



Workers of the World, Unite!
Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism !



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Editorial

It is a well known phrase in Nepal that 'Nepal is going through a long term political transition'. In other words Nepal is undergoing through a deepening crisis. Peoples' war had been started in Nepal in 1996 in order to resolve the ongoing crisis during that time. When the peoples' revolution was close to the success, major leaders of the leading party, erstwhile CPN(Maoist), capitulated to the reactionary forces at home and abroad. Major achievements of ten years of the revolution namely, formation of regular People's Liberation Army, new Peoples' Governments at the vast country side and peoples' courts along with were abandoned during the "negotiation".

At present, crisis has been further accentuated because neither the revolutionary forces nor the reactionary classes could resolve the crisis on their own way. So, Nepal is still undergoing through a deepening crisis.

Election of Constituent Assembly was held in 2008 on the basis of one of the demands of erstwhile CPN(Maoist), it which it emerged as a single largest party. The CA was heading to draft a new pro-people constitution. Even the reactionary forces are accustomed to propagate that 80 percent draft of new constitution was completed. Since the chance of writing a progressive (not a revolutionary) statute was increasing, it was dissolved under a grand design accusing that it could not accomplish the assigned task of making a new constitution during four years' period. As according to the pre planned design, reactionary forces of Nepal, such as NC, UML, RPP and some others have held a signature of over two third majority of the CA-2 members, which is sufficient to write and approve every clause of a new constitution. The opposition parties may lose their agenda if the ruling parties will be able to promulgate reactionary constitution of their choice. Thus contradiction between ruling and opposition forces, which participated in the designed election of "CA-2" have deepened, let alone the rejection of "CA-2" by revolutionary forces. Thus the crisis has been further accentuated.

Present issue of the 'Peoples' Voice' is mainly focused on the burning issues of Nepal and international issue of Greece. We apologize for the delay in bringing out this issue. We hope that we will be able to make correction in this "delay" problem in future.



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Different possibilities regarding Constitution

- Com. C P Gajurel 'Gaurav'
Vice-Chairman, CPN-Maoist

The question of new Constitution and Constituent Assembly still dominate the political agenda in Nepal. We will try to explain some issues which are mainly in political debate at present.

CA-2, negated the real CA

When Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist, gave a boycott call against the “constituent assembly election-2”, held in December 2013, a question is constantly being raised “why the party which is mainly responsible in establishing the constituent assembly in Nepal, did boycott the constituent assembly election-2”? Reactionary forces at home and abroad are using their media to criticize the CPN-Maoist and confuse the masses that this party retreated from its earlier position and that the party has left out its own agenda.

The reality is entirely different. It is true that it was Maoist party which was able to establish the agenda of Constituent Assembly during 2006. Based on the agenda, election of CA was held in 2008, in which the CPN(Maoist) party emerged as a single largest party by winning half of the total constituency seats (120 seats out of 240). The reactionaries who feared that the party would be able to write and promulgate pro-people constitution and win over more support of the masses, conspired to dissolve the CA after four years when it was elected. It was unfortunate that Prachanda, who was supremo of the erstwhile CPN(Maoist) and Baburam Bhattarai who was Prime minister during that time dissolved the same CA hand in glove with the reactionary forces under a grand design.

They annulled over two dozen clauses of the interim constitution to form a government of bureaucrats and to organize so called election of “constituent assembly-2”. They held the “election” at the gun point by mobilizing the Nepal army. The “CA-2 election” was designated to ensure two third majority of the reactionary and retrogressive forces which is considered sufficient to promulgate a reactionary constitution. Hence, it is clear that “constituent assembly-2” is not continuation of real Constituent Assembly; rather it was designated to negate it. One should not be confused with the diametrically opposite character of these two different constituent assemblies. With this reality in mind one can easily understand how it was correct to participate in the election of real CA and boycott the fake election of CA-2.

Dissatisfaction and compromise

It was like an eye opener to everybody when the alliances of reactionary parties like Nepali Congress, UML, RPP submitted a list of 413 CA members to declare that they were able to promulgate the constitution as they liked. The event provoked parties like UCPN(Maoist), Madhesh centred parties and others who have declared themselves as champions of “single identity based federalism”. These parties have formed an alliance against pro-government reactionary alliance. This alliance has demanded that the constitution should be written and promulgated not on the basis of majority rather it should be done on the basis of consensus among the parties within the CA. But the ruling alliance completely rejected their demand and continued to proceed according to the plan of promulgating new constitution of their choice on the basis of majority. It infuriated the opposition and their alliance refused to participate at the proceeding of the CA. War of words continued for some days. The alliance has declared some struggles in order “to put pressure” on the pro government parties to arrive at a compromise. Until now it has not been materialized. There are reports which confirm that a compromise among the parties within the CA can take place any time soon.

Possibility of Two Constitutions

The CPN-Maoist has constantly opposed CA-2 as designed by the reactionary forces to bring back the country into the reactionary rule under parliamentary system and the party is struggling for the dissolution of CA-2. The party points out that this CA has become instrument of reactionary parties which is sure to promulgate a reactionary constitution. If such a constitution will be promulgated by using force it will definitely polarize the Nepali society and will lead to new confrontation. The party has also suggested peaceful solution of this problem. It has suggested that the CA-2 should be dissolved and ‘Powerful all party conference’ should be organized which will discuss about the content of new constitution and try to arrive at consensus or understanding, which will pave the way for the promulgation of new constitution. It is assumed that all the parties and organizations will participate in this ‘all party conference’ which will provide opportunities to all concerned to express their concern and will help to arrive at consensus or understanding regarding new constitution.

But the ruling parties have not paid heed to this solution. If the situation will continue like this, it will definitely lead to confrontation. It is possible that the ruling parties’ alliance will promulgate the constitution and chairman of CA will declared it either from within the international conference hall where CA proceedings are going on, or from Singhdarbar, the central secretariat in the midst of heavy security of the army.

Just opposite to that an alliance led by the CPN-Maoist will declare the Peoples’ Constitution in the midst of thousands of the revolutionary masses at the street. In this way two different constitutions may be declared from two different places. We have to wait for a few months to see which way it takes.

-- February 17, 2015.

Deviation of Biplab Tendency, a Downfall to Right Opportunism

■ Com. Dev Gurung
Secretary, CPN-Maoist

In the political document adopted by CPN - Maoist national convention, Biplab's tendency is synthesized politically as right opportunism in essence and left in form and has been concluded theoretically as eclecticism and empiricism, and organizationally as anarchist individualism. Analysis and synthesis of the party has been explicitly justified by the expression, documents and activities of Comrade Biplab himself.

Within the party, during the discussion, Comrade Biplab had frequently raised mainly two issues. First, strategy of people's insurrection on the base of people's war, adopted by seventh party congress is necessary to enrich. Second, power sharing policy in the present democratic republic state should be implemented. Party leadership encouraged him to bring his opinion in written form so that it helps to make enrich the party line and policy. After long-time preparation he introduced his document in written form entitled " Break in Status Quo: Essential Need of History ". In the verbal discussion he used to argue that the party should adopt the strategy of the people's war. But, ignoring both mass insurrection and people's war, in a written document he introduced "Theory of unified Revolution". When asked what exactly is this he made it more mysterious by saying "This is not to be told". Behind this, indirectly, in the name of theory of Integrated Revolution, he wants to explain the power sharing policy. Rabindra Shrestha has clearly analyzed about it in Dristi Weekly. While saying that we should intervene from all sides, it is implicitly argued that it can be done by the government too. It means we should participate in the democratic republican government. About this, in the party plenum Biplab himself explained "We should repeatedly uphold the policy of power sharing today and tomorrow until the socialist revolution comes to success". It seems that his concept of participating in the government is not a tactic but it is a strategy.

First, what he talked about the present state power is not a people's state power but it is a democratic republic government under the dictatorship of reactionaries with the government of current parliamentary system. Parliamentary system is obviously a reactionary system. The experience of international communist movement says, to participate regularly in such reactionary state power is the Millerandism and in the context of Nepal, the apparent representation of it is CPN (UML). UML has been regularly participating in

many governments in current parliamentary system since the 1990. If Biplab's proposal is to participate in reactionary parliamentary system of government, how is such a policy different from UML's? On the other hand, this parliamentary system has been defined by him as people's democratic system. If this system is considered as new democratic state, this means that we have abandonment our political line of new democratic revolution. Thus, the concern of power sharing policy in current parliamentary system is certainly a downfall towards the path of UML or national capitulation with the imperialist-expansionist regressive parliamentary system.

Second, Biplab has said in the plenum that the political line of democratic republic accepted from Chunuwang Meeting was correct but Prachanda leadership couldn't save it. It is a well-known fact that voices have been raised since Kharipati meeting of 2008, about the great mistake made by Prachanda - Baburam faction when they constantly adopted the line of Democratic Republic even if the line was correct at a time when autocratic military regime was in existence. And, after 5 years, if the line of Democratic Republic is still considered as correct, forming another party protesting such a line revolting against Prachanda-Baburam cannot be justified, because Prachanda-Baburam are in the same line even today.

Next, if the tactics is simply to participate in regressive government, it is only an ignorance about political power balance or it is merely a childish nature. Because in the early 2005 there was state of people's power build by the people's war, there was people's army, and the party was unified. At that time the party had become the largest one after the election with entering into the peace process through the tactics of election of constitutional assembly. There were two third majority members of CA in favour of our proposal about the constitution. Millions of people were ready to come out in the street on our call. Even then, we did not raise the slogan of power sharing. By the end of 2005, not only peoples power but also the people's army was dissolved. CA with about two third majorities in our favour had been dissolved. Now party has been divided. The movement is not in rise but in fall. In other words, whole Maoist movement has been in setback at least temporarily. Now, parliamentary republican government is not ready even to talk with the revolutionary forces. Isn't it only ridiculous and childish manner to talk about fifty percent participation in cabinet, legislation, judiciary, security and administration with the current government? Which is not even ready to call multiparty conference to take not only with CPN-Maoist but also with all other political parties?

Thus, the analysis of Comrade Biplab's slogan of focusing on power sharing in the name of theory of unified revolution is right opportunism under the guise of left form is realistic.

The theory of unified Revolution is so abstract and superficial that it can never be justified from any angle, and it is going to be more naked. For example, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism itself is a guiding principle of revolution, and still further, is the slogan of the theory of unified Revolution, not the negation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and formation of 'new theory'? If it is so, what is the characteristic of 'new theory'? Comrade Biplab has kept silent on that. In the present semi-feudal and neo-colonial situation, major task of revolution is new democratic revolution. New democratic revolution itself

is a revolution in political, economic and cultural fields. It's not a revolution in parts and fragments. If it is about the form of struggle, the concept party, army and unified front has been already clarified by Mao himself. Biplab has not clarified about this either. Without recognizing the comprador capitalism on the base of Nepal's semi-feudal and neo-colonial characteristics, and analyzing the form of theory of unified Revolution with the support of middle class society is incomplete. Thus, when asked in political-bureau meeting, about what unified revolution is, he used to say, "It should not be told and there is no situation of trust in the party." Can such mysterious theory that cannot be expressed in the party be the theory of revolution? Comrade Biplab has not yet given the answer of this question. In this context, there is no doubt that this theory is merely the slogan under the guise of government partnership.

Next, the theory of unified revolution has sometimes been analyzed synonymous to armed struggle. Certainly, use of force or armed struggle is compulsory for new democratic and socialist revolution. But for this, at first, political line should be very clear. Now our party has taken new democracy as political program. Armed struggle is a base to fulfill this political aim.

But Comrade Biplab's political aim is not only vague but is seen as directed towards power sharing on Democratic Republic under the reactionary leadership as it has often been analyzed. If we talk about armed struggle for Democratic Republic, how can it be different from other parliamentary parties' struggle for the power? Armed struggle like this is also going on among imperialist forces or their agents. If such armed struggle is correct, struggle of imperialists forces to rob natural resources of Arabian countries and to establish new colonies should also be taken correct. What is the meaning of such armed struggle for the movement of the proletariat? If simple armed revolt is correct and if there is not any political objective, how is it different from Burnestin tendency which was seen in international communist movement? About this Comrade Biplab seems to argue that we should struggle with police force of state power. If it is so, armed movement in the border areas of Terai regions of Nepal should also be considered as revolutionary. Because they are also fighting with the police force. So, merely using the weapons for the movement does not prove being revolutionary. What political objective and aim is the weapon meant for will determine the revolution. Thus communists always take armed struggle in their command to fulfill certain political aims and objectives. Without political aims and objectives there is not any absolute armed struggle in existence.

Communist Party of Nepal has been accepting the way of armed struggle to establish the new democratic state by ending semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition of the country since its beginning. Since semi-colonial condition is changed into neo-colonialism recently CPN-Maoist has adopted its major political path to continue new democratic revolution program along with the national sovereignty by ending feudalism and neo-colonialism.

But Comrade Biplab has not opposed in any of his documents about semi-feudal, semi-colonial, neo-colonial, Indian expansionism as new colonialism in Nepal and American imperialism. He has not mentioned anywhere in favour of new democratic revolution with full sense of national sovereignty of Nepal. In such context, who is he objecting

against and for what political goals? It has been clear that such abstract and silent about all these, the slogan of theory of unified Revolution is only the tool for the partnership in the old parliamentary system of government calling it worthy democratic republic.

Comrade Biplab had expressed his opinions in central committee meetings against federalism with the identity of oppressed caste, secularism, complete proportionate system. In the extended meeting of party held in November 2014, he said that the dissolution of first CA was right and we did that. From such expression it is clear that Comrade Biplab's thinking is not more progressive than democratic system of the status quo, because in the first CA, there was two third majority in favour of the major agendas about the constitution put forward by the then CPN (Maoist) party. That CA could draft at least one step more progressive constitution than that of 1990. Federal democratic constitution with republican form of government, secular state, proportionate representation of oppressed communities in all bodies of the state, identity of oppressed caste and self governance could be made. But the expression that 'the dissolution of that CA was right' is certainly a representation of status quo and regressive thought. From this, it is clear that he is not in favour of fundamental political destination of new democratic revolution. Not only this, he seems to demonstrate conservative and regressive thoughts when he denies such simple progressive programs of people's welfare and the rights in making the constitution. Apart from this he has a vested ambitious tendency to participate in the existing government. For the imperialist-expansionist or their regressive agents such thought-tendency under the guise of communist movement and revolution will simply be a good pretext to avoid it. In this context imperialist-expansionist or their regressive agent forces may easily use such thoughts and tendency as the weapon. Therefore, all true revolutionaries should be careful and alert in time from such right liquidation thoughts

14 Jan 2015

ON OUR NATIONAL CAMPAIGN-2071

■ Com. Kamal Prasad

Member of Standing Committee, CPN-Maoist

The CC meeting of our party CPN-Maoist has decided to launch a nationwide campaign. The general secretary of the party comrade Ram Bahadur Thapa 'Badal' presented the campaign in the meeting named 'Mechi-Mahakali National Campaign-2071'. Its main aim as mentioned in the campaign directive is -'to go forward in a consolidated way for the protection of our nationality, achieving the real democracy and to guarantee the livelihood of the people.

The main target and slogan of the campaign is to make broader and higher the movement to desolve the Consituent Assembly-2, then to organise an authentic and 'All powerful all Parties' National Political Assembly' and to make a 'National United Government' and people's constitution through the all party meeting.

The period of the campaign is for two months specially starting on 13th February and ending on the 24th Chaitra . These two days are our historical days. The first day is the day of initiation of peoples' war that was started on 13th Feb 1996. We are initiating the Campaign at this date and the concluding day is the historic 'national mass movement day' which is being celebrated since April 7, 1990. We are trying to make our campaign successful with expected achievements. We must not forget that the people's war has eradicated Monarchy and established democratic republic. Similarly, the mass movement hightened on 7th April 1990 had eradicated the Panchayat partyless system, and king's dictatorship and established multiparty system. The opening of the campaign was held on the 13th February in 72 districts separately and in Kathmandu valley jointly of Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur districts. In Kathmandu, Chairman Com. Kiran opened the campaign in a mass meeting by handing over the party flag to the leader of the campaign. Similarly, Vice Chairman Com. C.P.Gajurel 'Gaurav' did in Dhangadi, General Secretary Com. Ram Bahadur Thapa 'Badal' in Butwal, Secretary Com. Dev Gurung 'Kanchha Bahadur' in Itahari and spokesperson Com. Pampha Bhusal in Banepa and so on the standing committee members in different district headquarters.

The campaign will be ended similarly in 72 districts and Kathmandu valley on 7th April with a height, light and heat-beat.

'Mechi-Mahakali campaign' is a national campaign provided or created by central level committee. The regional state and district committees can give it an extra name in

their own situation and context. In short, this national campaign can be called as 'MEM Campaign'.

Formation of the campaign team should be made by the representative of party, mass and class organizations, people's committee and the management chiefs at different levels. CC has considered mainly two types of team, one central and other district level. The central team will reach to all districts and the district teams to all VDCs. It is better to lead the team by party CCMs for political command and control to all members and activities. It is necessary to make team powerful and authentic to do all activities well and fast.

The party has decided to do many programs in this period of campaign. The specified programs are as follows:

The first program of the campaign is related to its organisational works. That is to organise meetings and classes by reorganising the committees, then to follow up survey and evaluation of the activities and progress report of the organisations, committees and the cadres.

The second program of the campaign is its political work. In this program, the campaign team should make aware of the people about their right and duties. The corrupt persons and goons should be exposed. For this, the team must activate people and organise some seminars, speech programs, interactions etc. Similarly, in this program the team should give memorandum to government representatives mentioning national and local demands. They should distribute the leaflets which mention basic concept of our party on proposed new constitution. Apart from these, the campaign team must carry on different kinds of protests, processions and propogandas such as rallies, short time rallies, surprise rallies etc and wallings, postering, meetings, corner meetings, mass demonstration, cultural programs, strikes, general strikes at different level including bands shut downs and mass protests and team protests etc.

The third program that the campaign team should conduct is related to struggles, especially mass and team struggles. This process can be done mainly in three types-firstly, psychological protest such as counseling at first, criticising in second, warning and giving mental pressure to the enemies of the people and the nation. The next type of protest is economic action such as asking for economic support, declare of economic punishment and money actions etc. The third type of protest is related to political actions such as warning at first and condemning them at last. This type of action can lead to physical clashes, we should carefully avoid murder. These types of protest programs should be done seriously, sincerely, serially and according to party's decision and plan.

The fourth program of the campaign is related to serve people and the society by helping politically, economically, physically and technically. In this type of program, the team can rescue people from different accidents, help patients at emergency conditions. Similarly, the team can do economic and physical support for those who are very poor and in too much trouble, especially the team can help in production of the family in which there is nobody to work. In this program, the campaign team can do some local development programs such as building small bridges, canals, toilets etc.

The fifth type of program of the campaign is related to especially economic production. To fulfil their basic needs during the campaign and to support party, people and society, this type of program is also necessary. In this program, the team must collect the member's levi, party's quota. Similarly they should collect cash and also in kinds- seasonal food grains etc. Then they should expend their labour in working for production. In this type, the team can fix some quota (certain quantity of money) to those who are able to pay. Similarly, the team can punish to the cheaters, mafias, black money holders, corrupt bureaucrats and politicians, black merchants and so on. This type of money collection, we can say is a special collection.

The sixth program of the campaign team is the program of people's justice. There are many more contradictions between many different groups and people, between people and reactionaries, and between hard reactionaries and soft reactionaries and even between diehard reactionaries. The team should identify those contradictions and try to solve using Maoism. Using Maoism means distinguish the major and minor contradictions and friendly (defensive) and unfriendly (offensive) contradictions. Then, it is scientific, revolutionary and best to solve the major contradiction. Similarly, the contradiction between different groups of people must be solved in a friendly way the contradiction between people and reactionaries should be solved in unfriendly way. Then, the contradiction between two group of reactionaries, should be solved by trying to make their contradiction sharp and serious, hard and fast. In this program, the team should give justice to the people who are oppressed from individuals or the government. Similarly, those who are exploiting, suppressing and cheating the people, they can be punished by the team.

The seventh program is the program of honouring and paying respect to the heroes, such as martyrs and their families, comrades disappeared by the state and their families, wounded/disabled fighters, political prisoners. The team should meet the related families and relatives and should make programs to help, politicalise, organise and mobilise them for the revolution. So, the team must respect, establish and help them in this campaign as they are feeling humiliated, being passive and pessimist and even angry with the party and leaders knowingly or unknowingly.

The eighth program is fixed for the campaign as the program of carrying out deep study of the places where the team reaches. The team should study there about present situation and the history of different parts of the spot as the geographical, political, economical, militarial and cultural etc. The party feels that the leaders and cadres are working superficially without a deep study of Nepal and its different aspects. It is natural that without adequate study and knowledge of the country, the revolution is not possible. So, we have decided to carry on a comprehensive study of different sectors. The main study which we haven't done properly is class study and analysis of Nepalese society. Similarly, the leadership has to make a synthesis and make accurate, objective and scientific policies, programs, plans and so on. For this, the team must have to apply this program well and everywhere.

The nineth program of the campaign is to centralise/collect suggestions, criticisms and problems raised by the cadres, mainly from the common people-our sympathisers, supporters, mass organizations and their members and from the public. From a long time, the leaders and cadres of our party are habituated to hear praise, post, power and propoganda

of their own. It is being a culture which is so bad that it keeps us away not only from people but also from the revolution . So, in the campaign, the team must have to take suggestions and criticisms by the people.

The tenth program that the campaign team has to conduct during the Mechi-Mahakali National Campaign is to establish and respect to those heroes and events or activities which are done rarely for the revolution by their great sacrifices, big courage and new creation. Actually they are the revolutionary models which we must salute and praise by heart, establish by propoganda and communication. It is necessary to respect heroes and models of revolution in one side and in the other side, by this we can attract people and cadres towards party and movement. Similarly, it is not just to respect and fame those who have strenthened and widened the revolution, but also to establish those models/symbols/idols everywhere and forever. It is duty of every revolutionary. Therefore, the team is doing so.

The last program mentioned in the campaign directive is related to establish and strenthen the relation with the people. In this program, the team can attend weddings, festivals and memory days of the peoples. Similarly, the team should organise homage programs for the martyrs of the movements. Apart from these, the team should meet the family members of the martyrs, dead persons. The team may meet prisoners and the sick people, cadres and well known persons etc. Taking part in sorrows and happiness, we can improve or reform our relation with the people and the cadres. Then, we can extend and consolidate the organizations and then the revolution grows up or goes forwards.

At last, in the directive of the campaign, GS Com. Badal has mentioned about TOR, the terms and conditions and the code of conduct of the campaign. There are three things mentioned:- One, all the team members or the campaigns must agree the team's decisions unconditionally. Second, they must maintain secrecy. The third condition is that the programs mentioned can be changed and reformed by the team or the campaigners according to the situation.

Actually the campaign is a kind of war plan which is fought for certain aims and targets, in a certain period of time, with some fixed programs and slogans. Similarly the campaign is given an attractive name and serial number also. It has fixed the team members and has to cross certain stages during the campaign. Shortly, it is understood to achieve a lot of goals in a short time, the campaign is launched. So, it is very important. This 'Mechi-Mahakali National Campaign 2015' can achieve its many more important goals in this two months' short time. It is the hope and belief of central committee. Let's wish and try our best to make successful to this campaign. I, personally, amnow that this campaign is a weapon of preparation of our party's persent line--'People's revolt based on people's war' just as the 'SIJ campaign' of the past had made an adequate preparation of the initiation of the people's war in Nepal specially in Rapti Zone.

February 28, 2015

Europe's economic crisis and parliamentary election in Greek

■ Com. Basanta

Member of Standing Committee, CPN-Maoist

A parliamentary election took place in a European country, Greece, on January 25, 2015. It was a mid-term poll taken place after about two and a half years of the previous election held in 2012. None of the parties that had contested election could secure majority in that election, nor could any party garner support of another party to form the majority alliance. Syriza, a political party, which is known as a "coalition of the radical left" has become the largest parliamentarian party in the election held this year by securing 149 seats out of total 300. It has formed a coalition government under the leadership of Alexis Tsipras, a Syriza party leader, by having alliance with a rightist independent party that has secured 13 parliamentary seats in the present election.

The parliamentary election in a country and the formation of government by a certain party is at large a normal political phenomenon. Thus, it is not an issue which attaches so much of importance for us. Nevertheless, when this result is viewed in the broad context of severe economic crisis in Greece, the situation of entire Europe entrapped by this crisis, German imperialist's plans to "defer" it, the result of election and positive and negative impact it can impart to other countries etc., it turns to be a matter of serious concern for the world imperialist system in general and the European Union in particular. On the other, the questions like: up to which point will the party Syriza that has stood now against the neo-liberal economic policies imposed by imperialism take this movement and how will it influence others has drawn attraction of the patriotic and the communist forces all across the world. An attempt has been made in this article to study the questions related to it.

The prevailing economic crisis in Greece, which is situated in the weakest link of European Union, is the main reason behind this situation to happen. As an obvious result of the neo-liberal economic policy of imperialism, a serious economic crisis had erupted in most of the capitalist countries of the world from 2008. Of the western countries, mainly the US and Europe were the most sufferers from this crisis. Apart from Germany, almost all of the countries in Europe did not remain unaffected from this disaster. The countries like, Greece, Portugal, Cyprus, Spain and Italy were the most sufferers in Europe. Thanks to this crisis, the economy of first four countries mentioned above were so damaged that it was not possible to "save" them without external support. In order to "defer" the economic crisis that could erupt suddenly all across Europe, the European Union led by Germany had even established an "emergency bailout" fund equalling 700 billion Euros in 2010. Greek

government had in total received 240 billion Euros in 2012 as a "bailout loan" to "rescue" the critical Greek economy. In return, Greece had to abide by the austerity measures put forward by European Central Bank, European Union and the International Monetary Fund (Troika). The conditions were: they had to decrease workers' pay, pension, social security allowance and treatment facility but increase labours' working hour and income tax and so on. The then Greek Prime Minister Antonis Samaras agreed the "bailout loan" by signing on the anti-people measures said before.

In the pretext of "deferring" the economic crisis in Europe, the measures which were brought in under the design of world imperialism and planned by European Union are anti-people measures. The government of Greece could make use of only 5% of the "bailout loan" in their own, while the rest was taken away by the old lenders as repayment. In fact, it was not to rescue Greece from the crisis but an economic plan prepared by troika to make Greece pay the loan back to the old lenders. By so doing, the troika made Greece a first guinea pig in Europe to test the neo-liberal model set by the world imperialism. There was no possibility that this model could defer the economic crisis, rather it invited a more terrible result. While arriving here, the economic crisis in Greece has started to be manifested in overall social and the political crisis.

Like for example, after the "bailout loan" and "austerity measures" were enforced in Greece the unemployment rate elevated from previous 7% to 26%, 60% of the youths turned unemployed, the pension and the social security allowance were dropped by 25%, the poverty rate increased from 23% to 40.5%, the events of suicide raised up so high that people stopped talking about it, the psychology of pessimism and helplessness spread all across the country, the total loan which was 125% of GDP in 2010 elevated to 175% of the GDP at the end of 2014 and so on. In fact, it is not merely a situation of common economic crisis but of a widespread social crisis and a terrible situation wherein the whole country has reached to the threshold of bankruptcy. On account of this situation, both the imperialism and world proletariat have now centred their attention on the condition of Greece.

In the later period, Syriza has become a major political force that has been leading struggle against the neo-liberal policies imposed by troika. This is a loose type of coalition formed of many patriotic parties and organisations like: green party, Euro-sceptic parties, euro-communist parties, Trotskyite communist parties and also the Communist Organisation of Greece (KOE) that upholds Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought as its guiding ideology. It was founded in 2004 and organised its first congress in 2013. Most of its constituents do not have independent existence now. It is neither a coalition of different parties developed as a united front nor is it a communist party that runs on the basis of democratic centralism. We still have to have in-depth study of its organisational principle and structure. Whatever it is, it has been established among the people as a major patriotic force that stands against colonial oppression imposed upon Greece by the European Union and mainly German imperialism. A big section of patriotic and revolutionary people in Greece has supported this alliance because it has opposed the anti-people austerity measures imposed by troika.

After the eruption of crisis in 2008, Syriza has been carrying out many militant struggles against the economic and social disaster that has resulted in Greece due to "bail-

out loan" and "austerity measures" enforced by troika. It is not an average achievement for this coalition to attain the political power by defeating the agents of imperialism in a short period of only 10 years. Of course, it is the result of conscious rebellion of the patriotic and revolutionary Greek people against the anti-people policies imposed by troika in the past. Syriza has now led the patriotic movement against the anti-people measures let loose by troika.

At the time of election, Syriza had made promises that it would bring the fiscal monopoly of Euro to an end, renegotiate troika's austerity measures with the lender institutions and provide opportunities of employment by developing national economy in Greece. After the election result has been public, people think that the Syriza government has arrived at such a responsible position wherefrom it can now set the Greek people free from the on-going crisis by materialising those promises. They expect respite from this government, because they understand that the slogans Syriza had propagated at the time of election have now become slogans to put into action by Tsipras government.

On the other, as a result of neo-liberal policy of troika, the economic crisis in various countries of Europe, not in Greece only, has been worsening. And people in those countries have been agitating against it. In the pretext of liberating country and the people, the agents of imperialism have been furthering crisis by imposing the package of austerity measures upon the dispossessed ones. And on the other the role played by traditional labour organisations has created disgust among the workers. As an alternative to all these, the formation of anti-establishment parties like Syriza is in the rise all over Europe. The organisations like: PODEMOS, a left party in Spain, Scotland National Party and Five Star Movement in Italy are its examples. All of these parties clash with the monopoly of Euro and troika. That is, the parties like Syriza in Greece have come forward to lead the people in the anti-imperialist movement in many countries of Europe. In Madrid, the capital city of Spain, tens of thousands of people had enthusiastically turned up in the election rally organised on January 31, 2015 by PODEMOS.

Thus, a strong political wind against troika is blowing in Europe now. And, there is a kind of political terror all across Europe including in England, because the ghost of Syriza is chasing the political parties and organisations supportive of European Union. David Cameron, the British Prime Minister, seems afraid of the possible victory of labour party in the upcoming election of England. In the days ahead, the polarisation between two streams, one, a neo-liberal stream led by troika and two, an anti-troika stream formed of Syriza and the likes, seems to sharpen further in Europe. In fact it is the manifestation of sharpening of the contradiction between imperialism and proletarian revolution. This contradiction is now coming up on the surface in Europe and smouldering in the bourgeois society all across the world. All this shows that the objective situation for proletarian revolution is getting favourable all over the world in general and Europe in particular.

Without a doubt, the European Union will further increase its intervention to suppress the anti-troika voice, a big challenge for the imperialist system at present. Evidently, it will go on tightening its encirclement upon Syriza government to force it implement austerity measures and the neo-liberal economic policies as well. At that time, Syriza government will have only two options, first: break the imperialist encirclement and stand by the

people or second: get allured in sweet words of imperialism and forget the promises made with them. Which course will Syriza follow, is not decided by its subjective wish. Rather, it is decided by the ideological and political line it adopts.

It has already been clear that Syriza is not a communist party built upon the ideological foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and it is not a united front formed under the leadership of a genuine communist party either. Therefore, the government led by Syriza does not have any ideological and political strength to fight imperialism till the last. The European Union, which knows it well, will work hard to use the government against people by intimidation of force or enticement of sweet words whichever works for them well. Generally speaking, Syriza and the Tsipras government don't opt to be a pawn of European Union but their subjective wish does not decide on what they need to do. It is almost sure that the agreement they want to reach will not be in the favour of Greece and Greek people because their policy is to renegotiate the austerity measures with imperialism. It will ultimately make them stand by European Union led by Germany. This is the first possibility. It will mean to establish imperialist hegemony once again in Greece through Syriza and Tsipras. It is not in favour of Greece, Greek people, Syriza party and Tsipras government. Not to kneel down before imperialism but to stand by Greece and Greek people at any cost will be in the interest of Syriza and Tsipras as well.

On the other, in case imperialism fails by any means to make Syriza and Tsipras kneel down it will tighten its political encirclement, impose economic sanctions, break up the coalition and ultimately establish a puppet government by incorporating its diehard agents. As a consequence, it will further jeopardise the national independence of Greece and the Greek people will be forced to live a difficult life than now. This is the second possibility.

Of the two possibilities said before, none of them is in favour of Greece and Greek people. However, the first possibility is more deadly. Not only for Greece and the Greek people, it will neither be in favour of Syriza nor the government led by it. It spreads pessimism among the people and destroys anti-imperialist movement in Greece for long. We are ourselves a witness that the loss inflicted by the betrayal of leadership has become several times shocking and deadly than the loss incurred by the oppression of enemy. Therefore, if one has to make a choice between these two, the second possibility is in favour of the country and people. Because, the possibility of waging and developing movement to defend national independence and ensure the people's democratic right and people's livelihood remains more with the second option. In the given situation, the movement in Greece may go a little farther but it cannot defeat imperialism because it lacks a clear ideological and political line and a genuine communist party to lead it. So, it is almost sure that the problems of national independence, democracy and people's livelihood in Greece will further deteriorate in the days ahead and the Greece will fall in the vortex of additional crisis. It is true not only for Greece but all the movements against troika that have started coming up in the countries like Spain, Portugal, Italy and Cyprus as well. In the present era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the political party that can fight imperialism till the end is a communist party built under the ideological guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

It has already been mentioned that the public opinion is getting polarised for and

against austerity measures all across Europe. The polarisation, in which imperialism and their agents have stood at one pole and patriotic and the working people at the other, is rapid. The main political reason behind this polarisation is the result of intensification of two contradictions in Europe: one, the contradiction between European Union at one pole and oppressed nations and people on the other and two, the contradiction between capital and labour in the countries of Europe. In addition to this, the world is getting polarised and the inter-imperialist contradiction is sharpening. It is also playing indirectly a role in the polarisation going on in Europe now. All this leads to a conclusion that the polarisation in Europe at present is the result of intensification of all the international basic contradictions in that continent. It shows the objective situation in Europe is getting favourable for proletarian revolution to advance.

After the collapse of social imperialism in Russia and mainly after the fall of Berlin Wall in Germany, the slogans like "Marxism has failed", "Communism turned futile" and "Capitalism is inevitable" etc. used to be rampantly chanted all across Europe. But, now the slogans like, down with imperialism, down with neo-liberalism, long live communist party, long live socialism, long live proletarian internationalism etc. have started reverberating in the streets of European cities. In fact, it has once again brought to surface that the failure of capitalism has caused the socialism to come forward as its substitute. It is not simply a coincidence that the slogans like long live socialism have started reverberating now in Europe, which was once a centre of the socialist revolution. It can easily be presumed that the essence of socialist revolution is hidden inside the current wave of anti-imperialist movement in Europe.

Long term solution of the crises and the contradictions that have surfaced all across Europe in these days is not and cannot be any parliamentary election nor can it be a "pro-people government" nor a "revolutionary opposition" elected by it. Only the proletarian revolution under the leadership of a Communist Party guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism can bring all sorts of reactions including imperialism to an end and thereby solve all the contradictions the imperialist world order has created. So the present necessity has been to develop class struggle and national liberation movement in a planned way. It has to be done with a strategy of proletarian revolution where the MLM parties exist and take up the task of building a communist party in the countries where it does not. Therefore, the revolutionary communists in Europe including Greece should lay emphasis on building a communist party equipped with MLM and developing struggle for socialism than being engaged in building a "pro-people government" or a "revolutionary opposition" by way of parliamentary election. This is the one and only one way that can liberate forever the oppressed nations and people from the exploitation and plunder carried out by imperialist world order and the capitalist mode of production all over the world including in Greece.

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Dissolution of Irrational Constituent Assembly - II : A Must

■ Com. Suresh Ale Magar "Minham"
PBM, CPN-Maoist

As is known to all, after the sad and fruitless end of the Constituent Assembly - I, its second edition was formed some 15 months ago in line with the imperialist and expansionist grand design by conducting so-called election to it at the gunpoint by mobilising the army all over the country. It was claimed to be not less than a panacea. But it didn't turn out at all to be so but can be said it rather did turn into a fiasco.

In fact, today Constituent Assembly - II seems to be a centre of not only debates and disputes but also of quarrels, problems and crises. Considering the ongoing events in the CA-II, a conclusion that can be easily reached at is that it has lost its significance and rationale. It was challenged right from the beginning from outside and even its election was boycotted by the revolutionary and patriotic forces but today it is challenged even from inside and alleged to have been captured by status quoists, reactionaries and anti-identity elements and its meetings and proceedings are being boycotted even by those who had played active role in conducting of its election and they are in the streets today. Virtually, it has become completely insignificant and irrational.

Today CA - II has reached such a stage that conflicts look inevitable. If it fails, like Constituent Assembly - I, to build a new constitution, only one question may be asked why. But if it does one, multiple kind of conflicts are likely to erupt. Conflict from the pro-identity forces for building an anti-identity constitution, if done so, and vice versa; from the Hindu fundamentalist for promulgating secular constitution, if done so, and vice versa; from the republican forces for drafting a monarchist constitution, if done so, and vice versa; from the anti-inclusion and single ethnic monopolist elements for drafting an inclusive constitution, if done so, and vice versa etc. etc. Naturally, the constitution promulgated by it shall be vehemently protested against and declared unacceptable by the workers, peasants and revolutionary and class forces because it shall be a status quoist, anti-people and anti-class constitution that is bound to fail to address the class problems. That categorically means the conflict from their side shall continue. Today the CA-II has been totally meaningless and useless. It can neither build a constitution nor resolve problems and crises. But, instead, it has become not only a root cause of problems but also creators of many problems.

Therefore, the only conclusion that clearly stands is the irrational CA-II must be

immediately dissolved. The longer it exists, the more problems and crises are likely to rise, and the more confusion and uncertainty and chaotic situation to prevail. Its dissolution may pave way for other options. The best one would be none other than formation of an all-sector political assembly. Assembly consisting of all sectors, not confining to political parties only because the constitution is a matter of concern of not only the political parties but also other sectors and stakeholders such as indigenous peoples, Madheshis and Dalits and peoples of oppressed regions like Bheri, Karnali, Seti and Mahakali zones (in particular case of Nepal), workers, peasants, women, journalists, teachers, students, industrialists and businessmen, healthworkers, legal practitioners, intellectuals etc. Hence, the immediate dissolution of CA - II and formation of powerful all-sector political assembly can alone resolve the crises the the country is facing. It is a need of today. However, let it be crystal clear that the dissolution of Constituent Assembly - II, formation of all-sector political assembly and building of a people's constitution are not at all revolution. No, it still needs a long way to go. But it is definitely true that if these done, the revolutionaries would have a stronger say and hold in the political arena of the country because it would be following their agenda, this would lead towards and closer to the revolution and make the arduous task of accomplishing it relatively easier.

A part of the report adopted by National Convention of CPN-Maoist inaugurated on December 26, 2014

3. Summation of the two-line struggle

Two-line struggle goes on in a living and revolutionary communist party. It is the life of a communist party. No communist party can be imagined without it. The class struggle in the society is reflected in the form of two-line struggle in the party. It is sometimes high and sometimes low.

Making the theoretical synthesis of the characteristics of two-line struggle going on in the Communist Party of China what has been said is that the class struggle prevailing in the society is necessarily reflected in party and it emerges in the form of two-line struggle within the party in a concentrated way. Party school of the Communist Party of China, presenting the class struggle and two-line struggle as the tides of the ocean, writes, "We Must Have the Revolutionary Spirit of Going Against the Tide." (A basic understanding of the Communist Party of China: Shanghai-1974). It is noteworthy for us.

Communist party runs in accordance with the basic law of unity of opposites of the materialist dialectics. This struggle in the party goes ahead sometimes in a friendly and sometimes in a hostile way. Party goes and should go ahead amid unity-struggle and transformation. However, this unity and struggle can change into split too. The two-line struggle in the party goes ahead in a zigzag way as class struggle does in the society. Party should be proficient enough in handling two-line struggle in a comradesly way.

Right with the process of being organized in a new way, after dissociating from right neo-revisionism, two-line struggle started again in the party. On the two-line struggle going on since then, the political report adopted in the CC meeting writes, "Right with the process of reorganizing party in Bouddha Convention, two-line struggle had started in the party in a new way. It started taking its shape in the Seventh Congress and it became complex in the CC meeting held no later than the boycott movement. Now it is attaining its climax. There were some problems ideologically in the beginning, but they were expressed mainly in the organizational form. But, now they have developed as a chain of political and organizational line. (Special political report, page 11, November 24, 2014). Here the two-line struggle developing in the party has been briefly elucidated.

Two-line struggle has been going on in our party in a complicated way. The main stages, issues and the characteristics of that two-line struggle can be presented as follows:

First stage: Bouddha Convention to the Seventh Congress. Bouddha National Con-

vention was held on June 12, 2012. Party's Seventh Congress was held in January 2013. During this period, the inner party struggle was concentrated on the questions of organization and leadership. In this very period, some symptoms of factionalism had started surfacing in the party. Although some of the state level comrades had talked about the line of people's war in the Seventh Congress, but it was not registered for voting. The military line of people's insurrection on the base of people's war was unanimously adopted in Bouddha Convention and the Seventh Congress both.

Second stage: Seventh Congress to CC plenum after the boycott movement. Some of the comrades, right after the Seventh Congress, started creating environment for people's war in opposition to the line adopted by the congress. Some symptoms of factionalism started to emerge and spread out. The two-line struggle became a bit complex till the end of boycott movement of the CA-2. It was expressed on the questions of whether or not to carry forward the boycott movement in an armed way. In that very plenum of the CC, an interrogative mark was placed before the line adopted in the Seventh Congress. The plenum decided to hold a national conference aimed at enriching that line.

Third stage: 2013 November CC plenum to 2014 July CC plenum. As opposed to the report Chairman Comrade Kiran had presented vis-à-vis the enrichment of military line; comrade Biplav placed a different report. The report presented by Comrade Kiran was based on the objective of enriching the line of people's insurrection on the base of people's war adopted in the Seventh Congress. The report presented by comrade Kiran writes, "The line of Nepalese revolution is the line of people's insurrection on the base of people's war. Some of the characteristics of people's war are incorporated in it. This line, in the main, is the line of people's insurrection. It is based on the originality, particularity and creativity of Nepalese revolution." As an enrichment of this line, a six-point new concept based on the (1) relation between countryside and cities, (2) relation between local and central power, (3) relation between legal and illegal struggles, (4) relation between legal and illegal organisations, (5) relation between national and international tasks, (6) relation between preparation of people's insurrection and other tasks has been presented. In opposition to this, Biplav, as the line of Nepalese revolution, has presented "theory/line of unified revolution" in his report. The report writes, "The line of unified revolution is the unique line of Nepalese revolution. It relates to Nepalese uniqueness and particularity. The uniqueness does not necessarily mean to represent a particular theory but it means a new theory and line developed from both of them. The rule that it necessarily should link up with either insurrection or people's war does not apply here. Rather it is different from these two models and contains the Nepalese originality and the universal characteristics of both. Its essence is newer than theirs." Page 20. This position by Biplav has come not as the enrichment of line but as a separate concept of line. From that onward, a formal two-line struggle started in the party.

Thus, the formal beginning of two-line struggle made us serious. Accordingly, "The CC plenum held in last July, took decisions to a) keep both the reports idle for the time being and later solve the problem by organising a Congress within a year, b) prepare a brief political report with necessary revisions and amendments to the remaining part of the report prepared by Comrade Kiran, c) proceed towards the preparation of revolution by

sorting out plans of struggle and organisation consistent with the line adopted by Seventh Congress, d) prepare a concrete plan of class struggle, the struggle for national independence and people's resistance struggle and to implement them, e) immediately solve the problems related with party centre concerning organisation and discipline, f) make the party unified and disciplined, handle the two-line struggle in a healthy and comradely way and remain committed to the established concept of democratic centralism etc." (Special political report, page 11/12). State level political trainings and meetings were held to pass on these decisions.

Fourth stage: 2014 July plenum to November 2014 plenum. This period remained a period of climax from the standpoint of two-line struggle. After the completion of meetings held to pass on the decisions and the reports, a PB meeting was organised. The PB meeting held in September 24, 2014 adopted decisions to a) attempt to prepare a single report by synthesising the military line reports prepared by Comrade Kiran and Biplav and passed on to state committee meetings, b) keep both the reports idle for the time being and carry out debate only in the course of Congress, c) stop the acts of publicising through media the dissenting opinions without party decision and unify the party etc. In addition to this, the PB meeting had taken decisions to concretise further the 7-month plan and programme taken by the last plenum and implement them effectively. The whole PB had shown unanimous commitment to the aforesaid decisions. (Ibid page 12/13). These decisions adopted by the PB were very important to keep the party united.

In addition to this, party HQ carried out debates and discussions several times to keep the party united. But, Biplav did not pay attention to it and demanded a CC plenum. It was settled to finalise the plenum issue by the HQ and PB meetings to be held in his presence. But, Biplav group abstaining from the HQ, PB and CC meetings carried out various types of cliquy and factional activities. The anti-party activities carried out by Biplav group are mainly as follows.

"1. The act of defying and opposing CC and PB decisions has been speedily intensified. These activities are based on groupism, factionalism and against the Party unity.

"2. The HQ, PB and CC meetings have been disobeyed. Comrade Biplav did not attend the very meeting of HQ that Chairman, General Secretary along with Biplav had decided to call and it was supposed to call CC plenum. Biplav did not attend the PB meeting called by HQ. Likewise, he along with his admirers did not turn up in the CC meeting called by PB.

"3. When it was learnt that a cliquy convention led by Biplav was going to be organised, PB issued a direction not to go for it but to attend the CC meeting and CC plenum, however he defied this too.

"4. Cliquy meetings were being organised since before. But, they are speedily being organised now and have taken the form of convention. In this context, a national convention organised in Kapilvastu has even adopted a dissenting report placed by Biplav.

"5. In general, parallel activities were being organised regularly after the Seventh Congress. But a few days before, a clandestine national convention has been organised

and it has adopted a policy of party within party and organisation within organisation and struggle within struggle.

"6. Against the CC and BP decisions, the slogans placed in the Biplav's report have been publicised. Not only this, a preparation is underway to print out Biplav's report.

"7. Separate plan of struggles has been launched against the 7-month plan of struggles decided by the party.

"8. As opposed to the line of people's insurrection on the base of people's war adopted by the party, the line of the dissenting report is being implemented.

"9. A campaign to oppose leadership, internally and externally, had been carried out since long and it has been intensified now.

"10. CC had asked clarification about their press meet organised after the national convention. This too has been disobeyed by organising another press meet. Quite the reverse, they have lied in the press meet by saying that chairman was informed of Kapilvastu convention, and when clarification was asked on this, they have mentioned that the Chairman and General Secretary, regretting for it, should self-criticise." (Special political report page 14/16).

Paying attention to the gravity of the situation and the necessity of keeping party united, it was decided to call them in the plenum without clarification and it was agreed to go in the plenum after having discussion with them. They turned up in the plenum. Chairman Kiran presented a special political report in the first day of the plenum and Biplav too placed his opinion on it. But on the next day, he showed up in the party office and unexpectedly and suddenly handed over a letter of dissociation from the leadership. And on the very day, he publicised his dissociation from the party through a press conference. Eventually, the party underwent a split again.

Despite that it was decided to reach in a conclusion on different political reports from the Congress, his inability to patiently stay till the last in the CC Plenum called in his report and wait the Congress for about 5/7 months is in fact an escape from the ideological debate and a broad democratic exercise. It can be termed politically as a short-sighted thinking and sense of irresponsibility.

In the course of conducting two-line struggle in the party, Biplav group had followed a wrong policy and method. They can be briefly presented as mentioned below:

First: a method of intrigue and conspiracy. Mao had said – be open and overboard, don't intrigue and conspire. In the course of two-line struggle, Biplav group stood against this instruction by Mao. It was clearly seen that their objective was not to place their opinion on the questions of organisation, leadership and line but to go ahead in their own by capturing leadership and organisation in a wrong way.

Second: opposition of leadership. They opposed leadership in different forms, internally and externally. It was propagated that the leadership is inept, olds cannot do anything and the leadership is being entrapped in the swamp of hidden opportunism and right opportunism.

Third: hindrance to struggle. They opposed the plans of struggles scheduled by party as opportunist ones and demanded to bring about militant programmes.

Fourth: factionalism and parallel activities. Biplav carried on factional and parallel activities since the very beginning.

Fifth: misuse of responsibility. Biplav did not fulfil many of the responsibilities party had given to him in relation to organisation and preparation. His main characteristics remained in working individually than collectively and he involved in factionalism.

Six: defiance of disciplinary and organisational criteria. Biplav group continuously defied discipline and organisational criteria. In the later part of time, they said that they don't need to abide by party discipline when the line has been different and they defied it.

Necessary to point out here is that we failed to control and stop in time the open and secret activities carried out conspiratorially by Biplav group in relation to two-line struggle. In this context, first of all, a big section of the party rank did not remain prepared to grasp the dialectical concept that two-line struggle constantly goes on in a party. While in some cases metaphysical and pragmatic weaknesses too appeared in the party and liberalism on the part of leadership worked not to clarify it in time. In addition to this, passiveness and vacillation and also trends like the lack of lively relation between leadership and the cadres too appeared in the party. In the same way, desperation and escape too worked from behind in it. Now onward, this type of shortcomings and weaknesses must not repeat.

On the class struggle and two-line struggle, the statement presented by the party school of Communist Party of China is noteworthy. "Only if we firmly grasp the protracted nature of the class struggle and the two-line struggle will we be able to understand the laws which govern their ebb and flow, their high tides and low tides, and the twists and turns of these struggles. Only then will we be fully prepared, will we be in a position to take the initiative in the class struggle and in the struggle between the two lines." (A Basic Understanding of the Communist Party of China, Shanghai 1974. We must heartily grasp this saying.

The class struggle and two-line struggle are interrelated with each other. The class enemies have been plotting to destroy the Maoist movement and the present split also is directly or indirectly related to it. We must be cautious from such conspiracies. Only by correctly understanding the nature and direction of class struggle and two-line struggle and the laws governing them can we be able to deal with them.

4. Right deviation manifested in left form

Various anti-party activities noticed in Party's ex-secretary Biplav and the very group are not only related with organisational issues but also with ideological and political trends. In this situation, the political report adopted in CC Plenum writes, "It has already been necessary to reach a synthesised conclusion by linking the said activities with organisational, ideological and political contexts on the one hand and by paying attention to the ideas expressed in Biplav's dissenting report on the other. Thus, these activities are based: organisationally on anarchist individualism, philosophically on negative dialectics and em-

piricism and politically on regressive strategy of power-sharing. In the dissenting report by Biplav, the military line, which has been portrayed as the Theory of Unified Revolution by negating people's war, people's insurrection and people's insurrection upon the base of people's war, is very much unclear, confusing, contentless and mysterious. Also, there is soft attitude towards the Indian expansionism in his report and thus it has lagged behind on the question of national independence. In conclusion, the main trend manifested in his activities and dissenting opinion is right opportunism in essence and left in form."

Biplav group has been tricking and working hard to portray oneself as a revolutionary and leftist. But, in essence it represents right trend not the left. When it is exposed, the revisionism uses left cover. Lenin had branded modern revisionism as, "Falsification of Marxism, under the guise of Marxism". (Materialism and empirico-criticism). This very trend was noticed in the Communist Party of China also. Mao had said, "The struggle between two classes in our party is being expressed in left in form and right in content". (Interview to Albanian delegates). We must understand Biplav's trend also in this way. Therefore, it can be nothing other than political confusion to see revolution in Biplav's report.

We must label the way of thinking and trend seen in Biplav group as right deviation manifested in the left form. Their characteristics can mainly be presented as follows:

Philosophy

Philosophically Biplav group has drowned into the quagmire of negative dialectics, empiricism and eclecticism. According to materialist dialectics, there is struggle between two opposites and in a certain condition one transforms into another. But contrarily, according to the negative dialectics they struggle each other, they are destroyed in themselves, but do not transform. The negative dialectics is limited to thesis and anti-thesis and it cannot make a leap into synthesis and transformation. In the course of line struggle, Biplav group used to emphasise only in thesis and anti-thesis and failed to reach synthesis or transformation. In this way, Biplav group has been caught up in negative dialectics.

In the field of epistemology, empiricism ignores the importance of theory and it lays special emphasis on the experience only. Biplav group has invented the "Theory of Unified Revolution" against Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It has been brought out in opposition to the politico-military line of new democratic revolution.

In the political report adopted by Seventh Congress, it has been mentioned that the contradiction between comprador and bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism protected and conducted by Indian expansionism at one pole and broad masses at the other is the principal contradiction of the Nepalese society. But, on the principal contradiction Biplav group writes, "The contradiction between feudalism and Nepalese people that remained in the principal position since long has undergone a change, the first time in history. The contradiction between comprador bourgeois state and the Nepalese people has taken its place." The Seventh Congress report regards that the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and the people is the principal contradiction of the world. But, the report by Biplav writes, "The inter-imperialist contradiction has reached to the level of war". These assertions by Biplav group do not comply with the present Nepalese and the

world situation as well.

In the same manner, Biplav group has followed eclecticism as opposed to materialist dialectics in some questions. In the context of on-going Nepalese revolution, it opposes to prioritise the tasks between the rural and urban areas and takes both of them as parallel.

Political Economy

In the field of political economy, Marxism demands correct class analysis and scientific evaluation of production relation and of the friends and foes of revolution for the country and revolution in question. But, revisionism cannot make scientific analysis of these questions.

On the one hand, Biplav group places emphasis on the role of middle class by keeping in secondary position the role of workers and peasants for the Nepalese new democratic revolution and on the other ignores in the international plane the struggle against imperialism and Indian expansionism. The international strategy of Biplav group is: "From the standpoint of international relations our policy should be of 1) building fraternal relation with the communist parties 2) maintaining balanced relation with the communist governments and 3) taking up a policy of struggle and balance with the capitalist countries." (Rupture from the status quo an inevitable necessity of history). Here, the world capitalism has been mentioned, but capitalism has assumed the form of imperialism and nowhere in the report the US imperialism and the Indian expansionism has been mentioned. On the one hand, there is no seriousness on the question of national independence and on the other the characteristics of soft attitude towards imperialism and expansionism are rampant in these sayings of Biplav.

Scientific Socialism

Biplav group has been siding with the notions like anarchist individualism, strategy of power-sharing with the regressive forces and the Theories of Unified Revolution in contradiction of scientific socialism developed by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The anarchist individualism makes an individual principal against collectivism in the entire politics and organisation and so does individualism against socialism. In the organisational arena it sides with anarchism and ultra-democracy by disregarding centralism and discipline. The voluntarism, which gives prime importance to individual, individual careerism and individual heroism, smells in it. It gives primary importance to a particular individual but not to organisational principle and collectivism of the communist party. This very anarchist individualism in Biplav group exists in his cliquism, factionalism, parallelism and in the trend of ignoring party.

As a political strategy, Biplav has put forward a policy of power-sharing with the regressive forces. In a certain condition, a slogan of Coalition Government can and should be issued. But, strategic power-sharing can never be done because the goal of revolution is to build a new state by destroying the old one.

On the question of military line, Biplav follows the line or Theory of Unified Revo-

lution. His report writes, "When we talk of building the line of Nepalese revolution, neither it is possible to mechanically follow the Russian model, 100 years old, nor is it possible to mechanically follow Chinese model, 60 years old. Neither people's insurrection of the Russian model nor the people's war of Chinese model holds good. We must build up scientific and objective line by using our characteristics." (Rupture from the status quo an inevitable necessity of history). Here, on the one hand, the recognized models of people's war and people's insurrection have been negated and on the other nothing has been mentioned on the military line of Nepalese revolution. Thus, Biplav group's military line has drowned in the quagmire of ambiguity, contentlessness, mysteriousness and nihilism.

There are mainly two reasons for the right deviation in left form to manifest in Biplav group: first, petty-bourgeois approach and second, imperialist and expansionist manoeuvring. The economic and social root of revisionism or all sorts of opportunism are based on the petty production of the country in question and the petty bourgeois mentality built upon it. The characteristics like, individual ego of petty bourgeois mentality and extreme individual careerism, lack of revolutionary patience, mentality of quick victory, instability and vacillation are found a lot in Biplav. Today's era is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. There is close relation between imperialism and revisionism in this era and there is necessarily a role, direct or indirect, of manoeuvring by imperialism and expansionism behind the emergence of revisionism, opportunism or any deviation in the party of the proletariat. We must be very much careful and alert in these things.

In total, it is appropriate to say that the way of thinking and the trend existing in Biplav group is right deviation manifested in left form. Finally, it is necessary on our part to wage strong ideological struggle against this trend on the one hand and should keep the door open to unite them again in the party by correcting mistakes, shortcomings and deviation.

6. The theoretical concept of line and laws of Nepalese revolution

The great people's war was initiated in 1996 after analysing the entire historical, social, economic and political characteristics of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial Nepalese society. The people's war on the one hand was based on the political line of new democratic revolution and on the other the military line of protracted people's war. The great people's war had entered into the stage of strategic offensive after crossing the stages of strategic defensive and strategic equilibrium. In spite of some limitations, shortcomings and weaknesses it was great. However, the great people's war suffered a serious setback as a result of neo-revisionist deviation in the party. Now we have been following the line of people's insurrection on the base of people's war and it is necessary to enrich this line today. Our study is centred in this subject.

To seize power by armed force is the central task of revolution. Armed revolution is the universal law of democratic and socialist revolution. The implementation of such objective and law is based on the historical context and characteristics of the given country.

After the emergence of modern era, in general, and of imperialism in particular, two types of lines of struggle have been developed. They are: the line of people's insurrection

and of people's war. The line of people's insurrection is a line developed by the bourgeoisie against feudalism and foreign oppression. This line seems to have been developed by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Both the revolutions, the bourgeois democratic and socialist, were accomplished by way of people's insurrection in Russia.

The line of people's war is the line developed by Mao in the course of accomplishing revolution in the countries with semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition, like China. The line of people's insurrection is linked with both the bourgeois democratic revolution of the old type and the socialist revolution while the line of people's war is linked with new democracy or people's democracy.

People's insurrection and people's war have their own principle, strategy and tactic. The difference between these two is based on the questions including the historical context of the country in concern, the objective and subjective condition necessary for revolution, strategy and tactic of war, form of struggle, the question of building army etc.

In people's insurrection, the selection of goal is made seriously and it must not be played at. The things like centralisation of power at a certain time and venue, offensive action, surprise and courage have special significance. According to the concept of people's insurrection the policy of first the cities and then the villages is followed. There should be necessary coordination between regular war and guerrilla war. The guerrilla war has its tactical role in it.

Protracted people's war is based on the three stage principle namely, strategic defensive, equilibrium and offensive. Base areas and local people's power are established for this. Necessary coordination is made between guerrilla war, mobile war and regular war. Guerrilla war has its strategic role. Protracted people's war is based on the policy of encircling cities from the countryside.

Today our country is in semi-feudal and neo-colonial condition. The political and military line of the Nepalese new democratic revolution should be studied by connecting it with the question of national liberation and people's liberation. While studying military line, it is necessary to heed on the concepts regarding the laws of war.

War is governed by certain laws. It is urgent to have necessary knowledge on the laws of war for both of the warring parties. The Marxist concept as regards the laws of war is as follows:

According to the historical materialist outlook, the questions like war, army and the use of violence are based on the development of productive forces and economic conditions. Engels says, "Nothing is more dependent on economic prerequisites than precisely army and navy. Armament, composition, organization, tactics and strategy depend above all on the stage reached at the time in production and on communications. (Anti-Duhring). Engels further adds, "... whole organization and method of warfare of the armies, and along with these victory or defeat, prove to be dependent on material, that is, economic conditions: on the human material and the armaments, and therefore on the quality and quantity of the population and on technical development." Ibid. On this very context, Lenin writes, "The military tactic is decided by the level of military technology." These sayings

of Engels and Lenin are worth remembering.

According to the dialectical materialist world outlook, the laws of war are based on concrete economic, political and military condition of the given country. All sorts of idealism, subjectivism and metaphysics are unacceptable to war.

According to the materialist dialectics, the process of war is based on the unity between the opposites like objective and subjective factors, enemy's and one's side, part and whole, strategy and tactic, offense and defence, centralisation and decentralisation, country in concern and the world etc.

According to the materialist dialectics, the laws of war are not static forever but are developmental. Mao says, "All the laws for directing war develop as history develops and as war develops; nothing is changeless." Mao's military writings.

Against the thinking that follows mechanical outlook towards the problem of war, Mao says, "In studying the laws for directing wars that occur at different historical stages, that differ in nature and that are waged in different places and by different nations, we must fix our attention on the characteristics and development of each, and must oppose a mechanical approach to the problem of war". Ibid. In this very context, talking to South American delegates, Mao says, "I beg to advise you not to transplant Chinese experience mechanically. The experience of any foreign country can serve only for reference and must not be regarded as dogma." Mao. Vol V. Here the question of accepting laws of war, policy and guiding principle as static forever and in a mechanical way and of following blindly the laws of a certain country has been opposed firmly.

The aforesaid concept as regards the laws of war is applicable in the context of people's insurrection, people's war or any other military line. Only by studying the main characteristics of the Nepalese society and firmly following the aforesaid concepts can we enrich the military line.

7. The military line of the Nepalese new democratic revolution

The report adopted in the plenum of the CC held in the last November had said, "Country is still in a semi-feudal and neo-colonial condition. Therefore, new democratic revolution is the basic programme now. The maximum programme is communism through socialism. In the present concrete condition, preparation of people's insurrection on the base of people's war is the main military line." (A report of the plenum held on December 8-11, 2013). It is necessary to seriously think on enriching the military line paying attention to the aforesaid decision. In this context, it is necessary to have a thorough study of the historical context of armed struggle and mass movements in Nepal and the main characteristics of the Nepalese society.

a. The history of Nepalese armed struggle and mass movement

The history of armed struggle in Nepal is rich. With the emergence of private property, class and the state in Nepal the events related to war and armed struggles like the struggle between feudal princelings, long-drawn war of unification campaign by Prithvi Na-

rayan Shah, long wars with Tibet and British, the bloody struggles like Kotparva and Bhandarkhalparva among the ruling classes are specially worthy to mention.

There have been several armed struggles after the country has turned into neo-colonial and semi-feudal condition. The rebellion by Lakhana Thapa against Ranas, the armed struggle waged by Nepali Congress in 1950, the armed struggle waged by K I Singh against the tripartite Delhi Treaty, armed struggle by Bhimadutta Panta, the armed struggle against Panchayati system by Nepali Congress, armed struggle by Jhapa rebels etc. are worthy to pay attention. In this context, it is clear that ten years long people's war waged by the CPN (Maoist) has been developed and established as a historical leap in the history of Nepali democratic revolution. In spite of this, as a result of the mentality of quick victory on the one hand and of capitulationism on the other developed in the neo-revisionist leadership the great people's war suffered a serious setback.

Ever since the end of Rana regime in Nepal, several mass struggles carried out on the burning issues of national independence, democracy and people's livelihood by the communist parties and various mass organizations like those of peasants, workers, women, students, Dalits and teachers, the historical mass movements of 1990 and 2006 and the Madheshi movement etc. are noteworthy to mention.

In short, the history of our country is full of wars with the foreign countries, armed and mass struggles against the reactionary regimes and several bloody struggles among the ruling classes. The history of Nepali democratic revolution is rich with the armed and mass struggles, lawful and unlawful struggles and parliamentary and non-parliamentarian struggles. Here, it does not look like the revolution in Nepal will succeed either by depending on armed struggle or on mass movement only. It seems necessary to coordinate between all forms of struggles by giving priority to armed struggle at the decisive moment.

b. Main characteristics of the Nepalese Society

While initiating the great people's war, we had determined its goal, strategy and tactic by analyzing the main characteristics of the Nepalese society. There have been some changes in those characteristics now. In view of that, it is necessary to study in brief the main characteristics of the Nepalese society. Mainly they are:

Nepal is a small landlocked and an underdeveloped country surrounded by geographically big, highly populated and economically sound countries like China in the north and India in the East, South and West. In spite of this, Nepal has been uninterruptedly maintaining her independent existence, identity and national independence from the historical era. It is rich in view of the natural resources and means, and human labour and capacity.

Nepal is a multi-national, multi-religious and multi-cultural country, which is in semi-feudal and neo-colonial condition. The workers, peasants, women, Dalit, nationalities, Madheshi, Muslim, national bourgeoisie and the communities from remote areas which are oppressed by feudalism, imperialism and expansionism reside here. Agrarian revolution has not yet taken place and the political and economic development is still uneven. But, the land and the agricultural sector are not in old situation and there have been remarkable changes in them.

Nepal has gone through the experiences of different mass movements, armed struggle and mainly ten years long people's war. Republic and secularism has been established here. However, there is no any possibility of drafting people's constitution through this CA-2. It has been further clear that the main obstacle of the Nepalese democratic revolution is comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the feudal class directed and conducted by Indian expansionism. In this situation, there is a strong possibility that widespread discontent among the oppressed people can arise.

The influence of globalized imperialism has been intensive in our country. As a result of the neo-liberalization, privatization and consumerist market economy, numerous sectors including industry, agriculture, education, health, culture etc. have been affected. Besides the development of productive forces in the country, the network of electronic media has spread all across the country.

The problem of unemployment has been serious. Nepalese people have migrated to different countries including India in search of employment. The main source of income of the country is remittance. The siphoning of labour, brain and capital has become intensive in Nepal.

The instability, indecision and contradictions of the political parties representing comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal class with the state power, government and bureaucracy have become complicated and they seem to sharpen in specific conditions.

Different mass movements on the question of national independence, democracy and people's livelihood have been developing and the centre of such mass movements has mainly been the capital. The programmes of mass struggles declared from capital have spread all across the country.

Although the right revisionism or reformism has been dominating in Nepal, but people's support and countrywide attraction towards the leftist and revolutionary communists still exist here.

Now, it is necessary on our part to determine the military line, strategy and tactic based on these characteristics.

When we study the first characteristics, although there is some complexity on Nepalese revolution and future of the country on account of her landlocked and underdeveloped situation, our country is rich from the viewpoint of natural and human resources. Likewise, Nepal, which was not under anyone's domination in the history, has been able to continually maintain her national independence. Thus, the future of the country is bright against national subjection.

According to the second characteristics, it seems necessary to go into people's war. The semi-feudal and neo-colonial condition draws attention towards it. But, this only is not sufficient and all.

Paying attention to the third characteristics, on the one hand, it does not justify repeating the same process when the country had gone through people's war for ten years and on the other there is possibility that we can go ahead by stepping at the base prepared by

people's war. Thus, the ten years long people's war can act as a base for people's insurrection. Also, it seems that the serious crisis, which can appear when the people's constitution is not written through CA-2, will go on creating ground for people's insurrection.

Fourth characteristics shows that as a result of globalization the economic and political crisis seems to aggravate further while on the other the network of information technology and the development of productive forces necessitates to develop the laws of war.

The fifth characteristics show that huge population of the rural areas has been flowing to cities and foreign countries in search of employment. It is an adverse situation for people's war. Concentration of population in the cities indicates towards the possibility of insurrection.

When studying the sixth characteristics, the contradiction between state and various reactionary forces and the disputes among themselves seem to continue. It also indicates to the possibility that it prepares base for people's insurrection.

The seventh characteristic shows that the centre of mass movement in our country has been the capital and it has spread out from the capital to all across the country. This situation provides a good base for people's insurrection.

Likewise, as stated in the eighth characteristics, the countrywide influence of revolutionary communists seems to support for armed insurrection.

On the basis of the development, which has been taking place in production system, communication and technology, the Marxist concept, which says the theories and laws of war too develop according to this development, and the study of the characteristics of the Nepalese society, which has developed after ten years of people's war, the conclusion which can be drawn is:

The line of Nepalese people's revolution cannot be that of the old type of people's war.

The line of Nepalese people's revolution cannot be that of the old type of people's insurrection.

The line of Nepalese people's revolution is people's insurrection on the base of people's war. Some of the features of people's war are assimilated in it. This line is mainly the line of people's insurrection. It is based on the uniqueness, particularity and creativity of Nepalese revolution. It is closely related with the question of national independence and democracy.

The line of people's insurrection on the base of people's war is not and cannot be an eclectic line prepared by mixing people's war and people's insurrection. Because, this line is based on its set and sequence.

Paying attention to the aforesaid characteristics of the Nepalese society, the strategy and tactic related with people's insurrection on the base of people's war will be discussed now.

c. Question being raised on line

In the course of Congress and after the different questions related to the military line remained being raised. Some of those questions have been answered in the Congress report. Some questions have been answered and clarified in between time. The questions which are being raised are as under.

The first question: this line is eclectic, because both "people's war and people's insurrection" have been used in this line. Can the eclectic line be followed? It has been answered thus - "While talking about people's insurrection upon the foundation of people's war, two terminologies, people's war and people's insurrection, which carry two different meanings, have been simultaneously used. From this, one may be confused that it is an eclectic line. But, it is not so. In a semi-feudal and neo-colonial country Nepal, people's insurrection cannot be imagined without standing upon the foundation of 10-years long people's war and its experience. On the other, while talking about people's insurrection upon the foundation of people's war, it is evident that people's insurrection is principal. Hence there is no reason to be confused with the use of these terminologies." Congress report.

The second question: what does the base of people's war mean, it is not so clear. To answer this, the report writes, "People's insurrection upon the foundation of people's war is the totality of the experience acquired by the party, PLA and the masses, class and people's awareness acquired in this process and the three weapons of revolution i.e. party, PLA and the united front." Ibid

The third question: the real meaning of the base of people's war is to go to people's war and then to people's insurrection. Why was not said so? In fact, it is not like that, if it were so, to say line of people's war would be enough, people's insurrection should not have been added.

Fourth question: has the leadership taken the task of preparation seriously? Yes, possible effort has been made. Notable to mention here is that on the one hand, there have been serious obstructions to the tasks of preparation from inside party and on the other there are also several complications necessary to confront.

Fifth question: the line of people's insurrection is reformist. Therefore, it should be withdrawn and the revolutionary line of people's war should be taken up. Is the revolution possible from the reformist line? It is very wrong. If the line of people's insurrection is reformist then Marx, Engels and Lenin too should be named as reformists. It is because; they had developed the line of people's insurrection.

Sixth question: some of the people think how does the political line of new democratic revolution comply with military line of people's insurrection? How does one political line agree with another military line? It is not so, the democratic revolutions used to be accomplished by people's insurrection before. The democratic revolution in Russia was accomplished by people's insurrection. The democratic revolution in Vietnam was accomplished by people's insurrection in the beginning.

Seventh question: now the base of people's war has been destroyed. The people's liberation army and people's power don't exist. Then how can people's insurrection succeed

on the base of people's war? Although, the people's liberation army and people's power don't exist but there are fighters and people involved in people's war. The materials like experience and teachings of people's war, people's consciousness and class consciousness is there. Lenin had said, "Without such a 'dress rehearsal' as we had in 1905, the revolutions of 1917 would have been impossible." Here Lenin's saying is worth remembering.

Eighth question: it has already been one and half a year after we rebelled from neo-revisionists. We failed to accomplish revolution in such a long time. Then how does the split justify? The split has been justified by theory and politics. So long as the revolution is concerned, it is based not on the man's subjective wish only but on the comprehensive maturity of objective and subjective condition. The revolution goes ahead not in straight line but in curved one. Revolution develops by rise and fall.

Paying attention to the aforesaid facts, it is clear that the decision taken on the military line in Bouddha Convention and the Seventh Congress was correct. But, it is necessary to enrich and develop that line.

Main objective, strategy and tactic

The objective of people's insurrection has been to defend national independence and establish people's democratic people's state power by ending the exploitation, oppression and intervention by comrador, bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal class and expansionism/imperialism. The people's insurrection to be carried out in Nepal is based on the base of people's war.

The strategy and tactic of people's insurrection upon the base of people's war are based on six types of relations as follows: (1) relation between countryside and cities, (2) relation between local and central power, (3) relation between legal and illegal struggles, (4) relation between legal and illegal organisations, (5) relation between national and international tasks, (6) relation between preparation of people's insurrection and other tasks. A short discussion is needed on this relation.

Relation between countryside and cities: to take countryside a base and city an anterior area. To do basic task in countryside and main task in the cities.

Relation between local and central power: to build united people's committed locally and raise a slogan of united national government, to make local people's committees a base and the central government a main slogan. In total, to project the establishment of new democratic state power.

Relation between legal and illegal struggles: To depend principally and finally on the illegal struggles but coordinate between legal and illegal forms as necessitates.

Relation between legal and illegal organisations: to make the main organization underground as necessitates and firmly follow the concept of three magical weapons. To establish necessary coordination among party, militant youth force and mass organisations.

Relation between national and international tasks: To strengthen the relation with fraternal parties, to consolidate the relation between Nepalese revolution and the Nepalese

staying abroad, maintain proper relation between Nepal and other countries. To prepare base for National independence of Nepal and against imperialist and expansionist oppression and intervention.

Relation between preparation of people's insurrection and other tasks: To wage today's war and attain victory the gun is compulsory, the gun is not enough. Other things are necessary along with gun. Therefore, today's war is also said to be total war. So, theoretical, political, economic, material, cultural and propagative tasks should maintain necessary coordination with the preparation of people's insurrection and the preparation of people's insurrection should be regarded as the preparation of total war.

As people's insurrection is the totality of struggle or total war, the main basis and theory regarding strategy and tactic has been mentioned in brief. The concrete forms of organisations and struggles, strategy and tactic in relation to offensive and defensive actions, advance and retreat, centralization and decentralization will be discussed separately.

(It is Adopted by the national convention by CPN-Maoist, February 2015)

The Basic Concept about the People's Constitution

Background

For the purpose of liberating the country from the semi-feudal and neo-colonial condition, and safeguarding the national sovereignty, establishing the people's democracy and solving the basic problems of people's livelihood; various kinds of people's struggle, popular movement, class struggle and armed struggle have been going on, and, as a climax of such a process, a ten-year long great People's War had also been waged from Falgun 1, 2052, (13th Feb.1996) by Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) in order to establish a new democratic state. In all of these struggles, a large number of liberation fighters have attained martyrdom, numerous others have been disappeared by the state, and many have been seriously wounded and handicapped. Therefore, it becomes all the more necessary to institutionalize and materialize, in the people's constitution, the will, aspiration, rights, and spirits of the people as expressed in the above-mentioned movements including the People's War.

During the course of the People's War, led by the CPN (Maoist), the Constituent Assembly was presented as an important political tactics. Among various agreements signed between the state, the political parties concerned, and the CPN (Maoist), the Constituent Assembly was a major one. The election to the Constituent Assembly was conducted accordingly. However, the Assembly was not allowed to promulgate the constitution and was ultimately dissolved. In due course of time, a non-party government was formed against the spirit of the Interim Constitution, and the election of the so-called Constituent Assembly-2 was conducted as per the outdated parliamentary system but without the participation of the CPN- Maoist, which is an inseparable part of peace and conflict resolution. It was clearly seen that a Constituent Assembly formed that way could in no sense establish and institutionalize the people's will, rights and interests, and spirit expressed during the course of the People's War as well as the other different popular movements. However, considering the need to move ahead building a new national political consensus, our party forwarded a proposal of forming a powerful all-sector political assembly. But the state was not ready for it. In such a situation, it has become obligatory to opt for the people's movement and struggle once again for the purpose of carving a people's constitution.

Therefore, laying emphasis particularly on the interest, rights, liberation, progress and qualitative transformation of the country and people, our party, Communist Party of Nepal –Maoist, presents, hereby, to the public the basic concept about the people's constitution as follows:

The Preamble:

1. Based on the unity of workers-peasants, Nepal shall be a sovereign, independent, indivisible, secular, federal people's republic state characterized by multi-national, multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-cultural and regional diversity
2. Nepal's sovereignty and state power shall remain with the Nepalese people. This power shall be used through people's representatives in the federal, regional, local, and specified autonomous assemblies.
3. The People's Constitution shall mention all the people's movements including the People's War, workers-peasants' movements, Madhesh movement, indigenous peoples' movement, women's movement, and Dalit movement and it shall provide for the respect to the gallant immortal martyrs and the warriors disappeared by the state during those movements.
4. The constitution shall recognize the values and principles like people's supremacy, civil freedom, federalism, fundamental rights, freedom of the press, independent and pro-people judiciary, legal state, fully proportional representation, and a periodical election system guaranteeing adult franchise.
5. Abolishing all forms and remnants of feudalism and foreign monopoly comprador and bureaucratic capitalism, a national industrial capital shall be developed and the country shall be made free and independent economically.
6. Provisions to repeal the treaties and agreements, unequal and against the national interest, including the one signed in 1950 with India, and to regulate the open international border shall be made.
7. Abolishing all forms of the feudal oppression and imperialist-expansionist colony imposed upon the Nepalese people, Nepal shall be made an independent and sovereign state.
8. A provision providing for the party freedom and participation in the state power shall be made for all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist patriotic, democratic and leftist forces.
9. As the major forces of the state are the workers, peasants and toiling masses of the people, their leading role in all the organs of the state shall be established.
10. Eliminating all kinds of suppression and discrimination based on class, caste, region, gender, religion, the value of equality shall be maintained in political, economic, and cultural sectors. The rights and welfare of the people of all oppressed class, nation, gender, region including the workers and peasants shall be made.
11. Mobilising all natural and human resources of the state in a proper and organized way, the problems relating to the development and livelihood of the suppressed people shall be conducted in a fast pace, and the country shall be made prosperous, harmonious and developed economically, politically, and culturally.
12. The people's constitution shall be based on the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist elements.

Citizenship

13. The policy of citizenship shall follow the values of defending the national independence and establishing people's rights. There shall be a provision of federal citizenship with regional identity. There shall be two kinds of citizenship: on the basis of family lineage and naturalized

Language and Religion

14. No language shall have a prerogative right. All mother tongues shall have the status of the nation language. Multi-lingual policy shall be adopted for official purposes.
15. No religion shall enjoy privilege. People shall be given the freedom to religion. Religious suppression and encroachment as well as forced conversion of religion shall be prohibited. The state remain separate from the religion and shall be declared secular.

Fundamental Rights and Civil Duties

16. The programme of revolutionary land-reform shall be implemented. The right to the land shall be limited, and any land falling beyond the limitation shall be seized without any compensation and handed over to the landless, squatters and serfs. The plotting of the land being brought about by the broker and landmafias shall be regulated.
17. The state shall regulate the comprador capital based on foreign monopoly. For effecting the same, the state shall impose a limit on the right to property based on the source of property and its operation.
18. The right to food, residence, employment, basic health and education shall be recognized as the fundamental rights.
19. The preferential right of the indigenous peoples and local people to natural resources and means (land, water and jungle) shall be provided for.
20. No provision in the constitution shall be made for a law that punishes anyone for his or her past offence.
21. A provision shall be made for the conservation, development and promotion of national, scientific and pro-people culture.

Structuring of the State and Division of the State Power

22. Eliminating the old state regime of the comprador and bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism, a state regime based on the unity of the workers-peasants shall be established.
23. The form of the governance of the state and its operating system shall be based on the principle of democratic centralism.
24. While restructuring the state, federalism with identity of the indigenous peoples, Madheshis and the people of the backward and oppressed zones shall be provisioned . In this regard, the structure of 14 states as proposed since long shall be basically adopted, and a conclusion can be reached at after discussions and consultations required with the

stakeholders, peoples and the political parties concerned.

25. In the federal structure, there shall be three levels - federal, regional and local. Moreover, specific autonomous regions shall be formed in areas where there is relatively less population but high density of the oppressed nationalities.
26. The relation of the federal, regional, and specific autonomous areas shall be based on the principle of co-operation, co-existence, and coordination.
27. The federal states shall be autonomous. The right of oppressed nations to self-determination shall be accepted in principle.
28. In regard to the division of the jurisdictions and rights between the centre and regions, the army, currency, communication, civil aviation, foreign affairs, security of international border, mega projects, and foreign aids fall under the jurisdictions of the central government whereas the land, water, forests, mineral resources, works and developments, health, education, drinking water, housing, transportation, language and culture, tourism, labour, internal security etc. come, as per the policy formulated by the federal legislative, under the regional government. The specific autonomous regions also shall have the right to exercise these rights.

Election System

29. In all organs of the state, a system of full proportional representation of the workers-peasants, women, indigenous peoples, Madheshis, Dalits, Muslims and the people of the backward and oppressed regions in the ratio of their population shall be provided for. The peasants and workers should be given priority and at least 51% representation from each shall be provided for.
30. The election system shall be fully proportional and based on the ratio of the population.
31. There shall be a provision of prerogative rights for the women, Dalits, Muslims and the handicapped citizens. Each of them shall be offered 10% more than their population as compensation in all organs of the state
32. A national security policy shall be formulated. As per the security policy, the security shall be managed from people's level by providing military training to all youths of 18 years.
33. A new structure of the defense organs of the state shall be formed. The internal security shall be managed as per the federal and autonomy system.

The House of People's Representatives

34. The Federal House of People's Representatives shall be formed with the representatives from the regional Houses of People's Representatives and political parties, and, from oppressed classes and communities on the proportional basis and by conducting proportional electoral system.
35. There shall be no provision for ruling and opposition factions in the House of People's

Representatives. All parties and people's representatives shall enjoy equal freedom.

36. The House of People's Representatives shall generally adopt consensus in its decision-making process. The issues like amendment and interpretation of the constitution, citizenship, water resources, and those relating to the national independence, treaties and agreements shall be decided with a two-third majority. Decision on other issues may be taken with a simple majority. However, the consent of the people's representatives of the specific or autonomous regions shall be a must in the cases that are related to that particular region.

The Regional House of People's Representatives

37. While forming any Regional House of People's Representatives, and specific autonomous regions, a full proportional direct electoral system as per the particularity and population structure of that particular region shall be adopted.
38. The Regional Chief shall be appointed by the head of the state as per the recommendation of the regional House of People's Representatives.
39. The House of People's Representatives of the region and specific autonomous region shall have the right to make laws for itself.

The Executive

40. The concerned House of People's Representative shall form its Council of Ministers and appoint head of the government. While forming the Council of Ministers, the ministers shall be selected and appointed from among the members of the House of the People's Representatives in such a way that the regions, political parties, and oppressed classes and communities are proportionally represented. Fifty-one percentage priority shall go to the people's representatives from the working class while carrying out such representation.
41. The head of the state shall be elected by at least two-third majority of the members of the federal and the regional House of People's Representatives.
42. The Council of Ministers shall undertake daily administration, manage for peace and security, and carry out the works and development and other public service functions.
43. The decision-making process in the Council of Ministers shall generally be based on consensus. However, the issues of peace and security that have remained undecided for three times shall be resolved by a simple majority.
44. The executive bodies like the federal council of ministers as well as others at all levels shall be responsible to the concerned house of representatives of the concerned level.

Local Body

45. The local bodies (village or town) shall be formed in all regions and specific autonomous regions as per territory and dense settlement of the communities. The formation of such bodies shall be made by a direct proportional election system. The council

itself shall play the role of executive, legislative, and semi-judiciary in matters that are related to peace and security.

Judiciary

46. The judiciary shall be formed at federal, regional, local and specific autonomous levels to provide people with justice in a free, impartial and responsible way.
47. The formation of judiciary shall be done by the chief of the concerned state at the recommendation of the concerned council of people's representatives. The judiciary at the local level shall be formed by the chief of state at the recommendation of the local council of people making a proportional participation of the oppressed classes and communities.

The qualified working class people from every community shall receive the priority in the formation of the judiciary.

48. The judiciary shall be responsible to the legislative of the concerned level.

Conclusion

49. A provision shall be made in the People's Constitution for marching towards the direction of socialism by accomplishing new democratic revolution by the means of people's democratic state power.
50. Necessary modifications and amendments can be made to the concept of people's constitution by taking into consideration people's advice, counseling, and suggestions.
51. This concept of people's constitution forwarded by the party shall be given the final form by the House of People's Representatives formed during the people's movement and struggles and forging needful consensus with the patriotic, democratic and leftist forces.

Date: 2071, Mangsir 25

Communist Party of Nepal – Maoist

Central Office.

Political Report

**Dear Comrades,
Heartfelt revolutionary greetings!**

The Seventh Congress of our party is being accomplished in 21 years after the Unity Congress. This is a matter of pleasure and pride for all of us. In these 21 years, there have been great changes in areas of national and international politics, in the two-line struggle and class struggle as well. In the life of our party, a series of unity, struggle, split and new-unity on the new basis has been developing. In the front of class struggle, we are marching ahead amid historical credence and grandeur of the decade-long people's war and a catastrophe of setback. In the process of people's war, we marched ahead by establishing People's Liberation Army, Nepal, (PLA) base areas and the new people's power; and we were able to deliver new message of people's liberation to the world from the country of Mt. Everest. In this period, many brave men and women have established best records of dedication, bravery and self-sacrifice. During the people's war, people of different ranks and files including workers, peasants, women, Dalits, indigenous nationalities, Madhesis, Muslims and masses of all ranks had had an unprecedented participation, support, best-wishes and commitments. However, it is an irony that a serious kind of right neo-revisionist deviation emerged in the party and the great people's war faced a terrible setback. At present, breaking relations with the right neo-revisionist, we are moving forward with new commitments to achieve the ideals of socialism and communism and we are leading the Nepalese New Democratic Revolution in a new way by raising the banner of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism (MLM) to a new height. Although revolution has encountered a momentary setback, final victory is certain.

A lot of fighters have established the best records of sacrifice, bravery and self-sacrifice in the course of decade-long great people's war, people's movement and the overall process of revolution. The Central Committee Member (CCM) Comrade Ram Brikshya Yadav attained martyrdom during preparations of people's war. Just after the initiation of people's war, comrade Dil Bahadur Ramtel became its first martyr. In the course of people's war, many comrades and brave fighters including Politburo Member (PBM) comrade Suresh Wagle, CCM comrades, Rit Bahadur Khadka, Mohan Chandra Gautam, Sherman Kunwar, Nep Bahadur KC, Kim Bahadur Thapa and the central advisor comrade Tejman Gharti attained martyrdom. At this great historic occasion, when the Seventh Congress is going to be accomplished, we would first of all like to express our heartfelt tribute to all those brave immortal martyrs who attained great martyrdom during people's war, mass movement and the overall process of revolution. During the great people's war, the state made disappear many of our party leaders, cadres and common people including our party CCM comrade Danda Pani Neupane. At this moment, we would like to express high regard to all those brave fighters who have been disappeared by the state. Similarly, many

fighters got disabled and wounded during the great people's war. Our deep respect goes to all those who were thus made disabled. Besides, we express our respect and gratitude to the families of martyrs and disappeared fighters who have been playing a vital role in the course of great people's war and revolution as a whole.

1 – International Situation

1 – The world imperialism today is in the phase of globalisation. With the collapse of Soviet Social Imperialism and the end of Cold War, the US imperialism got an opportunity to speedily exercise unrivalled hegemony and domination all across the world. Citing the fall of Soviet Union, the apologists of imperialism trumpeted the end of communism and the victory of capitalism. On account of rapid development of information technology and its control by imperialism, the publicity and advertisement of the strategy of unipolar world system and globalisation has been extensively enhanced.

However, coming to this date, the strategy of US imperialism to establish unipolar world system has been proved a complete failure. China has developed into world's second economy. It has been expanding its influence in the world. Russia is also moving ahead competing with the US. Thus, multi-polar rivalry has been the important characteristic of the 21st century. The dominance of imperialist financial capital and multinational companies has been expanding widely and swiftly. The World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Trade Organisation (WTO) have been used as its mechanisms to this end. At this time, the entire economic, political, cultural and military sectors have been under the web of financial capital and imperialist globalization.

2 – Following the incident of attack over Twin Tower of the USA in September 2001, the pro-American imperialist powers aligned with America in the so-called world-wide campaign against terrorism the US launched. The US imperialism has been utilising this incident as an excuse to suppress anti-imperialist forces of the world and entire just struggles including the national liberation movements. Not only that, the US government has claimed that it has right 'to make pre-emptive attack' for its defence if it got pre-signals of attacks over its interest. If America succeeds in establishing this claim, it can get so-called legitimacy to attack any country of the world whenever it doubts of danger over its security.

In this process, making a false pretext of having kept the Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), America and its military alliance, the NATO, made a joint military attack upon Iraq and destroyed it. It should be noted that even the UN arms inspection team had made a report that Iraq did not possess any WMD. And after the US got complete control over Iraq, it has now begged "pardon" for it did not find such weapons and launched a military attack in suspicion of it.

The US imperialism has been imposing economic blockade against Cuba and North Korea since long for they refused to follow its order and maintained the political system it did not like. It has time and again terrified Cuba, North Korea and Iran with the threat of attack.

3 – The US imperialism, which aimed at consolidating its hegemony and control

in the world by intensifying the process of financialisation, consistent with the concept of neo-liberalism, has been entrapped in serious economic crisis since 2007/08. According to Bureau of Economic Analysis, the GDP growth of the US in 1930 was 1.3% and in 1940 it had increased to 5.9%. However, this growth declined to 2.6% in 2009. Loan increased rapidly and major banks went bankrupt. It affected in production and the overall areas of life. The USA, a country known to be the largest economy of the world, got entrapped in an acute crisis financially. This US-borne crisis seriously engulfed the Europe and also affected many other countries of the Third World. In addition, the Occupy Wall Street campaign, which is said to be against 1% exploiter and for 99% exploited, is going on and it is expanding to other countries too.

4 – There are various reasons at work for the crisis in US economy. In this context, mainly the profit-centred overproduction and anarchy, the growing investment including in unproductive sectors such as housing and military expansion, and the separation of financial sector from production can be taken as the major causes behind this. This is the crisis of world imperialism and imperialism cannot be free from this. However, it is for sure that the entire efforts of the US imperialism will concentrate on the development of financial capital, profit and globalization and so on.

5 – The economic downturn, all over the world, in general, and Europe, in particular, is mounting one after another. Greece has taken rescue fund of total 240 billion Euros, twice, from different countries on the condition that it agrees with the austerity measures of reducing workers' salaries, pensions, employments and increasing the income tax. But, the imperialists have used this new loan to get their old loan paid and thus there is no possibility that the Greek economy will improve from this. It is not indeed in the interest of the people and nation, because this kind of loan further widens the gap between the rich and poor. Greece is on the verge of bankruptcy whereas the conditions of Italy, Spain and Portugal are getting critical. Keeping in view that any country may collapse at any time because of the economic crisis, Germany has established an emergency rescue fund of 650 billion Euros. The incidents of demonstration of people in millions in the most part of Europe against austerity measures have been normal. It has been estimated that the European economic crisis may eventually lead to the split of Euro Zone.

6 – The main target of the US imperialism has been to expand its empire throughout the world. For this it has adopted a strategy of encircling several countries including China, suppressing the anti-imperialist national liberation, democratic and socialist movements all over the world, extending the process of financialisation the world over and building a single imperialist world political system.

7 – The country, which spends the most in the military sector in the world, is America. There are a big number of US military camps in around 150 countries of the world. It has, on the one hand, exposed the war-mongering character of the US imperialism in the world, and on the other, it is undergoing a serious economic crisis. The economic growth rate of the US is at a very slow pace.

8 – At present, the US imperialism, on the one hand, is dreaming of establishing a globalised state under its leadership and on the other, other power centres are scared of

this dream. Even though many European countries are members of the NATO and are thus involved in the alliance with America, but in spite of this, all European countries in and out of NATO have been trying to maintain and strengthen European Union, Euro Zone and Euro as their independent identity.

9 – On the one hand, big international power centres such as China and Russia have been in harmony with the US in many issues and on the other they are alarmed by America's unipolar world system and the globalised imperialism. These two international powers have closely been associated with the "Shanghai Cooperation Organisation" with high caution on American military preparation and its campaign to expand its empire. Economically, China has attained second position in the world and its presence in the global set up has been strong. Both from economic and military point of view, Russia is still powerful.

10 – Similarly, the countries like Canada, Australia and South Korea have been, on the one hand, going ahead in cooperation with the US, and on the other, they also have problems of their identity. Today, Japan exists in the globe as such a country which is compelled to survive with its neck attached with that of the US by forgetting the horror of massive massacres at its heart, the Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Even then, the patriots and self-respecting Japanese people cannot forget that common grief and humiliation.

11 – In order to evade its economic crisis and capture untold oil resources, the US imperialism has been carrying out open military intervention in the Arab world today in the name of democracy and humanity and it has been intensifying this process. The NATO, in which many European countries are included, has also been involved in the US military operations. Libya has been the second scapegoat after Iraq of such attack that has caused a huge economic as well as human loss. Although the rulers in some of the Arab countries are dictators too, but the so-called democratic campaign carried out by America-led NATO has not been against all such dictators but has been against their opponents. This incident has ridiculed the slogan of so-called human right uttered by the US imperialism and its accomplices. Presently, centre of their attack is Syria.

12 – People of the Middle East have since long been strongly opposing the US imperialist suppression and intrusion. The Israeli expansionism has been an obedient servant of the US imperialism in this region and the people of this region including the Palestinians have been boldly countering it.

13 – Despite threats, Iran has not kneeled down before the US imperialism and it has maintained its self-respect till the date. The Summit of the non-aligned nations of this year was also organized in Tehran in opposition to the will of US imperialism and its followers. It has struck a severe blow to the American ego.

14 – The oppressed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been the targets of US penetration and intervention. North Korea in East Asia and Cuba in Latin America have been the targets of this type, and the US has been imposing economic blockade against them since long. By showing themselves firm in defence of their national independence and chastity, these two countries have presented best examples of patriotism in the world. Likewise, a strong voice is being raised in Latin America against the US im-

perialism, in the defence of national independence and in favour of political reform. Bolivarian Revolution freed many Latin American countries from the Spanish imperialism in the first and the second decade of the 19th century and now a wave of Bolivarian campaign against the US imperialism is going on in those countries. And it has had an impact in other Latin American countries too. People and also the rebels of Mexico have been playing an important role for their self- respect and liberation.

15 – The contradictions have been intensifying among different powers in the world today. Powers like Russia and China have been directly or indirectly opposing America in many issues. This contradiction

has become clear in relation to various countries including Syria. The USA has supplied all modern and sophisticated weapons as well as financial assistance to the rebels of Syria. Contrary to this, Russia and China are in support of Assad government. In spite of this, war does not seem to be the main trend in the world today.

16 – On the basis of aforesaid analysis of the world situation, it can easily be said there are various types of contradictions in the world today. The basic contradictions of the world at present are as follows:

. The contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations and people. . The contradiction between bourgeoisie and proletariat in the capitalist imperialist countries. . The inter-imperialist contradiction.

Among these contradictions, the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and people has been the principal contradiction in the world since long and this is the principal contradiction in the world even today. The US imperialism at present is the main enemy of the world.

17 – Today, on the one hand, the US imperialism is expanding its influence in the countries of South Asia, and on the other, these countries have been victims of exploitation of the Indian expansionism. When seen in the global context, Indian expansionism in itself has been oppressed by US imperialism. The nuclear agreement signed in 2005 between India and the US is a serious blow over national independence of the Indian people. The progressive forces and people of India have been opposing this treaty.

A naked intervention has been made on an important South Asian country, Afghanistan, by the American and European NATO army. The US imperialism has encroached Pakistani territory in the pretext of hunting Taliban. The way the US army entered into Pakistan without informing Pakistani authority, attacked the 'Al-Qaida' chief Bin Laden in his secret shelter in Pakistan and murdered him has created a big debate in Pakistan. As a result of these incidents, the nuclear treaty of the US with India and other agreements, the close relation that Pakistan had with America since long has now further soured.

Nepal has for long been in the focus of America. It has found Nepal, which is situated between powerful countries like China and India, suitable for its foreign moves. American and European imperialist countries think Nepal a very proper place to operate anti-China activities. Although the influence of US imperialism has been increasing in South Asian countries, the Indian expansionism has been the main oppressor in this region

in general and Nepal in particular.

On the other, there have since long been many class struggles, people's movements and armed struggles against feudalism, imperialism and expansionism in the South Asian region. Also the wave of national liberation movement has been intensively developing in this region. Although, the Tamil liberation movement of Sri Lanka, which went for long, has been suppressed with the strength of arms and armies but, the people's democratic and national liberation movement have been moving ahead at different levels in the countries including India, Nepal and Afghanistan. When we analyse economic and political condition of the present world, it becomes clear that the present era is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. In the global level, the US imperialism is the main danger and a barrier for revolution. Nevertheless, the Indian expansionism is the main danger and obstacle in the specific condition of Nepalese revolution.

18 – In the world today, people of the oppressed countries have been persistently struggling against imperialism, in general and the US imperialism in particular. The national liberation movements have developed powerful in Asia, Africa and South America. The flame of revolution is blazing in the South Asian countries too. Although the Indian ruling classes have launched deadly military campaigns like "Operation Green Hunt" against the people's war, the CPI (Maoist) has been waging against the state power since long in India, the people's war is marching head with its relative success. Although the neo-revisionists have declared the "end of people's war" by betraying and reneging the great people's war, which was extensively advancing since 1996 in Nepal, the Nepalese revolution has not ended rather it is developing in a new way. In Peru, the people's war that was marching ahead powerfully in the 1980s has had a big setback with the arrest of leaders leading the war, but it is trying to rise. The

people's war in the Philippines although in a slow pace is going on. Likewise, communist revolutionaries have been playing important roles for revolution in different parts of the world. When seen this way, what is clear is that Asia, Africa and Latin America have become the centres of revolution even at present and revolution is going ahead amidst various ups and downs as a main trend in the world today. The right revisionism is the main danger today to propel the revolution along correct direction and it needs to carry out struggle against this.

19 – The situation discussed above clarifies that:

. The world is becoming multi-polar no matter what the various shades of rightists talk of unipolar world. . The imperialist forces including the US imperialism have not been strengthening rather weakening than before mainly because they are dependent on financial capital. . Imperialism is not "invincible" as the apologists of imperialism publicise to terrorise the general masses and the revolutionary forces; it can be defeated in various fronts. . The revolutionary situation is not as adverse as uttered by the escapists and the capitulationists, who say, "The revolutionary situation is so adverse that it is not at all possible to raise the revolutionary movement". Revolutionary movement can be raised and they are being raised too.

20 – In total, on the one hand, the objective condition for revolution is getting ma-

ture today, and on the other, the subjective condition is still weak. The imperialism has grown more and more crisis-ridden today and there can be no appropriate solution to this other than revolution. In this situation, the communist revolutionaries should keep in mind the following things and formulate their policies accordingly.

First: continue developing propaganda struggle against world imperialism and mainly the US; make preparations for revolution and initiate and develop revolution corresponding to the given situation of the given country.

Second: develop mutual understanding, working unity and united front at different levels with the anti-imperialist and anti-expansionist forces and go ahead accordingly.

Third: continue developing fraternal relation with parties that have adopted MLM and revolutionary line.

Fourth: vigorously wage ideological struggle against all sorts of revisionism and mainly right revisionism and expose them.

Fifth: the entire revolutionary forces should make forceful effort to prepare, initiate and develop the revolutionary movement in their respective countries.

2 – National Situation

The great people's war waged under the leadership of CPN (Maoist) and in the participation of millions of Nepalese people has been announced to have ended and it has thus suffered a serious setback. The PLA, which played a major role during people's war, has been forced to surrender and its existence eliminated, and many fighters of the PLA have been raising strong voices against this. The opportunist section of the CPN (Maoist) has degenerated into right neo-revisionism. Before people's aspiration and expectation to write new constitution through the Constituent Assembly (CA) was materialised it has been hammer-blown and dissolved. The class enemies are conspiring to push the country back to the old situation. In order for the liberation of Nepal and Nepalese people and the accomplishment of Nepalese revolution, a situation that requires pondering seriously has emerged.

The country has now changed into a semi-feudal and neo-colonial condition. The state power run by the comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal class has been politically, economically and culturally entrapped in the vortex of serious crisis. The problems pertinent to the defence of national independence, establishment of democracy and people's livelihood have been even more critical. The political parties that represent the old state and class have been losing people's confidence. The neo-revisionist group has completed its course of kneeling down before the class enemies. This group is

engaged in corruption and treachery to revolution. The question of people's liberation has become serious and complex.

The agents of imperialism and expansionism have been entertaining full sway in

the state power today. The process of brokerage is intense in economy, politics, culture and all walks of social life. It is a matter of serious concerns for every self-respecting Nepalese people and national chastity of the country.

At this time, the country is in a very critical condition. In this circumstance, it is necessary to concretely study and analyse the national condition to determine our policy and line and perform the task of revolution.

1. Question of the defence of national independence

The question of defence of national independence of Nepal is related to the intervention and oppression carried out by imperialism in general and the Indian expansionism in particular. For a country to be really sovereign, it is necessary to defend territorial integrity and protect national independence in economic, political and cultural arenas. As the Nepalese society is in a semi-feudal and neo-colonial condition and recently it has become a victim of serious national treason, the defence of national independence has become even more serious.

Right after the British imperialism left India, the 1950 unequal treaty signed with India has been extremely disastrous to Nepal. This treaty has sustained the Sugauli Treaty in a different form, and through this, the oppression carried on by British imperialism has been inherited to India. This treaty has obligated a weak nation to compete with the powerful one. The most dangerous aspect of this treaty is the exchange of letters associated with it. In that exchange of letters there are many provisions that accept Indian control on the national security of Nepal. Recently, keeping this unequal treaty at the centre, a lot of unequal treaties on water resources, trade, transportation and national security have been signed.

Agreements on water resources, such as Koshi and Gandaki treaties, have proved damaging to Nepal. These agreements have been extremely unequal from both the angles of irrigation and hydro-electricity, and they have had a very adverse impact on Nepal's right to utilize her water resource. In this process, anti-national agreements such as Tanakpur, Integrated Mahakali and the Pancheswor agreements have been inked. Of late, anti-national agreements such as Upper Karnali, Arun III have been signed. These are the agreements the Nepal government underwent with Indian companies bypassing parliament and ill-attempts are being made to implement them. Not only that, an agreement of high dam in Koshi has been reached with India in an unauthorised way and this agreement too is extremely anti-national.

India has been conspiring to cause inundation in Nepal during the rainy season and ensure irrigation facility in India during the dry season by building dams along the Nepal-India border. In areas like Laxmanpur, Rasiawala, Khurdalotan and Mahali Sagar, many dams of these kinds have been erected and many more are under construction. These activities are against the national interest of Nepal.

Border encroachment by India has become very serious. Till now, more than 61,000 hectares of land has been encroached in more than 65 places of around 21 districts of Nepal. Of the encroached places, it is found that 5,000 hectares of land has been usurped in

Kalapani area while 1,600 hectares of land has been encroached in Susta and Mechi area. In addition to this, India has been uprooting and displacing or causing disappear the border pillars in many places by entering Nepalese territory illegally, building temples and huts in the No Man's Land region and thereby terrorizing the Nepalese people. The government has kept mum on all these questions. Even the senior leaders who claim to be communists remained tight-lipped on these issues when they had led the government.

Nepal has been oppressed by Indian expansionism in the field of trade and transportation. India has been milking and causing to suffer Nepal as a result of her landlocked condition. Nepal has been deprived of free transportation facility to conduct trade with the third country as per the international norms. Citing so-called special relation with Nepal, India has been interfering in Nepal's foreign affairs and creating obstacles in her effort to develop independent relations with other countries.

The agreements, understandings and BIPPA signed in connection with foreign investment, liberalization and market economy and other issues like policy about citizenship are related with the question of national independence of Nepal. It is evident that the earlier ruling governments of comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal class had adopted national capitulationist policy on these issues.

Following the World War II, the imperialist and expansionist countries have taken a policy of establishing neo-colony in preference to direct and open colony. The activities of foreign power centres have been intensely escalating in Nepal and there is sharp competition among them to bring Nepal under their influence. Nepal has been the victim of neo-colonial oppression. At the present time, the defence of national independence has been inseparably linked with the struggle against neo colonialism.

2. The question of democracy

Nepalese people have been entrapped in a labyrinth of feudal oppression. They had in the past become victims not only of the autocratic monarchy but also of the dictatorship of comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie. Several mass struggles and movements, armed struggles and people's wars have been waged in Nepal for the sake of democracy. In this course, people have kept many records of endurance, sacrifices and bravery. And, in this process republican set up is in place by doing away with monarchy. The country has become a secular state from the religious Hindu State. It is a matter of pleasure. But, real democracy has not been achieved as yet.

Nepalese people have not achieved desired result from either of the people's movement and the agreement to conduct CA election in 1950, the people's movements of 1980 and 1990 and the decade-long people's war initiated in 1996 and many other movements carried on in this course. Although, the CA election was held in 2008 and republic has been established following the decade-long people's war and the subsequent peace process, the CA has been dissolved without making constitution. And the country is faced with a serious constitutional crisis. The destiny of republic is uncertain and it is unsure whether the people's democratic rights will be ensured.

Classes and communities including workers, peasants, women, Dalits, indigenous

nationalities, Madhesis, Muslims and people from the backward regions have been struggling for the cause of democracy and other rights in Nepal for long. The Nepalese national bourgeoisie and various strata of petty bourgeoisie also have been awakening and struggling for democracy. However, there is no situation and possibility as yet to establish their rights including democracy.

In the process of different mass movements and glorious people's war, many brave, immortal martyrs have kept best records of sacrifice and bravery for the liberation of country and people. In this process, many revolutionary fighters have been disappeared by the state. Similarly, in the process of these movements and revolutions, a number of freedom fighters have been wounded and disabled. The question of establishing democracy in the country is inseparably entwined with such devotions and sacrifices. It is necessary to establish the rights of martyrs' and disappeared fighters' families and those of the wounded and disabled ones. However, no remarkable work has been done in this regard.

There are many illusions about the term democracy in Nepal and it is necessary to be clear on it. First of all, there is a widespread illusion that democracy is understood as a thing common for all classes and communities i.e. an illusion that democracy is for all. In a real sense, that is not the case. In a class society, democracy is relative to a certain class and it cannot be common for all. Secondly, it is wrongly believed that democracy is achieved after the end of monarchy and the establishment of republic. Yes, certainly, the monarchy had been a main barrier for democracy and the end of monarchy and establishment of republic is a significant step to this end. However, this much is not everything. The bourgeoisie had established republic by doing away with monarchy or feudalism, and that was a great progressive step in a part of the history. But, in another phase of history, the bourgeoisie has turned reactionary. And as such, it has become an enemy of the democracy of the proletariat and oppressed people. Besides, there are also examples that the bourgeoisie has brought the monarchy back. The end of monarchy does not necessarily mean an end to feudal or landlord class and nor has this happened. Seen in this way, in the context of Nepal, not only monarchy but also bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie as well as big landlord class are the enemies of democracy for the oppressed classes and

communities and it should be seriously grasped. A shrewd reactionary gambit concocted to protect the right of comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie by creating a phobia of monarchy should be exposed.

Likewise, while talking about democracy there have been some illusions on the question of national liberation and federalism. Many hold a view that the question of national liberation and federalism with identity is not associated with the question of class emancipation and national liberation of the country as a whole. This kind of opinion is based on reformist, revisionist, imperialist and expansionist thinking. The liberation of the oppressed nations and federalism based on identity cannot be imagined by separating it from the question of class emancipation and the national liberation of the country as a whole.

In addition to this, feudal Brahminist and unitarian elements have been very negative on the question of national liberation and federalism based on identity. Opposing all

such thinking and tendencies, it is necessary to understand in total that the accomplishment of people's interest and establishment of democracy is a unified movement and liberation of the entire oppressed masses of the people including workers, peasants, women, Dalits, indigenous nationalities, Madhesi and Muslim and go ahead accordingly.

The contradiction that surfaced on the question of writing constitution all through 4 years in the CA has been very serious and complex. The regressive and status quo forces did not want to make constitution in favour of the people. Their main interest was to turn the country back. Quite opposite to that there were forces that wanted to write new constitution in favour of the people. Real contradiction was between these two forces. Right at this point, there was another group, the right neo-revisionist clique. In essence, this group was with the regressive and status quo forces. But, in form it wanted to posture oneself in favour of the people. The contradiction that had erupted among the regressive, status quo and the neo-revisionist forces, was not of course centred on whether or not to write constitution in favour of the people, but mainly centred on who should lead the government. During four years, no serious debate was held among the leadership of these forces on the content of constitution. The leadership of neo-revisionist group never carried any serious discussion on the issues related to People's Federal Republic and the rights of the workers, peasants, women, Dalits etc. Eventually, this group abandoned the issue of federalism based on the identity of the oppressed nationality. This group, however, staged a drama to show that it was for federalism based on identity, only when the revolutionary section organised signature campaign in its favour. This should be understood well.

The CA election in Nepal did not take place under the leadership of revolutionary communists. Although, the CPN (Maoist) had a leading position in the CA, it did not get majority. The CPN (Maoist) led the government twice but, its leadership had already capitulated before the reactionary class and the state power. In this situation, there was no possibility of taking initiative by this group to write constitution in favour of the people and it did not happen either. Although the party had decided to write constitution with anti-feudal and anti-imperialist content based on the People's Federal Republic, the leadership sided with democratic republic against party decision. Besides, the leadership, instead of taking initiative to write constitution in favour of the people, dissolved the CA itself. On the other, no plan was made to create public pressure from the street. Not only the PLA stationed in the cantonment was dissolved and liquidated, it was even captured by the state army in the instruction of the neo-revisionist group.

At the end, the essence is that it is not anything other than a daydream to think of people's rights and writing of people's constitution by keeping the reactionary state intact and joining neck with the anti-people political forces. Efforts made and experiences gained during the four years' course of writing constitution have proved it clearly.

3. Question of economy and people's livelihood

The question of people's livelihood is related with economy. The Nepalese economy has been attacked by comprador and bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism as well. Growing intervention and domination on the part of neo-liberalism, privatisation and imperialist globalisation has been destroying the Nepalese economy.

Nepal is an agricultural country and the agricultural sector has had an important contribution on the whole economy. 76% of the whole population is still dependent upon agriculture. And, 35% revenue of the country comes from agriculture. But, the agricultural sector has not developed because of feudal land-ownership, neo-colonisation and old production relation. The Nepalese agriculture is still in the state of subsistent economy and the process of commercialisation is proceeding only in a limited way.

Nepal living standards survey 2010/2011 shows that the number of people below poverty line in Nepal is 25.16% of the total population, whereas, the Oxford University survey, in support of the UN development programme, showed it to be 65% in 2010. Such a big difference in data of course creates doubt in its accuracy. The economists in a website www.project-syndicate.org inscribe that out of 7 billion people in the world 50% of them survive below poverty line.

According to decile class group, the annual average income of the poorest stratum in Nepal is only Rs 6,222 which covers 1.5 % of the whole income, whereas, the annual average income of the richest stratum is Rs 164,401 which involves 39.5% of the total income. The number of unemployed and semi-employed youths is huge. The condition of entire poor peasants including Haruwa, Charuwa, Hali, Halia, Gothala, Kamaiya etc. (Various kinds of domestic workers - tr.) is very serious.

The agricultural sector has to bear a heavy burden of liberalisation, privatisation and market economy. The government has ignored it. The government is sidelining from its responsibility to arrange chemical fertilizers, seeds, technologies, agro-loans, subsidies etc. The market problem for agro-products like fruits, vegetables, cattle and birds are serious.

There are different kinds of industries in Nepal. On the basis of nature of production and the works involved in it, the industries are related with agriculture and forest, energy, mine, tourism, construction, communication, information technology and services. In the same manner, on the basis of investment and form, Nepalese industries can be categorized as small enterprises, traditional and domestic industries and small, medium and big industries. The speed at which the industries should have developed has not been so. No serious attention has been paid to prepare material prerequisite to develop industry and make agriculture its base.

Nepal is an agricultural country. Agriculture should be regarded as a base when one talks of industrial development in Nepal. But, industries and businesses based on agriculture have not been developed. The agro-sector has remained unnoticed. The main reason behind this is that the feudal production relation still continues and the country goes along the guideline of neo-liberalism.

Following the reinstatement of multi-party system, the policies were adopted as to encourage economic liberalization and globalization and the foreign investment was further emphasized. As its continuation, this very policy was further amended in 2010. Today, the foreign investment has been emphasized as the main aspect of economic liberalization and 2012/2013 has been publicized as Investment Years. However, in spite of this, there has been no foreign investment as the government has expected.

Today, the problem of industrial sector is serious. If we look at Gross Domestic Production, the agriculture, which should have been in the first priority, produces 35.68%, industry, the second priority, covers only 14.0% and service sector, the third priority, yields 50.32% of GDP. The order has been reversed. Service, agriculture and industry are in the first, second and the third place respectively.

The concept of public private partnership started from the period of eighth plan in Nepal. In view of that, from 1997 to now, more than 30 public industries have been abrogated and privatized and this process has been intensified. The foreigners are benefited from privatization and it has created a serious obstacle in the development of independent national economy of Nepal. Today in the industry and businesses the multinational company's domination has been increasing and WB, IMF and WTO have been controlling the whole Nepalese economy.

Building of economic plan had begun from 1956 and now the country is in the period of three years interim plan after the tenth one. In the course of presenting three years interim plan, the National Planning Commission of the Government of Nepal says, "Even more than half a century of our effort for planned development has passed, the economic growth has been unable to meet the expected speed. Although, some success has been achieved in the sectors like road, irrigation, drinking water,

communication, literacy, life expectancy, child death rate, mother death rate etc. the country as a whole is still in a state of under-developed nation." (Three years plan, page 16, Government of Nepal, June 2011). Clearly, even in a long period from 1956 to now the country is in a state of underdeveloped nation. It is very strange.

The condition of trade and commerce in Nepal is very serious. On the one hand, the country is associated with WTO and SAFTA and the regional trade institution like BIMST-EC while on the other as a result of landlocked position and India-oriented economy the problem of trade balance has been serious. Apart from this, through a concept of Special Economic Zone, ill-efforts have been made to make Nepal's trade fully India oriented. Nepal has not been able to become a competent nation in the world and region and no such possibility even exists in the present situation.

Nepal's maximum trade is with India. Nepal is dependent on India in foreign trade. Total export to India is 90% out of the total Nepal's export business in South Asia while import from India is 98%. In the Indo-Nepal trade, the goods exported to India are raw and cheap ones while the imported ones are readymade commodities, expensive materials and fuels. Consequently, Nepal has been entangled in a serious trade deficit.

On the present situation, the report of the National Planning Commission writes, "During the period of three years' interim plan, the trade deficit has increased in a huge amount and as a result it has created an adverse impact even in payment balance. In the fiscal year 2009/2010, the export was Rs 61 billion and import reached Rs 376.5 billion, resulting import to export ratio to be 6:1. The trade deficit has reached to Rs 315.5 billion. The trade deficit has become about 26.6% of the total GDP." (Three years plan, page 118, Government of Nepal, June 2011)

Now in the country, a target of attaining Millennium Development Goal till 2015 is being put forward with a big noise. Under this goal, the questions of creating employment, decreasing economic inequality, achieving regional balance, improving living standard of the Nepalese people, eliminating poverty etc. have been mentioned. In this context, the government data mentions that the economic growth rate has increased, the trade deficit has declined, per-capita income has increased etc. In fact, this kind of presentation is based on fake data.

Country's revenue has become remittance and weather centred. This kind of revenue is very unstable and it is a situation of foreign dependence. If one is proud of it, it is only a sign of narcissism and ignorance.

The foreign reactionaries have been milking out natural resources and means from the country today. The country, which is known to be the second richest country for water resource in the world, has been suffering from load shedding but is proud of total 705.6 MW of the electricity being generated in the country. Showing only 25% of population below poverty line, it is said that Millennium Development Goal has been achieved. But, this is not the real situation it has already been discussed before. It is a very tragic situation to upturn country's revenue from remittance. As a result of labour and brain drain, Nepal has to confront a serious situation in the field of human resources and manpower sector. At present, the number of people who go to foreign countries other than India has been around 3 million and those who go to India alone are more than 4 million. It is an unfortunate situation for the country.

As the socio-economic production relation of the country has transformed into semi-feudal and neo-colonial condition and the domination of comprador bourgeoisie subservient to imperialism and Indian expansionism in the state power has been continuing since long, country's economic policy too is being ensued in agreement with this situation. Based on the policy-concept of IMF, WB and WTO, the country has been adopting the policies like liberalization, globalization, open market and public private partnership. The state's financial policy has been to displace the agricultural and industrial capital but protect multinational company's monopoly and comprador capital. Every year, deficit budget is prepared. Budget size has been increasing. From the data of the last few years it seems that 65% of the total budget is supported by internal revenue collection and the rest 35% is being supplied from foreign and the internal debt. The deficit budget has caused to increase the burden of foreign loan. Till the first 8 months of this year, the foreign loan has been around 260 billion. A big part of the budget, i.e. about 65% goes to government expenditure for service sector and the rest about 35% goes to capital

expenditure for development sector. The burden of government expenditure has been increasing in such a way that the government revenue cannot fund it and it has compelled to borrow foreign loan for this too. The development expenditure has to be fully relied on foreign aid and loan.

A big part sanctioned for capital expenditure has been spent in the expansion of roads. The investment must have been increased in agriculture, irrigation and industrial sector, however, it has not only been nominal but ignored. Because of WTO, the subscrip-

tion policy has been retracted. Even the amount sanctioned for capital expenditure has not been fully used up. Only 40% to 50% of the amount sanctioned for capital expenditure has been spent. The budget size increases by about 20% every year. But, there has been no any change in Nepalese people's living standard as of this. The growth rate of domestic production for the last ten years seems to be only 3.5% in average. The growth rate is 3.18% in agricultural sector, 2.14% in industrial sector and 4.52% in the service sector. The growth rate of production is declining every year. Employment has not been created. Income level is decreasing. Country's financial policy has been proved a failure.

The main goal of monetary policy is assumed to be financial stability, economic growth and expansion of employment. But, these goals have been proved a failure. Nepalese currency devaluation is increasing. Inflation is increasing. Market price is further increasing. Share market is decreasing. The bank deposit is falling. Monetary fluidity is further weakening. Money supply is growing.

One of the main reasons behind the devaluation of Nepalese currency and the increase in inflation is the fixed exchange rate set with India since 1993. It made the Nepalese monetary policy entirely dependent upon Indian monetary policy. But in contrast, the exchange rate with currency of other countries has been kept open according to the market price. As a consequence of growing corruption and economic recession in India the Indian currency suffered devaluation in the international market. It imparted direct impact upon Nepal and the inflation increased up to 15% though it was said to maintain within 7%. The money supply has been up to 15% though it was said not to increase beyond 12.5%.

Owing to the influence of excessive corruption, increasing government expenditure for service sector, budget-deficit, price-hike and smuggling, the Nepalese currency has been devaluated and the inflation has been increasing. In this way, the government policy in the currency sector has been proved a failure.

In total, country's present economic condition is very much chaotic. The comprador and bureaucratic capitalism, feudalism, imperialism and expansionism have attacked the economy of the country. The New Democratic Revolution has been an urgent necessity to build up an independent and self-reliant national economy by liberating the country from such economic condition.

4. Semi-feudal and neo-colonial condition and the question of principal contradiction

There have been some changes in the socio-economic condition of Nepal, which was passing through a semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition for long. Traditionally, monarchy in the main, had been leading feudalism and monopoly and comprador bourgeoisie subservient to Indian expansionism had been leading the semi-colonial condition, but there has been some changes now in this situation. Although the main political leadership of feudalism has been displaced after the end of monarchy, the political, economic and cultural foundation of feudalism still exists. After the end of monarchy, the state power has gone in the hands of comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal class that are subservient to imperialism and mainly Indian expansionism. When the state power reaches

in the hands of agents of imperialism, mainly Indian expansionism in our case, politically this state is the manifestation of neo-colonisation. In the period following this, imperialist and expansionist forces have been directly or indirectly controlling the internal political affairs through their agents. After the Royal massacre and 12-point Delhi-agreement, the imperialist and expansionist intervention has been so intensifying that it has surpassed the level that the semi-colonial condition is meant for. The hegemony of imperialist and expansionist agents has been established in every question including the forward-looking restructuring of state, writing of federal constitution, dissolution of the CA, formation and tumbling of government etc. The process of bringing up their agents in every field including in the leadership of big media hubs, different organs of the state power and as well the leadership of the parliamentary political parties has been intensified with the strength of money and muscle. A

national capitulationist and an anti-national trend that mortgages the national dignity for money and power has intensively and extensively increased among the parliamentary forces. The culmination of national capitulationism and anti-national character on the part of political sector is the living instance of neo-colonial condition.

The main foundation of neo-colonialism is the socio-economic relation of production. Till the First and the Second World War, the imperialist powers followed a policy of building direct colony. The countries, in which the imperialist powers failed to establish direct colony but maintained colonial oppression by imposing economic and cultural influence indirectly through unequal treaties and agreements, are known as semi colonies. After the imperialist powers got defeated in the First and the Second World Wars and the national liberation movements strengthened, the imperialist forces induced some changes in their strategy through which they brought up their agents and tried to use them to indirectly maintain their colony in a new way. In order for this, they followed a policy of privatization, liberalization, globalization and free market economy. They expanded networks of the multinational companies and INGOs. They adopted a policy of unitedly maintaining their hegemony by establishing multinational companies than dividing regions among the imperialist forces. More than this, they made their agents in the colonial countries the partners by means of joint ventures and shares. They destroyed the productive agricultural and industrial sectors by increasing investment of financial capital in the unproductive sectors like service and housing. The countries further drowned in loans with the increase in compound interest rates and the investment in unproductive sectors. The replacement of agricultural and industrial production continued to create such a situation in which the countries were obliged to depend upon the imports of foreign commodities. The trade-deficit, deficit budget, inflation, price-hike, artificial shortage etc. amplified further. Eventually a situation of complete reliance upon others emerged in the field of economy.

Investment of financial capital in the unproductive sector and the replacement of productive sector as well brought about a problem of unemployment. Thousands of unemployed youths started swarming into the labour market daily. Nepal reached a situation that is forced to export labour. As a result, around a ten million youth force has been compelled to migrate to foreign countries. Most villages in the countryside have no youths at all. Nepal is becoming a country of only olds and broods.

A condition has emerged in the country that people have to live on remittance. Country's economy has been running on bank transaction of remittance and this too is being replaced by 'Hundi' (illegal money transfer -tr.) system. Hence, the state in which one needs to sustain on remittance and foreign-dependence is an indicator of a failed state. The neo-colonisation has in the main caused to appear this kind of situation in the country.

Due to change in the neo-colonial socio-economic condition, the form of the classes that took birth in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial socio-economic condition has also changed. The neo-colony has caused mainly to establish monopolistic hegemony of the comprador bourgeoisie in the state power. The feudal class has to either broker with the imperialist monopoly capital to protect their existence or become liberal and unite with the working class people to defend their national dignity. A situation that it can maintain its separate identity in a traditional way has gradually ended. There remained no other way than brokering with imperialism to maintain the existence of feudal class. So, the feudal class also has transformed into comprador feudal.

Likewise, the character of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which took birth as a result of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition, has mainly changed into that of a broker. Because, in the condition when the state power is mainly in the hands of imperialist-monopoly agents, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie too has to change itself either to a broker of the comprador bourgeoisie or unite with the working class people for the defence of national dignity as a liberal bourgeoisie. Along these lines, it has been difficult for the bureaucratic bourgeoisie too to maintain their existence in a traditional manner. And, the situation has so developed that the bureaucratic bourgeoisie too has to change itself into comprador bourgeoisie to retain their existence.

Thus, there is no situation in which they can secure their existence without brokering with imperialist-expansionist powers for both the traditional types of feudal and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. In this way, the character of feudal and bureaucratic bourgeoisie has to become that of a broker because they

have to sustain in brokerage. Hence, the main leadership of the entire reactionary classes has been the monopoly comprador bourgeoisie. As a result of the neo-colonial condition and comprador bourgeoisie's dominance in the state power the principal contradiction also has changed. In the past, the principal contradiction of the Nepalese society was with the feudal class because, among the reactionary classes in Nepal, the feudal class had domination in the state power. But, with the end of monarchy, the principal contradiction of the Nepalese people lies with comprador bourgeoisie brokering with imperialism and Indian expansionism because this class dominates in the state power now. The imperialist and expansionist forces have been continuing their neo-colonial power in Nepal even by picking up some persons from the petty bourgeoisie and making them their new agent, because Nepal is a country in which there are various classes of petty bourgeoisie, not the comprador bourgeoisie only. The basic contradiction of the Nepalese people is as before with the entire reactionary classes including feudal class and the comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, in addition to the world imperialism.

Several contradictions are intertwined in the present Nepal, which is in a semi-

feudal and neo-colonial condition. Two basic contradictions remain since long: first, the contradiction between the domestic reaction and the broad Nepalese masses and second, the contradiction between the foreign reaction and Nepalese nation. The domestic reaction in Nepal is formed of the comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal class and different forms of imperialism and mainly Indian expansionism stand as the foreign reaction.

Today, the contradiction between comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the feudal class directed and conducted by Indian expansionism and the broad Nepalese masses is the principal contradiction. In the present situation when, the domination of neo-colonialism has been increasing and the monarchy has been ended, this analysis of principal contradiction is correct and also objective.

All the unequal treaties and agreements inked with India still continue. Recently, very dangerous treaties like upper Karnali, Arun III and BIPPA have been signed. The defence and management of 15 airports of the country, including the international airport, have been agreed to handover to an Indian company. The citizenship problem is equally serious and the populous intrusion is intensively increasing in the country. A serious obstacle has emerged on its path to develop Nepalese independent economy. Severe plots have been devised to end Nepal's independent status and the comprador bourgeoisie is very active in this occupation. As a result of mounting intervention, on the one hand, and brokerisation of various political parties, on the other, the danger of Sikkimisation is prevailing.

The national independence and democracy are inter-related. The national liberation movement in Nepal, on the one hand, is related with internal independence of the oppressed nationalities and on the other to the national liberation movement of the country as a whole. In this sense, the national independence becomes democracy and vice versa. In the context of studying principal contradiction it is also necessary to pay attention to this.

The question of principal contradiction is such a question, which is related with national independence and democracy. There have been a lot of confusions in regard to this question since long. Among those confusions, some regard that monarchy favours national independence, some consider that Nepali Congress stands for democracy and some perceive that they are not inter-connected. In the course of ideological struggle against neo-revisionist group, a trend had also emerged that national independence and democracy are two kinds of revolutions to be accomplished in two different stages. In this situation, it is necessary to remain free from such confusions but struggle against all wrong thinking and trends as regards this question.

The problems of national independence, democracy and people's livelihood have not yet been solved and so people are getting furious. In this situation, the master plan of domestic and foreign reactions has been to weaken the revolutionary Marxists.

Right here, we have to pay attention, on the one hand, to clarify such confusions and conspiracies, organize the movement in a new way, and on the other, identify the contradictions existing in the alliance against us and handle them correctly.

5. On the question of mass movement

A decade long people's war that the CPN (Maoist) had waged to defend national independence, establish people's democracy and solve the problems of people's livelihood has been brought to an end and the PLA has been liquidated. The goal for which the people's war was waged has not yet been attained.

A part of leadership drowned into the quagmire of right neo-revisionism. Betraying the Nepalese people and revolution, it involved in shameless brokerage with the Indian expansionism. In this situation the Nepalese revolution has become momentarily weak. Now the CA has been dissolved and there is no possibility to write new constitution through this. The problems of national independence, democracy and people's livelihood are becoming formidable. The price-hike, corruption, smuggling, black marketing, commissioning etc. have alarmed the people. Noteworthy here is that a big number of PLA fighters have firmly stood against the process of liquidating PLA and forcing them to capitulate before the enemy.

After we cut off relation with the neo-revisionism, we have been trying to organize movements in a new way. Disseminating the 70-point charter of demands related with national independence, democracy and people's livelihood, we have intensified various forms of struggles. The mass demonstrations and mass gathering we organized in this process have been notably successful. The symbolic type of struggles which we launched in relation to Indian number-plate vehicles and vulgar Hindi movies were effective to a great extent. We are serious towards the development of mass movement and preparation of revolution.

Subsequent to the dissolution of CA, the ox-fighting, in media and the table of negotiations, among the parliamentary forces is going on around the question of whether to stick in the government or form the another one. A tough altercation is on around the questions like re-election of the CA, reinstatement of the CA and election of the parliament. The neo-revisionist leadership that has booted out the policy of federalism based on the identity of oppressed nation has, pretending to be in its favour, been creating confusion now among the people and by so doing it is preparing for a new electoral alliance. At odds with it, another section of the parliamentary forces has been doing all it can to form the government.

Our party has put forward an instantaneous slogan of all-party roundtable assembly. Some interactive programmes too have taken place in this context. We have on the one hand opposed the conspiratorial activities hatched by three major parties and their main leaders, the accomplices of the dissolution of CA, and on the other, we have adopted a policy to create pressure from the street with a demand of all-party roundtable assembly and the government of patriotic, republican, leftist and pro-federalism forces. Our emphasis has been to write people's constitution in the midst of struggle.

A number of cultural programmes have been launched based on the questions of national independence, people's democracy and people's livelihood to expose reactionary power, imperialism and expansionism and on the other to oppose the neo-revisionism emerged from within the party. These programmes have played remarkable role to estab-

lish party among the people. In this process, different kinds of struggles have also been accomplished jointly or independently by workers, peasants, teachers, students, cultural front, Dalits, women, national front etc. Likewise, the united front too has developed mass movements before and also after our separation from the neo-revisionists.

At this time it is necessary to intensify struggles for national independence, people's democracy and people's livelihood and against brokerage, corruption and smuggling. Party should jointly develop such struggles in its own independent initiative.

6. The question of united front

After the Chunwang CC meeting, a united front between the parliamentary parties and the revolutionary communist forces took its shape against the monarchy. It is a good thing. With the strength of mainly the great people's war and the united front, the republic, secularism and federalism has been established. It is a positive thing. But, in the course of building this united front, it was conspired to make the overall New Democratic Revolution and the communist movement capitulate to the comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and a part of the feudal class. It was conspired to make the revolutionary stream of Nepalese New Democratic Revolution dissolve in the regressive stream of

democratic republic. It should also be understood as an alliance of imperialism-expansionism, status quo forces and revisionism.

We have firmly opposed this kind of united front and we are trying to develop a new type of working unity by rallying the entire patriotic, democratic, leftist and the federalist forces together. It is a form of new united front and it is carrying on struggle.

Today, efforts are underway to build up two different kinds of working unities or united fronts, one from the regressive or status quo stream and other from the forward-looking stream. An intense conflict to form government is going on inside the united front formed of the regressive or status quo stream. On the one hand, we have to emphasize to further weaken the already weakening regressive stream and on the other strengthen the forward-looking stream.

7. The subjective condition of the communist movement and revolutionaries

At present, mainly two streams are active in the Nepalese communist movement, they are: status quo or opportunist stream and revolutionary Marxist stream. In addition, some groups or sub-groups are seen sometimes in between these two streams.

Under the status quo and opportunist stream, right revisionist elements of various forms and colours have surfaced. On the one hand, so-called communists, reformists and parliamentarians and on the other the elements that represent comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the landlord class fall under this stream. These elements bear a shield of communist party and Marxism-Leninism in form while in essence they represent the regressive class. Mainly the UML group falls under this category. It is status quo and opportunist, both. The neo-revisionist group falls under the opportunist stream. This group has been class and national capitulationist and right liquidationist and has ultimately degener-

ated into an element, which brokers with Indian expansionism. It has betrayed revolution, country and the people. In addition to this, there are several other groups that fall under this status quo and opportunist stream. It will be discussed in detail later.

The revolutionary stream stands against the status quo or opportunist stream tagged as communist. The communist movement in Nepal has been weaker than before because the status quo and right opportunist stream is prevailing. But, in spite of this, the revolutionary Marxist stream is in a situation to prevail and its future is bright. The genuine revolutionaries are organised in this stream.

There are several revolutionary Marxists in the communist branded parliamentary stream. In addition, many revolutionary Marxists are also dispersed in different forms. The need of the day has been to boost up the process of polarisation and unification in a new way. Today, Nepalese people are attracted towards revolutionary Marxist stream. Moreover, the revolutionary masses and the communists the world over are looking forward to the revolutionary Marxist stream of Nepal.

The main specificity of the Nepalese communist movement is that in spite of a number of splits in the party and the efforts of right revisionism to prevail in it, a big part of people is always opposed to right revisionism and stands by the side of revolutionary Marxist stream. The Nepalese soil has been fertile to revolutionary communists.

8. The question of compatibility and adversity

We had a long analysis and study of the international situation. Now on the basis of this, we have to heed on the question of compatibility and adversity to make revolution.

The symptoms of compatibility for the Nepalese revolution are:

. In the economic and political field, the country has been entangled in a serious crisis. It is a crisis of the reactionary state. It demands a revolutionary way out.

. The CA has been dissolved. The country has been enmeshed in constitutional crisis. It should be studied seriously.

. Serious contradictions and differences have emerged in the reactionary and revisionist political camps.

. People want change and liberation. The hatred and fury has been increasing among them towards the reactionaries and the revisionists.

. The leadership has reneged before the objectives of the great people's war have been materialised and people's demands have not been addressed. People are in favour of struggle to realise them.

. Temporarily the subjective strength has been weak because of the split in the party leading revolution, but it will not take long to compensate it.

. There is strong possibility to garner international support.

In addition, there are a number of adversities for Nepalese revolution. They can be

presented as:

. The subjective condition of the revolutionary Marxists has been weak and we have not yet been able to consolidate this rank as needed.

. There is no situation of sharp contradiction and split in the reactionary camp. A big part of people has not yet broken relation with reactionary and revisionist political forces.

. The forward-looking section of the people is not yet prepared to pour into street.

. The international situation has not yet been fully favourable.

The aforesaid study draws a conclusion that though the objective situation is getting mature for revolution the subjective condition is still weak. The study we made on the international situation also draws the same conclusion. Paying necessary attention to this situation, we have to consciously advance the tasks of preparation for New Democratic Revolution in a planned way.

3 – Analysis of the political forces

The formation of political parties in Nepal had started since the last phase of Rana regime. Now, there are scores of political parties in Nepal. It is logical to categorize and analyse them mainly on the ideological and political ground. Formation of political parties on the regional and national basis is underway, for some time now. They should be studied on class, ideological and political basis. They are not stationary but in a condition of motion and change; and it can take place in both directions, forward or backward. They stand for ideological and political right and interest of the either of, the reactionary and regressive or the revolutionary, progressive and forward-looking or the centrist and vacillating political forces. In order to analyse them, it is necessary to take note of the present objective condition, which is passing through an escalating neo-colonial oppression and grave political crisis.

The political forces, which are active in social, economic and political life can be analysed as follows.

1. Political party of the proletariat:

The Communist Party of Nepal – Maoist (CPN-Maoist) is a political party of the Nepalese proletariat. It represents the right and interest of the oppressed and working class people of Nepal. Its guiding principle is MLM. The CPN-Maoist is determined to safeguard national independence, realise people's democratic right and solve the basic problems of people's livelihood. Its goal is to go ahead towards the maximum goal of socialism and communism after accomplishing New Democratic Revolution.

2. Marxist-Leninist groups

There are a number of Marxist-Leninist groups and individuals in Nepal. The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), Revolutionary Communist Party, Nepal, and Communist

Party of Nepal (Unified) fall under this group. They have adopted MLM or Mao thought as their guiding principal and new democracy and socialism–communism to be their political programme. But, to a certain extent they have petty bourgeois thinking and they are politically unclear. We should persevere with theoretical and political discussion with them and should try to bring them into joint movement. If they transform to proletarian class stand, outlook and politics, party unity can take place with them and we have to lay emphasis on it.

3. Regressive and status quo forces

Although ex-king and royal family exist in Nepal today, monarchy has been brought to an end. After the multi-party system had been reinstated with the end of autocratic monarchy and Panchayati system, a part of the political forces partisan to absolute monarchy and Panchayati system organised a party named Rastriya Prajatantra Party. In between time, this party too split and it resulted in three

groups, Rastriya Prajatantra Party Nepal, Rastriya Janashakti Party and Rastriya Prajatantra Party. After the establishment of republic a part of this stream supported republic and secularism and other opposed them. All of these groups oppose federalism. They should be considered as regressive forces. Nevertheless, some of these groups or some individuals in these groups are positive towards national independence and are found to have patriotic sentiment.

Nepali Congress is a political force adherent to democratic socialism and parliamentary democracy. It had struggled against Rana oligarchy and the absolute Panchayati system and had waged various movements and armed struggle in favour of parliamentary democracy. But, the democracy it stands for is not people's democracy but democracy for the elite class, which is in fact a dictatorship for the people. Although, the Nepali Congress has been portraying democracy to confuse the masses, it has at times betrayed the nation. It has been disloyal to nation in the hydro-electric projects like Koshi, Gandak, Tanakpur, Upper Karnali, Arun III etc. This party mainly represents the comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie. In spite of this, there are a few progressive and patriotic individuals too in this party.

The CPN (UML) is a status quo political force, a communist party by name. Previously, at the time of Jhapa rebellion, it had played an important role in the history of Nepalese communist movement and democratic revolution regardless of its petty bourgeois thinking and trend. It had waged armed struggle against the reactionary power. Later on, it oriented towards reformism. And, after the mass movement in 1990, it drowned into a marsh of right opportunism. It abandoned new democratic and socialist revolution and adopted parliamentary programme, policy and principle of multi-party democracy. However, there are still several honest revolutionaries and patriots in this party. In the final analysis, it also represents the bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie and landlord class.

In the later part of time, new groups have come into being in the name of Madhesh-badi force after splits in various status quo parties. These groups include, Terai Madhesh Loktantrik Party, Nepal Sadbhawana Party Mahato group, Madheshi Janadhikar Forum

Gachchhadar group etc. They are formed under the master plan of imperialism and expansionism and they represent bureaucratic, comprador bourgeoisie and the landlord class in Nepal.

The regressive and status quo forces have already kneeled down before imperialism and expansionism. On the one hand, lauding neo-liberalism and market economy they fully support imperialist globalisation while on the other they kneel down before the expansionism too.

4. Right revisionist groups

There are a lot of communist parties by name, which, on the one hand, talk of MLM/thought, revolution, socialism, communism and while, on the other, broker with domestic and foreign reactionaries against the interest of the country, people and revolution. This type of forces and groups are right revisionist groups.

Now, a neo-revisionist group, the UCPN (Maoist) by name, falls under this category. Capitulating before imperialism and expansionism, it is going towards brokerage and treason. It is worth remembering that there are a lot of honest, revolutionary patriotic individuals in this group.

There are several other groups, communist by name, which fall under this category. They can be studied and discussed when necessary.

5. Regional and national parties

The process of formation of regional and national parties is on. Some of the status quo Madheshi parties fall under this category. They are based on different ideological, political and class relation. Some groups are pro-landlord, bureaucratic and comprador bourgeois and some others are pro-people and progressive.

Concrete study and evaluation should be carried out about these political forces. Those political forces, which represent comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal class in the society, which are in the state power and which are most subservient to imperialism and expansionism should be made the target of revolution. There can be tactical unity and co-operation with other forces if they stand for the country and people.

4 – International communist movement and new possibilities

1. A brief overview

The International Communist Movement (ICM) has crossed 164 years to date since the first publication of the Communist Manifesto. In this entire period of world revolution and in the history of ICM, several epoch-making events have occurred. Not a comprehensive presentation, but some of its important aspects will be discussed here.

In the long history of 164 years of ICM, the First International was organized and

dissolved later under the initiative and leadership of Karl Marx himself. His colleague Engels provided leadership to organize the Second International. After the right opportunists captured it, Lenin provided leadership to organize the Third International. Elaborating the importance of these three Internationals, Lenin said, "The First International laid the foundation of the proletarian, international struggle for socialism. The Second International marked a period in which the soil was prepared for the broad, mass spread of the movement in a number of countries. The Third International has gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, discarded its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross, and has begun to implement the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Quoted from, *The Third International and Its Place in History*). This analysis by Lenin is correct.

Lenin specially emphasized that a revolutionary theory is necessary for revolution. In addition to this, highlighting the necessity of a revolutionary communist party for revolution, he emphasized on the need to build up a new type of communist party. He developed a theory of Democratic Centralism to run the communist party correctly. Lenin's prominence remains in the fact that he developed strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and then applied them in the Russian territory. He developed a slogan "Workers and oppressed people of the world unite!" for the communist party. In the course of this very process Leninism took its birth.

Following the demise of Lenin, Stalin provided leadership to the Third International. On the one hand, he established Leninism by defining it as the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and, on the other, constructed socialism in Russia and waged ruthless struggle against opportunism while leading the 3rd International. Stalin had had a distinct role in the struggle against fascism. The third International or the Comintern got dissolved in 1943.

On the one hand, historically important tasks have been realised under the leadership of Stalin, and on the other, there have been several shortcomings and weaknesses too. He has played a good role in expanding and making the ICM militant. But, he is found to have issued wrong directives in the context of propelling the Chinese revolution forward and in some other contexts too. But, in spite of this, his positive contributions outnumber the weaknesses. The acts like, the initiative for and organization of the international united front against fascism, victory over fascism in the Second World War, assistance to the Chinese revolution, role to establish socialism in the East European countries are especially notable. There are still some disputes in the ICM whether the dissolution of Comintern was wrong or right, further study on this is necessary. But the question of protecting Soviet Union as a centre of socialist camp was serious at that time and Stalin concentrated on it.

Following the demise of Stalin, the leadership of the great Communist Party of Soviet Union transferred to Khrushchev and the party changed its colour after its 20th Congress. In conjunction with this, counter-revolution took place in Soviet Union. This regressive event brought about a big negative impact in the history of ICM. Khrushchev's fall into modern revisionism resulted in a serious blow to the Russian Communist Movement, liberation-willing people of the world, proletariat and the oppressed countries as well.

After the Second World War, New Democratic Republic was established in China under the leadership of Communist Party of China (CPC) and it advanced the tasks of socialist construction. Right at this time, Mao effectively moved the ideological struggle forward against modern revisionism in the ICM. In the meantime, serious disputes surfaced between the Russian and Chinese communist parties and some of the countries, including Vietnam, played a centrist role in this polemic.

Meeting in 1957 of the communist parties and the conference in 1960, both held in Moscow, attempted to solve the differences. Eventually, all the attempts turned meaningless. Later on, the ICM

divided into two streams, revolutionary and opportunist. Mao led the revolutionary stream and Russian revisionists led the right opportunist one. Right in this course, the CPC on June 4, 1963 adopted 25 suggestions vis-à-vis the general line of ICM. They deserve special importance in the history of ICM.

The CPC led by Mao seriously evaluated Stalin. The CPC says, "Stalin's life was that of a great Marxist-Leninist, a great proletarian revolutionary. It is true that while he performed meritorious deeds for the Soviet people and the ICM, Stalin, a great Marxist-Leninist and proletarian revolutionary, also made certain mistakes. Some were errors of principle and some were errors made in the course of practical work; some could have been avoided and some were scarcely avoidable at a time when the dictatorship of the proletariat had no precedent to go by". (CPC, Great debate, on the question of Stalin).

According to CPC, Stalin sometimes entangled in metaphysics and sometimes in subjectivism as he deviated from dialectical materialism, his relation with people had broken, he was on some issues unable to distinguish the antagonistic and friendly contradictions correctly and solve them accordingly, he convicted some innocent persons too in the course of suppressing the counter-revolutionaries in the Soviet Union during 1937/38, he issued some erroneous directives while maintaining relation with fraternal parties and countries and so on. But in total, his positive aspects outweigh his mistakes and weaknesses. In Mao's view, Stalin had 70 % strong and 30 % weak sides and he was, ultimately, a great Marxist-Leninist and a leader of the ICM.

Why did counter-revolution take place in the Soviet Union? In order to answer this question, Mao reviewed the Russian situation of Stalin period, on the one hand, and he seriously appraised, on the other, the past studies since Marx's time as regards class struggle and concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao had pointed out that Stalin failed to correctly identify the law of Materialist dialectics, the law of unity of opposites. Thus, on the historical materialism, Mao argued, "Even then he did not pose the question of the contradictions between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base under the socialist system as a question of over-all importance, nor did he realize that they are the basic contradictions which propel socialist society forward. He thought all was secure under his rule." (Collective works of Mao Zedong, Vol. VI)

In view of the concept of class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat and the experiences of the socialist system from Marx to Lenin, Mao shed light on the fact that

the socialist society will continue for long, class and class struggle will exist for long and a long period is necessary to have a verdict on which system, the socialism or capitalism, will triumph. Paying attention to this context, Mao pioneered the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, conducted the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) for 10 years (1966-1976) in China under his leadership and it was an epoch-making historical step. Nevertheless, it is also necessary to study and appraise its weak sides.

Synthesizing the experiences of vigorous two-line struggle in China, Mao said, "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything". Apart from this, he added, "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and above-board, and don't intrigue and conspire". These quotations from Mao are correct not only for the Chinese Communist Movement but for the ICM as a whole. We must have an in-depth grasp of it. (CPC, Tenth Congress Document)

The GPCR was waged in China, but that too did not succeed. Why? In order to seek an answer to this question, a serious debate is on in the ICM. Questions have arisen on why Comintern was dissolved and why Cominform was organized and why did not Mao take necessary initiatives to organize a communist organization internationally after Stalin's death. It has also become an issue of debate. In fact, Mao had led the ICM ideologically and politically. But it seems that the situation to build an organization of the international level was not mature at that time.

The ICM suffered a serious setback due to Mao's death and the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries. In this situation, parties and organizations of some countries started taking preparation to build a new international on the one hand and the preparation of people's war advanced in some countries on the other.

As an address to the world proletariat and oppressed masses, the communist parties and organizations of various countries released a joint press statement in 1980 to establish a new international and the process followed. In 1984, the second conference of those parties and organizations founded the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), as an embryo of the communist international, and adopted its declaration as well. In that declaration, it was agreed that Mao had qualitatively developed the science of Marxism-Leninism to a 'new stage'. But, it adopted the terminology, 'Mao Thought'. In this process, debates emerged in ICM on the questions like construction of socialism in a single country, defence of the Soviet Union and world revolution, question of Spain, the form of the Second World War, the united front against fascism, the dissolution of Comintern, proletarian internationalism and the concept of patriotism. The debate furthered on these issues.

In 1980, the Communist Party of Peru (PCP) initiated people's war and continued it effectively. The Maoist communist parties and organizations pushed the people's war forward in several countries including Turkey and the tasks of preparation advanced further. In this context, the RIM passed in 1993 a resolution entitled "Long live - MLM". Maoism was adopted as a new, third and higher stage of Marxism in this resolution and MLM became the guiding principle of the revolutionary communist parties.

The PCP raised seriously a question of authority in organization and added 'Gonza-

lo thought' after MLM. But, Gonzalo was arrested when the people's war was advancing in Peru. This incident caused to suffer a serious setback not only to the communist party and people's war of Peru but to the ICM as a whole. It demands a serious study and assessment.

In 1996, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) initiated the great people's war in Nepal and continued it further. The people's war forcefully developed through the stages of strategic defensive and equilibrium and it passed on new energy to the working people and communist revolutionaries of the world. But at last, neo-revisionism appeared in the CPN (Maoist) and it declared the termination of people's war in 2008. It is a serious setback not only for the Nepalese Communist Movement but also for the ICM and it is a very negative incident.

There has been a long historical background and tradition of the development of communist movement in various countries of South Asia. In 1964, the Seventh Congress of CPI (M) had undergone a vigorous two-line struggle between revisionist and revolutionary Marxist trend in India. In this course, breaking relation with revisionism, the great Naxalite Movement led by comrade Charu Mazumdar was declared. The process of New Democratic Revolution advanced under the guidance of Marxism- Leninism and Mao thought against right revisionism. It inspired the entire South Asian region to condemn revisionism and initiate New Democratic Revolution.

Amid the process of ebb and flow of revolution, relation among the revolutionary communists of this region has been built up. Right in this course, the Coordination Committee of the Maoist Parties and Organizations in South Asia (CCOMPOSA) was founded. It played a significant role in this region. However, it has now been inactive and weary when the revisionism in Nepal betrayed MLM, great people's war and the New Democratic Revolution as well.

2. Present Situation

Today, the RIM is inactive and fatigued. The main reason behind this is ideological and political difference inside the Committee of RIM. There are two main differences: first, serious dissent of the Revolutionary Communist Party USA (RCP, USA) to the decision through which the CPN (Maoist) entered into the peace process and second, the dissent to "Prachandapath" adopted in its Second National Conference. The RCP, USA sent a long letter, with its clear dissent, to CPN (Maoist) but the later never replied it. Afterwards the RCP, USA placed before RIM a "New Synthesis" put forward by its Chairman Com. Bob Avakian and proposed the Committee of RIM to take position on it. Parties in the committee had different views on it. Along with this, the leadership of the Maoist party of Nepal followed the path of further treachery and betrayal towards revolution and finally degenerated to neo- revisionism. Obviously, the role of neo-revisionist leadership was to collapse, anyhow, the RIM. On account of all these events, the Committee of RIM became inactive.

RIM is now inactive but not yet dissolved. In the past, it had played an important role to organize and develop ICM in a new way. It had carried on an important role to propagate people's war waged in Peru and launch a campaign the world over to defend the life of Gonzalo and release him, to push ahead the dissemination campaign of the people's

war in Nepal, to drive an international campaign to defend and release the life of the arrested leaders and cadres of the erstwhile CPN(Maoist), to build public opinion all over the world for new democracy and socialism against all forms of reactions by publishing an organ, 'A World To Win' and to help form and develop revolutionary communist organizations in various countries of the world. Likewise, the CCOMPOSA had played an important role to maintain contact, cooperation and solidarity with the ICM and communist revolutionaries of South Asia, as a revolutionary centre, although it is inactive and weary for some time now.

Today, on the one hand, the process of people's war and revolution are developing in some countries and on the other, serious theoretical and political questions are being raised in the ICM. The right revisionism, appearing in newer forms and colours, has been the main obstacle and danger for the revolution today.

Now, capitalism has been restored and counter-revolution has taken place in the countries, where socialist revolution was accomplished. The people's war in Peru has suffered a setback. In the course of Nepalese people's war, the leadership has degenerated into neo-revisionism. Likewise, communist parties have undergone serious deviation in some countries. As a result of this, the ICM has been subjectively weaker in comparison to the past. These are definitely negative incidents for the world communist movement. Even then, the communist revolutionaries are not weary; they are continuously advancing along the path of revolution, not of capitulation and betrayal. The revolution is constantly going on in various countries at different levels. There are several ebbs and flows in the course of great revolution and they should be understood in a usual sense.

3. Lessons taught by history

This is a brief study of the history of ICM. Now, synthesizing correctly the history of ICM and paying attention to the stronger and weaker sides of it, it is necessary to learn inspiring and important lessons from those experiences and go ahead. In this context, the important aspects are as mentioned below.

First: the development of an entity is based on the unity of opposites. The history of ICM is the history of intense two-line struggle. Shedding light on the dialectics of the development of ICM, the CPC, in Great Debate, writes, "Unity, struggle and split or new unity on a new basis is the dialectics of the development of ICM." We should study the history of the development of ICM on the basis of materialist dialectics.

Second: a revolutionary theory is necessary for revolution. Struggling against class enemy externally and anarchism and opportunism internally, Marx developed a revolutionary theory as Marxism and Engels had had an outstanding role in it. Lenin argued that a revolutionary theory is necessary for revolution. Stalin and Mao also emphasized on it. As a need of the day, MLM has developed as a guiding principle of the revolutionary communist parties of the world and a true revolutionary communist party must adopt MLM as its guiding principle.

Third: a revolutionary communist party is necessary for revolution. A new type of communist party must be built up for revolution. On the whole, it is necessary to persis-

tently struggle against all kinds of opportunism and mainly right opportunism, to build a revolutionary party.

Fourth: a revolutionary line is necessary for revolution. Today, the line of socialist revolution is necessary for the developed countries and that of New Democratic Revolution is necessary for the underdeveloped ones. A revolutionary line develops through its relation with the people, concrete analysis of the concerned country and the international situation and two-line struggle inside the party. This kind of line is based on ideological, political, military and organizational aspects. The revolution can't advance without a correct ideological base and correct political and military line. Merely the settlement of political or military line is not sufficient, correct organizational line and plan also is necessary for its implementation.

These are the main lessons we need to learn from ICM. At present, grasping these lessons seriously we have to take initiative to organize the ICM, in a new way, based on the theoretical guidance of MLM and a revolutionary line.

4. Necessity of the international unity

The communist movement is an international movement in itself. Marx and Engels, the Founders of communism, made a clarion call "Workers of the world unite!" while preparing "A manifesto of the communist party" about 164 years back. Even though, communism has not been termed or written to be the world communism, it is world communism because it cannot be established in a single country; it is simultaneously established all over the world.

Communists all over the world have same philosophy: the dialectical and historical materialism. The guiding principle is the same: MLM. Goal is same: the communism. It will be relevant here to place an excerpt by Lenin. Lenin has emphasized that the proletarian revolutionaries should make up their mind, on the question of revolutionary task, with a stance of "their share to prepare, disseminate and speed up the tasks of the world proletarian revolution" not with that of "my country".

Today, the fact we know is that imperialism is applying globalization. In order to apply this policy in the international level, it has established organizations, associations or mechanisms, they are: WB, IMF and WTO. A security mechanism is also built up to protect them. That is: North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In the final analysis, these institutions are established and activated consciously and prudently, by imperialism, to stop, confront and reverse communism. It is not possible for a party to face this challenge in a single country. We have to confront it in a global basis and in an organized way. So, it is apparent that every true communist party, including ours, has a major task to wage struggle by building that kind of international organization.

It is necessary for us to form two kinds of organizations in the international level: they are first, an international organization comprised of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionaries and second, an anti-imperialist front. Is it possible to build up these kinds of organizations? Yes, we are in a situation to do it.

It has already been discussed about RIM. This international organization, established in 1984, had one weakness that all of the Maoist communist parties did not participate in it for various reasons. Now, we have to do away with that weakness. Some efforts are already on. It needs to speed up.

So far as the anti-imperialist international organization is concerned, that has already been founded under the initiative of some Maoist parties a few years back. All of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties failed to participate even in that organization for various reasons. Now, we have to take initiative to reorganize it or form another to make sure the participation of all. Apparently, the role of our party will be important for this. The future of the ICM is bright.

5 – A brief review of the Nepalese communist movement and present condition

1 – As an influence of the great socialist revolution in Russia, the New Democratic Revolution in China and the armed struggle in Telangana, India, and because of the historical necessity of Nepalese revolution, the Communist Party of Nepal was established on April 22, 1949 under the leadership of comrade Pushpalal. The first statement of the Communist Party of Nepal was published on September 19, 1949. It was an epoch-making historic event for the Nepalese proletariat and the broad masses.

In discussing the history of Nepalese communist movement, there is, on the one hand, a shortage of study materials, and on the other, there are scores of disputes in this arena. In spite of this, it is necessary to have an objective assessment of the history basing upon available materials and the guiding principle, programme, policy, line and including one's participation in revolution. But, a comprehensive evaluation of this type is not possible now and it is not desired here too. Even then, some of the major turning points in the history will be discussed here in brief.

2 – In the very process, party published, on 22 April, its first leaflet in which it made an especial appeal to the masses of the people to struggle against Rana regime, to form a committee for civil liberty and effectively push forward the democratic movement as well. In its first statement, party declared Marxism-Leninism to be its guiding principle and people's democracy to be its general programme.

The tasks related with party and mass organisations including peasants advanced quickly. Party raised forceful voice against tri-partite Delhi treaty inked in 1950. In this course, party got established well among the masses. In the meantime, party was banned in 1952 on account of the charge that it had participated in K. I. Singh revolt.

The Communist Party of Nepal convened its historic First Conference in 1952. Presented by comrade Pushpalal, it adopted a political report entitled "Nepalese people's path for new democracy". It writes, "People must have total right in their hand. The ruling system should be founded on this right. Entire anti-imperialist and anti-feudal people – worker, peasant to national bourgeoisie – will participate in this system. Its form will be new democratic." (Pushpalal, selected works, Vol. 4, Page 9). It deserves special significance in the history of new democratic movement and the communist movement of Nepal

as well.

3 – The party organised its First Congress in 1954. The authentic political report adopted by the congress is not available. But, it can be assumed that it had adopted new democracy to be its general programme and CA to be its tactic. Manmohan Adhikari was elected as the general secretary. In 1957, the majority of the central committee (CC) acceded to King's constitutional leadership and the ban upon the party removed. As a result, a sharp two-line struggle between constitutional monarchy and republic emerged in the party.

4 – The Second Congress, which was organised in 1960, adopted the line of republic but Dr. Kesharjung Rayamajhi, who was for constitutional monarchy, was elected as the general secretary. The CA was adopted as tactic. The Second Congress sided with new democracy, but nowhere in the documents is it mentioned. In the meantime, the parliament election took place on the basis of the constitution declared by the king. After the royal coup of December 15, 1960, Darbhanga plenum (Here plenum is meant for expanded meeting – tr.) was convened. In that plenum, three proposals: the restoration of parliamentary system, the restoration of dissolved parliament and the election of CA were presented. Majority in that expanded meeting adopted CA. But, majority of the CC did not agree with that rather adopted reinstatement of the parliamentary system. Of these proposals, the slogan of CA was relatively progressive.

5 – Party organised its Third Congress in 1962, when the difference between the communist parties of Russia and China was sharpening. It adopted National Democracy to be its programme and the sovereign parliament as its tactic. Khrushchevite modern revisionism had influenced this congress and the party got entangled in right revisionism. No later than the Third Congress was convened, the differences sharpened in the party. Two disputed documents, like 'main road' by Pushpalal and 'which road' by Tulshilal, were distributed. Even his 'main road' does not show that he had seriously grasped the difference between national democracy and people's democracy. He says, "It is wrong to mean that parliamentary democratic system is merely a bourgeois democracy. It can be either bourgeois democracy or national democracy or people's democracy." (Pushpalal selected works, Vol. 2, pp 55/56). Here, Pushpalal has presented parliamentary democracy in an eclectic way. Scores of revolutionary comrades in the party opposed this parliamentarian thinking. According to Marx, Lenin and other Marxists, the parliamentary democracy is bourgeois democracy and it does not have any relation with people's democracy or new democracy.

6 – After the Third Congress, on the one hand, the influence of new democracy and the two-line struggle against Russian revisionism led by Mao strengthened in the party, and on the other, the whole Nepalese communist movement divided in various trends and sub-trends.

7 – Pushpalal group adopted a programme of new democracy from the national conference organised in 1968. Also, the conference adopted a policy of protracted armed people's revolution to attain that goal. But this group remained unclear while undergoing class analysis of Nepali Congress and in determining party tactic. Its tactic was confined

only against absolute Panchayati system. It failed to adopt a correct tactic for new democracy and ultimately entangled in reformist weakness.

8 – A rebel group took its birth amid Jhapa revolt in 1971. This group, influenced by the Naxalbari armed struggle in India and the New Democratic Revolution in China, declared armed struggle in Jhapa, Eastern Nepal. It initiated class enemy annihilation campaign in line with the policy of 'one area, one unit, one squad and one action'. Later on, this group formed the CPN (ML). Though, it jumped into

movement with no enough clarity and preparation, and committed some petty-bourgeois weaknesses too, but, it certainly raised the banner of revolution against revisionism. It should be taken positively. But, at the last, this group too drowned into the quagmire of right revisionism.

9 – Likewise, another group developed from the central nucleus organised in 1971. This group committed a sectarian mistake by labelling Pushpalal a renegade. This group organised its Fourth Congress in 1974, which adopted new democracy as its fundamental programme and the government of patriotic and democratic forces as its tactic. It said that this government will be formed only through an armed struggle based on the broad united front. On the question of principal contradiction, both national independence and patriotism were believed to be principal. Mohan Bikram Singh became the general secretary. To present the government of patriotic and democratic forces parallel to new democracy and to show in clarity in the form of armed struggle were the weaknesses witnessed in the fourth congress. It continued for a decade. In this period, Mohan Bikram Singh in the main had sectarian weakness and Lama had the reformist one. Mohan Bikram Singh was expelled from the post of general secretary for his cultural deviation. After this, Nirmal Lama and Bhakta Bahadur Shrestha were elected as General Secretaries in succession. The revolutionary comrades in the Fourth Congress struggled against both of the weaknesses. In the course of National Gathering of the secretaries, held in 1978, comrade Kiran submitted a military line document of protracted armed struggle in the CC meeting and it was adopted too. In this process, comrades including Bhakta Bahadur Shrestha had played an important role. For a certain period comrade Azad did the same.

An important aspect of the Fourth Congress has been to oppose the restoration of capitalism in China and to stand for the GPCR. One of the plenums of Fourth Congress organised in 1981, adopted an important document. This decision deserves epoch-making significance in the history of national and international communist movement. And it calls for further study.

10 – Owing to the resignations from pro-Lama CCMs, the CC of the Fourth Congress got dissolved. The National Conference organised in 1983 expelled the CCMs siding Lama. Main weakness in the Fourth Congress remained in being unable to handle two-line struggle in a healthy and comradely way. In the whole course of Fourth Congress, revolutionary trend remained dominant in several ideological, political questions and the organisational field as well.

11 – Many documents, which were prepared in the fourth CC, were presented in the Fifth Congress organised in 1985 and it adopted the line of New Democratic Revolu-

tion. Comrade C. P. Gajurel had presented a report entitled, "Centrist opportunism or the concealment of mistakes" and it had targeted against the theoretical and political mistakes and weaknesses along with cultural conduct of Mohan Bikram Singh. He had presented organisational report also. In the same manner, comrade Kiran had presented "political report on programme" and a report regarding "military line". Elucidating that the role of people's war is principal and that of mass movement is complimentary in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries like Nepal, those reports had put forth a politico-military line of New Democratic Revolution. All of them were adopted by the congress. Comrade Kiran was elected as the General Secretary in the Fifth Congress.

12 – After the Fifth Congress, the sectarian trend came forward publicly against majority of the CC in a very much undisciplined way. In that situation, disciplinary action was taken upon the main leader of that faction, which later formed a new group, the CPN (Masal) by name. In this course, the Expanded Meeting of the CC, organised in 1985, adopted a political report entitled, "Anarchist individualism, a new dimension of right opportunism" and declared it a right revisionist group.

13 – After the expulsion of anarchist individualist group from the party, organisations and struggle started getting systematised. With an objective of accomplishing New Democratic Revolution against feudalism, imperialism and expansionism, party seriously involved in four preparations including ideological-political preparation and organisational preparation. Party decided to use the terminology Maoism in place of Mao thought. Movement against the monarchy enhanced. Technical training also took place. An incident occurred at police-sector in the course of boycott of Panchayati election. That was a militant incident and imparted a good effect to the boycott movement. However, there were shortcomings and weaknesses too. Basing on that incident, it was not correct for General Secretary Kiran, Gaurav and Manu to go one step down from their post after three years. There has been a

mistake of liberalism for this to happen. In this very process, the main leadership, the General Secretary, was changed and Prachanda was brought to that position.

14 – Party attempted to bring new democracy to the fore against the parliamentary stream in the course of historic mass movement of 1990. Meanwhile, a "United National People's Movement" comprising of Communist League, Nepal Marxist-Leninist Party, CPN (Masal), CPN (Mashal) and some other individuals was organised. On the one hand, it pushed the movement forward and, on the other, supported the struggle against Panchayati system carried out by Nepali Congress and the left front.

15 – Along with split, the process of polarisation and unification is simultaneously going on in the history of Nepalese communist movement. A wave of unification and polarisation started after the establishment of multi-party system.

16 – Party unity took place in 1991 among the CPN (Mashal), the Proletarian Worker Organisation, the CPN (Fourth Congress) and the CPN (splinter Masal) and the party so formed was named as CPN (Unity Centre). The Unity Congress was held in 1992. It unanimously adopted new democratic republic to be its programme. In this Congress, theoretical and political debate took place in many questions including Maoism, principal

contradiction and the line of armed struggle and serious differences surfaced in some of them. Maoism and the line of protracted people's war were adopted by majority. Likewise, the majority adopted that the "contradiction of Nepalese people with the domestic reaction, which is formed of the feudal, bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie and is protected by Indian expansionism" is the principal contradiction of the Nepalese society.

17 – In this process of polarisation and unification, party unity took place among various opportunist groups including the CPN (ML) and CPN (M) in 1991 and formed CPN (UML). Later on, Tulshilal group also joined it. This stream abandoned new democracy and embraced multiparty democracy. It joined the reactionary government led by Nepali Congress and embraced the parliamentary system.

18 – In the same manner, some comrades merged with Nepal Marxist-Leninist Party, which was organised under the leadership of comrade Krishna Das Shrestha in 1980, and formed Communist Party of Nepal (MLM) in 1991. It was based upon Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought and the concept of New Democratic Revolution and also it played an important role in the struggles against feudalism, imperialism and revisionism.

19 – Following the formation of CPN (Unity Centre) through the unity among revolutionary communists, serious disputes arose in the CC on whether or not to involve in concrete preparation of the people's war. Keeping up the disputes, it was attempted to push the preparation forward consistent with the majority decision, but failed. In order to implement the revolutionary line adopted by Unity Congress, it was necessary to rupture from the opportunists. Party organised its First National Conference in 1995, expelled the right liquidationists and reformists and decided to push the revolution forward. In the intense struggle between right liquidationist trend and the revolutionary Marxist trend, finally the later triumphed over the former.

20 – The CC of the revolutionary stream organised its third expanded meeting towards the beginning of 1996 and adopted a "politico-military line of the Nepalese New Democratic Revolution". This document concretised the military line of people's war. After this, the tasks of four preparations assumed full swing. Also, the expanded meeting removed the terminology Unity Centre, which was inside bracket, and placed Maoism in its place. In this way party's name became CPN (Maoist). In this very course, it adopted 6-point premise, entitled "Theoretical Premises for the Historic Initiation of the People's War". It placed a commitment to continue people's war till people are victorious and wrote "Party will never and under no circumstances succumb to the pressures, threats and enticements of the internal and external reactionary forces". After necessary preparation, party initiated great people's war on February 13, 1996 and continued it forward. It advanced well through the stages of strategic defensive and equilibrium. It shocked the whole country and created waves all across the world too. There has been two-line struggle, sometime moderate and sometimes sharp, in the CPN (Maoist) from the historic initiation to onward. In this course, a neo-revisionist deviation emerged in the party and finally we ruptured from it. An extensive discussion on the two-line struggle in the CPN (Maoist) has been carried out in another chapter, so its repetition is not necessary here.

21 – After the peace process started, unity process too went on. It was developing

amid the unity of various groups including CPN (MLM Centre) – which was formed of CPN (splinter ML), CPN (MLM) and CPN (Communist) – CPN (Unity Centre-Masal), CPN (Unified) and some independent individuals with CPN (Maoist). MLM/thought, new democracy and the democratic centralism were taken to be the theoretical, political and organisational basis for unity.

22 – It is a good thing to have unity among revolutionary Marxists, but opportunists too take advantage of it. Everyone should be alert on this. On the evaluation of party unity, the report adopted in the last National Convention writes, "With the process of unification, the two-line struggle also has sharpened rapidly in the Maoist party. In such a situation, the party unification could have affected two-line struggle and it did so. A notable point is that a big part that joined the unification process supported opportunism in this two-line struggle. So the revolutionary stream turned into minority. It should be taken as the main negative effect of party unity. And at the same time, several comrades who were a part of this unification process are in favour of revolutionary stream and it should be taken as a positive consequence." This assessment reached in the National Convention is basically correct.

23 – By rupturing from the neo-revisionists present in the party, the National Convention, held on June 16-18, 2012, formed a new party, the CPN-Maoist. It adopted the guiding principle to be MLM by removing the ambiguous terminology MLM/thought. It was emphasised in the convention to expose the comprador and bureaucratic capitalism, feudalism, imperialism and expansionism and oppose all sorts of revisionism and principally neo-revisionism and thereby organize and develop the tasks of New Democratic Revolution. After the adoption of revolutionary line and policy, the CPN-Maoist has been smoothly pushing the tasks related to organisation and struggle forward.

24 – The communist movement in Nepal is divided in different groups and sub-groups at present. Mainly there are two streams: they are revolutionary Marxist stream and right revisionist stream. In addition to this, sometimes a centrist trend also appears between these two streams. Today, the right opportunism is the main danger in the Nepalese communist movement.

25 – We made a brief analysis of the history of Nepalese communist movement here, now it is necessary to have its synthesis. In this context, the main lessons we need to learn are as follows.

First: the Nepalese communist movement is a unity of opposites. It divides into two. Like the history of ICM, the entire history of Nepalese communist movement too has been developing as a process of unity, struggle, transformation and split and new unity in a new basis. Mainly two streams exist in the Nepalese communist movement, they are: right revisionist and revolutionary Marxist. Amid these two streams, there are several revolutionary and opportunist groups and sub-groups. Their existence does not continue for long in the same form. Opposing and exposing the right revisionism theoretically and uniting with the revolutionary communists today, we have to push forward the process of polarisation and unification in a new way.

Second: guiding principal has been playing a vital role in the history of Nepalese

communist movement. In the history of the world communist movement, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has developed as a guiding principle of the proletariat today. This is the guiding principle of the genuine communist party.

Third: the line of New Democratic Revolution is a correct line for the semi-feudal and neo-colonial country like Nepal and we must firmly follow it. In this process, we must firmly oppose all sorts of right revisionism including reformism and parliamentary cretinism. In addition, we should oppose ultra left and centrist line too.

Fourth: a revolutionary party is a must for revolution. In order to make party a revolutionary, guidance of MLM; programme, policy and line of new democracy; involvement in mass movement, class struggle and class war; close relation with people etc. is unavoidably necessary. In order to make party a new type of communist party, we have to go ahead through a process of repudiating wrong thinking and trend, cultural transformation and proletarianisation. The opportunists make party a means, not of revolution, but of the parliamentary election, that is why mass party is suitable for them. Contrary to it, revolutionaries make party a means of revolution and that is why they need a unified cadre-based party. What has been proved from the history of Nepalese communist movement is that inner struggle

and two-line struggle go on in a revolutionary party uninterruptedly. In this process, various forms of opportunist trends go on developing, only by expelling the opportunists from the party or by rupturing from them can it be made revolutionary. But, it should be grasped not in a mechanical but in a dialectical way and the revolutionaries should conduct the two-line struggle in a healthy and comradely way.

6 – Two-line struggle and neo-revisionism

1 – Two-line struggle, sometimes moderate and sometimes sharp, had been continually going on inside the CPN (Maoist) for long from the initiation of people's war to peace process. It will be correct to study two-line struggle in two parts, from the initiation of people's war to PB meeting held at Lawang and from the CC meeting held at Chunwang to onward.

2 – Ever since the initiation of great people's war, there has been direct or indirect competition between Prachanda and Baburam on the question of organization and leadership. Prachanda used to emphasise on centralisation to keep his leadership unchecked while on the other Baburam used to feel unsecured in it. This difference manifested first, on the question of leadership in the united front and then in the party. When comrade Pampha Bhushal was elected to the leadership of united front, it was intolerable to Baburam and that decision had to be changed. Likewise, Prachanda had placed in Gorkha meeting the question of centralisation of leadership to protect and guarantee his leading position in the party. Some of the comrades strongly opposed it, while some showed limitation in their understanding.

In the course of ten years of great people's war, inner-struggle and two-line struggle in different issues had developed in the party. Some of the struggles were normal and some of them were complicated. In this period, some of the comrades committed mistakes related

to petty bourgeois approach and some others were exaggeratedly charged with Lin Piaoist weakness too. Prachanda's interest was working from behind the charges. As an emphasis to centralise and establish party leadership, the fourth expanded meeting of the CC held in 1998 took a decision to use his quotes and publicise his photo and it was a weakness. Likewise, there were mistakes on the one hand to use the terminology Prachanda Path and on the other to take position on fusion of the theories of protracted people's war and armed insurrection. In a particular situation, the tactic of all-party roundtable conference, interim government and constitution from the people is not wrong but it did not correspond to the given context. Prachanda and Baburam's purpose behind this decision seems, not to link tactic with the strategy, but to prepare a base for class and national capitulation.

The debate between Prachanda and Baburam intensified on the question of centralisation of leadership. On the one hand, Prachanda wanted to take party, army and front, all of the three weapons of revolution, under his control and on the other Baburam did not want to lose leadership from the united front. In spite of sharp competition between them on the question of leadership but they had unity on how to take party towards reformism and parliamentary cretinism. This unity is well manifested in the document entitled, "development of democracy in the 21st century". The development of democracy is necessary; it should be taken positively, because the socialist states have crumbled. However, the proposal introduced by Prachanda was merely a filthy imitation and another edition of "people's multiparty democracy" presented by Madan Bhandari in the CPN (UML) and it is related with reformist socialism. Prachanda said that he had brought it to accomplish revolution and prevent counter-revolution. The opportunists utilise positive aspects to cover up the negative ones. Therefore, we should be careful on this too.

In the course of two-line struggle, Prachanda and Baburam, on the one hand, remained careful and active to fulfil their goal and the ranks of revolutionary comrades, on the other, fell short of necessary caution, awareness and unity. Notwithstanding this, the revolutionary comrades were dedicated to push the party and revolution forward. Right in this process, several responsible comrades including comrade Kiran, comrade Sonam, comrade Lokendra and comrade Suresh Ale got arrested in Siliguri, Patna and Delhi respectively. Two types of conspiracies, internal and external, seem working behind these arrests. It demands necessary study and investigation.

As a culmination of two-line struggle in the party, Baburam Bhattarai presented his note of descent on November 11, 2004 and a proposition entitled, "the fundamental questions of inner-party discussion" on November 30, 2004. The PB meeting, which was held at Lawang in February 2004 to discuss these

issues, expelled some leaders from the party including Baburam with the charge that Baburam "is going towards a precarious direction of helping imperialism, expansionism and royal military fascism". On the one hand, the vigorous competition for leadership between Prachanda and Baburam and, on the other, the aforesaid events of arrests were responsible for this expulsion.

3 – Right at this time, King staged a coup on February 1, 2005 and the two-line struggle took another turn. In this process, party organised its CC meeting at Chunwang in

September 2005. It withdrew the actions taken against the leaders including Baburam and reinstated them in their earlier responsibilities. The decision of expulsion and reinstatement in the same responsibility was taken in a dramatic way.

The Chunwang CC meeting adopted a main slogan, "Build a broad united front in favour of democratic republic! Raise the political and military offensive to a new height!" It said the democratic republic and election of CA was its tactic. It concluded that the analysis of imperialism made by Lenin and Mao has lagged behind. The two-line struggle between Prachanda and Baburam settled from this meeting. Prachanda agreed to Baburam's political line and Baburam accepted Prachanda's leadership.

On November 20, 2005, seven political parties and the CPN (Maoist) signed a 12-point memorandum of understanding that pledged to "implement the concept of full democracy with a forward-looking restructuring of the state", "establish lasting peace by ending armed conflict" and "pursue competitive multi-party system". In the midst of people's war and the 19-days mass movement, the dissolved parliament was reinstated. The great people's war that was initiated to establish new democratic republic and that had targeted the monarchical parliamentary system ended up in the reinstatement of the same system and the concept of competing with the very representatives of the old state power. The great people's war was initiated not to restructure the old state and compete with their representatives but to destroy them all and establish a new state power. After the parliamentary procedure started under the leadership of Girija, seven political parties and the CPN (Maoist), along with additional commitment to the competitive multiparty system, agreed to "dissolve people's governments organised by the CPN (Maoist)" on June 17, 2006 at Baluwatar. In this course, there was another agreement reached to integrate Maoist army combatants, who were verified on June 25, 2006, within six months and rehabilitate others, manage arms and return the seized properties.

On the aforesaid agreements, serious doubts appeared in the party. In that situation, the CC meeting held at Kamidanda decided that proper coordination and balance amongst armed people's war, peaceful mass movement, negotiations and diplomacy is necessary for the success of revolution in Nepal and said that it was the model of Nepalese revolution. However, before the ink of that decision had dried, a comprehensive peace agreement was signed between Nepal government and the CPN (Maoist) on November 21, 2006. It said, "We declare an end to the armed conflict on-going in the country since 1995 by giving permanency to the on-going cease-fire between the Government and the Maoist."

In succession to these events, party joined the government led by Nepali Congress. Party secured its first position in the election of the CA. It declared Nepal a republic and formed a Prachanda-led government. In that situation, the two-line struggle that had started on the political line from Balaju Expanded Meeting reached to its climax at Kharipati. The document we had presented in Kharipati National Convention writes, "The tasks - defence of national independence and establishment of People's Federal Democratic National Republic, simultaneous accomplishment of army integration and the writing of new constitution, formation of a united front among patriotic, democratic and left forces, preparation of people's insurrection and determination of the forms of struggle and organisation etc. - should be kept at centre as a series of tactic. The strategic goal can be attained

from this tactic."

The convention approved the tactic and the main spirit of the line our report had presented and adopted a common report by merging other parts from both of them. In that report, it was decided to take on the task of preparations related to ideology and politics, struggle, organisation and technology in a systematic way.

Then again, the leadership did not pay necessary attention to apply that decision in practice. Four bases were added with the tasks of four preparations and a plan of three-push was prepared. Although the programmes of the first and second push were carried out, no necessary preparation was made for the

third one and it was not even put into effect. As a result, a serious pessimism engulfed the whole party. In this backdrop, party called on an expanded meeting of the CC at Palungtar in December 2010. Three documents were presented in this meeting but none of them was adopted. Right after the expanded meeting, again the CC meeting was held. In that meeting, Baburam kept his document untouched. Again, a separate document was adopted by merging the common questions proposed by Prachanda and us, and the rests, where there were differences, were kept for future discussion. Even so, that too was not implemented in practice. The eclecticism and centrist opportunism present in Prachanda were the main reasons for this to happen.

Again, CC meeting took place in April 2011. The political report presented by Prachanda had emphasised to "Push the process of army integration and rehabilitation forward, send a unified draft constitution to reach the masses to have debate in spite of disagreements in some of the fundamental issues like restructuring of the state, form of governance and electoral process." We placed another report, which opposed the aforesaid proposal by Prachanda and said, "A policy and plan has been made to prepare a draft constitution and integrate army in a capitulationist way by abandoning the line of people's insurrection". Right after this meeting, a majority of the standing committee decided against CC position regarding the integration of PLA and we registered our disagreement. Alliance between Prachanda and Baburam consolidated further.

Meanwhile, serious differences surfaced regarding division of labour while preparing for CC meeting. In this process, aimed at building a new type of communist party and establishing the system of collective leadership necessary, discussion and interaction took place among the comrades in the CC. The CC unanimously decided to form a government of national consensus led by Baburam Bhattarai. Right at this point, Prachanda and Baburam reached a 4-point agreement with Madheshi front as against party policy and Baburam became the Prime Minister. Instantly, anti-people and anti-national acts like the submission of container's key, returning of land to the landlords, signing in BIPPA with India etc. took place hurriedly. We registered different letters into the central headquarters to solve the entire problems. But, they were all kept aside in the excuse that they were the disputes related with line and line struggle.

The CC meeting took place in January 2012. Two different reports from Prachanda and us were presented in it. Two-line struggle intensified. In that situation, keeping aside both the reports, an immediate report was adopted in consensus. The very report says,

"Our party has since long taken a policy to accomplish people's insurrection by means of necessary initiative from the street, parliament and government and our party is committed to this line and tactic". It further adds, "In spite of our emphasis in writing constitution based on the People's Federal Republic and making the peace process reach to a logical conclusion along with army integration, if that does not happen, it is evident that people will have right to rebel." But, Prachanda and Baburam, by kicking out all these decisions, ordered to dissolve the CA and asked Nepal Army to take control of the PLA. Eventually, it became an urgent necessity to break from opportunism and build a new communist party.

The essence of two-line struggle, which continued from Kharipati to the last National Convention, is as mentioned under. The document adopted in the National Convention writes, "From Kharipati to now, the issue of two-line struggle was mainly: whether to stick in the democratic republic or go ahead towards People's Federal Republic, whether to struggle against comprador and bureaucratic bourgeois and feudal internally and mainly Indian expansionism externally to safeguard the national independence or capitulate before them, whether to prepare for people's insurrection or follow a parliamentary peaceful process, whether to build a united front amongst patriotic, republican and left forces or make a coalition with the comprador bourgeoisie, whether to have dignified army integration or disarm, dissolve and liquidate PLA, whether to write a constitution based on the interest of the oppressed masses including workers, peasants, women, Dalit, Muslim and people from the oppressed region or write a status quo and regressive constitution based on the interest of comprador, bureaucratic bourgeois and the feudal class. Ultimately, Prachanda made a backward leap, centrist opportunism to rightist one. In essence, the two-line struggle was an intense ideological and political struggle between revolutionary line and right revisionist line." Here, two-line struggle in the party has been portrayed in brief.

4 – The main characters of the neo-revisionist group are Prachanda and Baburam. On the main characters of neo-revisionism, the political report, adopted in June 2012, by the National Convention that formed the Communist Part of Nepal-Maoist writes, "The main characters of neo-revisionist group are Prachanda and Baburam. Although Prachanda had played a positive role in a certain part of history and in a period of people's war but in the later period an opportunist and elite class thinking became dominant in him. The petty bourgeois mentality present in Prachanda, the influence of globalised imperialism, defeat in military actions including in Khara, of which Prachanda himself was the political commissar, and the eclectic and class collaborationist thinking are the reasons working from behind. In a certain part of history, Baburam too had played a positive role towards party and revolution. But, in the later part serious deviations have arisen in him. Lack of experience in the revolutionary class struggle, petty bourgeois intellectual attitude, long relation with Indian expansionism and the influence of empiricism, pragmatism and pluralism are the reasons working in him." The strong and weak aspects of Prachanda and Baburam have been pointed out here in brief.

Prachanda and Baburam had played mainly a positive role in propelling the ideological struggle forward against right revisionism in the international and the Nepalese communist movement, in preparing and initiating the great people's war and continuing it for a certain period. But afterwards, serious deviations developed in them.

5 – Shedding light on the theoretical characteristics existing in the neo-revisionists, the report writes, "The theoretical characteristics and trends existing in Prachanda-Baburam can be presented in three parts, they are: right liquidationism, class capitulationism and national capitulationism. Taking into account of all these characteristics together, it is better to term this trend or stream as right neo-revisionism. The classical and modern revisionism abandon and distort the basic concept of Marxism including dialectical and historical materialism, class struggle, theory of violence and the dictatorship of the proletariat while the neo-revisionism, in the pretext of opposing dogmatism, the creative application of Marxism and uniqueness of revolution does exactly the same. To seize the essence of Marxism in the name of creative development of Marxism is the main characteristic of neo-revisionism. The main characteristic of neo-revisionism has been mentioned here.

The political report adopted in the National Convention has shed light on the ideological, political and organisational characteristics witnessed in the neo-revisionist group. These characteristics are manifested in "democracy of the 21st century", political strategy of democratic republic, the analysis of imperialism presented by Prachanda and "today's Marxism" written by Baburam. "Today's Marxism" is in opposition to Marxism and is based on neo-Marxism. In that very report, the entire characteristics prevailing in the neo-revisionist group was mentioned as the deviations in theory, philosophy, politics and line, liquidation of people's war and the PLA, liquidation of organisation, class capitulationism, national capitulationism, violation of party decision on the question of writing constitution and abandonment of the proletarian conduct in the economic and cultural aspects. There is no need to mention all this here. In short, the neo-revisionism, eulogising MLM, has vehemently attacked upon this principle itself and has served the entire class enemies of Nepalese revolution including imperialism and expansionism.

6 – The political report adopted in the seventh expanded meeting of the neo-revisionist group held in last August has brought out their right revisionist politics in open. In that report, they have used the term Federal Republic in place of People's Federal Republic and they have backtracked from New Democratic Revolution against feudalism, imperialism and expansionism by saying that the new strategy of completing democratic revolution has been evidently connected with the strategy of preparing for socialist revolution. Likewise, the very report has stood in favour of democratic republic in the name of protecting the achievements of revolution. Study of the documents adopted in their expanded meeting further proves that the decisions we adopted in our National Convention were correct.

7 – The fact that Prachanda and Baburam were developing their relation with Indian expansionist ruling classes and their agencies and they had followed a path of national capitulation has been uncovered well from S. D. Muni's article, "Bringing the Maoists down from the Hills: India's Role" in a book entitled "Nepal in Transition" published in 2012. In that article, he says that Prachanda and Baburam had written to the office of the Prime Minister, India, a letter in which they promised not to

cause any harm to the Indian interest and also says that they were maintaining regular contact with RAW and I.B. It was a grave and shocking fact that some comrades were languishing in the Indian jails and others were maintaining relations in this way. In an

article published in "Indian Express" on July 25, 2012, P. K. Hormis, the ex-chief of RAW, has clearly mentioned how Prachanda posed himself before the party, when the two-line struggle was intensifying. In that article, he said that Dahal and Bhattarai were working for India; Dahal firmly supported Bhattarai against the anti-Indians in the two-line struggle and even remained prepared to split the party. All these evidences further prove that Prachanda had already capitulated before the Indian expansionism.

8 – Prachanda and Baburam have unity and struggle between them. The report adopted in the National Convention writes, "There is unity and struggle both between Prachanda and Baburam. On the one hand, the struggle between them reached to its climax in Lawang meeting while on the other the unity between them established in Chunwang meeting. Prachanda agreed with Baburam's political line of the democratic republic while Baburam accepted Prachanda's leadership. From Chunwang to now, it is seen that there is dispute on the question of organisation including leadership, a little difference in the field of thinking and basic unity in the field of line between them."

It is a matter of sorrow and worry to emerge this type of deviation in the leaders who had led the great people's war. The reasons behind this deviation include their petty bourgeois class origin, pro- bourgeois theoretical and political thinking and an unholy alliance with imperialism and expansionism.

In this context, it is necessary to mention the theoretical aspect of their coalition with imperialism and expansionism. The first country, in which the monopoly capitalism or imperialism had begun, is England. Mentioning that there was monopolistic profit in England and symptomatic features of colonies in the world, Engels had brilliantly shed light on the fact that a labour aristocracy in the ranks of the working class was emerging, trade union leaders who take money from the bourgeoisie were surfacing, privileged minority in the working class was coming up and privileged minority was forming bourgeois labour party in England. Paying special attention to this saying of Engels, Lenin, in his famous article "Imperialism and the split in socialism", said that imperialism has developed and when it expands to other countries, the relation between imperialism and revisionism leads to the formation of "bourgeois labour parties" or revisionist parties in different countries. On the unholy alliance between the imperialism and revisionism Lenin says, "The opportunists are a section of the petty bourgeoisie and of a certain strata of the working class who have been bribed out of imperialist super-profits and converted to watchdogs of capitalism and corruptors of the labour movement." What Lenin had also said at that time is that those revisionist parties, taking oath in the name of Marx and making it a signboard, confuse the masses. The revolutionaries must build a new party by rupturing from those revisionist parties. The process of two line struggle with the right neo-revisionist group in Nepal and the historic event of rupture must be looked at from this angle.

9 – It is necessary to study and assess what weaknesses and limitations the revolutionaries had in the course of long two-line struggle in the party and what were the achievements. The report adopted in the last National Convention says, "The revolutionaries too had several weaknesses and limitations in the course of building party line and policy. There have been several weaknesses from the debate on centralisation of leadership, adoption of Prachandapath and in several other meetings after Chunwang too. They

are related with metaphysics, fideism and liberalism. In fact, these are serious weaknesses appeared in the revolutionary camp.

In this context, it further writes, "From Kharipati to now, via Palungtar, we have been struggling against the deviations witnessed in a part of the leadership. It is a good thing. In this course, we too had several weaknesses and limitations including lack of necessary vigilance in the course of two-line struggle. In the meeting of the headquarters, there were notable weaknesses and limitations with us when we failed to pay necessary attention to and express our opinion on the four-point consensus reached with Madheshi front. These weaknesses too should be taken seriously.

The Dhobighat gathering, held on July 20, 2011, was based on the goal of re-establishing collective leadership, opposing bureaucratic monopolistic trend that existed in the main leadership and building a new party with transformation. Even though, this objective was correct subjectively, but the

anticipated result could not be achieved. In this whole process, there were weaknesses and limitations including lack of uniformity in understanding, necessary caution and negligence in handling two-line struggle on the part of revolutionary camp.

There are not only weak but strong aspects too with the revolutionaries. Mentioning the role played by revolutionary camp in the course of two-line struggle, the report adopted in the National Convention writes, "It is evident that the revolutionary camp had played a positive role in developing line and taking decisions. In absence of such role, we could not have gone ahead to great people's war and developed it. Likewise, in the course of peace process, we had put special emphasis to wage struggle against the wrong trends and thinking present in Prachanda and Baburam, protect People's Federal Republic and the national independence, take decisions to prepare people's insurrection and stop party from going towards right opportunist direction." This role played by the revolutionary camp in the course of great people's war and peace process is very important and meaningful. We must have a lofty appraisal of the strong aspects present in the revolutionaries. As a result of this, we have been able to arrive here by struggling against the opportunists and to go ahead by rupturing from them.

In addition to this, it further writes, "In the present situation when Prachanda and Baburam have seriously betrayed the country, people, revolution and the proletarian internationalism and have liquidated party and revolution, the revolutionary camp has raised the banner of MLM and has played a vital role for the sake of revolution." In this way, the revolutionary camp has played a great role in raising the banner of MLM and rupturing from the opportunists.

10 – We have to learn and take lessons from the positive and negative experiences we have acquired ever since the initiation of people's war, its continuity and the peace process to now. They are mainly as follows.

First: the question of Prachanda Path. In this whole process, the ideology and party policy were definitely getting enriched and developed. On the one hand, this enrichment and development was based upon collective leadership but on the other, it had not yet at-

tained that quality and its test was still awaited. In that situation, it was a serious mistake to have an ideological synthesis as Prachanda Path. In doing this, the revolutionary camp has committed a mistake of fideism.

Second: the concept regarding leadership. A communist party is a party of leaders; party has high quality leaders and one of them is the main leader. But, the very leader cannot have absolute authority and cannot be above the committee. Prachanda raised the centralisation of leadership to supreme authority, kicked out the dialectical relation of democratic centralism, attacked upon the concept of collective leadership and finally changed the credence of highest position to totalitarianism. Here we have committed a mistake of liberalism. We have to connect the concept of leadership with collective leadership, committee system and democratic centralism. It is necessary to firmly wage struggle against this individualist thinking and working style, which is manifested in party and the leadership rank.

Third: seriousness in ideological and political questions. An in-depth study and debate is necessary on the theoretical and political questions and any hasty decision must not be taken on them. In this question, every party member and particularly the CCM must seriously grasp his/her duty and responsibility towards revolution.

Fourth: courage to struggle against the wrong trends and thinking. The revolutionary camp must dare to struggle against wrong thinking and trends and finally rupture from opportunism. Finally, we did it. It has a special significance in the history of Nepalese and the international communist movement.

Fifth: alliance with the class enemies. In the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the revisionism and imperialism have close relation. That's why some leaders maintain alliance with imperialism and finally betray revolution. It is exactly what has happened in Nepal.

Sixth: ebb and flow of two-line struggle. Because the party is a unity of opposites, there is always two-line struggle in it, sometimes moderate and sometimes sharp. It is necessary to understand its dynamism, condition, nature and direction correctly and handle it accordingly. The opportunists try to conspire and confuse the revolutionaries in the course of ebb and flow of two-line struggle, so necessary vigilance is required for this. No one must be inattentive, liberal, neutral, provoked and offensive in such two-line struggles. Revolutionaries have to understand the issue and situation correctly and take initiative in hand.

7 – Mass movement, armed struggle and democratic revolution in Nepal

1 – The history of mass movement, armed struggle and democratic revolution falls short of concrete study materials. They are necessary to have extensive and serious study. Some efforts have been made, but they are insufficient. The motive force of the history is class struggle and the creators of Nepalese history are the Nepalese people. For any movement, armed struggle or revolution, a leading force – a political force representing the concerned class – its objective, policy and programme is a must. Besides, a guiding principle also is necessary to lead that movement. Paying attention to these aspects, the

Nepalese mass movement, armed struggle and democratic revolution can be appraised on the basis of dialectical and historical materialism.

2 – After Nepal entered into a feudal society, there has been continuous struggle between big and small feudal, landlord and peasant, usurer and ordinary people, master and handicraft workers. In this course, Prithvi Narayan Shah launched a unification campaign. It was based on the contradiction between the oppression campaign upon indigenous masses on the one hand and the historical necessity of social development on the other. In this backdrop, Nepal had to wage a war against British imperialism. In this national war, Nepal created unprecedented records of sacrifice and heroism while on the other the Sugauli Treaty that followed seriously offended the national dignity. After this, Nepal changed into semi-colonial condition.

3 – As soon as Nepal changed into semi-colonial and semi-feudal condition, absolute monarchy ruled for a while and later Ranas enforced their absolute rule under monarchy. It was mainly a state power of feudal or landlord class, bureaucratic and comprador bourgeoisie. In the beginning of Rana regime, the struggles of religious nature arose; later on they turned political. Initially, they were spontaneous struggles but later they were launched in a conscious and planned way.

4 – In the history of Nepalese mass movement, Lakhan Thapa's rebellion is noteworthy. After the Ranas captured power, it was a historical rebellion led by Lakhan Thapa in Gorkha against the regime. It was in fact an armed challenge posed by an oppressed class against the exploiter. Ranas ruthlessly suppressed it. Lakhan Thapa became the first martyr of Nepalese people's movement. Later, Madhavraj Joshi launched a religious Arya Samaji movement under his leadership. A women leader, Yog Maya, too launched same type of movement. It was against feudal exploitation, oppression and suppression.

5 – As of the influence of bourgeoisie democratic revolution in the world, the First World War, socialist revolution in Russia, the Second World War, New Democratic Revolution in China and the anti-British movement in India, political parties came into being in Nepal. In this course, the parties and organisations like Prachanda Gorkha, Nagarik Adhikar Samiti, Raktapat Samiti, Praja Parishad and Nepal Prajatantra Congress were organized. The workers movement and Jayatu Sanskritam movement led by the students occurred in 1948. When the Communist Party of Nepal was established on April 22, 1949, it distributed its first leaflet on the very day. It addressed the workers, peasants, women, students and entire oppressed people's sons and daughters and appealed them to come forward in struggles against the Rana regime for civil liberty. Though it was not possible to lead the movement right then by a communist party, which was shortly established, nevertheless the first leaflet carries a special historical significance ideologically and politically.

6 – Nepali Congress launched armed struggle in different parts of the country in 1951. In this course, King Tribhuvan went to Delhi. Before the movement completed, tripartite agreement was reached in Delhi. In the agreement, it was agreed to write constitution from the CA. From within the Nepali Congress, Dr. K. I. Singh, who opposed that agreement, installed a local government in his own command at Bhairahawa. In order to suppress Dr. K. I. Singh, the government took help of Indian army and was imprisoned af-

ter his arrest. The peasant struggle started developing from 1951 and reached to its climax in 1954. In the districts including Bara, Parsa, Rautahat in the eastern Terai, the "Tamsuk Fatta" movement (Movement to tear down loan papers) advanced against landlords and usurers. The awareness increased among the peasants and a serious debate on land reform programme began. In this course, Bhim Dutta Panta, in western Nepal, declared an armed struggle in 1955 against Delhi- agreement and the regime. The government of Nepal asked support from the government of India, and

the armed rebellion led by Bhim Dutta was brutally suppressed. Bhim Dutta attained martyrdom. Peasant struggle continued in the different parts of the country including in Dang and Parbat. But, the party remained inattentive to develop this struggle into political one, lead it correctly and extend to the other parts of the country. In place of the CA election, the parliamentary election took place in 1960. The communist party participated in it. It was an important form of legal struggle adopted by the party. Nepali Congress won the election and formed a government. The CPN secured only four seats.

7 – King staged a coup on December 15, 1960 and dissolved both, the parliament and the government led by Nepali Congress. The party-less autocratic Panchayati system came into being in this process. In that situation, Nepali Congress launched an armed struggle. But, the regime ruthlessly suppressed it. Finally the struggle failed. From the military point of view, the principle, strategy and tactic of the armed struggle launched by Nepali Congress were unclear.

8 – After the absolute Panchayati era started, the movements led by students and peasants advanced. In this course, under the influence of armed peasants' movement led by Charu Mazumdar in Naxalbari, West Bengal, India, class enemy annihilation campaign started in Jhapa district in 1972. The campaign that was started against the feudal landlord class continued till 1974. The government brutally suppressed it. One of the courageous events of Jhapa rebellion was Nakkhu jail-break. The Jhapa district committee of East Koshi, the Communist Party of Nepal, had initiated this movement. Its objective was to establish new democratic republic in Nepal by waging protracted people's war. There was no clarity in military line, strategy and tactic. It had suffered from the weakness caused by petty bourgeois and mechanical thinking. However, it had definitely raised a banner of rebellion against the reaction and revisionism in the history of Nepalese communist movement.

9 – In 1970, the communist party led by Pushpalal launched an armed attack upon a feudal usurer at Harre Barre in Arghakhanchi. Peoples' loan-papers, worth Rupees millions, were burnt down and the peasants were made free of loans. Besides this, a huge amount of cash and other materials were captured. But the leadership did not carry this movement forward. In 1978, a peasant struggle committee formed of the leaders including Rohit, Rupalal, Dhruvalal, who split from Pushpalal group, launched an armed attack upon usurers and merchants at Jugedi in Chitwan and captured a huge quantity of grains, jeweleries and apparels. A few people attained martyrdom in the course of suppression after this action. Nepal Worker-Peasant Organisation, which was formed of the unity between the aforesaid peasant struggle committee and Proletarian Revolutionary Organisation of Nepal, formed of the leaders Hareram and D. B. Singh, the splinters of Pushpalal group,

kicked off a peasant struggle at Jutpani in 1980/81. Pirtighat bank capture in Gulmi also succeeded in 1984 under the leadership of Proletarian Worker Organisation, which was formed of the unity in 1981 between Nepal Worker-Peasant Organisation and Proletarian Communist League. But, all in the team did not return back safely, some of them were arrested.

10 – The students and peasants had been carrying mass movements on the burning issues of national independence, democracy and people's livelihood after Panchayati system was introduced. As a climax of all of these struggles the mass movement erupted in 1980. The movement that started in the form of a student movement got connected with peasant movement too and ultimately targeted against Panchayati system. In this course, the CPN (Fourth Congress) launched a strong peasant movement in the districts including Mahottari, Dhanusha, Sarlahi, Siraha, Sindhuli, Chitwan and extended it to different parts of the country. In the course of this movement, a referendum between party-less and multi-party system was declared. But, the result was drawn in favour of reformed party-less system in the referendum organised in 1981. Right after that, National Panchayat election was organised. The CPN (Fourth Congress) decided to strongly boycott the election. In this course, the boycott movement brilliantly succeeded in the village committees of Thawang in Rolpa and Dhakawang in Arghakhanchi. In 1985, the Janabadi Morcha led by Ramraja Prasad Singh carried out simultaneous bomb explosions all across the country including at Singh Durbar, the heart of Kathmandu, for the establishment of republic. This incident created wave all across the country. A suppression campaign was carried out upon the agitators. But, this movement too did not go ahead in a systematic and planned way.

11 – On the one hand, when people's fury against the absolute Panchayati System was rising and the Indian expansionism was waiting an opportune time to fulfil its interest on the other, a mass movement exploded in 1990. On the one hand, the United Front formed of the alliance between Nepali Congress

and the left coalition launched struggle for the establishment of multiparty parliamentary system and, on the other, the United National People's Movement, which was formed from among Nepal Communist League, Nepal Marxist-Leninist Party, Communist Party of Nepal (Masal) and Communist Party of Nepal (Mashal), putting emphasis on the need to establish New Democratic Revolution, carried forward the mass movement for political freedom. In this process, different parties attempted to push the movement forward in their own way. The 1990 mass movement ended up with the establishment of constitutional monarchy and the multiparty parliamentary system. Nepalese people were again deceived.

12 – After the re-establishment of multiparty system, a constitution was written based on the parliamentary system. Revolutionaries did not agree with this. General election took place; the revolutionary Marxists too participated in it. Nepali Congress won the election and formed a government under its leadership. But, the government did not work as the 1990 mass movement had expected. Nepali Congress launched suppression campaign upon the leftists and conducted ruthless Romeo operation in Rolpa. In this period, party ideologically, politically and organisationally prepared the initiation of great people's war.

13 – With an objective review of the entire mass movements and armed struggles of the past, with a long ideological struggle against right opportunism entrapped in the infinite circles of mass movements and with a determination of moving qualitatively ahead amid the preparations related to ideology and politics, organisation, struggle and technology, the CC of the CPN (Maoist) decided to make a leap into people's war. On February 13, 1996, the CPN (Maoist) appealed the masses with a leaflet entitled, "March along the path of people's war to smash the reactionary state and establish a new democratic state" and posters with similar content. The initiation of people's war had a far-reaching importance and party moved ahead continuing it. It was qualitatively different, unique, pushy and weighty than other armed struggles of the past. It forcefully developed amid ebbs and flows. It was launched according to the strategy and theory of encircling cities from the countryside and moved ahead through the stages of strategic defensive and equilibrium.

14 – As a result of the great people's war, party consolidated further and extended all across the country. Starting from fighting squads and guerrilla squads, the military formation developed to 7 divisions. In the process of great people's war, along with small to big raids, sabotage and ambush, from intensive attacks upon various district headquarters to their seizure were brilliantly accomplished. In this context, the military actions carried out in district headquarters including in Dolpa on September 24, 2000, in Dang and Shyangja on November 23, 2001, in Solu on November 25, 2001, in Arghakhanchi on September 8, 2002, in Jumla on November 14, 2002, in Bhojpur on March 2, 2004, in Myagdi on March 20, 2004 noteworthy to mention here. In this course, temporary base areas were built in the broad countryside and people's governments were formed. The masses became the master of the power. The great people's war became a centre of attraction not only inside the country but abroad too. But, in the process of people's war, wrong thinking and trends of serious nature developed in the main leadership. It suffered from petty bourgeois impatience and opportunist thinking. Party suffered losses in several military actions and from this failure, pessimist and escapist trend increased in the main leadership. In this process, it finally followed the path of capitulation. It ended up in Chunwang meeting, 12-point agreement, comprehensive peace agreement and the termination of people's war. In this course, CA election was held and the CPN (Maoist) secured first position in it. The country turned republic. But, even after the four years of exercise, CA failed to write constitution but got dissolved.

15 – Though the people's war has been ended, it deserves special significance. Summing up the people's war, the last national convention says, "The great people's war which was initiated on February 13, 1996 under the leadership of CPN (Maoist) is a great event in the history of Nepalese democratic revolution and the Nepalese communist movement as well. Under the leadership of the proletariat, it was initiated to go ahead towards socialism and communism by establishing new democratic republic against feudalism, imperialism and expansionism. The people's war, advancing from the strategic defensive to strategic equilibrium, had moved forward to build 7 divisions of PLA. And, in participation of people from remote areas along with women, indigenous people, Dalit, Madheshi and Muslims on the basis of unity between worker and peasants, it had built up base areas and people's governments in

the broad countryside including in Rolpa and Rukum. People's commune, people's cooperative organisations, people's hospitals were established in various district including Rolpa. The tasks of party, mass organisations and fronts were developing rapidly. The great people's war had become the centre of hope and bright future not only for the Nepalese people but for the entire proletariat and oppressed masses of the world. We had termed Nepal a base area of world revolution. These are the main historical achievements of the great people's war and we have to go ahead stepping at the foundation of these achievements." This summation of the great people's war is objective and we have to go ahead accordingly.

16 – The mass movement, armed struggle and democratic revolution we discussed here needs to undergo comprehensive synthesis and evaluation. Learning necessary lessons from the objective synthesis and evaluation, the movement can be pushed forward along the correct direction. In this context, the following issues need to pay attention.

First: CA has been at the centre of movement from 1951 to now. But, till now, the democratic revolution has not been completed through CA.

Second: It is seen that the Indian expansionism had had a key in its hand to control the major movements and the class struggles from 1951 to 2006. The tri-partite Delhi-agreement aborted the movement in 1951. When India imposed an economic blockade in 1989 in Nepal, a movement erupted in 1990. The 12-point agreement was reached in the guidance of India to recede the great people's war. This is a question of serious anxiety and disgrace for the national existence and independence of Nepal.

Third: India has directly mobilised Indian army to suppress the movement and help their agents in Nepal. Indian army has booted down both of the rebellions led by K. I. Singh and Bhim Dutta Pant. It is a serious attack upon national dignity and independence.

Fourth: All the right revisionists and mainly those, who agree with the concept of the New Democratic Revolution and armed struggle in Nepal, have given priority to mass movement till their life and say that the objective situation is not mature for revolution. From this point of view, there has been unity between some of the groups that support New Democratic Revolution and those who oppose it.

Fifth: The genuine revolutionaries boycott or participate in elections of the reactionary state as necessary. This policy is correct. But, what has been the main feature of right opportunists is that they never boycott the elections. In this sense, it is clear that they take the question of election not as a tactic but as strategy.

Sixth: In the history of Nepalese mass movements and democratic revolution, armed struggles have been waged spontaneously and in people's level as well. Nepali Congress raised gun three times. But, those who claim superior communist leaders are scared of even thinking it. We should understand this well.

Seventh: In the beginning, any revolution or movement is enthusiastically initiated in Nepal. But, they finally end up with a compromise. Like for example, the 1951 movement ended incomplete. The 1990 movement ended before republic was declared. Likewise, the great people's war waged by the Maoists entangled in compromise and ca-

pitulation without main achievement. Visibly, there has been since long an unholy alliance amongst the imperialism, expansionism and agitators i.e. revisionism and it should be seriously grasped and properly exposed.

Eighth: The mass movement, armed struggle or democratic revolution in Nepal are mainly related with the defence of national independence, establishment of people's democracy and resolution of the basic problems of people's livelihood. But, these problems have not yet been solved and new democratic state has not yet been established. It leads to a conclusion that the Nepalese proletariat and their political representative, a genuine communist party, only can lead the democratic revolution in Nepal. In order to accomplish this revolution, uninterrupted struggle should be waged against right revisionism. Then only can the new state power be established.

8 – Some important theoretical and political questions

1. Analysis of imperialism

This is an era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. It is necessary to study and analyse imperialism to develop revolutionary strategy and tactic to propel the revolution along the correct direction. But, not only the revolutionary Marxists but also the revisionists analyse imperialism. The revolutionaries do it for revolution and the revisionists for counter-revolution. One must be seriously aware of it.

The document adopted by the CC of the CPN (Maoist) at Chunwang Meeting writes, "The present state of the US imperialism, which is going ahead as a globalised state, has made Lenin's and Mao's analysis lag behind regarding imperialism as had the development of imperialism at Lenin's time done to the Marx's analysis and strategy of simultaneous revolution in the entire Europe. This is the main point that necessitates developing MLM and determining new proletarian strategy in the 21st century."

In this excerpt, special attention should be paid in three points. Firstly, it says Lenin's and Mao's analysis of imperialism has lagged behind after the US imperialism took a globalised form. Secondly, it argues that this analysis has lagged behind as the analysis of Marx's capitalism did at the time of Lenin. Thirdly, it has been mentioned that the strategy of the proletarian revolution must be determined in a new way when imperialism develops. This analysis is absolutely wrong, full of deviations and unacceptable. Because, the essence of this analysis has been to revise and oppose the Leninist concept that says the present era is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Here a peculiar type of comparison has been made. What has been said in this comparison is that the difference that existed between the analysis of capitalism by Marx and that of imperialism by Lenin corresponds to the difference existing between the imperialism defined by Lenin and the present one. Clearly, there was a difference of one era between the analyses made by Marx and Lenin. Here too, it has been attempted to show the difference of one era between the analysis of imperialism made by Lenin and the present one.

Right here a question arises, is this new development of globalised imperialism regarded as the beginning of a new era after the end of the old one? The said document

has not brought in the concept of an era; however, it has not mentioned that the new form of globalised imperialism cannot be termed as a new era either. This is an utterly ugly and clumsy example of eclecticism.

Also, in the excerpt, it is said that the analysis of simultaneous revolution in the capitalist European countries based on the then analysis of Marx regarding capitalism had lagged behind at the time of Lenin and it has also signalled towards the context that socialist revolution can take place in a single country too. Has not the concept of revolution in one country too lagged behind when Lenin's concept of imperialism has been so, a serious doubt has arisen. It shows that the neo-revisionist group is getting entangled in Trotskyism.

And, what is that new strategy or tactic? The document further writes, "Only by moving firmly, actively and responsibly ahead to form an interim government, elect the CA and establish the democratic republic with an extensive restructuring of the state power can the party, by uniting the entire republican forces against feudal autocratic monarchy in today's concrete condition, establish its leadership in the movement." Tactically, the slogans of interim government, CA and democratic republic can and should be adopted in the specific condition of the democratic revolution. But, was the slogan given by Chunwang meeting merely a tactical one? What has been clear till now is that it was not a tactical slogan but in fact a strategic one.

Today, we need to pay attention to the background of analysis of imperialism presented in the Chunwang meeting, the strategy and tactic adopted on its basis, the two-line struggle since long in the party and the situation followed by split. And, we must be ideologically and politically clear to put forward a correct strategy and tactic by analysing imperialism.

Although the term "Empire" was developed long before, but the term imperialism is a concept of modern age. No later than the competitive capitalism took the form of monopoly capitalism, a new terminology, imperialism, has been used to denote it. In Lenin's opinion, imperialism is a particular historical state of capitalism and its characteristics should be presented as monopoly capitalism, parasitic capitalism and moribund capitalism. According to him, the replacement of free market competition by monopoly is the essence of imperialism. The imperialism is manifested in different forms and characteristics. Lenin says, "We should define imperialism in such a way that it comprises of five basic characteristics as follows: (1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to

such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; (2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this "finance capital", of a financial oligarchy; (3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; (4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves, and (5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed." According to Lenin, replacement of free market competition by monopoly is the essence of imperialism and this very characteristic of imperialism continues till date.

Let it be remembered that Kautsky did not agree with this concept of Lenin on imperialism. He defined and labelled imperialism as "super-imperialism", a phase of "union of the imperialisms of the whole world" etc. Its essence was to place a curtain before the oppressive form of imperialism. Lenin had firmly opposed and refuted it.

Some of the leaders of neo-revisionist group say that imperialism has undergone a big change in its form after the Second World War. They have raised some questions, which is necessary to discuss in brief.

First: a question on the form of imperialism. According to them, imperialism is even today a monopoly capitalism as Lenin had pointed out but, in spite of this, there has been considerable changes in its structure and the character of monopolistic institutions following the Second World War. These changes have been manifested in building multinational companies and the trinity of WB, IMF and the WTO. There is no strength in such logics by them. When the essence of imperialism is monopoly capitalism, as Lenin had said, the multinational companies and the formation of trios is only the form it represents. Then, what does it mean to have such a hue and cry that the monopoly capitalism has undergone a considerable change?

Second: on the export of capital, finance and financial capital. Some leaders of the neo-revisionist group argue that there has been a considerable change in the nature of export of capital and further add that this capital, which is very unstable and mobile, cannot be brought into national control. It means that there is no other way than kneeling down before the financial capital. Right here, none must have any pretext that the comprador capital does not come under the control of a nation. The national independence can be defended if a policy is adopted as not to kneel down before the foreign institutions including the trios but as to base on the goal of investing national capital and developing national economy. In conjunction with this, what they say is that the finance capital, which comprises of bank and industrial capital, existed at the time of Lenin but now the financial capital, which is isolated from production and is limited merely to financial transaction, has developed. Here too, there is no need to dissect hair while showing difference between finance capital and financial capital. It is because, the financial capital is the continuation of finance capital and it is also called the "financialisation of capital" in political economy.

Third: inter-imperialist relation and the question of war. In their opinion, the rivalry among the imperialist powers is very weak, unity among them is the principal aspect now and the competition among them is not right now at the level leading to war. It is also a strange explanation. It means that it is better to put off revolution till the inter-imperialist rivalry does not turn into a war. In fact, the world is not unipolar now; it is developing towards bipolar and multi-polar rivalry. What can be understood from their explanation is that none must talk about revolution until there is inter-imperialist war. Let it be remembered, Mao after the Second World War had said that revolution is the main trend in the world and this situation continues even today.

Fourth: the form of state and the question of its role. Explaining the character and role of the state, they say that different states are now moving not towards maintaining their territory but towards establishing globalised multi-state system. What they intend

to say from this is that any country is not able now to protect her independent sovereign existence. It exactly resembles with Kautsky's concept regarding ultra-imperialism. In their opinion, the US imperialism is militarily very strong; therefore none can raise voice against it.

From the aforesaid analysis of imperialism, what conclusion have the neo-revisionist leaders drawn is that revolution is not possible now, none must talk of struggle against imperialism and expansionism and no other strategy and tactic except democratic republic can be adopted.

This tactic brought in the pretext of creative development and originality of strategy and tactic and of the further necessity of analysing imperialism, gives off smell of Kautskyism and the stink of capitulation towards imperialism. This analysis by neo-revisionists is very much subjective and rests upon the class and national capitulationism and escapism. It has been proved well from their activities till today and will prove further in the days to come.

It is true; there have been changes in the form of imperialism. We must admit it. But, it does not mean that imperialism has entered into a qualitatively new era. In this situation, we should develop and improve our strategy and tactic. But while doing so, we must not get drowned into the swamp of Kautskism and Trotskyism.

Along with bourgeoisie, neo-Marxists and the post-Marxists too have been actively involved in studying and analysing imperialism. Ernest Mandel has analysed imperialism from the neo-Marxist angle. In his opinion, capitalism has developed in three stages. They are: first, the era of market capitalism based on free competition, second, the classical era of imperialism developed in the form of monopoly capitalism and third: the old capitalist era. In his opinion, today's capitalism or imperialism is the old capitalism of third stage. Mitchell Hardt and Antonio Negri are those who have explained imperialism from post-Marxist and post-colonialist angle. In their opinion, the concept of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism has been out-dated now, imperialism has taken a form of post-imperialism and at this time there is no reason to oppose it. The explanation and analysis the neo-revisionists are making resemble with neo-Marxists. Though, they say that the present era is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution but there is no uniformity in this saying and their analysis. Likewise, neo-revisionist leaders' analysis regarding imperialism resembles with post-Marxists. Because, the post-Marxists have been working to cover up the reactionary character of imperialism and the neo-revisionist leaders also are doing the same.

In fact, the imperialism is in a serious crisis today. Not only the US imperialism and Europe but the whole world is entrapped in its influence. It is an insoluble crisis that has emerged from the anarchy of capitalist production aimed at earning super-profit and from the investment in the unproductive sectors like military industry, arm production and housing and the expansion of financial capital secluded from industrial production. Lenin had said that the crisis of unproductive financial capital is the crisis of parasitic capitalism and this is valid in the context of present imperialism as well. After all, the imperialism is a moribund capitalism and it is getting shattered further from such crises.

Some of the bourgeois intellectuals who have been lauding the "end of communism" for some time now have started seeing that the future of America is dark. In the editorial of "Washington Post" published in October 10, 2008, a serious question, "American capitalism is collapsing" was raised. It is an important question. However, it also said that there is no alternative system to it. In fact, it is not so, there is an alternative too. Right in this context, Raymond Lotta, an American Marxist political economist, says, "But there is another way. It is possible to take hold of the productive forces of society and to develop and deploy them in a rational, planned, and society-wide way to meet human need and to safeguard the planet. It is possible to establish a radically different kind of state power and to create a society." (Financial Hurricane Batters World Capitalism, October 15, 2008).

On the one hand, the uncontrolled capitalist imperialist economy fell in a serious crisis, while on the other the planned socialist economy developed in an effective way around 1930. In that situation, Keynes's mixed economic system came forward and it helped to sustain and provided respite to the capitalist imperialist economy. Nevertheless, as a result of economic recession and crisis of 1970, the credence of the Keynesian economy too came to a decline. In this situation, the neo-liberal economic system took its birth. Although the hegemony of neo-liberal economy had tightened after the dissolution of Soviet Union, but while arriving at 2007, a serious economic recession and crisis emerged again in the USA. That very crisis affected the entire Europe and other countries too and they have not yet been able to escape from that crisis. In this situation, the state of neo-liberal economic doctrine too is worsening.

The imperialism is in a serious crisis today. The WB, IMF, WTO and the multinational companies took their birth amid imperialist crisis. In order to put off their crisis, they have been terrorising people of the oppressed nations or under-developed countries. The liberalisation and globalisation has been indicative not of the growth but of the decline of the imperialist economy.

In the economic sector, the liberalism had stood upon the foundation of classical economic thinking and free competition. However, with the birth and development of imperialism, the economy based upon the monopoly financial capital replaced free competition. Although the apologists of imperialism are trying now to confuse the world with a coating of neo-liberalism, there is no doubt that its essence is imperialist monopoly. It is entrapped in an inescapable contradiction between free capitalist competition in form and imperialist monopoly in essence. Although, neo-liberalism has been presented with decorative words like free market and super competition, many economists say that it has become totalitarian, arbitrary and para-military. In fact, the solution to imperialist crisis is nothing other than revolution and establishment of scientific socialism.

Yes, there has been a massive development in the field of science, technology and electronic media. Also there has been quantitative development in the form of imperialism along with the financial and other institutions like the WB, IMF and WTO. But, there has been no any qualitative development. This is an era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and revolution is the main trend today. Looking at from this angle, there is no need to undergo a qualitatively big change in the main strategy and tactic of the new democratic and socialist revolution. We can and should go ahead by developing and bettering them.

On the one hand, the development in electronic and information technology sector is the development of productive force and on the other, imperialism is taking advantage of it. But, the imperialism is crisis-ridden. This is such a situation in which the contradiction between new productive forces and the old production relation is intensifying and it demands new production relation, which is consistent with the development of productive forces. In this situation, none should surrender before imperialism but must go ahead against it to prepare for revolution in every country and build an anti-imperialist united front in the world scale. Now, it is necessary to forcefully push forward the process of globalisation of socialist revolution under the leadership of the proletariat against the imperialist globalisation.

2. The question of revisionism, revolution and counter-revolution

The revisionism is an international affair. It revises, misinterprets, distorts and perverts Marxism. It also develops with the development of Marxism. In general, revisionism has been appearing in classical, modern and neo forms. The classical revisionism revises, misinterprets and distorts Marxism. Mainly Bernstein and Kautsky represent it. Modern revisionism is the developed form of classical revisionism. With a disguise of Marxism-Leninism it minutely opposes Marxism-Leninism itself. It is represented mainly by Khrushchev, Tito etc. The neo-revisionism is another edition of revisionism, which stands upon the foundation of classical and modern revisionism. Eulogising MLM/Mao thought, it vehemently attacks upon the MLM itself. In addition to classical and modern revisionism, various shades of open and pseudo opportunists represent neo-revisionism and it has been influenced by neo-Marxism and Euro-communism. It is necessary to carry out ruthless ideological struggle against all sorts of revisionism to correctly propel the revolution forward.

Why counter-revolution occurred in the countries where revolution was accomplished? In order to prevail over that situation, Mao, studying the counter-revolutions in the countries including Russia and Eastern Europe, launched the GPCR under the dictatorship of the proletariat. But, there too problems arose. Why did it happen so? Likewise, why did the communist parties, which had paid attention to the experiences of various countries and had adopted MLM as their guiding principle, drowned into the quagmire of revisionism? Today, these serious questions are being raised in the whole ICM and the Nepalese communist movement too and we must find correct answers to these questions.

In the backdrop of answering aforesaid questions, there have been serious polemics in the Nepalese and international communist movement to find reasons behind the restoration of capitalism and find the ways to prevent them. In these polemics too, the questions whether internal or external reason is

principal behind the restoration of capitalism are being forcefully raised. The questions are answered from both of the angles, the revolutionary and opportunist.

The Nepalese communist movement started to think that the internal reasons i.e. the lack of "multiparty competition" and "lack of democracy" were the main problems facing the communist revolutionaries. The CPN (UML) asserted that the main reason

behind the collapse of Soviet Union and East European socialist states was the absence of multiparty competition in the state power and presence of dogmatism in the party and thus it concocted an opportunist principle of the People's Multiparty Democracy in the name of opposing dogmatism and creatively developing revolutionary theory. It was an event of serious right revisionist deviation emerged inside the UML.

The debate on the reasons of counter-revolution surfaced inside the CPN (Maoist) too. In this course, talking about completing revolution and preventing counter-revolution, party adopted a draft proposal entitled "development of democracy in the 21st century". The said document writes, "The genuine people's democratic dictatorship or the dictatorship of the proletariat can strengthen in the process of extensive democratisation of the state power. The democratic centralism, a great scientific theory, does not mean other than this. Why the parties that seized power by correctly exercising democratic centralism before seizing power became victims of formal democracy and bureaucratic centralism after they exercised it? The logic that the revisionism was prevailing in the party cannot be its complete answer. This or that kind of weakness in applying dialectical materialism on the part of Marxists too is responsible for this."

Here, not the revisionism, which was shaping inside the party, but contrarily the weaknesses witnessed in the revolutionaries has been presented as the main reason for counter-revolution. There is analogy in some of the sayings of CPN (Maoist) and UML. The UML says that the reason behind the collapse of socialist powers including in the Soviet Union was the lack of multiparty competition and the Maoist resolution says the lack of democracy was the main reason for this. A peculiar analogy is seen here and it must not be regarded as a coincidence only. Of course, we must develop people's democracy i.e. proletarian democracy but while doing so the essence of people's democratic dictatorship or proletarian dictatorship must not be abandoned and revisionism must not be compromised.

In the process of finding reasons of the restoration of capitalism i.e. counter-revolution in the socialist countries, we should pay attention to the experiences of socialist revolution and the communist movement presented by Marx, Lenin and Mao and their theoretical synthesis. It requires special learning, thinking and understanding.

Marx and Engels, in the critique of Gotha Programme, had said that, in order to reach to communism from capitalism, a transitional phase is necessary and proletarian dictatorship is required to enforce in this period. Where they had emphasised is that economic, moral and intellectual impressions of the old society exist in a socialist society, which has taken birth from the protracted labour pain of bourgeois society and the dictatorship of the proletariat destroys those impressions. Lenin too said, the "Dictatorship of the proletariat means a persistent struggle – bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative – against the forces and traditions of the old society". (Lenin Vol. 31 "Left-Wing" Communism in Germany the Leaders, the Party, the Class, the Masses). Shedding light that petty production is the source of capitalism, Lenin emphasised the "Cultural Revolution" is necessary to liberate society from this.

Standing upon the foundation of the lessons acquired by Marx and Lenin, Mao es-

pecially emphasized on the need to study experiences of Soviet Union. Taking serious lesson from the restoration of capitalism headed by Khrushchev in Russia, the CPC in 1964, in a letter entitled "On Khrushchev's phoney communism and its historical lessons for the world", writes, "Socialist society covers a very long historical period. Classes and class struggle continue to exist in this society, and the struggle still goes on between the road of socialism and the road of capitalism. The socialist revolution on the economic front (in the ownership of the means of production) is insufficient by itself and cannot be consolidated. There must also be a thorough socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. Here a very long period of time is needed to decide "who will win" in the struggle between socialism and capitalism. Several decades won't do it; success requires anywhere from one to several centuries. On the question of duration, it is better to prepare for a longer rather than a shorter period of time. On the

question of effort, it is better to regard the task as difficult rather than easy. It will be more advantageous and less harmful to think and act in this way. Anyone who fails to see this or to appreciate it fully will make tremendous mistakes. During the historical period of socialism it is necessary to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry the socialist revolution through to the end if the restoration of capitalism is to be prevented, socialist construction carried forward and the conditions created for the transition to communism." Here, shedding light on the objective reasons behind the counter-revolution, Mao has emphasized on the need to skilfully enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat to stop it.

In the same manner, Mao has shed light on the subjective reason of counter-revolution on the basis of experiences of Soviet Union. The subjective condition means the aspects related to party's condition, understanding and policy. In this very context, Mao had pointed out that there were serious metaphysical errors of Stalin in handling the law of unity of opposites, in handling productive forces and production relation and, base and superstructure and these errors must be grasped well.

From this angle, various objective and subjective factors work from behind the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries. The following objective reasons seem responsible for this.

First: In the socialist society, there exists an economic base and ideological impression of the old society. One of the main reasons of restoration of capitalism is the petty production system in the socialist society. There is commodity production and wage system in the socialist society too. There is difference between village and city, mental and physical labour and there exists private property.

Second: the ideological, educational, moral, political and cultural impression of the old society exists in the socialist society. It helps in the development of bourgeois ideology and world outlook.

Third: the world capitalism tries to bring the socialist society of any country in its fold. That is, capitalism or imperialism in the international field throws its influence in the socialist countries too and it results into the restoration of capitalism.

Fourth: In the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution there is a close relation

between revisionism and imperialism. As a result of this relation or alliance, revisionism emerges in the communist party, various events of split take place and there is a danger that party can change its colour.

Let's talk about subjective factors now. There are some subjective factors behind the counter-revolution or restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries. In this context, it is necessary to pay attention to the following questions.

First: elite class and revisionism emerge from within the communist party itself. The class source and base of revisionism is petty production or petty capitalism. The petty capitalism is inseparably linked with private property and people's right to it. It reflects in petty bourgeois thinking and ideology. In the field of philosophy – it is expressed in idealism, metaphysics and mechanical materialism, in ethics – it is expressed in extreme individualism and in politics – it is expressed in right, centre and ultra-left forms. As a result of the dominance of petty bourgeoisie in the party, party member's class elevates in special situations and it is in this way that leadership is aristocratised. Consequently, capitalism is restored.

Second: sometimes there is weakness and limitation in correctly determining and handling contradictions in the society, in cautiously taking steps by assessing the situation correctly and in moving forward by resolving correctly the problems related to class and line struggles. It is an error related to class outlook. Counter-revolutionaries take advantage of it. In this context, it is necessary to pay attention to the context in which Mao had criticized Stalin's weaknesses.

Third: if sufficient attention could not be paid in correctly handling democratic centralism, the danger of bureaucracy or ultra-democracy emerges in the party. From this, revisionism finds opportunity to raise its head. Capitalism is restored in the socialist countries in this way too.

Fourth: in case there is weakness and limitation in grasping correctly the Marxist concept of leadership, in developing collective leadership and team spirit, in bringing the revolutionary and

capable comrades forged in the furnace of class struggle as successors, the danger of counter-revolution can emerge.

In this way, what is clear is that both objective and subjective factors exist behind counter-revolution in the socialist countries. Certainly, the objective factors influence the subjective factors and vice versa. In particular condition objective factor is principal and subjective factor is principal in another condition. But, in total, the role of objective factor is principal.

Right here, it is also necessary to pay attention to which one, the internal or external factor, is principal for the development of an entity. Yes it is true, the role of internal factor is principal and that of external factor is secondary. But, one must not make a mistake that internal factors are objective and the external factors are subjective, in a mechanical way. The internal factors can be objective and subjective, both. Having assumed the lack of multiparty competition and democracy to be internal factors responsible for the restoration

of capitalism i.e. the collapse of socialist states, the weakness present in the revolutionary Marxists is being uttered to be principal. It leads to the conclusion that those who are responsible for the restoration of capitalism are not the revisionists but the revolutionary Marxists. It is utterly wrong. Like for example, to make Stalin, a great Marxist-Leninist, the main perpetrator for the restoration of capitalism in Russia in 1956 but not to make the revisionist renegade Khrushchev is tantamount to stand for revisionism not Marxism. In real sense, the role of internal factors i.e. the petty bourgeois thinking and revisionism is principal behind the restoration of capitalism in the socialist countries. Furthermore, the weaknesses, mistakes and limitations on the part of revolutionary Marxists inside the party too result in the restoration of capitalism. Apart from this, the social, economic, political and cultural aspects of the given country should be regarded as internal reasons behind the counter-revolution. In this situation, it needs to correctly identify revisionism, wage uninterrupted struggle against it and go ahead changing the objective condition of the country.

We should assess the situation correctly. We must not have a mentality of quick victory. We have to think with revolutionary prudence, patience and courage. Mao had said that a long period, may be decades, is necessary for the final victory of socialism and we must firmly grasp it. What Lenin had said is that the final victory is possible in the world scale and from the joint effort of the workers of all countries. Shedding light on the importance of Lenin's saying, Mao said, "We have won a great victory. But the defeated class will continue to struggle. Its members are still about and it still exists. Therefore we cannot speak of the final victory, not for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. From the Leninist point of view, the final victory in one socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and broad popular masses at home, but also depends on the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man on this earth so that all mankind will be emancipated. Consequently, it is wrong to talk about the final victory of the revolution in our country light-heartedly: it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts." (The documents of the GPCR in China, Vol. 1 p. 272, Antarrashtriya Prakashan 2008)

The fall of socialist states and the restoration of capitalism must not be regarded as the failure of Marxism and communism. It should be regarded as only temporary defeat of revolution. Also in the past, the bourgeois revolutions against feudalism had suffered several setbacks. It equally applies in the case of socialist revolution too. Just for example, Mao had said, "The bourgeois revolutions in the European countries too had suffered setbacks. The feudalism was overthrown but they reinstated many times, they turned up. This is possible in the socialist countries too." (Mao's rare works, pp. 83) We must take these sayings by Mao seriously and paying attention to the reasons behind the restoration of capitalism we should advance carefully. A long historical period is needed for the final victory of socialism; the revolutionary Marxists should proceed by grasping the objective laws correctly.

Thus, in order to accomplish revolution and prevent counter-revolution, it is necessary to emphasize on the main points as follows.

1 – We should keep on the struggle against opportunism and revisionism and go ahead by taking lessons from the experiences of Marx to Mao and especially from the

GPCR. The experiences and lessons should be creatively applied in agreement with the particularity and the concrete condition of Nepal. For the victory of socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat must be strengthened under the theory of continued revolution.

2 – Democratic centralism must be correctly exercised in the organizational field.

3 – The system of regular self-criticism and criticism should be developed in the party meetings. Against the wrong thinking and trends in the party, the rectification movement should be carried out regularly in different ways and as necessitates.

4 – Two-line struggle in the party must be conducted in a comradely and healthy way and it should be solved correctly. One must be careful in this process and none should make a hasty mistake of labelling someone unnecessarily.

5 – We must remain alert to the penetration of wrong and alien elements in the party.

6 – Not of material incentive but the feeling of sacrifice should be emphasized. Likewise, not the expert but red should be prioritized and dialectical unity should be maintained between them. Preparation of the revolutionary successors in the party should be specially emphasized.

There is danger before revolution from all three kinds of opportunism: right, centre and ultra-left. Such deviations have emerged time and again in the world and Nepalese communist movement and of them right opportunism is the main danger. It is true for the present context too. Now, neo-revisionism has stood at forefront as the opponent of revolution and the perpetrator of counter-revolution. We are encircled from all direction not only by imperialism, expansionism and feudalism but also by right revisionism. The future of the revolutionary party and revolution mainly depends upon whether or not we can break this encirclement.

3. MLM: the question of defence, application and development

Revolutionary theory is necessary for revolution. Lenin had said, "Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement". It has special significance.

The proletariat has a revolutionary theory. It has developed in the form of Marxism as a generalization and synthesis of the experiences of proletarian movement. The theory cannot remain standstill and it develops. Today the theory of the proletariat has developed in the form of MLM. In this epoch, MLM is the guiding principle of the genuine communist parties.

When one talks of the question of principle i.e. MLM, it is indispensable to pay attention to its defence, application and development. If one fails to follow it correctly, different forms of deviations can emerge. One should remain alert on it.

The defence of guiding ideology is related with the struggle against revisionism. The revisionism misinterprets and distorts Marxism. In this sense, the question of defence of principle deserves special significance. But, while one talks of defence of principle it is necessary to refrain from dogmatism too. It is so because; in the name of defence it does not pay attention to application. Application of principle is necessary to make revo-

lution. But, while one talks of application only, s/he should refrain from empiricism and pragmatism. The empiricism opposes Marxist theory and applies capitalism in the name of creativity. Pragmatism fully negates revolutionary theory and serves imperialism. From this point of view, there should be dialectical relation between the revolutionary theory and practice.

The revolutionary theory should be developed for revolution. But, in doing so, one should refrain from sophism also. This is a kind of thinking that opposes facts and bases on flawed arguments. The main feature of sophism is to attack upon principle in the name of defending, applying and developing it. This is what has happened in Nepal.

Marx pioneered the theory of proletarian revolution. But, he never talked of naming this theory as Marxism. Lenin elevated Marxism to a new height, but he never talked of Leninism. Stalin named Leninism as the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and established it. Mao elevated Marxism-Leninism to a new height. But, he never talked of naming Mao-thought or Maoism. Seventh Congress named Mao thought. No one had thought about Maoism till the GPCR. Later on, the Peruvian Communist Party termed Maoism.

On the question of development of guiding principle a debate came forward in Peru and Nepal. In Peru, PCP added Gonzalo thought after MLM and CPN (Maoist) added Prachandapath after MLM. But, it has been very difficult to justify its validity in Peru in the backdrop, when revolution suffered a serious setback and different questions have arisen in Gonzalo himself. Not only that, as a result of serious betrayal of revolution by Prachanda, the question of development of Prachandapath as guiding principle has become an utterly ridiculous issue. We must remain alert to learn serious lesson from these instances and not to let it repeat again.

Today, some of the parties and organizations of the world have seriously raised the question of New Synthesis of MLM and ICM. We must be serious on this too and should remain vigilant on not to let another sophism emerge in the name of development of principle.

The guiding principle of a communist party is MLM. We have to lay emphasize on defence, application and development of theory. In the world today, right revisionism, imperialism and all sorts of reactions are attacking upon this principle. The post-modernists, neo-Marxists and post-Marxists are openly attacking upon the revolutionary content of Marxism. They are influencing in Nepal too. We must take it seriously.

The real defence of guiding principle is carried out in the midst of its application and theoretical exposition of the rivals. In real sense, the development of theory takes place amid practice. We can and should elevate the principle to a new height amid the dialectical relation between theory and practice. But, in the name of development of theory, we must not drown into the swamp of empiricism, pragmatism, sophism and revisionism. The necessity of revolutionary theory for revolution, its importance and its defence, application and development must not be understood in a simplistic sense and it should be taken up in a serious manner.

4. Democratic revolution and the question of CA

1 – The CA came into a political debate in the course of democratic revolution against feudalism under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. In the beginning, the objective of CA was to bring the autocratic monarchy or monarchy to an end and establish the constitutional monarchy or bourgeois democratic republic in its place. It was a question related with the bourgeoisie democratic revolution to be accomplished under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. In the course of bourgeoisie democratic revolution, when the proletariat class emerged and the communist parties were established, new debates came up around the question of democratic revolution and CA. A lot of experiences have been achieved in the process of bourgeois democratic revolution and socialist revolution and they have been theoretically synthesized too. Some experience has been achieved in Nepal on the question of democratic revolution and CA. On the basis of all these experiences and the new situation and context, an additional study and synthesis is necessary on the relation between the strategy of New Democratic Revolution and the tactic of constituency assembly.

2 – Marx, in the context of German bourgeois democratic revolution in 1848, says, "A constituent National Assembly must above all be an active, revolutionarily active assembly. The assembly at Frankfurt is engaged in parliamentary school exercises and leaves it to the governments to act. Assuming that this learned gathering succeeds, after mature consideration, in framing the best of agendas and the best of constitutions, of what use is the best agenda and the best constitution if the governments meanwhile have placed bayonets on the agenda?" (Marx-Engels collected works Vol. 7). What Marx says here is that if the government is not in the hands of revolutionaries however good the constitution is it will not work. In this context Marx further says, "Every provisional political set-up following a revolution requires a dictatorship, and an energetic dictatorship at that" (Neue Rheinische Zeitung No. 102, September 14, 1848). Here Marx emphasizes that dictatorship is necessary in the provisional government after revolution. These experiences of revolution drawn up by Marx are noteworthy. In fact, there can be no non-class state or a state for the entire classes.

3 – In the context of Russian revolution in 1905, Lenin shed light on the fact that the question of calling "Nationwide Assembly" had become an immediate question. Presenting the tactic of all power to the CA and the formation of provisional revolutionary government, he shed light on the inseparable relation existing between them. Also, he emphasised to establish complete political freedom and bourgeoisie democracy. However, he never gave up the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasants. He especially put emphasis to achieve the goal of socialism and connect the tactic with strategy. He said, "There is not, nor can there be, at the present time, any other means of

bringing Socialism nearer, than complete political liberty, than a democratic republic, than the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." (Lenin, Vol. 9, Two tactic, conclusion, dare we win?). In this way, Lenin laid emphasis not only on CA but also the government and placed condition to participate in the government. Not only that, after the accomplishment of revolution in 1917 in Russia, the CA election took place, but it did not write constitution as the Soviet wanted. Right in that situation, the CA was dissolved. All of these experiences from Russia are notable for us.

4 – In order to liberate China from the semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition, the CPC moved ahead with New Democratic Revolution and protracted people's war. In the course of anti-Japanese resistance war in 1945, the slogans, abolish the one-party tyranny of Kuomintang and establish the democratic united government, were placed. But, Kuomintang conspired to write anti-people constitution through national assembly and retract the slogan of democratic united government. The CPC strongly opposed it. After the Chongqing negotiations failed, civil war speeded up and the consensus to form political consultative conference could not be reached. Later in 1949, CPC under the leadership of Mao called it and took decision to establish People's Republic from the very conference.

5 – The aforesaid experience of Marx, Lenin and Mao are related with different historical contexts. We should pay attention to learn lesson from these experiences of democratic revolution and the CA and sum up them with reference to the present context of Nepal. As said by Marx, after the revolution has been accomplished a government of the winning party i.e. a strong dictatorship is necessary to protect the achievement of revolution, establish democracy and write pro-people constitution. According to Lenin, a government of revolutionaries i.e. the democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants and armed force is necessary to defend the achievement of revolution and make the revolution reach to its decisive victory against the Tsars. In order to safeguard the achievement of revolution, Mao also relied on the dissolution of Kuomintang's one-party government and the formation of united democratic government and armed force. In their opinion, the CA was not everything. The revolutionary government, people's democratic dictatorship and armed force were necessary to complete the democratic revolution through CA.

6 – Though the slogan of CA was placed in agenda of Nepalese revolution since 1951 and had been raised time and again by various parties, but it could not be implemented in practice for long. It entered into agenda again in the course of people's war. In the situation when people's war had developed into strategic equilibrium and when temporary base areas and people's governments were established in the vast areas of the countryside, the king, sacking the parliamentary government, formed a government under his chairmanship. In that situation, with an objective of building a united front with parliamentarian forces against monarchy, the CC meeting at Chunwang adopted two slogans: democratic republic and CA. It was a special turning point in the history of our party and revolution. If both slogans were taken as tactic, there would be no question of objecting them.

After this, a series of events including the 12-point agreement between Maoist and other parliamentarian parties, the mass movement, reinstatement of the dissolved parliament and formation of the government led by Nepali Congress, 8-point agreement between Prachanda-Baburam and the parliamentarian parties at Baluwatar and the dissolution of base areas and people's government, comprehensive peace agreement and announcement of the termination of people's war, Maoists' entry into joint government, election of the CA, declaration of republic, formation of joint government led by the Maoists occurred one after another in the period of 3-4 years. Right in this process, Katuwal issue came up, Prachanda resigned from the government and another government led by UML came into being. Then the events like, the formation of government led by Baburam, signing of the anti-people and anti-national treaties including BIPPA, liquidation and dissolution of

the PLA and dissolution of the CA ensued. In order to understand correctly the question of democratic revolution and CA, it is necessary to study the content of these events and the relation between cause and effect on the basis of dialectical and historical materialist outlook. Right here, it is necessary to correctly identify whether the CA was made a tactic complementary to the strategy of establishing the New Democratic Revolution or a means for retreating to the old bourgeois democratic republic.

7 – In this context, what should specially be understood is that Prachanda-Baburam clique had, while arriving at Chunwang meeting, already capitulated before Indian expansionism and a part of

comprador, bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal in the country. These entire events after 12-point agreement were the manifestations of that capitulation. Prachanda-Baburam clique was doing a contradictory work in which it surrendered before the class enemies, on the one hand, and created confusion by talking preparation of people's insurrection inside the party, on the other. Finally, Prachanda-Baburam clique had inescapably drowned into the swamp of the old bourgeois democracy i.e. democratic republic and the parliamentary cretinism. The secret of all these things has already been uncovered from the article by S. D. Muni and saying of P. K. Hormis, the ex-chief of RAW. In this way, it is evident that the tactic of CA was adopted not as a means of New Democratic Revolution but as a means of the old bourgeois revolution and national capitulationism.

8 – In order to complete New Democratic Revolution with the tactic of CA, the government under the leadership of revolutionaries', establishment of pro-people state power and pressure of the armed people are mandatory. Also, if other tactic too helps the strategy of revolution then it does not mean that CA tactic is mandatory. There are also examples where the revolutionaries have been deceived by the slogan of CA. These questions have been proved well from the history of democratic revolutions in the world and the ICM as a whole. It is true in the context of Nepal also. If a part of leadership had not entangled in class and national capitulationism and if party had been attentive to connect that tactic with the strategy of New Democratic Revolution, the New Democratic Revolution in Nepal could have been completed too. But that did not happen. So, paying attention to all this, theoretically, what is understandable is that the tactical slogan of CA in no case can be complementary to New Democratic Revolution in the status quo. In the present situation when, the representatives of the old state, the status quo parliamentarian and revisionist forces together with comprador, bureaucratic bourgeoisie and landlord classes are influential in the Nepalese politics, when the process of brokerisation of the neo-revisionist group is intensively increasing and when the PLA has been liquidated, to talk of CA election as a tactic is to get entrapped into the parliamentary labyrinth of the old state and confuse the people.

9 – Therefore, on the basis of aforementioned analysis and study, what conclusion can be drawn is that it is necessary to adopt a new tactic to complete New Democratic Revolution and write people's constitution in Nepal. In order to do it we must go ahead by developing and bettering party line, strategy and tactic. Strong people's resistance movement for people's federal republic, national independence, people's constitution and national united government is the tactic for transitional period at present.

9 – Party's political line and the path of revolution

1 – It is evident that the political line of Nepalese revolution had been, has been and will be the line of New Democratic Revolution because, Nepal is still in a semi-feudal and neo-colonial condition, the enemy of Nepalese revolution are both domestic and foreign reactionaries and there has been no any qualitative change in the political, economic and cultural condition even after the 10 years of people's war.

2 – In such a condition of the country, our fundamental task at present is to establish new democratic republic. The main political strategy of Nepalese New Democratic Revolution is to establish people's democratic dictatorship against feudalism and imperialism-expansionism under the leadership of the proletariat and on the basis of unity between workers and peasants. After the establishment of new democracy in Nepal, our policy will be to go ahead to achieve maximum programme of socialism and the goal of communism.

3 – In order to accomplish New Democratic Revolution in Nepal, we should unite the entire friendly forces in and outside of the country. In this great campaign, it is necessary to unite workers, semi-workers, poor, middle and rich peasants, landless people, Haruwa, Charuwa, Hali, Haliya and Gothala (various kinds of domestic servants - tr.) masters and handicraft workers, all levels of petty bourgeois class, revolutionary students, teachers, lecturers, intelligentsia and national bourgeoisie. In addition to this, we have to necessarily take support of workers and oppressed people of the world.

4 – It is clear that our country is still in a semi-feudal and neo-colonial condition, Nepalese revolution is targeted against the domestic and foreign reactions, country's economic, political, social and cultural development is unequal, the nature of armed struggle to be accomplished in an oppressed country is

protracted in the present era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and the objective of people's war waged for 10 years has not been achieved. So, in this situation, theoretically the path of Nepalese New Democratic Revolution is protracted people's war.

5 – Right here, there is another aspect we need to pay attention to. Our country is going ahead with the experience of 10 years long people's war. In the present situation, when the forward-looking political way out is not possible through the CA, the hatred towards the reactionary power among the masses is sure to intensify. The contradictions among the reactionary classes in the state power are sharpening. The economic, political and cultural crisis is amplifying in the country. The question of safeguarding national independence is becoming very serious and complex. In such a situation, the possibility of people's insurrection is strong. We should grasp this possibility seriously and now we have to go ahead taking people's insurrection to be principal.

6 – The people's insurrection to be accomplished in Nepal will be based upon the foundation of people's war. Therefore, the main line as regards struggle is the line of people's insurrection upon the foundation of people's war. People's insurrection upon the foundation of people's war is the totality of the experience acquired by the party, PLA and the masses, class and people's awareness acquired in this process and the three weapons of revolution i.e. party, PLA and the united front.

While talking about people's insurrection upon the foundation of people's war, two terminologies, people's war and people's insurrection, which carry two different meanings, have been simultaneously used. From this, one may be confused that it is an eclectic line. But, it is not so. In a semi-feudal and neo-colonial country Nepal, people's insurrection cannot be imagined without standing upon the foundation of 10-years long people's war and its experience. On the other, while talking about people's insurrection upon the foundation of people's war, it is evident that people's insurrection is principal. Hence there is no reason to be confused with the use of these terminologies.

7 – People's insurrection may not be possible within a certain period in Nepal. In that situation, we have to go ahead with people's war. There is a big possibility that the people's war in Nepal can develop not only as civil war but as national war also and we have to pay attention to that too. People's war in Nepal will go ahead not in an old but in a new way. For all these tasks, different preparations related to theory, politics, organisation and struggle are necessary.

8 – Nepalese revolution will advance in a Nepali way. Although, we should pay attention to the experiences of world revolution, particularly Russian and Chinese experiences, two models, we must grasp the universal truth of MLM. The revolutionaries apply all forms of struggles and we should do that. However, while applying that experience, model and theory, we must pay attention to creativity, originality and particular condition of the country. Revolution cannot go ahead in a mechanical way and cannot be replicated. Right at this point, we must be watchful to empiricist and pragmatist thinking that tries to sow seeds of right revisionism in the name of creativity and originality. In the present world, not dogmatic and mechanical, but empiricist and pragmatist thinking is the main danger; we must be clear in it.

9 – Since long and particularly after we entered into peace process, a question is being raised that party's line is unclear. Yes, for some time till opportunist leadership was in the party, there was ambiguity in party line. However, after we separated from the neo-revisionists, the ambiguity in line has been removed and we are getting clearer in it. It is natural to have its reflection in determining party line, because the country is passing through a transitional and special condition. We must grasp the complexity of situation while determining and understanding party line. The dialectics of revolution develops in a zigzag path, not in a straight line.

10 – The main political tactic today is to struggle to establish People's Federal Republic, defend national independence and solve the problems of people's livelihood. The problems of national independence, democracy and people's livelihood are getting complicated. The revolution can be given a correct course by concretising these problems. These problems are inseparably connected not only with strategy but with tactic too.

11 – There is a close relation between strategy and tactic. The strategy is related with the whole process of revolution while the tactic serves strategy. The tactic must help strategy. In case there is inconsistency between strategy and tactic, serious deviations develop in the party.

12 – In the history of Nepalese New Democratic Revolution and the communist

movement, the right opportunism has been making tactic a strategy, not the tactic serve strategy. New democracy in strategy and parliament in tactic has been the characteristic of right revisionism. In the course of great people's war, we had adopted the tactic of CA with an objective of serving the strategy of New Democratic Revolution. But, in the real life, the CA has become a strategy itself, not a tactic. We must be clear on it.

13 – In order to accomplish the New Democratic Revolution, three weapons of revolution i.e. revolutionary communist party, PLA and united front are necessary. It is possible to establish new democratic state in Nepal by building these weapons. We must pay due attention to it.

10 – Concrete programme of the movement

In order to go ahead by resolving the burning problems of national independence, democracy and people's livelihood and prepare people's base for the New Democratic Revolution, concrete programmes are necessary for the movement to develop. The issues for this are basically as follows:

1. Domination of the old state must end and People's Federal Republic must be established.
2. National independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the country must be protected.
3. All unequal treaties and agreements including Indo-Nepal 1950 treaty, 1965 treaty related to security, must be abrogated and new treaties based on the interest of the Nepalese people must be signed.
4. Open border between Nepal and India must be controlled and managed properly. Border intrusion on the side of Nepal must stop immediately and all the encroached areas must be returned back to Nepal. India must compensate Nepal for the damages incurred on Nepal side by the embankments and dams constructed unilaterally by India along the bordering areas. All criminal activities including looting, disorder, insecurity, violence, terror etc. on the Nepalese people living in bordering areas with India must end and illegal entries of the Indian security personnel must stop.
5. The investment against national interest of Nepal must be stopped. Bilateral Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (BIPPA) with India must be cancelled. And Special Economic Zone programme and Investment Board also must be dissolved.
6. The Nepalese workers must be given priority in all sectors of employment inside Nepal. Work permit system must be applied for the technical and skilled manpower that are not available in Nepal but have to be imported from the foreign countries, including India.
7. The agreement to hand over the management of 15 airports including the Tribhuvan International Airport to an Indian company must be cancelled.
8. The imperialist and expansionist cultural pollution and encroachment must be stopped. Import and sale of all kinds of vulgar Hindi and English cinemas, videos and papers must be banned.
9. Foreign investment on communication must be immediately stopped.
10. Imperialist and expansionist penetration inside the country in the pretext of I/NGOs must end.
11. The development of co-operative system must be emphasised.
12. The production of domestic agro-products including fruits, vegetables, fish, sugarcane, animals, milk etc. must be encouraged and their imports from outside must be banned.
13. Full proportional and inclusive representation of workers, peasants, women, indigenous- nationalities Madheshi, Muslims and oppressed communi-

ties of the backward regions must be guaranteed in all organs of the state.

14. In order to write people's constitution and work among the people, federal committees at the central and autonomous people's committees at the local level must be formed. 15. By ending feudal landownership, the land should be distributed to the poor peasants, landless peasants and the squatters. Peasants' ownership should be established on the land that the peasants had captured during people's war under the policy of land to the tillers. The fragmentation of land by linkmen and land mafias must be controlled and the misuse of land in the unproductive areas by profitable plotting must be discouraged. 16. Independent national economy must be built up and developed. As Nepal is an agricultural country, the development of agriculture must be stressed. By preparing a comprehensive plan to use land, the land must be used in a systematic way by determining the areas appropriate for agriculture, forest, housing, industrial state, roads etc. Emphasis shall be given to develop the projects for pure drinking water and irrigation. For the conservation of soil, embankment projects must be carried out massively on the flooded rivers and their banks. While building the infrastructures including roads, communications, hydropower, a policy must be pursued so that they help develop and expand agricultural and industrial production and expansion. All liabilities of investment, production and distribution of all big hydropower projects and particularly export-oriented projects must be so managed that it is borne by the state. A policy shall be followed as to provide opportunity to the private sector to invest on small and medium-level hydropower projects, produced for internal consumption. A policy of producing and refining the herbals and forest heritage shall be followed. A policy that emphasises on tourism industry based on agriculture and national industrial production shall be pursued. Controlling the export of raw materials, a policy shall be followed to stress the export of industrial goods. 17. Proper wages must be fixed for the workers of all sectors including industry and agriculture and the contract system and the practice of daily wages must be stopped. 18. Education, health, food sovereignty, employment and housing must be recognized as the fundamental rights and the state must take liability for them. 19. Controlling privatization and commercialization in education, the public sector must be encouraged and its liability must be taken by the state. In this field, a system of scientific and democratic policy and curricula must be implemented. A policy of free and compulsory education up to Class 12 should be applied. 20. Patriarchal exploitation, oppression, repression and all kinds of discrimination against women must be ended. In all political, economic, social and cultural fields, women should be given equal rights same as men. Men and women should have equal rights on patriarchal property. Women should have proportional representation in all organs of the state. All ill systems and superstitions such as dowry, witch, child and unmatched marriages, Devaki system (A girl is devoted to temple for her whole life - tr.), Chhaupadi system (A women is required to live separately in a shed far from house and consider untouchable during menstruation period - tr.), Ghumto system (A women is required to cover her face with a shawl in front of her elders - tr.) must be immediately banned and a legal provision to take action against all those involved in and practising them should be ensured. There should be a provision of necessary allowance and employment for unable single women and widows. Women trafficking must be banned and severe legal actions must be taken against those who are involved in such crimes. 21. All sorts of oppression, exploitation

and discrimination against Dalit community by feudal Brahmanism in all the political, economic, social and cultural fields must be brought to an end. A constitutional provision for the proportional representation of the Dalits in all organs of the state must be made. The practice of untouchability against Dalits must be declared illegal and heinous social crime and strong actions must be taken against the guilty persons. An arrangement of housing and land enough to make their minimum livelihood should be made available for the landless and squatter Dalits. Balighare system (A system in which a Dalit works for the fixed but nominal amount of grain in yearly basis - tr.) must be stopped and wage-system must be implemented. The traditional occupation of Dalits must be modernized and they should be given special priority far that occupation.

22. Political, economic, cultural and all kinds of oppressions on the indigenous peoples by the feudal Brahmanist state must be ended. Right of nations to self-determination must be agreed in principle. The system of national autonomy on the basis of federalism with oppressed national identity must be established. There should be a system of prerogatives for the oppressed nations and regions until they have relative equality. 23. The economic, political and cultural oppression that the central reactionary state is carrying on in the areas including Karnali, Seti, Mahakali zones by must be ended. Along with the theoretical acceptance of the right of nations to self-determination, territorial autonomy with federalism must be arranged for the people of the oppressed regions. 24. Political, economic and cultural exploitation-oppression of the Madheshi community by the feudal non-Madheshi chauvinism must be ended. Accepting in principle the right of Madheshi community to self-determination, autonomy based on federalism with identity must be established. 25. All kinds of oppression and discrimination including religious, cultural, social, political etc. against Muslims by Hindu state must be ended. They must be provided with the rights to freedom and equality in religion and culture. 26. The oppression and exploitation on women, Dalit and Muslim communities in the political, religious and cultural fields must be ended and they must be provided with prerogative rights in addition to the proportional representation in all sectors. According to this, there must be a provision for additional representation as compensation, at least 10% for women and Muslims, of their total population, in organs of the state. The state must conduct special programmes to produce skilled manpower from the women, Dalit and Muslim communities as compensation. There must be additional representation of 5% of their population for Dalit communities. 27. All martyrs of the great people's war must be honoured and their families provided relief with single lump sum amount. A commission must be constituted and the situation of the persons disappeared by the state during people's war must be immediately made public and the perpetrators must be sternly punished. The education, health and employment should be managed for the families of martyrs and disappeared fighters and the disabled ones during people's war and necessary care must be taken for them. 28. The demands of PLA fighters who were humiliated as disqualified and expelled from the cantonments must be addressed immediately. 29. All those soldiers and policemen who had left services during people's war on the call of Party must be reinstated in their jobs. 30. Burning problems of the people's livelihood must be resolved. Corruption, smuggling, price hike and commissioning must be seriously controlled. 31. All the cases filed against Maoist leaders, cadres and masses during people's war must be withdrawn. 32. Right of

the people to protest and stage movements must be guaranteed. The so-called Organised Crimes Act must be abrogated. 33. Fertilizers, seeds, agricultural tools, and loans etc. must be managed at the cheaper rates and in time for the peasants. The state must provide subsidies in various fields for their economic development. 34. Fooding, housing, health and education should be arranged for orphans and helpless children. Senior citizens must be honoured and the helpless and unable senior citizens should be provided with housing, special allowance and preservation. 35. Special and concrete programmes should be sorted out and implemented to preserve the language and culture of the endangered communities and the programmes of housing and employment for Badi community must be taken up.

36. Especially considering the growing external encroachment, intervention and border security situation, an effective security policy must be formulated. There should be a system of providing all youths who have completed 18 years of age, with military education and training for the defence of national sovereignty. 37. All genuine and bona fide citizens of the country must get citizenship certificate. Rapidly growing demographic encroachment from other countries into Nepal must be stopped and policy to distribute citizenship certificates should be made scientific and well-managed

11– New tactics: Strong people's resistance struggle

During the transitional period after Chunwang meeting, right capitulationist and neo-revisionist deviation surfaced in the Prachanda-Baburam clique. We broke relation with that deviation and reorganized Party. But, from the perspective of political line, Party is still within the tactics of CA and democratic republic put forward by the Chunwang meeting. Consequently, after May 18, the CA has not only failed but also has gone under the control of the status quo and regressive elements. Summing up seriously the tactic of CA, it has been necessary to devise new revolutionary tactic corresponding to the political line.

Though the tactics of CA was brought forward after the Second National Conference, it was applied in practice only after Chunwang meeting. Some subjective and objective factors such as the emergence of autocratic monarchy, defeat of parliamentary parties, the willingness of parliamentary parties for unity in action with our party and need to develop people's war to the level of achieving central state power were behind the proposition of CA tactics. Its immediate objective was to abolish monarchy in general and, mainly, to build base for insurrection for People's Republic and achieve it through insurrection in particular. This goal was basically objective and correct.

The tactics of CA worked as a tool for revolution until the election to CA, abolition of monarchy and founding of the republic and generally succeeded in its goal. But, as expected, when the struggle between the people's constitution and parliamentary constitution erupted, the contradictions and struggle between the foreign agents and revolutionaries began, right then, the right capitulationist deviation in Prachanda-Baburam clique reached to its climax. Abandoning the policy that they had said to intervene from the CA and government (at the top) and from the street, PLA and people (at the bottom) they made alliance

(at the top) with the expansionist and parliamentary parties and turned themselves into their agents and dissolved the PLA and submitted the weapons (at the bottom), eventually by so doing they capitulated to the reactionary state and forces. Because of this, the tactics of CA failed to organize revolt and enter into the People's Republic on the one hand and while the PLA went into the hands of rightists because of the absence of revolutionary base. But, Prachanda-Baburam clique glorified and eulogised the abolition of the monarchy and founding of republic to the extent that they made it strategy itself, as if the main objective of the CA was this and this was already accomplished.

Since when the Nepalese people and the Maoist Party had no PLA, right from that day the rightist and expansionist elements have so grabbed the tactics of the CA that they can make possible through this very instrument to impose upon the Nepalese people the very rotten parliamentary system, they can impose foreign hegemony mainly Indian hegemony in Nepal, they can keep the key of the Nepalese politics in foreign hand, they can strangle the throat of the New Democratic Revolution, they can deprive the Nepalese people of their political, economic and legal rights and they can make Nepalese people their new subject.

The dissolution of PLA and surrender of arms not only compelled the tactics of CA to turn into the tools of regressive Nepalese politics but also has clearly displayed the fact that it can be no more than a ladder of parliamentary system based on brokering of foreign power in coming days. Nowadays, the demand of restoration of CA or its new election chanted by colourful rightists and comprador parliamentary elements is nothing but a loophole that helps the comprador and bureaucratic capitalism or parliamentary system to enter through to get organised and institutionalised. The question is to identify which one, the restoration or new election of CA, is easy to make the parliamentary system enter and establish in Nepal. The debate among the parties about this is nothing but who is to lead and sit on the chair. Thus it has become clear that the tactics of CA now can no

longer serve the purpose of organizing people's insurrection and function as a revolutionary tool to turn the democratic republic into People's Federal Republic but, instead, obstructs the strategic objective of achieving the People's Federal Republic. Therefore, as Lenin has opined about tactics, "The tactics should help to complement the need of strategy", we should, in line with his policy, devise and develop the revolutionary tactic that directly helps the strategy. Thus on the basis of analysis of on-going transitional period, our tactics must be, "strong people's resistance struggle for People's Federal Republic, national independence, people's constitution and national united government."

It is crystal clear that there has been a change in the leadership of Nepalese politics. Before the end of monarchy and founding of republic, the feudal elements had led the old parliamentary state and comprador bourgeoisie and parliamentary forces played the role of their principal subordinates. But after the founding of republic, comprador elements (comprador bourgeois and parliamentary) have been leading the old state and feudal forces have turned their subordinates. Therefore, the comprador elements have become the principal cause of oppression and exploitation of the Nepalese people and the contradiction with them has been the principal contradiction of the Nepalese people. In consideration of this very contradiction and to resolve it, our tactics has been formulated.

The strong people's resistance struggle shall be mainly centralized against anti-national and anti-people elements. In this struggle, only the revolutionaries shall not be polarised and mobilized but also the patriots (even the feudals and liberal patriotic bureaucrats, who are ready to go against the comprador elements), progressive and federalist democratic forces shall be centralised and mobilized and synergy shall be performed with them in all fields.

If the trickery, conspiracy, and attempt of the comprador elements to impose old parliamentary system upon the people grow, resistance struggle against it will be intensified. And along with this, federal state and federal government of the people shall be formed through the united front consisting of the forces except the comprador elements and the resistance struggle shall be developed and federal states of the people shall be protected in a new way by building militant forces. Similarly, as per the need of the strong people's resistance struggle, people's court, people's administration and various departments will be formed.

In brief, changing and developing the tactics of CA which has already lagged behind in the present political context, we should formulate and follow the tactics of strong people's resistance struggle to build a forward-looking and revolutionary tactic for the establishment of People's Federal Republic, national independence, people's constitution and national unity government. This tactics will prove to be such a powerful tool that will be successful in eliminating the comprador elements, willing to be dominant in Nepal, and in making the people victorious. But this is to be noted that this tactics shall also have a transitional character. The political change in the transitional period will change it qualitatively which we must accept with ease.

12 – Tasks in the organisational field

The organizational tasks should be managed properly in order to get the tasks of the party and revolution accomplished. We broke relation with right neo-revisionists. The task of reorganizing the party and mass organisations countrywide from top to bottom has also been completed. In the Party, the spirit of sacrifice, dedication and bravery is in great quantity. We are advancing with high proletarian morale against the concept of material incentive and petty-bourgeois mindset. Today there is a huge queue of the leaders and cadres in the Party. But, however, we possess several kinds of weaknesses and limitations, too. The party is not solid and sound, committees are getting bulky. The restoration of discipline also is very difficult. Collective work system and working style are getting weaker. We have to work hard to make the Party a servant of the people and a means of revolution. Similarly, there are many problems in properly managing mass organizations, fronts and other tasks and we should keep on solving them.

The following are the tasks we need to accomplish in the organizational sector:

1. The question of building party of a new type

The question of building a revolutionary communist party is a question of building

a communist party of a new type. A revolutionary communist party can be formed when the party is built new at each

time. At the present condition, when the relation is recently broken with the neo-revisionists, the question of building a new type of party is, of course, of a special importance.

In the present context, many things have gone wrong because of our mix-up with revisionism in the party. All the norms and values including democratic centralism, collectivism, criticism self-criticism, revolutionary working style, mass-line, working style of the leadership, policy on the cadres, confidentiality etc. have all gone in disarray and disorder. Today, first of all, it is essential to put them in place and order.

The parties of Second International were the means of peace, parliament and reactionary state power, not of the revolution. Therefore, Lenin had developed the concept of building a new type of party. New type of party means, of course, a party which is in consistent with revolution and militant struggle. Our party transformed into a tool of peace, parliament and reactionary state after we entered into peace process. Now we need to reverse it and develop the party as a tool of revolution and serving the people.

Furthermore, in the course of unity process, huge committees were formed. The conferences, extended meetings or conventions of the party were like mass meetings and the party turned into a mass party, not of the cadres. This is not a good thing at all and this kind of party cannot be a communist party. We must correct it too.

It is also wrong to think that those who came through people's war are revolutionary and others are opportunists. Many of the comrades who came from people's war have turned opportunist while many of those who came from mass movement are revolutionary. In whatever form, we must develop our party mainly as a means of revolution, merely not of peace.

In order to make the party a revolutionary one, it is required to (1) correctly assimilate MLM as a guiding principle (2) strongly grasp the policy, programme and line of new democratic republic (3) apply that line in real life (4) strongly follow the principle of democratic centralism, system of criticism self-criticism and revolutionary working style (5) conduct two-line struggle in a correct, healthy and friendly way, and (6) prepare a strong rank of leaders and cadres loyal and committed to the country, people, revolution, proletarian internationalism and the lofty ideal of communism. We must be serious on the aforesaid six criteria while planning to build a communist party of a new type.

In order to make the party a revolutionary, it is necessary, at times, to carry out consolidation and rectification campaign. After breaking relation with opportunism, a kind of consolidation of the party has been on the card but this is just a beginning. This campaign must continue as per the need of the party.

2. Concept about leadership

A revolutionary leadership is a must for revolution. Communist party is a party of the leaders and it needs high quality leaders to run it. In Lenin's words, the revolution can-

not advance without a rank of talented leadership. It is for this reason that we must make special efforts to build that kind of leadership. The question of building a revolutionary leadership is inseparably related to revolutionary policy and line.

But when we talk about leadership, the history of Nepalese communist movement has been very much negative at several occasions. Many leaders have betrayed the party, revolution, country and people and have committed deceptive and conspiratorial acts and as well have ideologically and politically plunged the party into a grave right opportunist deviation. So much so that even several top leaders who had led the great people's war have kicked and betrayed the country, people, revolution and proletarian internationalism. In this situation, a serious doubt and distrust about the leadership has surfaced up to the whole rank and file of the party and people.

In the past, there have been mistakes and shortcomings in establishing a particular person, making it an authority and centralising its leadership more than necessary instead of doing so for collective leadership, and it must be corrected. But, on the pretext of correcting the past mistakes, the leadership must not be devaluated, either. On the one hand, it is necessary to pay attention to the dialectical relation between both positive and negative aspects of the leadership and, while on the other, it is essential to strictly follow and establish the system of collective leadership.

In the party leadership, revolutionary, capable and experienced comrades should be promoted. In this context, special emphasis should be given on those comrades who come from oppressed communities such as women, Dalits, indigenous peoples, Madheshi, Muslims including the workers and peasants.

It is not appropriate for a certain person to remain in the leadership for long. Successors from top to bottom should be prepared for leadership. However, they are not brought up by picking someone else; instead, their development takes place amid a long experience of organization, struggle and revolution.

3. Democratic centralism

Democratic centralism is the organizational principle of the party. Democracy and centralism jointly form democratic centralism. Democracy means freedom and centralism means discipline. There is a dialectical relation between democracy and centralism. Genuine unity between democracy and centralism comes amid equal activity and equal struggle in the party work.

When the debate and discussions are to be conducted, a new decision has to be taken and a resolution has to be adopted, the role of democracy becomes principal in the party. Every party member is free to exercise democracy but she/he must firmly and sincerely make commitment to implement the resolutions or decisions taken. At that time, the centralism becomes principal.

In a communist party, there is specified system of centralism or discipline. Accordingly, a person is under organization, minority under majority, lower party committees under upper party committee, all party members under party CC, and the CC under the

National Congress. All party members must follow this system of discipline.

When the democracy exceeds its limit, it engenders ultra-democracy or anarchism. The ultra-democrats and anarchists do not follow discipline or centralism. Similarly, when the centralism exceeds its limit, bureaucracy or autocracy comes about. Those people with bureaucratic or autocratic trends do not accept democracy and directly violate the decisions adopted by the party. They demand discipline for others and democracy for themselves.

When strong ideological and political struggle was being conducted against neo-revisionism in the party, the concept of democratic centralism had not worked and everything grew chaotic. That was natural at that time. But now in the new context, the concept of democratic centralism and discipline must be restored again. There is a dialectical relation between the proletarian democracy and iron discipline inside a true revolutionary communist party. It is necessary to pay attention to it.

The ultra-democrats or anarchists are inspired by pluralist thinking, ultra-centralists and totalitarians are inspired by monolithic thinking and the revolutionary communists are inspired by materialist dialectics. While on the other, the eclecticists grasp democracy and centralism not in a dialectical way but by mixing them together.

The discipline in a communist party is voluntary discipline. This is generated, on the one hand, by loyalty and commitment to the ideology and revolution and, on the other, by trust for policy and line. We must advance with perseverance, patience and determination.

4. The question of handling two-line struggle

The communist party is a unity of opposites. Its life is based on the inner-struggle or two-line struggle. It is through this struggle that the process of unity, struggle and transformation moves ahead and it is the process through which the party grows newer.

Many comrades get scared of two-line struggle. This is a wrong thinking. One need not get scared of inner-struggle or two-line struggle, but one must worry on whether or not the struggle is conducted in a healthy and friendly way. And that struggle must be waged in a comradely way. Harsh dispute or squabble on the non-ideological or non-political issues in the party is not a two-line or inner-struggle. The two-line struggle takes place between different thinking and trends i.e. between correct and wrong.

The two-line struggles in the party are of two types: comradely and antagonistic. Comradely two-line struggle is acceptable in the party. When the comradely struggle turns into the antagonistic one, party

undergoes a split. We should make special attempt to handle the two-line struggle in a comradely way and not to let it turn into an antagonistic one.

In the whole Nepalese communist movement or separate parties or groups, the two-line struggles have been continuously going on and the parties too have undergone splits. We are enriched with experiences of complicated two-line struggles. We should learn necessary lessons from these experiences and move forward. In today's era of imperialism

and proletarian revolution, class enemies make great attempt to take the two-line struggle to a wrong direction and make the party an opportunist. It is essential to be cautious and alert about it.

5. Criticism self-criticism

Criticism and self-criticism should be taken up as one of the most important systems of consolidation and rectification of the party. The genuine communists are always prepared, and should remain so to have self-criticism and criticize others in a factual and patient way. It is necessary to conduct this kind of self-criticism and criticism regularly in the party meetings.

But the irony is that this kind of system of criticism and self-criticism is disappearing these days. The party committees are so large that the meeting may even extend to 10-15 days if all take part in it. We must have control over this kind of situation.

All the tendencies that make self-criticism cheaper, severely criticize other or fear from criticism and self-criticism are wrong. It is necessary to protect oneself from sectarianism and liberalism while criticizing others or self. Self-criticism and criticism merit special significance in building a new type of communist party.

6. Question about cadres

In a communist party, the cadres are its asset. The party and tasks of revolution can't move ahead in their absence. The role of cadres is decisive in the implementation of political line or resolutions after they are adopted. Also the cadres are not only the cadres; after all, they are leaders in real sense.

When we talk of cadres, the issues such as study, direction, evaluation, promotion, management etc. come up. These issues must be assimilated properly and should be resolved. The policy on cadres can and should be developed properly by paying attention in determining correct line, devising plans, training and schooling etc.

The question of red and expert in regard to the cadres is something that needs special attention. The red means to be revolutionary and expert means to be able and efficient. Both specialities are inter-related. The opportunists negate red and emphasize on expert. But the revolutionaries, with a priority on red, emphasise on the dialectical unity between red and expert. In fact, an appropriate combination of red and expert is necessary in the cadres. Production of the cadres should be done not on the basis of material incentives but on the basis of loyalty and commitment to the country, people, principle and revolution. Today there is a huge queue of professional cadres who have taken part in the people's war and mass movement. It is by protecting them and developing their ideological and political status and revolutionary capacity to a newer height can the revolution be advanced. Special attention should be paid on it.

Today there are many problems related to the cadres. Of them, their management stands the tallest. It is quite essential to seriously think and make plans to resolve it. It is not a problem of the cadres only but it is ultimately a problem of the party leadership re-

lated to ideology and the question of political line.

It has been necessary today to think, in a new way, the question of cadres. In this context, the meeting of the committee in concern should decide its necessary criteria and reach their overall evaluation. Similarly, it is necessary to differentiate between the whole timer and part timer. The cadres should not only take parts in organization, publicity and struggle but also in production works. They should be given tasks and responsibilities of various kinds as necessitates, not always of the same type and the genuine cadres should be ready to take up responsibilities of any kind. Moreover, while giving and taking the responsibility, not in the same place but their transfer also should be taken into account.

7. On the working style

Working style means the method of work. The main characteristic of the revolutionary working style is to maintain uniformity between theory and practice. It is determined by the line of revolution and the form of organization and struggle. Working style is also an art of handling the organization.

Yesterday we were in the midst of the great people's war. Our working style was determined accordingly. In other words, we were in a kind of mass movement, which required the working style in line with it. Now, we are in a transitional period. As a result of this, our working style is also transitional. Yesterday, the issues like confidentiality and security were very sensitive, but today openness has become everything. Today the revolutionary working style has been eroding and the individualist and reformist working style has been prevailing. Therefore, we have to restore, perfect and develop the revolutionary working style according to the need of revolution.

When we talk about working style, a system that submits report to the upper committee by the lower one and supervises the lower committees by the upper ones should be managed. Every party member should maintain uniformity between collective decision and individual responsibility. Similarly, while carrying out study and investigation, a method that finds truth from fact should be followed. The party leadership should resolutely follow the mass-line of from the people to the people.

The revolutionary communists need to assimilate and apply the materialist dialectics against all kinds of wrong thinking and trends such as metaphysics, subjectivism, departmentalism, sectarianism etc.

The subjectivism has two forms: dogmatism and empiricism. The dogmatism one-sidedly emphasises on theory and empiricism on practice only. Both of these thinking are wrong. We should follow dialectical materialist working style that maintains uniformity between both theory and practice.

Organisation is based on the whole. It has various parts and organs. It is necessary to mobilize the tasks between the lower and upper committees, CC and all other committees, party and mass organisations and fronts, party and departments, organization and individuals in a coordinated way. Here a contradiction surfaces between a part and the whole. We should handle this kind of contradiction correctly. Materialist dialectics de-

mands uniformity between the whole and a part.

8. Tasks of the economic field

There are different kinds of tasks in the economic field. These are related to issues such as: to pay levy regularly, to garner support from well-wishers and supporters, to manage the tasks for earning, to follow economic discipline etc. It is necessary to manage and make all these tasks disciplined. Struggle should be carried out against anarchism, liberalism and vacillation in the economic field. It is necessary to activate and manage the department concerned to regulate the tasks in the economic field properly.

9. On building organisational structures

Building of organisational structure should be in line with the need of party and revolution. While building the party structure, attention should be paid on democratic centralism, scientific method of conducting organization and general administration. In doing so, complicated forms of structures must not be added. The organizational structure should be thought in a new way.

10. Tasks in mass organisations and national fronts

In the history of Nepalese democratic revolution, several mass organizations including workers, peasants, students, women, Dalits, teachers, intellectuals, cultural activists etc. have been playing significant roles. Their contributions have been remarkable in the processes of great people's war and various movements. In the same way, various fronts of the indigenous peoples/nationalities have also played important roles in this process. What is to be essentially noted here is that almost all mass organizations and fronts and their main leadership stood resolutely in support of the revolutionary faction in the process of breaking relation with the neo-revisionism. Right here it is to be recalled that the fighters of PLA and Young Communist League (YCL) who were organized in the people's volunteers have been playing remarkable role in the struggle against neo-revisionism. This is, in fact, a matter of pride and pleasure.

Every mass organization and national front in its historical background has been waging struggle with its professional and specific demands on the one hand and raising common issues of national

independence, democracy and livelihood on the other. All these mass organizations and national fronts have succeeded in maintaining close relations to and unite with the people. We should seriously think on advancing the mass organizations and national fronts and strengthening their relations with the people. At the present juncture when the issues of national independence, founding of people's democracy and people's livelihood, and of professional rights have been becoming serious and complex, it is necessary to provide a new height to the tasks related to their organisation and struggle.

The fraction system attaches a special importance in advancing the tasks of mass organizations and national fronts in a well-managed way. The fractions function as bridges in building relation of the party with these organizations and fronts. However, we have

been unable to manage it properly for some time in the past and it is necessary to pay attention to it.

11. On the tasks of departments and commissions

In the party, departmental tasks possess special significance. Several departmental tasks have lagged behind owing to disorder and chaos in the party for long. Now it is necessary to advance them in a well-managed way. Some departments are related with organizational aspect and activities and some with party's policy making.

Now in the party, departments of publicity, international, fund and accounts, schooling, education and culture, finance and planning etc. have been formed and it is necessary to make them active. These kinds of departmental tasks generate new speed and energy in the party. The task to make party disciplined has special importance. Special attention needs to be paid on managing the tasks regarding discipline through the disciplinary commission.

Several tasks of the departments have direct concern with people. All those departments play important roles in organizational activities, policy making of the party and strengthening relation with the people. It is essential to be attentive to organize, direct and mobilize them correctly.

12. Tasks on the people's commune

In the process of great people's war, people's commune, people's co-operative and people's hospital etc. were established in various districts of the base areas including Rolpa. This kind of encouraging work had initiated a kind of embryo of people's democracy, socialism and communism. But after we joined the peace process, some of them failed to keep going some others, which are left, are undergoing a very serious condition. They were not given attention even when party leadership was leading the government. It is really a matter of extreme grief and anxiety. We must pay attention on the historic importance of these institutions and put particular emphasis on conducting and organizing them in a new way in the new context.

13. Tasks of the publicity and communication field

Today is the epoch of globalisation. In these days, ideas and information can be disseminated in an electronic speed. The tasks regarding publication also fall on this field. Special attention needs to be paid if the tasks in this field are to be organized and well-managed. If we remain indifferent and passive to the tasks of this field, we cannot go to the people and advance whole tasks of the party. The party has been paying attention to this since long. But they are not yet sufficient. The tasks of this field must be advanced with special significance both internally and externally.

14. Tasks of the international field and foreign countries

The party has been working in this field since long. This field has been playing significant role in the history of New Democratic Revolution and the communist movement. Party needs to be serious in minutely studying the problems of this field and resolving them. In this field, there are tasks to conduct party organizations and expand them, on the one hand, and develop relations among different countries and the people of the world, on the other. We must advance all these tasks in a well- managed way. Ours is a party, which believes in the proletarian internationalism. The party has friendly and fraternal forces in the world and it is by maintaining better relations with them the party tasks can be managed properly and advanced in a new way. Therefore, it is necessary to organize the tasks of the international field and foreign countries in a new way.

15. Tasks among the martyr's families, fighters disappeared by the state and disabled ones

Our party views great martyrs, fighters disappeared by state and the disabled ones of the great people's war, with high honour. We have not been able to advance the tasks regarding the families of great martyrs and fighters disappeared by state and the disabled ones effectively. Special emphasis should be given to organise and manage the tasks of this field, take up the guardianship of their families and wage struggles by raising their demands and problems.

16. Tasks regarding united front and tactical unity

In order to advance the movement in a well-managed and organized way by raising the issues of national independence, people's democracy and burning problems of the people's livelihood, it is necessary to form united front or tactical unity with various political forces, fronts etc. that agree with common programmes. The party should be serious and active in this aspect also. Now we should lay special emphasis on building a united front of the patriotic, republican, federalist and the leftist forces.

13 – Plan for the future tasks

The plan for the future tasks of the party is related to the implementation of basic and specific programme of New Democratic Revolution and correct formulation of tactics to serve the strategy under the guidance of MLM. Also, this plan is related to the preparation of New Democratic Revolution. In this context, it is necessary to move forward by emphasizing the tasks in the following fields:

1. Theoretical field

- To follow, apply and publicise Marxism-Leninism-Marxism - To oppose and expose imperialist and feudal thinking - To oppose and expose all kinds of revisionism including right, centre and left and particularly right revisionism - To properly manage the tasks of training and schooling in the party - To publish regularly party organ, documents

and other publicity materials.

2. Politic field

- To implement and take among people the programme, political line and total policy of the party

- To oppose and expose the imperialism, expansionism and feudalism - To oppose and expose parliamentarianism and reformism - To congregate all patriotic, democratic and left forces and form united fronts at various levels - To implement the tactics of people's resistance struggle.

3. Organisational field

- To put special emphasis on building revolutionary, militant and new type of party
- To further strengthen and develop close relations between the party and people - To develop the inter-relation between the party, mass organizations and fronts - To congregate the revolutionary communist groups and individuals and prepare base for party unity and accomplish it

4. Field of struggle - People's Resistance Movement: The process of foreign brokerage, corruption, smuggling, vandalism and hooliganism is growing in the country. The people's resistance movement should be organized and conducted against it.

- Mass Movement: Movement should be organized and waged raising burning issues of national independence, people's democracy and people's livelihood.

5. International - To develop the fraternal relation in a new way - To make efforts to form an anti-imperialist front - To build an anti-expansionist front.

Our Slogans: Long Live MLM! Workers and oppressed masses of the people of the world unite! Long live New Democratic Revolution! Long live proletarian internationalism! Down with feudalism! Down with imperialism, expansionism and neo-colonialism! Down with neo-revisionism and right revisionism! Red salute to great martyrs! Long live the Communist Party of Nepal–Maoist!

(It is adopted by the 7th congress of CPN-Maoist, January 2013)

Palestine: An expulsion day, 1949

9 March 2015. A World to Win News Service. The Israeli historical novel Khirbet Khizeh has just been printed for the first time by a high-powered publishing house and in an American edition, and thus has become more widely available and prominently reviewed. On this occasion we are reissuing the review of this book that originally appeared in the AWTWNS packet for 17 December 2012. For a brief description of the infamous mass execution and rape of Palestinians in the village of Deir Yassin in 1948 and further discussion of the Israeli planning and carrying out of the ethnic cleansing of Palestine, see AWTWNS080512.

S. Yizhar's Khirbet Khizeh is about the expulsion of Palestinians from their village in the last months of the 1948-49 war. The novella (short novel) skilfully juxtaposes beautiful images of the landscape of Palestine with the brutality of Israeli soldiers. You feel their boredom, indifference, rage, their thrill at killing intermingled with the view that they have a right to own this already inhabited land, and their occasional pangs of conscience as they force the villagers into exile. What unfolds in Yizhar's description is a single day in the implementation of "Plan D" adopted in March 1948 by the Zionist leader and first Israeli Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion (the ideological and political architect of various schemes to rid the land of its Palestinian inhabitants) and his group. An aggressive plan to dislodge the Palestinians, Plan D gave military commanders license to use any methods to achieve its goals.

This was one of the first novels written in Hebrew. Acknowledged as a literary masterpiece soon after it was first published in 1949, it has been compared to the writing of American novelist William Faulkner who wrote about the Deep South and the complex relationship between bigoted whites and the descendants of slaves.

The appearance of Khirbet Khizeh in the newly created state of Israel caused a swirl of controversy. Its literary quality only made the dispute more bitter. Some people praised it for its honesty, while others condemned it for throwing dirt on Zionism's so-called rightful and noble aims. They hated it because, based on his own experience as an Israeli soldier, Yizar's book gave the lie to the foundational Israeli narrative, that Palestinians left their lands willingly or did what the regional Arab heads of state told them. That "flight" narrative was largely undisputed in Israel for almost three decades until some of the "New Historians" like Ilan Pappé and others challenged this thesis with new archival evidence that became available. Khirbet Khizeh was not translated into English until 2008, and not published outside of Israel until 2011, by Granta Books in London.

S. Yizar was a pseudonym for Yizar Silanksy. Despite his Zionist family background and political connections (he was a close friend of David Ben-Gurion), he was

aware of the moral dilemma embodied in the Zionist vision of a state "for Jews only".

The narrator's turmoil draws the reader in immediately: "True, it all happened a long time ago, but it has haunted me ever since. I sought to drown it out with the din of passing time, to diminish its value, to blunt its edge with the rush of daily life, and I even occasionally managed a sober shrug, managed to see that the whole thing had not been so bad after all, congratulating myself on my patience, which is, of course, the brother of true wisdom. But sometimes I would shake myself again, astonished at how easy it had been to be seduced, to be knowingly led astray and join the great general mass of liars – that mass compounded of crass ignorance, utilitarian indifference and shameless self-interest..."

Then the author recounts the day in question: "the purpose of that entire day from the start, 'operational order' number such and such... the noteworthy clause entitled 'information' which immediately warned of the mounting danger of 'infiltrators', 'terrorist cells', and (in a wonderful turn of phrase) 'operatives dispatched on hostile missions', but also the subsequent and even more noteworthy clause, which explicitly stated, 'assemble the inhabitants of the area extending from point X (see attached map) to point Y (see same map) – load them onto transports, and convey them across our lines; blow up the stone houses, and burn the huts; detain the youths and the suspects, and clear the area of 'hostile forces.'"

"... Moische, the company commander... briefed us about the situation, the lay of the land, and the objective. From which it transpired that the few houses on the lower slope of another hill were some Khirbet Khizeh or other, and all the surrounding crops and fields belonged to that village, whose abundant water, good soil, and celebrated husbandry had gained a reputation almost equal to that of its inhabitants, who were, they said, a band of ruffians, who gave succour to the enemy, and were ready for any mischief should the opportunity only arise; or, for example, should they happen to encounter any Jews you could be sure they would wipe them out, at once – such was their nature, and such were their ways. "

Informed that the soldiers would have to wait, they sing songs, tell tales, nod off to sleep or discuss their mission and the "Ayrabs":

"The devil take them," said Gaby, " what beautiful places they have."

"Had," answered the operator. "It's already ours."

"Our boys," said Gaby, "for a place like this, we would fight like I don't know what, and they're running away, they don't even put up a fight!"

"Forget these Arabs – they're not even human," answered the operator.

During the wait, the narrator starts thinking about how fighting the war was one thing, you fought to stay alive, never mind the goal of the war. But emptying the villages "pestered the soul, and the best thing to do was to rid oneself of it, assume a furious glance and fix it upon that very village, what was its name, the one in front of us." The narrator fails to connect the dots, that the systematic emptying of Palestinian villages he describes was a basic goal of the war from the start. "Once villages were something you attacked and took by storm. Today they were nothing but gaping emptiness screaming out with a silence

that was at once evil and sad. These bare villages, the day was coming when they would begin to cry out. As you went through them, all of a sudden, without knowing where from, you found yourself silently followed by invisible eyes of walls, courtyards, and alleyways. Desolate abandoned silence. Your guts clenched."

When the order is given to attack and gunfire rattles all around there is great glee among the Israeli soldiers. They argue over who is the better shot and who should use the machine gun. Many villagers manage to escape with nothing but the clothes on their back. Frantic mothers desperately gather their children but they and others don't succeed in leaving before the arrival of the soldiers.

Going through the village, the narrator is distressed by how similar it is to the countless others they had taken, and by the signs of life left by those who had just fled.

"The mattresses were still laid out, the fire among the cooking-stones was still smouldering, one moment the chickens were pecking in the rubbish as usual and the next they were running away screeching as though they were about to be slaughtered. Dogs were sniffing suspiciously, half approaching, half-barking. And the implements in the yard were still – it was clear – in active use. And silence had not yet settled except as a kind of wonderment and stupefaction, as though the outcome hadn't yet been determined, and it was still possible that things would be straightened out and restored to the way they had been before. In one yard a donkey was standing, with mattresses and colourful blankets piled on its back, falling on their sides and collapsing on the ground, because while they were being hastily loaded, the throb of fear 'They're-here-already!' had overcome the people, and they'd shouted: 'To hell with it, just run!' And in the next-door courtyard, which contained a kitchen garden, with a well-tended patch of potatoes, the fine tilth of its soil and the bright green of the leaves calling to you and telling you to go straight home and do nothing but cultivate beautiful potatoes."

As the soldiers pushed through the village, leaving behind the first curls of smoke, they gathered the remaining villagers who had not managed to escape.

"When a stone house exploded with a deafening thunder and a tall column of dust – its roof visible from where we were, floating peacefully, all spread out, intact, and suddenly splitting and breaking up high in the air and falling in a mass of debris, dust, and a hail of stones – a woman whose house it apparently was, leapt up, burst into wild howling and started to run in that direction, holding a baby in her arms, while another wretched child who could already stand, clutched the hem of her dress, and she screamed, pointed, talked, and choked, and now her friend got up, and another, and an old man stood up too, and other people rose to their feet as she began to run, while the child attached to the hem of her dress was dragged for a moment and stumbled to the ground and bawled... She had suddenly understood, it seemed, that it wasn't just about waiting under the sycamore tree to hear what the Jews wanted and then to go home, but that her home and her world had come to a full stop, and everything had turned dark and was collapsing; suddenly she had grasped something inconceivable, terrible, incredible, standing directly before her, real and cruel, body to body, and there was no going back."

There is some questioning and back-and-forth banter among the Israeli soldiers.

"What will happen to them? What will they eat or drink?" asked one soldier. Another replies, "Stop thinking so much. And if that's the way you feel, you can go with them."

"Something struck me like lightning. All at once everything seemed to mean something different, more precisely: exile. This was exile."

The Palestinians are herded together and shipped off in trucks. When the narrator tells his commanding officer that this is a filthy war, he is told that Jewish immigrants will come and settle this land and it will be beautiful, a Hebrew Khizeh on the ruins of the former village.

Biblical references abound throughout the book, referring to the two thousand years of exile of the Jews. But the Jews here are now the masters who came, shot, burned, blew up and drove others into exile. In spite of this realization the narrator fails to overcome his moral paralysis and complicity.

Much greater crimes were committed during the expulsions than takes place in the book where no Palestinian is killed. While Khirbet Khizeh is a fictitious village, it is nonetheless emblematic of the actual expulsions that occurred with the establishment of the state of Israel and which are still going on today in areas near the ever increasing Israeli settlements in the West Bank.

The Israeli historian Pappé calls what the Zionist movement led by David Ben-Gurion and his closest advisors started in 1948 "ethnic cleansing". More than 500 Palestinian villages were forcefully emptied of their inhabitants through terrorist attacks carried out by various Israeli militias like the Stern Gang, Haganah and Irgun as well as the Israeli Defence Force. Pappé references newly released military and political archives as well as the diaries of David Ben-Gurion. The directives of Plan Dalet included "bombarding villages... setting fire to homes, properties and goods, expulsion, demolition and planting mines among the rubble to prevent any of the expelled inhabitants from returning." Pappé also documents how water supplies were poisoned, and that the atrocities committed included massacres and the rape of many women. All this has been erased from conventional Israeli history.

Approximately 800,000 Palestinians were exiled, more than half the population of Palestine at the time, according to Pappé's figures. Palestinians call it the Nakba or catastrophe.

In the book the soldiers differ amongst themselves about what they are doing. "As they argue they are impressed by a woman with a seven year old child. There was something special about her. She seemed stern, self-controlled, austere in her sorrow. Tears, which hardly seemed to be her own, rolled down her cheeks. And the child too was sobbing a kind of stiff-lipped 'what have you done to us.'... I felt ashamed in her presence and lowered my eyes. It was as though there were an outcry in their gait, a kind of sullen accusation: Damn you... a determination to endure her suffering with courage, and how now, when her world had fallen into ruins, she did not want to break down before us. Exalted in their pain and sorrow above our – wicked – existence they went on their way and we could also see how something was happening in the heart of the boy, something that, when he

grew up, could only become a viper inside him, that same thing that was now the weeping of a helpless child."

The narrator is caught between the indifference of the other soldiers and his own revulsion at what he and they are doing. But in calling the boy's righteous anger a "viper", he reveals an attitude that still sees what he considers the interests of "his people" as higher than the interests of other human beings. He hates the methods being used to create Israel, but does not reject the goal of a Zionist state in Palestine. So he can't resolve his moral dilemma. Revolted by what he and other Israeli soldiers are doing, he remains complicit with what he knows to be intolerable.

The author himself was less conflicted. He spent a good part of his life as an officer in the Israeli military.

संसारका मजदुरहरु एक होऔं !



नेपाल कम्युनिष्ट पार्टी-माओवादी
Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist



माक्सवाद-लेनिनवाद-माओवाद – जिन्दावाद !



पत्र संख्या/Serrial No. :-

चलानी नं./Regd.No. :-

Revolutionary Greetings and Best wishes On the historical occasion of the twentieth Great People's War day!

We are celebrating the 20th People's War day on 13th February. Twenty years ago, by 13 February 1996, the great People's War, led by Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), had been initiated to establish the socialism and communism through new democracy by emancipating the country from semi-feudalist and semi-colonialist situation and the People's War was conducted for 10 years. It rippled the whole country. The great People's War developed through strategic defense, equilibrium and offence. Qualitative achievements on the sphere of party, people's army and united front were attained. Base areas were established in rural area throughout the country. Nepalese People's War became the subject matter of attraction and glory for the world's proletariats too. But, the great People's War had setback due to the rightist neo-revisionist deviation in the party. We advanced by breaking the relation with the neo-revisionism.

About fourteen thousands heroes and heroines got martyrdom during the process of the great People's War. Several combatants were been disappeared and several were wounded by the state. On the occasion of the 20th People's War day, we pay passionate homage to the brave immortal martyrs; we pay high respect to the disappeared combatants and pay special respect to the wounded disabled combatants. And, we greet and deliver heartfelt good wishes to all the mass people, well wishers, uncritical of transformation who have involved and cooperate with the process of the great People's War. And, we exchange warm good wishes among all comrades of the party.

Although the great People's War had setback and our objective to establish the new democratic state by emancipating the nation and the people from the exploitation and oppression has not succeeded but the role played by all the people along with the great martyrs, disappeared combatants, wounded-disabled in the scope of sacrifice, bravery, martyr-

dom and established records won't go waste. We want to go ahead with new commitment with another historical campaign to accomplish the new democratic revolution through the people's insurrection standing on the foundation of physical, political and cultural values of the great people's war. Though temporary defeat had been faced and the path is difficult, the victory of the revolution is inevitable. On the historical occasion of 20th great People's War, with the great deal of revolutionary greetings and good wishes, let's advance for the continuous revolutionary march with the guideline of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

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Ram Bahadur Thapa
'Badal'
General Secretary

Date : 2015 February 12