

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Prachanda Path!



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**Editorial**

## Historic Second National Conference and Prachanda Path

The recently concluded Second National Conference of our glorious Party, C.P.N. (Maoist), has been a historical mile-stone in every sense of the term. It has not only been successful in synthesizing the experiences of five years of People's War (PW) in the country, but has also attempted to review the experiences of the international proletariat in the last 150 years so as to demarcate the path of revolution in the 21st century. In the process it has dared to venture into several knotty questions in the history of the international communist movement including Comintern period under Com. Stalin, later evaluation of Com. Stalin by Com. Mao, question of revolution in South Asia, the problem of creative application of the universal science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) in the concrete conditions of each country, the problem of development of the Party, people's army and the revolutionary united front, etc. And the set of

ideas so far developed in the process of application of MLM in the concrete conditions of Nepal has been synthesized as 'Prachanda Path'. Naturally these have given rise to a plethora of questions and apprehensions among our well-wishers and fraternal Parties and organizations, which need to be discussed and sorted out in a friendly manner.

As everybody would agree, the present world situation in the beginning of the 21st century and particularly after the death of Com. Mao, is objectively highly conducive for making revolution but subjectively quite unfavorable. To overcome this contradiction the genuine proletarian revolutionaries upholding the science of MLM ought to concentrate on building the subjective force of the revolution, which is in essence forging the three magic weapons of the Party, the army and the united front. And out of these, the question of forging a revolutionary Party as the conscious vanguard of the proletariat is the most crucial. This necessitates a dispassionate review of the experiences of the proletarian movement in the last 150 years, and particularly the most advanced experiences of the revolution and counter-revolution in Russia and China. It has been a considered view of our Party that this review should particularly focus on the experiences of the first-ever construction of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union after Com. Lenin's untimely death and under the leadership of Com. Stalin

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And while making this evaluation both the naked revisionism of Trotskyite and Khrushchovite brands and the dogmatic-revisionism of Hoxaite brand should be thoroughly repudiated and the creative revolutionary line of Com. Mao be firmly upheld. In fact, now looking back into history, it is more clearer than ever before that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) headed by Com. Mao, after the bitter experience of counter-revolution in the Soviet Union after Com. Stalin's death, was the highest pinnacle of world proletarian revolution, and the experiences of the GPCR should be the beacon light for charting the new path of revolution in the 21st century. Of course, the method of revolutionary dialectics goads one to go even beyond the GPCR in the constantly changing world situation; however, the GPCR and the ideology of MLM distilled on its light, provide the firm foundation on which the present-day proletarian revolutionaries of the world have to build a new edifice of revolutionary thought and practice. And the Second National Conference of our Party has attempted just that, which constitutes the most significant aspect of the Conference. A whole set of issues including the evaluation of the 30% weaknesses inherent in Com. Stalin as stipulated by Com. Mao, the question of fusion of the proletarian and national liberation movements in the present era of imperialism, the question of moving towards the creation of a new Soviet Federation in South Asia in the 21st century, the problem of forging the three magic weapons of the Party, the people's army and the united front, etc, have emanated from this broader perspective. Also, in the specific case of Nepal, this approach has led to the re-evaluation of the entire communist movement for the last 52 years, repudiation of all splittist and factionalist tendencies after the Third Congress of 1962, and re-building a unified and centralized Party on the basis of MLM.

The concrete experiences of this approach of thought and practice as verified by the fast pace of development of the revolution, particularly in the last five years of the PW, reaching to the stage of creation of base areas in a large territory of the country, has been synthesized as 'Prachanda Path'. And naturally, this is bound to raise some questions and apprehensions among our friends and foes alike. Leaving aside the

attacks of foes and considering only genuine apprehensions of the friends, it can be asserted at the outset that the question of the use of new terminology 'Prachanda Path' is of lesser significance than the broader ideological and political issues it seeks to address. The basic question here is that of the creative application of the universal science of MLM in the concrete context of the present-day world and the specificities of Nepal, and further enrichment of that science through continuous practice. The Second National Conference of the Party has concluded that the application of the universal principles of MLM in Nepal, particularly in the course of definition, initiation and continuation of the PW during the last five years, has given rise to a distinct set of ideas and further enriched the science of MLM. This set of ideas has developed further than a mere 'line' of the Party, but not reached the stage of a 'Thought' which is generally presumed to have near universal validity. Hence a new terminology 'path' has been coined to express the implied essence, which has a prevalence of particularity but embodies a part of universality as per the method of materialist dialectics. Since this is altogether a new proposition in the international communist movement it is bound to raise some controversy, and we have to patiently face it. However, our Party has no intention of imposing the idea of 'Prachanda Path' on the fraternal Parties and organisations, and rather we would welcome the factual and well-argued comments and criticisms, if any. As Chairman Com. Prachanda has clarified in his latest interview, the question of 'Prachanda Path' would in no way be allowed to hamper the broader and higher level of unity among the revolutionaries, both inside and outside the country. The efforts of the Committee of the RIM and fraternal Parties and organizations affiliated to the RIM have been very helpful in this regard, and we would expect the same in future.

As the objective conditions for the worldwide proletarian revolution ripen day by day, the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionaries in every country have a bounden duty to hasten the process of subjective preparations for the same. The significance of the historic Second National Conference of our Party and the ideological tool of 'Prachanda Path' synthesized by it, lies precisely in this. ■

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# Press Communique of the Second National Conference

The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) {CPN(Maoist)}, a vibrant detachment of the international proletariat and a great and proud vanguard of the Nepalese proletariat, has successfully broken through numerous encirclements of enemy's repression and conspiracies and concluded its Second National Conference in a grand manner by passing historic resolutions of strategic significance. This press communiqué has been issued to make public the brief summary of the resolution passed by this historic conference which is regarded as a great conference of unity and triumph.

1. The inaugural session of the historic National Conference was held in a joyous, exciting and serious atmosphere. The cent-percent presence of all the elected and invited representatives and observers from all regions, people's army, united front, departments etc, from within and outside the country, itself speaks of the capacity of the Party to break the barriers set by the enemy. The then General Secretary Com. Prachanda together with Politburo Members (PBM) and Central Committee Members (CCM) were greeted with standing ovation by the participants of the Conference when they entered the hall which was colourfully decorated with attractive photos of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Vladimir I. Lenin, J.V. Stalin, Mao Tse-tung and the martyrs of the People's War together with varied quotations and banners. Amidst forceful announcement by the senior PBM Com. Baburam Bhattarai, Com. Prachanda together with other PBMs and members of Central Advisory Council took their seats on the inaugural dias. The inaugural session was chaired by another senior PBM Com. Kiran. This historical National Conference was inaugurated by the then General Secretary Com. Prachanda amidst a serene and emotion-charged environment. After the inauguration a moment of silence was observed in memory of about 1500 martyrs of People War's in Nepal and other known and unknown martyrs of the world. This was followed by collective singing of the International by the cultural troupe together with the participants of the conference, with their fists raised. Immediately after a short and concise welcome speech by PBM Com. Amar Singh the cultural troupe gave a revolutionary welcome song "Our red salute to the great warriors". After Com. Anil, the then C.C.M., briefed on the security rules and regulation to be followed

within the hall, the then PBM Com. Kanchha Bahadur Gurung and Com. Gaurav and other comrades representing different regions and front organizations gave their felicitation messages. The other attraction of the inaugural session was the felicitation message given by Com. Deena Nath Sharma elected as a politburo member on the process of unification with the N.C.P.(Masal). The inaugural session was concluded by the chairperson Com. Kiran together with his emotion-charged speech.

2. After the end of the inaugural session the document session, the most important part of the National Conference, was commenced. For this closed session, senior PBM Com. Deewaker, CCM Com. Anil and the senior and well-known member from the house Com. Ravi were elected to the presidium. After that the then General Secretary Com. Prachanda presented to the house a document titled "A Great Leap Forward: The Inevitable Necessity of History". Similarly the senior PBM Com. Kiran presented "Resolution on the Amendments to the Constitution" as according to the new necessity of the Party and the People's War. After the document and the constitution was presented to the house, full two days of serious and high level discussions took place among the various groups of representatives and observers. After exercising high level of democratic centralism, the representatives of all the groups gave their opinions in the house. In the process it was clear that the document presented by Com. Prachanda had come from a great height and that this would not only give directions to the Nepalese communist movement but also to the world communist movement to a great extent. The general consensus was that this document of ideological synthesis had not only brought about unprecedented ideological and psychological unity in the Party, but this would also play important role in unifying the Nepalese communist movement and in forwarding world revolution in the 21st century. At the end of the discussion the then General Secretary Com. Prachanda provided detailed explanation of the document and replied to various questions, and suggestions raised by the house. The document was then passed unanimously with necessary additions and subtractions. Following is the brief summary of the document:

A. By reviewing the overall International Communist Movement, the document has distilled some historical lessons that would be essential for forwarding the world

evolution in the 21st century. In this regard, it has developed some new conceptions in the light of mainly the relationship between the proletarian movement and national liberation movement, opinions put forward by Com. Lenin regarding world revolution and world Communist Party during the initial phase of formation of the Comintern, some of the negative experiences of the later period of the Comintern, explanation of 30% mistakes of Com. Stalin and lessons to be learnt from those mistakes, lessons to be learnt from Com. Mao and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, experiences of world communist movement including that of RIM, Peru, etc. The document has condemned rightist revisionism represented by Trotsky, Tito, Khrushchov, Euro Communist etc and the dogmatist revisionism of Albania's Hoxaism and evaluated the harms done to the world communist movement by some of its weaknesses in Com. Stalin's thinking like metaphysics, subjectivism and mainly mechanical thinking in relation to understanding unity and struggle between opposites.

1. Synthesizing the international situation, the document has proved with facts how the world evolution is nearing as the result of so-called end of cold war, talk of unipolar world, globalization of financial capital, "liberalization" and "privatization", the rapid development of science and technology, especially in the area of electronic field and has brought about completely new model in regards to forwarding revolution in each country and in the world in the form of fusion of the strategies of protracted people's war and general armed insurrection based on above analysis and important changes that has been taking place around the world after the decades of the 80s of 20th century. While making clear that now no definite model based on past proletarian revolution can be applied as in the past due to new changes in the world, it has brought forth concrete methodology of fusion of the strategy of general insurrection into the strategy of protracted people's war in Nepal. This has necessitated a big evolution in the old concept of accepted revolutionary model.

2. Discussing on the specific economical, political, cultural, physical and historical specificities of evolution and counter-revolution in South Asia, the document has provided concrete explanation for the possibility and necessity of coordination of organization and struggle on the regional and has level based on the universal principle of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

knocked the door for the new Soviet federation for the 21st century. The document has drawn an outline of the strategic and tactical plan based on the analysis of the friends and foes of the people of this region. It has made clear that this new and revolutionary concept regarding South Asia will speed up revolution in each country of this region and together with this it will directly help and speed up the world revolution.

D. Making a materialistic review of the Nepalese history the document has clearly shown how the Nepalese society in essence and in psychological make-up has remained pro-democratic and self-governing and how feudalism has forcibly suppressed that great tradition of the people of Nepal. Through this review of the Nepalese history it has provided materialistic ground for forging a broad united front by concretely locating the historical roots of the patriotic and traitorous trends seen in the country today. This conclusion has proved the fact that the basis of liberation and progress of Nepal and the Nepalese people lies within the womb of the history.

E. Synthesizing the Nepalese communist movement the document has honoured Com. Puspalal as a genuine communist leader of the old generation. Evaluating the communist movement on the basis of ideological and political line, the document has put forward the proposition of not according party status to any of the groups born after the Third Congress. It has been made clear in it that there was high probability of forming a unified Party and that such unification should have taken place between the party reunification process initiated by Com. Puspalal through Gorakhpur conference, the Co-ordination Committee that came into being after the Jhapa revolt and the Central Nucleus formed by Man Mohan, Mohan Vikram etc, on the basis of ideological understanding conforming to the great debate that had taken place at the international communist movement and in the background of the Chinese Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. If such unification had taken place then the position of Nepalese communist movement would have been qualitatively different and at a higher level than at present. It has made clear that it was the eclectic, neo-revisionist trend of the so-called Fourth Congress, under the leadership of Man Mohan and Mohan Vikram, particularly Mohan Vikram trend, which created obstacles in the process of such a unification. The document has requested all the communist revolutionaries of the country to seriously think over

that period of history and to initiate party unification process even in today's context. It has seriously raised the issue of historic necessity of developing only one communist party based on correct ideology.

F. Exposing the line of the so-called Fourth and Fifth Congresses of Mohan Vikram trend as revisionist the document has affirmed the line which was refined and established by the Unity Congress headed by Com. Prachanda as a comparatively correct line. Reviewing the development process of this line, it has been made clear how it has developed into a set of ideas of the Nepalese revolution by the time of this National Conference through the class struggle and mainly the five years of whirlwind of the People's War and through the two-line struggle including the exposing of Aalok trend.

G. The document has dwelt on the importance of unity between CPN(Maoist) and NCP(Masal) lead by Com. Dinanath Sharma on the basis of ideological and political line, on the occasion of 108th birth anniversary of Com. Mao Tse-tung, the synthesizer of Maoism. Acknowledging this as an important step towards the unification of Nepalese communist movement the document has specially appealed to other communist revolutionaries of the country to march ahead with the process of unification and to ensure the victory of the revolution speeding up the process of revolutionary polarization.

H. The document has provided an overall view of the development of the Party, the Army and the United Front based on the 5 year's experiences of People's War. Based on that it has emphasized on struggle against dogmatic and pragmatic weaknesses acquired as revisionist legacy from the past for the revolutionary transformation of the Party. By identifying many weaknesses that have come up during People's War it has put forward clear methodology of correcting such weaknesses following the principle of setting ones own hair under fire. Emphasizing the importance of serving the people and uniting with the masses, the document has highlighted the necessity of launching continuous struggle against wrong tendencies. The question of organizing people's army at the central level and the military strategy and tactics under the new condition (including fusion of the strategy of insurrection into that of protracted people's war) has been dwelt in detail.

I. Similarly the basis, possibility and policy of developing a broad united front in order to play the

role of people's power at the central level with a view to consolidate and expand local people's power and base areas, has been defined. Such a policy reflects the development of a distinct, scientific methodology of attacking the enemy from both below and above. Similarly clear direction has been given by the document as regards to the possibility and importance of tactical fronts.

J. The document has provided detailed explanation of mass line based on the experiences of the People's War. This explanation has made clear the Party policy as regards to various departments such as workers, peasant, women, student, oppressed nationality, Madheshi community, people of Karnali region, intellectual and publication. Grasping firmly the scientific formulation that masses are the makers of history, the document has stressed the development of mass line based on the new thinking. It is expected that the reactionary fascist state will be drowned in the mass of organization with this developed mass line.

The document has defined the above development of new thinking as the great achievement of the Nepalese class struggle mainly the result of the great People's War and the two line struggle. Making clear the role of devotion and sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of people's and thousands of great immortal martyrs in developing this set of ideas, the document has also clearly acknowledged the role played by the international communist revolutionaries including RIM and all the leftist, progressive, patriotic and democratic forces within the country in this process. The role played by the entire party and the revolutionary fighters in this ideological synthesis has been highlighted. The contribution of the team of senior leaders of the Party in the development of this set of ideas has been particularly emphasized. Ultimately this set of ideas has been named as "Prachanda Path" because of the correct and continuous leadership given by Com. Prachanda in the process of development of the ideas. Enriching Marxism-Leninism-Maoism the "Prachanda-Path" will give important direction to the forward march of the Nepalese revolution. Accordingly the guiding thought of the Party will become henceforth "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Prachanda Path".

At the end of the document the outline of the great leap forward and the future plan has been discussed. According to it the Party has formulated main strategic slogan for the coming days as "Consolidate and expand base areas and local people's power" and "March

forward to the direction of building central people's government".

Similarly on tactical plane it has been proposed to have dialogues with all concerned sections to call an all-section conference of all political parties, organizations and representatives of mass organizations in the country, election of an interim government by such a conference and guarantee of people's constitution under the leadership of the interim government so as to find out political solution to the country's present crisis-ridden situation.

5. Com. Kiran gave clarifications to the comments received in regards to amendments to the constitution, and at the end it was passed unanimously with necessary iterations. In the constitution, besides other things, provision for a Politbureau and a Standing Committee within the Central Committee has been made. Similarly the new constitution has made the highest post of the Party not as General Secretary but as the Chairman.

6. After passing the document and the constitution the then General Secretary Com. Prachanda declared dissolution of the old Central Committee and proposed panel of names for the new Central Committee. The panel of names proposed according to the needs of the new line were elected unanimously by the house. After the election of the new Central Committee, the Chairman of the Presidium. Com. Diwaker ended the closed session with a brief statement.

7. On the basis of seniority, Com. Ashok chaired the first session of the first plenary meeting of the newly elected Central Committee. Com. Prachanda was elected unanimously the Chairman of the Party according to the new provision in the constitution. At the end, the concluding session of the National Conference was held under the chairmanship of the newly elected Party Chairman, Com. Prachanda, with Com. Baburam Bhattarai as the master of ceremony. In the beginning of the concluding session, Chairman Prachanda on behalf of the newly elected Central Committee took the oath towards the Party and the revolution. All the speakers of the concluding session spoke on how this historic National Conference was immensely successful and that the historic decisions taken by it had long term significance in the Nepalese history. The whole house was unanimous that the synthesis of the "Prachanda-Path" by the National Conference had unprecedentedly strengthened Party unity and made important contribution to the victory of Nepalese revolution and

in the service of world revolution. Senior comrades expressed that they had never seen such a unified, democratic and grandiose conference in the past 50 years history of the Nepalese communist movement. Just before the end of the concluding session the cultural troupe sang the song, "This is Prachanda Path which can touch the sky and kiss the earth", and made the whole house emotion-charged.

At the end, Chairman Com. Prachanda declared the Conference closed amidst a grave and ecstatic atmosphere with his concluding remarks that the Conference was the great university of the proletariat and that the height of thought and unity of its represented victory for the great martyrs, the masses of people and the revolutionaries and defeat for the enemies. Along with the announcement of the end of the session the hall was echoed with the slogans: Hail Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Prachanda Path! Hail the world revolution! Hail the great People's War! Hail the new democratic revolution! Long live-the great martyrs! Hail the CPN(Maoist)!

6. After the National Conference, the second session of the first plenary meeting of the CC, under the chairmanship of Chairman Com. Prachanda, elected unanimously the Politbureau and the Standing Committee. This meeting passed the programme of the new plan. According to the resolution passed in the National Conference, a concrete plan of converting the personal property of the entire Central Committee members into the common property of the Party in the form of commune management has been adopted, thus touching unprecedented heights of proletarianisation in the history of the Nepalese communist movement.

Thus it is clear that the National Conference and the first full meeting of the CC elected by it has been successfully concluded with the development of a new revolutionary thinking and tactics to lead the revolution in the 21st century. Today the Party has become a truly new party and come forward to take its historical responsibility. We request all the communist revolutionaries and leftist, progressive, patriotic and democratic forces of the country to aid this great movement. However tortuous the path may be, the victory of the people is certain.

With revolutionary greetings,  
(Prachanda)

*Chairman, Central Committee,  
C.P.N. (Maoist)*

February 26, 2001

## International Communist Movement and its Historical Lessons

Born together with capitalism, the proletariat is the last, revolutionary and international class of history. In Europe, its emergence and struggle against capitalism paved the way for propounding of Marxism. Of extraordinary talent, Karl Marx along with his very intimate friend, Frederick Engels, discovered the world outlook of the proletariat -the dialectical and historical materialism. Known as Marxism, this scientific discovery was nothing but in essence a supreme synthesis of the experience and knowledge the mankind achieved in thousand of years. This science synthesized with a revolutionary objective of transforming the world, not merely explaining it, brought an unprecedented revolution in thinking of mankind, and provided a scientific device to understand and transform the world, and to fight against all kinds of dogmas, superstitions & evils of the society.

Marxism proved irrefutably how an unique production relationship is maintained between the people and people, with the development of productive forces in the process of production and reproduction for fulfillment of material needs, and how total development of history after the stage of primitive communism is the history of class-struggle as determined by definite scientific laws. This is the allegation of historical materialism against total history.

Exposing the real cause of capitalist exploitation and accumulation of capital in the hands of a handful of capitalists in the society, Marx put forward the great theory of surplus value. Also, Marxism made it clear how capitalism has created a vicious circle of exploitation by turning the human labour into a non-living thing in order to make more profits, and, at the same time, how it is developing huge battalions of modern proletarian class and is ultimately digging its own grave.

Considering the unprecedented development of productive forces, and the contradiction between socialization of production process and private appropriation of production, Marxism presented, bearing the responsibility for social revolution on the

shoulder of the proletariat, a scientific ideal of golden communist society by demolishing the classes and states, and ending all kinds of exploitation of men by men. Marx and Engels laid foundation of basic principles relating to the strategy of the proletariat to pursue for the achievement of great ideals of communist society. In total, fundamental views on the dictatorship of proletariat and socialist state as an inevitable need for the transitional period from capitalism to communism, need of violent revolution, need of the destruction of the old capitalist state, concept of development of armed masses, were presented. In his whole life, Engels fought fiercely against the bourgeois trends appearing in the worker's movement to establish this scientific view.

Against the concept of bourgeois nationalism developed for security and need of the market, Marxism upheld the banner of proletarians internationalism. Chanting the slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!" loudly, the first Communist International was founded with initiative of and under the leadership of Marx and Engels. It spread the scientific ideas of "Communist Manifesto" among the workers and, simultaneously, fought vigorously against various opportunist trends appearing in the International Communist Movement. It is in this context that in Paris (France), the proletariat, for the first time in history, seized the state through armed revolt. Renowned as "Paris Commune", all over the world, this historical revolt not only justified the basic principles of Marxism but also helped Marx and Engels to refine it with the synthesis of the experiences. Though lasting for a short period of only 72 days due to its inherent mistakes, Marx and Engels declared that its experiences would live for ever.

It is particularly remarkable that the views of Marx and Engels on the Paris Commune have been working as a historical inspiration even today to identify and fight against revisionism and opportunism in the communist movement. Due to the defeat of Paris Commune and conspiracy of opportunists within, the First Communist International was dissolved. However, after the death of Marx and as per need of

new situation, the Second Communist International was formed again under the leadership of Engels in 1889, which played a significant role in disseminating Marxism in the primary stage. But after Engel's death, the leaders of the Second International, mainly Karl Kautsky, knelt before the bourgeois parliamentarism and betrayed revolutionary principles of Marxism. In course of the hard struggle against reformism and parliamentarism a Bolshevik party and revolutionary struggle of a new type developed under the leadership of Lenin and socialist revolution was completed in Russia in 1917. During the life and death struggle against revisionism for the defense of its scientific and revolutionary teachings, Marxism developed into Marxism-Leninism. Lenin highly stressed that there can be no struggle against reaction unless it is linked with that against opportunism. He elevated the philosophy of dialectical materialism to a new height. The fact that the principle of unity and struggle of opposites is the only fundamental principle of dialectics was further explained. By analyzing and researching on the characteristics of imperialism, Lenin contributed qualitatively in the field of political economy and defined the new era as the "era of imperialism and proletarian revolution" which made a great contribution in devising the strategy and tactics of revolution. His analyses which were well justified by later events are equally correct even today. Lenin not only enriched Marxism on total aspects of scientific socialism including concept of a new party, strategy of socialist revolution, struggle against revisionism, uniting peasants for revolution in the backward countries and significance of full democratic revolution, proletarian view on right of nations to self-determination, proletarian revolution to lead the national liberation movement in the eastern countries, development and struggle of the workers and masses in capitalist countries developed in the imperialist period, but also elevated it to a new height of development.

The success of Great October Socialist Revolution created unprecedented waves in the world. The masses oppressed for centuries felt that they had found out a new way to real liberation. Fiercely resisting the outlook of the imperialists and reactionaries, the Third International was formed with the initiative and under the leadership of Lenin in 1919 in order to forge ahead the world revolution in an

organized way. He, taking Soviet socialist state founded in a very large part of the earth, as a base area, gave emphasis on advancing the world revolution. The revolution of Germany among the developed countries and the issue of the same in the countries like India, China among the undeveloped countries was seriously thought over. Declaring that the proletarian revolution in backward countries with a majority of peasants is "very hard and great," he emphasized on applying general principles of communism in accordance with concrete situation of the country concerned. Eventually, a concept of "National Democratic Revolution" was put forward as it required to fight against colonial and semi-colonial exploitation, too, in such countries. However, Lenin emphasized that communist revolutionaries of the countries concerned must work out and develop strategies for revolution themselves. At this juncture, particular attention must be paid to the stress given by Comintern led by Lenin on the significance of creative application of general principles of proletarian internationalism and Marxism while then in accordance with the national characteristics of such countries.

At a time, when the struggles are still needed in the international communist movement against the trend which, even today, represents, on the one hand, sectarian nationalism on the pretext of national characteristics, and, on the other, the Trotskyist trend which undermines national characteristics on the pretext of internationalism its significance is evident.

After the death of Lenin, Stalin led the international communist movement. He served proletarian movement by undertaking historical tasks such as defeating the right liquidationism which emerged in the form of so-called permanent revolution of Zenoviev, Kamenov and, mainly, Trotsky; establishing Leninism; strengthening Soviet Union by collective farming and planned economic development; knocking the Hitlerian fascism to the ground in the Second World War; synthesizing the experiences of Soviet economic development, and leading the whole international communist movement for about three decades.

Nevertheless, the fact that many serious weaknesses prevailed in Stalin and eventually, they caused some serious problems should not go

unheeded. While doing so, our starting point should be, of course Stalin's evaluation made by Mao, in which he has divided his thoughts and works into two aspects and declared 70% of them correct and 30% wrong.

Advancing on the ground of general guideline about revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of pre-capitalist stage as put forward by Lenin during the initial period of Third International and greatly influencing the international power balance, the new democratic revolution was completed successfully in China. The successful revolution in a huge area with the largest population in the world through struggles of decades, presented a new model for revolution in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries of pre-capitalist stage. As Lenin had called for, Communist Party of China led by Mao undertook the "great and difficult" task of revolution in an eastern country by creatively applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism in their own specificities. In this contest, Communist Party of China led by Mao enriched and developed the Marxist science. The theory and knowledge of contradiction in the philosophy, analysis of bureaucratic capitalism in the political economy, development of strategy for new democratic revolution, and universal principle of people's war, concrete concept of party, army and united front, clearly show the enrichment of Marxism-Leninism.

During the process of revolution, Mao had to fight hard against right and 'left' opportunism of various kinds and the elements who wanted to mechanically copy the foreign experiences, such as LiLi San, Wang Ming, Chang Kuo - Tao etc. When deeply cogitated, Mao's struggle against LiLi San, Wang Ming etc., seems, in essence, to be related to the struggle against many mechanical materialist thinking and working styles of Stalin and Comintern, though he never disclosed it. Mao had called upon the people to be alert against the threat of mechanical materialist and metaphysical thinking that existed in the Communist Party of China and international communist movement not only through his policy of unity and struggle worked out in the case of united front but also through his great works like " On Contradictions", "On Practice", "Reform Your Studies", "Rectify Working Style", "On New Democracy" etc.

In the international communist movement, Mao defined the party as a unity of opposites, and not as a monolithic and homogenous unity and clarified the fact that two-line struggle inside the party is, in deed, always the motivating force for the party life. In addition, clarifying the inter-relation between class-struggle in society and two-line struggle in the party, he presented scientific explanation about the fact that as long as classes are there, the party exists and as long as the party exists, ideological struggle prevails. He declared the concept of monolithic unity as anti-dialectical and flatly rejected it. His view on party added a new dimension to the Leninist view of militant party of a new type. According to Mao, a struggle between the right and wrong ideas always runs inside the party and at certain stage, wrong ideas appear as revisionism and takes in turns into a hostile struggle with the revolutionaries. If non-proletarian ideas prevail in the party, the whole party changes its colour. Therefore, the revolutionaries should be always continuously revolutionizing the party through the two-line struggles.

Thus, the Chinese revolution grounded on Marxist-Leninist thoughts goaded millions of workers and peasants on their way to be the masters of their own destiny. Communist Party of China led by Mao put forward a programme for socialist revolution right after the success of New Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. In this historical process of socialist revolution, the contradictions between the revolutionaries and the people who had been influenced by the bourgeois character of New Democratic Revolution and joined the revolution, intensified. Right at that period, Stalin died in Soviet Union. The Khrushchevite revisionism seized the leadership in the 20th Congress in a counter-revolutionary coup in the Soviet Union, and capitalism was restored. The Khrushchevite clique was successful to overturn socialism and dictatorship of the proletariat in the pretext of struggle against personality cult of Stalin. This event shocked the revolutionaries all over the world. Terrorizing with nuclear arms the clique rejected the decisive role of the people in the making of the history. The renegade Khrushchevite clique advocated class-conciliation instead of class-struggle in the name of "three peacefuls". He cloaked his blatant advocacy of bourgeois parliamentarism with the possibility arisen from the changed world

situation. Encouraged by the restoration of capitalism in Russia, the Chinese rightists intensified their attack on the proletarian revolutionaries in the party. The Peng Teh Hui event is a concrete example of it.

In the face of the complex situation, Mao seriously thought over the class-struggle in socialism and upheld the banner of struggle against modern revisionism of Khrushchev outside the country and right opportunism inside the party. During the fierce struggle, Mao put forward, with a scientific analysis of class-struggle in socialism, a concept of continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as the principle to prevent restoration of capitalism and led the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution, which is considered as an unprecedented mass-revolution in the whole history of mankind. With this earth-shaking revolution, Mao armed the proletarian class with a new weapon to prevent the restoration of capitalism in the socialist society. This great contribution established Mao as the propounder of a new, third and higher stage of Marxism, i.e. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This great revolution prevented restoration of capitalism in China for 10 years. Notwithstanding the success of capitalist roaders to restore capitalism in China through counter-revolutionary plots due to various national and international reasons after Mao's death, the significance of the principle he developed has not declined at all, but, instead, it has grown as a beacon for future revolutions.

What is notable here is that Mao, after the Khrushchevite clique succeeded in restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union without any serious resistance, fought, on the one hand, to safeguard the achievements of the first socialist state of the world, and on the other, persevered seriously in studying the weaknesses which caused such an irreparable loss. It is in this context that we must understand his defense of Stalin against the attack of Khrushchevite clique, and explanation of various mistakes and weaknesses of him. Mao's evaluation of Stalin stands apart against both rightist revisionism that negates him completely, and sectarian dogmatist revisionism that accepts even his mistakes and weaknesses. In the international communist movement, the former trend is led by Trotsky, Tito, Khrushchev etc., while, the latter trend is led by Enver Hox, etc. Another important point to note is that the Euro-Communism, on the pretext of

opposing Stalin's concept of monolithic unity and bureaucracy, began opposing integrated dialectical materialist science of Marxism, itself from bourgeois anarchist pluralist angle.

When the debate was going on in the international communist movement and Khrushchev, the ring-leader of modern revisionism, along with imperialism was simultaneously defaming Stalin from counter-revolutionary angle, it was but necessary to defend Stalin emphasizing his essentially correct and positive aspects. Doing so did not mean defending him alone but also the whole communist movement, socialism, and in all, Marxism-Leninism itself. But today things have changed greatly; the Khrushchevite revisionism, later turning into social imperialism, has fallen completely with the dissolving of the Soviet Union. In China, the Chinese Khrushchevites have usurped power through a counter-revolutionary coup and restored capitalism after Com. Mao's death. Today there isn't even a single socialist state in the world.

At this moment, the revolutionaries all over the world are free, without any political pressure, to draw the essence of the experiences of history, and a great responsibility has been laid on their shoulder, to fulfil which they must work hard, no doubt. In this context, we must go into the depth of what has been mentioned in the very beginning of the letter entitled "The Question of Stalin" during the Great Debate launched by the Communist Party of China led by Mao against the Khrushchevite revisionism. It states, "The question of Stalin is one of world-wide importance which has had repercussions among all classes in every country and which is still a subject of much discussion today, with different classes and their political parties and groups taking different views. It is likely that no final verdict can be reached on this question in the present century". The century as stated by the Communist Party of China led by Mao has ended and 21st century has already started. We must focus our attention on defending Stalin's 70% positive contributions and drawing lessons from his 30% errors. As else-where stated in the same article, "It would be beneficial if the errors of Stalin, which were only secondary, are taken as historical lessons so that... the Communists might take warning and avoid repeating those errors or commit fewer errors". Another important point is

that his errors contain two aspects - the errors committed inevitably due to lack of experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the errors caused by ideological mistakes. It was not possible to prevent the former errors but the latter ones could be.

Listing the errors of Stalin, it is stated in the same article of Great Debate, "In his way of thinking, Stalin departed from dialectical materialism and fell into metaphysics and subjectivism on certain questions and consequently he was sometimes divorced from reality and from the masses. In struggles inside as well as outside the Party, on certain occasions and on certain questions he confused two types of contradictions which are different in nature, contradiction between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people, and also confused the different methods needed in handling them. In the work led by Stalin of suppressing the counter-revolution, many counter-revolutionaries deserving punishment were duly punished, but at the same time there were innocent people who were wrongly convicted; and in 1937 and 1938 there occurred the error of enlarging the scope of the suppression of counter revolutionaries. In the matter of Party and government organization, he did not fully apply proletarian democratic centralism and, to some extent, violated it. In handing relations with fraternal Parties and countries he made some mistakes. He also gave some bad counsel in the international communist movement. These mistakes caused some losses to the Soviet Union and the international communist movement".

In the background of experiences of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Maoism and contemporary international communist movement, what is evident today is the fact that although he was a great Marxist-Leninist, Stalin's ideological mistakes have substantially influenced the world communist movement subjectively. Categorically speaking, he had some weaknesses in his thinking of understanding and dealing with fundamental principles of dialectics, the unity and struggle of opposite. Taking the communist party as a monolithic unity, instead of unity of opposites, led him to errors in identifying the nature relations and ways of dealing of two -line struggle inside the party. As a result, it was declared, on the ground of rapid economic growth through elimination of private ownership, collective farming and

industrialization, that there was no hostile class-contradiction in the Soviet society, which violated basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. Such analysis made Stalin think one-sidedly that threat to the Soviet society may occur from external intervention and conspiracy only. The emphasis on possibility of counter-revolution from external intervention and conspiracy, instead of paying adequate attention on how new capitalism is produced within the communist party itself in the Soviet society and how to control them, violated at times Lenin's basic postulates on the relation building formation in one country of socialism and development of world revolution developed at the primary period of the Comintern. Though there was no ill intention at all, the emphasis on safeguarding the Soviet society from external threat virtually undermined internationalism and exaggerated Russian nationalism, which created a lot of confusions about understanding and advancing the world revolution and functioning of the Comintern. It is to be remembered that Lenin, while forming the Comintern, had stressed the concept of world revolution and world communist party and everything would be subsumed under it, but under the leadership of Stalin, the world revolution was considered as a part of Soviet Society, instead of vice versa. This is what has been pointed out by Mao as wrong advice of Stalin on the international communist movement. Stalin took collective farming, industrialization and rapid development of production and productive forces due to centralized planning in the economic field enough as grounds for the guarantee at the success of socialism and kept on stressing on it onesidedly. It undermined the importance of resolving differences prevailing in the society and revolutionizing the production relations. This helped in developing a new bourgeois class which was represented later by counter-revolutionary Khrushchevite clique from inside the party and thus established the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by overturning that of the proletariat.

Drawing lessons from the errors of Stalin due to historical limitations and ideological weaknesses, Mao studied seriously the economic policy and pointed out its positive and negative aspects to elevate the Marxist-Leninist principles regarding the class-struggle in a socialist society to a new height in order to prevent restoration of capitalism and presented a new model

of socialist economy that required one to be red and expert, and to walk with two legs, etc. Collective ownership of production alone does not guarantee the success of socialism because many kinds of differences such as mental and physical labour, city & village, capitalist stage of the production of commodities still exist in the society which continue to provide material ground for growth of new capitalist class. Therefore Mao made it clear that characteristics of both communism and capitalism exist in socialism and there remains the danger of capitalist restoration. He aptly presented the scientific truth that march towards communism is possible by regulating capitalism through the process of continuous revolution after the proletariat seizes the political state power.

On the basis of this principle he led the people to exercise the right to rebel against the capitalist roaders of the party who advocated the Khrushchevite line which advocated that it was good to be rich. He drew a clear demarcation line between the Marxist revolutionaries and revisionists with the principle of 3 Dos and Don'ts: 'Practice Marxism, not revisionism; Unite, do not split; Be open and above board, do not conspire and intrigue'. With the slogan, "Bombard the bourgeois headquarter," he called upon the people to invade the fort of revisionists. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, through the struggle against the renegades Liu Shao Chi, Lin Piao, and Teng Hsiao Ping, he further developed the dialectical method of achieving new unity on a new basis in the party through a process of unity-struggle-transformation and emphasized the need to form party committees according to the principle of 3 in 1 with olds, adults and youths in order to transfuse new blood in the party. However, it was not possible to sweep away all the rightists who had reached higher echelons in the party and government, because of several negative impacts of international communist movement, historical limitation of class struggle and since it had been virtually late in exposing them. But it has enhanced the importance of the principle developed. Some people do not realize the complexity of the cultural revolution period and blame Mao for a number of compromise in the later period, which is completely wrong. He had been promoting the rise of revolutionaries including Chiang Ching, Chiang

Chun Chiao as a revolutionary core in the party. He was in fact, leading the so-called gang of four and was the most farsighted.

In this regard, an important question may be raised-why didn't he take any initiative for building a new Communist International, through he had experience of waging historical struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism and conducting Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution? In reply, several negative experiences of the Comintern in the latest period might be put forward but that simply can't be the major factor. As a matter of fact, Mao had been ideologically leading the international communist movement by waging struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism and leading the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and by supporting, co-operating with and disseminating the national liberation, new democratic and socialist revolutions all over the world. But objectively there were some serious practical difficulties in giving them an organized form. Among the visible ones were dogmatist revisionist, centrist and chauvinist communist parties of Albania, Vietnam and North Korea etc. who would reject the universal contributions of Mao. And it was not possible to form the communist international by ignoring all of them at that time.

But today the situation has changed greatly. There is not even a single socialist state in the world. Genuine revolutionaries have upheld Maoism as higher stage of Marxism-Leninism. New wave of revolution appears in the horizon. Now, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is there as an ideological foundation for the creation of a new communist international. All the communist revolutionaries need to march forward seriously to give it an organized form through class and ideological struggle. Today RIM has already emerged as an embryo of it. Everybody has to attempt to refine and develop it. Special attention must be paid to conduct discussions and interactions with revolutionaries outside the RIM, and uniting them in the movement.

While doing so, the communist revolutionaries should seriously look into the experiences of Comintern and try to resolve the issues of evaluation of 7th Congress of Comintern, Second World War and dissolving of Comintern, suggestions given to the communist parties of several countries to form

government with anti-fascist bourgeoisie and Lenin's criticism of Millerandism, the position of communist parties of Greece, Italy, France, Spain, India, China etc. and Stalin's role etc. These questions lie in front of the international communist movement as challenges. Maoism has already provided the scientific basis for the answers to these questions. Therefore, the communist revolutionaries of the world need to accelerate the initiative to learn from the positive and negative experiences of the past by applying Maoism.

### **Some fundamental characteristics of the International Situation**

The analysis of basic characteristics of imperialism made by Lenin just before the great Russian October Revolution is still correct. Accordingly, the world is in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution even today. In today's world, there are 4 kinds of basic contradictions-the contradiction between bourgeois and proletariat, the inter-imperialist contradiction for profit and plunder, the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed countries and people, and the contradiction between the capitalist system and socialist system. Among them, the fourth is not in the surface now but as per the past experience and for future guarantee, we must take it into account continuously. The socialist revolution comes out of the first contradiction and that is its solution. The second contradiction leads to world war for redivision of the world but is not permanently resolved. As Mao has said, the proletariat should attempt to prevent the world war as far as possible, but if unsuccessful, they should work out the policy to turn the world war into world revolution. The third contradiction leads to the national liberation movements and the contradiction ends with its success.

Among them, the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed countries and people is the principal world contradiction today. The party should be clear about some important ideological and political questions as regards to deciding about the principal world contradiction, because a wrong trend to undermine and neglect the historical significance of national liberation movement and label it as a sectarian nationalism has been prevailing in the international communist movement. Moreover, the Trotskyist and,

chiefly, Khrushchovite revisionism has influenced it to a great extent.

The first thing to note here is that, in the course of development of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, founding of Russian socialism and forming the Comintern in order to advance the world revolution and formulation of its strategies, Lenin had stated that the proletarian revolution and national liberation movement should fuse into each other and the fusion would be a historically important task. Imperialism has been blocking socialist revolution by creating an aristocratic class even within the working class with a portion of their unaccountable profits extracted through merciless exploitation and plunder of the masses of colonial and semi-colonial countries of the world. Therefore, Lenin, paying due attention to the importance of incorporating national liberation movement within the proletarian movement, forwarded the slogan, "Workers and oppressed people of the world, unite!" He concentrated maximum attention on the national liberation movements of the oppressed countries including India, China. On the basis of this analysis of Lenin, Mao developed in the world proletarian movement a total concept of the significance and the question of leadership of the national liberation movement.

Imperialism has been maximizing the exploitation, oppression and political suppression of the people of oppressed countries by using their reactionary ruling classes. It has been reducing the people poorer and poorer by making use of the economy of the oppressed countries as its own integral part and drawing excessive profits through cheap labour and raw material. That is exactly what has made the situation mature for new democratic revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This is why Mao declared these regions as storm centres of world revolution and asserted revolution as being the basic trend of the world. He proclaimed the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations as the principal contradiction of the world. Grasping the historical truth that national liberation movement had become the integral part of world proletarian movement, Mao developed the strategic method of establishing proletarian leadership over it.

In spite of important changes in the form, Mao's analysis stands correct in essence even today. During

the cold war, the Russian social imperialism and U.S. imperialism spent huge amount of money in arms for the expansion of their influence and eventually turned into superpowers. They imposed various kinds of regional wars on the oppressed countries and another world war appeared very close. But the Russian social imperialism could not maintain its old form due to the imperialist crisis and collapsed politically and economically. Ironically, the western imperialism propagated this collapse as the collapse of communism and celebrated joyously its unipolar hegemony.

This event definitely enabled the US imperialism more opportunity for direct plunder, exploitation and intervention in the "third world" and the entire world. This accelerated the unhindered mobilization of financial capital in the worldwide scale. This is what has been hailed by imperialism as 'globalization'. Through this 'globalization' imperialism has entrapped the whole economy of the oppressed countries and has been dictating and pressurising the ruling reactionary classes of those countries to pursue the policy of liberalization in order to speed up the flow of capital. Through the economic giants like World Bank, IMF etc, imperialism has created the environment to play the role of director and controller of economic affairs of the oppressed countries. Mainly the U.S. imperialism grew more and more encouraged to grab unlimited profits by mixing up the unprecedented progress in science and technology including electronics with the cheap labour of the third world.

After all, what ultimate objective result has the imperialist campaign of 'unipolar world', 'globalization' and 'liberalization' brought? The experience of the last 10 years has been already showing the truth. This is intensifying the contradictions between different classes and between rich and poor countries. Even according to the data (which is best manipulated to suit the interests of the authority concerned) prepared by the imperialists the rich countries with only 25% population of the world own 80% of world wealth, meanwhile 85% have only 15% in their hands. Today 2.5 billion people are extremely poor, 1 billion people are living their extremely miserable life below the absolute poverty line. 80 million people of third world are forced to leave their country for their livelihood every year.

More than 20 million children are forced to labour. Class contradiction is intensifying even in the imperialist countries. Even in the USA, the number one hoodlum of the world, more than 20 million people are suffering from absolute poverty. Racial discrimination, inequality, unemployment, homelessness, social insecurity, women's oppression etc. are growing day-by-day. They cause the resentment of the people from time to time, to suppress which the ruling classes are compelled to use special military force and devise new strategy. In Western Europe, unemployment has been institutionalized and people resort to street struggles because of shortage and inflation. Suppression, terror, religious and communal riots against people's resentment, national liberation movement and socialist movement developing everywhere in the third world countries have been the daily routine of the imperialists and reactionaries.

The fact that their political cover bearing the signboard of parliamentary democracy has been torn to pieces has been splendidly brought about by the recently conducted drama of U.S. presidential election. If a country advocates even a little of economic and political freedom, the imperialists take no time in imposing economic sanction against them, resorting to political pressure, and military intervention and genocide. Their intervention in Iraq, Yugoslavia, Palestine, Mexico along with other Asian, African and Latin American countries verify this.

Imperialism has built a gigantic mechanism of military force and strategy in order to maintain the new 'world order'. The U.S. imperialism has developed military strategy 'to keep up' its global economic plunder and hegemony. According to the data of their defense budget, the U.S imperialism has allocated \$262 billions in the defense alone which is almost half of that of the world. When the defense budget of its alliance partners like NATO countries, Japan, Israel, South Korea, also are included, it exceeds 80% of the world. Today the USA has become the main headquarter for arms smuggling. The US imperialism has, through its military - industrial complex been successfully looting the world and fooling their people by parting with a small portion of its loots. It has put on alert a huge military force in the Gulf and Korean Peninsula to fight against Iran,

Iraq, Libya, Syria, North Korea and Cuba whose total defense budget amounts to \$15 billion only. As Lenin has stated about imperialism, the USA has been giving priority to its military force to continue its political and military hegemony over its alliances, and is intensifying the activities with its global military hegemony in the countries like India, China in order to capture the huge storage of cheap labour and raw materials. On top of this its strategic alliance with the Indian expansionism has been rapidly growing and dark clouds of massive plunder and genocide in South Asia are looming larger. The opening of a FBI branch in Delhi is its evidence. These facts show the importance of Mao's concept of three worlds in the immediate tactical sense.

However, facts have also indicated that objectively the imperialists, mainly the Yankee imperialism, have been getting fully engulfed in the contradictions with the oppressed countries and people. Though there is no contention between the super-powers at present, following the end of cold war, the so-called unipolar dream is what can never come true as shown by open and disguised clashes and conflicts of economic and political interests between the USA, European community, Japan and Russia. With this crisis the possibility of revolt by millions of masses has seen intensified day-by-day.

We must seriously pay our attention on the following distinct situation, though created by imperialism with an evil intention of grabbing the profits in the present world. Firstly, it has guaranteed the acceleration of people's consciousness to move from the world of necessity to that of freedom by linking high technology with cheap labour of the huge population of the masses. Secondly, with the globalization to grab profits, the unprecedented development in the field of information technology, mainly electronics, has narrowed down the world just to a small rural unit. Therefore, it is very likely that an event of any place will have a great positive or negative impact on the whole world and vice versa. Thirdly, the worldwide system of imperialism of producing and distributing the arms has been indirectly playing role for technical preparation for the people's war at worldwide scale. Fourthly, the unlimited production and globalization of the social process of war has strangely built a material ground in a rapid way

for the communist principle of work according to the capacity and distribution according to the need. Fifthly and mainly, imperialism, by intensifying the class struggle, principally the contradiction of the imperialism and oppressed countries and people to the maximum, has been preparing a revolutionary objective situation for 80% people of the world.

Through the internal contradiction of the imperialists, unequal development and distribution as per the inherent character of capitalism, the development of this objective situation will lead to the revolution in any country in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and its international importance is just evident. It magnificently justifies Mao's analysis that Asia, Africa and Latin America shall be the storm centres of revolution. These characteristics clearly indicate that 21st century shall be the century of people's wars, and the triumph of the world socialist system. Apart from this, it also shows that there has been a significant change in the prevailing concept of model of revolution after 1980. Today the fusion of the strategies of armed insurrection and protracted people's war into one another has been essential. Without doing so, a genuine revolution seems almost impossible in any country.

The historical need of today is to advance the world revolution through the means of people's war in accordance with particular characteristics of each country by developing genuine communist parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to lead the masses in different countries. This historical responsibility can't be borne until the universality of Mao's contributions for the world revolution is upheld and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is established as its ideological commander.

The new situation has been preparing ideological and material ground for the formation of a new communist international to advance the world revolution by learning lessons from the past experiences. RIM (Revolutionary Internationalist Movement), constituted on the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to coordinate revolutionary movements of various countries and to advance the world revolution, is a significant step in this direction. It has been developing through experiences of revolutionary movements and ideological struggles of various countries. Serious challenges are posed before

the RIM for the development of a new International, like developing an integrated understanding through scientific synthesis of the world communist movement, mainly, Comintern, second world war and Stalin's role; struggling against ultra-internationalist Trotskyist deviation that minimizes the national liberation movement, on the one hand, and ultra-internationalist deviation that undermines proletarian internationalism, on the other; cooperating to develop the genuine Maoist parties in various countries; and uniting with all existing revolutionary parties through struggles, etc. Facing these challenges successfully, all genuinely proletarian revolutionaries need to accelerate their initiatives for the development of a new International.

What is most important is to correctly grasp the nature of contradiction between imperialism and oppressed countries and people, and establishing proletarian internationalism as the leader of national liberation movement. A world revolution isolated from the struggle to establish the worldwide significance of revolution developed in any backward country of Asia, Africa and Latin America is just impossible.

Finally, it is crystal clear from the analysis of the world situation that the world order of the imperialists is the rotten, barbarian and terrorizing system which is but a curse for the whole mankind. Material condition for the establishment of the great ideals of communism with complete elimination of exploitation and oppression of man by man has been growing more and more mature and the political parties of the proletariat need to take initiatives from new heights in order to courageously advance the world revolution. 21st century shall be the century of world revolution. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism shall be its ideological leader.

### **On the Situation in South Asia**

South Asia, with 20% of the world's population, has suffered greatly from poverty, scarcity, illiteracy, and unemployment due to feudal and imperialist suppression. The people of this region have been making for years a series of dedication and sacrifices in the national liberation and democratic movements for their progress and liberation. It should be comprehended that both the feudal and imperialist suppression and the just struggle of the people against

it are reaching to a climax and are heading toward the decisive collision. The more the revolutionary struggle of the people intensifies, the more the reactionary ruling classes of Nepal, India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh kneel down before imperialism, increase the exploitation and suppression of the people and heighten the state terror. Ruling classes of each country of this region are facing severe contradictions with the needs and aspirations of the masses. Armed national liberation movements, democratic movements and people's war are shaking the whole region. Advancing Maoist revolutionary movement by posing grave challenges to reactionary classes and presenting a concrete alternative for the masses, is another positive aspect of this region.

The Indian monopoly capitalist ruling class, the true successor of British imperialism, has been pursuing the expansionist policy of pressure, intervention and sabotage against the national aspirations of the people and neighboring countries. It has been endeavoring to quell with guns and state terror the aspirations of the people of Kashmir and North-Eastern states and new democratic movements in Andhra, Bihar, and intensifying the pressure, sabotage and provocative activities under the strategy of making Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka as new Sikkim. With an intention to isolate Pakistan after the end of the Cold War and fulfil its desire for regional hegemony, the Indian ruling classes have knelt down before US imperialism and have opened the door for them for merciless exploitation of the people of this region in the pretext of liberalization. The Indian ruling class has been abetting the imperialist master-plan to encircle China and make it capitulate completely by taking India in its grip. It has been blatantly making interventions in the internal affairs of neighboring countries in order to enthrone its agents and advance the process of 'Sikkimization'. It has been harboring plots to link the people's war in Nepal going on for 5 years with Pakistan, China and smugglers and thereby confusing the Indian people.

It has been the characteristic of the Indian ruling class to conspire to use the common aspirations of national democratic revolution against the semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition, distinct nature of geo-political position and economic, political, religious

and cultural relations established among the people since history, to fulfil its regional hegemonistic aspiration. The Indian ruling class and its aspirations have been working behind the similar policy and nature of suppression and terrorist intrigues practiced by ruling classes of all the countries of this region.

This distinct condition provides a unique nature to the need, possibility and importance of unity in the just struggle of the people of all countries of this region. Theoretically, the possibility of direct fusion of national liberation movement and proletarian movement, as stated by Lenin, can also be witnessed here. Due to the uniqueness of economic, political, cultural and geographical condition and the unchallenged hold of Indian monopoly capitalism, it will be very difficult for any single country of this region to successfully complete the new national democratic revolution and even if it succeeds following the distinct contradictions, it will be almost impossible for it to survive. The revolutionaries need to seriously concentrate on the fact that a particular country or a particular territory of a country shall be liberated through the force of common and joint struggle of the people of this region following the unequal stage of development, and that can play only a particular role of base-area for the revolution in the whole region.

Right here, all the revolutionaries of the region should pay their attention on Lenin's effort to generalize the great Russian October Revolution of 1917, founding of Soviet Union and their experience. It is clear that real liberation is impossible unless it becomes a part of or serves the world revolution on the basis of proletarian internationalism. This is the peculiarity of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The workers have no country and the slogan "Workers of the world, unite" has been always making the proletarian revolutionaries cautious about their international responsibility. The challenge of applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the particularity of the national liberation and democratic movements of this region under the guidance of the great idea and aspiration of proletarian internationalism, remains formidable. The unification of the struggles for right of nations to self-determination and the proletarian movement alone can meet this challenge. To grasp this properly, we should seriously ponder over the concept of national

democratic revolution put forward by Lenin after founding the Soviet Union and in the initial period of Comintern, and the concept of new democratic revolution put forward by Mao.

When we think over this, because of the distinct condition of this region it becomes clear that it is inevitable for the communist revolutionaries to devise an integrated strategy against the Indian ruling classes of monopoly bourgeoisie and their agents in various countries. This inevitability has knocked the door of the necessity of turning the region into a new Soviet federation of 21st century. Therefore, the Maoist revolutionaries of various countries of this region are required to debate from this height and to work out a unified understanding, integrated strategy, organizational structure of a distinct kind, and long-term and short-term plans of struggle.

Apart from the economic, political, cultural and geographical peculiarities, from the perspective of the growth of communist movement the region-wide influence of Naxalbari movement led by Charu Majumdar as a against modern revisionism, fraternal relations and exchange of ideas and technical cooperation growing among the Maoist revolutionaries, and common programmes at the people's level, etc, have been preparing concrete basis for the fulfillment of this historical need. It is clear that the more the revolutionary struggle develops, the more intensifies the counter-revolutionary conspiracy, and therefore, there is need to develop integrated efforts among the revolutionaries.

The process of applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the regional peculiarity will play an effective role in waging struggle against the conspiracy of U.S. imperialism in this region, mainly in India. Thus, the unified initiative of this region as an integral part of world revolution will make important contribution to the world revolution. Hence, the cooperation of mainly the RIM and other revolutionary internationalist forces is essential in order to advance this process in a natural and scientific way. However, the important thing is the responsible initiative of the revolutionaries of the region themselves. The road is difficult and challenging, but the future is bright; the victory of proletarian internationalism and that of the masses of the people is guaranteed. ■

Interview

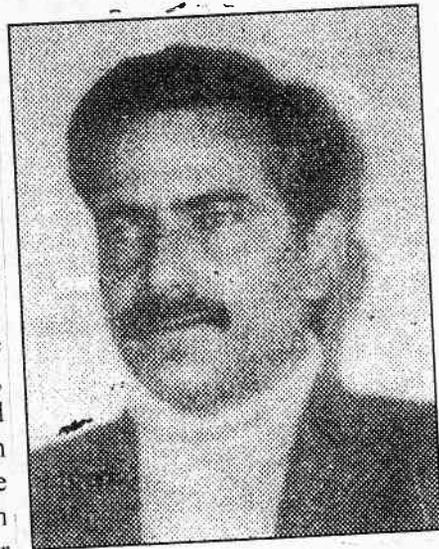
## Latest Interview with Chairman Prachanda

*After the summary of the resolution of your party's Second National Conference was made public what is your opinion about the press reactions to it?*

After making public the brief summary of the resolution passed by the historic Second National Conference of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), the great and proud vanguard of Nepalese proletariat, through a press communiqué, it has created and is creating intense reaction and debate within the entire national politics. The intense level of reactions and debates created over the decision of the Conference itself makes clear the importance and depth of it. However, due to overload of internal work and the busy schedule we could not formally provide necessary explanation, verification and comment on time. As a result we apprehended the possibility of most of the important decisions being misinterpreted by different elements. Thus we had requested the main leadership of Unity Centre, UML and ML to have patience and wait. However, the main leadership of all these forces started raising a chorus of misinterpretation in a war footing giving their own subjective interpretations. For this we have no other explanation other than to wait for the truth to unfold in its own time. We want to make clear that we are committed to play our role in uniting communist movement in Nepal as according to the spirit and sentiments of the decisions taken by the Second National Conference.

There was a serious challenge before our National Conference regarding the necessity of theorizing the positive and negative experiences of the five torrential years of People's War which is full of heroism bravery and sacrifice in the history of people's revolution in Nepal. The problem of ideological synthesis is basically and essentially the problem which is directly connected with the present world situation, overall international communist movement, Nepalese history and Nepalese communist movement. Standing on the foundation of experiences of the world situation and the international communist movement after Com. Mao's death our party, in the process of synthesizing our thought, has shed off many prevalent tendencies and tactics of Nepalese Communist Movement according to the principle of setting fire on one's own head. The blood shed by thousands of martyrs, the

intense class struggle and two line struggle and the grave crisis of the country has made us rise above our p a s prejudices. The s a c r i f i c e, devotion and participation shown by the people in People's War



has made us even more sensitive towards our weaknesses in our thinking and tactics, thus making us even more responsible and large hearted to give successful leadership to the masses. In short, the development of People's War has drawn the Party's attention towards facing the challenges of world revolution in the 21st century, and in order to make the Nepalese revolution successful it has focussed our attention towards doing research on its ideological basis and deriving appropriate strategy and tactics. The decisions made in the National Conference, in essence, is the result of this. It is not surprising and one is not even happy to note that the commentators to our press communiqué, who are immersed in the colour splashes of the 'colourful' parliamentary world, are not able to understand this historical essence.

*How would you like to enlighten the people about the curiosity generated by the ideological synthesis and "Prachanda Path"? In this context how have you taken the allegations of some people that it is 'personality cult' and 'personal ambition'?*

Now it is clear to everyone that the main subject of our Party's Second historic National Conference is the ideological synthesis. This subject by itself is an important subject which is very serious, sensitive and has long-term importance. In this, even slight lightness can cause a deviation. Hence, we specially request our supporters and all our opponents to grasp its main essence and then to support it or oppose it in a responsible manner. Internationally, while standing on

the objective ground of today's revolution and counter-revolution, it is quite a challenging job to make an ideological synthesis by evaluating the positive and negative experiences of the history and chalking out strategic line of the future revolution. It is impossible to speed up the revolution without facing this challenge amidst the storm of class struggle.

After the death of Com. Mao in China, there have been enormous changes in the objective condition of world revolution and world situation. In between, the bourgeois reformist vulgarization of the scientific and revolutionary principles of Marxism was once more seen in its extremity. Just opposite of this, the sectarian dogmatism that refuses to acknowledge the dynamism of science, too, became the cause of sterilization of revolution. The limitations and weaknesses of the experiences of Peru, Turkey, Philippines, India, Bangladesh and others, which were trying to forge ahead by fighting against such deviations, also started showing up. It is in this background that in Nepal the People's War was initiated. The experience of five torrential years of People's War amidst the subjective drought of world revolution, the flow of martyrs blood and the participation of hundreds of thousands of people, all these have necessitated the ideological synthesis for its future development. It is after grasping this historical need that our Party was able to develop the specific set of ideas based on the past, present and future of the revolution through serious study and debate. These set of ideas are clearly manifested in the analysis of International Communist Movement, conclusions about the specificity of world situation and its influence, analysis of South Asia and the development of a new strategy, the materialistic interpretation of Nepalese history and its importance in the revolution, new analysis of Nepalese Communist Movement and the line of building united communist movement, the development of strategic concept of the three weapons of the revolution and the synthesis of experiences of People War, the development of mass line, etc. This success achieved in the process of development of set of ideas is the success of sacrifice and devotion of the revolutionary fighters of Nepal and the world. It will be a grave mistake to see it as a success of one specific person or one specific group of people. In class struggle without the direct participation of the masses it is not possible to develop revolutionary thought. When thousands of

people get involved in class struggle so as to become masters of their own fate that the new thought takes its root as according to the rule of science.

To give a conscious thought, in today's world, without the three important leaps of development as the precondition for the ideological synthesis, any other form of ideological synthesis would only mean futile mental exercise and idealist self-indulgence and it will undermine the initiative and the role of the people. These three leaps are: first, the concrete definition of the Party's revolutionary line; second, concrete initiation of revolutionary war, and third, the involvement of hundreds of thousands of people in that war and it's qualitative development process. It is by going through these three leaps that the question of ideological synthesis will not only become objective but important necessity for any Communist Party belonging to the oppressed country in the present world. In essence, our ideological synthesis is the result of that historical necessity. It is quite obvious that those who are not participating in the turmoil of People's War and revolution, cannot be successful in understanding the essence of revolutionary thought. One can never forget the fact that it is only the revolutionaries who can grasp the revolutionary thought and only they can develop it.

Our Party has named the synthesis of the set of ideas arrived after the development of above three leaps as "Prachanda Path". While giving concrete definition to it the Party has acknowledged it as a centralized expression of collective effort of the great martyrs of the People's War, general masses of the people, the whole party rank and file and its team of central leaders. The party has made it clear that set of ideas is about the general Party 'line' but that it has not reached the level of 'thought' which approaches universality. This set of ideas, which is oriented towards thought has been named after the leader of the team involved in this whole process as according to the rule of scientific research. It has been clarified that this set of ideas has enriched Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In that situation, if one supports or opposes this set ideas based on the understanding that it has reached the level of "ism" or "thought" or if one supports or opposes it based on the understanding that it is only the general party line, then both will not represent the truth.

If one sees our Party's effort to ideologically

centralize the experiences gained through the participation of the people in revolution as "personality cult" or "personal ambition" then we challenge them to oppose it by participating directly in the revolution. Otherwise, such allegations made by those who are drowned into the cesspool of parliamentarism and revisionism would prove nothing but just the repetition of such allegations made by revisionists against the revolutionaries in the past history. Ultimately such kind of allegations made by the revisionists only exposes their baseness of denigrating and underestimating the role of the masses in the revolution.

***What kind of relation will the Maoists have with other political parties? What is your comment on many people's apprehension that "Prachanda Path" will cause hindrance in the unification process of left forces?***

We want to discuss and debate with any political group or individual of the country without any preconceived notion. As regards to the Nepalese Communist Movement we have pronounced that the split among the forces following the line of New Democratic revolution after the Third Congress was wrong. In the new context, once again we feel we should taken forward the question of forming united Party seriously. Realising the necessity of forging new unity based on ideological political line we have come to the conclusion not to recognize different groups formed after the Third Congress as real parties. Hence, we want to create a new wave of re-alignment while being committed to overall transformation of Nepalese society. For that, our National Conference has termed the "Fourth Congress" as the worst revisionist and splittist, thus setting fire on one's own head. In order to come out of the present crisis-ridden state of the country, we are ready to debate or interact with even those political groups and personalities outside the communist movement.

As regards to the question that "Prachanda Path" will create hindrance to leftist unity, we feel it is a big illusion. In reality, "Prachanda Path" is a unity path to reunite the communist movement on a revolutionary basis. If one accepts it in proper perspective then it will end all splittism or groupism, and it will initiate a unity process. Here I would like to clarify that if our critics are prepared to make actual revolution in Nepal, are prepared to fight against the expansionist character of Indian monopoly capitalism, are ready to break the

vicious circle of parliamentarism and revisionism and are genuinely ready to create united communist movement, then we will be ready with pleasure to drop out the nomenclature "Prachanda Path". We want revolution, not the nomenclature 'Prachanda Path'. But, we are totally confident that the day you come out of parliamentary cesspool and are ready to fight for people's genuine liberation leaving behind your self-interest and instead upholding the ideals of sacrifice and devotion, that day it will be you who will be saying. "We definitely need Prachanda Path; Prachanda Path-it is a path which will lead to unity and victory". Till the time you remain singing the song of parliamentarism and revisionism, till the time you become an appendage to reactionary state, until then you will be saying, "Prachanda Path is personality cult" " Prachanda Path is self-praise" etc. Our call is: "Please come, let us all be involved in creating a united communist movement; let us be involved in revolution and help build a new Nepal".

***Chairman Comrade, what is your comment on the negative remarks made by many newspapers and magazines in regards to the inner unity of the Party, particularly in relation to Prachanda Path and Dr. Baburam Bhattarai?***

With the ideological synthesis of "Prachanda Path", most probably nobody has doubt that Party has risen to a considerable new height in regards to unity. This has been a big thunder-bolt for the reactionary rulers. Right from the historic initiation of People's War, they had tried to cause 'split' by doing all kinds of manipulative exercises and investing money on it. Even now we are aware that the government has kept aside more than one billion rupees to effect internal sabotage in the Party. We also know that Ram Chandra Paudyal who is sermonizing about morality and idealism while sitting on the Home Minister's chair is carrying tens of millions of rupees to split our Party, specially to cause differences between myself and Com. Baburam Bhattarai. Despite the reactionary's constant manipulation and the investment, the fact that our unity has become even more strong has made them mad. That is why when ideological synthesis of "Prachanda Path" was made public they are resorting to foolish means of hurling stones in darkness through their stooges.

As far as the truth is concerned, in the ideological synthesis of "Prachanda Path" our Party's senior

Politbureau Member, Comrade Baburam Bhattarai, had made great efforts and played important role in it. This fact has been proved by Comrade Bhattarai's public pronouncements which can be understood by anyone including the dumb ones. Being conscious of our responsibility towards history we are committed to unify our whole country. We are confident that these reactionaries and opportunists who try to play between us will be destroyed. Let it also be clear to all that we are not satisfied by the unity developed in our Party alone. We are serious in fulfilling the necessity of uniting thousands of revolutionaries who are outside our Party fold. We are marching ahead to fulfill the responsibility bestowed on us by history and are in the path of transformation process by getting ruthless against our own weaknesses. If against us the enemy tries to create illusion, then it will be nothing but a chimera, which has been proved in practice. We would be marching uninterruptedly in the path of our duty contemptuously discarding all such dirty tricks of the enemy.

***Can you please throw light on the concept of South Asian new Soviet Federation?***

This concept is a concept of broad revolutionary united front against the expansionist character of Indian monopoly capitalism. The question of new Soviet Federation of the 21st century is a new concept brought forward by our National Conference with the long term aim of forwarding the world revolution, keeping in mind the possibility of developing long term and short term plan of struggle. It is a matter of surprise that leftist leaders of Nepal could not even grasp what Lal Krishna Advani, a representative of the Indian ruling class, could so well understand the gravity of the strategic aim of this concept. While India is propagating that our strategy is "fatal", on the other hand most of the leaders of so-called big nationalist, leftist group of Nepal are charging it with being a policy to benefit India. This only demonstrates their pitiable political ignorance. Some of the comments made in this context are vulgar examples of misinterpretation and smack of narrow nationalism against the spirit of international proletarianism.

The essence of our decision is, in the immediate sense, to unify and coordinate the powerful communist movement and national liberation movement present in this region in order to build a unified and coordinated struggle against Indian expansionism and

its stooges within different countries, and in the long term, to go ahead with the formation of a new Soviet federation with the right of self-determination to nations under the leadership of the proletariat. To view this lofty aim of regional and global revolution as a coalition of reactionary groups could not be anything but the outlook of revisionism. Genuine communist revolutionaries, leftists and patriotic forces will not see in this strategy and tactics of ours anything but the reality of opening of broad horizon of freedom and independence. With time, its scientific basis and effectiveness will be proved.

***What is the main development in regards to the concept of the model of revolution?***

On the basis of serious analysis of changes in subjective and objective conditions of revolution in the period after the decade of eighties of last century and the experiences of five years of Nepalese people's war, the Party has felt the necessity of bringing change in the conventional model of revolution. Accordingly, a theoretical concept of fusing some of the strategies of protracted people's war with the strategy of armed insurrection from the beginning and fusing some of the strategies of armed insurrection with the strategy of protracted people's war from the beginning, has been developed. Here it is necessary to be clear that our concept has no relation with the eclecticism of practicing revisionism and parliamentarism, thereby in practice condemning people's war and pushing further away the initiation of people's war in the name of special relation of the two strategies. Instead, the main essence of our concept has been to practice some of the appropriate strategies of people's war even in developed capitalist countries according to their specificities. In reality and in the end, our new theorizing regarding the model of revolution has been done on the foundation of our immediate experience in struggle. We are convinced that this will play an important role in forwarding the world revolution in 21st century. Theoretically, the leadership of the Unity Centre is nearer to our thinking than others. However, whether it is nearer to us or not will be determined by its practice of struggle against revisionism and parliamentarism. If they continue with gathering the counter-revolutionary revisionists and are engaged in aligning with them then such nearness has no meaning. ■

*(Courtsey: Janadesh Weekly)*

# The Question of Creative Application and Development of Marxism\*

— Com. Baburam Bhattarai

The most important characteristic of the particular set of ideas developed through the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the Nepalese soil, which has now been synthesized as Prachanda Path, is its clear-cut materialist dialectical outlook of continuously developing Marxism, the science of proletarian revolution, through creative application. It is well-known to all that there are principally three trends in the world after Marx's and Engel's death in the matter of grasping and application of this science of proletarian revolution, i.e. 'Marxism', synthesized by the great Marx and Engels for the first time in history. Firstly, the revisionist current; secondly, the dogmato-revisionist current; and thirdly, the creative revolutionary Marxist current. The first revisionist current represented by Bernestein, Kautsky, Khrushchov, Euro-Communists etc. up to the UML of Nepal, openly declares as 'outdated' and discards the very fundamental principles of Marxism (see Karl Marx's Letter to J. Weydemeyer, March 5, 1852) and shamelessly upholds bourgeois democracy, like the 'multiparty democracy' (bahudaliya janabad) of the UML of Nepal, in the pretext of being 'creative'. Though this naked revisionism has been punctured to a great extent after the downfall of the revisionist states in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, it is still providing some illusion outwardly in the communist movement. However, it is not so problematic now to defeat it ideologically. The second dogmato-revisionism clings mechanically and dogmatically only to the form of Marxism in the name of question of principle, and practically discards its essence. Enver Hoxa of Albania may be regarded as the international representative of this trend and Mohan Vikram Singh as the Nepali representative. Such dogmato-revisionism, which converts the dynamic science of Marxism into a static religious dogma and liquidates the revolutionary movement,

may confuse a section of the cadres and the masses with low ideological level for quite some time and its danger may persist within the communist movement for a long time. The third creative revolutionary Marxist current firmly grasps the basic tenets of Marxism and applies it creatively according to the changes in world situation and the varied national context, and, thus, ultimately enriches the Marxist science and develops it to a new height. Lenin, Mao and the communists united in the RIM or involved in the process of people's war in the present day world, may be placed in this category. Looking back in history, during the First World War, Lenin raised the communist movement caught in the ideological quagmire of revisionism, on the one hand, and of dogmato-revisionism, on the other, to a new height in a creative revolutionary manner through the October revolution. Similarly, during the Sixties and Seventies (of the last century), Mao gave a new direction to the communist movement caught in the cesspool of revisionism and dogmato-revisionism, through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Consequently, 'Marxism' was first development into 'Marxism-Leninism' and then into 'Marxism-Leninism-Maoism'. Now, in the particular world situation after Mao's death and the beginning of the 21st century, the Parties united in the RIM and the C.P.N. (Maoist) are attempting to further the same glorious tradition of creative revolutionary Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and Prachanda Path is the latest link of the same.

What is particularly notable here is that science, whether it is natural or social, studies the law of motion of matter and processes constantly in motion in this universe, and thus science itself is in constant motion and transformation. Whereas in the field of natural science today, scientists including Stephen Hawkings and others are trying to develop a unified theory of physical motion by resolving the anomalies

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\*This is an extract from Com. Baburam Bhattarai's article "*Prachanda Path: The Latest Link in the Chain of Creative Marxism*", published in the vernacular monthly *DISHABODH*, no. 13, March-April 2001

seen in Einstein's theory of relativity and the theory of quantum mechanics (particularly its 'uncertainty principle'), it is an inevitable necessity in the field of social science to update the study of law of motion of the constantly changing social world (i.e. Marxism). As social science is in reality a science of history, its development demands a re-study and re-writing of history according to the needs of time, and positive and negative lessons ought to be drawn from the incidents and experiences of history. In this context, the Second historic Conference of the C.P.N. (Maoist) has ruthlessly dissected the weaknesses of the international communist movement and particularly that of the Comintern under Stalin's leadership and, moreover, has made a daring attempt to make an objective assessment from a Maoist angle of the metaphysical weaknesses in Stalin's thinking and to correct the mechanical materialistic thinking and dogmato-revisionist weaknesses prevalent in the present day world communist movement and the Nepalese communist movement as a legacy of the same. As stated in the 'Great Debate' launched in the Sixties, the question of evaluation of Stalin is the question of evaluation of the experiences of the world's first dictatorship of the proletariat after Lenin's death, and in that sense, the study of the incidence of the birth of counterrevolutionaries like Khrushchov from within the proletarian state and the Party after Stalin's death may provide important negative lessons to the communist revolutionaries of the world to forestall counterrevolution after the revolution. In this context, the Second National Conference and Prachanda Path synthesized by it has taken a historical step to uphold dictatorship of the proletariat, on one hand, and to discard Stalin's monolithic conception on the Party and state, on the other, by avowing to follow Mao's evaluation of Stalin as seventy percent correct and thirty percent incorrect as against Khrushchov's evaluation of Stalin as cent percent incorrect and that of Ever Hoxa's as cent percent correct. The epoch-making significance of this is self-evident. In particular, this conception would have a great historical significance in the defense and development of the proletarian base areas created in a sizeable territory of Nepal as a result of the ongoing people's war for the last five years.

Certainly, while talking about creative,

revolutionary Marxism the revolutionaries should be very clear about on which aspect of M-L-M to be 'firm' and on which aspects to be flexible or creative according to the time and the place. For this, the clear-cut understanding of Prachanda Path is that the lessons and experiences of great Lenin and Mao on being firm in strategy and flexible in tactics while firmly grasping dialectics, are the foremost examples of creative Marxism, and the thirty percent weaknesses of Stalin are the negative examples of mechanicalism or monolithicism. However, in Nepal, a hodge-podge tendency borne out of an undeclared united front between Khrushchov and Hoxa in the matter of viewing Stalin is prevalent, and this has subjected the communist movement to the double burden of revisionism and dogmatism at the same time. Stressing the same the resolution passed by the Second National Conference says, "The Nepalese communist movement has been influenced by both the Khrushchovite modern revisionism and the Hoxaite dogmato-revisionism. In Nepal a peculiar kind of hodgepodge revisionism is prevailing with the admixture of Hoxaism, that refuses to learn from Com. Stalin's weaknesses, and the Khrushchovite revisionism". Hence it is not surprising that with the announcement of decision about Prachanda Path the Khrushchovite UML and the Hoxaite Mohan Vikram Singh have been equally disturbed, and both of them have opened a joint front for the disinformation campaign against Prachanda Path through their propaganda organs. This all the more confirms the scientificity of the decision of the Second National Conference and the creative, revolutionary Marxist current of Prachanda Path. We should learn to feel proud about it. ■

**APPEAL FOR GENEROUS  
CONTRIBUTIONS!**

**C.P.N. (Maoist) is launching a fund-raising campaign for the ongoing People's War in Nepal. Well-wishers and friends of the revolution are requested to contribute generously towards the fund.**

***-International Department  
C.P.N. (Maoist)***

## Reports from the Battlefield

### *A. Military Actions by People's Guerillas Scale New Heights*

As part of the initiation of the first plan of Great Leap Forward as formulated by the Second National Conference, the whole country was shaken with daring military actions by people's guerillas in the first week of April, 2001. Though thousands of actions including small and big sabbtages were carried out all over the country in course of the weeklong campaign

culminating in the general shut-down (Nepal bandh) on April 6, the annual mass movement day, five leading guerilla raids on the different police out-posts under the three Regional commands of the Party created the utmost impact and raised the five-year long People's War (PW) to new heights.

Two massive guerilla raids were carried out in the Western Region, the hub of the PW, which are regarded as the biggest military actions since the one at the district headquarter of Dolpa in September 2000. The first of

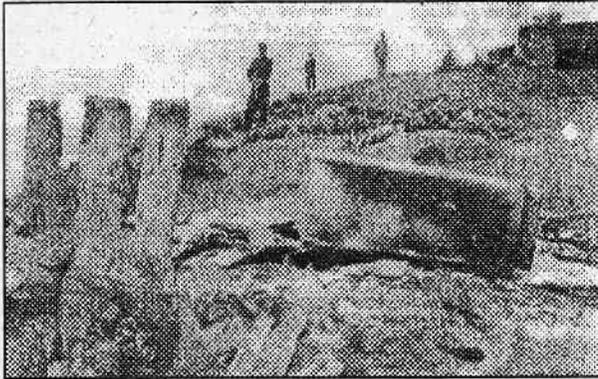
these at Rukumkot, the virtual bastion of PW, on April 1, is widely acknowledged as the topmost military action to date, if one sees it from the strict military point of view. Since it was the first successful attack against a company-level fortification of the Special Striking Force of the enemy's police force located on a strategic hill-top. The recently constructed fortification on a specially chosen hill-top consisted of an outer fence, then a thick stone wall with eight observation posts and finally a trench inside the wall. The fortified post was manned by 76 policemen at the time. However, the people's guerillas of a company-level formation, aided by local militias, successfully stormed into the fortification with a lightening speed and destroyed the enemy camp within 45 minutes. As a result, 32 police commandos including one inspector were killed, 14 wounded and 22 were taken into people's custody. Together with this a large quantity of arms and ammunitions were captured, including 58 rifles, 6 magnums, 1 shotgun, 3 pistols, 3 revolvers, around 6000 pieces of ammunitions and some communication sets. This great



*The Aftermath of the Naumule (Dailekh) Raid*

military victory was won at the cost of the glorious martyrdom of eight of our precious comrades including Com. Rajendra, deputy commander of a platoon. Hundreds of revolutionary masses of adjoining villages had expressed their solidarity with the people's guerillas by staging torch-light processions all around during the course of the military actions.

The second guerilla raid in the Western Region was successfully conducted at Naumule ilaka (sub-district)



*Rukumkot Police out-post after the raid*

police out-post of Dailekh district on the night of April 6 and morning of April 7. This was also a well-fortified out-post located on a hilltop and manned by 72 policemen. But the people's guerillas consisting of several platoons and aided by local militias, overwhelmed this outpost within seventy minutes. Here, too, 32 policemen including one inspector were killed and dozens injured. A large quantities of arms and ammunitions including 58 rifles and around 41 thousand pieces of ammunitions were gained through this raid. The casualties on the people's guerilla side were six. The success of this military action has greatly contributed to the expansion of the base areas in the far West.

In the Central Region, two successful guerilla raids were carried out simultaneously on April 2 at Mujhung of Palpa district and Darkha of Dhading district. The Mujhung police out-post manned by 22 personnel was stormed by people's guerillas and captured within half an hour, killing 2 policemen and wounding 9 others. Further 8 policemen were killed when a reinforcement team coming from the regional headquarter towards Mujhung after receiving the news of the raid, fell into a rivulet 100 metres below the road. The police out-post was completely destroyed with bombs. The guerillas gained 12 rifles, 2 pistols, 2 revolvers, 1 shotgun and large quantities of ammunition from this raid. There was no casualty or injury on the side of

people's guerillas. In another raid at Darkha of Dhading district adjoining the capital city of Kathmandu, the police out-post with 14 personnel at the moment was captured within five minutes when the enemy mercenaries surrendered without any resistance. Consequently there was no casualty on either side. The people's guerillas, however, captured 9 rifles, 1 magnum, 1 shotgun, 2 pistols, 2 revolvers and large quantities of ammunitions, and destroyed the out-post. The reactionary government is later reported to have arrested all the policemen and put them on trial for allegedly having sided with the revolutionaries.

In the Eastern Region, Mainapokhari police out-post in Dolakha district was raided by the people's guerillas on April 1. However, because of some last minute obstacles the raid was delayed to early morning hours (3:30 a.m. to be precise) and as a result the mission was only half accomplished. The outpost with 46 personnel was partially captured and destroyed, and 7 policemen killed and 20 others injured. The guerillas captured 8 rifles, 1 magnum and some ammunitions. Three precious lives of people's guerillas were lost and six others injured in the process.

In the Kathmandu Valley, the bomb blast carried out at the residences of the former police chief, Achyut Krishna Kharel, and a ruling party ex-member of parliament, Lekh Nath Neupane, on April 1, sent chills down the spine of many a ruling class butchers and traitors.

After the weeklong special 'shock' programme in the first week of April, sporadic military actions were continued by the people's guerillas in Eastern and the Central regions. Of these, an ambush carried out in Syangja district of the Central Region on May 9 was the most notable, which killed 4 policemen on the spot.

In sum, the series of guerilla actions carried out as part of the first plan of the Great Leap Forward have succeeded in aggravating the crisis in the ruling class set-up, which is manifested in the large-scale desertion from the police force, and in expanding and consolidating the revolutionary base areas, particularly in the Western Region. The fact that several strategic police outposts such as those in Thawang, Mahat, Kholagaon, Pakhapani, Gajul, Daha, Garkhakot, Ramidanda and Rangechour, all in Rolpa and Rukum districts, were packed-off after the Rukumkot raid, eloquently speaks of the strategic importance of these daring guerilla actions.

## ***B. Waves of Expansion and Consolidation of Base Areas***

In line with the strategic slogan of "Expand and Consolidate Base Areas, and Move Forward to Establishment of Central People's Government",

leadership of the Party. In the Western Region these People's Committees have been functioning openly and exercising people's power according to tentative rules and regulations formulated by the higher level of the Committee.



*Public declaration meeting of District People's Committee, Rukum*

passed by the Second National Conference of the Party, the waves of expanding and consolidating base areas have been sweeping across the country, particularly in the Western Region. As the reactionary police force has been thoroughly demoralized and virtually immobilized in large parts of the country, after receiving deadly blow after blow from the people's guerillas, most of the areas in the hilly regions have come under the fold of the revolutionaries. Consequently the Party has launched a campaign to fill the power vacuum through revolutionary People's Committees. In recent months there have been waves of formation of United People's Committees at the village and district levels in line with the revolutionary united front policy of the Party. Whereas most of the People's Committees in the strategic zone of the Western Region have been elected by the masses of the people, in other areas they have been temporarily nominated by the gathering of a cross-section of the people under the

Recently, elections to four district level People's Committees were held in the Western Region, including in Rukum, Rolpa, Jajarkot and Salyan. Hundreds of local representatives exercised their franchise, whereas thousands of masses were witness to the open swearing-in ceremony. National newspapers prominently reported the events. In several other districts, the district level People's Committees have been operating clandestinely, as there the reactionary state power has not been sufficiently destroyed. Still in other districts, only the local People's Committees at the village level or ilaka (sub-district) level have been operating and exercising people's power. In recent months, there has been an increasing tendency of forming higher level People's Committees (i.e. at district and sub-district level) and operating openly. This is a clear sign of creating and consolidating base areas, even though the reactionary state is as yet to openly use its last armed might, the royal army. It may be noted here that after the Dolpa guerilla action in last September, the royal

army has been stationed in all the district headquarters but not mobilized below the district level.

In view of the rapidly growing local People's Committees and gradual development of the base areas from below, the need for a Central People's Government Organizing Committee to coordinate and direct the power structure below has been increasingly felt. Hence preparations are being made to organize a central level revolutionary united front committee that can act as an organizing committee of the Central People's Government.

### ***C. Daring Jail-Break by Women Guerillas***

Six women guerillas created history when they made a daring and successful jail-break on March 31, 2001 in the first ever incident of this kind during the five years of the People's War in Nepal. Lodged in the ultra-modern reactionary jail in Gorkha (central region) for the last two years, these six revolutionary heroines, Uma Bhujel (Com. Shilu), Kamala Naharki, Engela B.K., Sanju Aryal, Meena Marhatta and Rita B.K., all in their early twenties, had won their freedom by digging a tunnel out of the enemy dungeon. All the six brave daughters of the international proletariat have since then rejoined the revolutionary camp and resumed their duties.



*Six Revolutionary Heroines of the Historic Jail-break, Gorkha*

The story of this daring escape now proudly recounted by these marvellous young guerillas is no less astonishing and thrilling than a Hollywood movie. The whole project was executed according to meticulous plan under the leadership of Com. Uma Bhujel, a section commander before her capture by the enemy, and wife of platoon commander Com. Bhimsen Pokhrel, who was martyred along with Com. Suresh Wagle in September 1999. The plan was finalised and execution initiated on the auspicious birth anniversary of Com. Mao on December 26, 2000. All the six

comrades had their roles defined, and the plan was to be completed on the sixth anniversary of the initiation of PW on February 13, 2001, but had to be extended due to unforeseen factors. For the next three months, the six dare-devils played their roles according to the scripts. Some had to constantly divert the attention of dozens of armed guards always on the prowl. Others had to keep the non-political prisoners in good humour. And the most challenging task was to dig a tunnel, about 15 metres long, through two heavily fortified walls, with the help of a mere iron rod and a few kitchen appliances. Com. Kamala Naharki undertook this uphill task single-handedly. The common ruse employed for the uncommon activity was that of kitchen-gardening behind their narrow cell. With several hiccups in between, the task was successfully accomplished and the six revolutionary women guerillas crawled through the narrow tunnel and out of the enemy captivity at 2:00 a.m. on March 31. Still they had to encounter a last hiccup when they were spotted and fired at by the enemy armed guards, but the great proletarian heroines exhibited their extraordinary presence of mind and courage once again and managed to escape to safety. Within no time they were in the midst of the revolutionary masses and their proud Party comrades.

This daring jail-break by the so-called 'weaker sex' gave a death blow to the already sagging morale of the reactionary ruling classes and prepared a perfect background for the historic military actions by the people's guerillas in the next couple of days in Rukum, Dolakha, Palpa, Dhading and Dailekh (see reports elsewhere). This historic incident perhaps a rarity even in the international revolutionary movement, has once again highlighted the glorious role played by women in the PW in Nepal and has enthused millions of women in the country.

Chairman Com. Prachanda, in a public statement issued on April 2, has felicitated the six brave women comrades for their outstanding accomplishment and called upon all the revolutionaries to draw inspiration from them. Similarly, Com. Laldhoj, in-charge of Central Regional Bureau of the Party, and Com. Parvati, in-charge of Central Women's Department, have separately greeted the six women comrades and highlighted the historical significance of this jail-break. Gorkha District Committee of the Party organized a public felicitation programme for the six women comrades on April 29 in Baguwa village, when thousands of peasant masses gathered to listen to and have glimpse of the brave women guerillas. ■

***A. Mass Struggle Engulfs the Country***

Even as the reactionary government headed by the hated butcher Girija Koirala of the Nepali Congress reels under its own insoluble contradictions, the masses are increasingly turning to the streets to fight for the long standing questions of nationalism, democracy and livelihood. Whereas the parliamentary left, headed by the arch revisionist UML, has been on the streets demanding the resignation of the corrupt Girija government after successfully blocking the winter session of the parliament, the revolutionary masses of various strata including the workers, students, oppressed nationalities, women, peasants, etc, have come out with militant programmes of struggle to highlight their genuine demands.

On May Day, workers all over the country and emigrant workers in India came out in thousands to the streets shouting slogans and displaying revolutionary banners. Massive May Day rallies were held in different parts of the country including Kathmandu, Narayangarh, Hetauda, Pokhara, Jhapa, etc. Similarly in India, the Nepalese emigrant workers held impressive May Day rallies in different cities. The rally in Delhi was jointly organized with revolutionary trade unions of India in the Okhla industrial area, where workers of the two countries expressed solidarity with each other.

The students have been in the forefront of the most militant mass struggle for some time now. In the second week of December last year, revolutionary students had enforced a week-long shut-down of schools all over the country with total success in support of their major demands of end to the privatization and commercialization of education. As this news item goes to the press, the students have once again called for a week-

long shut-down of schools all over the country in support of the same popular demands in the third week of May.

The people of oppressed nationalities and regions have for long been fighting for their rights of self-determination and other immediate demands. As the ruling classes of Aryan-Hindu so-called high caste stock turned a deaf ear to the genuine demands of the oppressed nationalities and regions, a coordination committee of the different fronts of oppressed nationalities and regions has called for a general shut-down (Nepal bandh) on the coming June 1.

Meanwhile there are reports of big mass rallies jointly organized by different mass organizations almost daily in different parts of the country. In one such rally at Butwal, in the Central Region, on May 12, about fourty thousand people had attended. If this trend continues the reactionary Girija government may be drowned in the ocean of masses, sooner than expected.

***B. Royal Army Entering Through the Back Door?***

The long drawn tussle between the monarchical and parliamentary forces as to the modalities of using the royal army, which naturally owes allegiance to the king, against the revolutionary People's War, seems to be inching towards final compromise. Though the parliamentary forces, headed by the Nepali Congress party, have for long sought to have the royal army under their absolute command, the monarchical forces have been stubbornly refusing to relinquish their traditional prerogative. As a result, though the royal army has been deployed in all the 75 district headquarters and has been conducting reconnaissance and surveillance works for quite long, it has not been deployed in combat

positions against the people's guerillas. Moreover, there is a strong patriotic current within the royal army, specially at its lower rungs, which is reluctant to fight for the known traitors like the Nepali Congress. All these factors have contributed to the seemingly undue delay in deploying the royal army against the PW. However, under some yet undisclosed compromise formula between the two feuding sections of the ruling classes, the royal army has now been dispatched to the most important strategic zones of the PW ostensibly to 'assist' the police force to maintain 'security' and carry out 'development' programmes. The project has been fancifully named as the 'integrated internal security and development programme'. This is supposedly to be implemented in the beginning in the 28 districts most affected by the PW, starting with the six districts of Rolpa, Rukum, Jajarkot, Salyan, Kalikot in Western Region and Gorkha in the Central Region. Accordingly the royal army

has been deployed at the ilaka (sub-district) level in these districts, as we go to the press.

Whatever may be the terms of compromise between the two feuding factions of the ruling classes for deployment of the royal army against the PW, it is in line with the known policy of the so-called low intensity warfare conceived by US imperialism after its crushing defeat in the Vietnam war. Whether it is the strategy of 'low' or 'high' intensity warfare, it is an unjust and reactionary war, which can never triumph against the revolutionary PW. The ultimate deployment of the royal army will only hasten its process of disintegration and will raise the PW to a qualitatively new height. What is amusing is that, against all known practices elsewhere in the world, here in Nepal the royal army is made an appendage of the police force which is already defeated by the people's guerilla army. Only time will tell how the drama unfolds. ■

## INTERNATIONAL

### A. 7th IEC Delegation to Peru

International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzman (IEC) sent its 7th international delegation to Peru in the last week of March 2001 to demand, among other things, that the Peruvian government allow them to visit Dr. Abimael Guzman (Com. Gonzalo), Chairman, Communist Party of Peru, in solitary confinement since 1992. The delegation consisted of seven distinguished members from five countries, including Dr. Juan Jose Landinez (Colombia), Dr. Jaime Bonilla-Godoy (Colombia), Dr. Enrique Gonzalez (Mexico), Mr. Padma Ratna Tuladhar (Nepal), Dr. Haluk Gerger (Turkey), Prof. Peter Erlinder (USA) and Dr. Heriberto Ocasio (USA).

After reaching Lima on March 25, the delegation contacted various Peruvian government authorities including the chief of the

military judge to demand access to Dr. Guzman. Though the delegation was received with better appreciation than the earlier ones, the members were denied an opportunity to meet with Dr. Guzman. The delegation, however, managed to give wide publicity to the worldwide concern for the safety of life of Dr. Guzman and popular demand to end his isolation. The press conference addressed by the delegation members



*IEC delegation at a Press Conference in Lima*

at Gran Hotel in Lima on March 29 was widely reported by the media. On their return the delegation gave a talk programme in London on April 7, which was well received. After his return to Nepal one of the delegation members, Mr. Padma Ratna Tuladhar, gave a series of interviews to local media highlighting the current situation in Peru.

Even though this 7th delegation, too, was denied an opportunity by the reactionary Peruvian government to meet with Com. Gonzalo, this consistent effort by the IEC to end his isolation deserves to be applauded and needs to be continued until the isolation of Com. Gunzalo is finally broken.

### ***B. South Asia : A Centre of "Terrorism" or Revolution?***

The new Bush administration of US imperialism has recently termed South Asia as the 'new centre of terrorism'. The imperialist gendarme is perhaps right, in another sense, given the rising waves of national and proletarian movements in the region. It is quite natural that the jaundiced imperialist eye would see 'revolution' as 'terrorism'. Not only the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist people's war in Nepal and Adhra, Bihar and Dandakaranya in India, but also the national liberation movements in Kashmir, Assam, Nagaland, Manipur and Tamil Elam (Sri Lanka), have made the imperialists and expansionists to lose their sleep. Hence this imperialist outburst!

The most disturbing trend in recent times in the region is the rapidly growing tie-up between US imperialism and Indian expansionism. Specially after the downfall of Soviet social imperialism and change in the imperialist strategic equations in Central and South Asia, the US imperialism has cast its evil eyes more deeply in South Asia. Also to counter the growing economic clout of China, which US imperialism sees as a rival superpower in

the next quarter century, the tie-up with Indian expansionism suits it the most. The rise to power of the Hindu fundamentalist and traditionally pro-US BJP in India, has further accelerated this unholy gang up. The hasty support accorded by the BJP government to the new 'Star War' proposal of the Bush administration amply proves the dangerous military alliance being built-up between US imperialism and Indian expansionism. This is clearly directed against the freedom-loving people of the world in general and of the South Asian region in particular.

That the US imperialism wants to revive the old cold-war strategic equations in Nepal is evident from the recent utterances of the US ambassador to Nepal and the visiting US under-secretary of state, against the revolutionary movement and in favour of the puppet Girija Koirala government. Since both US imperialism and Indian expansionism want to use Nepal to encircle China, the growing alliance between the two becomes all the more dangerous to the people of Nepal.

It is in this overall context that the people of South Asia ought to hasten the process of mutual understanding and cooperation against the reactionary ruling classes of the region and the world. The recent seminar held in Delhi under the aegis of the 'International People's Solidarity Forum' could be cited as a small but welcome beginning towards this end. The individual effort of Indian progressive journalist, Anand Swaroop Verma, to introduce the revolutionary PW in Nepal to the Hindi-speaking public through his recent book, "Rolpa se Dolpa tak" (From Rolpa to Dolpa), deserves to be commended for the same. As South Asia increasingly becomes the volcanic centre of revolution, it is the bounden duty of the proletarian revolutionaries of the region to make a conscious subjective effort to hasten the process of unity and cooperation among themselves. ■

## Seminar on Nepal and South Asia

Following is a press release from P. Chhetri,  
Convenor, International People's Solidarity Forum, Nepal :

A one day seminar - cum - discussion programme on "The Relation Between the South Asian Revolutionary Movement and Nepalese Revolutionary Struggle" was successfully held on Sunday 6th May 2001 at JNU, City Centre, Ferozh Shah Road, New Delhi by International People's Solidarity Forum, Nepal.

On the occasion, Anand Swarup Verma, Editor, *Samakeleen Teesri Duniya*, Dr. Kumar Sanjay Singh, a progressive intellectual, and Suresh Ale Magar, Convenor, Ethnic and Regional Fronts Co-ordination Committee from Nepal, had spoken and a representative from SFPR, P. K. Shahi, IFTU, Rajesh Joshi, senior journalist, *Outlook*, Com. Laxmi, Democratic Students Union, Jagdish, DGMF, Arun Kumar, ICTU, Moti Rijal, AINUS made their comments. Expressing their solidarity with revolutionary struggles in South Asian countries, they held the view that the people of South Asia should unite together for the cause of revolution.

The seminar was chaired by Maheshwar Dahal, Member of IPSF, and conducted by Bamdev Chhetri, and attended by about 400 persons.

At the end, the seminar adopted the following resolutions unanimously :-

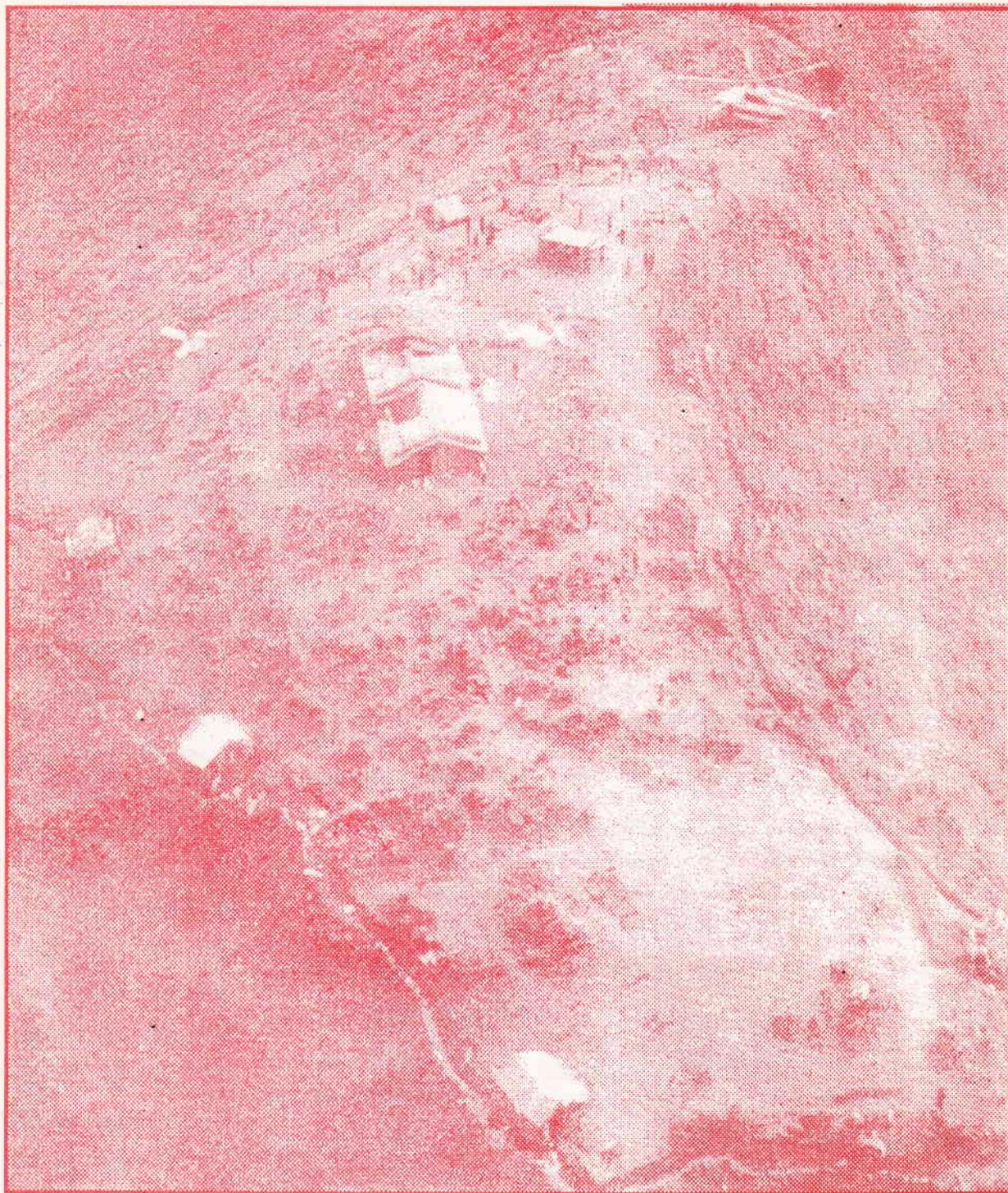
1. A communication network be set up with a view to acquainting the journalists, intellectuals and revolutionary people of India with revolutionary struggle in Nepal.
2. Attempts be made to unite 1/5 or 22% people of the world for revolutionary movement in South Asia.

3. Attempts be made in order to co-ordinate revolutionary movements and national liberation movements in South Asia countries like Nepal, India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka etc.
4. Attempts be made to share by all the experiences of revolutionary movements being waged in Nepal and India.
5. Attention be paid on disseminating and organizing the concept of South Asia Federation as proposed by Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).
6. Attempts be made to organize the movements against Indian administration, particularly Delhi Administration, which deprives the Nepalese people of the right to mass-meeting, demonstration etc. declaring them as foreigners. ■

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*The heavily fortified hill-top out-post at Rukumkot destroyed during the 1st April, 2001 raid*