



World People's Resistance Movement (Britain)

*Reports and interviews by activists of WPRM (Britain & Ireland)
during their visit to Nepal, Aug-Sep 2009*



North, South, East and West: Unite the People's Struggles!

“In the current situation, in which international support for the Nepalese revolution has waned considerably since 2006, members of WPRM (Britain and Ireland) were in Nepal for six weeks since August 2009 to talk with leaders and masses to try to better understand the contradictions in Nepalese society and how the UCPN(M) is providing leadership in making revolution. We believe constructive criticism should be made on the platform of internationalist support, especially given the ongoing threat from US imperialist and Indian expansionist intervention. Below are the reports and interviews conducted in Nepal by members of WPRM (Britain and Ireland)”

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Interview with Comrade Binod: On the Current Situation

WPRM: Can you introduce yourself please?

Com. Binod: My name is Comrade Binod. I am a Central Committee member and secretary of the state council for Mahakali state, which comprises seven districts in the far west of Nepal.

WPRM: Can you tell us about the recent Central Committee meeting and its implications for the coming weeks and months?

Com. Binod: In the life of the party, this Central Committee meeting has been unusual from the point of view of ideology and debate. We have received an opportunity, and we are proud that this meeting has been very unusual because it has taken place amid the deep curiosity of the proletariat in Nepal as well as the world over. This curiosity is positive. At the same time, the imperialists and reactionaries also have an expectation. Amid this we have carried out a great meeting, and made decisions which have made us proud to talk about this meeting.



WPRM: And what are these decisions?

Com. Binod: At this moment when there is no experience of revolution in the 21st century, when there is no advanced proletarian revolutionary movement in the world, when this country is encircled and governed by Indian expansionism, at this moment against imperialism and expansionism, we have come to the decision that we have to accomplish insurrection. This is the important outcome of this meeting.

WPRM: So insurrection can be carried out in this situation?

Com. Binod: Certainly there is a negative situation; an unfavourable situation for revolutionaries. But there is no other mightier force than the people, and the Nepalese people are so mighty. Because of this, these people can bring us success. We have the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) and we have a good and clear organisational setup, we have a team of leaders who want to fight, we have a class, a nation and a region which has been heavily suppressed. We have the commitment to win victory, the commitment to synthesise our understanding to a new height. Certainly there are serious obstacles put in front of the Nepali people by the Americans, but we have commitment, courage and the confidence to overcome those obstacles. What we see now within the UML, a revisionist party, is that their cadres have lost confidence with their leaders and their line. At the same time within Nepali Congress, a reactionary party, many cadres have also lost confidence with their leaders and their line. The monarchists have already lost their leadership and also the Terai nationalist forces have seen their leadership divided.

We have a glorious history. You are British, and we have a glorious history of Ghorkali forces that defeated the British Army in many places. As descendants of that, our people are equipped with the weapons of MLM and the blood that is flowing in Nepal is now working for the purpose of socialism and communism. When we initiated the People's War we were only 70 or 75 people. Even at that time we had the courage and confidence that we could conquer the world, that the revolutionary forces, the proletariat, could conquer the world. We had some fear about whether our party was going to be destroyed, or whether, like UML, it would become a revisionist party, whether it would vacillate on the revolutionary path. But through the process of great debate we have come to a higher level of understanding and we see that the victory of the proletariat is inevitable. We have a deep feeling that today no-one can make this party a reactionary or vacillating party. We are not only

capable and experienced in leading People's War but also in leading line struggle and taking the party to a higher level of debate. That has been proved in this meeting.

WPRM: How does the UCPN(M) feel about the current UML led coalition government?

Com. Binod: Our senior leader Baburam Bhattarai said that the Nepali people have given the responsibility of being a driver to the Maoists, as a conductor to the Nepali Congress and as a caretaker to the UML. But now the caretaker has taken the place of the driver and the driver is in place of the caretaker. In Nepalese tradition there is a fable about Dakchyaprajapati, who has the body of a human being and the head of a goat, which is set in a wrong direction, pointing backwards. This government is like that. Objectively we understand this government like that, but politically this government is designed by Nepali Congress. In the objective reality of Nepal, this government has been constructed in order to destroy the Nepali revolution, the UCPN(M) and the aspirations of the Nepali people. But this government is like a scarecrow. In the beginning the birds think this might be a man. Then when the bird realises this is not a man then it sits on the head of the scarecrow. At the moment this government is like a scarecrow. The Nepali people understand that it is set up by Indian expansionism and they are not afraid of this. So it is not so important to talk about this government, but as far as MK Nepal (the PM) is concerned, he has time and again over the last few years prepared his trousers and his daura-suruwal (a type of Nepali dress). He has been prepared many times but had never before had this opportunity. Now he has got his opportunity. But this time there is a big possibility that his chair will fall down before his clothes get dirty.

WPRM: Now Prachanda is talking about a new government being formed, how will this come about?

Com. Binod: This new government will assure civilian supremacy and national sovereignty, giving immediate relief to the people and with the purpose of insurrection. We have carried out many preparations in order to convince the international community that it is necessary to have power, in order to convince Nepalese society this government will be formed. Certainly, this government will be formed to organise insurrection, having convinced the international community that we want a new society, and to convince the revolutionary forces that we want to make revolution, to convince the people that we are going towards a new society, to convince anti-imperialist and anti-expansionist forces that we are taking this society forwards.

WPRM: How exactly will this new government come into being?

Com. Binod: The main basis is the Nepalese people. It will come about through the struggle of the Nepalese people, through strong intervention against the parliament and the organisation of a United Front amongst the nationalist and democratic forces within parliament and involving all sections of people and civil society. We understand that one section of UML is not happy with this government. The main section of the leadership is also not happy with this government. The Madhesi party has split and the Madhesi people are also not happy with this government. Even the honest people within Nepali Congress believe that without the Maoists the new constitution cannot be written. The people who are in favour of civilian supremacy and national sovereignty are also not happy with this government. The majority within this parliament agrees on the question that the step of the president (to overrule then-PM Prachanda's decision to sack General Katuwal) is unconstitutional and unjust. These parliamentary forces are afraid even to debate this issue, this motion on the step of the president. Therefore this government is defunct because the practice has been shown that the parties are split and the parliamentary members are protesting. This kind of government cannot be accepted for a long time. It is defunct and is losing morality, confidence and honesty. It is set up against the people and so cannot sustain itself for long time.

WPRM: The deadline for writing the constitution is in nine months, is it possible to write it in time and what will happen if it is not?

Com. Binod: The constitution would certainly have been written if there was no struggle between opposite classes. But this struggle is happening as a political struggle. The other classes would like to write a constitution according to their class interests, we would like to write a constitution according to our class interests. The possibility of the constitution being written is low. At that time there is the possibility that a new class situation might emerge. We are taking the issue very seriously in order to meet the challenges that might come up in those conditions. In this situation we are trying to organise the masses for rebellion, through insurrection of the masses. The reactionaries didn't want Constituent Assembly elections, but on the backs of the masses they were obliged to hold them. They didn't want a republic, but on the back of the people the republic was established. Those elements who once put a bounty on our heads and propagated that we are terrorists have now been forced to recognise us as a political party because of the force of the people, as has the US imperialist force who also called us terrorists.

No such event has before taken place in history, where 'terrorists' have been recognised like this. These kind of unimaginable things have happened on the back of the force of the masses. We believe that on the back of the force of the masses, the constitution can also be written, a constitution favourable to the masses, but the possibility of that kind of constitution being written is very low at the moment.

WPRM: Many Maoists around the world are concerned that the party has given up the armed struggle, the PLA are in cantonments and the party now has the plan to merge the two armies together, the PLA and the Nepali Army (NA). What is the role of the PLA now in the struggle for revolution in Nepal?

Com. Binod: The PLA is under the control of UNMIN and a special team, the Army Integration Committee. But practically the PLA is under the control of the Maoist party. Even though the weapons are in containers, the key of those containers is in our hands. We talked to the lower members of the NA and we found that the behaviour within their army is like from the 12th or 14th centuries, feudal behaviour is being carried out. The leadership of the NA is from a very backward class, from feudal leadership. If we do things carefully then there is a big possibility that the bitterness between officers and soldiers could be maximised. Obviously as long as the NA is around, insurrection or victory cannot be achieved. Hence, the question of integration is not that the PLA is being diluted into the NA. The NA should be diluted into the PLA. The meaning of the policy of army integration is not in the dissolution of the PLA but in the dissolution of the NA, to transform the NA and turn it into a PLA. That is why Nepali Congress and UML are always afraid of army integration.

WPRM: Mao said that after 1949 the dangers of sugar-coated bullets are more dangerous than the real bullets from the war before. How does the UCPN(M) understand this?

Com. Binod: Certainly this situation is grave, but it is not out of our hands and the situation can be made positive. Why has the situation developed in the world where millions of people worked to establish a socialist state and then again the same people came to power and later removed that state away. Why is that? Why do the same people who were once deeply respected reach the point of denouncing the state? There are still certain citizens who fought for Marxism who are now really afraid of Marxism. While we were talking to youth from Eastern Europe, youth working for human rights organisations, I talked to them and asked why there is no attraction towards Marxism among the masses of Eastern European countries.

Why do British people, where Marx said the first revolution would take place, still support the rejected parliamentary system? Why was the Chinese revolution demolished very easily after the death of Mao Zedong? We have to answer these crucial questions standing on the unprecedented history of the 21st century. We feel we can meet the many challenges put forward in the present world. We will continue developing our understanding, our theory, having in the present given answer to these questions; these crucial questions. Based on dialectical materialism and based on democratic centralism, based on safeguarding participation in state power and control over state power, we can accomplish and meet the challenges of state power and control. Communists believe that the stability of capitalism is in motion. We believe that those who are most scientific are Marxist-Leninist-Maoists. But to some they look dogmatic and unscientific. Those who are most reactionary are capitalist-imperialists, which to them looks more dynamic and more forward-moving. The crucial question is why it looks like that. We have to answer this question.

WPRM: The UCPN(M) has developed a theory of elections taking place after New Democratic Revolution and during the stage of socialism. Can you give us your thoughts about this?

Com. Binod: Based on the experiences of Soviet Russia and China, we have understood that the economic and social rights of the masses are not only important, but the political rights of the masses, the personal liberty of the individual, are also very important. With the participation of the masses in state power, state power can go autocratic; state power can become another type. Certainly the dictatorship of the proletariat has to be established and systematised. While we are systematising the dictatorship of the proletariat we should not be cut off from the relationship with the masses. So the dictatorship of the proletariat should be approved directly by the masses.

This does not include pro-feudal, pro-imperialist, pro-expansionist forces, or comprador bureaucrats. It does not include anti-feudal ideologies. Not from those kinds of people, but from people that are really oppressed, those who, if they lose state power, will lose everything. We understand that socialism is an exercise of political ability of the individual to safeguard the dictatorship of the proletariat. That kind of society is, we believe, socialist society. Leninist socialism as defined in the period of Stalin contained something wrong somewhere, so we believe and we hope that we can correct this practice. The control, the observation and the intervention of the masses against the state, has to be guaranteed. In one certain sphere, our correct leadership, our correct party line, cannot mean a direct corridor to revolution. The whole thing has to be tested time and again. Then the instrument of the state is the people, and the people must have the right to test it. That is our definition of socialism as we understand it.

Maoist Cultural Group: A Vital Link in the Party's Mass Line

The district of Kailali is situated in the far west of Nepal. Bordering India and playing host to the cantonment occupied by the PLA 7th Division, the district had until the Constituent Assembly elections, been dominated by CPN(M) and Nepali Congress. Now, all the seats are filled by Maoists in spite of the fact that the area continues to be very traditional in outlook.



The building that serves as the headquarters of the Manjur-Juna-Ramesh cultural group, a name chosen to honour three Maoist martyrs, stands alone by the roadside, on the outskirts of Dhangadhi, the district capital. A white building, with an entrance painted in red and bearing white hammer and sickles, it is a short trip by cycle-rickshaw from the city centre, along a narrow country lane plagued by speed bumps.

Having been invited, as WPRM activists, to visit with and talk to the cultural group, we were ushered down a narrow corridor and into one of the main rooms where we were directed to sit on a large double bed that also served as a couch. Joined soon afterwards by seven male members of the group, these were quick to apologise for the fact that all their female comrades were not present at that time.



Also in the room were a number of the group's instruments: double-sided drums, a six-string acoustic guitar, a Casio keyboard and two accordion-keyboard hybrids. These led to an impromptu jamming session, a western punk song being followed by a revolutionary song entitled, 'The First Step'.

In the discussion that followed, the members revealed that there were fifteen of them living and working from what was, a rented house. Although they do receive some help from the UCPN(M), they strive for self-sufficiency through donations received during the many cultural programs that they carry out.

Stressing their need to maintain close contact with the masses, the group conducts numerous programs in the surrounding villages, these taking the form of songs and street drama. The songs that they themselves compose, they say, are real songs, taken from the people and inspired by their problems. Also, because Kailali is situated far from the Constituent Assembly itself, it is necessary to go among the people to educate from the roots upward, agitate for a people-based constitution, and inform the masses of events and decisions within the Assembly.

Aside from this, we were told, it is not uncommon for local people to come and visit the group, seeking help with their problems as individuals. Now that the PLA members reside in cantonments, it is people like these who are crucial to the party's practice of the mass line.

Although complimenting the work of the YCL, the Cultural Group consists of UCPN(M) members. When asked what had drawn them into the Maoist movement, all said that the Maoist program had impressed them, when it had been presented to them in their villages. During the People's War, the Cultural Group's function was in many cases, to help bolster the morale of the revolutionary fighters, encouraging them to stiffen both their resolve and inner strength.

Consisting of people from several ethnicities, the Manjur-Juna-Ramesh group is one of many such cultural groups working within the Maoist movement in Nepal. Taking its inspiration from similar cultural formations that were used in the service of the revolution in China during the Anti-Japanese War, the Chinese Revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, revolutionary cultural

groups attempt to counter the reactionary culture of the feudalist and comprador-capitalists promoting the culture of the masses. It was groups such as these that were crucial to the carrying out of the mass line in revolutionary China.

As we left the group on the steps of the house that they occupied, giving the Lal Salam (Red Salute), we were filled with a deep sense of comradeship, impressed by these youths deep commitment to the Nepali masses and their revolution.

Comrade Jayapuri on Class and Gender Liberation

Activists from both WPRM Britain and Ireland, were invited to meet and interview Comrade Jayapuri of the All-Nepal Women's Association (Revolutionary) in Kathmandu recently. The new Maoist headquarters sits on a hill overlooking the city and can be reached via a muddy pathway. Approaching the front door, there are obvious signs of work going on in different parts of the building and the noise from these continued throughout the time that we spent there. Comrade Jayapuri is, like many of the high-ranking UCPN(M) members that we met, a down to earth friendly woman whose long service to the revolutionary struggle and sophisticated political knowledge does not cause her to be anything other than approachable. Speaking through Comrade Suresh Ale Magar, who kindly acted as interpreter, Comrade Jayapuri gave an outline not just of the situation with regard to women in the emerging Nepal, but also her own insights into the current nationwide situation.

WPRM: Can you please introduce yourself?

Com. Jayapuri: My name is Jayapuri Gharti and I am the president of the All-Nepal Women's Association (Revolutionary), a Central Committee member of the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and a member of the Constituent Assembly, elected directly from Rolpa District. I am also the whip for our party in the Constituent Assembly.



WPRM: What is the agenda of the UCPN(M) on women's issues in Nepal today?

Com. Jayapuri: The party is presently involved in writing a new constitution for Nepal. We are working to write a constitution that will guarantee the rights of women, particularly women from oppressed areas. We are fighting for inclusive and proportional representation for women, for economic and social rights and equality for women. At present we are fighting against the presidential coup and military supremacy and for civil supremacy, alongside all democratic and civil society forces, revolutionary and republican forces. We are also fighting for the national sovereignty of Nepal. Our party has been raising the issue of the unconstitutional step of the president. We are fighting to discuss this issue in the Constituent Assembly. Now there is 30% representation for women in state mechanisms but we are fighting for 50%. In the 601 member Constituent Assembly there are only 179 women members but from our party alone there are 79 women in the Constituent Assembly, the largest proportion by far.

WPRM: What part do women play in the People's Liberation Army (PLA), Young Communist League (YCL) and UCPN(M)?

Com. Jayapuri: In the great People's War women played a highly significant role. They fought valiantly and made up 40% of the PLA at that time. Apart from fighting, women also played a role in intelligence and other areas. After the peace process the PLA are in the cantonments but women still play an important role. In the YCL, women are in leading positions, including the vice-president of the Central Committee of the YCL. As there is no war, women cadres in the YCL are working for social transformation, educating people, giving training and making plans for various programs. Women are very active in the YCL. Women are politically and ideologically quite strong, but maybe they are not so active now as they were in the People's War as this is a transitional period. Of the 175 Central Committee members 37 are still to be nominated. Out of these 138 only 12 are women. This number is far from sufficient for us. The party has been attempting to increase the number of women in the central leadership. At the moment we are saying the issue of women's liberation will not be accomplished until after the revolution.

WPRM: How is the party trying to increase the number of women in the central leadership?

Com. Jayapuri: In the past the party has made concrete plans to increase the number of women in the central leadership. But these days it has not been making concrete efforts on this question, mainly because of the peace process. The leadership has to now engage in many works which we may not like. Of course the party has placed more emphasis on taking the shackles from the oppressed class, oppressed nationalities, oppressed castes and the oppressed gender. But we must admit that the party has not managed something concrete as in the past to bring women into the central leadership. It is a sad fact that some women whole-timer comrades have returned home, but not in a big number. We think this is a very negative thing, but our organisation A-NWO(R) has made a special plan for the protection and promotion of women cadres so they remain here in the party working still as whole-timers.

WPRM: Internationally and historically what are the primary influences on women in the Nepali revolution?

Com. Jayapuri: We know that women's liberation is one part of the whole class liberation. If the whole class is not liberated, women alone cannot be liberated. Of course we have been influenced and inspired by the struggles taking place all over the world, but especially in Russia and China. Comrade Li Onesto from the RCP-USA inspired our women when she came here, and women who took part in the International Road Brigade also inspired us. With this in mind, we ourselves are conducting our struggles and we will continue to move forward. We have been inspired by struggles all over the world but we are making revolution in the specific conditions of Nepal. Though we have not succeeded completely we think we have been successful until now. We have firstly educated the women of Nepal about class ideology, our aims and objectives, and we also participated in their practical life, working in the fields and carrying out domestic tasks. This is how we became successful in rallying women around the party and participating in the People's War.

WPRM: What is the significance of the women's struggle in Nepal for people all over the world?

Com. Jayapuri: As our class struggle and People's War here has been inspired by struggles around the world, we hope that the struggle here will also inspire people all over the world. Of course we know that the struggle here in Nepal is only one part of the world struggle. There should be cooperation between revolutionaries from many different countries. We will attempt to the best of our capacity to unite the women's struggle and the class struggle in Nepal with those happening all over the world. We all admit that the Nepali revolution has not been accomplished yet. This is for the future. To accomplish this revolution all the democratic and revolutionary forces of the world should play inspiring roles. After the revolution has been accomplished here it should be able to support people's struggles in other parts of the world.

WPRM: There is a tendency within the women's movement in capitalist countries that if more women were in top jobs the situation would be better, there would be less war and the economic crisis would not have been so severe. What do you think of this?

Com. Jayapuri: Gender liberation is not possible until class liberation. It is true that women's participation should increase everywhere but this is only secondary to the class struggle. It is a secondary aspect to say that with women leaders there would be no war. Class contradiction is the principal contradiction. Where there are classes there are contradictions. It is correct that women's leadership in every party and organisation should be increased but I don't agree with the view that women leadership would mean no war. Look at Sri Lanka, there have been women leaders but the war has been fierce. So the principal aspect is class and we must concentrate on the class struggle and class ideology. Also there are some who demand a female-only state. This is an extremist view.

For us, we demand an egalitarian society where men and women are equal. Unless both men and women struggle for this new society, women's liberation is not possible. Nepal is a semi-feudal, semi-capitalist country and women have lagged far behind men. In capitalist countries women are more advanced within society. But still to create a state without men is wrong. Here in Nepal we have been struggling alongside men fighting for women's liberation. Only in this way can we achieve our goals.

WPRM: How is the UCPN(M) practicing two-line struggle at this time, such as the lines of Comrades Prachanda and Kiran?

Com. Jayapuri: In any Communist Party two-line struggle is a must, this is what energises and takes forward the party. In our party also, two-line struggle is natural. In the past there was struggle, and struggle still exists. But these struggles are practiced in a very healthy way, in a friendly way and cordial manner. Every idea and every line is always welcomed. In the context of our party it is important to remember that all the Central Committee members are greatly worried about how to accomplish the Nepali revolution. So even if there are various lines, particularly in regards to tactics, these lines all aim for the accomplishment of the Nepali revolution. In the recent Central Committee meeting we managed the two-line struggle well. Now this struggle has ended, but of course a new one will emerge. We are very proud to say we ended this meeting more united than before and are moving forward with great determination that we will be able to accomplish the revolution in Nepal. Now there is no Prachanda line and no Kiran line, in the future maybe they will again emerge, but now we have unity.

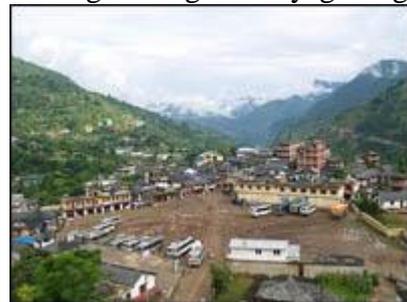
WPRM: Have you any messages for comrades around the world who are keeping a close interest in the Nepali revolution?

Com. Jayapuri: To people from oppressed communities all over the world I would like to say the Nepali revolution is a part of the world revolution. So if we accomplish the revolution here it will be an achievement for the whole world. It will also help the world revolution. Until now the support for our revolution has been significant and we are very thankful. We would like to appeal to people to continue to support us Nepali revolutionaries so we can accomplish the revolution here. Finally I would like to express my personal gratitude and also on behalf of the Nepalese people and the All-Nepal Women's Organisation (Revolutionary) to people all over the world who have been inspiring and encouraging us, supporting our struggle here.

Maoist Practice in the Heartland of the Revolution

Report by members of WPRM Britain and Ireland currently visited Nepal.

The journey to Liwang from Dang took 10 hours by bus along a winding road gradually getting higher into the mountains of Rolpa district. Coming to the end of the monsoon season there was no rain but a few landslides blocked our way and made the journey longer than usual. The few diggers that the government provided were working overtime to keep the roads clear. At times the bus seemed to hover on the edge of the road giving us a view down the steep mountainside but as we came to the top of this range we disappeared into the clouds. As they dispersed it seemed we could see all of Rolpa ahead of us.



The district capital Liwang is situated on the side of a valley, the building's descending into the basin below. Arriving in the bus park in the centre of town, a red flag fluttered in the breeze. Coming down into the town we had passed a fortified Nepali Army base. While this town had never been taken by the Maoists in the People's War, the countryside in all directions forms the heartland of the revolution.

The next morning we had breakfast in a small eatery in the centre of town. A man on the next table started talking to us and before long mentioned that he was a member of the Nepali Army. Talking to a soldier we remained reserved. But to our surprise, in broken English he told us his favourite party is the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). When we asked why, he explained to us that many people had told him the Maoists were bad, but he didn't think so. He also said that after the Maoists he likes the Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist-Leninists) but thinks Nepali Congress is an 'old party'. Before saying goodbye he pointed us in the direction of the Maoist office which was located in the centre of town.

In the party office we were fortunate that one person spoke good English. He is a party supporter and the accountant for the Lungri-madi Cooperative, the main cooperative in Rolpa. In Rolpa there are 51 cooperatives under the command of Lungi-madi. People buy a share in the cooperative and in return receive rice and other food, the use of vehicles and the benefits of various development projects.



We were joined by Comrade Dhurba Kumar, a regional bureau member who explained to us the situation in the old base areas. Many people around the world are worried because after the peace agreement in 2006 the Maoists agreed to dissolve the parallel governmental structures. However, it seems many things are carrying on as before. In both Thawang and Jailwang Village Development Committees (VDC), the communes and model schools set up during the People's War remain. The communes operate a system of collective farming and communal living. In the model schools children learn a Maoist curriculum. There is also a model hospital that still operates at Ghorniti and remains the only hospital in the district. In these areas caste oppression has been greatly reduced and it seems that women have a far greater role than in most of the country. The district committee has equal representation for men and women and the committee of the women's wing of the Maoist party is 150 strong.

As the morning progressed, Comrade Khandan, the district vice-secretary, arrived in the office. In our discussion he related how during the People's War, the people's support for the Party had been very obvious, but now in peace time is a little harder to see. He went on to explain that "many of our

leaders from the rural area are now in Kathmandu. At this time, they are involved in the key struggle over the new constitution. However, our experience underground was to serve the people, now our experience as a legal party is also to serve the people. Our local leaders are still among the masses. Also central leaders such as Baburam Bhattarai and Comrade Gaurav recently came here to give party training. The Maoists want peace but the U.S. and India do not want a Maoist government in Nepal, but we are confident we can win.” This comrade also explained to us that the Nepali Army and the police actually play a positive role in this district. They mostly remain in their barracks and, as we found before, many of their members actually support the Maoists.

Inquiring about the Young Communist League (YCL), we learned that the organization is 500-600 strong in this district. We were introduced to Comrade Visleshana, a 22-year-old YCL activist whose chosen party name translates as ‘Discuss’. He joined the party at the young age of 15. He explained to us that the YCL is responsible for expanding the party and the organisation, and also debating with other parties, possibly the inspiration for his name! Moreover, the YCL is involved with development work and agricultural labour in the local area. They also play an important role in solving disputes. If neighbours or family members quarrel the YCL will work for a common understanding. Common disputes include land boundaries and forestry rights as well as domestic violence and the consumption of alcohol, which is still banned in the countryside because of its negative social consequences.

In the afternoon we walked around the local area. Leaving the main road, we walked along the narrow paths dividing paddy fields. Walking uphill through the forest it began to feel almost tropical. As we ascended further we passed many two-storey mud-based houses of impressive design. The lower floor was generally used for the keeping of cattle and livestock, while the family inhabited the upper floor. On the way we passed many locals working in the fields all of whom greeted us with smiles, helpfully making sure we were on the right path. Walking up the steep, narrow mountain paths we were indeed worried about getting lost!

At sunset we again met up with local cadres from the office, going to another Maoist building nearby. This building housed various cadres, the Cultural Group of the district and also served as the kitchen, where we were given rice, lentils and raw chilies. We sat together on mats and took it in turns to eat our share. During a power cut, we talked more by candle light. We were introduced to Comrade Tufan, whose name means ‘Thunderstorm’. A man of arrested growth, during the People’s War this comrade had worked in the vital field of communications. Passing messages, he was not suspected by the Army or police of involvement with the Maoists because of his physical stature. As a district committee member he was described as “small in size but big in ideas.”



In the late evening members of the Cultural Group requested that we listen to them perform. The Cultural Group was made up of 17 members, 10 male and 7 female, between the ages of 16 and 22. In the room where they all sleep, they gathered together a guitar, some drums, and an accordion. Sitting in a group on the floor their first song was called ‘Against Indian Expansionism’, a song about the recent Indian encroachments on Nepali land, followed by ‘Revolutionary Red Army’ and finally ‘Making New Nepal’. The sound of the instruments and the singing, as well as the warm interaction of the people present, filled us with inspiration and a great sense of camaraderie. During the last song Comrade Tufan stood dancing in the middle of the group entering into the spirit and the rhythm of the music. At the end of the night a guitar was passed to one of the WPRM (Britain) activists who played a song about the oppression of women in capitalist society to complete the cultural and political exchange.

Returning to our room we were all highly impressed with the welcome we had received, the fellowship that was immediately apparent between all people present and the continuing role of the Maoists at all levels amongst the people.

Interview with Comrade Sonam: The Role of the YCL

WPRM (Britain and Ireland) activists recently interviewed the Maoist CC member and in charge of the YCL in Kathmandu. Coming at a time when little positive is known about the role of the YCL in Nepali politics, especially after the PLA has been restrained in cantonments, we tried to find out how the YCL is involved in work amongst the masses and how it is fighting for a new state power. Below is the transcript of the interview.

WPRM: Can you introduce yourself please?

Com. Sonam: My name is Sonam. I am a politburo member of the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and am in-charge of the Young Communist League (YCL).



WPRM: The YCL is often charged with terrorist activities by the Nepali as well as the western media, can you explain to us the activities of the organisation and the role it plays in Nepali politics and society today?

Com. Sonam: When the YCL was founded it was based on four principles: to defend and propagate the party line, to politicise the masses on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM), to fight for proletarian state power, and lastly to serve the people. This organisation is a political, militant mass organisation. Previously we had an understanding with other political parties which is reflected in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). The YCL is committed to implement this understanding and to make the other side implement this too. This is a politically contentious issue. We are trying to develop a state based on MLM and we want to demolish the current state. Those people with old ideas who want to maintain the status-quo will obviously oppose our organisation. Because we are fighting for the interests of the majority of the people, the majority of the people support us. A minority of the reactionaries who exploit this country oppose us.

We have been an obstruction for reactionary interests. In order to maintain the exploitation and oppression they propagate that the YCL is a terrorist organisation. But we have taken up many important activities. First of all, we are safeguarding our border from east to west. We have an open border with India and there have been encroachments by India recently. Secondly, in the cities we widen streets because, as you have seen, in Kathmandu the roads are very narrow. We also collect rubbish and plant trees. Lastly, we carry out actions against anti-people elements, such as drug dealers, rapists, and corrupt people in business and politics. We also help drug addicts overcome their addictions.

The comprador bourgeoisie and bueracrat capitalists are the main targets of the YCL. The YCL is being defamed in their class interests. We feel we have been lacking in propagating the positive aspects of the YCL. Only the negative aspects from a reactionary angle have been propagated. Therefore there has been some confusion in the international community about the YCL. Now we have taken up a policy that the YCL will work to defend national sovereignty and territorial integrity and implement the People's Federal Democratic Republic, the tactic of our party. The YCL will fight to establish this.

WPRM: How large is the YCL and what is its proportion of women, nationalities and dalits?

Com. Sonam: Regular whole-timer activists all over Nepal number 6000. Irregular and part-time activists number one lakh (100,000). Women make up only 25% of the organisation because most women work with the women's organisation. Our YCL includes members of all nationalities and castes but in areas where there is a large nationality then those people will be more numerous. YCL

members must be between the ages of 16-40. Some of our members only work in the YCL but others are members of different organisations such as women's, national or student organisations.

WPRM: How does the YCL practice the mass line?

Com. Sonam: Basically the YCL has been taking up the mass line as Mao put forward under the slogan 'grasp revolution, promote production'. This has been one of the guiding lines of our party. Practicing MLM we live among the masses and serve the people. This is our general understanding of the mass line, to be integrated with the masses. The state spends money and wastes it, so it is the YCL carrying out social welfare projects. Therefore the people have a high regard for the YCL. The revolutionary process is the overthrow of one state by another. Because we are also practicing a kind of state, not a full state but a kind of state, it is our duty to carry out these projects. This is a kind of state practice, the practice of an embryonic state, a future state. At this time we are in the simultaneous process of construction and destruction. All these things the YCL is doing are towards construction. At the same time we are going to destroy the old state power. This is the dialectic of construction and destruction. Still, overall, the principal aspect is destruction of the old state power and the secondary aspect is construction of the new state power.

WPRM: Given the unrest in the Terai and the killings of some YCL members there, how is this situation developing?

Com. Sonam: Previously in the Terai the national aspect dominated and the class aspect was not that strong. That's why there were some activities against the YCL, including the killing of some activists. Nowadays this contradiction is changing. The national aspect is going to be secondary and the class aspect is becoming principle. We are mobilising the YCL in those areas based on the party's line and our activities are developing in those areas. Organisationally we are the principal force in the Terai. Previously, other parties did not have bad intentions to the masses, but some people who had an interest to cause instability in the Terai were supported by some people. But when we exposed the basis of these foreign-related activists, the people were basically clear and the overall situation is now in our favour.

WPRM: What is the relationship between the YCL and the People's Liberation Army (PLA)?

Com. Sonam: Before the initiation of the People's War (PW), there was already a YCL, which was transformed into the PLA during the war. During the PW, youth were always organized in the PLA. In local levels there were also local defence teams. After the CPA the main force of the PLA was put in cantonments, but the secondary force, the village and local defence teams, became the YCL. The YCL is now carrying out activities to advance the party line and help the coming insurrection take place. During the PW, the PLA was working as the main force of mobile war. Now the YCL is working to defend the achievements of the PW period and preparing for the coming struggles.

WPRM: Does the YCL also engage in theoretical work?

Com. Sonam: Our main work of ideology is the study of Marxism and the analysis of society on the basis of that outlook. We have been working with the masses based on this ideology and the YCL is working to produce revolutionary successors. Its main role is to assist the party, so it is not involved only in practical work. It is a communist organisation based on MLM. We study this as one of our main tasks, because we are a dynamic force to change society.

WPRM: Have you any message for comrades in the International Communist Movement (ICM)?

Com. Sonam: The ICM is in crisis now. Maoists are the most forward-looking people in the world. We have been able to develop a theory of the whole world, but we have not been able to develop an

axis to change it. Firstly, we have to analyse it, and then take the responsibility to change it. Imperialism has been able to do this, but we haven't. We have done many things, but we have not been able to create an axis to change the world. US imperialism is making plans in the US about how to change the political situation in Nepal. But we proletarians are not doing enough to expose imperialist intervention. We have become disunited. We must create a new unity, and a new unity of youth. For this we must develop programmes in a decentralised way and carry these out wherever possible. There are two aspects here: one is to learn from each other's revolutions, all the positive and negative aspects, secondly, we must defend each other's revolutions. With respect to these two aspects, the ICM has been involved in analysing the line struggles of different parties internally, but not helping each other practically. This is a real lack.

There is a need to organise a new International and an International for youth. Theoretically the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) has played a good role, but practically it has not been able to develop programs and plans to influence the situation. Now there is an urgent need to think about these questions, and if we fail it will be difficult to build support for revolutions around the world. So we are thinking about how we can play a role to organise internationally, and organise youth internationally. One way could be for youth from Nepal to go to other countries, and another could be for youth from other countries to come here and work in practice and struggle in theoretical discussion with the YCL. For this two organisations are needed, one for Maoist youth and one to bring together anti-imperialist youth. If we fail in this, people will analyse for years to come the reasons for the failure of the Nepalese revolution. But if we take this up, Nepal can be a base area for revolution all over the world.

Educating Revolutionary Successors: A Maoist Model School in Jiri

Report by members of WPRM Britain and Ireland currently visited Nepal.

Our journey started, as many do in Nepal, with a five hour bus trip where the only available free space was the roof. Although the journey was long it was only just over 100km, following narrow, windy mountain roads which were bumpy and at times treacherous. The roof however provided stunning views of the scenery and the opportunity to meet many local people, including a family of seven brothers and two sisters who found us a great source of amusement but were eager for us to visit their village and stay with their family. They were very friendly and not reserved at all, especially the girls unlike in many parts of Nepal and Asia in general, but we politely told them of our need to get to the town of Jiri in Dolakha district, east of Kathmandu.



School building opposite fields cultivated by students and teachers



Teachers and students dancing together in cultural performance

Jiri is quite a remote town, of average size and the start of the popular trek to the Everest base camp. For this reason we were straight away accosted by hotel managers looking for business in the off-peak season. As with many tourist hotels in Nepal the managers are supporters of Nepali Congress and, indeed, the deposed royal family. In these areas images of the Dalia Lama are numerous. Our first port of call in Jiri was the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) office, a hive of activity compared to the cemetery stillness of the Nepali Congress office opposite. There we met the Area Secretary Comrade Kulbindra, various Young Communist League (YCL) activists and a teacher from the Sahid (Martyrs) Memorial Boarding School. After a brief chat over Nepali tea, we were asked whether we wanted to walk up the easy of the difficult route to the school, which was high up a mountain. Doubting that the school could be on the very top of the mountain we chose the difficult route, a choice that would soon come back to haunt us.

We set off eager about the people we were going to meet and the knowledge we were going to gain, but after ten minutes all we could think of was resting! Half way up the rain started. Being British we didn't mind, but it gave us a good excuse for a rest. We stopped in the house of a peasant family who told us that they were a Maoist family and that during the People's War (PW) they had fed and sheltered Maoist guerrillas on numerous occasions. They wouldn't let us leave without a feed of boiled potatoes and eggs as well as a beaker of warm milk. We chatted until the rain stopped before continuing the walk in the dark up the slippery mountain path through the wet vegetation, the perfect ambush point for leeches. Reaching the school we realized it was at the top of the mountain and we were well within the clouds, within the altitude of leeches, but above the mosquito line and too high for Nepali Congress!



Headteacher Anil Bhattari and Protrait of Rit Bahadur Khadka, Central Committee Member and martyr of the People's War

The model school was one of five Maoist schools for the children of martyrs set up this year, with funding from the Martyrs' Association, a government-funded Maoist organisation. Covering the central district of Nepal, this school consists of three large two-storey buildings plus a washing block. There are 101 students here, all of whom had lost at least both parents as martyrs of the PW. With seven teachers, the students range from the age of 6 to 17, with more than 60% of the students

male. There is a good sense of love and care between the teachers and students, rather than a simple sense of occupational interaction. Indeed, the teachers seem to act as the children's new family. The students learn maths, science, Nepali, English and a general course on Maoism, a fully Maoist curriculum that differs from government and of course private schools. They learn about Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Prachanda. They also learn about Che Guevara, particularly his sacrifice and revolutionary spirit to change the world. They also study the background of the PW, about capitalism and communism and the need for Cultural Revolution, to destroy the old feudal culture and replace it with a new one. To a great extent they do this through the medium of art; music, dance and comedy.



Students in a classroom in the Maoist Model School.

A programme of entertainment had been planned for that evening, including songs about fighting and sacrifice for the revolution, helping the children understand the necessity of struggle for a Maoist future and the cause for which their parents died. Three young girls started dancing and were soon joined enthusiastically by some of the teachers. We were introduced to one young boy who was famous in the school for his comedy routine which included impersonations of a dog and Nepali Congress leader Sher Bahadur Deuba, but sadly we did not have time to hear this. At the end of the programme children came on to the stage to welcome us to the school and we were suddenly hit by the emotion of the sacrifice these children themselves had made. The head teacher Anil Bhattarai, who spent the performance sitting amongst the children, all eager to sit on his lap, also said a few words of welcome, and we were very impressed by his obvious affection for the children and the teachers. At night we were given a bed each in the guest room which we shared with one of the teachers and the area secretary.

We were woken at 5:30am to the sound of children already up and about. Over tea in the dining hall we had an opportunity to talk more with the teachers on subjects ranging from the political situation in Britain to the current policies of the UCPN(M). We also learned that the school was at the top of the mountain because high ground was relatively free of disease and there was good access to water and wood. The buildings had previously been home to a private school which had moved to the town and become a community school because of the pressure of Maoist-led strikes against "the supermarket of education". We also saw in the light of the morning a large playing field and an area for volleyball and badminton. There was also a large field where the teachers and students together cultivated potatoes, cauliflowers and various other vegetables which were used for school meals. This reminded us of an important idea from the Cultural Revolution, that students and teachers should also play a role in production and strive for self-sufficiency. The students and teachers also ate together and were responsible for washing their own plates afterwards. The dormitories slept five children in each and looked comfortable. They were not over-crowded and seemed to breed the great sense of community in the school.



Teachers and students give the Lal Salam

Leaving the school we began the slow descent back down to Jiri. We had said goodbye to all the teachers and the students, who gave us a 'lal salam' (red salute) to send us on our way. One teacher welcomed us back to the school again after the establishment of socialism in Nepal. This possibility seems still closer than before. As the UCPN(M) is still strategically involved mainly in the destruction of the old semi-feudal, semi-colonial state, there are however important examples in practice of the embryonic future Maoist state. This school is one of many such examples.

Comrade Rashmi: Mobilising Youth for New Democratic Revolution

Report by Members of WPRM Britain and Ireland currently visiting Nepal.

One evening in Kathmandu, we had the pleasure of meeting Ganesh Man Pun, Comrade Rashmi, which translates as ‘light from a glittering object’. Coming to our hotel, Rashmi arrived in the middle of one of the daily power cuts which occur every evening, making his name more apt for the occasion as we talked over the light of the moon coming through our third floor window and one small oil burning lamp. Rashmi is a Central Committee member of the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) as well as the Chairman of the Young Communist League (YCL).



He began our discussion by telling us his own background in the party. Becoming involved in politics as a student, Rashmi was soon a whole-timer cadre for the All-Nepal National Independent Student Union (Revolutionary) before becoming a district member of the YCL. Rising through the ranks Rashmi led one of the four attacks that comprised the initiation of the People’s War on 13th February, 1996. As commander of one of the groups, Rashmi led the attack on a police post in Rukum district, capturing many weapons and explosives. He explained to us that “after capturing many policemen, we told them the reasons for our action. We told them they are our brothers, but we are fighting for New Democratic Revolution, against feudal and comprador rule in Nepal. We released them and told them not to fight against us in the future.” 29 days after this, Rashmi’s father, a local party and Peasant Association member, was martyred, being caught in his home by the police who had been summoned by a local feudalist. The police promptly led him outside into the yard and shot him. Rashmi spoke of this incident without bitterness, but with an intense pride in the martyrdom of his father, who, he said, died for the people.

Four months later, Rashmi became District Secretary of Rukum. He led a boycott of the local election, making sure that most VDCs in the district returned a vote of zero, with the others only returning partial results. In 1997 however, Rashmi was captured by the police in Nepalgunj on his way to a Central Committee convention. He was imprisoned under the Security Act and subjected to the norms of prison life, where beatings were commonplace. In 2001 he was suffering from appendicitis and was taken to hospital in Nepalgunj, from where he masterminded his own escape. With the help of sympathetic nurses and students, Rashmi managed to communicate with the party outside, and some days after the operation an urban guerrilla group successfully liberated him from the hospital. Rashmi spoke in his usual jovial style of his time inside, saying that “in prison, four years only felt like four days. But when I was rescued and I met my comrades and the people in my district again, I realised the People’s War had developed to such a height. Then I felt that four years had really been forty years.”

After his release, Comrade Rashmi was a Central Committee member and soon became a political commissar of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA). He was present at the Chunwang meeting, where the party decided to form a United Front with the bourgeois parliamentary parties against the monarchy. Rashmi then became a division commander of the PLA 4th Division, covering the Rapti region, but after the 2006 People’s Movement-2 he was transferred from the PLA, which was soon to be put in cantonments, to the YCL. According to Rashmi, “when the PLA were put in cantonments the reactionaries thought the Maoists would surrender. But we reorganised the YCL into a militant force to change society. Our organisation became famous throughout the whole country.” When the Maoists merged with another communist party, the CPN (Unity-Centre-Masal), the YCL also merged with its youth group, the Democratic Youth Association. While Rashmi’s life so far seems to

be one of sacrifice and struggle, he married a comrade who is also a Central Committee member and they have one son, named Azad, the Nepali word for 'liberation'.

Rashmi went on to describe to us the history of the YCL, which is seen as the continuation of the first communist youth organisation in Nepal set up in 1951. In the early 1980s this organisation, which had gone under various names, was led by Comrade Prachanda, before he became a Central Committee member. After the initiation of the People's War, the YCL carried out mass work and public service under the slogan of Chairman Mao, 'serve the people', but only worked at the local level because of security difficulties. Rashmi described it as "the kindergarten of the party," as many YCL members went on to join local militia and the PLA. In 2006, after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, the YCL was reorganised and became known at the national and international level. At the national convention Rashmi was reelected as chairman and there was a 45 member Central Committee. Now the YCL is working under the slogan of "civilian supremacy and national sovereignty." In the last three years they have been working in urban areas to widen roads, in sanitation and also planting trees. They have also been struggling with people, including corrupt people and policemen and also members of humanitarian organisations. In recent times, a national campaign to safeguard the border with India has come to prominence, especially in the eastern part where there have been encroachments by India. The YCL has held discussions with the Indian border security force, erected border stones and mobilised people against these encroachments. In this respect it seems that the YCL is carrying out many activities that the bourgeois state is unable or unwilling to carry out. The YCL has also benefited from the Maoist "1 in 3 policy," which means that one third representation for youth in Maoist organisations is guaranteed. The YCL are campaigning to scrap the "feudal" minimum 45 years old age limit placed on some positions and also for lowering the voting age to 16, the age at which Nepali youth receive their citizenship certificate.

We then discussed the question of the portrayal of the YCL as a terrorist organisation. These days it seems not one day passes without an article in the Nepali bourgeois English-language press in condemnation of YCL violence. Rashmi however explained that "as the imperialists and expansionists propagate the YCL as a terrorist organization, so this is a sign of their imminent defeat. They want to diffuse and defeat our organisation, but we are not terrorists. The people of Nepal know this, not only the peasants and workers but also intellectuals and humanitarian workers. They all expect the YCL to do good work and struggle against corrupt people, against imperialist and comprador forces.

We asked Rashmi for his opinion on the shift in the struggle, from one of People's War in rural areas, to one of legal open struggle centred mainly on urban areas in general and Kathmandu in particular. He emphasised that the struggle now has to be fought in a different way and that the struggle is very complicated. He went on, "now we are in urban areas, like Kathmandu. As the revolution is still unfinished at this time, there are some problems with our links to the countryside. But we are struggling to open some local bodies and our organisation is there continuing the revolution and the class struggle in the villages, carrying out development work in infrastructure and transportation." Of interest to us is the news story from this morning's Himalayan Times (18/09/2009), about the reestablishment of people's governments in Jajarkot. Rashmi continued, "the reactionary forces wanted us to become reformist. They wanted us to become the third party of Nepal, like another UML [*the revisionist party currently leading the government*]. But with the force of the people and the force of the strategy and tactics of our party, we have not become reformist. We took up the leadership of the government and the reactionary forces accepted us because they wanted to make us become another UML. However, we have not become another UML. We are fighting for civilian supremacy against the actions of General Katawal. This question was a crucial question, a borderline question over whether our party was revolutionary or reformist. If we had surrendered on this issue, we would have become a reformist party. But we proved that we are still revolutionary. We left the government and because of this we have united with many revolutionary and nationalist forces since then, many writers and people in the public domain." Indeed, the affair

over the general has been made into a somewhat unimportant affair by the bourgeois media here, an example for them of Maoist contempt for coalition politics. But for the Maoists it has become a focal point showing the continued domination of Nepal by foreign powers, principally India, and the role of the Nepali Army leadership in preventing the development of the country and the consolidation of the victories gained through the People's War and the People's Movement-2 of 2006.

The topic of conversation soon turned to the increasing level of talk amongst the Maoists and in the papers of the People's Movement-3 and popular insurrection. Rashmi emphasized that the role of the YCL was essential in this, that they would mobilise the people and make the struggle militant. The situation now is centred on the writing of the new constitution. As is popularly known, both the Maoists, who are in favour of a People's Republic of Nepali characteristics, and the other forces, who are in favour of institutionalising a bourgeois parliamentary system, lack the strength in the Constituent Assembly to write the constitution, which requires two-thirds votes to ratify each component part. Rashmi explained however that "the mass movement as well as the PLA in the cantonments will be a massive pressure on the opposition forces. The recently convened United National People's Movement, a united front organisation under the leadership of Baburam Bhattarai, will also pressure them and lay the basis for a successful people's movement and New Democratic Revolution. It will also warn US imperialism and Indian expansionism against intervening in our revolution." He also stressed that while the PLA are in cantonments there is still the possibility of armed struggle in the future. However, in the current situation, the most important thing is to create a peaceful mass movement for New Democracy.

As we walked out into the street to wave a 'red salute' in goodbye, Rashmi shook us warmly by the hand. He had skipped his dinner for this meeting but seemed full of vigour as he walked away. Again we have been impressed by the way in which the leaders of the Nepali revolution have interacted with us, clear and confident in their goals and down-to-earth and friendly in their personality, inspiring in us a great level of confidence in the future course of the revolution.

Interview with Comrade Jeevan: The PLA in the Cantonments

In late August 2009, activists from WPRM (Britain) and WPRM (Ireland) visited the main cantonment holding the 7th division of the People's Liberation Army (PLA). The cantonment is in Kailali district in the far south-west of Nepal, in one of the most oppressively hot districts of the Terai. Although here the land is mostly flat, the cantonment occupies an area formerly used by the PLA for military operations, on the slopes of the southern-most range of mountains, covered in thick jungle, and overlooking the plains as far as the border with India. We aimed to look at various crucial questions involving the PLA, in particular the danger of losing links with the masses, the issue of army integration, the role it can play in the future New Democratic Revolution, and how the revolutionary army can ensure its continual revolutionisation even during the construction of socialism, without turning into its opposite, a reactionary army, as happened in the USSR and China. Below is the transcript of an interview with the acting commander, Comrade Jeevan.

WPRM: *It's a great pleasure to have the chance to talk with you. Can you please introduce yourself?*

Comrade Jeevan: My name is Jeevan and I am from a remote district of Nepal, Kalikot. I have been involved in the revolution since 2053, using the Nepali calendar [*1996]. I have been involved since I was 16 years old and now I am just continuing my job. I am acting division commander of the 7th division of the PLA.



WPRM: *How and why did you join the PLA and can you describe to us your conception of the People's War (PW)?*

Comrade Jeevan: For thirteen years I have been part of this organisation which aims to build New Democratic Revolution, oppose feudalism and imperialism in our country and eradicate all social dogmas in our society. To live real life, humans need a life of freedom and according to our ideology we strive for this. When we first waged struggle we saw how the reality of society is different from this, not in the favour of the people. Although it looked as though there was just one monarchy, there were actually many small parts of the monarchy, and we arrived here by defeating them. All the feudal forces exploited the people, the proletarian class, especially in the remote village areas. All of these feudal forces were supported by the central feudal power: the monarchy. Our strategy was not to fight with the central feudal power at first, but to start from the remote areas. We decided to start from the countryside and encircle the urban areas. At that time we were totally absent from the centre, we started from the villages. It was especially important to carry out our theories in the countryside, but they actually have a world-wide significance. Now there are no feudal forces in village areas, but still new leadership has not been fully established. We have demolished the feudal forces from the villages but we can't claim that we have established the new system in these areas. In these areas there is still no social or cultural administration, no legally established regional administration. So we have to do two things: we have to establish people's rule in the countryside and we have to demolish the central state.

During the PW the people and the PLA won power in the villages, but in the centre of the state we have not won power. We do not believe that what we have won since the beginning of the PW and through the ongoing peace accord is the completion of the process. We don't think there will be another war, we don't need war, we need peace. But permanent peace is only possible after our victory. After the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) with the parliamentary parties three years ago, many analysts have described this as the peace process, but we don't think of this as a peace

process or a great victory. This is the continuation of the revolutionary phase. We believe that until the whole population of this nation has won freedom, there cannot be peace.

Now there are many political movements going on and much propaganda and we, the PLA, are just watching these things. We see that there is no seriousness in the political leaders of other parties. They are totally indifferent to the problems of the people and to the establishment of peace. It seems that it has been only the change of family members since the monarchy has been dethroned. The family system still remains. But we are not going to allow them to establish a new monarchy. Not even the people who have a lot of consciousness on this issue, but also the others are ready for a big struggle if needed. The people are clear about this, without fighting they cannot get their freedom. If we do not give leadership to the struggle, then it will not be enough. Such a type of monarchy will not be reestablished, and the PLA will certainly not allow it.

Before we win the war, we are proud of our success up to this point. According to our strategy the PW is at the same height as before, and the people still think we are at the same height, of strategic offensive. Actually, until now we have understood the military and political conspiracies, and we are still at our own level. Theoretically we have won different fronts, but we have not won state power totally. That is why the people of this country know that according to the theory of the party the complete establishment of a new state power has not been completed. Now the people of Nepal want a liberty which is progressive with social freedom and democracy. We want to put this in the future constitution as the prominent point. And if any of the reactionary forces are not willing to establish this, they will be a criminal force in our view and we will launch a national movement.

WPRM: Chairman Mao said that “without a people’s army, the people have nothing.” Now that the PLA is in the cantonments what political role does it play in the current situation in Nepal?

Comrade Jeevan: We believe that if the people have no armed forces then they cannot establish their own state power. We stress this theory inside the army and within the cantonments. At the moment the PLA has no particular special role as a political force within society, but in the future, if there are political changes, then there will be big challenges, and organisationally we are ready to face this. We are storing power for this. For three years we have stayed in the cantonments but we do not think we no longer have a political role.

This cantonment is a political university for us. After making the constitution if we don’t get the chance of ruling the state, or establishing New Democracy, then we will be ready to establish what we are studying in the cantonments in any sector of the society. Whether the constitution will be established or not, we think this will be the main chance for the PLA to implement our theories on the people’s society, which is compulsory for us. If there is no peaceful way to implement these theories, then there is another way: through struggle. Most of the political parties are full of non-political views, they are playing dirty games. So if it is not possible to implement our ideas through peaceful means, we are ready to implement them through struggle. This is not through suspicion or misunderstanding, but through the reality of the country. This is our political role today.

WPRM: The relationship of the PLA with the masses should be like a fish within water. In the cantonments how does the PLA retain its links with the masses?

Comrade Jeevan: We are following the CPA between the political parties and the Maoists, and physically it is so hard for us to make good links with the masses while we are in the cantonments because we can’t go outside. However, to maintain our relations with the masses it is not necessary to simply go through political views, we are willing to go through human feelings and we intend to keep close relations as human beings. We can deal with the people’s grievances. In those days we ruled in the villages and we ruled according to our political beliefs. Nowadays we want to deal with

the people's problems according to the same beliefs. If we are physically near to them, that nearness will keep this relation forever.

Furthermore, it is only one part of the PLA and the Maoists that is in the cantonment. Along with all the units and groups of the Maoist party, we are all well trained with the relations and understandings, and many of our total forces are still outside the cantonments. These forces are totally linked to the people. We believe that the shape of the war is the army and the shape of the struggle is war. Each member is qualified for that. The people know that some of the troops are inside the cantonment, but the people don't think that all the PLA forces are in the cantonments. When the people cease to believe in the PLA, on that same day the relationship between the PLA and the people will be destroyed.

Also the commanders who were involved in the war before are now working as representatives in the Constituent Assembly to make a new constitution. In this division there are more than 4000 members of the PLA. They are not all in Kathmandu as a member of parliament, but those who are, are there as members of the PLA. We don't believe in the military theory that the army should be isolated from the people. On the future national security policy, we think that the entire population should be armed, only a limited number of troops should be specialised with training, though they will of course be among the masses. And now in this transitional period, this is just a time of rest for the PLA, like a rest during a war, we rest for some time.

WPRM: According to the principles of the CPA, army integration will professionalise the PLA and democratise the Nepali Army, how do you view this process?

Comrade Jeevan: This agreement is suitable in only one context, namely if this new integrated army will be a single unit for the protection of the country and the security of the nation. In this context army integration is necessary. One thing is that we have to give freedom to the people, we have to form a new security policy for the protection of society, in this we are clear. However, if the integration will only focus on ending the war and on establishing a new overall system of oppression, we will not accept this situation. If the rulers want this we will not integrate on that basis. We are clear that the current security strategy and the defence structure is neither clear nor suitable. We want to change this system. We want an army which will be fully responsible to the representatives elected by the people. We want soldiers to be controlled by the people. A lot of people have taken this integration process as a complete integration, but it cannot be complete without a new security strategy. Without leading the people to freedom, we cannot proceed with the integration process. The people need to be totally free first. On this point the people are very clear. The political parties will lose nothing if they accept these aspects. We are only against the bad ruling system and not against any individual. We have fought with the people who are not intending to leave this ruling system and we will continue this struggle, to fight against people who rule with traditional thinking. But without a new structure, if they want to integrate the armies we will not be ready. The PLA is clear on the meaning of this integration.

WPRM: Immediately after Comrade Prachanda resigned from the government in May, a video was released in which he was seen talking in a cantonment to the PLA saying that the revolutionary army was actually much larger than that which had been registered with the UN. What are your opinions about this? What is the real size of the PLA?

Comrade Jeevan: Firstly this video that was released only showed one part of the talk, it is incomplete. In the peace process now, we have different organisations in the five regions of this country. During the PW we had three different divisions, but now there are seven different cantonments with different structures in each cantonment. At the time of the PW, we mobilised one central force, one regional force and one local force. The issue relating to the size of the PLA is only related to the central and regional forces. We now have statistics for the regional force also, while the

local forces are not certified, because there are millions of them in the villages. In the verification under the UN only the central and regional forces were included. In this protracted people's war, a soldier is both a fighter and a political activist. This is not the issue of size. If you want to verify all the PLA forces there will be more than a million. All those in political roles in the village areas have not been certified.

Until now, in our organisation and in our struggle we have never deceived anyone. There is the illusion that the PLA is only those certified by the UN, but there are a lot more that are not certified. The imperialist forces always attempt to make a cow by washing an ass, a donkey. But a donkey can never be a cow. The imperialists try to do this, but whatever we have said is true. The central and regional forces certified by the UN are clear, that is true. That is why all through the time of this election we have said that if it is needed we can verify all local forces of the PLA, all militia. If anyone creates such distrust about the PLA then we will demand re-verification, because a large number of local level PLA have not been verified. But if we verify these local levels, they can maybe number many millions.

This video is only the illusion against us, but we always tell the truth. During the PW these political leaders propagated that when we captured a district level barracks or office that more than 10,000 Maoists were involved in the action. But they were lying, over-reporting the numbers in our organisation at that time. Now they are propagating that the PLA is a small size, that we used verification as an excuse to enlarge our army. At that time they said it was very big, but now they say it is small. In fact, this is their main religion, they lie to the people, they don't tell the truth. It is like a religion for them. If they don't get a chance to propagate illusions to the people then they don't sleep well at night. The old politicians, with their old political culture, are just mad, there is a frenzy inside them. In giving propaganda, in telling lies, they are no less expert than Hitler and Goebbels. All the pro-imperialists and pro-feudals, Nepali Congress in particular, all of these people are included. We think all the main political parties except us are representatives and agents of expansionism and imperialism.

WPRM: Outside Nepal there has been great interest in the impressive role of women in the PLA during the PW, how has the role of women changed now the PLA is in the cantonments?

Comrade Jeevan: The responsibilities of women have not changed from before, they are the same now even though we are all in the cantonments. They still have to mobilise their units and get organised. In our great Nepalese People's War, they form one complete side of this war. Politically, organisationally and culturally they face up to the same challenges as men do, dealing with the same problems as men. We are very happy when we see the bravery of our female comrades. Before there were a lot of illusions and suspicions that woman cadres were not suitable to war, but now our PLA is a big challenge to those people who think women are weaker. In the organisation they have never been defeated in the struggle, and they don't get tired or afraid. They are ready to face all the challenges which may appear in the coming future. First of all it was very hard to make people understand that the participation of women in the PW can make a change. But now the involvement of so many women in the PLA has justified this. They play such a role that no-one can suspect that they are weak. They are both courageous as well as creative. And now their role is the same as it was in the past. Now it is time for them to develop their role all over the world, participating in the regular military, not only in the time of war and struggle. This is their challenge. Although it is not very challenging for the women under the philosophy of this class struggle, of our party. They can easily achieve their goals. Nowadays women have power, in the villages they used to be ruled, but now they can be rulers.

WPRM: At the moment in Britain the issue of Nepalese soldiers fighting in Gurkha regiments in the British Army is drawing lots of interest. What is the Maoist policy on this?

Comrade Jeevan: We feel proud of the Nepalese Gurkhas' bravery and courage. But we are not happy because this bravery and courage is being used for the purpose of imperialism. If it is being used for the oppressed people of Britain, then that would be admirable. But on the contrary, the Gurkhas are in the service of the rulers, the ruling class of Britain. So we want a situation where every Nepalese person should fight for the Nepalese poor, weak and backward classes. Every Nepalese must have a role against this backward society. Britain is a country where there is dictatorship, so in such a country, fighting for them is not bearable for us. Whatever bravery they have shown, which we want to praise and express our pride in, the aim of the wars they have participated in is not in our favour, so we do not support it.

WPRM: *The party has talked about fighting a total war which is not just military, but also economic, political and cultural. How does the PLA conceive of this?*

Comrade Jeevan: Our theory of war is total war, it includes every sector of society. It emphasises total transformation and change. This total war involves gender, religion, ethnicity and class. There is such a method in this total war that every section of society will be involved. PW in this society and country can guarantee social protection and rights and equality of the people, and we have started such a war. The people who have participated in this war do not have the intention just to fight for others, they are fighting for their own liberty too. We want to change the national life as well as the life of the individual in Nepal through this struggle. At the time when our victory is complete, there will be no classes in society who are victimised. Every class in society will be given equal rights and justice. We don't want to fight such a war which is incomplete. It is not necessary to create or fight another war for others because we have already involved all the sections of society, we have fought for the liberty of the people and the nation, so it is not necessary to fight another war. We have not fought only for the things needed for daily life, but the things which are needed for ever and ever. The struggle which we are carrying out will not be needed frequently, it is needed only once in our history. For us, it is much more significant not only to bring the rule of the poor but to make that rule permanent and long-lasting. And while the PW now is not a military struggle but a political struggle, we believe that for us this is a time of waiting.

WPRM: *In China and the USSR, the PLA and the Red Army were amongst the most revolutionary forces in society, but in China after Mao died the PLA did not prevent capitalist restoration in China, did not prevent the revisionists from taking over. So the PLA became a reactionary army. In the future New Nepal, how will the PLA avoid becoming a reactionary army?*

Comrade Jeevan: In the past there was revolution in China and the USSR, but now there is no revolution. There was no permanency or sustainability of the revolutionary success. They made revolution in those countries, but they could not create the force which was needed to make the rule long-lasting. That was a weakness of the ruling system of the communists. We feel very sad thinking about the reactionary action in the USSR and China. It is very easy to capture the state, but it is difficult to sustain the rule and protect it from our own weaknesses. It is not sufficient just to establish the rule in social forms. We have to change the habits, the rules that people are accustomed to.

In the Chinese PLA, they had encouraged them to fight against feudalism and imperialism. But they were unable to establish such a rule in the minds of the people, because they were unable to change their habits. They fought for their rights but they could not change their habits. When there was counter-revolution and the people's lives were in crisis, the struggle of the PLA did not turn towards the people but towards the rulers. Their main weakness was that they had abandoned the people. There was no PLA in the heart of the people, and no people in the heart of the PLA, that's why the revolution was not sustained. The force which they had used to struggle was very admirable, but most of the original soldiers and commanders were not alive at the time of the counter-revolution. The newcomers did not fully understand the difficulties which the dead ones had faced in their

struggle. Also, while the soldiers were new, some of the commanders were old. But the consciousness of those leaders was not turned towards the people but only to the ruling system. They were unable to abandon the government bureaucracy. So in comparison to that we are its opposite. We are with the people and not turned towards the ruling system.

It is not the main challenge for the Nepali PLA just to win state power. The new challenge is to prevent counter-revolution. It is better to be defeated if we are unable to prevent the counter-revolution. Our main challenge is to be ready for this counter-revolution. But counter-revolution is a thing which the people can prevent. The people are always in favour of revolution, not of counter-revolution. If there are mutual relations and cooperation between the PLA and the people, in Nepal we can prevent this counter-revolution. The true facts of dialectical materialism originate from the people, and they are the main factor necessary to prevent the counter-revolution. Preventing counter-revolution means establishing dialectic materialism. The development of dialectical materialism can only be carried out by the relation of the people with the PLA. If we are separated from the people then we can not develop dialectical materialism. And if that relation will be not with the proletarian class it will not be dialectical but will be one-sided. The people who believe that once rules are made by the government or the leaders they are permanent, those people especially will be defeated in the world, those people who are not up to date. The development of social liberty and dialectical materialism must happen in each individual. If this does not happen then our goals will not be achieved. If we don't insist on this thing then counter-revolution will remain inside the individual, not anywhere outside. But for the PLA the main aim is not winning state power, but preventing counter-revolution.

The PLA: Magic Weapon of the Nepali People

A report by Members of WPRM Britain and Ireland

On our trip to Nepal, one of our main priorities was to gain access to one of the seven cantonments in which the People's Liberation Army (PLA) has been stationed since the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in late 2006. The PLA had fought many battles during the People's War (PW) and had gained many glorious victories, providing the backbone for the revolution and the main crucial link with the masses. But now it is in the cantonments and its arms are monitored by the United Nations (UN), even as the key to those arms remains with the respective PLA commanders. Since the CPA, many revolutionaries around the world have become worried that the Maoists have 'given up' the armed struggle, because as Mao said "without a people's army, the people have nothing." We were therefore intent on finding out how the PLA maintained its revolutionary nature within the cantonments, kept its links with the masses and whether it still provided a source of struggle for the future revolution, if that time came about. Gaining access is not usually straightforward, but we were hoping to visit the 7th Division of the PLA in Kailali district in the far west of Nepal. However, we were fortunate to meet the acting commander, Comrade Jeevan, while he was in a meeting in the district headquarters of Danghadi. Comrade Jeevan, whose name means 'life', instantly commanded our respect and over a cup of tea he made all the necessary arrangements to facilitate our access the very next day.



Rising early in the morning we set off on the two hour drive to the main cantonment, each one also having three smaller satellite sites. Driving out of the city our translator pointed out to us a number of small makeshift huts on public land. These were the homes of former bonded labourers who had been 'freed' in 2000 by the Nepali Congress government but without any provision for their livelihood. The Kamaiya system of bonded labour was a structural example of the discrimination built into the class, caste and ethnic system of Nepal, particularly evident in the far-western districts, where the Tharu and Dalit communities was greatly affected. As is typical of the Nepali Congress approach to exploitation in society, the form of the oppression was belatedly abolished, but the essence which is built into the socio-economic conditions of the country was completely ignored, leaving the 'freed' bonded labourers at the mercy of continued caste and class discrimination. Later on our journey we passed through land in the countryside which had been seized from local landlords and redistributed to landless peasants during the PW. The issue of land in the Nepali revolution remains crucial. According to the CPA, the Maoists were supposed to hand back all land that had been seized but the exact nature of this question is not clear at the moment. We could see however that the Maoists had clearly not handed back all the land because here was a community that was obviously still benefiting from the Maoist revolutionary land reform.



Turning off the main highway, we went beneath an impressive red gate with the five portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao on one side, and one of Comrade Prachanda on the other. Rather than restricting access however, this gate was inscribed with the English word 'welcome' and it was apparent that we were in Maoist dominated territory. Indeed, the hammer and sickle logo was painted onto the sides of many buildings. Our drive continued for another hour passing through many small villages slowly approaching the mountain range in which the cantonment was very intelligently strategically placed. The cantonment was situated in an area from which the PLA had operated during the PW. The forests beneath the camp operated as a natural border and the high

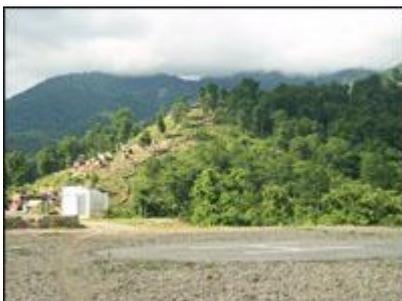
ridges at the top offered perfect surveillance of the plains area below, stretching to the city of Danghadi and even as far as the Indian border.

We passed through the checkpoint at the perimeter of the cantonment, with a young female PLA soldier waving us through. We made our way to the centre of the cantonment and getting out of our car we were soon welcomed to the camp with tika and garlands of flowers, the traditional Maoist welcome to guests. Here was our first chance to meet soldiers and various leaders of the PLA, sitting under a straw roof in the hot sun, sipping cups of Nepali tea. It was straight away apparent how friendly and eager to communicate



everyone was, with many people dropping by to contribute their opinions. One of the first people we met was Comrade Sangharsha, meaning ‘struggle’, who provided us with many facts about the logistics of the cantonment. The perimeter of the main cantonment is 6kms in circumference and is home to 4000 soldiers, though only 3500 had been registered by the UN. This consists of four brigades, each made up of three battalions. At any given time 12% of the soldiers are on leave, with each soldier getting 24 days off a year. However, because their homes are often far away and transportation in Nepal often takes many days, few of the soldiers spend their whole quota of leave outside the cantonment. Comrade Sangharsha told us that the soldiers in the cantonment have three main responsibilities: military training, which occurs daily, road repair and building construction. It certainly seemed as though the cantonment was in a constant state of development, with new buildings going up. Far from being temporary, these buildings were clearly built to last, as were the camps themselves. For recreation, PLA soldiers spend much of the afternoons playing volleyball and badminton, a variety of martial arts including wushu and judo, and playing chess, at which, certain soldiers are famed in the local area.

Amongst the group of people we were talking with, we were surprised to find that one young 22 year old man was not actually a PLA soldier but a teacher. He explained to us that the PLA is now organising lessons for the soldiers in English, health care and information technology. This man was in the cantonment to train the soldiers in computer skills. There is a computer lab with ten computers and courses are run in beginners and intermediate levels. While not formerly a Maoist supporter, he had accepted the job even though people outside had warned him of the dangers of the PLA. He explained to us however, that “while some people outside have a bad opinion of the Maoists, in here I could straight away see the reality is very different.” Eating and sleeping with the soldiers themselves, to our eyes he was as much of a comrade as the rest. Comrade Sangharsha then told us of the financial situation in the cantonment. According to the CPA, soldiers in the PLA and Nepali Army (NA) should receive equal treatment and equal wages. However, the situation inside the cantonments has been far from equal, especially in its early stages. Now the PLA soldiers receive a monthly wage of 5000 rupees [about GBP (£) 40], while the NA soldiers receive almost double, 9000 rupees. The soldiers were not so concerned about their monthly wage however, as this amount was more than sufficient for a revolutionary soldier and easily enough to live on. For us though this was still a clear example of the failure of the government in this transitional period of bourgeois democracy to ensure fair treatment and equality for their own nationals.



We talked to many comrades about their experiences during the war and the battles in which they fought, and soon the conversation turned to the future possibility of foreign intervention in Nepal, specifically at the hands of Indian expansionism and its backer US imperialism. Comrades explained to us that they understood this possibility was very real. They were firm in their conviction that the PLA would be able to carry out defensive guerrilla warfare against foreign aggression, although the sheer size of India and its army with its complete control of airspace poses a huge threat to

the national sovereignty of Nepal. They also explained however that the PW has laid the basis for the armed struggle of the masses and in the future the arming of the masses will be crucial in this eventuality.

Later we discussed military aspects of the Cultural Revolution in China, where at one stage the entire ranking system was abolished. While this remains a possibility for the Nepali PLA in the future society, the importance of the ranking system in the PW and the current situation was emphasised, even as it is also taken with great flexibility. What was immediately evident to us however was that the relationship between all levels of the PLA from the commander down is not the same as in most national armies around the world. Here the leaders and the soldiers mix comfortably, often sitting with their arms around each other as is the culture of Nepali men in wider society. When leaders walked past groups of soldier sitting on the ground in discussion, the atmosphere remained relaxed and the soldiers did not have to stand to attention and salute. On the contrary, they would greet each other with informality but with evident respect, not based on rank but on their mutual experience in fighting the PW.

After our discussion we ate lunch in the canteen, a simple meal of rice and lentils with some vegetables. In the afternoon we interviewed **Comrade Jeevan**. His office was smart but minimal and the walls were again decorated with the portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Prachanda on one side, with portraits of martyrs of the PW on the wall behind his desk. Jeevan was wearing simple military fatigues and answered our questions clearly and with precision. In Nepal, many people shake their head from side to side in a rising and falling movement in affirmation to a question or



point, and **Comrade Jeevan** did this to extraordinary effect, producing a genuine feeling of warmth and respect. In general he explained to us how after the CPA only the main section of the PLA entered the cantonments while many others entered other organisations, how the PLA maintains its links with the masses, now especially important as it is in the cantonments, and how the PLA will work to continually revolutionise itself and guard against becoming a reactionary army as happened in the USSR and China after the restoration of capitalism. Our translator, a young man studying in university in Danghadi with no previous political affiliation, and the similarly non-aligned driver of our car, were both highly impressed with **Jeevan** too, describing to us on the way home their happiness at the chance of having heard him talk.



From **Comrade Jeevan's** office we were taken on a tour of the cantonment, walking up the steep slopes to the height of the mountain ridge where the UN helipad was located. The view was spectacular, reaching to Danghadi and to the Indian border, with the plains of the Terai stretching from east to west. We could also see the UN compound situated near the centre of the cantonment. The soldiers told us that the UN observers fly in from Kathmandu by helicopter, bringing with them all the food and drink they need for their week long missions. Nearly all of the time they remain within

their small compound, as the soldiers laughingly explained, watching television in their air conditioned chalets. There is minimal contact between the PLA and the UN team, though the soldiers also said that the UN role is important, acting as a kind of buffer against further foreign intervention. For us, in this situation where the possibility of direct foreign intervention by Indian expansionism and US imperialism remains high, it seems the Maoists have been able to utilise contradictions between imperialist powers to minimise the chances of this eventuality.

One important way that the PLA maintains its links with the masses was apparent to us through our observation of the cantonment. With its training and its experience of health care in the PW and after

the CPA, the PLA runs a health post to deal with the common ailments of the soldiers, many of whom suffer from various diseases because of the poor sanitation in the cantonments. However, this service is also being utilised by people all over the local area where basic health care provision is generally still rare and expensive for the masses. The PLA provide a free health service and people come from near and far when they need help. This was one way which allowed the PLA to remain as a ‘fish in water’, keeping in touch with the masses even while they are generally kept forcibly apart because of the terms of the CPA.

In Kailali district, which is part of the Terai, the caste and ethnic systems as well as gender oppression form important expressions of the inequality in society. One soldier however was quick to point out to us that the cantonment is an “example of the new society.” During the PW the PLA was the main instrument with which the Maoists broke down traditional boundaries, accepting members from all groups of society and oppressed groups, such as women, Dalits and ethnicities in particular, and training many of them as leaders of the revolution. In the cantonments the PLA has worked hard to continue this role. We were told that marriages within the cantonment have been occurring with caste and ethnicity playing no role in the decision at all. Soldiers and leaders are respected according to their revolutionary spirit and their skill and not their caste, ethnicity or gender. To us the PLA indeed looked like a microcosm of Nepali society, with the physical appearance of the soldiers very different, obviously consisting of many different castes and ethnicities and with a large number of women.



One thing that the various soldiers and leaders stressed to us was that this period is a ‘transitional period’. While the PW has officially been declared finished, the spirit of these soldiers is certainly not one of resignation to life in a cantonment or outside of military affairs. It is also not one of resignation to the impossibility of revolution. They stressed the importance of the party utilising all measures to succeed in the New Democratic Revolution, both military and peaceful ones. They also poured scorn on the process of army integration, a process guided by the official principle of “democratisation of the NA and professionalisation of the PLA.” In fact, as was regularly pointed out to us, the PLA is already a professional army and proved to be more than a match for the formerly Royal Nepalese Army during the PW.

As the sun began setting we left the cantonment to return to Danghadi, passing through the gate on the perimeter with the words in English “thank you for your visit.” Our visit had indeed shown to us some crucial aspects of the role of the PLA in the Nepali revolution, not least its continued links with the masses and the preparedness for the time when it is once again needed to push forward the struggle of the Nepali people. One sentence Comrade Sangharsha said to us seemed to sum this all up, that “for the PLA now is a time of waiting, but we’re sure that we’ll be needed in the future.”

Nepal: Comrade Gaurav speaks on Democracy and Cultural Revolution

Comrade Gaurav has recently been made one of the secretaries in the new Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (UCPN[M]) leadership structure. WPRM (Britain and Ireland) activists met him at the party office in Paris Danda (Hill), Kathmandu, where we tried to get deeper into the issue of democracy, specifically the UCPN(M) concept of 21st century democracy, of holding elections under New Democracy, and how this relates to the theory and practice of Cultural Revolution. Following is the transcript of this interview:

“If they don’t change their ideological-political line, we don’t envision that they will be able to take part in those elections. The New Democratic system will not allow this if they don’t change their ideological-political line and behaviour.”

WPRM: *In the current situation when the UCPN(M) has its sights set on New Democratic Revolution, it seems more important than ever to understand the party’s idea of 21st century democracy, competitive elections under New Democracy and socialism, can you explain this concept to us?*



Comrade Gaurav: Yes we are now in the stage of completing the New Democratic Revolution. The New Democratic system is not a socialist system. It is a bourgeois democratic system. The difference is that the revolution is made under the leadership of the proletariat. The old type of bourgeois democratic revolution took place under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, but the New Democratic Revolution will take place under the leadership of the proletariat. When it is led by the proletariat it will lead towards socialism and communism. On the other hand, if the bourgeois democratic revolution is being led by the capitalist class, it will either consolidate capitalism or, if it develops at all, it will develop towards imperialism. That is the difference. So New Democratic Revolution in this sense is not a socialist revolution, it is a bourgeois democratic revolution but it is led by the proletariat. And, when the proletariat leads this revolution and the revolution is completed, then immediately it will move towards socialism. It will not consolidate bourgeois democracy, it will move towards socialism. This debate was seriously carried out during 1956 in the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). People like Deng Xiaoping said that since it is a bourgeois democratic revolution, it is the time to consolidate capitalism. But, Mao said that it should not be consolidated, it should go forward to socialism. This is the basic division between New Democracy and socialism. And, the question of which class is leading is the fundamental question.

So far as elections are concerned, under a New Democratic system there will be a broad anti-feudal and anti-imperialist alliance. This will be the class character of New Democratic Revolution. It is certainly true that not all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces are communists. But there should be a broad alliance of the UCPN(M) with different political forces who are anti-feudal and anti-imperialist. We have to recognise the existence of these other political forces, because they are the ally of the proletariat during New Democratic Revolution. Therefore, we have to guarantee their political freedom, and the political freedom of those parties has already been carried out in China also. In China, except for the CCP there were nine other political parties, all of which were anti-feudal and anti-imperialist. They competed and participated in elections with the CCP and some of them became ministers in the government. In our case also we have to recognise those forces. They are not communists but they are the allies of anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces, and they should be guaranteed political freedom.

When our party talks about multiparty competition or democracy, we are talking about our concept of '21st Century Democracy'. The difference here however is that in China there was a condition, all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces had to cooperate with the CCP. This was the precondition. But now our party is talking about allowing those political parties to compete even with the UCPN(M). In China there was a precondition, they were not allowed to compete but had to cooperate. In elections they made some sort of compromise or negotiation and they fixed candidates by consensus. In some constituencies the other parties put forward their candidate and the CCP did not. And in most other seats they did not have a candidate but supported the candidate of the CCP. But here in Nepal today we are talking about competition. All those political parties will be allowed to compete with the UCPN(M). We can have direct elections with those parties and the Maoists. That is the difference. We are formulating this kind of thing because the imperialists and the capitalists, who are the enemies of socialism and communism, accuse communist parties of not allowing other parties to compete. They say there is no competition, there is no democracy. And in fact, in the old way there was scope for those political parties to confuse the masses. For example, there is an election but there is only one candidate, and if everybody has to vote for the same candidate what is the meaning of this? It is something like selection. But we will make it clear that people can vote for their own candidates and that there will be more than two candidates for people to choose between.

Furthermore, we should give the people the right of recall. If the candidate elected by them is not competent, or is taking an anti-people road, the people's right of recall will be assured. This is the type of thing we have to introduce in an electoral system. Only then can we assure the masses that they can vote for the candidate they like and it is a real election where there are many candidates. The election will have a definite meaning. If there is only one candidate then voting is meaningless. This is what we mean by '21st Century Democracy'.

WPRM: How will this democracy and use of elections develop as New Democratic Revolution develops into the stage of socialism. Will there be more than one communist party at this time?

Comrade Gaurav: We don't envision more than one Communist Party because every political party has a class character. The proletariat should have their own party. In the long run, ultimately, there will not be different political parties. When we achieve socialism in that case, we think there will be no necessity for other political parties, because the society will have undergone a big change. There will be no other classes at that time.

WPRM: Do you envision a role for Nepali Congress and CPN (United Marxist-Leninists) after the New Democratic Revolution?

Comrade Gaurav: If they don't change their ideological-political line, we don't envision that they will be able to take part in those elections. The New Democratic system will not allow this if they don't change their ideological-political line and behaviour.

WPRM: Comrade Basanta in Worker #12 has recently written that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China is the pinnacle of application so far in practice of dialectical materialism, the science of revolution. Can you sum up for us the lessons of the Cultural Revolution as formulated by the UCPN(M)?

Comrade Gaurav: We think the Cultural Revolution is the pinnacle of the development of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Because Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is a science in the process of development, it is not something static. It is in the process of development and this development is interlinked with revolutionary practice. From this practice comes our ideology. And from revolutionary practice, the experiences of the Russian and Chinese revolutions, and from the examples of counter-revolution in those countries, Mao synthesised the whole thing and developed the theory of Cultural Revolution. What Mao developed in his life, was more than that which Lenin

did in his time, because for Lenin it was not possible to carry out Cultural Revolution or theorise Cultural Revolution. During his life, in the period of revolution and after that he was trying to develop the whole revolution. He formulated so many ideas and theories regarding revolution. But in the case of Mao, during that time China was not a capitalist country, it was a semi-feudal semi-colonial country. So the responsibility of the CCP was to carry on to accomplish the bourgeois democratic revolution and also to carry on the socialist revolution. It was a historical necessity for the CCP to carry out both these tasks. The CCP, under the capable leadership of Comrade Mao, led these two revolutions and in the process of developing socialism, learned the lessons that Mao took from the capitalist restoration in the USSR and many attempts to reverse the revolution within China itself. These were the materials for Comrade Mao Zedong to develop Cultural Revolution. With all these materials Mao developed our ideology to a qualitatively higher level. And we think the Cultural Revolution is the pinnacle, it solves the problem of revolution in that it can prevent counter-revolution. Many people say that the Cultural Revolution was a Chinese phenomenon, it was done in China, whether right or wrong, so it is a Chinese question. But we think it is not a Chinese question, it is a question of theory and it is a question of ideology. So it is a universal theory. And we uphold Cultural Revolution as the universal theory of communism. It holds good for China, and it holds good for Nepal also.

WPRM: *Indeed, Mao said the bourgeoisie is not just outside the party but right within it. How will elections help to uncover the bourgeoisie within the party?*

Comrade Gaurav: Elections will not help with this. Through elections you cannot root out the bourgeoisie within the party. To root out the bourgeoisie within the party you have to carry out Cultural Revolution, to find out who are the capitalist roaders within the party. The process of elections will not determine all these things. The process of elections relates to the time when there are other political parties who are the allies of the proletariat. We will compete with those parties only, not with the puppets of feudalism and imperialism. There is no point competing with reactionaries. Competition means to compete with allies, friendly competition only. So dictatorship will still be applied against reactionary political parties, pro-feudal and pro-imperialist parties.

So far as capitalist roaders within the Communist Party are concerned, this question will not be resolved through elections. That is different. Elections are concerned with forming the government and some matters of state. But the party of the proletariat should resolve the contradictions within the party in a different manner. In that case we have to apply Cultural Revolution. Cultural Revolution means the party should be interlinked with the masses. The masses will be given full rights to expose the leaders of the Communist Party. If they are really capitalist-roaders, they have to be exposed. This is the mass line as formulated by Mao. He made the slogan 'bombard the headquarters'. Headquarters means your own headquarters, not the headquarters of other parties, but the headquarters of the Communist Party. Because in the headquarters there are many capitalist roaders, so people have every right to bombard that headquarters. People should be mobilised to expose the capitalist roaders. Only through Cultural Revolution can we root out capitalist-roaders.

WPRM: *The Cultural Revolution involved many examples of the practice of democracy, such as the right to bombard the headquarters, the four great freedoms, big-character posters, the formation of Red Guards, the 3-in-1 committees, and even the Shanghai commune, not to mention the reorientation of health care, education and development towards rural areas. Why do you think elections under New Democracy can best provide democracy to the people?*

Comrade Gaurav: Democracy as defined by the capitalists or imperialists is, according to their own definition, only political freedom, or competing in elections. But for us this is not the only characteristic of democracy. Democracy means the rights of the people for food, healthcare, education, all the economic requirements. These are fundamental things for our democracy. So we prefer a different definition of democracy. What Mao put forward in the Cultural Revolution, these

are definitely things of democracy. We uphold all these things. But despite all of these requirements, we think elections are also necessary. In the nature of electing the representatives we prefer competition, but only during the stage of New Democracy. When the society changes totally to socialism, then elections will maybe not be necessary. We are talking about New Democracy. When the society has been changed to socialism, the situation will be different. We cannot claim now that the same method of elections will be applied during socialism. When there are various different political parties during the stage of New Democracy then there is competition between the political parties. But in socialism the class character of society will have changed, fundamentally changed. In that case there will be no need for various different political parties. And clearly the existence of political parties will be actually not necessary. They will not exist. In that case elections will not be needed.

WPRM: *How will the practice of Cultural Revolution and the holding of elections prevent capitalist restoration? Which will be decisive?*

Comrade Gaurav: As I have said, we cannot predict the form of elections under socialism. But the method of elections will definitely not be decisive to prevent capitalist restoration. Only Cultural Revolution can do that.

WPRM: *According to Mao, not one but many Cultural Revolutions will be needed during the stage of socialism, which will last for many generations.*

Comrade Gaurav: Yes, we very much agree with this principle that the Cultural Revolution should continue. When the Cultural Revolution was terminated in China, the result was capitalist restoration. This history is there for everyone to see. After the death of Mao, the revisionists said the Cultural Revolution was not necessary. They called those ten years a decade of catastrophe, the revisionists, that was their summation. But during the time of Mao the Cultural Revolution was not always directly carried out. Mao was almost bedridden, and immediately after his death it was reversed. If the Cultural Revolution had been carried out further, definitely it would have prevented the restoration of capitalism. So from the practice of China, we can realise that to prevent capitalist restoration we have to continue the Cultural Revolution. In China, the Cultural Revolution was carried out for ten years, but that was not enough. It was only enough for that period. We must directly carry out a continuous process of Cultural Revolution.

WPRM: *Elections in imperialist countries at present are a bureaucratic procedure that hide the dictatorial nature of capitalist society. How will elections under New Democracy provide a mechanism for the continuous revolutionisation of the masses as well as mobilisation against the danger of capitalist restoration?*

Comrade Gaurav: We think that on the issue of what type of election and how the election will be carried out, there is one fundamental question: who is leading the state? Which class is leading the state? Now the election to the Constituent Assembly was only possible because the state was in some sort of transition. But we are not always in the period of transition. It is a temporary period. In this period the state is not so powerful. It was possible for our party to take advantage of this because of the revolutionary intervention of the masses, during the People's War and the 2006 People's Movement. It was possible for our party to win, to be victorious in the elections. But the same situation will not continue for a long time. The state will consolidate itself and its own class character. In that case it cannot be in transition. So it all depends on which class is in power. That is the fundamental question.

This will be defined by the constitution, so now our struggle is concentrated on the question of constitution. What type of constitution will there be? Basically there are two positions: whether it will be a People's Federal Republic, in short a People's Republic like that in China but taking into

account some particularities of Nepal, or a bourgeois republic, a capitalist republic. Our struggle is concentrated on this point, the major point of struggle in our country at this time. Our party is for a People's Republic, the other parties are for a bourgeois republic. If a People's Republic wins, then that means the proletariat will have won, they will be in power and they will hold their elections under those conditions. And since they will already be in power there will be freedom for the people to vote according to their choice. But if the proletariat is defeated, if there is a bourgeois republic in power, then the capitalist class will have won, and definitely they will use the same method that the capitalists of the world use during elections. We are in the transitional period and the constitution will define what type of system there will be in Nepal and which class will be in power. The type of electoral system will also depend on the outcome of this fight or struggle for a new constitution.

WPRM: *Now that there is increasing talk of the third People's Movement and the coming insurrection, can you explain how the UCPN(M) envisions the New Democratic Revolution taking place? Is it possible to do this through elections?*

Comrade Gaurav: When we talk about Jana Andolan (People's Movement) 3 we are talking about mobilising the masses. In the mobilisation of the masses, there are a few things that we have to take into account. In the revolution in Nepal at this present moment, talking about a People's Republic is not an illegal matter, an illegal political question for accomplishing the revolution. It is a legitimate question. The other political parties can fight for their republic, why can the Maoist party not fight for a People's Republic? We have every right to fight for the achievement of the people's revolution. People's Republic means New Democracy, because when New Democratic Revolution was accomplished in China the state was called a New Democratic Republic. New Democratic Revolution and People's Republic are the same. There is a chance that through the constitution-making process we can write a new constitution of People's Republic. But that cannot be achieved without mass upsurge. This is because in the given situation, the Maoist party is in favour of a People's Republic, but we do not have enough support in the Constituent Assembly to write our type of new constitution. On the other hand, all the other political parties except for the Maoists also don't have enough support to write their type of republic into the constitution.

In this specific situation in Nepal, only Jana Andolan 3 can resolve the problem of writing a constitution. The new constitution cannot be written only in the Constituent Assembly. This is neither possible for us nor for them. When we have to write the new constitution, only Jana Andolan, a people's upsurge, can put pressure on and create the situation whereby all the other forces excluding the reactionary forces would support the Maoist proposal. There is thus some possibility of a People's Republic. But in all cases only the people's upsurge, or people's movement, will complete the revolution. And our party is in favour of Jana Andolan 3. Now we call it people's insurrection, or people's revolt. But only a people's revolution can play the decisive role in making New Democratic Revolution.

WPRM: *What role do you think Maoists and anti-imperialists around the world can play on these questions of democracy and the construction of socialism, and the successful completion of New Democratic Revolution in Nepal? How can we raise the debate on these questions in the international arena to a higher level?*

Comrade Gaurav: At the present stage we are not going to carry out socialist construction. The present task of the revolution is to accomplish New Democratic Revolution. Only then can we carry out socialist transformation. Now we are in the stage of New Democratic Revolution. And the international proletariat should support the Maoist movement in Nepal to accomplish the New Democratic Revolution. We think that a revolution cannot be replicated, only developed. It cannot be a photocopy of other revolutions. It will not be a stereotype of revolution. The Nepali revolution is based on certain fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, but it will have its specific character. In the case of China, Mao called this the 'Sinification of Marxism'. We have to

accomplish the revolution, based not on exactly what has happened with any other revolution of the world, which took place in history under the leadership of a Communist Party. Although the basic and fundamental guiding principles remain the same, there are many different aspects, including the security of that country, the international situation and other developments in the last decades.

Our party thinks that in the given situation the present line of the party can lead to the completion of New Democratic Revolution. So our class internationally should support the forms put forward by our party to accomplish the revolution. They can make suggestions. But we are formulating tactics on how to achieve the revolution and this does not exactly correspond to other revolutions. Our comrades are in different countries. They read the newspapers and the documents and all the other things, and they find the weaknesses and start to say that we are no longer communists, that we are revisionists. From outside analysis they will find differences. But what is the reality? The reality of the situation is quite different. And in the present reality we have to accomplish the revolution. That is the major task of the UCPN(M). We have formulated our line based on the concrete reality of Nepal, the present national and international situation. We think other comrades can make suggestions, because there is danger. When we are in a new experience there is also risk, there is also danger, of deviating towards the right.

Our comrades should give their sincere suggestions, which we will accept. But they should not condemn the revolution. If this revolution will be condemned or will not be cooperated with by our class internationally, it is hard for us to succeed. And we feel that communists will not help on these questions by doing that. In fact we expect from our comrades internationally that they should give suggestions, they should express their political concerns about whether the party or line has been deviated. But it is their responsibility to always support us. Condemning the revolution as a whole, or not making any positive contribution to the revolution, that is not a good thing. That is not proletarian internationalism. And if we succeed then communists around the world should welcome our revolution, and our comrades should celebrate. But more important is to think of what is your own contribution? Making revolution, that is your contribution. Communists have to continue accomplishing their own revolution. And we very humbly request this from the comrades of the world. We are doing our duty to accomplish the revolution in Nepal. We have no other objectives than to accomplish the revolution. We are struggling for that, and we believe we will be successful in making revolution in Nepal. We are confident.

Comrade Basanta speaks on the Great Possibilities and Challenges Ahead

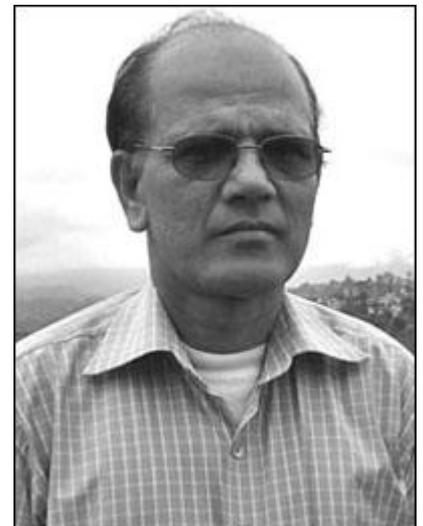
It was a situation that would eventually become quite familiar to the WPRM activists from Britain and Ireland as we met with members of the UCPN(M), but when we first met Comrade Basanta, together with Comrade Laxman Pant, on the edge of the Thamel area of Kathmandu, we were greatly impressed by their down to earth manner.

Both assured us, on learning of what we wanted to do in Nepal, that they would help us all they could, Comrade Basanta agreeing to do an interview with us. Having expected that we would have to travel to meet with him to conduct the interview, we all were surprised when it was announced that Comrade Basanta would come to where we ourselves were staying. It was a comradely act that was certainly appreciated. Comrade Basanta, it would be fair to say, exudes an air of quiet dignity without being distant, taking great pains to accurately put across his points.

“Before us there is a big opportunity, but serious challenges also. If we take the correct steps there is a big possibility that we can accomplish New Democratic revolution. But if we make a mistake then the whole revolution can collapse.”

WPRM: *Can you explain the current situation in Nepal since the resignation of Prachanda from the government?*

Basanta: First of all I would like to say something about the situation in which we had to enter into this process. When Gyanendra usurped the whole political power, the contradiction of the Nepalese people with monarchy became the principal political contradiction. It created a situation in which all the political forces that had a certain level of contradiction with the king could come tactically together to fight absolute rule of the monarchy. It was in the Chunwang meeting held in 2005 that we adopted a new tactic of democratic republic, which became a basis for 12-point understanding between our party and other 7 parliamentarian parties. Everyone in the world knows the result, the unprecedented mass uprising in April 2006. After that the king, relinquished his absolute power and reinstated the parliament. In the Constituent Assembly election, we emerged as the largest party and the king was removed and the country was declared Federal Democratic Republic from the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly. In fact, it was basically the end of the tactics adopted from the Chunwang meeting.



We were in the Constituent Assembly and at the same time, we were the largest party, so we had a responsibility to form government. The reactionaries the world over were expecting our party to disappear in the so-called political main stream. It was logical because in the history any party that had participated in the government before completing the revolution had never returned to revolution again. But we were consciously utilising this political tactic to make our revolution go forward. That was our understanding when we were in the government where we struggled to the extent possible in favour of revolution.

It had been a long-running practice in our history that whichever party comes into the government takes to the dictates of Indian expansionism and at the same time the US imperialism. The reactionaries expected the Maoists to act on this same basis, but we didn't, we have a goal of making revolution and we cannot deviate from this. However, we have to follow a different course as the new contradictions emerge in the society.

When we were in the government, we tried to implement some political programs but did not follow dictates mainly from the Indian expansionism. The reactionaries clearly understood that Maoists were not abandoning revolution but familiarizing their programmes within the masses. They decided to topple the government. We had either to follow expansionist dictates or we had to go with the masses. We chose the later because we could not exchange government with revolution. The resignation has become a very big political attack upon the imperialist and expansionists. They wanted us to surrender, but we didn't. Rather we exposed the conspiracy on how they were trying to make us surrender and how they are forcing us to cede our sovereignty. When we exposed this among the masses, it has influenced a large section of the masses in favour of our party and revolution. Now a situation has come where section of compradors, which are basically pro-India and pro-America and act as puppets, are getting united against our party but a broad masses are rallying around us.

Now the sovereignty is in a real danger. We, after resigning from the government, are taking up this issue. Also, the class oppression is still unresolved, because no revolution has been accomplished. The whole country is now going towards a new polarisation, the reactionaries, mainly comprador-bourgeoisie, bureaucrats and feudal and their allies is trying to take the country in their direction, but we are trying to take the country in our own direction. Without complete polarisation amongst the masses, no revolution can take place. That's how the country is going towards a new polarisation after our resignation from the government.

WPRM: After the recent party conference what are the strategy and tactics of the UCPN(M)?

Basanta: As a communist our overall strategy is socialism and communism, but if we analyse the strategy then we can find that we have a maximum strategy and the minimum strategy. Because ours is a country that is semi-feudal and semi-colonial, and therefore the basic contradiction is the outcomes of this socio-economic condition. The contradictions we have in this country such as class contradiction, which is principal, and the gender, national, regional and many other contradictions, all these contradictions are the outcome of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial socio-economic condition. Our immediate strategy is to resolve this basic contradiction. That's why our immediate strategy is to abolish feudalism and imperialist domination from our country and in so doing accomplish new democratic revolution.

In fact, it is the New Democratic Revolution that resolves the basic contradictions arisen out of semi-colonial and semi-feudal socio-economic condition. That's why our immediate strategy is to move to New Democratic Revolution against semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism. But our overall strategy is socialism and communism. This is one thing. But to reach strategy we have to take up various tactics. That was why previously; we used the tactics of democratic republic, which we decided at the Chunwang Meeting. This tactic is now over because the monarchy has been abolished from Nepal. Now we have taken up a new tactic to reach our immediate strategic goal. The new tactic is the People's Federal Democratic National Republic or People's Republic in short. Now we will fight for a People's Republic which will resolve the problems related with class, national, regional and gender oppression.

Now comes the question of civilian supremacy. This is a bourgeois question, no doubt. But never in the history has there been civilian supremacy in our country. In the past the military was never kept under civilian control it was under the control of king all the time. That's why every time they have taken up their advantage and seized the government, as a coup, by sacking the government and dissolving the parliament. Twice in the history it happened so. First, it was in 1961, king Mahendra staged a political coup with the help of Nepali army and sacked the government and the parliament both. In the same manner in 2002 Gyanendra did the same. Therefore, to keep army under civilian control has been the minimum condition to protect the achievements of people's war and the mass

movement. That's why to establish civilian supremacy has become an important issue among the masses.

Nepalese people want a new setup, a new society. People want peace and prosperity. It is people's constitution that can lead Nepal to peace and prosperity by doing away with all kinds of oppression. The new constitution must be written in such a way that it brings feudalism to an end, does away with imperialist and expansionist oppression, brings about peace and prosperity, and defends national sovereignty and territorial integrity. This is the content of the People's Republic, which will lead to the completion of new democratic revolution.

WPRM: We understand there are a number of tendencies within the party could you explain to us how these struggles are taking place?

Basanta: In class society the class struggle continues. As long as there are classes and class struggle in the society there exists two line struggle in the party of the proletariat. That's why in the party there are always different kinds of ideas coming up from different leaders, because the leaders also come from the same society. They make up their ideas from the society and the class struggles. Their way of thinking is different and therefore different kinds of ideas penetrate in the party through different leaders. That's why different kinds of trends and tendencies come within the party. And there is always struggle among these trends.

That's why it is very obvious that in any party there is always line struggle between different trends, but the question is how we handle the line struggle in the party. In the communist movement we have seen two wrong tendencies. One is that in the name of maintaining unity in ideology, the organisation keeps on splitting and splitting, just like an amoeba. It is a purist thinking and does not grasp the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist understanding that party is a unity of opposites. It has very much weakened our communist movement. It is one wrong trend. There is another trend that encourages, in the name of maintaining unity, to go for a compromise all the time. This also is very much wrong because compromise with wrong trends will not help one reach to a correct line. And that party which is based on compromise cannot lead any revolution. That's why in dealing with different wrong trends and tendencies in the party, we have to refrain from these two wrong trends: in the name of maintaining purity to go into split again and again and, in the name of maintaining unity to make a compromise.

WPRM: Can you tell us more about the two line struggle between Comrade Prachanda and Comrade Kiran?

Basanta: First of all I would like to say it was not a struggle between two individual leaders. Comrade Prachanda is our Chairman; he has been leading our party and revolution for a long time. Comrade Kiran is a senior leader, even senior to Comrade Prachanda. Sometimes in the outside world it is said that it is a struggle between Prachanda and Kiran, but this is a wrong way of looking at. Definitely lines come from certain comrades and in our case comrade Prachanda and comrade Kiran are such leaders who have stood as unity and struggle of opposites i.e. they have dialectical relationship.

The way this has been reported in the external media is wrong and is aimed at dividing our party. They projected that Comrade Prachanda was a soft-liner and Comrade Kiran was a hard-liner. This kind of projection was always there because the reactionaries do not want our party to remain united. They want to destroy it. The reality is that the principal aspect between them is unity. If they did not have unity how could they lead our party together for so long years? But because they are the products of our society they have different ways of thinking so the differences in certain issues arise.

WPRM: Can you explain the various aspects of this particular Line Struggle?

Basanta: The tactics we adopted from the Chunwang Central Committee meeting was Democratic Republic. When this Democratic Republic was established from the Constituent Assembly this tactic was over. Now the previous tactic we adopted was over and we had to adopt a new tactic. It demanded to have a thorough analysis of democratic republic, its class nature etc. We had to analysis class contradictions that existed in the society. We had to look at class relations to develop a united front. In that situation comrades did have different ways of thinking but not diagonally opposite. But once we had our sharp discussion we reached to the conclusion that the Democratic Republic in place is a bourgeois republic. The whole organs of the state power including the army is in the control of the reactionaries. To comprehend this system we had to have a deeper discussion, which demanded open and sharp debate in the central committee. Debate had occurred all through the party and many different opinions were expressed. We wanted to understand the current situation deeply, and we found that the common concern of every comrade was how to develop a revolutionary line and preserve party unity. Now we have developed a correct political line tactic and achieved unity, which is conditional and time-bound. Unity is always relative while struggle is absolute. Having unity now does not mean we will have unity forever.

WPRM: Now the UCPN(M) is in the Constituent Assembly, how is the party carrying out the mass line?

Basanta: Now we are in the Constituent Assembly, we have to make a constitution to resolve the problems of the country and people. Basically we have two problems: We are still a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. We have to destroy feudalism and imperialism and establish New Democratic Republic to facilitate national capital to flourish. At the same time we have to defend our sovereignty. These are the basic things we are fighting for in the Constituent Assembly. But this is not like the parliament which we had in Nepal before, nor is it like any parliament in any country of the world. It works to draft a new constitution and open the way to resolve the contradictions of the country. That's why CA members are fighting in the Constituent Assembly for the rights of all people and the whole party is mobilising masses in support of the people's constitution, whether it be urban or rural areas, plains or hilly regions everywhere. We are mobilising not only the CA members but the whole people to make them write people's constitution.

We are in the Constituent Assembly; we are raising the issues of the whole country, the whole masses of the people. It may seem that as we are in the Constituent Assembly we don't have a relationship with the masses, but it is wrong. What we are raising in the Constituent Assembly are the issues from society. Our party is present all across the country, in every district, every village, we have party committees. In every Village Development Committee we have party committees, and those members are among the masses. They are raising the issues of the masses and they are leading the masses. It is true that a section of the leadership is working in the constituent assembly and they don't have time to regularly visit the masses, but the whole party structure is working throughout the countryside and the cities, the Terai and the Himalayas.

For example in the Terai, the class aspect is the principal aspect because we are making new democratic revolution of which the axis is land to the tiller. But along with this there are other aspects for example nationality question for the Madhesi peoples. No doubt they there are oppressed classes in Madhesh, but the whole Madhesi people are also an oppressed nation. They have been devoid of their national identity, and we have to let them establish themselves as a nation. They want them to establish their own identity but they have been isolated from the central power. That's why our party in Madhesh addresses their issues. Likewise, we raise gender issues and oppressed region issues apart from the class issues all across the country.

Now we are in a transitional period and we need to go for New Democratic Revolution. We have not reached New Democratic Revolution yet. We have a bourgeois democracy now, but we think we are very close to new democratic revolution. The objective situation is ripe for New Democratic

Revolution. There is a wide polarisation among the people; and the people and the whole country is basically united for the cause of revolution. People know that if they want anything done it has to be done by the Maoists. Certainly, we have weaknesses and limitations, that is one thing; but people understand that there is no other force except the UCPN (Maoist) in this country that can take things forward for revolution.

The future is very bright but at the same time the challenges are very serious. For, imperialism, mainly the US imperialism does not want any communist power in the world to emerge. The way we traverse cannot be straight forward as we wish. Communists never find a straight road they have to go through twists and turns, and take different kinds of tactics before the completion of revolution.

WPRM: What role do India and the US play in Nepali politics at this time?

Basanta: The US and India want a state in Nepal that is favourable to them. But the people who are oppressed are supporting our revolution and our cause. Now the reactionaries are trying to unite their own sections and establish a puppet government in Nepal to suppress the revolutionaries. At the same time the working class and oppressed peoples want this revolution to go ahead. Both these ideas are contending in our country.

First of all, what should one understand is that Indian expansionism and the US imperialism are doing all they can to sabotage the revolution in Nepal. As regards the new democratic revolution in Nepal under the leadership of the proletariat they have unity, which is the principal aspect. But in their strategic interest they have some differences too. India wants to control the entire natural resources and market to fulfil their expansionist ambition. They want to expand their border up to Himalayas so that they can exploit resources in an unhindered way. However, the US wants to establish a base in Nepal so that it can control the entire South Asia and encircle China, the contending economic super power in the 21st century.

WPRM: How does the UCPN(M) view the CPN(UML) and Nepali Congress at the present time?

Basanta: We have to say that Nepali Congress principally represents the comprador bourgeoisie and secondarily feudalism in Nepal. They are a status quo party; they do not want revolution. Rather they want to maintain the status quo. The present state is a reactionary state. They do not want to go ahead of this, so they are reactionaries. UML is basically the same, there is no basic difference. But they call themselves communist, so they still have some influence among the revolutionary masses. But their line cannot lead the country to revolution because they basically represent the comprador bourgeoisie and feudalism. Also, as a class, the UML mainly represents the petit bourgeoisie. Both these parties are against the revolution.

But within the UML there is a section, the petit bourgeois, which is oppressed but cannot lead revolution on its own. This section has a tendency towards radicalism. UML is therefore basically divided. One section represents the comprador bourgeoisie, and one section the petit bourgeoisie. One section fully supports whatever the US and India dictates them to do. It is crystal clear that one of their leaders, Madhav Kumar Nepal, has become the Prime Minister of Nepal with the blessing of the US and India. At the same time the other section opposes to some extent the US and India as they have some patriotic aspirations.

In short Nepali Congress and UML are reactionary parties. Nepali Congress represents the comprador bourgeoisie and UML the petit bourgeoisie. UML is divided, that is why we cannot go forward with the whole party to make a New Democratic Revolution. They will obstruct this. But within these parties, mainly UML, there are revolutionary minded people, primarily in the lower strata, and some democratic people even in the upper strata. So in the days to come, there can be a kind of frontal unity with a section of the UML, but not with the party as a whole.

WPRM: *We understand there have recently been defections from the UML to the Maoists, is this part of a wider trend?*

Basanta: There is not yet any organisational defection. I just talked about the two trends in the UML, and now there is no political party in Nepal which is not divided in the present political issues. One trend is in support of the status quo and supports US imperialism and Indian expansionism and the other trend fights for independence and national sovereignty. Some months ago there was a vertical split in 'Forum' (a Terai party). The issue was the same, to surrender to US and Indian interests or take an independent stand. One section, the comprador bourgeoisie, supported US imperialism and Indian expansionism, the other section fought for patriotic issues and wanted to be closer to us. Some people have consequently quit their party and come to ours. In every party this kind of polarisation is going on. Also there is a continuous process of people with a revolutionary mind and democratic tendency leaving UML to join our party.

WPRM: *Given the world-wide debate on the importance of the Nepali revolution, what message do you have for comrades around the world?*

Basanta: Ever since the initiation of the People's War there has been widespread propaganda about our revolution all across the world. As the People's War developed, its influence spread all over the world. Now the whole world knows about Nepal and many people are concerned over the future of our revolution. These days there has been some sort of confusion and some misinterpretation about our revolution and also we have been unable to make the world people understand we are in now. That has been a shortcoming on our part. We have been mainly involved in the Nepali revolution, and have been lacking in spreading the world over what we are doing now. And different trends are interpreting it in their own ways. Some say the Maoists are taking a revisionist position.

The reactionaries are also interpreting our party this way. They say our party is divided between hardliners and soft-liners, between comrades Kiran and Prachanda. They have the intention to create confusion among the masses all over the world and divide the revolutionaries in the international level too. We should admit our weakness in propagating the reality of what is happening in Nepal. We could not publish our information bulletin or bring out The Worker regularly. We could not clear the confusion about our party and our line. But we are confident that we are moving ahead towards revolution.

Recently in our Central Committee meeting we concluded that we are at a serious crossroads of revolution and counterrevolution. Before us there is a big opportunity, but serious challenges also. If we take the correct steps there is a big possibility that we can accomplish New Democratic revolution. But if we make a mistake then the whole revolution can collapse. If we can apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the concrete conditions of Nepal and lead the whole nation and international working class, then we have a huge opportunity. People all over the whole world expect a new world to emerge from Nepal.

We are happy that you took an initiative to come to Nepal and try to clear the doubts. We are very happy to have the chance to speak to comrades from other part of the world. Some people think we have abandoned the revolution and will not go forward from this to New Democracy. No, this is absolutely wrong. We utilised Democratic Republic as a tactic. Whether that tactic was correct or wrong we can debate, and we can reach some conclusion, maybe after several years. We don't claim everything we did or do is correct. We are also human beings and we can make mistakes. But we are establishing a strong base among the masses for a revolutionary change. In this Central Committee meeting we are confident we have developed the correct ideological-political line, and this line will lead the whole people in our country to make revolution.

But in the present globalised world we alone are not sufficient to sustain revolution in our country. We can make revolution in our country, but it will be very difficult to sustain if there is no outside international support. There are a few aspects to this. Comrade Lenin said that the first aspect is to give internationalist support to the revolution. The second aspect is to initiate People's War or revolutionary struggles in those countries to support the revolutionaries. As you are here in support of our revolution, we want to extend this kind of message all over the world. And we want people all over the world to study Nepal and understand by themselves why we had to have different twists and turns in the course of revolution. What we did all was for the sake of making revolution a success. Now the world situation is getting favourable to make revolution. So we have to build international support for our revolution, we have to energise our comrades working all over the world. We have to launch activities against US imperialist and Indian expansionist intervention in Nepal, because we are approaching the successful conclusion of the revolution.

But for that we need a stronger level of solidarity of people to our revolution, a stronger solidarity of the working class people from Indian, US, UK and all over the world. If there is strong support from outside Nepal for our revolution we are confident we can make revolution in our country. The contradictions are sharpening, we think that within a few months some result has to come. All these contradictions are concentrated in the writing of the constitution. But it is a difficult challenge. We cannot write our constitution, the reactionaries will not support us. And the revolutionary class will not support a bourgeois and reactionaries constitution. This is the contradiction.

The constitution can only be written if there is major compromise. **If the proletariat makes a compromise with the bourgeoisie what does it mean? It means the end of the revolution. We can be flexible in tactics but not with the interests of the party and revolution.** If we compromise in the Constituent Assembly, that will mean the end of the revolution for a long time to come in Nepal. So the days coming in the next nine months will see a very tough contention on an issue of people's constitution. This is the reflection of the overall class struggle. In this crucial situation we want revolutionary internationalist help from people all around the world.

The reactionaries the world over understand this contradiction. They want our party not to place people's constitution in the constituent assembly and initiate debate because they understand that our constitution will polarise the entire oppressed section of the people around our party and isolate them. They cannot exclude our party from the task of writing constitution. But at the same time they don't want us to be there. Therefore the reactionary conspiracy is heightening to dissolve the constituent assembly, impose presidential rule and initiate war against our party and the revolutionary masses in Nepal. The unconstitutional move of the president and their sticking to military supremacy is nothing other than a rehearsal towards that direction. So the days ahead are challenging. But we are confident that the correct grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the unity of the party based on it will be able to shatter the entire challenges imposed upon us and make the new democratic revolution in Nepal victorious in the beginning of the twenty first century.

Thank you!

Comrade Bhattarai on People's War, Elections and the New Democratic Revolution

“Protracted People’s War (PPW) is a military strategy to be adopted in a semi-feudal, semi-colonial context, and, in the different context of imperialism, could be applied in a modified form even in imperialist countries. But basically the theory of PPW as developed by Mao was to be applied in semi-feudal, semi-colonial countries. That’s why the military line adopted in the case of Nepal was basically a line of Protracted People’s War, which we developed through the course of our struggle, applying it very creatively in Nepal for ten years.”

WPRM: *Thank you for meeting with us today. In your article in The Worker #4 ‘The Political Economy of the People’s War’ you write that “the transformation of one social system into another, or the destruction of the old by the new, always involves force and a revolutionary leap. The People’s War is such a means of eliminating the old by a new force and of taking a leap towards a new and higher social system.” Why then did the Maoist party enter the peace process and attempt to change society through Constituent Assembly elections?*



Baburam Bhattarai: This is a very important question related to the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM). The basic motive force of history is the contradiction between the existing level of productive forces and the production relations within society. At a certain stage this contradiction sharpens and there is a break with the old relationship and a leap to the new one. We call this social revolution. That leap necessarily confronts a certain force, because every set of productive relations is backed by a state, and the state means basically the organised force of the army. To break with the old mode of production and leap into a new one, you have to break all the relations within the state backed by the army. And that inevitably requires the use of force. This is a law of history and a basic principle of MLM which nobody can revise. If you revise or abandon it then you are no longer a Marxist. There is no question of our party ever ending this basic principle.

By adhering to this basic principle we waged armed Protracted People’s War (PPW) from 1996 to 2006. But after 2006 we made a certain departure in our tactical line. Some people are confused about this and think we have abandoned PPW forever and adopted a peaceful path of social development. This confusion needs to be cleared. What we are saying is that People’s War is a multifaceted war where both the armed and political form of struggle needs to be combined.

Protracted People’s War (PPW) is a military strategy to be adopted in a semi-feudal, semi-colonial context, and, in the different context of imperialism, could be applied in a modified form even in imperialist countries. But basically the theory of PPW as developed by Mao was to be applied in semi-feudal, semi-colonial countries. That’s why the military line adopted in the case of Nepal was basically a line of Protracted People’s War, which we developed through the course of our struggle, applying it very creatively in Nepal for ten years. And we were successful in developing this war from the stage of strategic defensive to the stage of strategic equilibrium and on to the stage of strategic offensive. We basically established the strategic offensive, which means the final stage of capturing state power and which must be meticulously calculated and applied. If you don’t take note of the existing balance of forces, both politically and militarily in the country and outside, firstly it will be difficult to capture state power and secondly even after capturing state power it will be difficult to sustain it. That’s why we introduced certain new features.

People know only the negative part, but what they forget, or what we have been unable to propagate well since the beginning of the PPW, is the new context of world imperialism and the specific geopolitical context of Nepal. In this context, our party decided that we need to adopt some of the features of general insurrection within the strategy of PPW. Therefore the basic strategy will be PPW, but some of the features of general insurrection, which relies on people's movement in the urban areas and leads to the final insurrection in the city, the tactics of the general insurrection, should also be incorporated within that strategy. This has been the basic question within our party, the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) [UCPN(M)]. This idea we first introduced in our national unity congress in 1991 and after that when we had our 2nd national conference in 2001. At that time we developed the theory of fusion of PPW and general insurrection to a new level, so that in the specific context of Nepal, while adhering to the basic path of PPW, the tactic of general insurrection should be fused within that strategy. That's why at that conference we put emphasis on this aspect. But we thought that when we developed this new political line, developed through the course of the People's War in Nepal, that it needed to be assessed more thoroughly in the international community of Maoists.

We called this one of the features of Prachanda Path, which we regarded as a new development in the theory of MLM. After 2001 we still adhered to the People's War but we resorted to some of the tactics of general insurrection, that's why when we were in the People's War we always talked of political negotiations and we actually had two rounds of political negotiations. During that time we raised the issues of Constituent Assembly, abolition of the monarchy and establishment of a bourgeois democratic republic. These were the tactics we followed while we were in the PPW. Why we did that was because in the specific conditions of Nepal, though we are in the stage of transition from feudalism to capitalism, in our case the feudal system had been basically led by an autocratic monarchy for thousands of years. In most third world countries autocratic monarchy has already been abolished, and in those countries though the basic foundation of society is still semi-feudal, semi-colonial, the political superstructure was led by bourgeois democrats. But in our case even the political superstructure was dominated by the autocratic feudal monarchy, the national bourgeoisie was very weak and they could not carry forward the bourgeois democratic revolution. It was the proletarian party which had to take the lead to abolish the autocratic monarchy and introduce a bourgeois democracy, which could be again transformed through struggle into New Democracy, a proletarian democratic system.

Therefore we adopted these tactics, and after 2001 we followed these tactics and by 2005 we had reached the stage of strategic offensive in the PPW. Then we thought it was time to focus our activity, to shift our activities to the urban areas. By that time we had liberated most of the countryside, where the poor peasantry lives, and under 25% of our population lives in urban areas. There the petty bourgeoisie class and other classes needed to be mobilised if we were to complete the stage of strategic offensive and capture the state in a revolutionary manner. After 2005 we decided to shift our activity to the urban areas, because without mobilising the masses in urban areas we couldn't complete our strategic offensive, capturing the state. With these tactics in mind we entered into the negotiation process with certain parliamentary parties who were all struggling with the monarchy but which were too weak, their class nature was too weak, they couldn't struggle with the monarchy and complete the bourgeois democratic revolution. When the autocratic monarchy centralised all state power in a coup, it was easier for us to have an alliance with those bourgeois democratic parties and we made the 12-point understanding. On the basis of that 12-point understanding we launched a mass movement which we called the 2nd mass movement. After the 2nd mass movement there was a huge upsurge of the people and the autocratic monarchy was forced to accept the Constituent Assembly and to step down. After that we made the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, in which we had to make certain compromises. Those compromises were made to abolish the monarchy, hold the Constituent Assembly elections and then move ahead to complete the bourgeois democratic revolution in the country.

There are some ambiguous features in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. Our understanding, the revolutionary party's understanding, was that after abolishing the monarchy and establishing a bourgeois democratic republic, the proletarian party would take the initiative and launch forward the struggle towards New Democratic Revolution. We knew the bourgeois forces, after the abolition of the monarchy, would try to resist, and our main contradiction then would be with the bourgeois democratic parties. This we had foreseen. So we have not said that after the abolition of the monarchy we'll stop there. We never said that. What we have said is that we would align with the bourgeois democratic parties to abolish the monarchy, and after the abolition of the monarchy then the contention would be between the bourgeois forces and the proletarian forces. A new field of struggle would start. That was clearly stated in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, the subsequent interim constitution and other documents we passed.

After the Constituent Assembly elections, when our party emerged as the largest force and we abolished the monarchy, there was a lot of enthusiasm among the masses of the people. Our party's tactical line had been correctly implemented. That gave a tremendous force to the basic masses of the people and our support greatly increased. For the time being we cooperated with the interim government also, because by participating in that coalition government we thought we could work within the bureaucracy, within the army, within the police and within the judiciary, in order to build our support base through those state structures, which would help us for future revolutionary activities. With that in mind we participated in the coalition government. After the abolition of the monarchy, when the main contradiction would start with the bourgeois democratic forces, then our struggle took a new turn.

After April 2009 [when Prachanda resigned from government], that phase of the Constituent Assembly and implementation of the bourgeois democratic republic was more or less complete. Our understanding is to now carry on the struggle forwards to complete the New Democratic Revolution. So again we made a tactical shift, showing that from now on our major fight would be with the bourgeois democratic parties who are backed by imperialism and the expansionist forces. With this thinking our party left the government and now we are focusing on the mass movement, so that now we could really practice what we have been preaching. That means the fusion of the strategy of PPW and the tactic of general insurrection. What we have been doing since 2005 is the path of preparation for general insurrection through our work in the urban areas and our participation in the coalition government.

But what one should not forget was that we had never ever surrendered the gains of the PPW, what we had gained during the ten years of struggle. We had formulated the People's Liberation Army (PLA), we had our base areas, we had a lot of mass support, and all this we have been able to preserve. But we have not been able to convey to our comrades outside the country that the gains of the People's War were never surrendered. The PLA is still with us, and the arms we collected during that war are still with us within the single-key system, monitored by the United Nations team, but basically the key is with us and the army is with us and we have never surrendered. This shows we have not abandoned the path of PPW. What we have done is suspended that part of the activity for some time and focused more on the urban activities so that we could make a correct balance between the military and political aspects of struggle. After some time we will be able to combine both aspects of PPW and general insurrection to mount a final insurrection to capture state power. We would like to stress that we are still continuing in the path of revolution, but the main features we tried to introduce were to make a fusion between the theory of PPW and the tactic of general insurrection. After coming to the peaceful phase I think whatever confusion there was has been mitigated and people realise we are still on the revolutionary path.

Now we are preparing for the final stage of the completion of the New Democratic Revolution. In a few months when the contradiction will sharpen between the proletarian and bourgeois forces, maybe there will be some intervention from the imperialist and expansionist forces. During that time

we may again be forced to have another round of armed clashes. Our party is already aware of that and we have decided to again focus on the basic masses of the people both in urban and rural areas. To strengthen those mass bases we have formed the United National People's Movement, which will be preparing for both struggle in the urban areas and to strengthen our mass base in the countryside. In the decisive stage of confrontation with the reactionary forces we could again combine our bases in the rural areas and our support in the urban areas for a final assault against the enemy to complete the revolution.

I would like to say we have never abandoned PPW, the only thing is that there has been a tactical shift within the strategy. This is one point. The other point is that being a Maoist we believe in continuous revolution. Revolution never stops. Even when one stage is completed, immediately the new stage should be continued. Only that way can we reach socialism and communism. That is a basic tenet of Maoism. Being a Maoist, this reasoning of continuous revolution can never be abandoned. We are still in the course of PPW, though the tactics have shifted according to the nature of the time. But there is a confusion in the international community of proletarian forces, and we would like to clarify this, but I think this thing can be better done in practice than in words. Anyhow we are confident we can convince our comrades who have some doubts about our activities that we are still pursuing the path of revolution. We will complete the revolution in a new way and we have to show that revolution is possible even in the 21st century. And Nepal can be a model of revolution in the 21st century.

WPRM: Can you explain how the UCPN(M) understands the nature of the state in this transitional period? Can the New Democratic Revolution be completed through the holding of an election?

Baburam Bhattarai: The key question in any revolution is the question of the state. The state is simply an instrument of dictatorship of a certain class. Right now in Nepal the existing state is a dictatorship of the feudal, comprador and bureaucratic capitalist classes. So the task of the revolution is to smash this state and replace it with a New Democratic one. This is the basic objective of the revolution. But in the special case of Nepal, the semi-feudal, semi-colonial state was presided over by an autocratic monarchy and it was being backed by foreign imperialist and expansionist forces. Our party, the UCPN(M), therefore thought it more prudent first to do away with the autocratic monarchy and establish a bourgeois democratic republic and then immediately go towards New Democratic Revolution. Those were the tactics adopted by us. We took the initiative to abolish the monarchy under the leadership of the proletariat which was a tremendous boost for the proletarian forces within our country. It also marginalised the bourgeois democratic forces because they had not taken the lead in that phase of the revolution. After the implementation of these tactics and the abolition of the monarchy, we have established a bourgeois democratic republic in this country, which basically still is a dictatorship of the feudal landlord, comprador and bureaucratic capitalist classes. But politically, since the proletarian forces took the initiative to establish this transitional state, there is contention between the reactionary classes and the progressive classes. A sort of flux has been created, it has not been stabilised. Within this nature of the state, which is in flux, we think it will be easier for the revolutionary forces to intervene and further destabilise the state, putting pressure on it from outside the state which can be smashed to make a New Democratic state.

The nature of the transitional state is, to put it very concisely, in principle a dictatorship of the reactionary forces. But in practice, since the proletarian forces played a leading and decisive role in dismantling the autocratic monarchy and creating this transitional state, the political authority of the progressive, patriotic and proletarian forces is high. So this interim state won't be very stable and if we can correctly mobilise the masses of people it can easily be overthrown and replaced by a New Democratic state. We think this is a new experiment being carried out in Nepal, it has not happened like in China where they directly implemented the revolutionary policies of the party and overthrew the old state replacing it with a new one. But in our case it has meant cutting up the state part by part,

in fact we are devouring it part by part. Ultimately we will be able to smash it and then replace it with a new state. This does not mean we are trying to reform the whole state, indeed the whole state has to be totally displaced by a new state. There is no confusion on our part on this question. But the method of destroying the whole state is partly new in our case because it was presided over by an autocratic monarchy not by bourgeois democratic parties as seen in other third world countries. Because of this specificity of Nepal, this transitional state has been a new thing not seen elsewhere. But our party is very clear on the question that the state needs to be totally destroyed and replaced by the new state. We are working on that line and our party feels that after the formulation of the strategy of People's War and general insurrection we will be able to finally mobilise the masses of the people in a mass upsurge and insurrection to abolish this state and replace it with a New Democratic one.

WPRM: After the resignation of Chairman Prachanda from the government and the coup by President Yadav over the affair of General Katuwal, the main revisionist party, the CPN-UML, is now leading the government and you are heading the recently formed United National People's Movement (UNPM). Can you tell us the plan of the party in leading People's Movement-3 and carrying out insurrection in this situation?

Baburam Bhattarai: As I told you, the basic orientation of our party is to complete the New Democratic Revolution in a new way in Nepal. By firmly sticking to that line we are practicing different tactical shifts. Accordingly, after we completed this task of elections of the Constituent Assembly and the establishment of democratic republic, now our next task is to organise a people's movement and develop it into an insurrectionary upsurge and complete the New Democratic Revolution. Now we have entered that phase. During this phase we will focus more on organising and mobilising the masses and leading them towards a revolutionary upsurge. That means certain changes in the policy as had been practiced during the People's War. During that time our focus was on the peasant masses, which was slightly different than the struggle in the urban areas which consists of basically the working class.

To lead this phase of the movement we have set up the new UNPM, which is basically a revolutionary united front of the patriotic, democratic and left forces led by the Communist Party. We have put forward a list of 25 demands related to nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood. With these demands we have mobilised the masses of people. At a certain stage the contradiction with the bourgeois democratic forces and the imperialist expansionist forces will reach a higher stage. At that time there will be a decisive clash between the reactionary and revolutionary forces. That will be the insurrectionary upsurge. This is the view of the people. So with this in mind we have been organising plans and struggles, mass struggles which we will be carrying out in subsequent months. As Marx and Lenin correctly pointed out, you must believe firmly in the tactics of insurrection. If you have to organise insurrection you have to make a decisive action and take it to the final conclusion. If you can't do that you will be defeated. To prepare for that decisive struggle you have to move through different stages, that's why after leaving the government we are now focusing more on the issue of civilian supremacy so we can isolate the militarist section of the reactionaries. Secondly we are focusing on the question of nationalism so we can organise the broad masses of patriotic forces against imperialist and expansionist intervention. Thirdly we are raising the issue of land reform and the basic question of livelihood among the general masses of the people, so that the poor masses of the people and the petty bourgeoisie classes can be organised.

With this in mind we are carrying on a plan in the coming few months, there will be a broad unity of patriotic, democratic and revolutionary forces, which can mount a final struggle against the reactionary forces, the bourgeois democratic forces backed by the foreign imperialist forces. We think this will lead to a proper movement and a final insurrectionary upsurge of the masses of the people. If we are able to play the contradiction between the reactionary forces within the country and the imperialist and expansionist forces outside, then at an opportune moment we can organise an

insurrectionary upsurge and be victorious. Therefore we have established the UNPM and put forward protest programs. In the next few months when the contradiction will sharpen among the reactionary forces while making the new constitution, during that time this new movement will arise when the people will finally come to revolt and complete the New Democratic Revolution. This is all I want to say on this for now.

WPRM: In the past you have written of the need to confiscate the land of feudals and the capital of comprador and bureaucrat capitalists, and the party has carried this out to some extent. Is this still the plan of the UCPN(M)?

Baburam Bhattarai: To complete the New Democratic Revolution you have to smash the feudal production relations and culture, that means we have to confiscate the property of the feudal landlords and distribute it to the peasants on the principle of 'land to the tiller'. This was the basic policy of our party during the People's War, which we practiced in the rural areas. Nepal is geographically divided between the hilly regions and the plains areas and most of the land is in the plains. But in the plains it was difficult to carry out guerilla warfare, so we just entered there and implemented some land reform policies. Since the plains border India and there is a danger of foreign intervention there, we have never been able to completely practice land reform in those areas. This will only be implemented after the final victory of the revolution. During the People's War this policy, the principle of 'land to the tiller', was practiced more clearly in the hilly areas and partly in the plains areas bordering India. But we subscribe to the policy of abolishing feudal landowners because without making the real tillers of the land, the peasants, the owners of the land, we can't bring about the land revolution and can't complete the New Democratic Revolution. So our basic policy remains abolishing the feudal property relations and introducing a socialist-oriented national bourgeois democratic revolution. That is our policy on the question of land.

On the question of capital, for countries like ours, a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country, capital is basically dominated by imperialist capital. In our case Indian expansionist capital in particular. The nature of capital in Nepal at the moment is comprador and bureaucratic. This means it is dependent, you cannot have national independence in the country. That's why we want to do away with this bureaucratic and comprador capital and convert it into national industrial capital which can subsequently be organised in a socialistic manner. With this policy in mind, we intend after the completion of the revolution to confiscate all this bureaucratic and comprador capital and convert it into national capital which can be reorganised into a socialist mode of production. This is our policy to do away with all the remnants of feudal landlordism, abolition of bureaucratic and comprador capital, and reorganisation of the economy, firstly under a New Democratic line and then in transition towards socialism.

WPRM: The UCPN(M) has brought forward ideas around elections in a New Democratic and socialist state. In your article on 'The Question of Building a New Type of State' in The Worker #9, you particularly discuss the need for greater democracy among the people. How will the holding of elections solve the problems generated by the weaknesses of the experience of socialism in the 20th century?

Baburam Bhattarai: This question of democracy and dictatorship is also very important for the communist movement. In principle every state is a dictatorship of a certain class, so-called democracy is also a form of bourgeois dictatorship. This is a basic tenet of MLM and nobody can deny that. But what was practiced in the 20th century in different people's democracies and socialist countries was, though in theory correct, in practice the real democratic institutions and processes were minimised. Democracy is a class concept, and bourgeois democracy has its own rules, but proletarian democracy also needs to be developed. What happened in the Soviet Union was that the Soviet, a democratic institution, and the working class became very functional, especially during Comrade Stalin's time. In reality the Soviets couldn't be very functional and they gradually turned

into a bureaucratic state apparatus. After the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, Comrade Mao Zedong drew certain lessons and he wanted to expand the scope of proletarian democracy. That's what he practiced during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. There were certain new institutions of people's committees and Red Guards to expand people's democracy. But this experience was very short and after Comrade Mao died, the counter-revolution in China took place.

Now it is up to the revolutionaries of the 21st century to learn from those lessons of the 20th century and develop a new concept of proletarian democracy. Our party discussed this thoroughly and made a review of the positive and negative aspects of revolution in the 20th century. We came to the conclusion that though the basic concept of MLM on state and democracy remains valid, because the Soviet apparatus was no longer functional, when the Soviet state turned into a bureaucratic state, and with the lesson of Mao's experiment of Cultural Revolution against that negative experience of the Soviet Union, we have to develop the concept of proletarian democracy further. Our conclusion was that basically we need more room for the masses of the people to supervise and intervene in the state. If that will not happen then after the revolution the initiative of the masses will be diminished, and only the few of the bureaucratic elite will rule over the state in the name of the proletariat and the revolution would not be carried further.

To check this we have to create certain mechanisms whereby the constant mobilising of the masses and the constant vigilance and intervention of the masses is ensured so the state doesn't turn into a bureaucratic state. To create such an institution one of the ideas is to provide democracy as was practiced during the Paris Commune days, or to again go towards the Soviet model of democracy, or draw lessons from the Cultural Revolution. We want to take lessons from all these three experiences, so our party's conclusion was that within a socialist framework, within the framework of the dictatorship of the proletariat, competition should be organised among the masses of the people, so the masses will be constantly energised and it will prevent only a few people having a monopoly over the state.

This concept of competition within the framework of socialism, of proletarian dictatorship, we have developed this basic concept. But this is only a general concept, the actual mode of that competition we have still to work out. Our general feeling is still under discussion, we haven't reached any final conclusion. But we have proposed multi-party competition within the socialist framework. Why do we need many parties? Though the proletarian class is one class, the proletarian consciousness is different, there is uneven consciousness. If there is competition among them then the most revolutionary section will be in a position to lead this process through democratic means. All the masses of the working class can be mobilised, and in such mode of constantly mobilising the masses of people we will limit the chance of degeneration of this democracy into a bureaucratic set-up. That's why we are thinking one of the options is to allow multi-party competition among the proletarian and progressive classes within the framework of the leadership of the proletariat and a socialist constitutional framework.

This is one of the options that we have proposed but it just a proposal, we haven't reached any conclusion. This is what I discussed in that article, it is a preliminary article, we have proposed this but I think it needs to be discussed in the international proletarian movement and developed further. Otherwise we will not be able to draw lessons from the failures of the teachings of socialism and proletarian revolution in the 20th century and lead revolution forward into the 21st century. The basic point of departure is still from the Cultural Revolution, where Mao went beyond the traditional framework of the state system and gave more power to the masses of the people to rebel against the bureaucratic system within the party and within the state. That is the general orientation. But the right institutions have not been developed yet. The job of the revolutionaries in the 21st century will be to develop that concept further and to develop certain institutions and procedures whereby the proletarian class gets mobilised to carry forward the revolution. With this in mind, we are putting forward this concept of competition within the New Democratic and socialist state framework.

WPRM: Elections in imperialist countries generally serve not as a way to mobilise the masses but as a formal ritual that people carry out in a very bureaucratic way. Only very seldom does the election actually mobilise people and that is in very specific circumstances, like to some extent the election of Obama in the USA, because people were so opposed to the crimes of the Bush regime. How can you make elections at all for mobilising people and helping people develop their understanding of the class nature of society and the need to push towards socialism when our general experience of elections in imperialist and oppressed countries is that they are a tool for deceiving the masses?

Baburam Bhattarai: The practice of democracy in imperialist countries is a form of bourgeois democracy, a ritual that deceives the masses of people and perpetuates the rule of their class state. But what we are talking about is not organising elections within the bourgeois state, we are talking about after the revolution in a New Democratic or socialistic framework, where there will be certain constitutional provisions whereby the reactionaries, imperialists and criminal forces will not be allowed to participate. Only the progressive forces, the democratic forces and people will be allowed to compete. That is the competition within the New Democratic or socialist framework we are talking about. This is a basic difference. After the revolution, the first thing we will do will be redistribution of property. There will no longer be rich and poor, a big gap between the haves and the have-nots. That way when we organise competition there will be an equal chance for people to compete. But in the given framework of the imperialist and bourgeois democratic system there is a huge gap between the propertied and property-less working class. The competition is so uneven that the property-less working class can never compete with the propertied, the bourgeois and imperialist class. That way, only after carrying out this redistribution of property in a socialistic and New Democratic manner can you organise political competition where there will be a fair chance of everyone to compete on an equal footing. Our idea of competition in a New Democratic and socialist framework is therefore fundamentally different from the formal competition and practice in a bourgeois democratic and imperialist state. The difference in the class nature of the state should be appreciated.

WPRM: You've already discussed some aspects of the Cultural Revolution but I would like to go into that in more detail. The Cultural Revolution was the pinnacle of revolution in the 20th century, so what lessons do you and the UCPN(M) take from this?

Baburam Bhattarai: Yes we think the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was the pinnacle of revolution not only in the 20th century but in the whole history of the liberation of mankind. It is the pinnacle of the development of revolutionary ideas. So all the revolutionaries must make the Cultural Revolution their point of departure and develop the revolutionary idea and plan further.

The basic question of the Cultural Revolution was to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. That was the basic idea. So first you need a dictatorship of the proletarian class, and for that you have to smash the whole state and complete the revolution, that is the first thing we have to do. After the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class needs to be constantly mobilised in a continuous revolution. Only then can we prevent the state degenerating into a bureaucratic apparatus. That is the basic idea. That's why after the negative experiences of the Soviet Union and the initial negative experiences in China, Mao developed this concept of Cultural Revolution, giving the masses the right to rebel. He asked all the oppressed classes and people to rebel against the authority in power and he introduced Red Guards, people's committees, all-round dictatorship of the proletariat in every field, in politics, economics and society, in cultural space, exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie to continue the revolution. This is the fundamental aspect of the Cultural Revolution and this needs to be upheld and developed further.

But in our case since our class has not completed any revolution in the 21st century and there is no revolutionary socialist state in the world, we have to draw lessons from the Cultural Revolution and

try to practice them within the revolutionary parties and within the mass organisations, and then after we complete the revolution then we can practice the basic tenets of the Cultural Revolution in the state. This is the basic lesson to be drawn. And what we would like to stress is that without taking the Cultural Revolution as the point of departure we cannot complete the revolution in any country in the present day world and we will not be able to reach socialism and communism if we don't have this idea of continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This idea of continuous revolution needs to be grasped very firmly. People generally think that once state power has been captured, the revolution is complete. But thinking like this means the initiative of the revolutionary masses will be diminished. That has been a flaw of earlier revolutions. What we need to practice now is the idea that the revolution never stops until all the classes are abolished, the state is abolished, the property system is abolished and we enter a classless and stateless society, or a commune of the masses of people is created. Until that stage is reached revolution never stops. This idea of Cultural Revolution needs to be firmly grasped and we are very serious on this issue.

WPRM: How do you practice Cultural Revolution within the party now?

Baburam Bhattarai: Within the party we allow broad and great democracy. The principle of the Communist Party is democratic centralism. We need centralism to guide the revolution, we need strong leadership, but if that leadership and centralism is not created on the broad foundation of democracy, that is not acceptable. Otherwise that leadership could degenerate into bureaucratic centralism. Right now within our party there are broad divisions on any issue, but the central leadership will mobilise the cadres and masses of people to discuss these issues and only then will the decision be taken. Once the decision is taken it will have to be carried out. But before taking the decision any issue must be broadly discussed so that the great exercise of democracy should be done first and on the basis of that the centralism will be created. Only that kind of centralism will be truly democratic centralism. This is what our party is trying to practice.

WPRM: What about the practice of two-line struggle within the party?

Baburam Bhattarai: Two-line struggle is also related to this question. Two-line struggle is the life of any party because everything is a unity of opposites in this world. Even the party is a unity of opposites. The policy of 'one divides into two' also applies to the party. So although there is a contention between proletarian and non-proletarian tendencies within any communist party, so there has to be a proper mechanism to organise a struggle of different tendencies within the party. Therefore two-line struggle needs to be promoted. The only thing is we have to be very careful in handling the two-line struggle. On this issue there are different tendencies within the International Communist Movement. One is very sectarian, once you enter into two-line struggle you always end up with a split. This is a sectarian or ultra-left tendency. The other is a right-revisionist tendency, which is to struggle and always compromise so that the party gets turned into a reformist group.

The correct MLM formulation is unity-struggle-transformation. We should struggle with the aim of achieving a higher level of unity. That's the aim of the correct handling of two-line struggle in a revolutionary party. And our party has been very successfully conducting this method of two-line struggle with the aim of unity-struggle-transformation. We are interested in mainly transformation. If the aim is not transformation then it is not reaching a higher level of unity and then the two-line struggle always leads to a split. And a split of the proletarian party weakens our class and our ability to carry forward revolution. This lesson needs to be firmly grasped, especially among Maoist revolutionaries in the world today. In the name of carrying out two-line struggle they forget the aspect of reaching a higher level of unity and transformation. In that way the revolutionary parties remain as very small groups and collections and are not able to carry out revolution. I think these lessons, especially from Lenin and Mao, need to be drawn and practiced.

WPRM: As a way of concluding this interview, in the situation of continued pressure and the possibility of intervention from US imperialism and Indian expansionism in particular, do you think that socialism in one country can be developed in Nepal?

Baburam Bhattarai: This question of socialism in one country is a theoretical question to be debated. This is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Imperialism always consists of uneven and unequal development, so revolution within a country is not only a possibility, it is a must, because revolution won't break out all over the world at the same time. That's impossible as long as imperialism remains and uneven development is there. This is a basic tenet of Leninism which still holds true and we should grasp it. But in the specific case of a small country like Nepal, sandwiched between the big countries of India and China and being dictated over by US imperialism all over the world, if you don't have support, international support, or there is no strong revolutionary movement, it will be very difficult to sustain the revolution. It may be possible to carry out the revolution to capture state power, but to sustain the state power and develop in the direction of socialism and communism we will need support from the international proletarian movement. That way the level of international support and international proletarian solidarity is important. After the growing influence of so-called globalisation, imperialist globalisation, the reaches of the imperialist power have gone to every corner of the world. If there is no strong international proletarian organisation to fight against imperialist intervention and domination, it will be difficult to sustain the revolution in one small country.

Keeping this in mind, we must however make revolution in our country, this is a must. But to sustain it and develop it further we need the backing of the international proletarian forces. For that we have to give more importance to internet work and the international community. This need is more important in the case of small countries like Nepal. In fact, in recent months we have been discussing this issue. To complete the revolution in Nepal and sustain it and develop it further, at least in the South Asian context, we need to have strong revolutionary solidarity and we need the backing from the international proletarian movement. We feel the events of the international proletarian movement worldwide and some of the institutions that are being developed are all important, like the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), the Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties in South Asia (CCOMPOSA) and the World People's Resistance Movement (WPRM). These type of organisations are very important for the success of the revolution and to gather support at the international level for the success of our revolution.

WPRM: Thank you for your time.

Baburam Bhattarai: Thank you and lal salam!

Final Report: Nepal Visit 2009 Members, WPRM Britain & Ireland

Three Members of the World People's Resistance Movement (Britain & Ireland) recently spent a month in Nepal from August to September 2009 [all reports are available online at www.wprmbritain.org]. Please post comments, suggestions and criticisms.

Two of our members had been on the 2nd International Road Brigade in April 2006, but its fair to say Nepal looked like a different country than it did back then. No longer underground and fighting a People's War, the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) has now opened offices and operates legally in every village in the country. The monarchy is a relic of the past, abolished in 2008, and the Maoists, after having led the government for nine months, are now leading a popular protest movement against the current government with the aim of creating a third *Jana Andolan* – People's Movement.



But similar to 2006, party leaders and supporters alike were keen to welcome us to Nepal, help us with whatever we needed and talk to us at great length about the situation. With huge smiles, warm shakes of the hand and the constant raised clenched fist of *lal salam*, red salute, we were able to see much in our one month visit. We travelled to the districts of Rolpa, Dang and Banke in the mid-west, Kailali in the far-west, and Dolakha in the east as well as Kathmandu. We met with leaders and cadres of the UCPN(M), especially members of the Young Communist League (YCL) and various Cultural Groups. In Kailali we visited the cantonment of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) 7th Division, and in Dolakha we visited a model school. Along the way we spoke to many party supporters and ordinary masses about their thoughts and experiences of the struggle in Nepal.



Through our communication with party leaders and supporters it was easy to forget how impoverished Nepal is. Materially speaking, Nepal is a semi-feudal, semi-colonial country which has suffered for centuries under feudal monarchical rule, and especially under the control of Indian expansionism, a localised form of imperialism. Yet for all its material poverty, the UCPN(M) has taken up the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and applied it creatively to the concrete conditions of Nepal, the results of which are there for all to see. Nepal is materially poor but ideologically perhaps the richest place in the world today. The success of the UCPN(M) in fighting the People's War (PW) and building up people's power in the countryside showed the firm grasp of MLM by the party. In the changed situation since 2006, the Maoists seem to be increasing their strength, and we aimed to investigate how much this is still based on their firm grasp of ideology.

For people who think communism and revolution are historical relics, the Maoists in Nepal have turned history upside down and shown the continued relevance of this ideology, possibly greater than ever before because of the deeper level of imperialist exploitation existing around the world. But the history of revolution in the twentieth century and before is not forgotten. Instead the UCPN(M) aim to synthesise this experience in order to apply MLM at a greater level in the twenty-first century. In this synthesis they have placed special emphasis on the question of democracy, on how a New Democratic and Socialist society can be run while exposing and opposing revisionism from within and imperialist from without.

Our visit was inspired by the need to investigate the objective situation in Nepal in order to gain a better understanding of the unfolding revolution there. Since April 2006 the voices in opposition to

the UCPN(M) have grown stronger. In general it seems that the mood which was once euphoric in its support of the Nepalese Maoists fighting the PW has considerably waned, to the point where the party is openly condemned by some. Support for the legitimate struggle of the Nepali people has therefore been withdrawn, at exactly the time it is needed most. Through various discussions and meetings we had had in Britain and Ireland, as well as certain published documents from around the world on different stances towards the revolution in Nepal, we felt that there were many issues to investigate. The first issue relates to issues of strategy and tactics and the question as to why the UCPN(M) shifted from the strategic offensive in the PW to the political struggle centred on the Constituent Assembly (CA) and the new constitution. Particular concerns surround the supposed disarming of the PLA, demobilisation of the YCL and scrapping of the people's power in the old base areas. The second important issue is on the question of the state and relating points on the democratic republic as a sub-stage of the New Democratic Revolution (NDR) and crucially whether the Maoists have abandoned the idea that the old state needs to be smashed but can instead be reformed. The third main issue centres on the role of elections, specifically in the future New Democratic and socialist states, and the role of Cultural Revolution. Further to this we wanted to gain a deeper insight into the practice of two-line struggle within the party. Following is our report of the situation there.

War and Politics

The issue of the PLA in the revolution in Nepal is a fundamental question and one which has led to great differences of opinion among supporters of the Nepalese revolution internationally. This is the army which grew out of the PW, winning glorious victories against the reactionary forces in the rural areas, showing people – and women, dalits and oppressed minorities in particular – that the people's destiny can be taken up in their own hands. During the PW the PLA was the key link in the mobilisation of the masses and the practice of the mass line. By 2006 the PLA had proven itself on the battlefield and also within the hearts of the people. As we all know, Mao said that “without a people's army the people have nothing.” There have therefore been concerns on the apparent disarming of the PLA after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). According to the CPA, the PLA has been confined to seven cantonments across the country, with its guns under lock and key and monitored by the UN. There is thus a worry that not only does the PLA therefore not have ready access to its weapons, it is also the fish plucked from the water, unable to maintain its links with the people. Now it awaits the fate of integration with the army it once fought, supposedly based on the need to ‘professionalise the PLA and democratise the Nepalese Army (NA)’. While the NA certainly needs democratisation, whether the PLA is in need of professionalisation is a different matter. Furthermore, the conditions in the cantonments were at first dire, and now still not suitable to look after the needs of the thousands of revolutionary soldiers around the country.



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One of our primary objectives was to visit a cantonment, and very early in our trip we were able to spend some time in the cantonment of the **7th Division of the PLA** in Kailali district, far-western Nepal. Certain preliminary points are important. While the PLA has been placed in the cantonments they have not been disarmed, as the key to the weapons is firmly within the hands of the respective division commander, as the 7th Division acting commander **Comrade Jeevan** reiterated to us.

Also, the process of army integration is a complicated process. What is certainly not happening is the wholesale dismantling of the PLA to be placed within the NA as it now stands. Instead the Maoists emphasise the need to create a new national army which is anti-feudal and anti-colonial in character, taking into account the concrete conditions of Nepal. For Nepal its small size and open border with its giant neighbours India and China make a standing army capable of defending its sovereignty an unrealistic dream. Instead, the Maoists have emphasised arming the population in general while

keeping a relatively small national army that can be used for security but also for development purposes. In this situation the idea that the PLA needs ‘professionalised’ is of course ridiculous, a fact pointed out to us frequently by various leaders and soldiers when we were inside the cantonment. As it has proven on the battlefield, the PLA is already a professional army.

The Maoists are also trying to wrestle with the fact that in the USSR and China, the revolutionary armies were transformed from being amongst the most advanced sections of society to being bastions of revisionism, a process which mainly occurred through the destruction of their links with the masses and their barracks lifestyle. With this in mind, the PLA soldiers stressed the need to deepen the relationship between the revolutionary army and the people to prevent its sliding into revisionism, and this would be an important component of the future army. In the cantonments the practice of the mass line is very difficult for the PLA. Whereas before it was second nature, now there is a physical barrier between the soldiers and the masses. However, we could see signs in the cantonment that even this physical barrier was not so firm. Most impressive was the healthcare facilities run by the soldiers, not only for their own needs but for those of the local population too, which has poor facilities and is far from the nearest hospital in Danghadi. We were told that people come from quite far to seek health service inside the PLA cantonment. This demonstrated to us that the PLA is still trying to maintain its links with the people, however hard it is in this present time.



Lastly, the UCPN(M) has put forward a fluid concept of the dialectic between war and politics. PW does not advance in a straight line, or even a general progression through the various stages marching ever onward to the smashing of central state power and the victory of NDR. In fact, from the beginning the Maoists have emphasised the dialectic between war and politics. Before the launching of the PW in February 1996 the party went through line-struggle on this question, a struggle which eventually ended in a split and the formation of the CPN(M) in 1995. The line led by

Prachanda took up the position that the PW was necessary in the concrete conditions of Nepal, a line since proven correct by history. But they were careful in 1996 to present the launching of the PW as a strategy forced on the people. Through presenting the 40-point demand to the government, the party showed that it was compelled to launch the armed struggle in the face of the corrupt nature of the semi-feudal, semi-colonial regime. People do not like war, and they should not be forced to take part in war. But the correct Maoist position is to “fight war to end war.” Peace cannot exist in class society, which is based on exploitation and oppression. However, during the PW the party did not concern itself only with military strategy. Great emphasis was put on the two sets of peace talks which were held with the government under a general ceasefire. Each time the party demonstrated the weakness of the government and its fundamental inertia in the face of a revolutionary struggle. Again, the masses realised that the party was compelled to fight.

By 2005 the situation had changed. The PW had developed rapidly and the Maoists were in control of the vast majority of the country. Its influence in urban areas, and with the industrial proletariat – a quantitatively small class – in particular, was however not high. Because of the situation stemming from the royal massacre and the coup carried out by King Gyanendra earlier that year, the Maoists were presented an opportunity for uniting with the parliamentary parties in order to force the King to accede to CA elections. This laid the basis for the eventual overthrow of the monarchy. On the back of the PW, the People’s Movement of April 2006 showed the great unity amongst the people against the monarchy. While the bourgeois media stressed the role of the Seven Party Alliance (SPA), it was evident to members of the 2nd International Road-Building Brigade who were in mid-western Nepal at the time, that the real strength of the People’s Movement was the revolutionary people from the countryside, who poured into the cities to take leading parts in the protests. The role of the parliamentary parties within the SPA meanwhile was making sure the fury of the people did not go

too far, a role which was seen clearly by the unilateral acceptance of the King's offer to reinstall parliament after 21 days of protest.

This situation seems now far removed from the life of the soldiers in the cantonments. But frequently we heard about the link between war and politics. Since the CPA the Maoists have been using political means to pursue their goal of exerting a greater influence in urban areas. The fact that their influence had risen greatly lay in the results of the election in 2008, when the Maoists even won the majority of constituencies in Kathmandu itself. In the cantonments however the PLA soldiers we held discussions with, and the acting division commander Comrade Jeevan, all explained to us that this period in the cantonments is "one of waiting". That they will be needed in the future is self-evident to the soldiers. But that will only come about if they are once again compelled by the reactionary nature of the bourgeois parties or by imperialist or expansionist influence to take up arms in defence of the revolution.

The Mass Line

Along with concerns about the disarming of the PLA have been worries that **the YCL** has been demobilised. The YCL is constantly the object of sustained criticism from the bourgeois press, both in Nepal and internationally, precisely because it is accused of violent 'undemocratic' practices. These kind of articles seem to appear daily in the Nepali English-language press. One of the most striking things about our visit to Nepal however was the vibrant role the YCL plays in not only propagating the party line, but carrying out the mass line and even practicing what is described as the embryo of a future New Democratic state.

It became evident very soon on our visit that the **links between the PLA and YCL** are very strong. In fact, even though the two organisations are physically separated because of the PLA being put in cantonments, the YCL was actually reformed in 2006 out of many former PLA soldiers. While the PLA was put in cantonments therefore, the central, regional and local forces were reorganised in an effort to maintain and further develop the party's links with the masses. From Kathmandu to the villages, YCL cadre are involved in development work and production alongside the people and are beginning to fill the role of the state in certain areas. One area is road widening, rubbish collecting and tree planting. The YCL also plays a role in combating pimps and drug dealers, as well as helping drug users and sex workers recover and reenter society. Another involves protecting the border from east to west against encroachments by India. Finally, in the villages the YCL settle disputes relating to land and forestry rights, acting in part as the local state. This is particularly important because of the dismantling of people's power in the base areas, of all parallel structures run by the Maoists in the countryside, which we will go into more detail about later. That the YCL is practicing 'a new kind of state' is however an important issue, especially as it relates to the central issue of the state, about the kind of state that exists now in Nepal, the future state and how the one is linked to the other.



It is important to remember that the YCL is not the only organisation that is involved in carrying out the mass line. In every district of Nepal a **Maoist Cultural Group** has been set up. We met with one such group in Danghadi, Kailali district, where we talked in the building which houses these young men and women. And we met another group in Liwang, the district capital of Rolpa in the Maoist heartland. The function of these groups is not just entertainment. In fact they occupy an important role in getting out the Maoist message to local people. In true spirit to the Maoist dictum "from the masses, to the masses" the Cultural Groups go out to the villages and learn about the problems people experience. They propagate the party line and also educate people with regard to their rights. They deal especially in opposing feudal and imperialistic culture, opposing this with the New

Democratic culture represented by the Maoists. Through a mixture of song and dance the Cultural Groups perform on subjects ranging from resisting Indian expansionism to the goal of building a New Nepal.

Even though the PLA is in cantonments and to a great extent physically divorced from the masses, through the YCL and Cultural Groups, not to mention the party offices in every village in the country, the UCPN(M) is therefore still very much linked to the masses, aware of their problems and propagating the Maoist line.

The Base Areas



A claim often made by critics of the UCPN(M) is that after building up people's power in the countryside the Maoists have dismantled the new institutions and deactivated the **base areas**. This was an issue we were particularly interested in because our visit in 2006 to the base area in Rolpa had been so inspirational. Our time in the mid-western hills of Rolpa was limited, so we were unable to gather a good picture of the state of the base areas. However, we were able to garner some information. Previously the UCPN(M) had secured large areas of the Nepalese countryside, in which the royal government was virtually unable to tread. In these areas they had started to build people's power, including parallel governmental structures, people's courts, a banking system, model schools and a new system of healthcare. Although important developments were made in the creation of people's power, nevertheless the Maoists stressed that in the situation they were in the aspect of destruction was still principal. Before the old state was smashed the new state could not be built. Moreover, by 2005 the party had concluded that the revolution in Nepal could not be victorious by simply replicating the pattern of revolution in Russia or China. The development of base areas and the PLA was not on its own enough. More important was to undermine the enemy class's position in the cities in order to strike at the principal enemy of the Nepalese people: the monarchy. The base areas however were in rural areas which had never been fully incorporated into the Nepalese state, and were thus penetrated with more ease than urban areas, especially the Kathmandu Valley.

The base areas were therefore never built up to a level that could have demonstrated the new Maoist society. What about the claim that they have been dismantled? While formally it is true that the parallel structures have been dismantled, in practice many things seem to continue as before. In Rolpa the UCPN(M) basically is in control. Even an NA soldier told us he supports the Maoists, and the YCL act as the arbiters of disputes and in development projects. The model schools and hospital in the villages of Thawang and Jailwang are still in operation and the communes which were set up are also still in existence. The People's Courts, which are a sensitive issue especially for the bourgeoisie, have been reduced to the background, but reports are still made intermittently about the role that they play. Certain leaders of the UCPN(M) for their part also periodically call for the reinstatement of the parallel structures when the danger the party will become bogged down in parliamentary politics comes to the fore. It is thus unhelpful to claim that the dismantling of the base areas is proof of the wrong line of the UCPN(M). Rather there is a difference between official pronouncement (made in a 'diplomatic' way) and the fact that in many respects the base areas continue in practice as before.

One concrete example of this is the **Maoist model school** in Jiri, Dolakha district which we were able to spend some time in. Set near the top of a mountain high up in the clouds, the school is teaching more than 100 students, all children of martyrs. Even with rudimentary conditions it was clear that this was really a new type of education. With an emphasis on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as well as classes on maths, science and English, the students and teachers took part in agricultural work together growing crops for the canteens, and with a particular emphasis on

cultural activities the song and dance performance of the children was an impressive call to make sacrifice in the revolution. So while the base areas have been formally dismantled, it is far from the case that Maoist practice amongst the people has receded to the background. This school was one of five set up this year, one in each district of the country. And so more and more people are coming into contact with Maoist communities of practice, whether the YCL, Cultural Groups or model schools.

The class character of the State

The transition from People's War to a peaceful pursuit of power in a Constituent Assembly has been rapid and, in its departure from the historical path of making revolution in a semi-feudal semi-colonial country, has seemed at times very confusing. But in a recent article in the UCPN(M) English language journal, *The Worker* #12, Comrade Gaurav explains that "it is [the] clear understanding of our party that the revolution is still incomplete and it is in the halfway and we are sincerely committed to continue the revolution, but the form of struggle has been changed." This refutes the idea that the UCPN(M) have seen the elections to the CA and the abolition of the monarchy as an endpoint of the revolution. In fact, that the current CA is a type of bourgeois democracy is well-known.

Moving on from the gains of the People's War, we felt it was important to clarify the UCPN(M) conception of the nature of the state in this transitional period. Participation in the movement against the monarchy and then the transitional state has led to accusations that the UCPN(M) had a non-Marxist understanding of the state. This boiled down to two things: what was the class nature of the new transitional state and could New Democratic Revolution be made without smashing the old feudal and imperialist dominated state. In conversation with many people we approached the question of the class nature of the transitional state. From **various comrades** we received an unequivocal answer: the abolition of the monarchy has not changed the class nature of the state which remains semi-feudal and semi-colonial. What has changed is that the old triangular balance of forces has been reduced to two sides, the Maoists on the one side and the bourgeois parties led by NC and UML on the other. This picture was further clarified in discussion with **Baburam Bhattarai**, who characterised the state thus: "the nature of the transitional state is, to put it very concisely, in principle a dictatorship of the reactionary forces. But in practice, since the proletarian forces played a leading and decisive role in dismantling the autocratic monarchy and creating this transitional state, the political authority of the progressive, patriotic and proletarian forces is high".

Knowing full well the state represents either reactionary or revolutionary interests, and that the current state represents reactionary interests, he highlighted however the possibility in the concrete conditions of the Nepalese revolution, to use the state machinery in order to defeat the monarchical forces. Yet the success of the New Democratic Revolution cannot and will not depend on the perfection of the current state, it can only come about through the smashing of it. The election to the CA was not the first of an institutionalised parliamentary system but a one-off political event which sounded the death knell over the monarchy. The recent calls for a third People's Movement and the need for insurrection, and the new protest programme called by the UCPN(M) for the beginning of November, is evidence to this end.

Strategy and Tactics

While the strategic outlook remains the need to make New Democratic Revolution, the tactics pursued from late 2005 were for a Constituent Assembly which could unite all the republican forces in the country in order to abolish the monarchy. This was achieved by the Maoists in 2008 when the first sitting of the CA took place and Nepal was officially declared a republic. Since then there has been a need for a new set of tactics, and Comrade Basanta was especially frank in stating to us that it has taken quite some time for the party to come up with a new set of tactics. In fact this is to be

expected, because in this new situation different problems will rise up. But the UCPN(M) has forged a new set of tactics through a healthy two-line struggle, a point which we will come back to later.

What then are the tactics the UCPN (M) has adopted in order to make New Democratic Revolution? In a discussion of strategy and tactics in *The Worker* #12, Gaurav shows that because the strategy of NDR is nearing completion, the final set of tactics the party has adopted – the struggle for a People’s Federal Democratic National Republic (a People’s Republic of Nepali characteristics) – has become so close to the strategy that they almost overlap. This is precisely because it is the final set of tactics, following on from the successes of the People’s War, the various diplomatic peaceful offensives before and during that time and the second People’s Movement of April 2006.



He goes on to show that the choice at the moment is between two types of republic, a People’s Republic of Nepali characteristics, or a bourgeois republic which consolidates bureaucratic capitalist and comprador bourgeoisie rule. He demonstrates how the principal enemy of the people in Nepal has changed from feudalism, as represented by the monarchy, to the comprador bourgeoisie and bureaucrat capitalists, as represented by Nepali Congress and also UML, the stooges of imperialism and expansionism in Nepal. This also means that the class character of the state, the semi-feudal and semi-colonial state, has not changed, but the principal enemy has. However, the contradiction is still changing towards the possibility that the principal enemy will be with imperialism itself in general, and Indian expansionism in particular. This implies that the UCPN(M) are preparing for direct foreign intervention in Nepal.

During this period the UCPN(M) actually led the government for a period of nine months. Under Chairman Prachanda the Maoists led a coalition government but was unable to make big changes in Nepal. Firstly, it is interesting to note that Mao at the end of the Second World War had himself proposed a coalition government with the arch-reactionaries and representatives of US imperialism, the Guomindang, giving up part of the liberated areas (see [On the Chungking Negotiations: www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-4/mswv4_06.htm](http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-4/mswv4_06.htm)). Nevertheless, in the concrete conditions of Nepal taking part in the reactionary state has allowed the UCPN(M) to massively increase their influence and support in urban areas especially. It has allowed them unprecedented opportunities to gain access to the organs of state power, especially the Nepalese Army and the judiciary. This line of politics is obviously very dangerous, and there have been many concerns that in doing this the UCPN(M) has shown reformist tendencies of the worst kind. One example however is that the resignation of Prachanda from the government showed that the UCPN(M) was not a reformist party. It was not intent on restructuring the state from within. It was not flirting with the idea that New Democracy could be established from the CA. In fact, when imperialist intervention in Nepal, through the issue of civilian supremacy over the Nepalese Army, surfaced, it was clear that India and the US still exert great control over the bourgeois state in Nepal and that the organs of state power are very much out of the hands of the people. By resigning, the UCPN(M) were showing to the people that they were not a party like NC or UML, which played politics solely for personal gain and position, jockeying for a better place within the existing order, but were in fact a party that would not compromise on the key questions of the people’s struggle.

Moreover, in organising a coalition government of all the parties except for the Maoists, NC and UML have shown themselves to the people to be the same old parties as before. The new prime minister Madav Kumar Nepal lost in not only one seat in the election to the CA but in two, and likewise new foreign minister Sushil Koirala, member of the most powerful dynasty in Nepalese politics, also lost the election in two constituencies. Resigning from government has also placed the key question of control over the army, as well as the situating of the Maoists in the ongoing peace

process, in front of not only every political party in Nepal but every person. Straight away the consequences of this government were to induce splits within the other forces. One of the Madhesi parties, the MJF, split vertically almost immediately, and all the main parties suffer division over this issue. UML in particular is increasingly dividing into a pro-Maoist section and a pro-reactionary section. According to comrades, members and supporters of the UML are deserting the party and joining the UCPN(M). Crucially, the Maoists are also inducing splits within the Nepalese Army, with the party especially intent on winning over a large number of the normal soldiers, who are themselves from proletarian backgrounds.

On Elections



Perhaps the central issue that is raised by critics of the UCPN(M) is that of elections. In fact what we are talking about here is two separate but related issues. Firstly, the election to the CA of 2008 and secondly the role of elections in New Democratic and socialist society. The UCPN(M) was victorious in the CA elections, taking the imperialists, the bourgeois press and the other Nepalese parties by complete surprise. While an election is obviously not representative of the definitive support of the party amongst the people, it nevertheless showed that the UCPN(M) was not only popular in the mid-western hills where the PW had begun, but also in the urban areas including even Kathmandu, where the Maoists won a majority of the seats. As has been discussed already, taking part in this election has paved the way for the eventual overthrow of the state, it did not mean to establish New Democracy but to alter the balance of forces within the semi-feudal, semi-colonial state.

Drawing even more criticism however is the plan to hold elections within a New Democratic or even socialist state, the idea of 'Democracy in the 21st Century'. This idea, and it is still only an idea at present, has been vociferously criticised by some as the ultimate example of the reformist tendencies within the party, pandering to western imperialist notions of bourgeois democracy and human rights. Moreover, it has taken a long time for the implications of this idea to be understood by revolutionaries around the world. The basis of this idea can be found in Baburam Bhattarai's article 'The Question of Building a New Type of State' in *The Worker* #9 and party documents since that time. In interviews with **Comrade Gaurav** and then Bhattarai himself, as well as many discussions with comrades throughout the country we tried to get into the heart of this issue. Firstly, the practical matter of elections, which itself has not been fully understood, is about competition between progressive parties within the stage of New Democracy and also socialism. This means that in New Democracy all pro-feudal and pro-imperialist parties will not be allowed to participate. Gaurav stated explicitly that this means that under their current line NC and UML would not be included within this state. It seems clear then that the elections would not undermine the need for the proletarian party, nor for the People's Democratic Dictatorship under New Democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat under socialism.

Where then does the idea for elections come from? The UCPN(M) seek to understand the nature of the history of revolution in the twentieth century in order to better make revolution in the twenty-first century. They have isolated certain limitations of the experience, including in the Cultural Revolution, the main one of which is the generally reduced opportunity for the masses to themselves take part in transforming society, within which lay the seeds of the capitalist restoration as experienced in the USSR and China. What the UCPN(M) proposes is that the masses must have a greater role in society. While the Cultural Revolution is the pinnacle of the history of revolution thus far, it still was only a short period of time in which new ideas were thrashed out but no concrete conception of the finalised form of the transition to socialism was discovered. The UCPN(M) thinks that by allowing the people to take part in elections and giving the right of immediate recall of any

representative the party can be more firmly kept on the socialist road. Rather than negate the Cultural Revolution however, elections will not guarantee provide the basis for New Democratic or socialist revolution, they will not be able to turn one into the other, but will only contribute to each given process.

This idea is only in its infancy. To us it seems that elections can not guarantee the socialist transition nor the continued revolutionisation of the party and society. But it is an important contribution to the need for a new conception of revolution in the twenty-first century, of both learning from and building on the experience of revolution before. The UCPN(M) constantly stress this point, that no revolution can be copied but must be developed.

Two-Line Struggle and Cultural Revolution

How then has this new set of tactics and new ideas within the party been developed? It is evident that the Maoists are coping with many issues they have not faced before, and in this situation it is not surprising that there are twists and turns and that their general line is unclear to outside observers. However, the UCPN(M) themselves are very open that the new set of tactics has taken a long time to decide upon. The two-line struggle within the party, two lines said to be represented by Prachanda and Kiran, was well-publicised. The struggle centred over the question of the stage of the struggle, whether it was necessary to consolidate the CA and bourgeois democracy or whether to push on towards NDR. Comrade Basanta emphasised to us that the UCPN(M) practice of two-line struggle is always conducted in a healthy manner, on the basis of unity-struggle-transformation. Later Baburam Bhattarai was to stress that possibly the main problem with the practice of two-line struggle in the international communist movement is that struggle is often practiced divorced from the idea of unity. Splits are therefore constantly generated. We feel that one of the grave shortcomings of revolutionaries around the world is the inability to have properly grasped the nature of the two-line struggle as put forward by Comrade Mao. Moreover, the practice of two-line struggle by the UCPN(M) is a good example of this that should be studied by comrades around the world.

It is important not to look at the UCPN(M) as divided between a Prachanda camp and a Kiran camp. Basanta points out that the bourgeois media and feudal and imperialist interests were keen to induce splits within the proletarian party, a fate the Maoists want to avoid. However, the two-line struggle was carried out over a period of time and seems to have ended with a higher level of unity within the party. The practical expression of the two-line struggle can already be seen, in the resignation of Prachanda from the government, which shows that the UCPN(M) are not content in restructuring the existing state from the centre. Instead they are calling for a third People's Movement and there is increasing talk of insurrection. At the time of writing, the situation is becoming especially acute because of the set of protests organised around the United National People's Movement, under the leadership of Baburam Bhattarai. The UCPN(M) is therefore engaged in healthy line struggle, stressing the need to avoid splits but also that a tendency towards constant unity is harmful. For us, the practice of two-line struggle, one of the key teachings of Mao, is one of the very real lessons revolutionaries around the world should draw from the Nepalese revolution.

And the lesson of two-line struggle comes to the fore in the practice of Cultural Revolution. This was a subject which came up in interviews and discussions frequently because it penetrated to the heart of the UCPN(M) conception of revolution. Central to this is the idea that revolution is a continuous process. It is not one that rests at certain stages or stops for a while, but is reliant on constant revolutionisation. The implication was that now the monarchy has been defeated, the revolution cannot pause but must continue to uproot the source of all feudal and imperialist influence in Nepal.

Baburam Bhattarai pointed out that for the UCPN(M) the Cultural Revolution is the pinnacle of the history of revolution. In an article in *The Worker* #10 entitled 'Problems of Cultural Transformation', Comrade Kiran had pointed out that even though the Cultural Revolution in China was practiced

only after 17 years of Communist Party rule, in Nepal it was necessary to cultivate a Cultural Revolution spirit right from the very beginning. For revolutionaries around the world this is also a point to take very seriously. In an interview on the role of elections and the idea of Cultural Revolution, Comrade Gaurav too stressed the essential nature of the Cultural Revolution in the continuing revolution in Nepal. The Cultural Revolution was an unprecedented outbreak of democracy amongst the people and forged new roads forward in continuing to construct socialism in China. Gaurav spoke of this in the Nepalese context, where after the New Democratic Revolution only Cultural Revolution could prevent the transformation of the revolutionary party into a revisionist one and capitalist restoration.

Proletarian Internationalism and support for the revolution in Nepal

Regarding the international situation, Gaurav in *The Worker* #12 writes that the Nepalese revolution is part of the world revolution and is therefore responsible for serving the world revolution. However, it is also deserving of assistance. He writes that “it will be definitely an unfortunate event if the revolutionary forces and people do not support the revolution in Nepal especially when the imperialists and reactionaries of the world are very much involved in sabotaging the revolution in a legal way as far as it is possible.”

The revolution in Nepal has posed many questions. The course followed so far has received some opposition. There are indeed many questions to be asked on various issues, questions which should be raised and certain criticisms also that must be aired in the spirit of ‘letting one hundred flowers bloom’. However, we believe that all these questions and criticisms must be made on the basis of the unity with which the revolutionary people around the world share. While in discussion with the comrades in Nepal, who are experiencing the twists and turns of the struggle there on a daily basis, we should aim for a higher level of unity, a higher level of understanding.

It seemed evident to us that the UCPN(M) had compromised on many issues so far, not least the placing of the PLA in cantonments and the dissolution, in name at least, of the base areas. Yet on the crucial points the party will not compromise. The de-arming of the PLA is one such issue, and the need to smash the semi-feudal, semi-colonial state is another.

Now that the third People’s Movement is starting to loom on the horizon, and with it the renewed danger of direct foreign intervention in Nepal, it is important that revolutionaries all around the world unite to support the struggle of the Nepalese people against feudalism and imperialism – the struggle that is led by the UCPN(M). In the great success of the People’s War and the course of the struggle so far, we also believe there are many theoretical and practical lessons that revolutionaries can gain from studying the revolution in Nepal. And as the time is getting closer towards the potential success of NDR, the responsibility of Maoists and all anti-imperialists around the world towards organisation of activities in whichever country they are in to support the Nepali people at this time, against the reactionaries within Nepal but principally against imperialism and Indian expansionism, is greater than ever