW, the Committee of RIM and the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, of which our Party itself is a participant, for the initiation, defence and development of the Nepalese People's War, a contingent of the international proletarian army, I wish you continuous progress in your endeavour.

There are definite subjective and objective factors behind the current height of success attained by the

larly fervent study of the ideological struggle that erupted in the process of the development of the Communist Party of Peru, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and in other countries. Through continuous ideological interaction with the Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement we tried to acquaint ourselves with the principal tendencies in the world today and to attain the highest collective understanding of the international proletariat. Also, we made an attempt to draw lessons from the positive and negative aspects of the revolutionary and national movements of different countries, including India, the Philippines, Turkey, Iran, Sri Lanka and others. In short, driven by a hunger for knowledge, we took pains to arm the Party ideologically, to whatever extent possible, with the advanced consciousness of the proletariat.

This process for ideological clarity was invariably linked with the class struggle of the Nepalese masses and the struggle against different types of right opportunism. From the starting point of the advanced consciousness of the international proletariat, we applied various forms of mass line to develop the understanding and desire of the Nepalese people for freedom. According to the principle of uniting with the masses under all circumstances, the Party applied different tactics, open and clandestine, legal and illegal, advancing and retreating, etc. We summed up the experiences of splitting and uniting in the communist movement. To expand our ties to the masses we laid emphasis on developing different mass organisations, forums and so forth. Throughout all this process, the Party has been following the policy of strategic firmness and tactical flexibility with particular seriousness.

In the end, after a serious investigation of the lessons of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the international and national particularities of the day, the Party concretised its theoretical commitment to the great march towards communism and proclaimed the People's War on 13 February 1996 through a country-wide shock of rebellion. The People's War has attained the current height after completing six strategic plans with such basic policies as: decentralised actions within a centralised plan and command; balance between, political and military offensives against

the enemy; political justification of military action and military justification of political action; utilisation of the contradictions amongst the enemies to isolate the main enemy; organisation and mobilisation of the masses in the quickest and best possible way as exhorted by Comrade Mao; and so on. In our opinion, the real key to the fast development of the People's War is the fusion between the science of proletarian revolution and the needs and the fighting spirit of the Nepalese people. In other words, the principal and decisive factor of this development is the correct ideological and political line of the Party.

In recent months we have read reports about military operations of the people's armed forces on a whole new scale... Where do things stand now in the process of building a people's army?

The Party has been striving to develop the people's army according to the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism: "without a People's Army, the people have nothing", "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun", and "armed sea of masses", which are requirements for the revolution. The policy of the Party has been to develop base areas and guerrilla zones throughout the whole country and to build the total armed forces with a main force, secondary force and base [or local] force. In establishing our form of actions, the first, second, third and fourth priorities have been accorded to: ambush and mining, raid and commando attack, various types of sabotage, and selective annihilation, respectively.

To ensure direct participation of the masses in armed activities, the Party has been promoting armed mass actions, and armed propaganda too, as part of military campaigns. Such campaigns have played an important role in ensuring the participation of the masses in the People's War. Following the principle of "learning warfare through warfare", the people's army is now in a position to conduct successful actions at the level of temporary battalion [several hundred soldiers] in terms of military formation; permanent and temporary companies have been built up under different regional commands in the country; and dozens of regular platoons and hundreds of regu-

lar squads are in action. As base forces, general masses have enrolled in the people's militias in the thousands. This process of enrolment in different military formations is advancing at quite a fast pace. The Party has recently resolved to organise this large structure of the people's armed forces, which has been successful in capturing enemy district headquarters and many other barracks of the commando forces, under a more unified and centralised command. Accordingly, it has been resolved, in principle, to establish a central general headquarters and general staff, to name the three armed forces collectively as the People's Liberation Army and to make a public pronouncement of this, to stress the development of mobile warfare, to centralise, decentralise and transfer according to needs, etc., with the aim of converting every village into a trench against the enemy. Military activities have been shaking the country.

Where do things stand in relation to building up new people's power? What kind of government exists in the base areas?

Beginning just one year after the initiation of the People's War, the question of the organisation of local people's power has been on the Party's agenda. It is since then that the situation of a power vacuum has occurred in many rural areas of western Nepal. In such areas, embryos of new people's power have sprouted in the form of United People's Committees under the leadership of the Party. After the latest military victories of the people's army the enemy has been confined to the district headquarters in the western region, as well as other districts of the country. Thus, vast rural sections of the country have become a form of liberated area. Of course, they are not fully liberated, as the enemy's last and main military force is yet to be defeated. Nevertheless, in the various districts in the main base area of western Nepal, elections to the local and district level people's government have already been completed. Such local people's governments are in the form of a united democratic government of anti-feudal and anti-imperialist patriotic, democratic and left forces. Whereas the local government has been directly elected by the masses, the representatives of the local people's power have

elected the district people's governments. These governments, known as Local United People's Committees and District United People's Committees, exercise, in essence, both the functions of policy formulation and execution related to the legislative, executive and judicial organs.

To streamline the different functions under their jurisdiction, these people's governments, under the leadership of the Party, are composed of different departments, such as the Construction Department, Co-operative Department, Land Reform Department, Forest Conservation Department, Security Department, Education and Culture Department, Health Department, etc. The system of recall of elected representatives of the masses, if the need arises, has been implemented from the very beginning. At present, the Local United People's Committees have been growing not only in the main base area of western Nepal but also in the base areas under all the regional commands in the country.

As necessitated by the new developments, the Party has now resolved to constitute a united front organism that will play the role of a new-democratic government organising committee at the central level, for the defence, consolidation, expansion and co-ordination of the local people's government. The important point to be noted here is that the Party has been stressing the development of the united front, such as the united front of the peoples of different classes, castes, nationalities and regions oppressed by feudalism and imperialism, according to the specific conditions of Nepalese society. While upholding the rights of the oppressed nationalities to self-determination, the Party has put forward the programme of autonomy for the peoples of various oppressed nationalities and regions. This policy and programme reflects a revolutionary policy of "unite and struggle" on a democratic basis against the enemy's policy of "divide and rule".

It is our Party's firm conviction that the central people's government organising committee will not only co-ordinate the local people's government but also play an important role in the preparation of the future insurrection.

At different times the Party has spoken of the possibility of negotiations

with the old state authorities. Could you please explain your thinking on this?

I feel the question of negotiations with the old state power is a very sensitive question in the revolutionary movement. It is clear from the experience of revolution from past history to the present day that the reactionary ruling class has been utilising the question of negotiations as a weapon to hoodwink the masses, to engineer a split in the revolutionary movement and to prepare the ground for large-scale massacre. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has taught us that whether to negotiate or not to negotiate with the old state power depends on the concrete analysis of concrete conditions. The principal decisive factor in this is the defence of the basic interests of the people and the revolution. Our guiding principles on the question of negotiations are the experiences and summation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty under Lenin's leadership and the Chunking negotiations under Mao's leadership.

We consider the question of negotiation as a battlefield that has to be faced by the revolutionary movement under certain concrete conditions. We have launched a serious debate and study on the question of negotiations in the light of the negative experiences of the past and present, including that of Peru. On this question we have struggled, on the one side against narrow dogmatism, and on the other, and principally, against rightist capitulationism and strived to develop a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist conception within the Party and among the general masses. The RIM Committee statement [see AWTW/21] and other-material fighting the Right Opportunist Line in Peru have acted as important motivating factors in this process. We are most serious about the whole Party and the masses not having any illusion about negotiations even if the main leadership of the Party were to fall into enemy hands.

We feel that this question should be understood correctly in the context of the particular conditions of the current international balance of power between revolution and counter-revolution and, principally, in the context of the concrete political situation in Nepal. It is self-evident that subjectively the power of revolution is weaker

right now. To lead proletarian revolution to victory in a small and poor country like Nepal is definitely a challenging task. Making maximum use of the tactical flexibility of manoeuvring to the right and left and advance and retreat is the inevitable necessity of the circumstances. The Nepalese People's War has been advancing at a fast pace due to the proper balance between strategic firmness and tactical flexibility and between political offensive and military offensive.

Today, the reactionary state in Nepal is reaching the extremity of its political crisis. The People's War is now at the centre stage of national politics. Every parliamentary clique is going through an extreme crisis of its internal contradictions, and the number one agenda for everyone is the People's War. Due to their own crisis, the ruling classes have from the very beginning clamoured about being in favour of negotiations and conspired to attract the urban middle strata to their side. In this situation, with a view to isolate the main enemy and to educate the middle strata, we clarified that we were not against negotiation *per se* and were ready to fight at the negotiation table if definite conditions were fulfilled. This created another serious debate in national politics. Ultimately the conspiracy behind the negotiations hullabaloo was unmasked and a large section of the masses was won over to the side of the People's War. This we summed up as Mao's policy of "fighting tit for tat".

Now we are marching forward centering on the main slogan of consolidating and expanding the base areas and marching ahead in the direction of establishing the central people's government. The latest towering military actions are the result of the same slogan and plan. Along with this we have called for the dissolution of the parliamentary system and constitution and for convening an all-section conference and formation of an interim government, as immediate tactics. We have made it clear that if the old state is eager to negotiate on this political solution we are ready for it. In the present context of Nepalese politics, this slogan has played a significant role in isolating the hard-line faction of the ruling classes; educating the masses further against the parliamentary hypocrisy and raising the People's War to a new height of development. It is important to grasp that if the Party's

policies and programme for negotiations were to be realised, if the situation so demands, it would draw the victory of the People's War in Nepal closer.

Lastly, we want to assert that there is no reason to be under any illusion or to be apprehensive about the talk of negotiation aimed at advancing the People's War and revolution to victory. We are confident that we are making a creative application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism against right capitulationism and sectarian dogmatism, with the aim of defeating the enemy on the negotiations front also, whilst assuming full initiative in our own hands in a situation of continuous victory of the People's War.

Some of our readers have asked what the difference is between your negotiation policy and that of the Right Opportunist Line in Peru.

There can be no comparison whatsoever between our aforementioned conception of negotiation and the Right Opportunist Line (ROL) in Peru. It has slightly amazed us that some of our friends abroad have such big illusions and gaps of understanding about the real situation in Nepal and the Party's policy. In this context, we regret not having been able to elucidate the concrete political situation and the essence of the Party's policies earlier.

The ROL in Peru has talked about negotiations with a view to liquidate the People's War; whereas we have talked about fight on the negotiations front as well with the aim of advancing the People's War to victory. The ROL in Peru has appeared in the form of capitulationism from inside prison, with an admixture of the enemy's conspiracy, at a time of serious setback faced by the People's War after the capture of the main leadership by the enemy; whereas we are talking about negotiations with full initiative in our own hands with the aim of destroying the enemy, when the People's War is advancing on a fast and victorious march. Whereas the ROL in Peru has betrayed the revolutionary gains and revolutionary spirit of the masses, our talk of negotiation has been providing political training to the masses to participate more extensively in the revolution against the enemy. Whereas the ROL in Peru is the product of a defeated mentality, our talk of negotiation is a revolutionary tactic advanced

in a conscious and balanced manner after drawing lessons from the same negative experience in Peru. Hence, there is a difference of night and day between the two. I don't think I need to add anything more on this.

How do you see the relationship between the new-democratic revolution in Nepal and the struggle going on in other countries?

The new-democratic revolution in Nepal is an integral part of the world proletarian revolution. Hence it has a close and inseparable relation with national liberation, democratic and socialist movements in other countries. The basic characteristics of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the murderous colonisation process of plundering the world through finance capital under the pseudonym of globalisation and liberalisation by imperialism, and the massive impact of the qualitative change in information technology, especially electronic technology, define the specific relations among the revolutionary movements in different countries. This situation has further enhanced the practical importance of the great theory of proletarian internationalism. The present condition of instant world-wide impact of any positive or negative event in any corner of the earth has been preparing the material ground for world communism at an astonishingly fast pace. This situation has also qualitatively enhanced the process of revolution in a particular country exerting influence on the revolutionary movement in other countries. Hence it is necessary to make new advances in the conscious efforts of the proletarian revolutionaries to further world revolution on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

We have made a deep appreciation in the context of the People's War in Nepal that its development cannot be conceived if it is divorced from the experiences led by the PCP, RCP, USA, RIM and revolutionaries in India, Turkey, Iran, Philippines and other countries since the death of Comrade Mao. The present rapid pace of development would have been inconceivable without the support of communist revolutionaries and freedom-loving people of different countries, and particularly the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, during the period of the historic

initiation of the People's War. That is why we have conceived the new-democratic revolution in Nepal as a base area of world revolution, internationalist in content and national in form. We have seriously sought to develop close solidarity with the struggles in other countries, whatever their level of development might be, to learn from their experiences and disseminate our experiences to them. The consciousness of this proletarian internationalist duty was responsible for highlighting with particular seriousness the Leninist conception of the fusion between the proletarian movement and the national liberation movement by the recent Second National Conference of our Party.

What is the goal of your struggle? How does it differ from the struggle that nationalist forces are waging in other parts of South Asia, for example?

It is open and clear that the ultimate aim of our movement is to contribute towards the attainment of glorious communism by ending all forms of exploitation of man by man from the face of the earth. Just prior to the historic initiation of the People's War we had clarified our theoretical commitment that this war would be advanced as an integral part of the proletarian world revolution and that weapons would not be discarded until the final construction of communism. Most importantly, it must be understood that only by marching forward under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the invincible universal ideology of the proletariat, the last and the most revolutionary class in history, can this golden future of humankind be attained.

In South Asia various nationalist forces, which are a product of the state of social development, are valiantly fighting for the right of self-determination. Such nationalist struggles are not able to grasp the particularities of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. It is their limitation not to grasp that it is historically impossible for any national liberation movement to achieve success without being a part of the world proletarian movement under the leadership of the proletariat. On the contrary, the failure to provide correct leadership to the national liberation aspirations of the people is a weakness of the political parties of the proletariat. The proletarian revolutionar-

ies must do their utmost to overcome this weakness. The national movements on their own are not drags on the proletarian movements, but they are fraternal movements to be led on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is also clear that unless they are led by the political parties of the proletariat such nationalist movements would ultimately be nothing but a tool of one or another of the imperialist cliques. If not a part of proletarian revolution, then surely a part of imperialism. Such is the historical destiny of national movements.

In Nepal, we have been stressing the question of national liberation ever since the time of the historic initiation of the People's War, according to the Leninist principle of the fusion of the national liberation movement with the proletarian movement. The idea behind the concept of a "new Soviet federation at the South Asian level" as advanced by our Party's second National Conference is the strategic objective of providing proletarian leadership to the national liberation aspirations of the peoples of this region. This is important to note.

Many observers have noted the massive participation of women in the revolutionary struggle in Nepal. What is the significance of this?

The important key to the intense development and the success of the People's War in Nepal is definitely the massive participation of women. The reactionaries and the revisionists are today "astonished" by the massive participation of women and the records of sacrifice, devotion and dedication set by them in the People's War. As the first heroic event of its kind in Nepalese history, as a source of great inspiration for the women of the world, the women guerrillas have broken open the prison of the old state. In the vast rural areas, the working women have heroically faced untold savageries and atrocities of mass rape by the enemies. Even while their eyes were gouged and their bodies set ablaze by the enemy in the most brutal manner, the women have stood firm in their conviction for liberation. Objectively, the women have left the men behind from the point of view of sacrifice, devotion and dedication in the People's War. Today, thousands of women have come out of the confines of their kitch-

ens to graduate into people's warriors. Thousands of women have borne untold misery to assist the People's War. The Party has now made organised efforts and plans to develop women communist leaders as a guarantee of the success of the revolution.

We feel that the motive factors behind such massive participation of women in the movement is the correct policy of the Party in providing an outlet vent for the spirit of rebellion created by the material conditions of Nepalese society. Because of its class character, the bourgeoisie never places confidence in the ability of women. On the contrary, due to its class character, the proletariat acknowledges the vast potential inherent in women. Hence, it is the proletariat alone that can genuinely lead the women to liberation. Our Party has, from the very beginning, upheld the woman question as one of the decisive questions likely to decide the fate of the revolution. With the organisation of women alongside men in the guerrilla army, the women for the first time felt liberated from hundreds of years of feudal patriarchy and have taken their destiny into their own hands. Now the Party has formulated a special organisation and plans for the development of leadership quality in women in the light of five years of experience. The Party is in the midst of a long-term plan to develop women leaders on par with men in the Party committees from the local to central level, in the different levels of people's power and in the people's army, from amongst the women subjected to double exploitation and oppression in both class and gender terms. It is our firm belief that the question of bringing forward communist successors from among the women in large numbers is important, not only for the success of the revolution but for preventing the future danger of counter-revolution.

Nepalese society is constituted as an admixture of Aryan and non-Aryan ethnic communities. From the point of view of intra-family oppression, the women from Aryan communities are subjected to intense atrocities of Hindu feudal patriarchy; whereas women from oppressed Mongolian and other nationalities suffer relatively less from patriarchy. As our movement was more concentrated in the non-Aryan belt of western Nepal, it was culturally more conducive to the participation of women. In the Aryan community, as

there was more exploitation and greater atrocities against women, the People's War provided a concrete method for women's liberation, and there has been increasing participation of women from this community as well. Thus, women's participation from the two different communities accelerated.

Recently your Party held its Second National Conference [see excerpts of Conference resolutions in this issue]; could you highlight the main achievements of this Conference?

By breaking through the enemy's conspiracy and several suppression encirclements, we have been historically successful in concluding our Party's Second National Conference. The historic success of this Conference has itself become a powerful blow against the enemy. The historic aspect of this Conference is inherent in its far-reaching important resolutions, which the Party has summed up as epoch-making.

The main subject of the Conference was the ideological synthesis based on the past five years experiences of the People's War and chalking out the future direction of the People's War. The Conference has been totally successful in fulfilling its aim, by unanimously adopting its ideological synthesis in the form of "Prachanda Path" through the document *The Great Leap Forward: Inevitable Necessity of History*. The document has presented the Party's set of ideas in the form of a summation of the international communist movement, an analysis of the specificity of the present international situation and the lessons to be learnt from it, a resolution on South Asia, a general summation of Nepalese history, a new review of the history of the Nepalese communist movement, a new evaluation of the Party's history, a summation of the three instruments of the revolution, a discussion of mass line, and a resolution on great achievement; and at the end an outline of a future plan was presented. The document, which was unanimously adopted through exercising a high-level proletarian democratic and lively debate, has unified the Party on a new basis. That is why the Party has summed up the Conference as the Conference of unity and victory.

After the resolutions of the Conference were made public, especially

the resolution on "Prachanda Path", it has created a big uproar within the reactionary and revisionist camp, while it has created a wave of excitement amongst the revolutionary masses. The military victories achieved in the following period and the successful mass meetings and demonstrations involving hundreds of thousands of people represent the transformation of the resolutions of the Conference into a material force.

How has the Party itself changed since the People's War began?

As has been said by Comrade Mao, people's war is not only an art of fighting against the enemy but it is also a means of cleansing oneself from within: we have been making this clear right from the very beginning. Five years' experience has verified this in practice. First of all, the initiation of the People's War has made a qualitative transformation in the Party's underground structure and its working style. Secondly, along with the development of the People's War, the Party has been able to concentrate on the basic classes, and there have been important changes in the class composition of the Party cadres. Thirdly, the People's War has liberated innumerable Party cadres from the old reformist legacy, and this has given a new lease of life to the Party, and is continuing to do so. Fourthly, the People's War has come out victorious against the Alok tendency, including sectarian and anarchist deviations [referring to the Party's fight against a former leader, Alok, who degenerated], and through this it has created an environment for new unity on a new basis. Fifthly, the People's War has prepared the material basis for successfully implementing the Party's rectification campaign. Sixthly, the People's War has established the Party as the sole revolutionary party among the masses in the whole country. Seventhly, the People's War has raised the Party to the present height of ideological synthesis. In this way the People's War has contributed and is continuing to contribute in multifaceted ways in the process of ideological and material proletarianisation.

Your conference paid considerable attention to some questions of the history of the international communist movement. Why did you feel such study

is necessary? What lesson does it hold for the future?

Yes! Our Party's Second National Conference has paid special attention to learn from the history of the international communist movement. Having reached the pinnacle of historic victory in the fight for state power, why did our class have to face such a big setback in the world? This question by itself is a very important question. Certainly we have been saying that it is the result of the laws of the ups and downs of class struggle, the treacherous betrayal of the revisionists and the conspiracy of the imperialists. However, this explanation is not enough to convey the total truth, and this will not be able to generate confidence among the masses for the revolution.

The principal factor in the development of any object or process will always be the internal. From this point of view the sensitive question is to find out where our class's revolutionary representatives in the past failed to pay attention or what their weaknesses were on the ideological questions. It is by using the telescope and microscope of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that we can find this out. We have focused our attention on this subject, after five years of experience, for the success of the revolution and keeping in mind the necessity of shielding against the danger of future counter-revolution. In this process we have taken the experience of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as the starting point of our study. This way, in the process of study and discussion our attention has been drawn towards the question of Comrade Mao's evaluation of the 30 per cent errors of Comrade Stalin.

We have tried to dig out even more deeply Comrade Mao's evaluation that, despite being a great and sincere Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Stalin had a fair share of metaphysics, subjectivism and dogmatism when it came to grasping dialectical materialist philosophy. By doing so our Party has opened the door for studying such questions as: why Comrade Stalin's concept of party could not grasp the "unity of opposites" and helped lead to the birth of Hoxhaism; that he made several errors in grasping the nature and conduct of the class struggle under socialism; that he had given wrong directions/instructions on many occasions in regards to the relationship between Soviet social-

ism and world revolution; that he had made the mistake of generalising the Soviet need of forming a united front during the Second World War; that he laid one-sided emphasis on the growth of production and the development of the productive forces as a guarantee for the success of socialism; that he had some problems in grasping the Leninist concept of fusing oppressed countries' national liberation movements with the proletarian movements; that he was not able to grasp the importance of the contribution of the Chinese revolution and that of Comrade Mao; and so on. Throughout the experience of class struggle and ideological struggle we have come to see that many of the groups and old leaders of Nepal, who claim to be advocates of "Mao Tsetung Thought", have been viewing Marxism from the Hoxhaite dogmato-revisionist angle. They view and perceive Comrade Stalin not through Mao's eyes but through Enver Hoxha's eyes. This created obstacles in the development of the Nepalese revolution for decades, and even now one has to struggle against that tendency. We feel that the communist movements in almost all the countries of the world have been confronting this problem in small or big ways. In this situation, there should not be any hesitation on the part of the new generation of communist revolutionaries in learning from the errors of Comrade Stalin. This is because today the reactionary essences of Trotskyism, Khrushchevite revisionism, Euro-communism, "Hoxhaism", "Ho Chi Minh's centrism", "Juche" of North Korea and other wrong trends have been unmasked. For at least now there is no danger of such revisionists taking advantage of our sincere effort to learn lessons from history. On the contrary, this effort of ours to learn lessons from history will help substantially in grasping Marxism-Leninism-Maoism more firmly, in providing successful leadership to the revolution and in preventing the danger of counter-revolution in the future.

The Conference speaks of "Prachanda Path". Could you briefly explain this understanding?

Through the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism's universal truth to the Nepalese specificity, and mainly through the summation of the experi-

ence of five torrential years of People's War, the Conference concluded that a definite set of ideas have been developed. That set of ideas has been named "Prachanda Path". The Party has put forward this nomenclature because it represents the centralised expression of the collective leadership and Comrade Prachanda's "correct and continuous leadership". The Party considers Prachanda Path as an enrichment of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Giving it concrete definition, the Conference has termed Prachanda Path as a set of ideas that is more than a general Party line but which has not yet developed up to the level of "Thought". The Party has defined Prachanda Path in the Nepalese context as a new link of creative Marxism, opposed to both the right revisionists and sectarian dogmatists. The Conference has correctly summed up the role of immortal martyrs of the People's War, the general masses, the revolutionary fighters, the entire Party rank and file, and the central team of leaders, and RIM, together with communist revolutionaries of the world, in developing Prachanda Path as a specific set of ideas. The Party is confident that the synthesis of Prachanda Path will serve the world revolution by giving direction to the forward march of the Nepalese revolution.

What has been the relationship between your Party and the international communist movement?

The relationship between our Party and the international communist movement has been particularly deep. The very fact that since 1984, the year of the formation of RIM, our Party has been an active member, confirms this relationship. It was through RIM that we got great inspiration and help from the lofty experiences of the People's War in Peru. In its essence, the Nepalese People's War has been a joint effort of our Party and the international communist movement because of the process of continuous debate and interaction throughout the whole process of preparation, initiation and development of the People's War. This reality reflects the specificity and grandeur of our relationship. Along with this we have been maintaining close relationships with revolutionary parties in India, who have extended great help in different ways to the develop-

ment of the People's War in Nepal.

Our entire Party and the masses have been giving great importance to this relationship with the international communist movement. We have been commenting that if the People's War in Nepal faces a big setback then it will not only reflect the failure of our Party but will also reflect the failure of the international communist movement to a significant extent. From this point of view, it is evident that our relationship with the international communist movement is somewhat different from such other relationships in the past. We are confident that, along with the development of the revolutionary movement under the guidance of the great ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and proletarian internationalism, this relationship will serve the world revolution even more profoundly.

How do you see the relationship between the revolution in Nepal and the rest of the South Asia region?

Because of South Asia's economic, political, cultural and geographical concrete conditions, we feel it is necessary to carry on the revolutionary processes of all the countries in this region in a co-ordinated manner. We have been stressing the importance of co-ordinating the revolutionary movements at the South Asian level in the context in which the region is growing into an important centre of world revolution, and that the imperialists, especially the American imperialists, have been casting their evil eyes on this region, and the Indian expansionist ruling classes, who dream of being a big bully of the region, are kneeling before the American imperialists. It is by going through this process of joint efforts that we have pointed towards the possibility of developing a "new Soviet Federation at the South Asian



level" in the future. We have seriously considered the importance of advancing revolution in South Asia under a grand strategy.

The Nepalese revolution and our Party have been maintaining a lively relationship with the revolutionary parties and movements in India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. In this respect we feel that the Indian revolutionary parties and the Indian revolution will have the most important role to play.

What suggestions would you offer to comrades in other countries who are striving to initiate or develop people's war?

To all those comrades who are endeavouring to develop various warfronts within a single campaign of world proletarian revolution, we, from the warfront in Nepal, would like to convey our well wishes that the comrades will be fully successful in applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the specific conditions of their own respective countries. However tortuous the road may be, the victory of the world proletarian revolution is certain.

Thank you. ■