

Maoist outlook

English organ of CPN (Revolutionary Maoist)

Editorial

Future is bright!

The Nepalese society is undergoing through an ever deepening crisis. In the wake of declaration of new constitution, which has defined the new political system as "multi party democratic system", has further aggravated political crisis which can lead to a new wave of struggle. Ten years of People's War had been waged against the "multiparty democracy" which was nothing but a bourgeois parliamentary system instrumental to oppress the people of Nepal and sale country's sovereignty. Aim of the revolutionary war was clearly to establish 'People's Republic'. But after so much of sacrifice similar "multi party democratic system" has been reinstated in the so-called new constitution. Mainly three major parliamentary parties representing in the constituent assembly collaborated to make and declare this constitution. There is little scope of doubt that implementation of such a reactionary constitution in Nepal is a tough task.

Leaders of the three parliamentary parties have been sharply divided at this moment. Uncomfortable with Mr Oli, Indian government resorted to Mr Prachanda, supremo of CPN (Maoist Centre), as a stooge to bring down the coalition government of his own party and CPN (UML) led by Mr K P Oli. Prachanda has been rewarded as a Prime minister. It was Modi government which was instrumental in making Deuba-Prachanda collaboration. Two class brothers Mr Deuba and Mr Prachanda have signed in a deal of forthcoming 18 months that they will rule, for nine months each.

All these wanton deeds have caused resentment in the society and the CPN (Maoist Centre) has lost all its credibility of the past and has turned into a lackey of Indian expansionism. It has justified the political analysis made by the CPN (Revolutionary Maoist) that CPN (Maoist Centre), the neo-revisionist group, is shifting towards a reactionary force.

At this moment, the disgraceful and shocking behaviour of a couple of leaders of major parliamentary parties in parliament to grab the highest post of the government by surpassing all the norms and morals has become difficult for many people to digest. The urban intellectuals and middle class youths who were not so disparaging the main stream political parties and their leaders are expressing their wrath and anger against these leaders in general. And it gave rise to public debate whether these disgraceful and shocking behaviours are only due to the fault of individuals or it is the result of the failure of multi-party system itself.

The parliamentary cretinism is being exposed every passing day in Nepal. The state power and this system are crippling in a very fragile situation. In substance, the objective situation of our country is quite favourable for revolution. But the subjective situation does not correspond to that. How to speed up the struggle to develop subjective strength to catch the objective situation is an urgent task of our party. The situation is full of hope and seems that we will be able to develop the subjective forces in a minimum time period.

At the same time our party is working on another important task of forging unity among the genuine communist forces at the international level. Latest developments taken place at the international plane support our endeavours. Hope we will be able to achieve success in this task as well.

There are many challenges. But future is bright!

--August 13, 2016

Document:

(A part of the document adopted by national convention organised in June 2016)

2 – Present Nepalese society and the basic line of revolution

Characteristics of the Nepalese society

We have already taken position on the characteristics of Nepalese society and the fundamental line of revolution and we are involved in the historical process of Nepalese new democratic revolution as well. Nevertheless, the society is not stagnant but in motion. Therefore, in consideration of the developing characteristics of the present day Nepalese society, it is necessary to modify and develop the basic line of revolution. In view of this necessity, an attempt has been made here to discuss in short about the present day Nepalese society and the fundamental line of revolution.

- Nepal is an underdeveloped country landlocked between two giant countries – China and India – in terms of geographical territory, population and economy. However, she has not been directly colonised by any country since the historical period. From this specificity, what is clear is that in spite of her small, weak and landlocked condition, she has been historically able to maintain her independence and will be so in the future too.
- Our country is rich in terms of geographical diversity and natural resources. Nevertheless, a huge part of manpower has to travel abroad for their livelihood due to unavailability of employment in the country. In view of this characteristic, it is clear that Nepal can turn into an economically self-reliant country and attain prosperity if her means and resources are utilised properly.
- Nepal is a multi-national, multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-cultural and diverse country in semi-feudal and semi/neo-colonial condition. Country's economic development has been uneven. Now, Nepal has been caught in the fold of neo-liberalism and privatization of globalized imperialism. Feudal class is getting weaker while the comprador bourgeoisie is getting stronger. The comprador bourgeoisie, in the main, has been prevailing in the Nepalese society. What is understood from this characteristic is that it is necessary to establish unity among various oppressed classes and the oppressed national, religious and linguist masses along with proletariat for the liberation of country from the semi-feudal and semi/neo-colonial condition. Likewise, in the given situation when the country has gone through a neo-colonial condition and when she has been trapped in the fold of neo-liberal policy and economy of globalized imperialism and when the dominance of comprador capitalism has been rising, it is necessary to modify and develop strategy and tactic of new democratic revolution in Nepal.
- Nepal has gone through several mass movements, armed struggles and people's wars. Here, struggle has developed both in the central and local form. In view of this characteristic of the country, it seems, on the one hand, necessary to furnish strategy and tactic on the basis of historical bases and experiences of mass movement and people's war and on the basis of combining both of the sectors, the countryside and cities, on the other.
- The new democratic revolution that had developed in the midst of ten years' people's war has suffered a serious setback. Although some of the issues including republic, secularism, federalism and proportional representation are quantitatively positive, but in essence and in its totality, it is a reactionary constitution. Even now, the reactionary state power led by comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the feudal class continues. From this characteristic, it is clear that there is still anger and discontent among the masses because the constitution has been unable, on the one hand, to address the basic problems of national independence, democracy and people's livelihood and, on the other, it necessitates uniting the entire oppressed masses along with the working class people to carry the revolution forward.

- Although the right revisionism has prevailed desperately in the communist movement of Nepal at present, but, there is plenty of adherence towards national independence, communist ideology and revolutionary communist forces among the Nepalese people. It additionally justifies that there exists a strong mass base to accomplish revolution under the leadership of communist party.

On account of the aforesaid characteristics of Nepalese society, on the one hand, the need to attain new democratic revolution still continues because the country is still in the semi-feudal and semi/neo-colonial condition and the task of bourgeois democratic revolution has not yet been completed. And, on the other, the oppression based upon the neo-liberal economic policy of globalized imperialism and the neo-colonial intervention of imperialism, in general, and that of Indian expansionism, in particular, has been terribly mounting. All this needs to enrich, modify and develop the line of new democratic revolution in Nepal.

Party's political line

Today, the right revisionists are shouting in chorus that the bourgeois democratic revolution in Nepal has been accomplished and the socialist revolution has now been at the top of the agenda. Neither they had wanted to make bourgeois democratic revolution in the past, nor are they looking for the socialist revolution at present. In essence, they have been serving the reactionaries.

Since, Nepal is still in the semi-feudal and semi/neo-colonial condition and the basic problems of national independence, democracy and people's livelihood have not yet been resolved, new democratic revolution is necessary to set the country free from this condition and resolve the aforesaid problems.

As regards the minimum programme of new democratic revolution, the document adopted in the joint meeting of our party has decided to:

"1) Establish the new democratic republican state power, 2) Defend national independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country, 3) Achieve the basic right of workers and peasants, 4) Bring the feudal ownership of land to an end and carry out revolutionary land reform, 5) Accept theoretically the right of nations to self-determination and constitute regional autonomy and federalism together with the identity of oppressed nations, 6) Bring all sorts of oppression and discrimination upon women, dalits, Muslim community and disabled ones to an end and provide freedom and special right to them, 7) Attain the rights including proportional representation for workers and oppressed masses, 8) Establish the rights and interests of national bourgeoisie, 9) Build up and develop independent national economy, 10) Adopt independent foreign policy on the basis of peaceful co-existence and principles of Panchasheel, oppose imperialism and support national liberation movements, 11) Establish judiciary responsible to people, 12) Resolve the basic problems of education, health, food sovereignty, residence including people's livelihood and, 13) Introduce national and scientific education system based on people's democracy."

[Quoted from the political report and constitution of the CPN (Revolutionary Maoist), November, 2015]

With the objective of realising aforesaid programmes, the new democratic revolution will base on the joint dictatorship of the entire exploited and oppressed masses under the leadership of the proletariat and will target against feudalism, imperialism, expansionism and neo-colonialism and neo-liberal economy as well. Besides, struggle should be waged against patriarchy for the liberation of women, against Khas Arya chauvinism for the liberation of indigenous nationalities, against Brahmanism for the liberation of Dalit and Muslim communities and against Hill-people's chauvinism for the liberation of Madhesi community. In order to accomplish new democratic revolution in Nepal, an unyielding solidarity among working class people and the oppressed masses along with patriotic, democratic and leftist forces is a must. After the completion of new democratic revolution we will go towards socialism with no pause.

Party's military line

On party's military line, the document adopted in the joint meeting of the Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist) writes, "As regards the form of armed struggle in the course of new democratic revolution, we should theoretically take into account of various forms but mainly the form that fits with

the Nepalese particularity. We should base upon the rich experiences of various armed struggles, mass movements and mainly ten years' people's war. Party's military line at present will be armed people's insurrection based on the Nepalese particularity."

[Quoted from the political report and constitution of the CPN (Revolutionary Maoist), November, 2015]

Theoretically, grasping the conception that armed struggle can have different forms including protracted people's war and armed insurrection and practically, on account of the necessity that it should be guided by the aforesaid characteristics of the Nepalese society, the military line for armed struggle based on the Nepalese particularity must be concretised, enriched and developed.

The goal of armed people's insurrection has been to establish new democratic state power after the state power led by the comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal class is destroyed and the entire exploitation, oppression and chauvinism perpetrated by feudalism, imperialism, expansionism and the comprador and bureaucratic capitalism has been brought to an end.

In order to prepare armed people's insurrection based on the Nepalese particularity, the strategy and tactic should be built up and applied in accordance with the following concept.

Relation between countryside and cities: Both the countryside and cities should be interconnected to make revolution. Countryside should be taken as base part and the cities as front part. Basic works should be done in the countryside and main works in the cities.

Relation between local and central works: The local and central works are related to waging struggle, maintaining people's relation and building people's bases and mainly establishing people's power. The work at the local level will be related with people's right, interest and power and at the central level it will be related with the preparation of establishing state power.

Relation between various forms of struggles: Struggles are of two forms: peaceful and violent. Finally, second one plays the main role. But, necessary coordination should be established between all forms of struggles.

Relation between various forms of organisations: Organisations are of different forms: open and clandestine. But, necessary coordination should be maintained between them. Party's role is principal in the organisational work and all other works are subordinate to party.

Relation between three magic weapons: A revolutionary communist party, a united front and a strong fighting force led by it are necessary weapons for the success of revolution. We must lay emphasis to organise them in a new and revolutionary way. The workers and the representatives of oppressed masses should be organised in the united front. United fronts are of various kinds as per necessity.

Relation between national and international works: Not only are the national forces and works necessary for revolution, but also they should be properly coordinated with the forces and works at the international arena. In this context, necessary attention should be paid to establish mutual relation with the fraternal and friendly forces of different countries and consolidate it.

Relation between military and other works: The armed people's insurrection of Nepalese characteristic is based upon the totality of struggle or total war. It is linked with all the aspects including theoretical, political, economic, propagative and technical ones.

We must pay special attention to organise and systematise the aforesaid works, accordingly develop the strategy and tactic in concrete and go ahead to prepare for revolution combined with necessary plan.

3 – On the severity of two-line struggle and neo-revisionism

Two-line struggle was going on in our party, sometimes high and sometimes low, as tides do in the ocean. It developed in a complex, severe and deceitful way while preparing the basis for party unity. Finally the

two-line struggle resulted into split. Reviewing in brief the process, subject matter and system of two-line struggle, it is necessary to take lesson from this.

The erstwhile UCPNM had forwarded a 3-point letter while answering the questions listed in the 6-point proposal that our party had put forward with an objective to prepare the basis for party unity. In the letter, 1) they mentioned that "the state power is formed of comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the weakening feudal class" but they did not categorize it as reactionary, 2) it was written that they have taken a policy of using in parallel, the government, parliament and street, in the name of "intervening from all fronts", 3) they mentioned that they have adopted a policy of "supporting the achievements and opposing wrong aspects of constitution", but did not single out which one is principal, and 4) it was written that party has taken a main political line of "going towards socialist revolution completing the remaining tasks of the new democratic revolution". It was the process or background of two-line struggle and the subjects of two-line struggle also were based on this.

Subject/content and process

Two-line struggle in the party sharpened with the process of replying the 3-point letter forwarded by the erstwhile UCPNM and developed in different phases. There were serious differences between the erstwhile UCPNM and our party in various issues including the present state power, constitution, participation in the government and new democracy. Also, the latest two-line struggle in our party too is related with these questions.

In opposition to the document "Theoretical, political and organizational basis of party unity" prepared by chairman comrade Kiran as a reply to UCPNM's 3-point letter, comrade Badal submitted a document of dissension "New theoretical, political and organizational basis of party unity and victory" in the party headquarters. Right from this point, the two-line struggle started formally. In this complicated situation, party called on central advisory committee meeting and central committee meeting as well. Both of the documents were first placed before the central advisory committee meeting. After the advisory committee meeting provided suggestion on the documents, comrade Badal presented the very document in the CC meeting not as his dissension but as a complementary proposal and suggestion. But in essence, that was his dissension. We need to be clear on the differences that exist between those two documents.

In reply to the letter sent by the erstwhile UCPNM, the main subject matters of the document prepared by comrade Kiran were:

First, "the present state power belongs to comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal class and it should be clearly written that it is a reactionary state power." Here, the present state power is termed as reactionary.

Second, "It is wrong to use street, parliament and government as tactic of revolution, with equal weight on them. Of them, the street is first. Parliament can and should be used when necessary. The government can be used in special condition and as an exception, otherwise not." Here different specialities and aspects of the policy regarding street, parliament and government have been pointed out.

Third, although some questions including republic included in the constitution are positive, but on the total constitution the document writes, "This constitution is parliamentarian and old type of democratic republican constitution based on imperialist pluralist outlook, class absolutism, class collaborationism, all class multiparty competition and the dictatorship of comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal class. Therefore, the positive aspects can be used but in total it should be mentioned that it is a reactionary constitution, so should be opposed and exposed." Here, the reactionary nature of the constitution has been explicated.

Fourth, "The talk that democratic revolution has been accomplished is not factual and logical. In the given situation, no question arises to go towards the direction of socialist revolution completing the remaining tasks of new democratic revolution. So, in the present socio-economic condition of Nepal, it is objective

and scientific to adopt new democratic revolution as minimum and socialism as maximum programme." Here, the line of UCPNM has been opposed and that of CPN (Revolutionary Maoist) has been advocated.

As against chairman comrade Kiran's document, comrade Badal's document says:

First, "... .. implementing mainly the socialist and partly national capitalist programme, in essence, the National Socialism should be established in the developed capitalist countries." Here, comrade Badal's document helps imperialism by presenting the concept of National Socialism against scientific socialism.

Second, "Socialism-oriented national democracy should be established by mainly applying national capitalist programme and partly socialist one. Here, the right revisionist programme and the line of national democracy put forward by Khrushchev and Tulshilal have been ensued against new democracy.

Third, "The whole preparation should be carried out by imposing all round intervention upon the existing state/system tactically from street, parliament, government and the international fronts." Millerandism has been backed up by placing street, parliament and government at equal footing and mainly by adopting the policy of joining in the reactionary government.

The aforesaid two documents were placed in the Central Advisory Committee and Central Committee meetings which were called in the unusual circumstance of the party. The debate centred not on the party unity only but on the question of political line as well. In the given situation, the Central Advisory Committee provided special suggestions upon both of the documents. Later, Comrade Badal presented his document in the CC meeting not as dissension but as a complementary proposal and suggestion. But in essence, that was not his complementary proposal and suggestion but dissension. Some other comrades including comrade Sonam presented written proposals as their opinion in the CC meeting. The CC members in course of presenting their opinion for 10 days laid special emphasis, almost in the same way, on the need to strengthen internal party unity, strive for principled unity and enrich party line by organising national conference. Then the meeting was suspended for two days to prepare for drawing final conclusion. In this way, the first phase of two-line struggle had been completed.

After all this, in the process of discussion among the concerned comrades on how to sum up the debate, chairman comrade Kiran, by suspending CC meeting, prepared an 11-point proposal as part of his main document. However, the second point of the said proposal triggered sharp debate in the party again.

The second point of the 11-point proposal says, "Nepal, which is in the semi-feudal and semi/neo colonial condition is, in the historical stage of bourgeois democratic revolution now. In this condition, party has adopted a policy of going towards socialist revolution after accomplishing new democratic one, because new democratic revolution is minimum programme and socialist programme is the maximum one. In order to do this, party should enrich, modify and develop its line by way of necessary study of the socio-economic condition of the world and Nepal on the foundation of dialectical and materialist outlook."

In opposition to the 11-point proposal presented by chairman comrade Kiran, comrade Badal, aimed at creating pressure upon chairman to unite with the erstwhile UCPNM, presented a 14-point proposal, on the one hand, and carried out signature campaign among the CC members, on the other.

In order to be clear on the 14-point proposal prepared by comrade Badal, one should study by comparing it with other proposals presented by UCPNM and comrade Sonam and find the similarities on them.

a) UCPNM's proposal "On party unity" writes, "It will be appropriate to reach conclusion on the issues – including whether the strategy of new democratic revolution or that of socialist one is applicable in Nepal – by carrying out concrete analysis of the concrete condition through internal study and discussion that takes place with no insistence and prejudice at all."

b) Comrade Sonam's proposal entitled "A base proposal on the line of Nepalese revolution and party unity" writes, "By completing the process of unification within a certain time frame, diverse outlooks thinking and lines should be synthesised by organising a national conference or congress to develop party line and new unity on the new basis."

c) Comrade Badal's 14-point proposal writes, "Uniting on the minimum basis for now, it is logical to develop party's comprehensive theory/line (strategy, tactic and programme) and reach to a new synthesis, enrichment and centralisation of the leadership by means of a historical process of broad unity congress."

There is a peculiar type of resemblance in these three proposals. It is: let's not debate on the line, let all of the lines, as they are, go ahead for now and decide about it in the congress. It means let's go ahead by dropping new democracy for now. While arriving here, the second phase of two-line struggle completed. In this whole process, the CC meeting remained suspended.

With no notice to the party, when Badal group reached a common consensus with the erstwhile UCPNM and adopted 12-point proposal on the basis of aforesaid points, two-line struggle in the party developed to the form of split. It should be considered as the climax of two-line struggle.

The 12-point proposal based on the so-called common consensus was prepared by seriously violating democratic centralism. It is based upon factionalism and splittism. From the viewpoint of method and system, it is based upon eclecticism. This proposal is extremely right opportunist in terms of ideology and politics. Its essence can be presented as follows.

One, the fifth point of the 12-point proposal says, "Waging struggles against the present reactionary state power in which, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the remnants of feudal class prevail, solving the problem of national independence, democracy and people's livelihood and completing the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist bourgeois democratic revolution, which is the main essence of new democratic revolution, a common understanding is necessary about the basic political line that proceeds along the direction of socialist revolution. Going forwards on the basis of this very interim line, the unity congress will modify, enrich and synthesise the line through a process of study, investigation and deliberation." This point is full of eclecticism and opportunism. Here, on the one hand, two different stages and two different lines of revolution are eclectically put together while, on the other, the line of socialist revolution is taken as the basic line. To take line, which is very important aspect, as the interim one is utterly wrong. It is deceitful and conspiratorial method.

Two, the eighth point of the proposal says, "On the one hand, we should take ownership of republic, federalism, secularism, proportional inclusive representation and the positive aspects related with people's fundamental rights incorporated in the constitution and should emphasise in its defence and application while on the other struggle against its reactionary parliamentary character. Here, without pointing out which is principal between two opposites – the positive aspect of constitution and reactionary character of parliament– they are presented in parallel. And in essence, the reactionary constitution has been accepted by taking ownership of positive aspects of the constitution and by laying emphasis on its defence and use.

Three, the ninth point of this proposal writes, "Special plan and programme of comprehensive preparation of revolution should be sorted out by using entire fronts of street, parliament and government. There should be common understanding on the fact that the initiative from the street is principal and that from the parliament and government is secondary and particular." Here too, the question of street, parliament and government have been presented in parallel and on the other, Millerandism has been accepted by saying that the question of government is secondary and special one equal to parliament. It is also based on the method of deceit and conspiracy.

On 12-point proposal and Badal group, the resolution adopted by the CC writes, "In total this proposal is eclectic and right opportunist. It has embodied the concepts the rightist neo-revisionists accept. Its main purpose has been, on the one hand, to deceitfully and conspiratorially confuse the revolutionary trend of the Nepalese Communist Movement and, on the other, to serve domestic reaction, imperialism and the expansionism. Thus, it is evident that Badal group, which was standing for the right neo-revisionist political concept and had become pro-UCPNM before, has now turned rightist neo-revisionist clique after its party unity with UCPNM." In this manner, Badal group also has become rightist neo-revisionist after unity.

In this course, the opportunist groups united and formed a party named CPN (Maoist Centre). What is our view towards this party? The resolution adopted in our CC meeting says, "In this situation, newly formed CPN (Maoist Centre) has been appraised as rightist neo-revisionist and so the proposal of preparing basis for party unity has been retracted."

Hence it is clear, now the regrouped CPN (Maoist Centre) has become rightist neo-revisionist group. Not only this, this group is preparing to go towards regression. In this situation, the proposal of preparing basis for party unity has been invalidated.

System of two-line struggle

The two-line struggle that arose in our party is very shocking, intense and complicated. In this struggle, the revolutionary trend had thought that party unity can take place if basic unity is attained in ideology, politics and line and if the erstwhile UCPNM transforms positively, while the opportunist trend had thought that party unity must in any condition take place i.e. it should take place unconditionally. Here, two different trends had two different thinking, outlooks and objectives regarding party unity.

In order to go ahead according to their thinking, viewpoint and objective, the opportunist trend present in the party proceeded in different stages with strategy and tactic in a planned way. In this context, with no notice to the leadership and party it carried out dialogues with the erstwhile UCPNM leadership, created all-round pressure to the leadership, sent delegates to force leadership for party unity etc. In this process, different conspiracies, deceits and threats were followed. Signature campaign from the CCMs also was carried out against chairman comrade Kiran.

Shedding light on the method of two-line struggle that had developed in different stages since the preparation of CC meeting, the special appeal writes, "Here we can see complexity, intensity, severity and twists and turns of the two-line struggle. Comrade Badal, who put forward the proposal of national democracy against new democracy, made an 180° turn and pretended to have supported new democracy presented by chairman. And quite opposite to that he ultimately agreed with the eclectic and opportunist 12-point proposal, a common "consensus", in collaboration with UCPNM. Here, it is necessary on our part to understand the dialectics of two-line struggle and go ahead consciously in accordance with that."

Two-line struggle goes on incessantly, sometimes high and sometimes low, in a lively and revolutionary communist party. It is an irrefutable law of dialectics. The two-line struggle ends up with positive or negative result. The first method of two-line struggle is: unity-struggle and transformation. This is the positive result of two-line struggle. The genuine revolutionaries should strive for this result. The second method of two-line struggle is: unity-struggle and split. This is the negative result of two-line struggle. At last, right this thing happened in our party. The genuine revolutionaries should oppose and condemn the second method and result of two-line struggle and finally if the split takes place then they should go ahead firmly facing the situation. We have followed this very method now.

In the course of two-line struggle in the party, people at the centre get confused. But, the main reason of split is ultimately and essentially ideology, theory or line. Class base and the reactionary and imperialist manoeuvrings work from behind.

Two-Line struggle: Essence and lesson

It has been necessary to draw conclusion of and take lesson from the experience we received in the course of preparing basis of party unity with some groups including the erstwhile UCPNM as mentioned under.

1. The way how we proceeded to prepare basis of Party unity with a view to correct the erstwhile UCPN (Maoist), even though it was pursuing rightist neo-revisionist ideology and politics, has been a mistake.
2. What is the revolutionary approach towards party unity? Special appeal writes, "We must understand party unity with different communist constituents in the dialectical way, not in a metaphysical one. Party unity, which is being widely discussed at present in Nepal, has two aspects – positive and negative. The

revolutionary and well-wisher masses, and a part of leaders and cadres yearn for the Maoists to unite and want them to take the revolution ahead towards victory. It is a positive aspect of unity. We must welcome and honour this approach. However, on the other, the imperialists, expansionists, domestic reactionaries and right revisionists want the revolutionary stream to get ideologically vanquished and get drowned in the rightist quagmire and parliamentarianism by way of unity process. There is trickery and conspiracy in this. It is negative aspect of unity. We must confidently oppose it." This approach of understanding and looking at party unity is correct.

3. Recently, rightist storm forcefully blew up in the two-line struggle of our party and a number of "honest revolutionaries" collapsed. Precisely in such a complicated situation, Mao had said, "To struggle against the tide is Marxism-Leninism". Serious conspiracy was hatched to destroy the revolutionary trend of the party and get it entangled in right opportunism. Special appeal writes, "We must, in any condition, protect the revolutionary trend of the Nepalese communist movement this time and must wage ruthless struggle against the conspiracy that aims at destroying it. The imperialism, expansionism, domestic reaction, and the right revisionists have been awfully conspiring to make the CPN (Revolutionary Maoist) ensnare in the stream of right revisionism, parliamentarianism and reactionary state and thereby destroy the stream that stands for the country, people, liberation and revolution. We must resolutely cope with this kind of conspiracy." Of course, we have confronted that. We have waged gruesome ideological struggle against right revisionist storm and tide this time.

4. The revolutionary theory, correct ideological and political line and a revolutionary communist party are inevitably necessary for revolution. In consideration of this concept, we have succeeded to protect the revolutionary ideology and party and we must be proud of it. We must make a commitment again to go forward to socialism and communism by accomplishing new democratic revolution under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in Nepal. Furthermore, we must lay special emphasis to apply and develop theory in addition to defending it.

5. In the two-line struggle at present there have been some weaknesses and limitations on the part of party leadership in unmasking opportunism in time. We must with care take lesson from this.

6. Certainly, there has been some frustration from this type of division in the party. Some doubts have also arisen towards the liberation of country and people and the future of revolution in Nepal. But, it is a temporary thing. Downfall of reaction and victory of revolution is inevitable. So, we must go ahead with revolutionary optimism. In this regard, the special appeal writes, "Fighting against all sorts of desperation, frustration, desertion and capitulation and being inspired from the lofty ideal of communism, we have no other option except going firmly ahead with revolutionary optimism towards the direction of continuous revolution."



नेपाल कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी (क्रान्तिकारी माओवादी)
Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist)



केन्द्रीय आयोग समिति
Central Organising Committee

पत्र संख्या/Serial No. :-

चलानी नं./Regd.No. :-

Date: August 4, 2016

Press Communiqué

The Central Committee meeting of the Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist) was held from July 31 to August 3, 2016 under the chairmanship of comrade Kiran. The decisions taken by the meeting have been publicized through this communiqué as follows.

1. In the beginning of the meeting, emotional homage was paid to the entire brave immortal martyrs of revolution including great people's war and mass movement by observing one minute silence.
2. Chairman Comrade Kiran presented a verbal report on different issues including organization and struggle in the meeting and the very report, after discussion, was unanimously adopted with necessary amendments.
3. Some of the responsible comrades have been included in the unfilled positions of the CC. In the same manner, some of the comrades have been included in the central advisory committee. In addition to this, necessary work-division has been done for the central committee members.
4. A decision has been taken to form a united front under the leadership of comrade C.P. Gajurel and its national convention has been decided to organize soon.
5. Decision has been taken to efficiently mobilise the entire party rank around ideology, organisation and economic management in a centralised and consolidated manner.
6. On struggle, the decisions have been taken to:
 - Develop struggle on national independence and the hydropower projects including upper Karnali in a systematic way and organise protest all across the country on September 9, 2016.
 - Submit on August 31, 2016 a memorandum before the Prime Minister on the landless peasants' problem and organise protest in various districts.
 - Oppose corruption, commission, price hike and black-marketing and launch struggle on the issues including reconstruction for the quake victims.
 - Keep up with additional programmes of struggle on the burning issues like national independence, democracy and people's livelihood.
 - Launch struggles creatively taking into account of the states' and districts' situation.
7. On the border demarcation proposed by government in the local level we hold a view that:
 - Though some of the issues including republic, secularism, federalism, proportional representation seem to be quantitatively and partly positive, we disagree with and oppose to the constitution because it protects in total the old state power.

- The line of demarcation taken up by the government seems unable to deliver identity, reach and representation of the concerned and it is in opposition to the concept of federalism.
- The concept of maintaining districts and wards intact is wrong.
- The population has been fixed mechanically with no attention to the territory.
- On account of the fact that it has been difficult for the people to work with local bodies for they are unnecessarily big in terms of territory, we have decided to place our opposition and protest in the concerned bodies.

Finally, laying stress on the need to firmly implement decisions taken by party, chairman comrade Kiran concluded the meeting.

Interview

*Chairman Comrade Kiran
CPN (Revolutionary Maoist)*

Question: How does the party analyse and look at the political situation of the present world and Nepal? Would you please point out it briefly?

Answer: The political situation of the Nepal and the world can be analysed briefly in points as follows.

One, though the oppression by and domination of the globalised imperialism, mainly the US, continues in the world, the bi-polar and multi-polar competition and the imperialist crisis have been rising. In addition to this, the Indian expansionist intervention has been rigorously intensifying in the region; the principal contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and people in the world has been sharpening while the subjective strength of the proletariat is still weak.

Two, the alliance of comprador, bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the feudal class with imperialism and expansionism is tightening further. The contradiction formed of comprador, bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal class at one pole and broad masses at the other is the principal contradiction of Nepalese society.

Three, the right opportunism has been the main danger for revolution both for the world and Nepalese communist movement as well.

Four, compared to the favourability of the objective aspect, the subjective aspect is weak, both in the world and Nepal. In order to prepare for revolution, it has been necessary to strengthen the subjective force in a conscious and planned manner both in Nepal and all over the world as well.

Question: Sometime before, the world proletariat used to say, 'Look to the Himalayas, a better world is in birth'. Nevertheless, the situation is quite reverse now in Nepal. How would you like to address the world proletariat in today's condition?

Answer: Revolution goes ahead, not in a straight line but a zigzag way. The revolution develops amid the process of several ups and downs. The right opportunist deviation, which emerged in the party, caused the new democratic revolution in Nepal to suffer a serious setback. The great people's war has been declared to have ended by capitulating with the domestic and foreign reactionary forces. It is a matter of big anguish and anxiety for Nepalese and the world proletarian revolution. Nevertheless, it's a temporary thing. We want to make the world proletariat know that our party has been preparing to initiate new revolution again from the country of the Everest.

Question: Once upon a time, Prachanda had proclaimed that the New Democratic State in Nepal will act as a base area for the world proletarian revolution. But later, he dissolved the Base Area, People's Liberation Army and People's Power and turned as an honest watchdog of Bourgeois democratic republic of Nepal. He is now in a race to become the most reliable agent of imperialism and expansionism. In your opinion, why did he retract his course in a short span of time?

Answer: In the history, there are many events of betrayal towards the country, people, revolution and proletariat on the part of the main leadership of communist parties. So far as the betrayal by Prachanda is concerned, our party has been making its summation. On the one hand, the petty bourgeois thinking deep-rooted in him and his collaboration with imperialism and expansionism, on the other, seem to be main reasons for this to happen. In the present era, this type of coalition takes place between imperialism and revisionism. The reasons like vacillation, instability, lack of revolutionary perseverance, trust towards bourgeoisie and mistrust towards the proletariat have worked from behind for this to happen. Taking lesson from this, we should firmly move ahead.

Question: Khrushchev emerged from the party Lenin had formed and led. Leaders like Liu Shao Chi appeared in the Communist Party of China, founded and built by Chairman Mao. Prachanda, the leader of the Maoist movement in Nepal, turned into a watchdog of the world imperialism. Are all these events a coincidence or there is some role of other revolutionary leaders for this to happen? What is your say in this?

Answer: It is not simply a coincidence for this type of betrayal and brokerage to happen in revolution, negative necessity or several other reasons work from behind. Coincidence is not an event that happens independently, necessity plays a role in it in either form. There is dialectical relation between coincidence and necessity too. There is certainly a partial role on the part of other revolutionary leaders for these events to happen. The revolutionary leaders also have some weaknesses and limitations in understanding them, in taking necessary initiative vis-à-vis the negative role they can play in the future. We have already accepted that it was a mistake on our party to adopt 'Prachanda Path'.

Question: A question has arisen in the world communist movement that the things Lenin and Mao had said in their lifetime did not turn true. The imperialism that Lenin had termed moribund has not only survived but seems even stronger than before. Mao had said either the world war gives rise to revolution or the revolution prevents world war, so revolution is the main trend today. But it did not happen so. How should a revolutionary understand this?

Answer: Lenin had said that imperialism is moribund, it is still correct. He had said it, not in the context of any person, but in the context of an era and era is long. Imperialism has undergone some changes. But, it is monopoly capitalism that stands upon the foundation of financial capital and it is falling in crisis. The reason why revolutions did not happen in the world is not because imperialism is strong but because the communist parties are weak. So long as Mao's dictum – revolution is the main trend of the world– is concerned, it is also correct. The subjective adversity is more visible than the objective favourability for the revolution today. The revolution depends upon the conscious effort, not in spontaneity.

Question: Significant changes have taken place in the world situation after the time of Lenin and Mao. In this situation, the talk that a revolutionary party should develop MLM is not wrong, but a need of the day. Notwithstanding this, some of the parties that have claimed to have developed MLM have either developed revisionism as their predecessors Khrushchev and Liu Shao Chi did or have started hunting for the alternative of MLM itself. How can and should a genuine communist party defend, apply and develop MLM refraining from these two possible deviations? Would you please clarify it?

Answer: In order to make revolution, it is necessary to defend, apply and develop the revolutionary theory of the proletariat i.e. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. On the question of development of MLM, you talked about two deviations, in fact they are not two, but one deviation only and it is right opportunist deviation. Philosophically, the right opportunism follows empiricism and pragmatism in the question of defence, application and development of MLM. In the name of creative development of theory and the opposition of dogmatism it attacks upon the essence of theory itself. Philosophically empiricism and politically right revisionism are the main dangers for both the international and the Nepalese communist movement at present. And, in the context of defence, application and development of theory, we must not stick in theory for the sake of defending theory but strive for applying theory in practice and developing through it.

Question: Right here, let us pick up a context of RCP, USA. It has declared that the first stage of world communist movement, which had begun from the adoption of Communist Manifesto in 1848, has ended after the counter-revolution in china. Not only this, they have claimed that MLM can no longer guide the socialist revolution in the second stage but the new Synthesis propounded by Bob Avakian can and should do it. What do you say about this?

Answer: The RCP, USA and its leader Bob Avakian have been caught in a serious type of opportunism by presenting the concept of new synthesis. He has been trapped in a shocking nihilism by negating on the one hand, the historically developed Communist Manifesto and, on the other, the guiding principle of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is politically rightist and philosophically pragmatic deviation. It has been urgently necessary to strongly oppose and expose this sort of deviation to clear the way ahead to organise the international communist movement yet again.

Question: After the counter-revolution in China, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) had come forward as an international organisation to promote MLM, the world over. However at present, its organised activities are nil. In this unwanted situation, does your party think about the need to re-establish international organisation? Would you please mention about it?

Answer: Yes, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), which was formed as a promoter of MLM after counter-revolutions in the socialist countries, is now defunct. In view of this situation, our party has been making some efforts to re-establish the International Organisation of the communist revolutionaries. We have already put forward internationally a document for deliberation. We have also received some response in this regard. Certainly, it has been too late and there are some limitations and problems. In spite of this, it has been an urgent need to take up an active initiative towards this direction.

Question: Comrade Chairman! On the one hand, people do not believe that capitalism can resolve the contradictions that exist in the present world. And on the other, they are not confident that socialism can prevail over capitalism either. As a result, people are disgusted and there is frustration all over the world. In this situation, how do you see the future of world proletarian revolution including Nepal? How will the revolutionary communist parties be able to unite people towards the lofty goal of communism?

Answer: The masses are the creators of history. There can be some frustration and doubt towards the bright future of revolution among the people, when the situation is adverse. But it is a transient thing. In total, there is revolutionary optimism, not pessimism, among the working class masses. Working class people are exploited, oppressed and aggrieved, they undergo various sufferings. All this too help develop immune power in them to confront the suffering. In fact, those, who are involved in labour, develop new productive forces. By so doing, they prepare objective and subjective basis to invade upon the old relation of production. The imperialism is severely falling in crisis; ultimately, it is the socialist revolution that solves this crisis. So, the future of socialist revolution is bright. Today, imperialism has been globalised; the need today has been to consciously and organisationally globalise the proletariat for revolution. The proletarian internationalism demands this. As Mao has said, although the imperialism and reaction are real tigers tactically, but strategically they are paper tigers; we must not be scared of this. Therefore, we must go ahead, on the one hand, by organising the anti-imperialist united front and, on the other, by re-organising the international communist movement in a new way. We must increase our initiative towards that direction.

Question: Let's come back to Nepal again. After the establishment of democratic republic, the parties including CPN (UML) and CPN (Maoist Centre) have started unequivocally propagating that bourgeois democratic revolution in Nepal has been accomplished and now it is the socialist revolution that is in the agenda. The monarchy has been brought to an end and the feudal mode of production also does not exist as before. In the given situation, would you please mention about party's concept on the on-going stage and its characteristics of the proletarian revolution in Nepal.

Answer: It is a very important question in the context of Nepalese revolution. In the semi-feudal, semi-colonial, colonial or neo-colonial countries, if the establishment of democratic republic means the completion of bourgeois democratic revolution, then the democratic republic seems to have already been founded in 1911 in China and in 1947 in India. Then why was the question of bourgeois democratic revolution raised in those countries later. We must grasp it well. The bourgeois democratic revolution in the countries with those characteristics has two objectives of simultaneously defeating both feudalism and imperialism, not consecutively. Hence, it is not justified to mean that bourgeois democratic revolution has been accomplished in Nepal because, the feudal relation of production, though it is getting weaker, has not been ended, the domination of imperialism and expansionism has escalated further, the people's democratic state power has not yet been founded under the leadership of the proletariat. So, Nepal is still at the stage of bourgeois democratic revolution and we should go ahead to attain the lofty goal of communism by adopting new democratic revolution as the minimum and socialism as the maximum programme in Nepal. So far as the new characteristics of Nepalese bourgeois democratic revolution are concerned, they should be accounted for, as follows:

First, feudal and semi-feudal production relation has been weakening, but has not ended. Second, the imperialist globalisation, neo-liberal economy and the expansionist intervention have been intensively mounting. Third, the old state power that represents comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal class still continues. All these classes have been maintaining an unholy relation with imperialism and expansionism. Fourth, here the domination of comprador capitalism, not of the national and industrial capitalism, has been sharply growing.

In this situation, it is clear that bourgeois democratic revolution has not been accomplished in Nepal yet. So the Nepalese revolution is at the stage of bourgeois democratic revolution.

Question: Badal-Gurung clique has been dissolved into the CPN (MC) led by Prachanda. Badal and Gurung who used to call Prachanda a red renegade before have started idolizing him as one of the greatest leaders of the proletariat in the world. What do you think is the reason behind 180° turn in their position?

Answer: The reasons like: petty bourgeois thinking, mistrust towards revolution, attraction towards parliamentary system and consequently credence in counter-revolution have worked from behind the dissolution of Badal clique into the right neo-revisionist group.

Question: After the dissolution of Badal-Gurung coterie in MC, you have already completed party's national convention and central committee meeting. Could you please mention in brief about the overall situation of your party and the decisions it has taken?

Answer: The recently held national convention of the party has concluded that though the split has caused some loss in relation to organisation but in essence party has ideologically turned victorious upon the right neo-revisionism and party has been rectified. This convention has adopted a politico-military line of new democratic revolution with some amendment. In order to further modify and develop it, party has decided to organise national conference soon. A number of programmes of struggle related to national independence, democracy and people's livelihood have been taken on. Party has taken decision to propel effectively the tasks concerning ideology, organisation and management forward. In addition, party has decided to pay necessary attention to organise the international communist movement. In total, a small leap has been made in this convention and a bigger leap has been anticipated to attain in the forthcoming national conference.

Question: To conclude, if you have something more to say?

Answer: No, that's all. Thank you.

August 16, 2016

Articles:

Clarion call for International Unity

- Com. Gaurav

A joint statement issued by around 30 Maoist organisations at the occasion of May Day 2016 can be considered as a positive approach in relation to the formation of an international centre of genuine communist parties and organisations. The statement starts with revolutionary slogans:

“Proletarians of all country unite!

Long live the 50th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

Long live the Proletarian World Revolution!

Long live Maoism!”

The statement has made basically correct analysis regarding present situation of the world and that of the ICM. The joint statement has raised some genuine issues which correspond to the idea of our party.

Formation of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) was conceived as a step forward in developing an international embryonic centre of genuine communists or Maoists at the world level. RIM had actively carried out its activities for around two and a half decades. It established itself as a recognised embryonic centre of many genuine communist parties and organisations of the world. It was really an inspiring event in the ICM. It has been correctly explained in the document entitled **“Let's March forward to Prepare the World Revolution! Let's Build Communist International Centre!”,** which was prepared and put forward for discussion by the CC of the Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist) on the occasion of May Day 2014 has mentioned, "However, RIM was acknowledged as a strong ideological centre and a rallying focal point of Maoists at the international level. The efforts of strengthening relation and developing the level of understanding with other Maoist forces, which were not part of the RIM, had been continued. Had the RIM continued to function in the same speed as it did during the period of 1984 to 2008 until now, the situation of Maoist movement at the international level would have been certainly far better than today.”

The RIM has now become virtually defunct. The reason for this bad event to happen has been evaluated in the same document like this, “Though there may be many reasons for the debacle in the RIM, but two main reasons are obvious. Firstly, it was due to the neo-revisionist deviation emerged in Prachanda-Baburam clique that engulfed the erstwhile Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) [Now it is identified as CPN (Maoist Centre)]. This clique betrayed the Nepalese revolution and collaborated with the imperialist and expansionist forces, and deliberately played its destructive role to paralyze the RIM.

Secondly, it was due to "new synthesis" of Bob Avakian, Chairman of Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, which the party intended to introduce as a guiding line of the RIM. It is evident that the RIM was formed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its guiding principle. When the question of "new synthesis of Bob Avakian" emerged suddenly with an intention of imposing it as guiding line of the RIM and replacing certain questions of MLM, naturally it created a kind of havoc, thus giving rise to a sharp dispute within the Movement.”(Ibid)

There is a strange coincidence in our party's position and the May Day Statement 2016 (in which we are not a signatory). It reflects that we have similar understanding in various ideological and political issues including the evaluation of revisionists Prachanda and Bob Avakian. We have already mentioned how the revisionist deviations occurred within Prachanda and Bob Avakian played divisive role in disrupting the unity of ICM. The May Day statement states, “These facts unmask the new revisionism of PCPMOVADEF/PCPMLM in Peru, of Prachanda and Avakian that want to deny the validity of the analyses of Lenin and Mao, separating the two great currents of the International Communist Movement: the national liberation struggles of the oppressed peoples and the proletarian revolution, whose unity is

guaranteed by the Communist Parties.” It also indicates that we have every scope of unity that will help us to move forward in an effort to forge unity at the international level.

CPN (RM) has already started discussion for an initiative to regroup all genuine communist forces. It has presented a draft position paper as a basis for discussion among such forces and has invited suggestions and criticisms from all the fraternal organizations. We have conducted informal meetings and discussed about the major ideological and political issues which can work as basis of such regrouping. We think that there are three different opinions existing in the ICM even today, which has been stated in the document as follows, “There are different types of experiences in the course of 166 year's long history of International Communist Movement. Different opinions still exist about, what lessons should be learnt from the past experiences? There is an opinion which gives more importance to international aspect i.e. world revolution than to the revolutions in the respective individual countries. It means that the revolution in the individual countries is subordinate to the world revolution and so lays emphasis on the later. More concretely, it is a world party concept that was prevalent at the time of Third International under the leadership of Stalin.

“There is also another opinion prevailing in the ICM that in the uneven development of the revolutionary movements of various countries, the international centre is impracticable and it will be worthless effort to build such a centre internationally. It considers that the cooperation among the communist parties to advance revolution in individual countries is a practical question and so should be managed by some other ways not by the international centre built on the world party concept. It gives an example of the Chinese New Democratic Revolution which was accomplished at a time when the Third International was formally dissolved and other international was not in place.

"There is another opinion which understands that revolution in one country and the world revolution are inseparably interrelated. The communist movement itself is an internationalist movement; we cannot reach at the goal alone. The revolution in one country has both national as well as international character. The communist parties make revolution in their country as part of the world revolution and it should work as a base area for the later."We agree with this opinion.

In this regard we are happy to learn that similar opinion has been expressed in the May Day, 2016 statement. The statement mentions: “The proletariat, the masses, led by communists, must organize the proletarian and mass resistance against the internal war and resolutely undertake the preparations to turn the imperialist wars into revolutionary wars.”

It further says, “To do so from the belly of the imperialist beast, communists are constructing new Maoist Communist Parties, making efforts to merge with the deepest masses of the proletariat, to win ideological hegemony in the revolutionary movement in order to, in front of all non-proletarian ideologies, mobilize, politicize and organize the most exploited sections of the working class and the poorest masses, to prepare and carry out through actions the beginning and development of the People’s War.”

The May Day statement has expressed its opinion unequivocally regarding the unity of genuine communist forces at the international level. The statement states, “More than ever the urgent task of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist movement is to fight the current state of dispersion in the International Communist Movement, struggling for a Unified International Conference of Parties and Organizations that are Marxist-Leninist-Maoist. Pursuing this task will serve to establish, through the line struggle, new levels of coordination between Maoist forces around the world that will trigger new Peoples War’s and enhance the anti-imperialist movement under the hegemony of the revolutionary proletariat.”

We attach enough importance to the statement mentioned above, because it reflects the will of all genuine communist parties and organizations of the world. In this regard the “clarion call” given by our party is relevant to quote here. It writes, "It is obvious that the International Communist Movement is undergoing through a difficult situation. The objective situation at the world level is favourable for revolution. The imperialist and reactionary forces are in the midst of tremendous economic and political crisis. But the

subjective strength of communist parties is relatively weak and it is unable to transform the crisis of imperialism and reaction into revolution.

"The situation at the world level is uneven. In some countries of the world, the communist forces have emerged and continue to become alternative political force and formidable challenge to the reactionary states. In some countries, capturing the state power is still in the agenda of the communist parties. Asia, Africa and Latin America still remain as a centre of world revolution. Spontaneous movements of the oppressed masses are growing in the imperialist countries. One important development in the world today is that Maoist organisations or groups, big or small, are emerging in various countries. In total, there is a good potential for the ICM to function actively and emerge as an alternative force at the world level.

"As mentioned above, genuine communists have neither any compulsion to incline to the interest of any grouping nor should they have any biasness with any communist party. All the communist parties are free to think and take decisions, without any prejudice in the orientation of forging a new international centre of the genuine communist revolutionaries. We can play our independent role in a capacity of a genuine communist party. There should be no any pre-condition. We should think and work in a vibrant way. Every detail can be worked out on the basis of collective understanding of all genuine communist parties and organisations.

"If the communist parties sincerely come forward to build unity at the world level and forge an international centre, the situation is not as adverse as some people think. We are going to reorganize genuine communist forces which have already been tested; we know each other's history. We are not going to start from naught; we are going to be reorganized in a new situation. Definitely, we will not get readymade situation; but there are many positive factors which we can bank upon. It is high time for the communist parties to come together and take new initiative to forge an international centre, leaving behind all sectarian and bias attitudes. It is responsibility of all genuine communist parties to make a situation subjectively favourable for the revolution in one country and work hard for the preparation of the world revolution. We have a strong basis and ground in our favour. Based on the overall situation as mentioned above, our party makes sincere commitment to move forward according to the whole capacity we have. We like to make a sincere and strong appeal to all genuine communist parties and organizations of the world to contribute actively in this great effort. It can be achieved only by collective efforts of all genuine communist forces of the world! Let us strive for this."

--August 12, 2016

Nepal: Parliamentary System and Collapse of Ideological Politics

- Com. Pari Thapa

1. Termination of Panchayat and Restoration of Multiparty System:

The parliamentary system was short lived during 1959 just for one and a half years because king Mahendra had quashed B. P. Koirala's government and took all state powers in his own hands and imposed so-called partyless Panchayat system. Three decades later, the absolute monarchy and autocratic Panchayat system was ousted through a Joint People's Movement led by Democratic and left forces that paved the way for parliamentary system plus constitutional monarchy again in the country. Following the victory of the popular movement an interim government was formed with Krishna Prasad Bhattarai as the prime minister for writing a new constitution in and hold parliamentary elections 1990s.

An advisory Committee for drafting the constitution was constituted under the chairmanship chief Justice of Supreme Court Bishwonath Upadhyaya. Having played a drama of collection of suggestions from the people, the constitution was ready within a year and was subsequently promulgated by king Birendra.

Then parliamentary general elections were held and the NC emerged victorious as the single largest party commanding majority in the parliament. As a result, Girija Prasad Koirala, leader of NC, was elected as prime minister and head of government.

2. Formation of Hung-parliament and Horse Trading:

Besides its majority in the parliament, the NC government saw its premature dissolution due to intra-party grudges within three years, just because the annual budget presented by the government was failed to garner enough votes as nearly three dozen MPs from the governing party were absent. The prime minister dissolved the parliament then and there and declared a mid-term election seeking fresh mandate in 1994. This step caused further divisions within the NC's ranks and file and it defeated in the elections and could not retain its previous position. The UML emerged as the largest party without holding absolute majority and a hung-parliament was in place.

The UML got opportunity to form a minority government with Manmohan Adhikary as the prime minister and head of the government. The UML government faced a non-confidence motion in the parliament after six months and could not come out successful to garner majority in the parliament. Instead resigning from the post Prime Minister Monmoahan Adhikary dissolved the parliament announcing another mid-term elections. But, the Prime Minister's decision of dissolving the house was challenged in the Supreme Court as unconstitutional act and the court made a verdict to reinstate the parliament.

After this very incident, horse trading and political harlotry entered into the realm of parliamentary system in Nepal. The NC claiming itself as democratic party, shamelessly purposed and extended its support to Surya Bahadur Thapa as prime minister, one of the notorious royalists, and participated in the government under his premiership. Likewise, the UML claiming itself as communist party, followed the same foot print of the NC and purposed and supported to Lokendra Bahadur Chand as prime minister, another veteran royalist, and joined the government under his premiership as well. All these deeds were done just to grab the ministerial positions in order to fulfill their vested parochial partisan and personal interests.

This was beginning of non-principled coalitions that resulted into the collapse of ideological politics in Nepal.

3. Usurping of Power by the King and Political Harlotry:

The third parliamentary general elections was held in 1999. The NC, however, regained first position with clear-cut majority, nevertheless, failed to run for a full term due to deep inner party feuds. Amidst such a situation, the ultra- ambitious king Gyanendra plotted to usurp all the state powers in his own hands and imposed an absolute monarchical regime again in the country in 2001. The then prime minister Sher Bahadur Deuba, currently the NC president, succumbed to the king's intrigue and played an instrumental role to quench the king's thirst to regain absolute power.

With absolute powers in his hands, king Gyanendra began to lure all power seeker opportunists to become prime minister, in others words, he tried to sell the prime ministerial post as an attractive ad material in order to bring the so-called leaders in his favor including from the NC, the UML and others as well. Along with the former royalists like Lokenra Bahadur Chand and Surya Bahadur Thapa including NC's Sher Bahadur Deuba held prime ministerial post under his reign. Even the UML leader Madhav Kumar Nepal submitted his petition as per the king's call to get appointed to the prime ministerial post, but, his efforts were all in vain. Later, the UML joined the Sher Bahadur Deuba's hailing as "regression was half corrected" under the king's direct rule.

Actually all these things were a step further to nurture the culture of political harlotry in the history of Nepali power politics.

4. Formation of the First Constituent Assembly:

The elections for the first Constituent Assembly in Nepal's political history was held in 2007 as common fruit of both the People's Movement and People's war. The then CPN (Maoist) secured more than one third seats and held position of the largest party in the Constituent Assembly. The constituent Assembly, at the same time, played dual role as legislative parliament too and was like a hung-parliament as none of the parties represented in it commanded majority.

Pushpa Kamal Dahal "Prachanda", the chairman of the Maoist party, elected as the first prime minister of republican Nepal. His government saw demise just after six months of formation over the row of shacking then chief of the army staff General Rukmnangad Katawal. Madhav Kumar Nepal succeeded Prachand as the prime minister even by dodging his party chairman and parliamentary party leader Jhalanath Khanal. However, his was the longest lived government during that period. Then came the turn of Jhalanath Khanal as the prime minister and finally Baburam Bhattarai's accession to the prime ministerial post was the last during the period of the first Constituent Assembly. Finally, Bhattari dissolved the constituent assembly in a shameless manner.

The nomination of former chief justice Khilraj Regmi as the chairperson of council of ministers was another farce as well in the realm of Nepalese power politics. He was brought to helms in the name of a neutral government to hold elections for the "second constituent assembly". It was, in the real sense, a mockery of so-called democracy and democratic system.

The culture of horse trading and political harlotry from Panchayat era through multiparty system to present day republic, Nepal's parliamentary politics has already been morally exhausted and theoretically and ideologically perverted.

5 "The Second Constituent Assembly" and Aftermath:

After all, the elections for the "second constituent assembly" was held in 2012, But, our party actively boycotted the elections due to serious reservations upon the modes operandi of the elections including formation of a non-political government and haphazard amendments of the interim constitution.

The result of the elections brought a drastic change in power equilibrium of the parliamentary forces. The UCPN (Maoist), the largest party of the first constituent assembly come to suffer badly and was pushed to the third position and the result was beyond postulation of its leadership. The NC and the UML held the position of first and second largest parties respectively. Contrary to the established norms and values of parliamentary system, the NC and the UML, despite being the first and second largest parties in the legislature-parliament, formed a coalition government agreeing to lead the government on turn by turn basis.

Following the promulgation of the constitution, the NC remained reluctant to hand over government's leadership to the UML as per previous understanding reached between the two sides. It made the UML compelled to withdraw its support to the government and walked out of the cabinet. Ultimately the UML succeeded to form a messy coalition government with the support of CPM (Maoist) and other fringe parties including the royalists. But there was a "gentleman's agreement" between the UML and CPN (Maoist) to lead the government on turn by turn basis. As time elapsed and the CPN (Maoist) claimed government's leadership, but, the UML turned a deaf ear towards such claim.

The NC proficiently capitalized the growing differences between KP Oli and Prachand by offering the post of the prime minister to the latter. Now, there is a coalition government led by Prachand and supported by the NC and some fringe parties. And, they have made public that the premiership will be handed over on turn by turn basis which signifies another absurdity of parliamentary system.

Going through the facts given above, it is crystal clear that the partnership made by the parliamentary parties and forces among them time and again is merely based upon their vested interests and opportunist characters but not upon principled and theoretical grounds. This is a shining example of collapse of

ideological politics and true nature of so-called parliamentary democracy. And, this culture will much flourish in the coming days.

Karl Marx in his famous book *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonapart* has stated that "Finally, in its struggle against the revolution, the parliamentary republic found itself compelled to strengthen, along with the repressive measures, the resources and centralization of governmental power. All revolution perfected this machine instead smashing it". The same implies true in Nepal today. Let alone the NC and the likes, but, the sham communists like the UML, the Maoist Center and others fringe leftist groups are undertaking the same business as bona fide shareholders of parliamentary republic

That's why our party is relentlessly waging struggle against such an anti-people and anti-nation, corrupt and defunct political system. Our party is of the view that until and unless a people's democratic republic is established in the country, the same farce will be repeated time and again. It is, therefore, urgent to wage an all-encompassing struggle in favor of New Democratic Revolution to uproot present rotten and reactionary system through people's rebellion based upon Nepalese characteristics. This historic responsibility of leading a revolution falls upon the shoulders of our party, the CPN (revolutionary Maoist).

As the vanguard of proletariat and all exploited class and masses of people, our party will march forward with a clear-cut vision and mission to accomplish the great task of New Democratic Revolution. The national convention of our party has adopted necessary political lines and made crucial decisions to move forward along the path of New Democratic Revolution. And, the party will further consolidate all essential policies and tasks pertaining to revolution in a mature way in its coming national conference due to be held next year.

Globalization, Climate change and Ecological crisis in Nepal

Com. S.R. Tamang

“Man is an organic part of nature; he has to have a dialogue continuously to lead the pleasant life. He not only draws his food and tools to survive but also means to survive from nature”.

-Karl Marx

1. Introduction

Climate change is a natural phenomenon but human economic intervention has accelerated this phenomenon to the level which has upset the ecological balance. So it has emerged as the most debatable question among scientist and policy-makers in the 21st century. Climate change is explicitly related to globalization. And Globalization is defined as the emergence of a complex web of interconnectedness which means that are made at a great distance from us (Heywood, 2011). In other words, we can say globalization is the powerful force of universalising the exploitation of capitalism.

The steep increase in green-house gases (GHS) from the Industrial activities of super power countries has created environmental crisis. Climate change not only affects the annexed countries but non-annexed countries and regions also. It affects particularly the world's poorest communities. The risk of climate change in Nepal also is high. In this critical condition, the ruling class of Nepal, without any forward-looking solution to the environmental problem, limited oneself to the slogan of cabinet-meeting in Kalapathar, etcetera.

2. Globalization and Ecological disaster

Globalization is a universal prescription of Washington based think-tanks. With the disintegration of Soviet Union in 1990, the process of globalization has been intensified in most of the countries of the world under the patronage of G-7 nations. G-7 nations use the Britton Woods institutions, that is, the

World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Trade Organization (WTO) formed after the GATT's Uruguay round, to implement economic liberalization programmes in the underdeveloped countries. Some of the very effective instruments of globalization used by the Washington-based think-tanks include General Agreement on Trade and Transit (GATT), the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and the Intellectual Property Rights (IPR). (Bhattachan, 2005:82).

Globalization is nothing but universalization of exploitation of capitalism. Economic exploitation and suppression are integral parts of the world capitalist system. The MNCs and Banks are agents par excellence of the critical means by which third world states are maintained in their subordinate position within the world capitalist economy (Viotti and Kauppi, 1990:400).

In the world capitalist system, the international financial institutions – WB, IMF & WTO – play a crucial role. The MNCs and I/NGOs have also become the strongest and most trusted vehicles of globalization. Capitalism in an urge to make more profit and today in the hands of financial capital the profit has to be multiple times than possible. In the role to be more competitive and earn more profits indiscriminate pollution activity has been rampant in the industries. All the industries have been polluting river, water-bodies, underground aquifer and soils in the race to earn more profits. Due to climate change, the polar ice is melting and Himali ice also is melting. Raising the temperature sea level is on the horizon. Global temperature rise is likely to be 1.5-5.5°C. under varied carbon dioxide levels. The projected atmospheric carbon dioxide will be around 550 ppm by 2100 AD. It has draconically affected earth's Biosphere. America consumes 70% of the global resources with 6% of the global population and tops the carbon-foot print map. All the G-8 countries are at the top of the list with 90% emissions that lead to the Green House Effect.

3. Impact of climate change in Nepal.

Partyless Panchayat Govt. had endorsed liberalization policy in 1985 by adapting Structural Adjustment Programme with financial support from the World Bank and IMF. Later, since 1990, the multiparty Govts also encouraged the process of globalization. The Govt. of Nepali congress, Communist Party of Nepal (UML), Nepal Sadbhavana party and National Democratic party endorsed liberalisation process, though in varying degrees. Liberalization process had been well incorporated in the 9th plan and twenty year perspective plan as well (Bhattachan 2005:86)

Globalization has emerged as an economic imperative in the changing world environment for the powerful capitalist countries to re-order the factors of production and terms of trade to suit their own interests. The global environmental crisis is also the results of capitalist economic system which amasses profits and wealth through the accumulation process and exploitation of natural resources.

Prior to industrialization, the Carbon Dioxide (CO₂) concentration in the atmosphere was about 280 ppm. But at present it has increased to about 387. Scientific studies show that the global temperature is expected to rise by 2.5-7°C at the end of the century. The climate change Risk Atlas-2010 has placed Nepal in the fourth rank among the 170 top risk-vulnerable countries in the world (Maplecroft 2010). It means Nepal is unsecured from climate change. Climate change has increased environmental temperature and the ice of Himalayas melted. For example a glacial lake outburst in Tibet in 1981 which destroyed Hydropower dam made in Sunkoshi and damaged the lives and homes of many inhabitants in the riverside. In 2012 A.D. flood came in Seti River in dry reason. Many villagers from Manang and Taplejung District have been migrated to other places due to lack of drinking water in villages. Climate change has effected agricultural production, heavily. In 2007 more than 500,000 People become flood victim due to flood and landslide. (MOE 2011). We can give many examples. But the ruling class is dominated by the imperialist powers so that she cannot go against their globalization, liberalization and privatization polices. But it is regrettable that we say ourselves revolutionary also did not try to go against the wave of globalization.

4. Conclusion

In 1992, 1575 distinguished scientists of the world gave warning to the greenhouse gas emission actors: "Human activities inflict air and often irreversible damage on the environment and on critical resources. If not checked, many of our current practices put at risk the future we wish for human society and the plant and animal kingdom, and may alter the living world that we will be unable to sustain life in the manner that we know. Fundamental changes are urgent if we are to avoid the collision our present courses will bring." The world scientists emphasized "the critical stress" in such areas as the atmosphere, the oceans, water resources, soil, forest, and living species-the irreversible loss of species, which by 2100 may reach one-third of all species. They said clearly, "We the undersigned, senior members of the world's scientific community, hereby warn all humanity of what lies ahead. A great change in our stewardship of the earth and the life on it is required if vast human misery is to be avoided and our global home on this planet is not to be irretrievably mutilated." Then UNO formed Inter Governmental Committee (INC) to study and prepare the legal document on climate change and also established the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (1992) (known as Earth summits) and adopted Kyoto protocol (1997) of reducing GHG emissions by developed and industrial countries but America did not approve it. Conference of the parties (COP) adopted (Bali 2007) a negotiation process between Annex countries and Non-annex countries but yet to finalize. The mitigation of GHGs emissions and adaptation of climate change amongst the world political leaders still dominate climate change negotiations. But, a few attempts have been made to operation it in favour of non-annex countries and societies. The actors and elements who create ecological crisis are powerful and always keep domination upon others. To face with these negative powers we have to make aware of people in general which is lacking in developing nations and societies. Save our Planet from those actors and elements who have created ecological crisis for capitalist greed.

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CPN Maoist's Activities and its direction

Com. Basanta

The CPN Maoist is a group that has been formed of the split from our erstwhile party the CPN-Maoist. Till now, it has not been able to clearly and concretely place its ideology, politics and line but on the other it has carried out some struggles. In this situation, it has necessitated to mention something about this group.

The actions that are carried out against the corrupt rulers of the reactionary state and their anti-people misdeeds are obviously popular before the masses. None can have two views on it. However, the form of struggle alone does not necessarily make the struggle revolutionary. The struggles that seem to be revolutionary can be reformist and vice versa. Not only this, even the struggle that appears to be revolutionary in form can be reactionary in content. Just for example, the armed activities that are being carried out by the IS fundamentalists seem to be full of sacrifice and devotion and even targeted mainly against US imperialism but its essence is very much reactionary. Whether the struggle is revolutionary, reformist or reactionary is decided not by its form but by its strategic goal. Right for this reason, Lenin had sharply criticised Bernstein's dictum that "the movement is everything, the final goal is nothing" is revisionist. It must be grasped seriously.

Whether the actions of struggle launched by the CPN Maoist are linked with the struggle for power or merely for normal reform is related to party's strategic goal and the political line. The CPN Maoist has carried forward these actions as per their party's strategic line. If the line is correct the series of struggles under this line can correctly lead towards its destination, otherwise however popular the struggle is, it is not sure that the outcome stands for revolution. Therefore, how much meaningful the struggle is can and should be gauged by the touchstone of political line.

The CPN Maoist says that unified people's revolution is their line. Though they have claimed that this line has been developed to resolve the problems of Nepalese revolution in the changed international and national context, it is in fact a line revolutionary in form but rightist in content. It is not only unclear in its strategic goal but it has also deviated from the basic concept of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Its basic problems can in brief be listed as follows.

One, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the world-outlook of the proletariat. It has three component parts. They are: philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. The dialectical materialism is the philosophical system of MLM. It is a science. However, the CPN Maoist has, in the name of developing ideology, targeted against the philosophical base of MLM by raising a question on the correctness of this science. Biplav has dealt with this question in his article headed "**On line synthesis of unified people's revolution**" from his party publication, **the people's revolution**. In that article he writes, "If attempts are made to find solution for today's world from Marx's, Lenin's and Mao's syntheses, which are 177, 100 and 65 years old respectively, it is tantamount to fitting a steam engine in the Jet-plane." It is not compatible to MLM. Rather comrade Biplav has attacked here upon the dialectical materialist system too in the pretext that MLM has been obsolete. In fact, all this is leading the CPN Maoist not towards the real development of MLM but towards the path of repudiation of MLM i.e. post-MLM path.

Two, the CPN Maoist documents are silent on how the oppressed nations and people can be liberated from the yoke of imperialism and feudalism and how the national capital can be developed in the new democratic countries under democratic dictatorship of the oppressed people led by the proletariat. Not only this, the language comrade Biplav has used on the stage of proletarian revolution in Nepal is vague. In the said article, he writes, "The line of unified people's revolution we have synthesised is related with the goal of changing the comprador bourgeois power and establishing the people's power in Nepal." What is notable here is that he has not talked of destroying the old state and building the new democratic one anywhere in his documents. He only has said – change of the old state and establishment of the new one. And, whether the state power he is going to establish is new democratic or socialist, he is confused on it. From all this, is the CPN Maoist too going to make parliamentary system its strategic platform for the socialist revolution in Nepal as the CPN (Maoist Centre) is doing, a serious question has come up.

Three, he has also put forward a military line to accomplish revolution in Nepal. In his opinion, it can neither be protracted people's war nor can it be armed insurrection. In the said article he writes, "The line of hastily seizing state power can either lead to getting entrapped in adventurism or trailing behind the parliamentary system. In the same manner, the line of protracted people's war can either lead to facing isolation from the masses or becoming roving rebel guerrillas." Here, the CPN Maoist has claimed to

have developed an unfailing weapon by using which they do not need to become adventurist, must not trail behind parliamentary system, must not be isolated, must not be scared of becoming roving rebel guerrillas but can be an evergreen revolutionary. According to the CPN Maoist, the line that can protect party from all these problems is unified people's revolution. But a strange, the party has nowhere and never set forth its clear and concrete explanation of this line. Let's hope, it does not become merely a revolutionary rhetoric.

Four, the CPN Maoist is categorically putting forward the line of power-sharing even now. Comrade Biplav has placed party opinion on power-sharing in the interview to Janapati, an online paper published on June 27, 2016. Answering the question, "Is it that you have asked for power-sharing in the state organs including in army and court?" he replies, "Yes. ... We have raised the question of power-sharing in political, economic, military and security fields including the court." The question of power-sharing should be dealt with differently in different contexts. In a particular situation, when the people's power and the reactionary state are in the stage of strategic equilibrium, it is not wrong on the part of revolutionary leadership to raise the question of power-sharing tactically. During the period of Chongqing Negotiations, Mao had adopted this tactic in China. It was not wrong, but correct. The very situation may happen tomorrow. But now, when the entire achievements of the great people's war including people's army and people's power have been lost and the embryo of new people's power is yet to gestate, the question of power-sharing does not remain merely a tactic, it becomes strategy. Therefore this slogan is now theoretically wrong.

Five, comrade Biplav has claimed that there is a situation of dual power in Nepal now. In the same interview, answering the question "If it is so, are we in between two powers?" he replies, "Of course, there is dual power in Nepal. One is people's power and other is traditional power." People's opinion against the reactionary power is not and cannot be people's power. According to Lenin, the state power is an instrument to oppress one class by another. Does not comrade Biplav understand this much too? No, certainly not. His proclamation that there is a situation of dual power in Nepal has been put forward to open up an avenue for power-sharing in the reactionary state. In the given situation, it does not mean anything else than this. The power-sharing which he talks of now is nothing other than being co-opted in the reactionary state.

Some of the basic theoretical problems have been discussed so far. Apart from this, the CPN Maoist has, in the name of development of MLM, raised questions on a lot of concepts with which the world communist movement has adhered to till date. It is not possible to write in detail where the CPN Maoist ruptured from MLM. The aforesaid points are almost enough to know about the path the CPN Maoist has taken. No one has said that there have been no any changes in the world situation and MLM should be grasped as a dogma. MLM is not a dogma; it is a science and requires development. The question is whether to develop theory by stepping at the base of MLM and applying it in concrete practice or concoct a reformist line that eases one to co-opt into the reactionary state in the name of creative application and development of MLM. The point of debate is here. The path that Marx, Lenin and Mao had followed in their lifetime is the former one and that Khrushchev to Prachanda and Badal followed is the later one. Of these two paths, which path led whom to where in the history of the international communist movement is open to all.

After a group of leaders including comrade Biplav deserted from the erstwhile CPN-Maoist, the fifth plenum organised by party had thoroughly synthesised the wrong ideological and political trends noticed in Biplav. On this the plenum document writes, "Thus, these activities are based: organisationally on anarchist individualism, philosophically on negative dialectics and empiricism 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."

The activities of the CPN Maoist till date have well proved that the synthesis reached in that plenum was correct. Their present day activities do not orient towards the destruction of the reactionary state and the construction of the new democratic one. But, on the contrary, they seem to orient towards creating pressure for being co-opted in the reactionary state to share power and building base for the financial benefits. It is a path not towards revolution, but against it. The entire revolutionary communists in Nepal and all across the world want the CPN Maoist to correct these mistakes before it is too late and firmly stand again for the cause of new democracy, scientific socialism and communism.

July 07, 2016

CPN (Revolutionary Maoist) accumulating momentum

The Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist) recently concluded its nationwide ideological and political training. It was carried out to disseminate the CC decisions and clarify among the party cadres the confusion created by recent split. The party leadership has been able to disseminate the CC decisions and clarify such confusion among the cadres by means of the training programmes organised in several places. All this has inspired the entire party cadres, including leaders, all across the country.

The first political training programme began from central-command on Shrawan 30, 2073 at Newa state Party Office in Kupondole, Lalitpur. A big number of leaders and cadres of the party were present from Bhojpur, Tamsaling, and Newa states in it. It was very successful and an inspiring gathering.

The Eastern Command training concluded in Bhadra 1 at Itahari, Sunsari. As many as six-hundred cadres and leaders were present at the training from Mithila, Kirant, Kochila and Limbuwan states. The training was successfully concluded bringing again the hope of new democratic revolution among the participants.

The training in Mid-Western Command was successfully held on Bhadra 8. Leaders and Cadres from Awadh, Tamuwan and Magart states had actively participated in the training programme held at Butwal. Likewise, training in the Western Command took place on Bhadra 10 in Nepalgunj, Banke District. A good number of leaders and cadres from Tharwan, Seti Mahakali, Bheri and Karnali states were present in this training programme as well.

Convention of mass and front organizations that was not held for long has also been organised during this period. The national conference of the Revolutionary Journalists' Federation, close to party, has been concluded. The National convention of Madhesi National Liberation Front was organised in the period in between. Likewise, mass and front organisations such as Teachers, Workers, Students, Dalits, Women, Newa, Tharus and Tamang reorganised their respective central committees within this period.

The Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist) has taken up a decision to build up a united front under its leadership. As per the party's central committee decision, senior leader CP Gajurel has been decided as the coordinator of the united front. According to party policy, the united front will mainly act as an instrument of struggle for now and as a means of both struggle and power after people's power start emerging.

The party has planned to come up with struggle on the issues, like national independence, democracy and people's livelihood through the party itself and mass organizations. The party Chairman comrade Kiran has already submitted 9-point memorandum in favour of landless squatters to the Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal. All Nepal National Independent Students Union has started their struggle based on their educational and other related demands. The party has decided to intensify struggle demanding that Upper Karnali Hydropower Project should be constructed by Nepal not by any foreign agencies. Similarly, the party not only supported the heroic act of Tilathi people, who destroyed the dam unilaterally constructed

by India in the no man's land bordering Saptari, but also organized various corner meetings to express its solidarity with them. These are a few examples of struggle the party carried out within this period.

The nationwide training and meeting was able to spread a message that a big chunk of cadres are still in favour of revolution. Though some of the opportunists left the party, the cadres and leaders of the party are firmly convinced that it is the Marxism-Leninism-Maoism not neo-revisionism that can bring about a revolutionary change in the country. Furthermore, process of bringing revolutionaries under the banner upheld by the CPN (Revolutionary Maoist) is increasing. The training and meeting held in the meantime has also proved that party is able to raise and lead various struggles on the issues that workers, peasants and the oppressed people all across the country have been raising.

After successful completion of the programmes taken by party nearly for two months, the self-confidence and enthusiasm of the cadres and leaders has qualitatively increased. Though some of the opportunists left the party, it has also been proved that the revolutionary cadres are with CPN (Revolutionary Maoist) and it is the only centre of revolutionaries all across the country. Not merely among the cadres, the level of self-confidence among the party leaders as well has increased within this period. Many central leaders, including party Chairman comrade Kiran and comrade Gaurav, attended the training programmes and got in touch with the grass-root level comrades in their bid to apply Mao's dictum: "From the people to the people".

The CPN (Revolutionary Maoist) has been the only communist party left to clearly express their vision to the party cadres and people. The leaders have been firmly telling the people that it is the New Democratic Revolution, not the socialist revolution as some revisionist centres deceitfully claim, that liberates Nepal and the oppressed Nepalese people from the clutches of domestic and foreign reactions. Given party's firm conviction towards MLM, the level of confidence between party and the revolutionary people is in the rise. Angered by the recurrent betrayal of communist parties, latest by the neo-revisionist CPN (Maoist Centre), not only the revolutionary cadres but also the workers, peasants and oppressed masses have started looking at the CPN (Revolutionary Maoist) all across the country. As a result, one can see a prospect of extensive polarisation of revolutionaries in the days ahead.

Kiran submits a 9-point memo to Dahal

The Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist) submitted a 9-point memorandum to the government in favour of landless squatters. Party chairman comrade Kiran met Prime Minister Pushpa Kamal Dahal at his Office of the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers at Singha Durbar on August 15, 2016 and handed over the memo.

Party chair Kiran demanded that the squatters should not be shifted elsewhere without managing alternatives for them. He also demanded that the government should provide electricity and water as well as land ownership certificates to the squatters. Some demands of the memo include. "Provide free education for the children of genuine landless squatters," "Distribute identity card to them," "Guarantee the provision of employment opportunities for landless youths," "Provide concession in medical facilities to them" among others.

In the meeting, Chairman Kiran said that he wanted to see the problems of landless squatters solved during PM Dahal's tenure.

The submission came after the government demolished houses of squatters at Krishnapur of Kanchanpur district; destroyed crops of the squatters cultivated in Saralahi and issued a notice to vacate the place occupied by them along Bishnumati River in Kathmandu.

In response, PM Dahal said that there hasn't been any move against the squatters after he took charge of the government and assured that the squatters won't be displaced without finding an alternative for them.

Revolutionary Maoist Chair Kiran demands to scrap Nepal's new Constitution

The Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist) Chairman Comrade Kiran has demanded scrapping of Nepal's new Constitution. Speaking to journalists at a press conference in Butwal on August 25, 2016, Chairman Kiran termed Nepal's new Constitution as the continuation of 1990's Constitution and reiterated that it is unacceptable to Nepalese people.

'We are preparing for an uprising in the country as the constitution has not incorporated issues like national independence, people's democracy and livelihood,' Chairman said.

In a different context, he demanded dissolution of all unequal treaties and agreements that have been signed between Nepal and India as they only favour the later.

He further said Indian big brother attitude towards Nepal will continue till the abrogation of such treaties and agreements.

He also reiterated that it was wrong move on the part of the Pushpa Kamal Dahal government to send ministers to China and India as its special emissaries.

The end