

# THE RED STAR

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Nepal's National Magazine

## Red flag on Himalayas

Red Star Reporter

Yes, red flags are flying high in the Himalayas. With the overwhelming support of the Nepali people throughout the election of the Constituent Assembly, the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist is set to lead the government. People have shown their approval for the 10 year long Peoples War with their vote, and the CPN-M is now the largest Party in Nepal.

The oppressed, dominated and marginalised people of Nepal and throughout the world are overjoyed with the result of the elections. It is a victory for the masses in the 21st century. The world is now looking toward the Himalayas. Within a month, the CPN-M will form a government under the leadership of Chairman Prachanda.

Holding aloft the red flag, the people of Nepal have made history, and the people are going to write the new constitution themselves. With the end of the 240 year old monarchy and centralised feudal rule, Nepal is at the beginning of a new era. And yes, people will shine the light from the rooftop of the world. The poorest people are making history and giving a message for the rest of the world.

The clear policy, the new ideology, and the new leadership; the clear plans for restructuring the state on the basis of a Federal Democratic Republic, to forge a greater national unity on the basis of the right to self-determination; the clear plan to develop Nepal into a prosperous nation: these things have resulted in victory for the CPN-M.

The central committee meeting of CPN-M held in Kathmandu made an evaluation of the election, discussed the implementation of a republic and the formation of a government. Likewise, issues of organizational development and mass mobilization, international relations and party unity among Maoist revolutionaries were also discussed and respective decisions were made. The meeting decided that Chairman Prachanda will lead the government, and many of the top leaders will be in the government.

The Maoist will try to form a coalition government with other parties, but if they are unwilling, the Maoist will form a government without them.

But at the same time, the reactionary and pro establishment status-quo elements are showing no signs of rest. Although the people have clearly given the mandate to the CPN-M, a clique in the Nepali Congress, with the support of some foreign powers, are unwilling to accept the people's verdict. Some leaders of the so called 'left' parties are also singing from the same hymn sheet. Perhaps this is why Leftist leaders have always said 'the reactionary force should be forcefully thrown out'.

It is known that some foreign powers, namely the US and India, are playing a double game; on the one hand they have given assurances of support for a Maoist government; on the other they are backing their Nepali stooges to speak and act against the result. But these elements must understand that the people have cast them into the dustbin of history, and the people's true representatives have risen to rule the nation with the support of the masses. This force has a new ideology; a new leadership that has led the People's Struggle for 10 years- this is the new system.

Some of the leaders from the parliamentary parties such as the NC and CPN UML are saying that the Maoist should not be allowed to form a government. This is a blatant violation of the people's mandate, of international standards of their own professed democratic norms, and illegal and immoral claims. Since the people have voted for the Maoist agenda of a new Nepal with Chairman Prachanda as President with executive power, the Party has the right to form a government. The constitutional obligation demands a coalition government as long as the new constitution is being written. In spite of all provocations in the interim constitution, if consensus is reached, the Maoist has the right to forge a coalition government; if not, the Maoist has the right to lead the government by itself.



Photo- Dinesh Shrestha

Maoist's victory in the Constituent Assembly election has brought happiness and hope to the most oppressed and marginalised people of Nepal. The victory has taken some of the most oppressed communities to a position to create national policy. People hope for sustainable peace and prosperity.

These working women were seen singing and dancing overjoyed in the streets of Capital city, Kathmandu at a Maoist's victory rally.

## Intn'l community positive towards CPN-Maoist

By a Red Star Representative

The popular support for the Maoist in the Constituent Assembly elections caught the 'big powers' off guard. As the Maoist won the support of the masses of Nepal through the CA election, the international community has accepted the verdict of the Nepali people, and has also accepted the CPN M. With the primary election results showing the Maoist in the lead, ambassadors of many different countries, representatives of donor agencies and diplomats met Chairman Prachanda and congratulated him on the victory.

Last week, the United Nations coordinated a program where Maoist leaders held a consultation with the heads of various United Nations' agencies, ambassadors and representatives of donor agencies. The Maoist Chairman told the media after the consultation that the international community wanted to see 'Nepal proceed on a sustainable peace'.

In the program, Maoist leaders expressed the party commitment to

multi-party democracy, peace and rapid socio-economic change in the country. The consultation focused on development, restoration of peace, army integration and other matters that Chairman Prachanda believes will 'change the perception of international community towards us.'

The newly appointed Indian ambassador, who arrived in Kathmandu this week, met with CM Prachanda and discussed bi-lateral relations. Likewise, a high-level delegation from China led by Ai Ping, the director general of the International department of the Communist Party of China, met with Maoist leaders. The CPC is said to be willing to establish party-to-party relations with the CPN-Maoist. Ambassadors of Japan and Norway, a delegate of the Swiss Development co-operation and UNMIN Chief Ian Martin also met with CM Prachanda.

A delegation from the World Bank also met and held discussions with Chairman Prachanda on the party's economic plans and policies, and the Bank's

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Maoist CM Prachanda addressing media after the meeting with Representatives of Donor's Agencies. On the right are UN country Representative Robert Piper and UNMIN Chief Ian Martin

# People's mandate for CPN-Maoist

The final result of the historic Constituent Assembly election of April 10 has arrived. The Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist has a huge lead in both the First Past the Post and proportional representation system.

Bagging 220 seats out of 601, the CPN-Maoist has become the single largest party. Nepali Congress has 110 seats, half the number of the Maoists. The CPN UML, managed to be the third largest party won 103 seats. In this way, 575 of the seats have been obtained by the political parties, and 26 seats will be nominated by the cabinet and will include representatives from civil society and various sectors.

Out of 240 seats from the first past the post, CPN-Maoist bagged 50 percent-120 seats. Nepali Congress, which was the 'largest' party before election, struggled to obtain just 37, and the CPN UML who dreamt of being the largest party after the election received a mere 33 seats. The Madhesi People's Right Forum emerged as the fourth largest political force with 30 seats. Some small left parties also gained few seats.

The proportional electoral system was used in Nepal for the first time. CPN-Maoist received



Photo Courtesy- M. Menanteaux

CM Prachanda addressing a gathering after the declaration of his victory in Kathmandu

29.28 percent votes leaving the first runner up, the NC, far behind. The Maoist bagged 3,144,204 votes out of the total 10,739,078 votes. Nepali congress polled 2,269,883 whereas the CPN-UML got 2,183,370 votes. The vote percentages of these two parties are 21.14 and 20.33 percent respectively. These results provided CPN-Maoist, NC and UML 100, 73 and 70 seats correspondingly in the

PR system. Many prominent figures of Nepalese politics, many of who had influential positions in their party and in national politics have been defeated, and their political career is over. New and young faces came in the forefront in this election. This is the clear indication of the desire for real change, and the Nepalese people have a lot of hope with these new comers.

The constituent Assembly will comprise of a respectable and representative number of women. Through the FPTP system, 28 women have won seats, and parties should nominate about 50 percent women in the PR list. This will result in 33 percent female representation in the CA. Likewise; five from the Dalits, 76 from nationalities, 59 from Madhesi have won in the

FPTP system. Among all the political parties, CPN-Maoist has made the most inclusive nominations.

Eighteen central leaders of CPN-Maoist had stood in the CA election (FPTP system), and 17 won. The defeated central leader, Surendra Karki, lost by less than four hundred votes. Chairman Prachanda, senior leaders Baburam Bhattarai, Ram Bahadur Thapa, CP Gajurel, Post Bahadur Bogati, Krishna Bahadur Mahara and others will be in the CA.

In contrast, most of the senior leaders of NC and UML contested in the election were defeated by the new young, female and regional level leaders of CPN-Maoist. The royalist force has been almost wiped out. Leaders like Surya Bdr. Thapa, Pashupati Samsar Rana, Kamal Thapa, who rose out of the Panchayat system, were all defeated. Their political careers are effectively over.

The election result has also proved that CPN-Maoist has not been weakened in the Terai. Some domestic and foreign forces had tried to reduce Maoist influence in Terai last year, but the result proved that the people were with the Maoist. In the Terai, it was the NC and the UML that faced heavy losses, with the Madhesi People's Right Forum cutting into the support of the NC and UML.

## Cry babies of defeat 'An expected result'

The traditional two establishment parties, the Nepali Congress (NC) and the Communist Party of Nepal, United Marxist Leninist (CPN UML), lost their political base in the CA poll. After their defeat, they accused the Maoists of "election intimidation" and gave this as the main reason for their 'unexpected' losses in the election. In accordance with the people's mandate in the election, the Communist Party of Nepal, Maoist (CPN-M) bagged 220 seats in the new constituent assembly. These two parties went into the election believing that they would receive large votes, on the basis of biased and mistaken information. Their spectacular defeat in the polls caught them by surprise. The NC and the CPN UML cannot face up to and understand their defeat, and so they are forced to say their defeat was due to the Maoist's threats; this was the main reason why the people did not support them. It's a ridiculous remark. The NC and the CPN UML lost badly not because of Maoist intimidation, but because of their corrupt and ineffective political practices, and their betrayal of the hopes and aspirations of the masses of Nepali people.

These two parties won many seats in the parliament in 2056, and their expectations were based on previous elections when the CPN-M had boycotted the elections. Most importantly, the NC and the CPN UML failed to understand the present mood of the Nepali people; their party organizations gradually declined as they would not stand for change. This election clearly proved that the Nepali people want to get rid of corrupt leaders as soon as possible, hence the massive support for the CPN-M.

The NC and UML were confident, almost to the point of arrogance, that they had the support of the people, and their pro-party observers had the same assumptions. At first, all parties had concluded that the election was held in a free, fair and peaceful manner. Even the international observers verified this. However, as the results started to come in, the NC and CPN UML party leaders were surprised and then, to save face, were forced to say that voters were intimidated by the Maoists.

Before the election, CPN-M leaders had suggested that all republicans work together to insure the defence of the democratic republic. But the NC and the CPN UML leaders didn't pay heed to Maoist proposals. They took it as a weakness of the Maoists and challenged the Maoist to collect at least 10 seats by their own strength. The arrogant speech of the CPN UML leaders towards the Maoists before the election received a lot of coverage in the media, but was completely refuted by the election results; the CPN UML leaders were revealed to the whole world as corrupt politicians badly out of touch with the masses of Nepali people.

In first past the post system, the Maoists won three times as many seats as the Nepali Congress. Similarly, in PR system, the Maoist received one million votes more than the Nepali Congress. The total seats of these so-called establishment parties are less than the seats of CPN-Maoist. It's a serious matter for them. The acting president of the NC, Sushil Koirala, and general secretary of the CPN UML, Madhav Kumar Nepal, resigned from their respective posts due to their catastrophic losses. They lost badly in the election as they failed to change their party policy according to the times. However, they are still trying to save face, and crying out against the Maoist. But their tears cannot change reality.

In Kathmandu, some people are saying that the election results were surprising and unexpected. Many were forced to review their assumptions, while others are hopelessly trying to stick to their previous position.

However, Maoist leaders before the election were saying that the election result would confirm their expectations. Senior Maoist leader Ram Bahadur Thapa has said that the result was entirely expected. In an interview with a leading national daily, Janadisa, he said: "To some point, we have to accept that the results were below our expectation because the Maoist had already won much ahead of the poll; politically and ideologically we were in a much stronger position."

Badal has taken the wave of support that swept through the election in favour of his party as an affirmation of the people of Nepal of the ideals and the leadership of the CPN Maoist.

Replying to a question about the

party's plans for the possible cooperation with other political parties, Badal said: 'our partners at time of the Janaandolan-II have been given the peoples' verdict; they have secured their membership at the Constituent Assembly. Ideologically, and more importantly, the need of the hour is that we need further cooperation from our partners. The formation of the government and the constitution making process that, according to the peoples' mandate, will be executed under the Maoist leadership needs further support from partners and perhaps the need for the formation of an all party government.'

'What type of support is the Maoist led government trying to seek from internal and external powers?' In reply to Janadisha, Thapa said: "We hope to unite with the Nationalists and the Leftists. And we will continue our relations with them for peace and progressive change. We seek further support from our partners in this



regard. The world power centers, the progressive groups and people, we hope they will support us in our endeavor to build a New Nepal and to draft the new constitution. We are taking further diplomatic initiatives in this regard."

Ram Bahadur Thapa, standing from constituency no.2 of Chitwan district won by a landslide 21409 votes, leaving the first runner up far behind.

### Intn'l community .....

future assistance to Nepal.

The current trend of the international community seems ready to accept a CPN-Maoist led government in Nepal, thereby proving wrong the assumptions of some parliamentarians and bourgeois 'intellectuals' that the international community won't accept the Maoist. No country or any major organization has expressed dissatisfaction over the CA results. Rather, they have promised to continue their political and economic assistance to Nepal if the future government is led by the Maoist.

Despite the overall positive response of the international community, a small section cannot accept the verdict of the Nepali people; their Nepali stooges express this openly. In the coming days, we can expect the international community to divide in support and criticism of the Maoist. But no one can deny that with the power of the people behind them, the Maoist is extraordinarily strong.

### Conference of journalists

Nepalese journalists are holding their national conference this week. The 22nd national conference of Federation of Nepali journalist-FNJ is being held on May 3-4 in the capital.

Some hundred journalists announced their candidacy for the 27 posts of the central committee of FNJ. The common organization of progressive and revolutionary journalists 'Revolutionary Journalist Association' has announced the candidacy of Govinda Acharya for vice-president and Khil Bahadur Bhandari for central committee member.



# No obstacles establishing party-to-party relations

- Ai Ping, Director General, International Department, Communist Party of China

**Sir, how has China and the Communist Party of China taken the Constituent Assembly election result of Nepal?**

I myself am working for the international department of the Communist Party of China Central Committee. So, I can say that I tried my best to follow the political developments in Nepal. As far as I know, I believe that this CA election is a very historical step in the peace process and the political development of the country. I understand that the elected members of the 601 member-assembly will write a new constitution together which will lead to the restructuring of the political system of the country, and, of course, this is an historical event. We have the impression that the election was held peacefully, smoothly and successfully. Maybe some people were surprised by the outcome, but as far as I know, all the political parties to date stated that they would accept the result since they regard the results as the verdict of the people.

**And, how has China and CPC taken the CPN-Maoist victory?**

Well, as I have said that all the political parties have accepted the verdict of the people. As I mentioned, although we have tried our best to understand the political developments, we would not pretend that we are wise in regards to the political actors in this country. So far I have learnt in these past few days of my present visit to your country, I think that most

of the people have very high expectations on the Maoists.

**Is CPC planning to have party-to-party relations with CPN-Maoist?**

Yes, I think so. Actually, party-to-party relations are somewhat different from state-to-state relations. State-to-state relation, particularly for the People's Republic of China, is something that we will do after various kinds of negotiations and formal documents. But for party-to-party relations, we do not do it like that. Actually my minister, who came last December, has had the chance to meet with many top-level leaders of Maoists. I myself during this visit met with Chairman Prachanda and I held discussions with him. I am not sure whether this is part of a formal establishment of party-to-party relations. Perhaps CPN-M might have different ideas. I remember once that CM Prachanda said that he would like to be the very first one to formalize the relationship between the two parties. I guess he is very busy and has a heavy working load that has prevented him to travel to China. I know that the CPN-M joined the interim parliament, approved the interim constitution and now CPN-M has become the single biggest party in the coming CA. I don't see any obstacles preventing us from establishing party-to-party relations between the CPC and the CPN-M.

**You have met with Maoist leaders during your visit in Nepal. Can you tell us about deliberations you**

**have had with Maoist leaders?**

During my very first meeting with the Maoist leaders, I tried to explain that in China, we don't use the term 'Maoism'. Actually CM Mao himself opposed the adoption of this term. He believed that 'Marxism' is the source of our ideology. And Mao Tse-Tung Thought is only the application of Marxism in accordance with the concrete situation in China. Some people have suspected that maybe Chairman Mao was just being modest. But anyway, we do not use this term.

For example, now we say in China we have two successors in the integration of universal truth of Marxism in the concrete conditions of China. The result of the first success is Mao Tse-Tung Thought, we use the term "thought". The second one is what we say the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, and this part of our guiding ideology actually consists of three parts. The first part contributed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and we say the "Deng Xiaoping Theory", the second part the better half of our guiding ideologies, is the contribution made by the third generation of leadership. We say Comrade Jiang Zemin and his core, and we use another term for his contribution that is, the important thesis, you will notice we are using still another term, the important thesis of a "three represents". And the latest success of our party's radical development 'scientific concepts of development' put forward by Com-



rade Hu Jintao and his comrades. Anyway we have developed such a tradition.

I think in Nepal, you regard theoretical development in a different way. Chairman Prachanda once said that he believes that CM Mao's contribution in the liberation and development of 'third world' countries is so important and so innovative, that he would rather use the term 'Maoism'. I don't want to debate with him what terms we should use, we should go the essence and not stick to dogmas and we should apply the universal principles in an innovative way. We have to change and go along with the times and try our best to understand the objective law of this society and to be innovative in the theoretical development. **Will China continue its political and economic assistance if the future government is led by the**

**CPN-Maoist?**

Well, I don't think the changing of the concrete combination of the government will in any way affect the relationship between our two countries. Actually, ever since the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two countries, we have enjoyed very cordial friendly cooperation all along. I can't see any reason why the CPN-Maoist coming into new government will stop these friendly relations.

**CPN-Maoist seems to have high expectations from the Chinese government in the field of foreign investment and commerce. They have proposed a railway from the Chinese boarder to Lumbini via Kathmandu. What is China's perspective in this regard?**

The other day when I had chance to meet with Chairman Prachanda, I

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## The elections were largely peaceful

- Ex-Justice Ajit Singh (Chandigarh High Court),  
An international observer for CA election

free participation of the voters. And the election commission also deserves thanks for organizing a fair and free election.

**How many polling centers did you observe?**

I observed only 29 polling centers in Kathmandu valley itself. I couldn't go anywhere else. But it was totally peaceful in Kathmandu valley wherever I visited.

**What will be the response of the Indian government on the verdict of the CA election?**

I think Indian ambassador has already met and congratulated Maoist CM Prachanda on behalf of the Indian government for his party's landslide victory. I feel that the Indian government will also support the new government which will be a coalition government with the cooperation of the Nepali Congress. Maoist leader Prachanda has already met the leaders of Nepali Congress and sought their cooperation for forming a coalition government.

**Do you think the election of CA has any message for the international community?**

I think the election to the constituent assembly of Nepal is the first in the history of Nepal. This constituent assembly that will be set up by the election is a first and the international community can learn a

lot from it. Especially, the people and the governments of south-east Asia can see that change can come through peaceful means.

**What will be the legal process to overthrow the monarchy?**

I think that the condition of each and every country differs. In the conditions which are prevailing in Nepal, the Maoist party has done well by adopting peaceful means to overthrow feudalism. My view is that presidential rule in Nepal would be better to overthrow the monarchy.

**Do you get any differences between the election of CA in Nepal and in other countries?**

Other countries have had no CA elections of their own in the recent past. At least, in India there has been no election of the CA for over 60 years. After, there was no constituent assembly, although in India some states and regional groups demanded a new CA to frame a new constitution that can satisfy the aspirations of all the people. The present constitution cannot satisfy the aspirations of the people. Like in Nepal, under the old constitution of Nepal, no problem could be solved. Therefore, to make a new Nepal, this CA election is very important and the CA will frame a new

constitution which will fulfill the aspirations to make the new Nepal.

**How will the agenda of the Federal Democratic Republic be implemented?**

Now, the mandate of the Nepali people shows that they are against monarchy and the feudal order. In this situation, the monarchy itself should not wait for any decision of CA. The CA shall definitely frame a new constitution in cooperation with other parties to end monarchy and to make provision for the democratic socialist republic of Nepal.

**What will be the role of Indian people in building new Nepal?**

All democratic minded people in India will support this move and in Nepal also all the intellectual democratic minded people, even those who did not vote for the Maoist, they will also support the constitution for a democratic socialist republic.

**Do you want to convey any message to the victorious people through the Red Star?**

I think that the people of Nepal have done very well in voting to power parties that want a democratic socialist republic. My message is that in the future, they should support those who want to build a democratic republic of Nepal.

**How do you evaluate the developing political situation after the election of Constituent Assembly?**

The election has shown that the Maoists did a lot during the armed struggle to benefit the poor people; they tried to overthrow feudalism. So the people voted for them.

**You were one of the observers of the International Observing Team. How was your experience of the CA polls?**

The elections were largely peaceful and there was no violence and no revenge. The violence was only in one or two places. The election was quite peaceful and no political parties interfered in the

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## EDITORIAL

### Beginning of a new era

At last, the long-awaited election of the Constituent Assembly is over and the results are out. The successful completion of the CA election has fulfilled a political aspiration of 57 years; the final result of the 12-point understanding made two and half years ago has been met. The election result has many consequences; it has ended two hundred and fifty years of monarchy and radically changed the balance of power in Nepal. The traditional establishment political parties have crumbled and a revolutionary political force has taken its place. After the election results, the Nepali people have begun to hope for lasting peace and stability.

The election has ended the rule of the monarchy; the country will now be a republic. After uprooting the main feudal institution, the feudal politico-economy can now be replaced by capitalist economic relations. Likewise, the election has ended the unitary state system; Nepal will now be a federal state. The federation will be made up of various unions based on national, linguistic, and regional characteristics that will strengthen national integrity. Furthermore, revolutionary forces have overrun the reactionary and status-quo political establishment.

The CA election has taken some of the most oppressed communities to a position to create national policy. Almost 33 percent of the total member of the CA will be women. The Madhesi, Adivasi, Janjati, and Dalit communities are all represented. Furthermore, the CA has brought in many new faces and enthusiastic young representatives, mostly from CPN-M. In short, the policy and program that the CPN-M implemented during the armed struggle has brought this situation about.

The election result has made the integration of the two armies and the restructure of the entire security sector easier. Furthermore, this election has compelled the traditional establishment political parties to introduce democracy within their own parties. The election has also forced the international community to change their attitude towards Nepal and the CPN-M. The successful completion of the CA election has proved that Nepalese people are capable of solving their own problems. Many people outside Nepal see that the model of conflict management in Nepal is well worth studying. In addition, the attitude of the neighbouring countries of China and India, the European Union and the US are positive towards the CPN-M. These countries have promised that they will continue their assistance to the future Maoist led government.

In total, all this proves that the Constituent Assembly has been a milestone in Nepali history. The election has opened the door to a New Nepal: this is a major progressive breakthrough. The nation has taken the right direction and there is a good possibility that the conflict in Nepal will be peacefully settled. Nepal is on the eve of a new era.

# A challenging journey



■ Maheshwar Dahal

The Constituent Assembly election has opened up a new field in Nepali politics. The traditional conflict between the king and the people has ended legally, as the republican forces proved victorious in the election. Without doubt, our country has entered a new era. This election result has weakened the traditional power base, and given full support to the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M). New party, new thought and new leadership have emerged. The old parliamentarians should review their party line and get rid of their outdated thinking and their corrupt and inefficient working style. In this way, the forthcoming days will see the beginning of tremendous ups and downs.

This election result is not a minor event. The result reflects the mind and will of the Nepali people. The Nepali people have accepted the economic policy and party guidelines of the CPN-M. In order to implement it, the government should be under the leadership of the CPN-M. Politically, other parties should clear the way for the Maoist to form a government. Wittingly or unwittingly, other parties mustn't create obstacles to the formation of a government. If they do this, it will be against the popular mandate of the Nepali people. If we study political morality, it is not positive, yet we have to be optimistic. The dog/cat conversation is a common thing here. However, our journey is moving ahead over many obstacles. Now it's better to forget the past and take a new path to the future. Certainly the CPN-M can learn a lot from the downfall

of the autocratic feudal regime and the dirty games of the parliamentary parties. It's the reality of politics in the present time. In the beginning, the Nepali congress and CPN-UML resembled reformists; gradually they plunged into the dark mud of political deceit. Even though the Maoist have got into government, the present state structure will not let the state serve and work for the backward and oppressed sections of society. However, the party must try to work for the benefit and betterment of the oppressed classes.

The coming party meeting ought to make further plans for the necessity of a party government, plans for a coalition government, and the role of the government. If the government is formed under the leadership of the

achievements of the People's War, the People's Movement and the consequences of CA poll, a strong public pressure must be created. In this regard, the government and representatives to the CA must play a vital role.

We must move ahead in our thinking, our party lines, our tactics and our political strategy. In the USSR and China, the party was controlled by the state - this was a blunder. The party has already discussed this in its document 'The Development of Peoples Democracy in the 21st century'. In this transitional situation, the party Chairman should lead the government, which is the demand of the Nepali people. Certainly, the involvement of core leaders in the government and the CA will be more effective. The main thing

The result reflects the mind and will of the Nepali people. The Nepali people have accepted the economic policy and party guidelines of the CPN-M. In order to implement it, the government should be under the leadership of the CPN-M. Politically, other parties should clear the way for the Maoist to form a government.

Maoist, it will be possible to carry out many reforms for the sake of people, and any conspiracies can be dealt with in the right time and in the right way. The traditional state structure will not let the Maoist bring about a radical reformation of the country. In the name of continuing this present government, we can't surrender the popular mandate of the Nepali people that is reflected in the election results.

In this critical situation, other parties will not support the CPN-M for political, economic and social transformation. Some secret conspiratorial forces will plot to try and make the party fail. To divide and rule is an ancient method of imperialism. They may try to start ethnic conflict; they may try to revive the king's power. In order to protect the

what the party can do to make the party dynamic, to capture the street for further pressure. If there is any danger ahead, the party must be able to show a path. For this, a new plan is needed to organise the people so the people can peacefully demonstrate in the necessary.

Though we have won, there are still many challenges to face. With every challenge we should unite with the people for their support. In this victorious time, the party should systematise many things. The people's representatives should work hard to prepare themselves for drafting a constitution that reflects the people's aspirations. Interaction programs with the Nepali masses can help this.

- *Writer is President of Revolutionary Journalist Association.*

## ■ Chandra

A spectre is haunting South Asia — the spectre of Maoism. All the powers of old South Asia have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this specter: Indian Prime Minister & Bhutanese king, Indian RAW and American CIA agents.

Where is the party in opposition that has not been decried as Maoists by its opponents in power? Where is the opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of Maoism, against the more advanced opposition parties, as well as against its reactionary adversaries?

Two things result from this fact: I. Maoism is already acknowledged by all South Asian & world powers to be itself a power.

II. With the victory of the Maoist in the Constituent Assembly elections in Nepal, the world has come to see another step forward at the right direction of the Maoist revolution. Moreover, with the Maoist in the government, it is high time that Communists all over the world should openly, in the face of the whole world, publish

## Spectres of Maoism

their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the Spectre of Maoism and show how it has become the trailblazer of world revolution in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The victory of CPN-M is a victory for the International Communist Movement. It is the first victory for the International Communist Movement in the 21st century. The Party carried out the People's War up to victory alternating and combining armed struggle and political relations with bourgeois and revisionist parties. They acted based on the concrete analysis of the concrete situation, uniting firm strategy and flexible tactics, ending the course with an electoral victory. This practice and the theory that led it are an important and new contribution to the debate and the reflections within the International Communist Movement.

Moreover, the Nepali masses have

shown their true colours to the 'international community' (a euphemism to the regional and global super powers). When the masses were fighting against the feudal king the 'international community' supporting a tyrannical monarchy that masqueraded as reincarnated Vishnu, the Hindu god of sustenance, a monarchy that ruled over its poorest subjects with untold brutality. All this was tolerated as long as the 'international community's' interests were safeguarded. They should realize by now just as the people rallied around the revolutionary vanguard to finish off the oppressive feudalists, they will eventually rally around the revolution, all over the world, to smash capitalist oppression.

As proven by the poll results, the peasant masses that support the Maoist throughout the heroic People's War have come forward to bring a resounding victory for the revolutionary forces against the

reactionaries. They have spoken through their votes of their desire for the future. Therefore, the peasant masses need to benefit from genuine and thoroughgoing land reform. They need to be empowered with the necessary instruments for securing, defending and advancing their economic and social gains.

Still, the people of Nepal are faced with powerful enemies of the revolution that are nestled in the current state and society. More than ever, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, under the leadership of the CPN (Maoist) as the advanced detachment of the Nepali working class, and as the vanguard of the world revolution, is needed to advance the new democratic revolution. The basic worker-peasant alliance is the foundation of still broader alliances for uniting and mobilizing the entire people of Nepal. Communists all over the world should come forward to support these developments and support this alliance in order to make this a nucleus for world revolution in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

# The CA election and further challenges



■ Dharmendra Bastola

April 10, 2008 that marked another historical milestone in Nepalese history will be remembered for many years to come as the historic day that approved the abolition of an era of 240 years of centralised Brahminic rule of the feudal autocrat. The Nepalese people for the first time in the history of Nepal have voted for the election of the constituent assembly to write constitution for a Republic of Nepal. The first milestone had already been set up on 13 February 1996 on which the Nepalese masses of people hoisted a red flag of rebellion against this state, taking the history into own hands, launched a great people's war; and which has already been written with golden letters in the pages of the glorious history of the world proletarian movement.

Having appealed the Nepalese people to smash the semi-feudal semi-colonial state and establish New Democratic state, our party had launched a great rebellion. And the blood of the great son and daughters that spilled in the course of heroic people's war - both in the armed struggle and the subsequent nineteen day movement, as well as in the course of peaceful preparation of the CA election have also been written as the glorious saga of the world history.

Never before had these experiences been performed in the history of the world proletarian movement - the experience of armed struggle and election of the Constituent Assembly to approve the agendas laid down by the People's war, and great approval by the masses of people. World had witnessed two revolutionary experiences, one the Russian and the Chinese, where the proletariat had violently overthrown the bourgeoisie dictatorship and another, the experience of Chile and Indonesia where the proletariat seized political power through elections. In the first's experiences, the proletariat seized power and led for four decades and built up the nation economically and politically powerful. In the latter's experiences the bourgeoisies smashed the proletariat at their attempts to work in the interest of their people. In Nepalese history, the feudal autocrats and comprador bureaucrat class wished to nip the revolutionary movement on bud, but it was not possible for them to do so, because, it was a people's war which grasped the people's aspiration and desire for a peace, progress and prosperity and had raised those political issues which the old state had never solved. They had declared several times and occasion that the Maoist revolutionary movement would be finished in

fifteen days to three months. Their pipe dreams turned to be horrible nightmares, since the People's War defeated the state machinery one-step another. Finally, the imperialist and the expansionist forces sought the way out to brush the Maoist revolution through election. They had wishfully believed that the Maoist would be rejected by the masses of people once they go for the voting, and they had also believed that their corrupt and imperialist flunkies would garner votes to run the state forever. Contrary to their pipe dreams, the Nepalese masses made a historic verdict that

many times greater than Lenin warned. Along with the completion of the CA election, a great many positive and historical challenges are posed before the proletariat. These challenges could easily be seen on the surface. Public desires for drastic changes in the political and economic field have mounted several times greater ever before. Right after the completion of the CA election, the public psychology has further hypnotised, people look on the electric bulb desiring light in the dark nullifying eight hour a day load-shed. Since the interim constitution has assured the health, edu-

the Nepalese society economically, politically, socially and maintain national sovereignty? How can the political power solve the political, economic, regional, cast, gender and social problems of the society? How can we build up a new National Army by smashing out both the People's Liberation Army and the Nepali Army? How do we restructure the political and economic set-ups of the state? How can we keep Nepal free from foreign intervention and domination in its internal affairs including political, economic and cultural sector; and how can we build Nepal a free, independent,

mentary parties have constantly violated all agreements and understandings from 12 point agreement to the interim constitution aiming at to inspire Maoist join to the old, rotten and reactionary political mainstream, and after having defeated in the election, seem reluctant to accept nominal democratic norms and allow Maoist to form government, the danger itself may develop within the Party and the organisation. In one hand, Party needs to organise and give leadership to the broad masses of people in the mission of building new Nepal, on the other, many of the opportunist and fortune hunters; corrupts and class enemies; reformists and social democrats will try to camouflage and inspire the Party or utilise for their own interest and against the interest of the people. While the broad masses of people who had taken part in the war and struggle and a big rank of the political activists do feel uncertainty towards future and mostly the educated intellectuals get opportunities on government posts and facilities that gives a bad sign enough of emergence of a new class division in the new situation. This kinds of frustrations and curiosities are certainly an obvious result in such a transitional state of struggle, further, there are real ground in the Nepalese society existing around the revolutionary proletariat that the Party could bounded towards a dangerous swamp, on which the only option will remain to get buried in.

The tough days of the Nepalese people will eventually start against feudal and bureaucrat capitalists. For instance, will the restructure of the society be held easily? Will the restructure of the Nepalese economy as well as the industrialisation of the agricultural system take place easily? If no, then, what will be the ways to fulfil these demands? The restructure of the society means to organise national and regional autonomous republics and forge unity of these republics as a union of the state. The restructure of the economy is means to develop a national economy including industrialisation of the agricultural system and revolutionary distribution of the land. And the restructure of the state means to restructure of the army through a real transformation of the Nepal army and the People's Liberation Army. As long as these questions are not solved in a scientific way, the peace progress and prosperity that the Nepalese people demand to fulfil immediately will not be fulfilled.

In this context, the complete support and fully backing of the Nepalese people to our Party, the historical opportunity shouldered upon the proletariat to address the needs of the nation, and the scientific ideology of the proletariat Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Prachanda Path that we attained in the course of people's war are the great opportunities to solve these challenges.

28 April 2008

- *Writer is a Central Committee Member of CPN (Maoist).*



CPN-Maoist holding its first central committee's meeting in the capital after CA election

most of the royalist and the imperialist flunkies got defeated in the election, and many of the pro-republican figures are voted even from the NC and the UML. The voting for the Constituent Assembly, in one way, has been a referendum, on which voting the CPN (Maoist) has been the voting for a drastic change in the society, this has been for the new ideology, new leadership, new political power and against the old ideology, leadership and state with semi-feudal semi-colonial character of production relation.

Having signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in November 2006, Chairman Prachanda had spoken out from the podium that our Party was honest to the fundamental interests of the masses of people, thus it attained victory one after another in a process of ten years of armed struggle, and he added, in the context of the new process of struggle our Party would get victory as had been in the past. The tough and sensitive struggles on the table and consequent result of the CA election have attained the great victories. And it has been seen that the masses of people are ready to carry out any programme that frees themselves from this semi-feudal semi-colonial production relation. Still while seen critically, these victories are never seen unchallenged. Lenin had once pointed out that the power lost enemy would come back with ten time bigger strength than it had at the time of its defeat to gain the power back. In Nepal's case, the people have still to get political power, so the danger remains

and employment as a fundamental right of the citizen, since the new constitution has to further specify and develop conditions to fulfil these fundamental necessities of the people, it is very obvious that people desire higher expectation. There are contradictions between the public desire and the state machinery. As long as this machinery is not changed, the desire of the people will not be fulfilled. One section of the ruling class of the old state has already shown a sign that it will sit on the side and see fate of Maoist government. The other section that is willing to participate in the process of drafting constitution wants to participate with a clear motif not to allow Maoist freely go for the interest of the people. In total, the task to restructure of the state and economy has further been a challenging question. Can all the issues assured in the constitution be guaranteed in the present mode of production relation? If not, the fundamental issue becomes to change the production relation by smashing the old one and building up the new. In this context, how much should we develop the concept of Public-Private-Partnership, how much should we go for cooperative system and how much should we advance for collectivisation? How can we implement the third amendment of the interim constitution that politically declares Nepal a Federal Democratic Republic? What is the class character of the state and how do the revolutionary, republican, patriotic and democratic forces exercise their democratic right to advance

sovereign, prosperous and prestigious country in the world? Moreover, even if these demands are met, whether they will be done in a proletarian way or bourgeoisies way? These questions have socially emerged up along with the completion of the CA election.

The election of the Constituent Assembly itself has been a vigorous struggle against the imperialist and expansionist forces and their Nepalese lackeys. In this election, Nepalese people got victory and regressive forces got defeated. Still, there is a narrow beam of light at the end of the tunnel, if the proletariat have arrived nearer to get into the most civilised world. And if a section of people in the society exists to have understanding of having accomplished the goal of revolution, that puts the society at the centre of a crossroad. As Mao said "one divides into two" the present state of situation also divides into two. So, we have arrived at the crossroads to ponder over how do we chart the road to accomplish revolution ahead. As once Marx had pointed out that a forceful revolution engenders a forceful counterrevolution; in our case too, history has proved that great victories over both battlefields have also invited further serious challenges to establish joint dictatorship of the people by overthrowing the joint bourgeoisie dictatorship of feudalism and the comprador bureaucrat capitalism.

The dangers ahead are not only from the enemy, that wants to lure the Maoist to the parliamentary cretinism, for instance, the parlia-

# Messages of congratulations to CPN-M

**Kathmandu, Many fraternal of CPN-M and other Communist parties have sent their message of congratulation to Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist after the landslide victory of the Party in the Constituent Assembly election. Here, we have put some excerpts from their messages :**

## Central committee Communist Party of the Philippines :

This is a brilliant achievement of the CPN (Maoist) under the leadership of Comrade Prachanda, now the most important senior political leader in Nepal. Through the elections, the people of Nepal have confirmed the leading role of the CPN (Maoist) in the process of abolishing the monarchy, establishing a democratic republic and carrying out the entire new democratic revolution.

The CPN (Maoist) has won the trust, participation and support of the people of Nepal in revolutionary struggle since the launching of the people's war along the general line of the new democratic revolution. The victories of the CPN (Maoist) and the people of Nepal in armed and other forms of struggle have put them in the position of being able to abolish the monarchy and to carry out the new democratic revolution through to the end.

## Revolutionary Communist Party of Argentina

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Argentina we express you our warmest congratulations for the triumph in the election of the Constituent Assembly that will put an end to the monarchy in Nepal.

No doubt, this is the triumph of the entire people of Nepal under the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) has waged protracted People's War for many years, conquering a great portion of the territory, had many martyrs in this struggle and furthermore hegemonised in 2006 the huge united uprising of the masses.

From Argentina, in the furthest south of the American continent, where no information on Nepal is published in the mass medias, we appreciate your struggle for a revolution of new democracy in its way towards socialism and our final aim: communism.

## (New) Italian Communist Party Provisional Commission of the Central Committee :

The imperialists and all the reactionaries will certainly try to prevent you to advance. Our struggle to make of Italy a new socialist country through the Protracted Revolutionary Popular War and applying the Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of our country will be the more helpful to you the greater the success of our activity will be. So we expect to contribute to your victory.

We derive strength and example from your successes to go through with our work. That's why we salute with warmth your victory in the Constituent Assembly elections and we wish you to succeed soon in establishing the Federal Republic of Nepal and in realizing the other objectives of the new democracy revolution in your country.

## The Communist Party of Burma :

Please allow us to convey our heartiest congratulations for your brilliant success in the elections. This joy for the overwhelming victory of the proletariat and the people of Nepal is shared by the proletariat and the people of the world. Communists, the world over are now celebrating this victory as their own.

We believe that your victory has made those imperialist propagandists who have maliciously attacked you and tarnished your image to eat their own words. You have proven again that the people are the almighty force and victory can be won only by relying on the people of one's own country.

## Initiative for the Construction of a Revolutionary Communist Party (Austria)

We are sending you our red greetings on occasion of your victory in the elections for the CA. Through more than 10 years of peoples struggle and completely changing society in the liberated areas you have obviously convinced the workers and popular masses that only under the leadership of a genuine revolutionary communist party there can be advances.

## Workers Party of New Zealand

Nepal has been one of the most chronically under-developed countries in the world and the only serious challenge to this in recent years has come from the Maoists. By launching people's war in rural areas, they began a transformation of much of the countryside, improving literacy and infrastructure, carrying out land reforms that gave rights to the peasantry and Dalits (untouchables), and revolutionising the position of women as well as supporting the rights of ethnic minorities.

## Party of the Committees to Support Resistance - for Communism (CARC) - Italy

The victory of CPN(M) is a victory of the world communist movement. It is the first victory of the world communist movement in the 21st century. The Party carried out the people's war up to victory alternating and combining armed struggle and political relations with bourgeois and revisionist parties. They acted based on the concrete analysis of the concrete situation, uniting firm strategy and flexible tactics, ending the course with an electoral victory. This practice and the theory that lead it are an important and new contribution to the debate and the reflections within the world communist movement.

The victory of CPN(M) put the better grounds for advancing towards socialist revolution in Nepal. This advancement will depend mainly on CPN(M), but it will be strongly influenced by the developments of the international communist movement. Likewise, the seizure of power by the working class in Russia and the following process of building socialism in USSR were strongly influenced by the fact that there were no revolutions in the imperialist countries. Today more than ever, to make socialist revolution in their own country is the most precious and necessary support the Communists can give to the popular masses of Nepal and their communist party for advancing towards socialism.

## The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) (Canada)

It is with great joy and renewed proletarian internationalist feelings that we salute the resounding victory you have earned, as part of the elections for the constituent assembly that will put an end to monarchy and the old regime in Nepal.

This is also the victory of your glorious Party. At each step of the struggle, your Party has seized the opportunities that have arisen and took and kept the initiative; it inspired and mobilised the broad popular masses, relying on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in order to formulate and apply a victorious political line, while comforting that "without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people to defeat imperialism and its running dogs."

## Leading Organ of the Communist Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist)

On behalf of the Communist Party of Greece (Marxist-Leninist) we convey our warmest congratulations for your great success in the Constituent Assembly polls, in April 10th; that is the proof of your strong ties with masses in Nepal as well as the determination of the Nepali people for a new, peaceful, independent, sovereign and democratic republic of Nepal.

Your success that was the result of your long struggles together and within the people's masses in Nepal has generated great satisfaction and excitement to the Greek communists and all the progressive people in our country. We are confident that this significant success of yours will open a new considerable page for the people in Nepal and the whole world for national and social liberation.

## The Leading Committee Communist Organization of Greece

The electoral triumph of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) provokes an ever-growing explosion of joy and pride all over the world, as it heralds the future revolutionary victories of the 21st century. It became possible thanks to the theoretical and political elaboration, the correct strategy and the ingenious tactics of the CPN-M under the leadership of Chairman Prachanda. The concrete analysis of the concrete situation and the exemplary struggle of your Party, through the heroic People's War, the popular uprising of 2006 and the subsequent agreements for the transitional government and parliament, opened up wide the path towards the building of a new Nepal.

# No obstacles .....

tried to explain my personal view. I emphasized the importance of applying the universal truth of Marxism in accordance with the concrete national conditions in each country. That means in our own domestic political, economic and social work, we have to adopt a kind of, what one would say, an ideological line. And the same is true for our external relations, in regards to state-to-state relations and party-to-party relations, we should adopt the same ideological line i.e. seeking truth from facts, emancipate our minds and to be innovative. But in order to realize that principal, we have to have a thorough understanding of the globalizing economic structure and we should have a clear understanding of the comparative advantages of each of us and to decide the concrete form of the content and the procedure of the economic cooperation in accordance with the reality. E.g. for the railway I think we have to do it in accordance with economic law. So far as I know the railway ministry in China has included the extension of the Qinghai-Lasha railway further closer to the boarder in this 11th five-year plan that started last year. So after that when the trade between our two countries necessitates the further extension, I believe that the Chinese government will do that.

**Tibetan refugees are protesting against the Chinese government everyday, also in Kathmandu, and the Chinese Ambassador to Nepal has shown his concern about this with the Nepalese government. How do you take these kinds of anti-China activities? What role do you expect from Nepal government in this regard?**

Nowadays, many people have come to realize that those supporters of the so-called "Tibetan Independence" had made decisions long ago, sometime last year, before the one-year countdown for the Beijing Olympic games; that they would take advantage of this very important event to draw world attention for their cause. Most rationale people realize that the Olympic games should be a great event for the athletes, they should not be politicized. So many athletes from different countries have spent a long time preparing for this great event. Any politicizing and disturbing efforts will only do harm to these athletes. In this regard, I am sorry to see all these problems caused by the supporters of the so-called "Tibetan Independence". My Nepalese friends have assured me that no single Nepalese person has participated in these activities. When I met with the honorable Prime Minister, he assured me that Nepal government would do everything possible to stop these kinds of activities. I am quite confident that the Nepalese government will continue its policy of "One China" and I am not worried about this.

**You said these were pre-planned. Do you see any foreign hands behind the protests in Nepal and in other countries?**

Yes, but I am sorry to say that even at the beginning when they were organizing, and when they were first working out their strategy, they did it in some European countries and there were many international participants, some under the guidance and the cover of NGOs and organizations that are clearly connected with some western governments.

**Nepalese people take China as a good neighbor. At the same time they expect a positive role of Chinese government to be increased here. What is your call to the Nepalese people?**

In China for a long time we value highly our independence. We suffered from imperialist invasion and some kind of outside interference in our internal affairs. In China, starting from Confucius time more than 2000 years ago, we have this tradition, if you don't want something, you should follow the same principal, that means "don't do to others what you don't want others to do on you". So we value our own sovereignty, our own independence and our own integrity of our territory and we do the same thing. At the same time we believe that it's up to the people of any country to decide their own fate. No other country actually can help you to solve your own problems, whether political, economic, social or cultural. We don't believe that there is a single political or economic model, which serves the needs of every country in the world. So we believe, we ourselves have to rely mainly on ourselves seeking international assistance only as a second subsidiary source. We believe that the Nepalese people know how to develop their country politically, economically, socially and culturally. And when the Nepalese people have a clear strategy for political-economic development, we would see what we can do to support that effort. Many Nepalese friends have expressed their desire to see more presence of China in Nepal. I think with the better understanding of the national conditions with a clear development strategies of both countries, we would be in a better position to diversify or to, as I put it, to be more innovative in our co-operation. In that sense, I would say, certainly there would be more Chinese presence.

**Did you invite any Maoist leaders to visit China at the state or party level?**

It's not fixed at this time. However, I am going to make a report of my findings here when I return to China.



# The consequences of Maoist victory in Nepal



■ Roshan Kissoon

The overwhelming success of the CPN Maoist at the CA elections has shocked and surprised the United Nations, the United States, the European Union, India, and the Nepali political establishment. The International, Indian and Nepali media have been unable to understand the Maoist victory, and so have remained silent. The Maoist victory in Nepal has destroyed any illusions about 'the end of history' and the 'death of communism', and its consequences are many.

1) Before the election, there was much talk about the Maoists 'returning to the jungle'. It is not the Maoists who have to go back to the jungle, but the Nepali political establishment who have to go to the jungle. The overwhelming victory of the Maoist and the loss of seats by all the major leaders of the CPN UML and the Nepali Congress, such as MK Nepal, KP Oli, the Koirala family dynasty etc has swept away all the old corrupt leaders. The strategy of these parties was to try and split the CPN Maoist leadership from the masses, to behead the party. Instead, it was the CPN UML and Congress who decapitated themselves—they have lost all their leaders and are now headless. The Maoist is the only party that can lead the country. More importantly, the US and other imperialist powers have no credible stooges in Nepal anymore; their puppet politicians have all lost their seats, with the exception of Sher Bahadur Deuba of the Nepali Congress. But Deuba has no legitimacy and the people of Nepal will never accept this American stooge as the leader of the nation. The mainstream has been marginalized, and Maoism has become the mainstream. The ideology and discipline of the Maoist has proved superior to that of their opponents.

2) The mistake of the press – The 'mainstream' Nepali media, The Kathmandu Post and The Himalayan, were so biased and anti Maoist before the election. After the election, they were forced to acknowledge that they misjudged the level of support for the Maoist. The 'mainstream' media have lost all credibility; the Maoists were saying all along that the 'mainstream' media were running a campaign against them, and the admission of mistakes by the 'mainstream' newspapers supports what the Maoists were saying all along. One is forced to ask: If the Kathmandu Post and the Himalayan were so wrong about the Maoists before the election, why should they be right about the Maoists now or in the future? If the Kathmandu Post and the Himalayan were so wrong about the level of support for the Maoists, were they not also wrong in their reports on the YCL? The

Kathmandu Post and the Himalayan should offer an apology to the YCL for defamation, and start printing some pro YCL articles if they are to convince people that they really are 'objective' and without bias.

3) The United Nations and the Nepal Army – The election is over, and the Maoists have won. It has taken place under the supervision of the UN, and has been accepted as 'free and fair'. The Peoples Liberation Army and the Nepali Army must now be integrated into one national army. As the Maoists have won the elections, it is right that a national army must be loyal to the government. It would not be right to have a Nepali Franco or Pinochet around to try and coup the democratically elected government. The new integrated National Army must be under the leadership of the Maoist; the old pro Indian and pro US clique that lead the Nepal Army must go. The struggle in the next few months will be about the integration of the armies. It is now clear to all that many soldiers and officers in the Nepal Army voted for and support the Maoist, and will be loyal to a Maoist government.



Election Sign of CPN-Maoist

When Mao and the Chinese Communists took control of China, the UN did not initially recognize the Communist government. In Nepal, the Maoist will take control of Nepal under the supervision of the UN. In Marxist terms: the bourgeois has lost on bourgeois ground to a proletarian force. By bullets and by ballots the Maoist has won.

4) India's Maoist problem – The Indian government is troubled by the Maoist victory in Nepal because of its own Maoists. After fifty years of semi independence, there is not much to be proud of in India. The Communist movement in India and Nepal is split between fake Communists and real Communists. In Nepal, the fake Communist CPN UML was defeated by the Maoists at the elections. The fake Communist CPN UML was defeated because it was no longer a Communist Party; it no longer represented the interests of the peasants and workers, but rather the interests of Western 'NGOs' and rich businessmen under the cloak of Communism. Before the election, there were reports that when the US ambassador visited the CPN UML, the CPN UML took down the portraits of Marx, Engels, and Lenin so as not to 'offend' the US ambassador. Such a Communist party deserves defeat and is unworthy of the name 'Communist'. It would be more honest if the CPN

UML changed their name. In India, the fake Communist CPI Marxist is telling the Indian Maoists to enter the electoral process by following the example of the Nepali Maoists. The fake Communists who say this should remember that the CPN Maoist entered the peace process after capturing 80% of the land in Nepal; so perhaps it would be right for the Indian Maoists to enter the peace process and take part in elections after capturing 80% of the land in India. The CPN UML was defeated in Nepal, the defeat of the fake Communist CPI Marxist lies in the future. The lesson from Nepal for the Indian Maoists is NOT to enter into elections, but rather to have a 'concrete analysis of concrete conditions', and to be more creative and dialectical in their thinking. Chairman Prachanda said that a revolution cannot be copied, but must be developed. The Indian Maoists must develop Maoism, to take it to a higher stage, for the oppressed masses in India.

5) Shutdown of Gurkha recruitment centres- The recruitment of Nepali soldiers into the British and Indian armies will now end. When it will end is a matter of discussion, but end it will. Nepali Gurkhas were used by the British to put down the First Indian War of Independence of 1857, and have been used by Britain ever since as mercenaries. Nepali Gurkhas are used in Afghanistan and Iraq at the moment. There is something sad about poor people from the mountains of Nepal being used to attack and put down the poor people from the mountains of Afghanistan. It is right that Gurkha recruitment into the British Army will end; the British establishment should accept this; the sun has set on the British Empire and this shameful old colonial practice must end. The British Anti War Left should support the end of Gurkha recruitment into the British Army; I am sure that this move will be welcomed by the people of Afghanistan and Iraq. After World War 2, the British used Nepali Gurkhas to ruthlessly put down a Communist uprising in Malaya; it is fitting and ironic that now another group of Communists have taken power in Nepal and will end this practice of Nepalese fighting for the British Army forever. Similarly, Nepali Gurkhas fight for the Indian army, most notably in Kashmir. As Indian generals have threatened Nepal with invasion on several occasions, and as the Indian state is sponsoring unrest in the Terai, it is not correct to have Nepali soldiers fighting in the Indian army.

6) The US has suffered a terrible defeat, as a party that they classified as 'terrorist' has won free and fair elections by popular vote. The US is shocked and surprised and does not know what to do, hence the silence of Nancy Powell. Will the previous US ambassador to Nepal, the aptly named Moriarty, come to Prachanda's inauguration as the first President of Nepal and shake his hand?

7) The victory of the Maoist in the elections is just a first step towards a radical transformation of Nepal. Prepare to be surprised!

- Kissoon is an international freelance journalist.

# Woe to old Nepal

● Krishna Das Shrestha

Woe to thee, old Nepal,  
The Nepal of hypocrites, corrupts, intriguers, parasites.  
A curse upon thee  
Where the honest are crushed cold-bloodedly,  
Where the sweat and blood of laborers  
Is turned into the feast for the idle few,  
Where corruption thrives fertilized by state power,  
Where the best sons and daughters, the honest labour and laborious bones  
Groan under the yoke of oppression.  
Fie; Fie on thee,  
Where millions of the best men plundered and fleeced to the bone  
Die untimely and unnatural deaths,  
Where the right to live is denied to those who work,  
Where idleness is praised and fattened,  
Where the voice of the people is answered by bullets and bayonets,  
Where slavery is maintained by terror  
Where millions and millions of the people suffer hunger and starvation,  
A thousand curses to thee, old Nepal,  
There betrayers are honored as patriots,  
Cowards as the most fearless, fools as the wisest,  
Villains as rulers and policy-makers  
Degenerates as guardians of morality,  
Mass murders as best administrators,  
Where rascals, blood suckers, plunderers and oppressors  
Occupy the highest places of power, the courts, councils and legislatures,  
Where conspiracy is hatched,  
Justice is perverted,  
Laws are enacted,  
Weapons are sharpened  
To destroy the honest and innocent.  
Hark! Old Nepal!  
We are waiting thy doom,  
Forces we are organizing for a decisive blow on thee.  
Oppression breeds revolution,  
The toiling people as thy grave-diggers will rise as one,  
Thee will be destroyed,  
And a new Nepal,  
A rich, developed, prosperous and people's Nepal  
Will be built a new.

- Shrestha is chairman of the advisories committee of the Central Committee of CPN-Maoist.

# ANNISU-R for quality education

KATHMANDU: Following the complaints received from different private and state-run schools the student wing of CPN-Maoist All Nepal National Independent Students Union-Revolutionary has urged the private schools to abide by the agreement made with the union a year ago and demanded the state run schools not to collect fees until the formation of the next government.

"As practiced in the developed countries we want to develop government schools as the place that impart better education when compared with the private ones," said Himal Sharma, general secretary of the union. He added that the quality of the education being imparted by the government schools would be gradually made at par with the private boarding schools.

The union has come up with several ways to make the much-hyped announcement of free education up to secondary level, a success. Diverting the properties registered in the name of the kings and the royal family to the education sector could be one important source besides the budget that used to be allocated for security purpose by the previous governments during the conflict.

The ANNISU-R has been demanding that the nation should widen its reach instead of shying away from its responsibility to educating people. Sharma, who is also the convener of the 15-member monitoring committee formed by the union, said hundreds of complaints have been filed to the committee throughout the country.

Schools fleecing guardians would be blacklisted and the union would appeal people for the social exclusion and create pressure on the government to take legal action on them.

ANNISU-R has been expressing serious concern over the collection of fees in different title including admission fees by the state-owned schools and amassing a large sum of money by private schools breaching the 19-point agreement made with the union a year ago.

ANNISU-R president Lekhnath Neupane also requested all the government schools to admit students without charging fees until the next government is formed. He also requested the parents not to pay fees in any title.

Instead of implementing the 19-point agreement made with the union, the private schools have increased their fees by 20-25 per cent from this academic session. "We won't accept the decision to raise fees by private schools that is against the 19-point agreement," Neupane said.

Meanwhile the Department of Education has vowed to take action against some 45 per cent of the privately run schools that flouted the government laws. Director General of DoE Janardan Nepal said the department is preparing to take action against the private schools if they failed to submit the fee structures within a week.

# Lessons from Nepal!

to bore the nation rigid on everything from organic biscuits to Tibet simply by virtue of the fact that he was born into the right family. Both the Nepalese and the British royals bizarrely believe they are human representatives of godliness: the Hindu monarchs in Nepal consider themselves "god kings"; the Queen of England is said to have been "handpicked by God".

O'Neill concludes his article- In lieu of any of our royal family members "doing a Dipendra" and killing each other off (unfortunately the Windsors only shoot pheasants, not each other), shouldn't we kick start a campaign to have them turned into commoners too?

Kuldip Nayar is a former Indian High Commissioner to the UK and a former Rajya Sabha MP. In an article entitled 'Lesson for South Asia'-In fact, the vote for Maoists is also a vote against India. Nepalis have seen New Delhi's excessive involvement in their affairs. The Maoists raised the Big Brother attitude of India at their poll meeting. The treaty we have with Nepal is not to their liking. We should have scrapped it long ago.

He further adds- Nepal is, however, an example which can teach the South Asian region a lesson if it is willing to learn. No doubt, poverty gives birth to desperate remedies. Feudal order negates democracy. But what makes people revolt is their feeling of despondency and helplessness that their plight can never change. They revolt when they are convinced that they have no way to escape the oppressive order except through violence.

One of the prominent dailies of India, "The Hindu" carried an editorial after the CA election results were released- The Maoists have won the democratic right to lead now. Their spectacular victory seals the fate of the monarchy. As long as King Gyanendra accepts the people's verdict with grace, there is no reason why he and his family cannot continue to live in republican Nepal as ordinary citizens. Other issues are likely to prove more challenging, especially the peaceful resolution of the Madhesi question and the construction of an inclusive, federal political system. The Maoist leadership must reach out to erstwhile rivals in a spirit of cooperation and consensus. If the aspirations of the people of Nepal are to be fulfilled, the divisiveness of the past six months must not be allowed to cast its shadow over a promising future.

Amit Sengupta, a columnist in India in an article entitled -'Why can't we learn from Nepal Maoists and its people?' says- The people of Nepal have had enough of absolute pessimism, hunger and betrayal - whereby their little village girls, crushed by poverty, are picked up by pimps and forcibly sold to the brothels of India, while their little village boys would end up as slaves on Indian streets, hotels and

homes --- the eternal 'Bahadurs and Chotus' of the largest democracy.

He further writes- That is why the Maoists became a catalyst of hope and change. It was they who were the first to demand a constituent assembly in the 1990s, but were repeatedly betrayed and humiliated by the mainstream parties and the king's political lobbies. They were the first to demand a democratic republic, and they were ready to follow the peaceful process of politics - but they were yet again repeatedly humiliated and betrayed. That is how the process of their being underground must be located in a historical perspective. That is how they were able to work and live with the poorest of the poor in the most difficult terrains for 10 long years - facing arrests, jails, torture in military barracks and eliminations. Of the 10,000 plus figure quoted of the dead - let us not forget that more than half of them belong to the Maoists - young girls and boys mostly, but also the most ordinary folk of Nepal, vegetable vendors, landless farmers, villagers, students.

For years the Maoists were defined as "terrorists" and put on the red corner notices of many countries. India and Nepal introduced their anti-terrorist laws; thousands of people from all walks of life were imprisoned, tortured and murdered because of these draconian measures. Senoir Maoist leaders Mohan Baidhya and CP Gajurel were held in Indian captivity for three long years because of these laws and India had the audacity to state after their release that they were never considered "terrorists". The CPN (M) is still on the "terrorist list" of the USA. Jimmy Carter, one of the most prominent bourgeois representatives from the U.S. came to Nepal as an election observer and concluded that this was wrong. Yesterday's "terrorists" are today's leaders because the people of Nepal have "stood up" and made a thunderous proclamation to the world: people's struggle is not terrorism!



Photo- Dinesh Shrestha

## Red Star Reporter

The Nepalese people have stunned the world after the Constituent Assembly election. The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) won a landslide victory in the CA election held on April 10. With the Maoist Victory, the world is looking to the Himalayas with more attention.

Maoist Chairman reiterates that the peace process of Nepal, conflict settlement and revolution shall be the model for the rest world. He gives the example of Gautama Buddha, who was born in Nepal some 2500 years ago, and who left his message to the world; he asks why cannot Nepal offer a message after two and half centuries? After the successful conduct of CA election many are praising the Nepalese People and their leaders.

Gary Leupp is a professor of history at Tufts University-USA. He occasionally writes on Nepali Maoist. After the CA results, the American political newsletter Counterpunch carried an article of Prof. Leupp. He thinks that Maoist vision is a global one. He writes in his article -'The Maoists' vision, like that of the Buddhist missionaries of old, is a global one. "We insist," Prachanda told an American interviewer in 2000, "that the Nepalese revolution is part of the world revolution and the Nepalese people's army is a detachment of the whole international proletarian army." BBC correspondent Daniel Lak, visiting Rolpa, in western Nepal, last month, sat talking with one Comrade Bijaya, district committee member and political instructor, who overlooking the rice-paddies stated matter-of-factly, "We will win, not just in Nepal, but around the world" (World Tribune, Sept 24). That requires a stretch of the imagination, maybe, but world history is filled with twists and turns and surprises. Sometimes, in humankind's endless quest to overcome suffering, wildly ambitious enterprises actually succeed.

Five years later, no stretch of the imagination is necessary. It's happening. A communist revolution, led by a party charting a new path combining armed struggle and electoral politics, is sweeping the Himalayas.

Analytical Monthly Review, published from Kolkata-India, the sister publication of the Monthly Review-US, in its editorial of the April 2008 issue wrote - There has been no ready-made formula for the tasks that have been successfully accomplished, even less so for the tasks that lie ahead. The immediate problem of food supply and the longer-term question of economic development are daunting. But for those of us who believe that politics must be in command, the events in Nepal are of the greatest significance.

The Review concludes its editorial as - The CA election marks the next stage in the emergence in Nepal of a revolutionary socialist democracy, an event of world historic importance.

Brendan O'Neill writes an article in the Guardian titling 'Learning from Nepal' where he says- 'This week, the people of Nepal, including a 117-year-old woman, turned out in huge numbers to vote for a new constituent assembly, which will, in all probability, lead to the sacking of the Nepalese King Gyanendra, and the abolition of the Hindu monarchy.' He further writes- Both the Nepalese and the British royal families are, of course, based on the outdated idea of hereditary privilege. In Nepal, being an accidental descendant of the Hindu monarchs meant you had the right to boss around elected politicians; in Britain, Prince Charles has the authority

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