

***Assessing Recent Developments in Nepal:
A Bibliography on the State, a Peaceful Transition to
Socialism, Democracy and Dictatorship, Negotiations and
Their Relevance to the International Communist Movement
in the 21st Century***

by the MLM Revolutionary Study Group in the U.S.
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The MLM Revolutionary Study Group is not affiliated with any revolutionary party in the U.S. We advocate the development of a broad and dynamic anti-imperialist struggle that is closely connected to the most exploited and oppressed sections of people in the U.S. Additionally, we anticipate that serious revolutionaries who share an internationalist perspective and mass orientation will undertake the building of revolutionary organization to concentrate and develop leadership for such efforts and to develop the pathways for revolution by the masses in the U.S., with a significant section of the working class and oppressed nationalities in the lead. We encourage such a project and will work to assist its development in every way we can, which includes drawing on the rich lessons of struggle of the 1960s and 70s and on the experience of revolutionary forces in the world today, especially revolutionary Maoist parties and organizations.

This bibliography includes Lenin's writings just before the October revolution and Mao's tactical proposal for a coalition government just before the outbreak of all-out civil war in 1946. We've also pulled out some key statements by the CPN (Maoist) from 2001 to the present, and the critique of its strategy by the CPI (Maoist). E-links will enable readers to read the documents in their entirety. We hope this will spur further study and discussion.

A. V.I. Lenin

All articles are on www.marx2mao.com

- (1) *The State and Revolution*, August 1917 (1st ed.) Foundational work
- (2) *The Bolsheviks Must Assume Power*, September 1917
- (3) *Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power*, October 1917
- (4) *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, November 1918
See "Bourgeois and Proletarian Democracy"
- (5) *First Congress of the Communist International*, March 1919
See "Theses and Report on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat"
- (6) *The State*, July 1919
- (7) *The Constituent Assembly Elections and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, Dec 1919

- (8) *On the History of the Question of the Unfortunate Peace*, January 1918
On the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. At this time the German army was approaching Petrograd, and the recently constituted Red Army was disintegrating. Lenin argued that an annexationist peace had to be accepted to save proletarian rule.
- (9) *Extraordinary 4th All-Russia Congress of Soviets*, March 1918
On the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

B. J.V. Stalin

Articles are on www.marx2mao.com

- (1) Stalin, *The Foundations of Leninism*, 1924. See pp. 118-121 on democracy and Marx's view of the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism in certain countries.
- (2) *Concerning Questions of Leninism*, 1926. See pp. 25-26 on peaceful transition, pp. 31-33 on features of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and pp. 64-79 on socialism in one country.

C. Mao Zedong

All articles but #12 are on www.marx2mao.com

- (1) *On New Democracy*, 1940, Vol. 2, Selected Works. Foundational work
- (2) *On Coalition Government* (Report to the CPC's 7th National Congress), April 1945
This is an important work to study, since the CPN(M) is basing its strategy on certain statements within this work. First, Mao demanded recognition of the government in the liberated areas and advanced the concept of a new democratic state under the leadership of the proletariat after the abolition of the Guomindang (GMD) one-party dictatorship (pp. 228-232); he also stated that a democratic coalition government would include the GMD and that it would convene a national assembly after free elections in both liberated and enemy-held areas (pp. 240-242). Second, Mao wrote that without a people's army the people have nothing (pp. 231, 245-247); he also stated that once the new democratic coalition government came into existence, the CPC would "hand their armed forces over to it." (p. 246). See our comments below on Mao's negotiating strategy at Chungking.
- (3) *On the Danger of the Hurley Policy*, July 1945. On the machinations of US imperialism towards the end of WW2
- (4) *The Situation and our Policy after the Victory in the War of Resistance against Japan*, August 1945. Mao stated that though the atom bomb was powerful, it was not the decisive factor in Japan's surrender.
- (5) *On Peace Negotiations with the Kuomintang*, August 1945

(6) *On the Chungking Negotiations*, October 1945.

Even while Mao negotiated with Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang) at Chungking from September to October 1945, fighting continued between the two armies, particularly in Manchuria. Mao, like Jiang, was preparing for the outbreak of nationwide civil war. In this article Mao wrote that the GMD and CPC were “sure to fail in their negotiations,” and that “the arms of the people, every gun and every bullet, must all be kept, must not be handed over.”

This was Mao’s *strategic* view of the situation, even while he made some *tactical* maneuvers at the bargaining table. Thus at Chungking, Mao offered to “nationalize” the army in stages, reduce the size of the Red armies, and give up some of the liberated areas in central China in order to form an elected democratic coalition government that would replace Chiang’s one-party dictatorship. Chiang would be required to withdraw his forces surrounding the liberated areas, reduce the size of the GMD armies, release all political prisoners and give legal status to the CPC.

Mao believed this negotiating posture was necessary in order to expose Chiang’s preparations for civil war, to unite with the strong desire of the Chinese people for peace after a decade of fighting against Japanese aggression, and exploit fissures between the U.S. “democratic” rhetoric and the GMD’s one-party dictatorship in order to hold off direct U.S. military intervention. An additional difficulty was that Stalin had signed a friendship treaty with Jiang in August 1945 and advocated a coalition government including the GMD and the CPC.

Further investigation is needed on several questions: (a) How the CPC was conducting its political and military work during the 1945-46 negotiations; (b) the roles of Stalin and of Wang Ming in pushing the CPC to form a coalition government with the GMD; and (c) the CPC’s goals in its contacts with U.S. envoys from 1944-1946, both before and after the war against Japan.

(7) *Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation*, April 1946.

This article was written to counter a pessimistic view of the international situation by party members who overestimated the strength of imperialism and underestimated the strength of the people. With massive US aid, Chiang launched an all-out offensive against the liberated areas in the spring of 1946.

(8) *Smash Chiang Kai-shek’s Offensive by a War of Self-Defense*, July 1946

On the results of the Political Consultative Conference held in January 1946, which established a brief ceasefire.

(9) *On Some Important Problems of the Party’s Present Policy*, January 1948

See pp. 181-182 on overestimation of the enemy’s strength

(10) *Carry the Revolution Through to the End*, December 1948

(11) *All Reactionaries are Paper Tigers*, November 1957

(12) *People of the World, Unite and Defeat the US Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs*, May 1970, Vol. 9 www.marxists.org (Click on “Select Author”)

D. The Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement

All articles are on www.marx2mao.com (Click on “Other Texts and Documents”)

- (1) *A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement*, June 4, 1963 (The Letter of the CC of the CPC in Reply to the Letter of the CC of the CPSU of March 30, 1963). See pp. 19-24 on the peaceful transition to socialism
- (2) *Apologists of Neo-Colonialism*, October 22, 1963. This includes comments on the role of the United Nations, pp. 190, 196-197
- (3) *The Proletarian Revolution and Khrushchev’s Revisionism*, March 21, 1964. This includes “Violent Revolution is a Universal Law of Proletarian Revolution” and “Refutation of the Parliamentary Road”
- (4) *The Letter of the CC of the CPSU to the CC of the CPC*, March 30, 1963. See pp. 510-511 on peaceful transition

E. Analysis of the 1965 Massacre in Indonesia and the Line of the PKI

- (1) *Self-Criticism by the Indonesian Communist Party*, 1966
On the PKI’s revisionist view of the “two aspects” of the Indonesian state and a peaceful road to socialism. This was written in the wake of the US-backed military coup that led to the massacre of more than one million members and supporters of the PKI in October-November 1965. <http://www.antenna.nl/wvi/eng/ic/pki/selfcrit>
- (2) *The Indonesian Massacre of 1965, the PKI and Their Relevance Today*, forthcoming paper by the MLM Revolutionary Study Group in the U.S.

F. Statements of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) 2001-2004

All articles except #1 are on www.cpnm.org (Click on “English” and “The Worker”)

- (1) *Interview with Comrade Prachanda*, May 28, 2001, in Issue #27 of *A World to Win* magazine. See p. 40 “Our guiding principles on the question of negotiations are the experiences and summation of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty under Lenin’s leadership and the Chunking negotiations under Mao’s leadership,” and on p. 41, in which he contrasts the CPN(M)’s negotiation posture with the capitulationism of the Right Opportunist Line in the CP of Peru.

Not currently available on www.aworldtowin.org Reprinted in *The People’s War in Nepal: Left Perspectives*, ed. Karki and Seddon, 2003, pp. 260-278. Distributed by Akhil Books, New Delhi akhilbooks@yahoo.com

- (2) *The Great Leap Forward: An Inevitable Need of History*, document prepared by Prachanda and adopted by the Second National Conference of the CPN(M) in February 2001, pp. 26-63 in *The Worker*, Issue #7, February 2002.

See p. 34 “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.” pp. 55-56 on the relationship between protracted people’s war and general armed insurrection, p. 58 “To seize the state power

by revolutionary violence has become the main objective of people's work set by the Party today.", and p. 60 "The Party will render its special effort in advancing the workers' front, like that of the students, too, by joining it with the preparation of future general insurrection."

(3) *Interview with Chairman Prachanda with The Times of India*, December 3, 2001, pp. 4-5 in *The Worker #7*. He states that: "If the government of India sends troops in aid of the tottering rule of the feudal reactionary and corrupt bureaucratic forces in Nepal we will be forced to wage a resistance struggle against it as well till the end. We hope friendly Indian people will put pressure on their government not to interfere in the internal affairs of Nepal."

(4) *Exclusive Interview with Chairman Prachanda*, in *The Worker #8*, January 2003. "In the present new situation there is a direct danger of Indian military intervention under the leadership of American imperialism... It is clear that at any time a direct military intervention is on the offing. The moment such intervention takes place Nepalese People's War will be transformed into a national war. Using contradictions between foreign reactionary forces, the Party will give firm leadership to the national liberation war. From that negative situation, a positive result will come with the creation of a new wave of struggle in India and South Asia against the military intervention. Not only that, it will give new opportunity to communist revolutionaries to mobilize the masses of the world against such imperialist intervention. Certainly, in that process Nepalese masses will have to provide their utmost commitment, devotion and sacrifice. But at the end, victory will be won by the Nepalese masses and the People's War. That victory, which will have co-operation and support of people of South Asia and the world, will play great historical role of advancing world revolution."

(5) Baburam Bhattarai, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Nepal*, in *The Worker #8*. "We have been hammering on a round-table conference of all democratic forces, an interim government, election to a Constituent Assembly and formation of a National Army in place of the Royal Army."

(6) *Time to Push the Wheel Forward*, editorial in *The Worker #8*. This quotes Rosa Luxemburg: "The 'golden mean' cannot be maintained in any revolution. The law of its nature demands a quick decision; either the locomotive drives forward full steam ahead to the most extreme point of the historical ascent, or it rolls back of its own weight again to the starting point at the bottom; and those who would kept it with their weak powers halfway up the hill, it but drags down with it irredeemably into the abyss." It goes on to say, "As long as ours is a just war and the masses are with us, we will definitely win the war; but the most important point, as Lenin and Mao used to hammer again and again, is, we must 'dare to win.'"

(7) Prachanda, *Present Situation and Our Historical Task*, adopted at CC meeting in May 2003, in *The Worker #9*, February 2004, pp. 51-63. (Written 2 months after US invasion of Iraq.)

On the World Situation, p. 55 “In the present context, when along with the restoration of capitalism in China there is no other socialist state existing, when despite objective conditions turning favorable currently there is no advancement in any strong revolutionary movement under the leadership of the proletariat, and when world imperialism is pouncing on people everywhere like an injured tiger, is it possible for a small country with a specific geo-political compulsion like Nepal to gain victory to the point of capturing central state through revolution?... The answer to this question can only be found in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and on this depends the future of the Nepalese revolution.”) and p. 54 (US imperialism is intensifying its intervention in Nepal “by assessing the possible success of Maoist movement as a spark of new world revolution against world imperialism could ignite a prairie fire...”)

On the Situation in the Party, see p. 56 “It is imperative for the Party to be clear that in the present day revolutionary movement the first and the main danger is the rightist capitulationist deviation that overestimates the strength of the enemy and underestimates the strength of the people.”

On the Domestic Situation, p. 57 “our minimum and consensual agenda ... seeks to provide a forward-looking political solution through round table conferences, interim government and constituent assembly...”

On the Parliamentary Parties, p. 57 “It has been practically proved that the differences between the autocratic monarchical and parliamentary groups are nothing other than that of share of power within the old state.... It has become all the more clear in the present day Nepal that we can never have an ideological and political relationship with either monarchical or parliamentary groups except to manage contradictions in a particular situation.”

(8) Prachanda, *On the State and Democracy*, in *The Worker #9*, pp. 10-13. See p. 11 “Marxism... presented a very new and a historic task of shattering the state power forcefully, not of seizing the old one and consolidating it, and establishing a transitional one ... to smash the resistance of the bourgeoisie.”) and p. 12 (“In today’s capitalist imperialist era, there cannot be any bigger dishonesty and hypocrisy than to speak of ‘adult franchise’, ‘independent and impartial election’, and ‘democracy for all’, on the part of the bourgeois class, before the standing army and bureaucracy, the main organ of state power.”)

(9) Prachanda, *A Brief Introduction to the Policies of the CPN (Maoist)*, in *The Worker #9*, pp. 14-16. In the section titled “Political Tactics or Immediate Policy,” see “In the light of the particularity of the total international situation and the prevailing balance of power within the country, the Party has been pursuing a very flexible political tactics. A round table conference, an interim government and election to a Constituent Assembly are the minimum political tactics proposed by the Party in this context. Only a new constitution made by a Constituent Assembly can in reality institutionalize the sovereign rights of the Nepalese people.”

(10) Bhattarai, *The Question of Building a New Type of State*, in *The Worker #9*,

pp. 17-37. Page 23 “the CPN(M) has since its inception formulated a minimum programme of establishing a New Democratic state based on the people’s democratic dictatorship and set the goal of attaining socialism and communism through carrying out continuous revolution.”, p. 25 “One basic precondition for building a new type of state is the complete smashing of the old state. The more completely and deeply the old state is smashed, the better would be the probability of building a more stable and complete new state. This is the objective law verified by historical experience and facts,”

Page 26 “Standing army, bureaucracy, judiciary, etc. are the principal and decisive organs of the state, which have to be mandatorily smashed to build the new state. Along with this the ideological and cultural organs of the old state need to be systematically dismantled to lay the ideological and cultural foundation of the new state. In this context all genuine proletarian revolutionaries should firmly grasp that to reject all revisionist and reformist illusions of ‘peaceful transition’ from the old state to the new one is not just a question of tactical expediency, but a question of strategic and theoretical importance.”, and p. 34 (“we should strive to maintain diplomatic relations with the two big neighbours on the basis of non-alignment and mutual benefits, and to march forward to establish South Asian Soviet Federation after completing revolution in whole of South Asia as envisioned by our Party’s Second National Conference held in 2001.”

(11) *Internal Debate within the CPN(M)*, 2005 issue of Monthly Review, contains links to major papers from Prachanda and Bhattarai. One of the issues in this 2004-2005 debate was the question of centralization of leadership in one person.

<http://monthlyreview.org/0705cpndebate.htm>

G. Statements of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) from 2005-2006

Articles #1-7 can be found in *The Worker* #10, May 2006. This issue of *The Worker* is largely devoted to explaining the resolutions adopted by the CPN(M) at its CC Plenum in September-October 2005. <http://nepal.singlepark.org/?id=worker10>

(1) *Resolution of Central Committee*, October 2005, in *The Worker*, #10, pp. 5-18. See p. 5 on Imperialism as “a single globalized state” and the “fascist form of US imperialism.”; p. 8 “the then slogan of republic was neither a slogan of new democratic republic nor that of bourgeois parliamentary one. In fact and in essence, that slogan was the one of multiparty republic that by means of constituent assembly could bring about an extensive change in the state structure...”; p. 9 “After the collapse of monarchy dominant in the old state, this slogan can play a role of forward-looking political way out for the peaceful resolution of civil war.”; but see p. 10 “In the history, no republic has been established ever without dissolving and defeating the army subservient to monarchy and Nepal cannot be an exception to it...the backbone of royal army [must be] broken by raising people’s war to a new height...”. See p. 15-18 on several military defeats and “negative incidents and tendencies” in the party, which are part of the “internal situation” cited by the CPN(M) as a rationale for its current strategy.

(2) Prachanda, *Hoist the Revolutionary Flag on Mount Everest in the 21st Century*, The Worker #10, pp. 19-40. Page 23 “The revolutionary Maoist movement, in the name of defending the basic principles of MLM against right revisionism, happened to fall prey to sectarian dogmato-revisionism that repeats old things only and overlooks the analysis of the development of an object.”; p. 24 on a “People’s New World Federation”;

On Relations with India, p. 25 “The question of our relation with the Indian State is a question of indispensable diplomatic relation that enriches mutual relation between the people of two countries based on Panchsheel....Our relation with the revolutionaries in South Asia, established through CCOMPOSA, is mainly ideological relation and it should be taken and handled in the context of the freedom to follow any ideology and belief... the question of maintaining this balance is very sensitive, given Indian monopoly capitalist expansionist character has been the main barricade for the revolutionary movement in Nepal and South Asia.”

On Military Strategy, p. 34 “The Party’s policy of symbolically ‘hitting the enemy on the head by riding on the back’ is also part of the new military strategy of the 21st century... This question [of military strategy] also represents the acts of revitalizing the spirit of doing concrete analysis of concrete conditions by fighting against the traditional, orthodox and stereotypical tendencies developing within the communist movement.”; p. 40 “The people’s liberation army will have no problem in getting organized in the new national army in compliance with the mandate that the constituent assembly election provides.”; p. 54 “Synthesizing the scientific teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the universal character of revolutionary violence, armed struggle, protracted people’s war and the formation of army in a class-oriented society, the discussions on them, in the Nepalese society and empirical evidence, the Party has been developing the formation of People’s Army and Nepalese military line.”

(3) Bhattarai, *Epochal Ten Years of Application and Development of Revolutionary Ideas*, The Worker #10, pp. 51-60. Page 52 “The proclaimed revisionists... abandon the basic tenets of MLM, like class concept of the state, inevitability of use of force in revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat, continuous revolution, etc., and commit the crime of converting MLM into a bourgeois trade-mark just to hoodwink the working class.”; p. 58 “the key question of revolution is the question of state power. Moreover the central task of revolution is to forcibly destroy the old state with the means of new type of Party organized as the real vanguard of the proletariat and an army and a broad revolutionary united front under its leadership, and to create a new state as the joint dictatorship of all the progressive classes under the leadership of the proletariat.”

On People’s War: Page 55, referring the Sept-Oct 2005 CC Plenum: “Fourthly, an assessment of the causes of setbacks met by almost all the revolutionary PWs since Mao’s death particularly after their reaching the stage of strategic equilibrium was made, and it was resolved not only to fuse the military strategies of protracted PW and general insurrection but also to attempt to develop a new military strategy in keeping with the new situation. It has also been agreed to launch a great debate within and

outside the Party over all these new proposals before a final decision is made in the forthcoming Congress of the Party.”;

Page 58, The 2005 CC Plenum “resolved that the very strategy of protracted PW needs to be further developed to cater to the necessities of the 21st century. In particular, several decades on it is seen that the protracted PWs launched in different countries have faced obstacles or got liquidated after reaching the state of strategic offensive, an imperialism has attempted to refine its interventionist counter-insurgency war strategy as a ‘long war.’ In this context, if the revolutionaries do mechanically cling to the ‘protracted’ aspect of the PW at any cost, it would in essence play into the hands of imperialism and reaction. Hence the latest proposition of ‘Prachanda Path’ that the proletarian military also needs to be further developed is quite serious and of long-term significance. It may be noted that this proposition is firmly based on the concrete experiences of the successfully advancing PW now at the stage of strategic offensive and is aimed at further advancing and defending it.”

- (4) Ashok, *Our Experiences of Ten Tumultuous Years of People’s War*, The Worker #10, pp. 68-73.

On Lenin and Mao, p. 71 “Since MLM is a progressive science, the people’s war calls for ideology and leadership that is capable to complete a new People’s War in the 21st century. Our Party’s CC Extended Meeting last September held that the ideologies of Lenin and Mao have become old and inadequate to lead the present international revolution. The political and organizational report passed by the meeting says, ‘The proletariat revolutionaries of the 21st century need to pay their serious attention towards that fact that in today’s ground reality, Lenin and Mao’s analysis of imperialism and various notions relation to proletariat strategies based on it have lagged behind.’ As Marxism was born in an age of competitive capitalism, the strategies and working policy formulated during the times of Marx had become old when they arrived at Lenin’s times of imperialism and proletariat revolution. Similarly, the ideologies developed by Lenin and Mao at the initial phase of international imperialism and proletariat revolution have become inadequate and lagged behind at the present imperialistic phase. Therefore, ‘the main issue is to develop MLM in the 21st century and to determine a new proletariat strategy.”

- (5) Basanta, *International Dimension of Prachanda Path*, The Worker #10, pp. 82-90.

On Imperialism: Page 83, from the 2005 CC meeting written by Prachanda: “ ‘The main specificity of today’s imperialism has been to exploit and oppress the broad masses of people of the earth economically, politically, culturally and militarily in the form of a single globalized state.’ This is definitely a new and creative opening that PP has put forward on the analysis of imperialism in the beginning of the 21st century.” Page 84: “Our Party, under the leadership of Chairman Comrade Prachanda, believes that the analysis of imperialism made by Lenin and Mao in the 20th century cannot scientifically guide the Maoist revolutionaries to develop correct strategy and tactics to fight in the 21st century.”

On Problems in the ICM: “The second [wrong trend] ...is not to concentrate on how revolutionary struggle can be developed in one’s country by developing correct strategy and tactics, but to talk more of world revolution, enjoy classical debate,

eulogize strategy and tactic of the past successful revolutions, teach other fraternal parties as if they know everything about the concrete situation in that country and stick to what Lenin and Mao had said before. This trend represents dogmatism.”

On Models: Page 87 (“what we think is that situation has undergone a considerable change, so the communist revolutionaries must not stick to what Lenin had said about insurrection and what Mao had said on Protracted People’s War.”; p. 88 “Prachanda Path has put forward a new concept of fusion of two strategies—the protracted People’s War and insurrection. But this fusion does not mean a mechanical amalgamation of two kinds of strategies...but to flexibly apply the one that does well with the given condition. The essence of fusion is not to abide by specific model but to remain ideologically unrestrained to apply any suitable tactic to confront the pressing challenge in the given concrete condition. We believe that this new concept of ours is applicable everywhere in the world regardless of the politico-economic conditions of country under question.”

- (6) Prachanda, *Press Communique of CC of November 30, 2005*, *The Worker* #10, pp. 141-143. This is a brief summary of the Sept-October 2005 CC Plenum resolutions.
- (7) *Memorandum of Understanding between the Seven-Party Alliance and the CPN(M)*, November 22, 2005 (the “12-Point Agreement”), *The Worker* #10, pp. 143-145. This “historic” document includes calls for the ending the monarchy, an end to the civil war, UN supervision of both armies, elections to the constituent assembly, and promises by both sides not to repeat “mistakes of the past.”
- (8) “Summit Talks Conclude,” June 16, 2006 Nepal News article. On the signing of the “8 Point Agreement,” Prachanda said “his party was ready to dissolve its ‘people’s governments formed at local level.” www.nepalnews.com/archive
- (9) *Exclusive interview with Prachanda, Maoist leader*. Excerpts from interview with Siddharth Varadarajan of *The Hindu*, conducted in the first week of February 2006. www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/nic/maoist

Varadarajan: Is this decision a recognition by you of the impossibility of seizing power through armed struggle? That because of the strength of the RNA and the opposition of the international community, a new form of struggle is needed in order to overthrow the monarchy?

Prachanda: Here again there is not only one question. There is a specificity to the political and military balance in today's world. This has to be seen. The second thing to be seen is the experience of the 20th century. Third, there is the particular situation in the country - the class, political and power balance. It is by taking these three together that we came to our conclusion.

Varadarajan: You mentioned the RNA and I would like your assessment: Does the king control the RNA or does the RNA control the king?

Prachanda: This is a very interesting question. Right now, in fact, this is precisely what we are discussing within our party and outside. Until now, it seemed the balance was 50-50. Sometimes the RNA runs the king, and sometimes the king runs the RNA. But it

seems as if we are now going towards a situation where the RNA is in the driving seat. It seems as if power in the hands of Gyanendra is decreasing and he is doing what the RNA dictates.

Varadarajan: To what extent do you think the logic of your line on multiparty democracy applies also to the Maoist movements in India?

Prachanda: We believe it applies to them too. We want to debate this. They have to understand this and go down this route. Both on the questions of leadership and on multiparty democracy, or rather multiparty competition, those who call themselves revolutionaries in India need to think about these issues. And there is a need to go in the direction of that practice. We wish to debate with them on this. If revolutionaries are not going to look at the need for ideological development, then they will not go anywhere.

Varadarajan: The Indian police agencies say you are providing weapons and training to the Indian Maoists but here you are saying they should go in for multiparty competition.

Prachanda: There is no question of us giving anything. They blame us for Madhubani, Jehanabad, but we have no relationship of this kind with them.

(10) *Interview by Kishor Nepal with Prachanda*, undated, excerpts run in *Maoist_ Revolution digest* in June 2006

Q. Had any international power pushed you or the seven parties towards each other?

Prachanda: It's both. If you talk negatively, Gyanendra pushed us towards each other. His negative actions pushed us towards each other. I doubt if this change would have come, hadn't some international powers, mainly India, urged us (Maoists and parties) to "do something" jointly. Had the seven parties somebody who could think independently, the country would have been different right after the royal palace massacre. The country would not have suffered this much, had there been leaders who could think for themselves. This time, India helped the 12-point understanding in a positive way.

Q. How can the talks move forward in such an artificial environment?

Prachanda: This thing is very important. We will stick to the dialogue process till the end. It is our objective that a peaceful outlet is found. But the seven-party leaders are creating an artificial environment. They are doing the opposite. Not respecting the people's feelings. We want to keep the pressure on from the ground... If the talks fail, there will definitely be an October Revolution of its own kind in Nepal. We are ready to lead that revolution.

Q. This means you are ready to wait till October?

Prachanda: What I mean, in clear words, is that if the seven parties do not understand by October, then the situation will move towards an October Revolution

Q. You have envisioned a people's republic, no?

Prachanda: Mao Zedong's People's Republic cannot fulfill the needs of today's world. It cannot address today's political awareness appropriately. Mao said cooperative party theory; we called it competitive party theory. We have said let's move ahead from the conventional People's Republic and develop it as per the specialties of the 21st century.

Q. You do not follow the old concept of communism?

Prachanda: Definitely not. What happened without competition? In the USSR, Stalin gave no place to competition and went ahead in a monolithic way. What was the result?

Q. You just mentioned about decommissioning the army. What will happen to your army?

Prachanda: The same for the Liberation Army. I have also been training them now. There is no use of increasing the number of our army, either. We don't have the status to beat the Indian or the Chinese army even with our 30 thousand and the 90 thousand-strong royal army. We don't have the status to beat anyone. You go through history; the only thing the Nepali Army has done after the Sugauli Treaty is to kill the people. We can ensure security by forming the people into a militia. If all citizens are made to undergo a five-year military training, there will be 250 million soldiers ready. Once that army is ready, even if India or China attacks, we can save the country. But even if we make a 500 thousand-strong army and keep it in barracks, it cannot fight anyone. What's the use of it?

(11) *Interview with Dev Gurung on Maoist economic policy*, June 24, 2006

<http://66.116.151.85/?p=3602> (International Nepal Solidarity Network for a Democratic Peace)

Excerpts: "The only way to economic transformation of society is through an industrialised economy. The industry sector was not allowed to grow in the past," Gurung said in an interview with Aajako Abhiyan weekly,

Further elaborating the Maoist economic policy, Gurung said his party was in favour of internal competition between national capital, major industries and cottage industries as domestic capital cannot compete with foreign capital and domestic industries cannot compete with multinationals and same goes with small industries and big national industries in terms of competition should there be no control. He said small industries need protection.

"We are not saying we don't want multinational companies or to prevent them from investing here. We have to see where they want to invest and under what conditions. If it is in the national interest only then we should allow them in,"

Gurung explained that the revolutionary land reform would be focused on Terai where most of the cultivable land is owned by Shahs and Ranas. He said the land would go to the tillers but the landlords will be allowed to keep up to 10 bighas of land for their upkeep, as "they are also Nepali citizens."

(12) *Has a Secret Deal Been Made in Nepal? Chairman Prachanda and the Corporate Convergence in Kathmandu*, OnmyNews International, November 9, 2006. On investment opportunities in Nepal's hydropower resources.

http://english.ohmynews.com/articleview/article_view.asp?no=327444&rel_no=1

(13) Mahara: *Let the Alliance Work for at Least a Decade*, The Himalayan Times Online, Pokhara, November 11, 2006

Maoist spokesperson Krishna Bahadur Mahara on Friday said the pact between the Seven-Party Alliance and the Maoists should continue until the end of feudalism in the country. Addressing a victory meet organised here by the CPN (Maoist), Kaski, after the historic agreement between the SPA and Maoists, Mahara said the eight-party alliance should continue for at least next 10 years.

(14) Prachanda: *Our Revolution Won*, early November 2006. Prachanda talks to Alessandro Gilioli of Italian newspaper L'espresso. Below are excerpts from the interview. <http://nepal.singlepark.org/?id=praintital>

President Prachanda, let's start with the current situation.... It seems to me that you've already won the war. Is that true?

P: Our revolution has not been completely victorious as yet. Changing the social economic structure and empowering the masses, in this sense, we have done an enormous amount and at the moment we are the main political force in the country. I think that we have achieved almost 60 percent of our goals, the remaining 40 per cent will be achieved with the election of the Constituent Assembly.

How many votes, in percentage, will the Maoist party get in the elections for the Constituent Assembly?

P: I think the majority of the population will vote for us. More than 50 percent should be for our party. In rural areas, according to our estimates, more than 80 per cent of the masses support our party. In urban areas and in the Terai there is a mixed situation. So now we are trying our best to win over population in urban areas and on the Terai's plains. Anyway, I think that Maoist party will be supported by more than 50 percent of the country. Overall the democratic, republican, radical and left forces will gain more than 75 per cent of the vote.

Do you think that US government will accept the new government of Nepal if the communists party, Maoist included, win the elections? Aren't you scared of a coup d'état like Chile in the Seventies?

P: This is a very serious issue. The representatives of the US in Asia also tried to sabotage the peace process in Nepal, they have always supported the king and opposed democracy. The US Ambassador James Moriarty is still traveling to many regions telling everybody not to believe the Maoists, that the Maoists are bad... So, the CIA may conspire against our movement, we are serious and we are prepared for anything. They will not be able to stop the march to a republic and democracy.

If the Maoist party gains more than 50 percent of the vote, will you form a government on your own?

P: No. We will try to unite other left and radical democratic forces and move forward together, we need a coalition, in order to develop the country in a prosperously. But if we Maoists win the elections, we will naturally claim the presidency of the Republic.

Does Communism make sense today?

P: It's a big question, starting with Marx, Lenin and Mao Zedong, who wanted to apply the Marxist teachings in semi colonial countries. Now, we still need Marxism, but in accordance to the needs of the 21st century. We have to apply Marxist science in a very new context, understanding social, economic and also technological changes, without dogmatism and without sectarianism. We are trying to develop a completely new concept, different from what happened in the past century. When we are in the government, our experiment will surprise everybody.

Why do you still call yourself Maoists, while China is turning to capitalism? Why don't you change your name, like the Italian Communists did 16 years ago?

P: We changed our name several times in the past, before the People's War. We can change name according to the situation, there is no dogmatism about it. But we think that Mao developed a very important philosophy. Even though China has changed its colours and no longer follows Maoism any more, there are some ideological points in Maoism that even today hold good against repression. So, at the moment we are not going to change names. Maybe in the future.

How do you image Nepal in 10-20 years from now?

P: Our country and our people have lots of opportunities for prosperity....In ten years we'll change the whole scenario, rebuilding this country to prosperity. In 20 years we could be similar to Switzerland. This is my goal for Nepal.

This will happen only if foreign investors trust a communist government...

P: Yes, I know. We cannot ignore the whole process of liberalization in the world. So, we will apply mixed economics to this country. Right now, we are not saying that we plan a total socialist economy, though we will not blindly follow western liberalism. We have some national priorities and we will welcome foreign investors, using capital from abroad for the well being of Nepal.

(15) Prachanda's speech at the Hindustan Times Leadership Summit in New Delhi, November 18, 2006. "*Democracy: The Forbidden Fruit or Nectar for Progress?*" "Though Mao made some bold experiments to revive and develop socialist democracy, his efforts did not result in any qualitative advance. Why did socialist democracy ultimately fail? Why did it have to bear the stigma of 'totalitarianism' from its adversaries? If the revolutionary communists of the 21st century have 'to win the battle for democracy', as Marx and Engels had declared in the famous Communist Manifesto, we must dare to question the past practice in socialist democracy and take some bold initiatives." <http://www.nepalmonitor.com>

(16) *Full text of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement held between Government of Nepal and Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)*, November 22, 2006. See Sections 4-6 on the management of armies and arms, and Section 10 on dissolving "parallel governments." <http://bloggingnepal.blogspot.com/2006/11/full-text-of-comprehensive-peace>

H. Statements of the Communist Party of India (Maoist)

(1) *Exclusive Interview with CPI (Maoist) Spokesperson on Nepal Developments* in June 2006, posted on People's March website on August 6. Below are excerpts from this interview. <http://peoplesmarch.googlepages.com>

"There is need for caution with the present tactics. We think that Maoists forming a government jointly with the comprador bourgeois-feudal parties such as the reactionary Nepali Congress, revisionist CPN-UML and the other parties of the ruling classes will not really work out as they represent two diametrically opposed class interests. It is a wrong interpretation on the question of the state in Nepal to expect the possibility of a peaceful

transition from the CA [Constituent Assembly] to the NDR [new democratic revolution..

“Overall, the decision of the CPN(M) to dissolve the revolutionary people’s governments in the countryside and to merge the PLA with the reactionary army will unfold an irreversible process of losing all the revolutionary gains achieved till now....

“The various ruling class parties and the so-called left parties in India are elated at the change of stance by the CPN(M) led by comrade Prachanda. They are naturally hailing the line taken by the CPN(Maoist) and are calling upon the Maoists in India to realize the futility of armed struggle and to follow the Maoists of Nepal by participating in the parliamentary pig-sty in India...

“It is true that the revolutions everywhere are confronting a tough situation especially after the setback of China. Tactically speaking, in the present-day world, the enemy forces are quite strong while our subjective forces are weak...But this is only one side of the coin. At the same time, the objective conditions are quite favorable: imperialism, particularly US imperialism, is hated by the people everywhere and massive people’s movements are breaking out against imperialism, particularly US imperialism, throughout the world. Any revolution in today’s world has to inevitably face the attacks by the imperialists. To face an enemy much bigger than the revolutionary forces there are no question that it may and will require a great flexibility in tactics. ...But while doing so there is always a danger to lose sight of our strategic tasks of the seizure of power by armed force....

“Whatever be the tactics adopted by the CPN(M) the most objectionable part in the entire matter is its projection of these tactics as a theoretically developed position which it thinks should be the model for the revolutions in the 21st century. In the name of fighting against dogmatism our comrades of CPN(M) are slipping into dangerous territory.”

(2) *Statement of the Central Committee of the CPI (Maoist)*, November 13, 2006. Some excerpts follow:

<http://www.singlespark.org/?id=Azad2006Nov13>

“The agreement to deposit the arms of the people’s army in designated cantonments is fraught with dangerous implications. This act could lead to the disarming of the oppressed masses of Nepal and to a reversal of the gains made by the people of Nepal in the decade-long people’s war at the cost of immense sacrifices. The clause in the agreement to deposit an equal number of arms by both sides will obviously work in favour of the Koirala-led government as the latter will have the option to use the huge stock of arms still at the disposal of the army anytime and to further strengthen the reactionary army of the government. The decision taken by CPN(Maoist) on arms management, even if it thinks it is a tactical step to achieve its immediate goal of setting up a constituent assembly, is harmful to the interests of the revolution.

“Entire experiences of the world revolution had demonstrated time and again that without the people’s army it is impossible for the people to exercise their power....

Unarmed masses are easy prey for the reactionary classes and imperialists who even enact massacres as proved by history. The CC, CPI(Maoist), as one of the detachments of world proletariat, warns the CPN(Maoist) and the people of Nepal of the grave danger inherent in the agreement to deposit the arms and calls upon them to reconsider their tactics in the light of bitter historical experiences.

“The agreement by the Maoists to become part of the interim government in Nepal cannot transform the reactionary character of the state machinery that serves the exploiting ruling classes and imperialists. The state can be the instrument in the hands of either the exploiting classes or the proletariat but it cannot serve the interests of both these bitterly contending classes. It is the fundamental tenet of Marxism that no basic change in the social system can be brought about without smashing the state machine. Reforms from above cannot bring any qualitative change in the exploitative social system however democratic the new Constitution might seem to be, and even if the Maoists become an important component of the government. It is sheer illusion to think that a new Nepal can be built without smashing the existing state.

“Another illusion that the agreement creates is regarding the so-called impartial or neutral role of the UN. The UN is in reality an instrument in the hands of the imperialists, particularly US imperialists, to dominate, bully and interfere in the affairs of the Third World countries for the benefit of the imperialists.,,, Giving it any role in arms management, election supervision, and peace process in Nepal, would only mean inviting imperialist interference, in particular that of US imperialism.

“Another disturbing factor is the illusion harboured by the Maoists in Nepal regarding the role of the Indian expansionists. Indian ruling classes are the biggest threat to the people of the entire sub-continent and it is the duty of the people of the various countries of South Asia to unitedly fight Indian expansionism. The Indian state, with the backing of US imperialism, has been continuously interfering in the internal affairs of Nepal; it had backed the monarchy while encouraging its stooges among the parliamentary forces in the name of two-pillar theory; trained and extended all forms of aid to the Royal Nepal Army in their military offensive against the Maoists; has secret deals with the Nepali Congress led by Koirala and with other reactionary parties; and is bent upon disarming the PLA and the masses of Nepal and isolating the Maoists. Its aim is to grab the natural wealth of Nepal particularly its huge hydel potential and to make it a safe haven for the imperialists and Indian comprador capitalists. Comrade Prachanda’s repeated praise for India’s role in bringing about the agreement between the Maoists and the SPA in Nepal creates illusions among the masses about India rather than preparing them for fighting the Indian expansionists who are keen on skirmishing Nepal in future.

“Even more surprising is the assertion by the CPN(Maoist) that their current “tactics” in Nepal would be an example to other Maoist parties in South Asia. Comrade Prachanda had also given a call to other Maoist parties to reconsider their revolutionary strategies and to practice multiparty democracy in the name of 21st century democracy. Our CC makes it crystal-clear to CPN(M) and the people at large that there can be no genuine democracy in any country without the capture of state power by the proletariat and that the so-called multiparty democracy cannot bring any basic change in the lives of the

people. It calls upon the Maoist parties and people of South Asia to persist in the path of protracted people's war as shown by comrade Mao. We also appeal to the CPN(Maoist) once again to rethink about their current tactics which are actually changing the very strategic direction of the revolution in Nepal and to withdraw from their agreement with the government of Nepal on depositing arms of PLA as this would make the people defenseless in face of attacks by the reactionaries.”

Note: Since the People's March website has been attacked by the Indian state, current news of the revolutionary struggle in India can be found at <http://naxalrevolution.blogspot.com/>