**南亚正在成为世界革命的风暴中心**

**尼泊尔共产党（毛主义）机关报《工人》对甘纳帕蒂书记的采访。------2006年5月**

**来源：<https://icspwindia.wordpress.com/（支持印度人民战争网）印共毛成立十周年纪念册>，英文原版在中文版结尾后。**

**翻译：Telegram 人民战争-中文广播频道**

***提问1：总书记同志，请问您是如何分析当前世界形势的特殊性的？***

**甘纳帕蒂：目前情况的特殊性在于：**

**政治上，世界革命缺乏社会主义根据地；后现代主义和非政府组织等强大的反共产主义意识形态的发展；1990年代初苏联解体后，美国崛起成为唯一的超级大国，美帝国主义对世界人民构成严重威胁，特别是在9·11袭击世贸中心和五角大楼之后；法西斯在世界各地以遏制所谓恐怖主义的名义对革命运动、民族解放运动和抵抗政权发动进攻。**

**经济上，所谓的社会主义经济（”特色“社会主义经济）、国家官僚资本主义经济直接融入世界资本主义体系；LPG政策或全球化的新自由主义经济政策占上风；生产体系发生重大变化，新殖民主义的掠夺、剥削、半殖民地和新殖民地国家的控制进一步加强。国际货币基金组织、世界银行的作用发生变化，世贸组织成为强大的世界帝国主义经济机构；信息技术和生物技术领域的巨大技术革命。帝国主义大国的经济实力和在世界市场份额中的地位发生重要变化，一些新的经济强国出现；世界资本主义经济出现严重危机。**

注：LPG（Liberalization, Privatization, Globalization，自由化、私有化、全球化），是印度与国际银行接洽，开放贸易限制，推行的新自由主义政策

**因此，当今世界的一切基本矛盾越来越尖锐，使得形势对革命非常有利。虽然这是客观条件，但主观条件的特殊性在于，没有对帝国主义和最大恶霸美帝国主义进行有组织的挑战。随着中国在毛主席逝世后修正主义上台恢复资本主义，世界无产阶级，被压迫人民和民族没有了领导和指挥。世界人民组织力量薄弱，使帝国主义更具侵略性和压迫性。今天，每个国家的共产党几乎都要在没有任何实质帮助的情况下进行革命，就像俄国十月革命之前的情况。**

**然而，有一个很大的不同之处。在经历了世界无产阶级革命的挫折和失败之后，我们能够更加深刻地认识社会主义建设的问题，思考在革命成功后的社会里克服这种挫折的方法和途径。作为马克思主义者，我们不仅看到了世界革命的挫折和失败，也看到了被压迫民族和人民的持续斗争，从过去建设社会主义社会的错误和局限中吸取了宝贵的教训。我们不仅看到了敌人的成功和优势，还看到了背后的原因、他的弱点和当代世界基本矛盾的尖锐性，这将最终导致他们的失败和无产阶级的胜利。**

**无论当前形势的特殊性如何，都不能忘记世界无产阶级革命的长期性，不能忘记人类社会发展进程的方向，不能忘记国际无产阶级的历史使命。**

***提问2：马克思、列宁和毛泽东总结了有关资本主义和帝国主义的具体情况，以前和现在的情况相比，是否有变化或新的发展？您认为马列毛主义的整体发展是否有必要面对新形势下出现的挑战？***

**甘纳帕蒂：是的，我们党认为，在马克思、列宁、毛泽东三者总结起来的基础上，资本主义和帝国主义的特殊性有了一些重大的变化和新的发展。但是，关于这个时代的性质，我们党认为没有发生根本的变化，仍然是帝国主义和无产阶级革命的时代。**

**首先，我们知道，我们伟大的国际无产阶级革命导师和领袖--马克思、列宁、毛泽东同志，生活在资本主义/帝国主义社会的不同阶段，社会各方面都发生了许多巨大的变化，或者说是质的变化。他们考虑到各种科学技术的发展，考虑到阶级斗争和革命实践领域的进步，发展了无产阶级科学。马列毛主义的建立和发展经历了三个阶段。它们也像任何其他科学一样得到进一步发展，通过创造性地、具体地应用于不断变化的条件，丰富了无产阶级科学。总是需要创造性地应用马列毛主义的普遍真理来应对新形势下出现的新挑战。**

**但是，面对新的形势，发展马列毛主义又是另一回事。我不知道有哪个马克思主义老师或真正的无产阶级政党或领导人以这种方式提出问题，也不知道过去有哪个天才或政党以这种方式发展马列毛主义。将来也不会这样发展。我不认为马克思，列宁，毛泽东曾这样提出问题，或宣布发展无产阶级科学是他们的任务。马列毛主义是在推进阶级斗争和解决世界革命所面临的种种问题的过程中发展起来的。**

**因此，让我在此提醒一下，正如我在回答您的第一个问题时提到了毛泽东去世之后所发生的变化。让每一个真正的毛主义政党独立起来，让所有真正的毛主义政党集体努力面对国际舞台上的新变化和新挑战。只有正确的解决革命所面临问题的过程中，各国的革命和世界革命将通过克服目前的困难局面而前进。在这个斗争和革命的过程中，理论的发展可以是一个方面的，也可以是几个方面的，也可以是更全面的。任何一个党、任何一个党及其领导人都可以在推进革命、认识其他科学客观发展的过程中，对这一理论的发展作出重大贡献。世界无产阶级革命就是以这种方式向前推进。**

***提问3：南亚已经成为革命的风暴中心，这有什么客观和主观的依据？***

**甘纳帕蒂：正如“南亚毛主义政党和组织协调委员会”（CCOMPOSA）各方分析的那样，南亚确实正在成为世界革命的风暴中心。这有一定的客观和主观依据。**

**第一，南亚各国都是曾经被英帝国主义统治的半殖民地半封建国。因此，它们在历史、经济、政治、社会、宗教、文化和地理条件上有许多相似之处和相互联系。**

**第二，我们首先要考虑南亚的地缘战略地位和帝国主义在该地区的巨大利益。尤其是美帝国主义想利用南亚作为制衡中国的力量，因为中国正在迅速成为一个经济、军事和政治大国。**

**第三，它是世界上人口最多的地区，占世界人口的五分之一，比中国还多。它拥有广阔的市场，一直是争夺更大南亚市场份额的各种帝国主义列强之间竞争的重要地区。**

**第四，印度扩张主义是人民和民族的强大敌人，是对尼泊尔革命运动的发展和本地区民族解放斗争的巨大威胁；尼泊尔的革命形势在客观上和主观上都比当今世界任何地方都成熟，革命运动在尼泊尔共产党(毛主义)的领导下取得了巨大的成功；印度的新民主主义革命比以往任何时候都处于更加有利的地位，在毛主义的领导下不断推进，在世界社会主义革命中具有重大意义；孟加拉国的毛主义政党和不丹新成立的毛主义政党的存在。印度、尼泊尔和孟加拉国的毛主义政党具有无产阶级革命的一致性、精神、活力和传统，自毛泽东同志和纳萨尔巴里领导的大辩论时代以来，高举马列毛的红色旗帜；自纳萨尔巴里大起义到尼泊尔和印度的当代持久人民战争，革命运动在南亚各国产生了巨大影响。**

**90年代中期以来，各毛主义政党在处理南亚地区矛盾的战略方针、具体政策和策略上保持着良好的关系，推动了各国、各地区被压迫民族的革命和民主斗争。世界革命力量和民主人士的支持日益增多。因此，任何人都可以说，南亚具备成为世界革命风暴中心的客观和主观条件。**

***提问4：请您介绍一下“南亚毛主义政党和组织协调委员会”（CCOMPOSA）的理论概念和它所扮演的角色。你认为它应该如何发展，以应对正在出现的地区新挑战？***

**甘纳帕蒂：顾名思义，“南亚毛主义政党和组织协调委员会”基本上是该地区毛主义政党和组织的协调委员会。我们成立这个组织的主要目的是为了更好地协调南亚次大陆的毛主义势力，以便联合起来反对印度的扩张主义。为此，有必要团结一切力量。特别是和各民族解放运动联合起来，建立反对印度扩张主义和帝国主义的统一战线，毛主义力量应该作为这个阵线的核心，发挥领导作用。**

**然而，我们不认为南亚毛主义政党和组织协调委员会的作用仅限于对抗印度的扩张主义。我们应该本着无产阶级国际主义的精神，努力使该地区的毛主义力量在思想上和政治上更加团结，互相帮助。在思想上，我们具体分析了南亚地区的历史、经济、政治、社会、宗教、文化、地理条件，正确认识南亚地区总体上的相互关系、面临的问题和矛盾，特别是具体分析了印度统治阶级的扩张主义。基于上述认识，我们从政治上制定了应对本地区局势的战略方针、战略战术和具体政策。因此，反对印度扩张主义的斗争，以及在这场革命斗争和在推进革命进程中相互帮助是南亚毛主义政党和组织协调委员会的目标，正是基于这种思想和政治认识，我们两党--尼泊尔共产党(毛主义)和印度共产党(毛主义)--发起并成立了这个委员会。**

**是的，南亚毛主义政党和组织协调委员会无疑是毛主义政党和民主战斗力量面对地区新挑战的重要工具。但是，它的发展将取决于整个地区特别是尼泊尔和印度革命的成功和进步，取决于有关各方在其中发挥的作用，也取决于本地区和世界的政治局势。**

***提问5：印度两个最强大的革命政党--印度共产党{（马列）人民战争}和印度毛主义共产主义中心之间的统一，极大地鼓舞了世界各地的民众，尤其是南亚的民众。除此之外仍有几个革命的马列毛主义政党在这个过程之外，统一进程是否还在继续？***

**甘纳帕蒂：我同意你关于两个毛主义政党合并和印度共产党（毛主义）形成的影响。我也同意，还有几个革命的马列毛主义政党在这一进程之外。在合并时，两个前政党的中央委员会已经认识到这一事实。**

**我们新党的中央委员会正确地评估了党外仍有一些（不是你说的几个）革命力量，并决定由新的中央委员会承担起团结任务，作为其紧急任务之一。我们的新一届中央委员会在第一次会议上决定立即开始同革命的马列毛主义政党和革命人士的团结进程。我们正在认真努力，有原则地实现这一任务。关于真正的革命力量的团结，我想说明的是，必须在思想上、政治上、组织上、军事上的基本问题上达成一致，以保证党同任何革命党的基本路线的统一。而且我们中央委员会也非常重视任何革命党的实践活动，并以此为依据正确地判断该党的性质。**

**为了正确评价任何革命党的言论行为，我们要求对其做法进行评估。为了实现原则性的统一，我们需要在印度背景下对任何政党进行审查，并总结印度革命运动史上的经验教训。在这种团结的努力下，我们也取得了一些积极的成果。但不幸的是，一些政党没有作出积极的回应。尽管他们采取了消极的态度，但我们仍在等待他们的积极回应。我相信，这种革命形势本身就迫使一切真正的革命者团结起来。他们的责任在于他们的觉悟。**

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***提问6：请问革命政党之间团结的基本理论和政治概念是什么？***

**甘纳帕蒂：必须在下列问题中进行理论和政治上的统一，印度的革命者才能真正的团结起来：**

**我们的马列毛主义思想，印度社会的性质，国家性质，主要矛盾和基本矛盾；革命的阶段，革命战略和革命道路；党的政治、组织、军事路线和持久人民战争的基本战术；种姓、民族、妇女和宗教少数民族问题；国际形势和当代世界的基本矛盾和主要矛盾；国内形势等。在这些问题上取得理论上和政治上的统一的同时，我们还必须对那些希望和我们进行统一合并的政党之前所进行的革命实践活动，目前所作的革命实践活动做出评价。**

**只从党的思想政治路线的基本文件出发来进行统一，不考虑党的实践，这种“统一”是充满内在危险的。因为如果党的实践与它的理论不一致，任何党都不可能是真正的革命党。我们应该反对“革命国际主义运动”组织（RIM）为统一印度的毛主义政党而提出的某些方面建议。**

***提问7：两党统一后，党的活动、运动情况和影响如何？***

**甘纳帕蒂：两个毛主义政党的统一对该国的被压迫群众和各种革命力量产生了巨大的影响。党组织遍及全国，从东部的阿萨姆-特里普拉邦到西部的古吉拉特邦，从北部的旁遮普邦到南部的喀拉拉邦。党组织现在几乎在每个州都有存在，尽管在一些州我们的存在还很弱。两党合并后，特别是在比哈尔邦、恰尔肯德邦、西孟加拉邦、北方邦、奥里萨邦和恰蒂斯加尔邦，党组织得到了加强，在其他八个邦也有较小程度的加强。**

**在党的中央一级完成合并之后，紧接着是州一级党组织的合并，这花了近6个月的时间。这是党在合并后这段时间的主要活动之一。今年2月，我们还在恰尔肯德邦-比哈尔邦发起了抵制议会选举的运动。这一运动产生了良好的政治影响，在我们党组织存在的大部分地区几乎没有议会政党的竞选活动。除此之外还有一些武装战术进攻，如去年11月在北方邦的昌达里县(Chandauli)有17名警察被杀，比哈尔邦的蒙格尔(Mungyr)地区的警局局长被击杀，在西孟加拉邦、马哈拉施特拉邦的伏击，在恰蒂斯加尔邦、恰尔肯德邦和安得拉邦发生的一系列袭击行动，表明了两党合并后，人民解放游击军（PLGA）的打击力量有所增强。**

**在政治攻势方面，我们正在尝试推进扩大反帝国主义反压迫运动。我们现在能够建立真正具有全印度性质的群众组织，并朝着在全印度范围内建立统一战线的方向前进。**

**剥削的统治阶级更感受到了两党合并后的影响，他们大声疾呼：统一党对国内安全和国家的统一完整构成了严重的威胁，应该尽一切努力铲除从尼泊尔一直延伸到南部喀拉拉邦的”红色走廊“。13个州的首席部长，州级警察总干事，首席秘书等人正在召开一个又一个会议，商讨制定镇压毛主义党领导的人民战争的计划。**

***提问8：印度是一个多元化的大国，根据经济、社会、文化和宗教领域的各种特殊性以及地理多样性，您如何评价政治矛盾的性质？在这种情况下，你准备了什么样的工作计划来在印度进行人民战争的路线？***

***提问9：相当一部分印度人口一直集中在城市和工业地区。矛盾的性质必然导致运动形式的变化，从这个角度看，你如何看待城市中发生暴动的可能性？如果是这样想的话，是否考虑过制定军事路线，将持久人民战争与城市暴动联系起来？***

**甘纳帕蒂：几乎三分之一的印度人口居住在城市地区。印度工人阶级的规模相当庞大。虽然它在总人口中所占的比例不像其他发达资本主义国家那样高，但在数量上是非常可观的。例如，有组织的工人阶级本身的数量比尼泊尔的人口还要多，更不用说无组织的工人阶级了，后者是尼泊尔人口的四倍。在制定策略时要考虑到这一事实，这一点很重要。**

**工人阶级和城市地区在整个革命中的比重比革命前的中国还要大。工人阶级和城市居民的起义会在印度革命的后期阶段发挥重要作用。我们要采取多种策略发动城市群众参加革命，重视城市群众的政治、经济、社会、文化问题，特别要重视城市各阶层群众的工作，揭露和孤立修正主义和资产阶级的反动领导，建立统一的工人阶级革命民主运动，建立强大的反帝国主义和反买办官僚资产阶级的政治运动，并集中在关键的经济发达地区。毫无疑问，我们必须使城市群众做好起义的准备，但首先必须训练他们同农民团结在一起，领导、参加和声援武装的土地革命运动，从而为工农团结奠定坚实的基础。**

**持久人民战争战略包括城市起义的部分，一般是在广大落后的农村地区解放之后进行的。但是，在根据地和游击区及其周围的城市地区，起义发生的时间会早得多，革命武装力量和敌对的武装力量之间将为控制这些城市地区进行长期的争夺。印度的持久人民战争路线有其自身的特点，我们在城市的工作，从一开始就要重视武装力量的建设，要把城市的武装活动与城郊地区的游击战以及农村的武装土地革命战争联系起来。**

**根据上述战略部署，我们党将在总结经验、适应形势变化的基础上，在实践中进一步发展我们的政治路线和军事路线。**

***提问10：印度各地的民族运动都在不断发展。请您简要解释一下新民主主义革命和民族运动之间的矛盾和相互关系。另外，您是如何制定计划以争取民族运动加入新民主主义革命的行列的？在这样做的过程中，您面临着哪些意识形态和政治问题？***

**甘纳帕蒂：民族运动已经成为印度政治舞台不可分割的一部分，无论印度反动统治阶级如何镇压他们，收买他们的领导层，他们都像涅槃的凤凰一样一次又一次地站起来。**

**我们党认为，民族运动是新民主主义革命的组成部分，印度各受压迫民族的诉求也是新民主主义革命议程的一部分。各民族公正合理的自决权，包括他们的分离权，得到了我们党的支持，这一重要的民主权利也被列入了我们党的纲领。因此，新民主主义革命和民族运动在理论上是没有矛盾的，因为民族运动的目的是从帝国主义的压迫中解放出来，反映了包括民族资产阶级在内的广大人民群众的愿望，民族资产阶级在民主革命这个阶段也是新民主主义统一战线的一部分。**

**然而，大多数民族运动的领导层都存在着严重的局限性，他们没有明确的反帝国主义倾向，经常向帝国主义屈服，缺乏一致性，政治立场摇摆不定。在民族纲领方面，没有意识形态和政治上的明确性。这显然带来了一些严重的问题，因此我们看到一些民族运动屈服于反动统治阶级和帝国主义的阴谋。**

**工人阶级党要自觉地对民族运动的领导层进行思想政治教育，为他们的运动指明方向，反对帝国主义、买办官僚资产阶级和封建主义，帮助他们制定反映广大人民群众愿望的民主纲领，使武装土地革命斗争和民族运动有效地协调起来。**

**各民族的武装斗争是印度新民主主义革命的重要组成部分，我们党将尽一切努力使他们走上正确的革命道路，并与之联合起来对抗共同的敌人。**

***提问11：您如何评价印度目前的政治形势？在目前的情况下，您能否告诉我们，现在战略防御阶段的军事和政治进攻的战术方案?***

**甘纳帕蒂：印度目前的政治形势对推进国内的人民战争极为有利，在去年9月两个毛主义政党合并的情况下更是如此。经济、政治和社会领域的危机相当严重，所有的基本矛盾和主要矛盾都日趋尖锐，各阶层人民根据自己的要求进行着激进的斗争，经常与印度政府发生冲突，一些被压迫民族的武装斗争仍在继续。**

**我们党利用这一有利条件，进行了政治上和军事上的进攻。我们的”战术反攻运动“（TCOC），在各个层级上都很协调，收到了很好的效果。我们一直在采取这样的战术攻势，从敌军手中夺取武器弹药，武装人民解放游击军，建立人民政权机关，阻挠敌军的进攻行动，在每年的人民解放游击军周年纪念日期间，以及在议会和国会选举期间也是如此。**

**在政治上，我们正努力干预我们有影响力的各邦的各类情况。利用统治阶级内部的矛盾，建立广泛的革命群众运动，反对国家镇压，反对帝国主义全球化及其恶果，反对印度教社区法西斯主义（Hindu communalfascist ）进攻，反对各种宗教原教旨主义。但鉴于印度幅员辽阔，我们党的主观力量薄弱，我们还不能对印度中央层面进行有效干预，影响力还不足以撼动印度统治阶级的堡垒，我们的干预主要是在地方各邦及以下各级地区。我们确实有计划在不久的将来在中央层面进行重大的政治干预。**

***提问12：作为无产阶级国际主义的实践者和近邻，您肯定在深入研究尼泊尔的人民战争。您认为尼泊尔人民战争10年的发展对世界共产主义运动有何重要成就？为了进一步推动尼泊尔革命，你有什么建议吗？***

**甘纳帕蒂：是的。从尼泊尔人民战争一开始我们就一直在研究它。作为无产阶级国际主义的坚定拥护者，我们党一直与尼泊尔共产党（毛主义）保持着良好的兄弟关系，努力研究正在进行的人民战争，早在贵党发动人民战争之前，我们党就竭尽全力提供援助。在1995年至1996年人民战争开始和发动后的一段时间里，我们进行了几轮讨论。在讨论中，我们就贡萨罗思想的概念和对“主义”的认识、思想和道路、21世纪革命的性质、南亚社会主义联盟的概念、“革命国际主义运动”（RIM）组织的作用、秘鲁的经验、斯大林同志的问题等交换了意见。我们两党之间的讨论非常有用，有助于加深彼此的了解。**

**作为领导印度革命的政党，我们特别努力研究尼泊尔人民战争取得的进展。尼泊尔十年人民战争的发展对世界革命产生了巨大影响，也为其他国家的革命提供了丰富多样的经验。世界共产主义运动和印度共产主义运动都从尼泊尔人民战争运动中受益匪浅。**

**至于具体的成就，我认为尼泊尔的同志们非常有效地、创造性地将马列毛主义的普遍真理与尼泊尔革命的具体实践相结合。尼共(毛)在当代世界形势下创造性地将马列毛主义运用于尼泊尔的具体情况本身就是一个成就。这是因为，虽然右倾机会主义和右倾修正主义仍然是世界共产主义运动的主要趋势，但教条主义则是世界共产主义运动中的主要威胁。尼泊尔共产党（毛主义）通过创造性地应用马列毛主义所取得的突破，将使许多犯教条主义错误的毛主义者大开眼界。**

**在我看来，贵党的另一个重大成就是灵活有效地运用战术。尼泊尔共产党（毛主义）能够根据形势的变化迅速而大胆地改变策略，没有任何犹豫，不受外界的影响。我们可以看到在这十年间，这种对战术，武器的有效使用，我们党赞赏贵党领导层在如此灵活地使用战术，武器方面的勇气和创造力。**

**尼泊尔人民战争取得的进步也证明，只要无产阶级政党掌握了正确的以马列毛主义为基础的革命路线，领导层有效地将理论与实践相结合，创造性地制定适当的战术而不拘泥于此，那么在落后国家发动人民战争和迅速取得进展就将成为可能。**

**至于我们的建议，在我们与尼共(毛)的双边讨论中，我们一直在向贵党领导人提出。我们发现，对于尼泊尔人民战争的一些成就，存在着某种程度的过度概括，比如把一些基本上是极端落后国家革命特点的东西归结为普遍性。虽然贵党相当大胆地采取战术是件好事，但也存在着对一些情况过度简单化的问题，有时采取的战术是基于对情况的高估，如印度、中国和美国之间矛盾的强度。**

***提问13：印度和尼泊尔这两个国家的反动政府一直在不断加强合作，共同反对和镇压两国的人民战争。他们因为“红色走廊”、“协定区”和两党联合行动的问题而寝食难安，他们对此感到非常恐惧。在这种背景下，您认为印共（毛）和尼共（毛）这两个革命政党之间的相互关系应该是怎样的？***

***提问14：尼泊尔人民战争已经进入战略反攻阶段。这种局面本身就是党中央对敌人进行政治和军事干预的阶段。很明显，全世界的反动派，特别是印度的扩张主义运动正在公开援助贾南德拉（Gyanendra）专制政权，甚至准备进行公开干预尼泊尔革命。您认为贵党应该代表热爱正义的印度群众发挥什么作用来阻止这种干预？***

注：协定区（协定革命根据地）：Compact Revolutionary Zone （简称CZ或CRZ）,是由印度，尼泊尔两国毛主义革命者在边境地区共同建立管理的根据地。

**甘纳帕蒂：我会尝试同时回答这两个问题，因为这两个问题是密切相关的。**

**印度和尼泊尔的反动统治阶级在帝国主义特别是美帝国主义的帮助和教唆下，联合起来镇压这两个国家的人民战争，这是一个事实。世界上任何一个国家革命的胜利，都是世界上的反动派所不能容忍的，他们一直在散布关于 "共产主义的最终失败 "和 "资本主义的最终胜利 "的恶毒宣传和无休止的谎言，除了资本主义人民将别无选择，这些都是无稽之谈。随着尼泊尔和印度人民战争的迅速推进，共产主义的幽灵将再次困扰着他们。**

**红色走廊和协定革命根据地，这是统治阶级对该地区的称呼，从尼泊尔的红色革命根据地一直延伸到印度安得拉邦和更南边的游击区，这已经成为他们的噩梦。在这个广袤的地区进一步推进革命游击战争，加强人民解放游击军向人民解放军的转变。在这个战略地区建立根据地，将使人民战争和国家的整个政治格局发生质的变化。我们越快实现这一点，我们对尼泊尔革命的帮助就越大。**

**毫无疑问，我们两党-印度共产党（毛主义）和尼泊尔共产党（毛主义）-之间的关系必须进一步加强。特别是在你们国家的革命处于战略反攻阶段的时候，有必要进行更好的协调配合。我们必须想出适当的方法来定期保持这些关系。**

**在这个时候，印度扩张主义者试图支持贾南德拉腐朽的反动君主制政权，甚至考虑公开干预的时候，我们党将努力动员广大印度人民参加反对印度政府对贾南德拉政权的干预和援助的广泛政治运动，同时加强我们对印度反动国家的武装运动。**

***提问15：您是如何总结印度共产党（毛主义）与安得拉邦政府之间的谈判？***

**甘纳帕蒂：到目前为止，我们的中央委员会并没有总结我们党的安得拉邦地方委员会与安得拉邦政府之间的谈判情况。但最近，在去年二月份，我们的中央地方局（CRB）根据我们党的方针政策，总结了这次谈判。关于这个问题，我们早些时候是应用马列毛主义结合具体情况，即政治形势和我们的运动，来制定我们的政策和方针的。**

**中央地方局（CRB）将谈判总结为我们在政治战线上的斗争，这场斗争给党带来了积极的政治-组织收益。总之，我们党在安得拉邦采取的迫使政府宣布停火并将其拉到谈判桌上的举措，是革命者进行政治干预的一个很好的例子。这一时期虽然有一些缺点和错误，但积极的一面是我们政治举措的主要特点。这一时期，我们党在人民群众心目中的知名度、正当性、公信力大大提高。我们大胆地把革命政治摆在人民面前，利用停火期进行了大规模的政治动员。但是，党的政治影响力和组织力量之间还存在很大差距。**

**消极的一面是，党的一部分干部和领导中出现了一些法律主义倾向（legalist trends）。在实践中，过分强调法律会议和集会，而不是引导群众进行以政治要求为主的武装斗争。到2005年1月敌人发动进攻时，我们这边缺乏必要的军事准备。**

**在中央委员会审视了我们在安得拉邦谈判策略的经验后，我们将把需要的都摆在人民面前。**

***提问16：你们党如何看待“革命国际主义运动“（RIM）组织在当代国际共产主义运动中在思想和政治上所扮演的角色？***

**甘纳帕蒂：我们党对“革命国际主义运动”（RIM）组织有积极和批判的态度。一方面，我们认识到“革命国际主义运动”（RIM）在某些问题上发挥了积极的思想政治作用，比如它对毛去世后中国反革命集团的分析。这对那些对中国的发展有些困惑的革命政党肯定是有帮助的.**

**另一方面，我们党在一些思想政治问题上存在分歧，如对斯大林的评价问题、新国际的概念、民主集中制的问题、"革命国际主义运动"委员会(CoRIM)运作中的问题等等。"革命国际主义运动"处理斯大林问题的方式只会在毛主义阵营内部制造更多分歧。我们正在与"革命国际主义运动"委员会（CoRIM）就所有这些问题进行辩论。**

**我们党在解决同”革命国际主义运动“（RIM）的分歧问题上，采取了“团结-斗争-团结”的正确方法。我们必须采用这种方法来解决国际马克思主义组织间面临的问题。**

***提问17：您认为目前共产主义运动中的主要主观问题是什么？对此，如何进行思想政治斗争？***

**甘纳帕蒂：您指的是目前国际马克思主义组织中各国毛主义政党的领导问题。我想，每一个真正的毛主义政党都可能会有一些问题。我们可以在国际马克思主义组织形势和复杂的世界形势背景下理解这个问题。毛主义政党迫切需要就世界革命所面临的思想政治问题进行良好的斗争。**

**为了实现这一点，毛派政党的斗争可以通过两种方式进行，从内到外，主要是从内部进行。任何政党都可以接受兄弟党的建议，任何兄弟党都可以提出建议，这才能使党内斗争取得好的效果。为了在国际辩论或斗争中取得好的成果，发起辩论的有关各方有责任征求真正的毛主义政党的意见，找出需要解决的问题，以便为世界社会主义革命服务。任何真正的党内斗争或国际上的思想斗争，都是可以互相帮助的。无论是进行党内斗争，还是进行国际思想政治问题辩论，都要按照马列毛主义的方法进行。如果我们不按照这个方法去做，我们就达不到预期的目的。**

**还有一种斗争，那就是国际上革命政党和修正主义政党之间的斗争，革命阵营和修正主义阵营之间的斗争。任何一个真正的毛主义政党都不应该把这种斗争和真正的毛主义政党之间的斗争混为一谈，要谨慎行事，不能把这两种斗争都用同样的斗争方法去解决。**

***提问18：在半封建半殖民地关系中产生的非无产阶级思想框架内，你们建设和加强无产阶级共产党的经验是怎样的？***

**甘纳帕蒂：我觉得这不只是半殖民地半封建社会的问题，而是包括所有帝国主义国家在内的每个国家的无产阶级政党都要面对的问题。但这个问题有自己的具体特点，取决于该国的具体条件。它对所有处于革命过程中、社会主义改造和社会主义建设时期的国家都有启示意义。**

**印度的特殊性在于它是半封建半殖民地的国家，由于这些特殊性，非无产阶级思想在印度毛主义政党内部不断涌现。党内的大多数干部的出身都是农民，我们知道，我们必须自觉地转变农民的思想。**

**由于半封建半殖民地的关系和文化在印度占主导地位，深深影响到了整个社会，农民思想和非无产阶级思想几乎遍及印度各个阶层。父权制、种姓感情甚至歧视、民族感情和偏见等因素，甚至对工人阶级干部也有一定的影响。**

**在过去的人民战争时期，我们在1985-87年和1991-92年分别与SM-VS取消主义集团（**编者暂未找到这两位集团领导人的具体姓名**）和康达帕利·西塔拉迈亚（Kondapalli Seetharamaiah，简称KS）集团进行了两次严重的党内斗争。在这两次斗争中，党都积累了丰富的经验，丰富了思想政治路线，实现了思想和行动的高度统一。在昔日的印度毛主义共产主义中心中，党内有一场反对巴拉特-巴达尔集团的斗争，这有助于党的发展和在意识形态-政治问题上的进一步清晰化。**

**在党的代表大会举办后，党在各地方邦和中央开展了整风运动，在思想上改造了党员的面貌，对于克服党内的非无产阶级倾向起到了很大的作用。**

***提问19：马克思主义认为，没有国家政权，一切都是幻想。你打算如何在有根据地的地区建立人民政权？当你把这个问题提上直接议程时，你将会面临什么问题？***

**甘纳帕蒂：每一个真正的马克思主义者都认为：“没有国家政权，一切都是虚幻。”因此，我们党的基本路线是建立在毛主义原则的基础上的：“武装夺取政权，战争解决问题，是革命的中心任务和最高形式。”但是，这个原则(对所有国家)都是一样的，但无产阶级政党可以根据不同的情况，用不同的方式表现出来。**

**因此，根据上述认识，我们在任何地区的工作一开始就宣传夺取政权、建立人民政权机关和根据地。而建立根据地，基本上是集中在地势优越的广大落后农村地区。这是根据印度长期人民战争的规律提出的，即革命力量为了对抗实力强得多的敌人，必须选择敌人相对较弱、有利于革命力量的地区，在那里发展革命战争。我们国家有许多这样的地区，是人民战争的战略要地，可以建立解放区。这些根据地是协调和推进全国人民战争、夺取全国政权的杠杆和支点。**

**我们选择了这样的地区，同地方封建势力和国家武装力量对抗，推进了武装的土地革命战争。经过几次与印度国家武装力量的对抗，我们已经能够在其中一些地区建立人民政权机关。建立根据地和人民政权机关已列入我们的近期议程，我们已将此作为我们的基本原则和近期任务。**

**目前，革命运动正在包括恰尔肯德邦、丹达卡兰尼亚地区、安德拉邦、比哈尔邦、奥里萨邦等广大地区推进，具有重大的战略意义，我们计划把这些地区建设成相互影响的武装斗争毗连区。随着这些地区的巩固，我们就可以利用它们对周围地区的影响，把它们发展成游击区，从而扩大武装斗争的范围。我们的目标是，随着主观力量的增强，在各地方邦的战略要地发展革命运动。**

**然而，尽管我们正在根据地建立人民政权机关，但鉴于印度国家实力的巨大优势，要在相当长的时间内建立稳定的根据地并不是一件容易的事情。印度统治阶级除了向人民实施”白色恐怖“外，还在武装斗争领域进行改革，以转移群众的注意力，争取一部分人站在他们一边。因此，在加强人民解放游击军向人民解放军转变的同时，我们必须大力武装群众，让群众做好心理准备，从一开始就向他们灌输革命思想，提升政治觉悟。尽管有这些努力，但敌人进攻的规模和程度可能会迫使我们从一些据点撤退，也不能排除根据地倒退成游击区之类的发展。游击区转变发展为根据地则反之亦然，将取决于敌人的进攻状况、战争的成败、我们的主观力量状况、人民战争的蔓延，以及国内和国际形势。**

**“South Asia is Indeed Becoming**

**A Storm Centre of World Revolution”**

**Interview of Comrade Ganapathy to The Worker,**

**Organ of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)**

***May 2006***

***1. Comrade General Secretary, would you please mention how you are***

***analyzing the particularities of present world situation?***

**Ganapathy (GP):** The particularities of the present situation are:

Politically, the absence of a socialist base for the world revolution; the

growth of strong anti-Communist ideologies such as post-modernism and

the NGO philosophy; rise of the US as the sole superpower after the collapse

of the Soviet superpower in the beginning of the 1990s and the grave threat

posed by the US imperialism to world people, especially after the September

11 attacks on the WTC and the Pentagon; the fascist offensive throughout

the world against revolutionary movements, national liberation movements

and defiant regimes in the name of containing so-called terrorism; and the

growth of a strong anti-War, anti-Globalisation movements all over the

world.

Economically, the integration of the so-called socialist economies, the

state bureaucratic capitalist economies directly into world capitalist system;

the ascendance of neo-liberal economic policies of LPG or Globalization,some important changes in the production system and further intensification

of neo-colonial plunder, exploitation, control of semi-colonial and semi

feudal and neo-colonial countries; change in the role of IMF, WB and

emergence of WTO as powerful world imperialist economic bodies; the

tremendous technological revolutions in information technology and bio

technology; important changes in economic strengths and positions of big

imperialist powers in the share of world market and emergence of some

new economic powers; and acute crisis in the world capitalist economy.

Thus all the fundamental contradictions in the contemporary world have

been getting more and more acute making the situation highly favourable

for revolution. While such is the objective condition, the particularity of the

subjective condition is that there is no organized challenge to the imperialists

and the biggest bully of all, the American imperialists. With the restoration

of capitalism in China after the revisionist take-over following the demise

of Mao, the world proletariat and the oppressed people and nations have no

leadership or guidance. The weak organized strength and lack of leadership

for the world people has made the imperialists more aggressive and

oppressive. Today, in every country the Communist Party has to make

revolution almost without any substantial help from other countries, say,

like the situation prior to the October Revolution, in a way.

There is one big difference, however. After the setbacks and defeats in

the world proletarian revolution, we are able to understand more deeply the

problems of socialist construction, and think of ways and means to overcome

such setbacks in post-revolutionary societies. We, as Marxists, not only

see the setbacks and defeats in the world revolution but also the continuous

struggle of the oppressed nations and people, learn valuable lessons from

past mistakes and limitations in the construction of socialist society. We not

only see the enemy’s successes and strengths but also see the reasons

behind it, his weaknesses and the acuteness of the fundamental contradictions

in the contemporary world, which will ultimately lead to his defeat and the

victory of proletariat.

Whatever be the particularity of the present situation, one should not

forget the protracted nature of the world proletarian revolution, the direction

of development process of human society, and the historical task of

international proletariat***2. Do you think there have been changes or new developments on the***

***specificities that Marx, Lenin and Mao had synthesized concerning***

***capitalism and imperialism in the erstwhile situation? If so, do you***

***think the overall development of MLM is necessary to face the challenges***

***emerging from the new situation?***

**GP:** Yes, our Party thinks there have been some significant changes or new

developments in the specificities concerning capitalism and imperialism from

what has been synthesized by Marx, Lenin and Mao. However, regarding

the character of the present era, our Party thinks there is no fundamental

change and it is still the era of imperialism, and proletarian revolution.

First of all, we know that, our great international proletarian

revolutionary teachers and leaders—comrades Marx, Lenin and Mao—

lived in different stages/phases of capitalist/imperialist society, and in those

times there were many great changes-qualitative or most significant in all

spheres of society. Taking into consideration the developments in various

sciences, and the advances made in the realm of class struggle and

revolutionary practice, they developed proletarian science. MLM was

established and developed in three stages. MLM too develops further like

any other science, enriches the proletarian science through creative and

concrete application to the changing conditions. There is always the need

for the creative application of the universal truth of MLM to face the new

challenges emerging from the new situation.

But it is yet another thing to say that it is necessary to develop MLM to

face the new situation. I do not know of any Marxist teacher or genuine

proletarian Party or leader who had placed the question in this manner or

that MLM had developed in this way by any one genius or Party in the

past. Nor will it develop so in future. I do not think Marx or Lenin or Mao

had posed the question this way, or declared that it was their task to develop

proletarian science. MLM had developed in the course of advancing the

class struggle and solving the multifarious problems confronting the world

revolution.

So, in this context let me remind you the changes after Mao as I

mentioned in my answer to your first question. Let every genuine Maoist

Party independently, and all genuine Maoist Parties collectively, strive to

**42**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***face the new changes and challenges in the international arena. It is in the

course of correctly solving the problems confronting the revolution that the

revolutions in the various countries and the world revolution will advance

by overcoming the present difficult situation. The development of theory

might take place in one or a few aspects or in a more comprehensive way

through this struggle and revolutionary process. Any Party, or Parties and

their leaders might contribute significantly for the development of the theory

in the course of advancing the revolution and understanding the objective

development of other sciences. The world proletarian revolution advances

in this way.

***3. South Asia has been becoming a storm centre of revolution, what are***

***the objective and subjective bases for this?***

**GP:** As analysed by the Parties of CCOMPOSA, South Asia is indeed

becoming a storm centre of world revolution. There are certain objective

and subjective bases for this.

Firstly, all the countries of South Asia are semi-colonial and semi-feudal

countries once ruled by the British imperialists. Hence they have many

similarities and inter-relations in historical, economical, political, social,

religious, cultural and geographical conditions.

Secondly, we must keep in mind first the geo-strategic location of South

Asia and the immense interest of the imperialists in the region. The US

imperialists, in particular, want to use SAsia as a counter-weight to China

which is fast becoming a major economic-military- political power.

Third, it is the most populated region in the world accounting for a fifth

of the world’s population which is larger than China. It has a vast market

and has been an important region of rivalry between the various imperialist

powers who vie for greater share of the SAsian markets.

Fourth, Indian expansionism is a powerful enemy of the people and

nationalities and a big threat to the development of the NDRs and national

liberation struggles of this region; the revolutionary situation objectively

and subjectively in Nepal is more matured than anywhere in present day

world and the NDR is advancing with tremendous success under the

leadership of CPN(Maoist); The NDR in India is in a more advantageous

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **43**position than ever before and it is advancing under the leadership of

CPI(Maoist) and its great significance in the world socialist revolution;

existence of Maoist Parties in Bangladesh and newly formed Maoist Party

in Bhutan; the Maoist Parties of India, Nepal and Bangladesh are having

proletarian revolutionary consistency, spirit, vigor and traditions in high

holding the red banner of MLM since the days of great debate under the

leadership of comrade Mao and Naxalbari; since the great Naxalbari uprising

to contemporary PPW in Nepal and India, the revolutionary movements

are creating great impact in every country of South Asia.

Since mid-90s there are good relations between all these Maoist parties

with a strategic approach, specific policies and tactics to deal with the

contradictions in South Asian Region to advance the revolutions and

democratic struggles of oppressed nationalities in every country and entire

region.; the support of revolutionary forces and democratic people in world

is increasing day by day. So, any body can say there is an objective and

subjective condition in South Asia to become a storm centre of world

revolution.

***4. Would you please shed light on the theoretical concept of CCOMPOSA***

***and the role it is playing? How do you think it should develop to face the***

***emerging new challenges regionally?***

**GP:** As the name itself indicates, CCOMPOSA is basically a coordination

committee of the Maoist parties and organisations of the region. The chief

purpose for which we had formed this is to achieve better coordination

between the Maoist forces in the Sub-Continent in order to wage united

struggle against Indian Expansionism. Towards this end, it is necessary to

unite all the forces, particularly the various nationality movements, in the

common front against Indian expansionism and imperialism. The Maoist

forces should act as the core of this front and provide the leadership.

However, we do not think the role of the CCOMPOSA is limited to

fight against Indian expansionism. We should strive to achieve more

ideological-political cohesion among the Maoist forces of the region, exchange

the experiences and assist one another in the spirit of proletarian

internationalism.

**44**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***Ideologically we analyzed concretely the historical, economical, political,

social, religious, cultural and geographical conditions to correctly understand

the inter–relations between, problems facing, contradictions operating in

the South Asian Region in general and concretely analyzed the expansionism

of Indian ruling classes in particular. And basing on the above understanding,

we politically formulated our strategic approach and tactics and specific

policies to deal with the situation of this region. Thus struggle against Indian

expansionism; and mutual help in this struggle and in the advancement of

revolutions are the objectives of the CCOMPOSA and it was with this

ideological and political understanding that both our Parties—[CPN(Maoist)

and CPI(Maoist)], initiated to form it.

Yes, surely the CCOMPOSA is as an important instrument of Maoist

Parties and democratic fighting forces to face the emerging new challenges

regionally. But, its development will depend on the successes and

advancements in revolutions of this region in general and Nepal and India

in particular and also the role played by the Parties concerned in it and also

on the political situation in this Region and world over.

***5. The unity between two revolutionary parties in India, the CPI (ML)***

***(PW) and MCCI has inspired very much the masses the world over and***

***South Asia in particular. But there are still several revolutionary and***

***Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Parties outside of this process. Does this process***

***still continue?***

**GP:** I agree with you regarding the impact of the merger of two Maoist

Parties and the formation of CPI(Maoist) in India. And I also agree that

there are still several revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Parties

outside of this process. This fact was taken cognizance of by the Joint

meeting of the CCs of the two erstwhile parties at the time of the merger.

The CC of our new Party has correctly assessed that there are still

some (not several as you say) revolutionary forces outside the Party and

decided to take up the unity task by the new central committee as its one of

urgent tasks. Our new Central committee in its first meeting has decided to

start immediately the unity process with other revolutionary and Marxist

Leninist-Maoist Parties and revolutionary individuals. We are making serious

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **45**efforts to realize this task in a principled manner. Regarding the unity of

genuine revolutionary forces, I want to clarify there must be an agreement

on basic ideological, political, organizational, military issues which will ensure

the unity on the Party basic line for the unity with any revolutionary Party.

And also our Central Committee is giving very much importance to the

practice of any revolutionary Party to correctly judge its genuineness.

In order to correctly asses the words and deeds of any revolutionary

Party, we are asking the review of its practice. For principled unity we need

the review of any Party in Indian context and lessons gained in the history

of revolutionary movement of India. With this unity effort already we are

getting some positive results also. But, unfortunately some parties are not

positively responded. In spite of their negative approach, we are still waiting

for their positive response. I believe that this revolutionary situation itself

forces all the genuine revolutionaries to unite. Their responsibility lies in

their consciousness.

***6. Would you please mention the basic theoretical and political concept***

***of unity between revolutionary parties?***

**GP:** Basically, theoretical and political unity on the following questions

must be essential for the unification of revolutionaries in India:

Our ideology of MLM, Nature of the Indian society, state character,

major and fundamental contradictions and principal contradiction; Stage of

the revolution, Strategy of the revolution and path of the revolution; Political,

organizational and military line and basic tactics of PPW; Stand on the

questions of Caste, Nationality, Women and Religious minorities; International

situation and the fundamental and principal contradictions in the

contemporary world, Domestic situation, and so on. Along with the

theoretical and political unity on these questions, it is very important to take

into consideration the historical evaluation of practice of the parties that

wish to unite as well as their current practice.

To think of unity basing only on the basic documents related to the

ideological-political line of the parties and not taking into account the practice

of the parties, is fraught with inherent danger since no party can be genuinely

revolutionary if its practice does not match its theory. We should oppose

**46**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***some of aspects proposed by the RIM for the unification of Maoist Parties

in a country.

***7. How have been the activities, situation of the movement and influence***

***after party unification?***

**GP:** Unification of the two Maoist Parties has had a tremendous influence

on the oppressed masses of the country and the various revolutionary forces.

The Party organization now spans across the length and breadth of the

country, from Assam -Tripura in the east to Gujarat in the west, and from

Punjab in the north to Kerala in the south. We now have presence in almost

every state though it is weak in some states. The merger of the two Parties

has strengthened the organization specially in Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal,

UP, Orissa and Chathisgarh and to a smaller degree in eight other states.

The merger at the central level was immediately followed by the merger

at the state level which took almost 6 months. This has been one of the

main activities during the period after the merger. We have also taken up

the Assembly Election Boycott campaign in Bihar, Jharkhand during the

month of February this year. It had a good political impact and there was

virtually no campaigning by the parliamentary parties in most of our areas.

Some of the armed tactical offensives as in Chandauli of UP in November

last in which 17 policemen were killed, the annihilation of the SP of Mungyr

district in Bihar, ambushes in West Bengal, Maharashtra, series of attacks

in Chathisgarh, Jharkhand and AP had demonstrated the increased striking

power of the PLGA after the merger of the two Parties and the two guerilla

armies.

As regards political offensive, attempts are going on to build a strong

anti-imperialist, anti-repression movement. We are now in a position to

build mass organizations having a really All India character and proceed in

the direction of building united front at the all India level.

The impact of the merger is felt even more by the exploiting ruling

classes who have been yelling loudly that the new Party poses a grave

danger to the internal security and the unity and integrity of the country and

that all efforts should be made to stamp out the Red Corridor stretching all

the way from Nepal to Kerala in the south. Meetings of the Chief Ministers,

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **47**DGPs, Chief Secretaries and so on of 13 states are having meeting after

meeting devising plans to suppress the people’s war led by the CPI(Maoist).

***8. India is a big country with a lot of diversities. How are you evaluating***

***the character of the political contradictions based upon various***

***particularities of economic, social, cultural and religious arenas along***

***with geographical diversity? In such a situation what kind of working***

***plan you have prepared to apply the line of People’s War in India?***

***9. A considerable section of Indian population has been concentrating***

***in the cities and industrial sectors. The nature of contradiction***

***automatically brings about changes in the form of movement. Looking***

***at it from this angle, how do you see the possibility of insurrection in the***

***cities? If so, have you thought about the need to develop military line***

***that connects the protracted people’s war with insurrection?***

**GP:** Almost a third of the Indian population resides in urban areas. The

size of the working class in India is quite huge. Though as a percentage of

the total population it is not very high as in the capitalist countries, in numbers

it is very significant. For instance, the strength of the organized working

class itself is more than the population of Nepal, not to speak of the

unorganized working class which is four times more. It is important to take

this fact into consideration when formulating tactics.

The weightage of the working class and the urban area in the overall

revolution is greater than what it was in pre-revolutionary China. The uprisings

of the working class and the urban population play an important role in the

latter stages of the Indian revolution. We have to adopt diverse tactics for

mobilizing the urban masses into the revolution, take up their political

economic-social-cultural issues, give more importance especially to work

among the various sections of the urban population, expose and isolate the

revisionist and bourgeoisie TU leadership, build a united revolutionary

democratic movement of the working class, build strong anti-imperialist

and anti-CBB political movement, and concentrate on the key sectors of

the economy. We must, no doubt, prepare the urban masses for insurrection

but they must be first trained to integrate with the peasantry and to lead,

participate and extend solidarity to the armed agrarian revolutionary

**48**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***movement and thus lay a strong basis for worker-peasant unity.

The protracted people’s war strategy includes the aspect of insurrection

in the cities which generally takes after the liberation of the vast backward

countryside. However, in the urban areas in and around the Base Areas and

the guerilla zones, uprisings do occur much earlier and there will be

continuous tussle between the revolutionary armed forces and the enemy’s

armed forces for the control over these urban areas for a long period of

time. The line of PPW in India has its own specific characteristics. From

the very beginning of our work in urban areas, we must give emphasis to

building a self-defence movement, should inter-link the armed activity with

the guerilla war in the sub-urban areas and with the armed agrarian

revolutionary war in the countryside.

With the above strategic outlook our Party will further develop our

political and military line in practice by summing up the experiences and the

changes in conditions.

***10. Strong national movements are being waged in the different parts of***

***India. Would you please explain in brief the contradiction and inter***

***relation existing between the new democratic revolution and the national***

***movement? Also how are you charting plans to win over the national***

***movements in the fold of new democratic revolution? What are the***

***ideological and political problems you are facing while doing so?***

**GP:** Nationality movements have become an inseparable aspect of the Indian

political scene, and however much the reactionary ruling classes of India

have been trying to suppress them, or buy over their leadership, they are

rising up again and again like a phoenix.

In the opinion of our Party, national movements are an integral part of

the New Democratic Revolution. The demands of the various oppressed

nationalities in India also form part of the agenda of the NDR. The just and

legitimate right of the nationalities to self-determination, including their right

to secession, is supported by our Party and this important democratic right

is included in our Party programme. Thus theoretically, there is no

contradiction between the new democratic revolution and the nationality

movement as the latter’s aim is to achieve liberation from imperialism and

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **49**reflects the aspirations of the vast masses, including the national bourgeoisie,

which is also part of the new democratic front at this stage of the democratic

revolution..

However, there are serious limitations on the part of the leadership of

most of the nationality movements. They do not have a clear anti-imperialist

orientation and often capitulate to imperialism. There is lack of consistency

and there is vacillation. There is no ideological-political clarity regarding the

national programme. This, obviously, poses some serious problems and

hence we see some of the nationality movements capitulating to the

machinations of the reactionary ruling classes and the imperialists.

The working class party has to make conscious effort to impart

ideological-political education to the leadership of the nationality movements;

orient their movements against imperialism, CBB and feudalism; help them

formulate a democratic programme so as to reflect the aspirations of the

broad masses; and achieve effective coordination between the armed agrarian

revolutionary struggles and the national movements.

The armed struggles waged by the nationalities are an important

component of the Indian new democratic revolution and our Party will

make all effort to give them a correct revolutionary orientation and to achieve

coordination against the common enemies.

***11. How are you evaluating the present political situation in India? In***

***the present context, would you please let us know about the immediate***

***tactical program of military and political offensive within the present***

***stage of strategic defensive?***

**GP:** The present political situation in India is extremely favourable for

advancing the people’s war in the country, more so in the context of the

merger of the two Maoist Parties in September last year. The crisis is quite

acute in the economic, political and social spheres, all the fundamental and

major contradictions are becoming more and more acute day by day and

the various sections of the people are waging militant struggles on their

demands, often clashing with the Indian state and the armed struggle of

some oppressed nationalities are continuing.

Our Party has been trying to utilize this favourable situation by taking

**50**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***up political and military offensive. Our TCOCs, which have been taken up

as well-coordinated campaigns at various levels, have had a good impact.

We have been taking up such tactical offensives to seize arms and ammunition

from the enemy forces and arming PLGA, to establish organs of people’s

political power, and to stall the offensive operations of the enemy forces,

and also during the PLGA anniversary week every year, and during the

elections to parliament and assemblies.

Politically, we are trying to intervene in the various types of situation in

the states where we are strong, utilize the contradictions within the ruling

classes, and build broad-based militant mass movement against state

repression, imperialist globalization and its ill-effects, Hindu communal

fascist offensive and religious fundamentalism of all types. But given the

vast size of India and the weakness of our subjective forces, we are not yet

in a position to effectively intervene at the Central level and our intervention

is still largely at the state and lower levels. We do have plans to politically

intervene at the Central level in a significant way in the near future.

***12. As a practitioner of proletarian internationalism and an immediate***

***neighbor, you are definitely studying in depth the People’s War in Nepal.***

***What do you see as important achievements for the world communist***

***movement acquired from the development of 10 years of People’s War***

***in Nepal? Do you have any suggestions that you would like to provide in***

***order to advance the Nepalese revolution further?***

**GP:** Yes. We have been definitely studying the People’s War in Nepal right

from its Initiation. As a firm adherent of proletarian internationalism, our

Party had always maintained good fraternal relations with your Party in

Nepal, tried to study the ongoing people’s war and, as you are aware, tried

to assist in whatever way possible long before the initiation of people’s war

in your country. We have had several rounds of discussions during 1995-

1996 when the people’s war was initiated and during the period after the

Initiation. During these discussions we had exchanged our views on several

issues such as: the concept of Gonzalo Thought and the understanding

regarding ‘ism’, Thought and Path, nature of the revolution in the 21st

century, concept of South Asian Socialist Federation, role of RIM,

experiences of Peru, question of comrade Stalin, and so on. The discussions

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **51**between our two Parties have been quite useful and helped in understanding

one another better.

As a Party leading the revolution in India, we made special effort to

study the advances made by the people’s war in Nepal. The development

of a decade of people’s war in Nepal has a great impact on the world

revolution and has provided rich and varied experiences for the revolutions

in other countries. The world communist movement and the Indian

communist movement have greatly benefited from the experiences of the

PW in Nepal.

As for concrete achievements, I think the comrades in Nepal had very

effectively and creatively combined the universal truth of MLM with the

concrete practice of the Nepalese revolution. This creative application of

MLM to the concrete conditions of Nepal in the context of the contemporary

world situation by the CPN(Maoist) is itself an achievement. This is because

dogmatism is still a strong trend in the world communist movement at

present even though the right opportunism or right revisionism continues to

be the principal trend. Hence the breakthrough achieved by the CPN(M)

by the creative application of MLM will be an eye-opener to many of these

dogmatic Maoists.

Another significant achievement of your Party, as I see, is the effective

use of tactics. The CPN(M) has been able to change its tactics swiftly and

boldly in accordance with the changes in the situation, without any hesitation,

about what others would say. We can see this effective use of the weapon

of tactics throughout this ten-year period and our Party appreciates the

boldness and the creativity of your Party leadership in such a flexible use of

the weapon of tactics.

The advances made by the people’s war in Nepal has also proved that

initiation of people’s wars and rapid advances are possible in backward

countries if the proletarian party is equipped with a correct revolutionary

line based on MLM and the leadership effectively combines theory with

practice and creatively develops appropriate tactics without any rigidity.

As for our suggestions, we have been continuously placing them before

your leadership during our bilateral discussion with CPN(M). We found

that there is a certain degree of overgeneralization with regard to some of

**52**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***the achievements of the people’s war in Nepal, such as attributing universality

to some things that are basically a feature of the revolution in an extremely

backward country. And while it is a good thing that your Party has been

taking up tactics quite boldly, there is also the problem of oversimplification

of some situations and, at times, taking tactics based on an overestimation

of the situation such as the intensity of the contradictions between India,

China and the US.

***13. The reactionary states in both the countries, India and Nepal, have***

***been augmenting co-work constantly to conspire against and repress***

***the People’s Wars in both of the countries. They have lost their sleep***

***over questions of Red Corridor, Compact Zone and Joint Action and***

***they have been very much terrified of this. In this backdrop, how do you***

***think the inter-relation between two revolutionary parties, the CPI***

***(Maoist) and CPN (Maoist), should be?***

***14. The Nepalese People’s War has entered into the stage of strategic***

***counter-offensive. This situation in itself is the phase of central political***

***and military intervention against the enemy. It is clear that the***

***reactionaries the world over in general and Indian expansionism in***

***particular are assisting the despotic Gyanendra regime openly and even***

***preparing for open intervention. What do you think the role of your***

***party should be on behalf of the justice-loving Indian masses to prevent***

***such intervention?***

**GP:** I shall try to answer both the questions together as both are closely

related.

It is a fact that the reactionary ruling classes of India and Nepal, aided

and abetted by the imperialists, particularly the US imperialists, have been

working together to suppress the people’s wars in both these countries. The

victory of the revolution in any country in the world is intolerable for the

reactionaries of the world who have been spreading vicious propaganda

and unending myths about the “final defeat of communism” and the “final

triumph of capitalism”, that there is no alternative to capitalism, and such

trash. The spectre of a communism is haunting them again with the rapid

advances in the people’s war in Nepal and India.

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **53**The Red Corridor or the Compact Revolutionary Zone, which is

the name given by the ruling classes to the region stretching all the way

from the revolutionary Red Bases in Nepal to the guerilla zones of AP and

further south, has become a nightmare for them. The further advancement

of the revolutionary guerilla war in this vast region, the strengthening of the

PLGA and its transformation into PLA, and the establishment of Base

Areas in this strategic region, will bring about a qualitative transformation in

the people’s war and the entire political scenario in the country. The faster

we can realize this, the greater will be the help that we can render to the

revolution in Nepal.

The relations between our two Parties-CPI(Maoist) and CPN(Maoist)-

have to be further strengthened, no doubt. Particularly when the revolution

in your country is in the strategic counteroffensive, it is necessary to have

better coordination. We must think of proper methods to maintain these

relations regularly.

At the present juncture, when the Indian expansionists are trying to

bolster the rotten reactionary monarchy of Gyanendra and even

contemplating to openly intervene, our Party will strive to mobilize the vast

Indian masses into a broad political movement against the intervention and

aid by the Indian government to the Gyanendra regime, along with stepping

up our armed campaign against the reactionary Indian state.

***15. How have you summed up the negotiations that took place between***

***CPI (Maoist) and Andhra State Government?***

**GP:** Till now our CC did not sum up the negotiations between AP State

Committee of our Party and the Andhra State Government. But recently, in

last February, our Central Regional Bureau has summed up these negotiations

basing on the policy and guidelines of our Party. Earlier we had formulated

our policy and guidelines on this question by applying MLM to the concrete

conditions, i.e., the political situation and our movement.

The CRB summed up the negotiations as our war in the political front

that had brought positive political-organisational gains to the Party. **“***To sum*

*up, the initiative taken by our Party in AP in forcing the government to*

*declare a cease-fire and drag it to the negotiating table, is a good example*

**54**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)****of political intervention on the part of the revolutionaries. Though there*

*are some shortcomings and mistakes during this period, positive aspect*

*is the principal feature of our political initiative. During this period, our*

*Party had gained much more popularity, legitimacy and credibility in the*

*eyes of the people. We had placed our revolutionary politics boldly before*

*the people and undertook massive political mobilizations by utilizing the*

*period of cease-fire. Yet, there is a wide gulf between the Party’s political*

*influence and organizational strength.”*

On the negative side, there arose some legalist trends in a section of the

Party cadre and leadership. There was an overemphasis in practice on legal

meetings and rallies instead of orienting the masses towards militant struggles

mainly on the political demands. There was lack of necessary military

preparation on our side by the time the enemy began his offensive in January

’05.

After our CC reviews the experiences of our tactics of negotiations in

AP, we shall place whatever is needed before the people.

***16. How is your party looking at the role the RIM has been playing***

***ideologically and politically in the contemporary international communist***

***movement?***

**GP:** Our Party has a positive and critical approach towards RIM. On the

one hand, we recognize the positive ideological-political role played by RIM

on certain questions such as its analysis of the counter-revolution in China

after the demise of Mao. This certainly helped those revolutionary parties

that had some confusion regarding the developments in China.

On the other hand, our Party also has differences on some ideological

political questions such as the question of assessment of Stalin, concept of

a new International, question of democratic centralism, the problems in the

functioning of CoRIM and so on. The manner in which RIM has been

dealing with the question of Stalin is only creating more differences within

the Maoist camp. We are debating with CoRIM on all such questions.

Our Party has adopted the correct method of unity – struggle - unity in

resolving our differences with RIM. We must adopt this method in solving

the problems confronting the ICM.

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **55*17. What do you think is the main subjective problem within the***

***communist movement at present? How should the ideological and***

***political struggle be conducted against this?***

**GP:** You mean the problem of leadership of Maoist Parties of various

countries in the ICM at present. I suppose there may be some problems in

every genuine Maoist Party. We can understand this problem in the backdrop

of the situation in the ICM and complex situation of the world. There is an

urgent need for waging healthy struggles by the Maoist Parties on the

ideological-political problems confronting the world revolution.

To achieve this, the struggle in Maoist Parties can be waged in two

ways, from inside and outside, principally inside. To achieve good results in

inner-Party struggle, any party can take fraternal Party’s suggestions and

any fraternal party may give suggestions. To achieve good results in

international debate or struggle, it is incumbent upon the concerned Parties

which initiate the debate to consult genuine Maoist Parties and chalk out

the problems that are to be solved in order to serve the world socialist

revolution. Any genuine inner-Party struggle or ideological struggle at the

international level can help the Parties mutually. We must follow the methods

based on MLM in conducting inner- Party struggle or international debates

on ideological-political matters. If we fail to follow this method, we will not

be able to achieve the desired goal.

There is also another type of struggle, that is, the struggle between a

revolutionary and revisionist Party or between revolutionary and revisionist

camps internationally. Any genuine Maoist party should not mix this type of

struggle with the struggle between genuine Maoist Parties and should be

cautious not to use the same method for both types of struggles.

***18. How has been your experience in building and strengthening a***

***proletarian communist party within the framework of non-proletarian***

***thinking that crops up from the semi-feudal and semi-colonial relations?***

**GP:** I feel it is not only the problem of any semi-colonial and semi-feudal

society, but a problem confronting the proletarian Party of every country

including all the imperialist countries in general. But this problem has its

own specific characteristics depending on the concrete conditions of that

**56**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***country. It also implies to all countries in the course of revolution and at the

time of socialist transformation or socialist construction.

India’s specificity is that it is semi-feudal and semi-colonial and hence

non-proletarian thinking crops up continuously in the Maoist party in India

due to these specificities. Most of the cadre in the party hail from the

peasantry and, as we know, we have to make conscious effort to transform

the thinking of the peasantry.

Not only the peasantry, non-proletarian thinking crops up in virtually

every section of the population in India due to the predominance of semi

feudal, semi-colonial relations and culture which affects the entire society.

Factors such as patriarchy, caste feelings and even discrimination, nationality

sentiments and prejudices etc., have some impact even on the cadre hailing

from the working class.

In the erstwhile PW, we had two serious inner-Party struggles in 1985-

87 and 1991-92 against SM-VS liquidationist clique and KS clique

respectively. In both these struggles the Party acquired rich experience, its

ideological-political line was enriched, and a higher unity of thought and

action was achieved in the course of these struggles. In the erstwhile MCCI

there was an inner-Party struggle against Bharath-Badal clique which helped

in the Party’s growth and in achieving further clarity on ideological-political

questions.

The Rectification campaigns taken up by the erstwhile PW in the various

states and at the central level after its Congress, had helped greatly in

ideologically remoulding the outlook of the Party rank and file and

overcoming the non-proletarian trends within the Party.

***19. Marxism asserts that everything is illusion without State Power.***

***How are you planning to establish People’s Power in the areas where***

***you have a stronghold? What are the problems you are going to face***

***when you take this question onto immediate agenda?***

**GP:** Every genuine Marxist believes that, *“everything is illusion without*

*State Power.”* Hence, our Party’s basic line is formulated based on the

Maoist principle- *“The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of*

*the issue by war, is the central task and highest form of revolution. But*

***September 2004 - August 2014***  **57***while the principle remains the same (for all countries), its application*

*by the Party of the proletariat finds expression in various ways according*

*to the varying conditions.”*

Hence, in accordance with the above understanding, we are propagating

the politics of seizure of power and establishment of organs of people’s

power and Base Areas from the very beginning of our work in any area.

And for establishing the Base Areas, we are basically concentrating on the

vast backward rural areas with favourable terrain. This is based on the laws

of protracted people’s war in India, which envisage that, in order to confront

an enemy who is far more superior in strength, the revolutionary forces will

have to select areas, in which the enemy is relatively weaker and which are

favorable to the revolutionary forces, and develop the revolutionary war

there. Our country has many such areas that are strategically important for

the people’s war where Liberated Areas can be established. These Bases

will act as the lever or fulcrum for coordinating and advancing the people’s

war in the country, and for seizing political power countrywide.

We have selected such areas and advanced the armed agrarian

revolutionary war by confronting the local feudal forces and the State’s

armed forces. After several armed confrontations with the armed forces of

the Indian state, we have been able to establish organs of people’s political

power in some of these areas. Establishing Base Areas and organs of people’s

power is on our immediate agenda and we have taken this as our basic

principal and immediate task.

At present, the revolutionary movements are advancing in the vast belt

encompassing the extensive area of Jharkhand, Dandakaranya, Andhra

Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, UP, etc. These have a great strategic significance.

We are planning to build these areas into a contiguous area of armed struggle,

with each area influencing the other. As these areas get consolidated, we

will be able to utilize their impact on the surrounding areas and develop

them into guerilla zones thus expanding the area of armed struggle. We

have the aim of developing the revolutionary movement in strategic areas

of various states as our subjective forces gain strength.

However, although we are establishing organs of people’s power in

our strongholds, it is not an easy thing to establish stable bases for quite

**58**  ***Collected Interviews of CPI (Maoist)***some time, given the vastly superior strength of the Indian state. Besides

unleashing white terror on the people, the Indian ruling classes have also

taken up reforms in the areas of armed struggle in order to divert the masses

and to win over a section to their side. Hence, along with strengthening the

PLGA and transforming it into PLA, we have to arm the masses in a big

way and prepare the masses mentally, imparting ideological and political

consciousness to them from the beginning. In spite of these efforts, the

scale and magnitude of enemy attack might force us to retreat from some

of our strongholds and developments like a base area changing into a guerrilla

zone cannot be ruled out. The transformation of a guerilla zone changing

into a base area or the vice versa will occur depending on the state of the

enemy’s offensive, successes or defeats in the war, the state of our subjective

forces, the spread of the people’s war, and on the domestic and international

situation.