

# People's War of Nepal in International Perspective

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— C P Gajurel (Gaurav)

On the occasion of the 13<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the great People's War of Nepal I want to extend my heartfelt reverence and respect to the heroic martyrs, to those disappeared by the state and to the living martyrs who have not yet recovered from the injuries during the ten years of the PW and historic April mass movement.

People's War being initiated on 13<sup>th</sup> February 1996 under the leadership of our glorious party, Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) is an outstanding event in the entire history of Nepal. All those oppressed by the unitary feudal state – the workers, peasants, the women, the dalits, indigenous and tribal people, Madhesis, students and all oppressed section of the society came at the fore front and they were the real heroes of the revolution. The ten years of the PW liberated and established new people's power in over two third of country and most of the countryside. The PW which was started without arms and without army was able to form a strong People's Liberation Army with modern weapons in their hands. The regime under the control of the autocratic monarchy which enjoyed the support from most of the nations of the world did not leave a stone unturned to suppress the people's revolution. Even with no support from any state and in the absence of strong working class movement the PW not only sustained but also went on achieving tremendous victory. It became a world shaking revolutionary event. This article will be confined to the significance of the PW at the international perspective.

## *An internationalist movement*

Our glorious party, Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) is a vanguard of the international proletariat. CPN(Maoist) is the contingent of the world proletarian revolution. Our class, the proletariat is an international class, whose ultimate aim is communism. The proletariat has a common guiding ideology, Marxism—Leninism—Maoism. It has a common enemy to fight against, that is world imperialism. These are the fundamental questions for every communist party without exception. Any idea against it will lead to revisionism.

Revolutionary Social Democratic Labour Party, which was renamed as Communist Party of Russia (Bolshevik) and again renamed as Communist Party of Soviet Union, led three consecutive historic revolutions in Russia—the unsuccessful revolution of 1905, the bourgeois democratic revolution which overthrew the Czar autocratic monarchy in February 1917 and the great Socialist Revolution in October 1917, which is also popularly known as the October Revolution. After the death of Lenin, Stalin led the International Communist Movement (ICM) during the period of the Third International until it was not officially dissolved by itself during the Second World War (WW-2). Stalin who was very famous during his life time, was so not only because he was a leader of the ICM, but as the hero of the WW-2 as well. But unfortunately, after the death of Com. Stalin, Khrushchev became the leader of the CPSU and head of the Soviet government, changed the colour of the party and turned it as a revisionist party. Among many notions which contributed in changing the colour of the party was its wrong concept of internationalism. Khrushchev advocated the wrong notion of “national communism”. The revisionist boss declared the then

Soviet Union as a Communist State. With this wrong notion in hand he brought many wrong concepts, such as—Communist Party as the “party of the whole people”, “class coordination”, “peaceful coexistence”, “peaceful way of transition from capitalism to socialism” etc.

Post Mao China is doing almost the same things. Deng, most powerful leader of the CPC in post Mao China, removed the word of “fraternal relation with the communist parties of other countries” and also the present day CPC does not support socialist or new democratic revolutions and also the national liberation movements taking place in any part of the world. The CPC instead has developed a formulation of “party to party relation” with all the “main stream political parties”, no matter whatever their guiding ideology, principles or political lines may be. This international line stems from the idea of “national socialism”, which has nothing to do with the proletarian internationalism. Late Deng based on the same idea coined the “cat theory” which says, “Black cat or a white cat, so long as it catches mice, it is a good cat”.

Therefore, for a genuine Communist Party, Proletarian Internationalism is a fundamental question. It is well known theory of all the communist parties of the world regarding the communism, “Either we all will reach or none of us”. It does not mean that some will make revolution but the others will not and they will automatically reach to communism being given or brought by the others. The real proletarian internationalism is to make revolution in the respective countries, supporting each other to make them victorious.

#### ***International situation: favourable of unfavourable?***

We are making revolution in Nepal as a part of the world revolution which serves the interest of the oppressed people of the world. It has duty to serve the world revolution and has its right to enjoy support from the revolutionary forces of the world. International situation is considered as one of the fundamental factors for the development and victory of every revolution led by communist party. Main hurdle in making revolution in present world situation is the serious lack of international support and favourable international situation. At present day world, there is no such thing like socialist block. There is no real socialist country, which follows the principles of proletarian internationalism. There is no such a strong working class movement in the world which can support and assist the on going revolution in Nepal.

To make revolution in such adverse international situation is a tough task. There was no socialist block or any socialist country to support during October Socialist Revolution of Russia in 1917. But there was one strong positive factor. There was a very strong working class movement in Europe during that time. In Germany, it was almost in winning position. The October revolution enjoyed the support of the working class movement. One more factor present during that time was the World War-1. The imperialist forces were engaged in killing each other and thus they had no enough time and strength to suppress the rising revolution in Russia. The Russian Czar regime was desperately engaged in the WW-1, which caused deeper economic and political crisis in Russia. The soldiers, workers and peasants were so much in trouble and in so miserable situation that ‘peace, bread and land’ became the catch word of the day.

Definitely there are some communist parties who are trying to sustain and develop the revolution even in the adverse international situation. In India C P I (Maoist) is struggling hard. In the later period they were able to carry on bigger confrontation with the para-military forces of the state. In spite of all efforts of the state and the parliamentary parties to wipe them out from their strong hold of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and their strong holds they have withstood the assault. The “salva judum” joint operation to wipe out the

Maoist base from the forest area of Chhattisgarh also could not succeed due to the wide opposition from various sections of the society and due to the strong resistance from the Maoists. In the past the central government of India simply tried to ignore the Naxalites' movement. But now the Prime minister of India frequently admits: "So far internal security of India is concerned, Naxalism is the potential threat". While in the past they used to comment that the "separatist movement was the major threat".

In the Philippines, low level armed struggle is continuing since late '70s. They have entered in the process of negotiation with the government, but with no visible results. However it can be clearly said that the armed struggle in the Philippines has neither been crushed nor surrendered, despite the fact that US is badly indulged in smashing it.

Turkey is the liaison post of US imperialism and a police state. To sustain any form of armed struggle is a tough task in the face of strong military strength of the Turkish police state. After the arrest of its supreme leader Ocalan, the Workers Party of Kurdistan (PKK) led liberation movement has been considerably subsided in Turkey. The low level armed struggle carried by the Maoist parties in Turkey is getting blows by the military regime. There was a very big loss of leadership in the hands of the Turkish military, which contributed in further deteriorating the situation. There are ever splitting Maoist groups in Bangladesh who in spite of the economic crisis of the state have not been able to make a breakthrough in the struggle against the hated regime.

Many revolutionary communists dropped the revolutionary line and joined the bandwagon of "main stream politics" in the pretext of unfavourable international situation. Therefore, there are two obvious options in the given situation—to drop the revolution until favourable situation will arrive or try to create international favourable situation based on the concrete situation. The second option is correct. Definitely there is no readymade favourable situation but it should and can be created by the conscious effort of the party. Our party is trying hard for this option.

### *Daring efforts*

As it has already been explained that in the face of the change in the international situation, many communist revolutionaries have changed the colour of their organizations and became part of the establishment. But many others did not accept to surrender. They tried to advance the revolution in their own countries despite all adversities. A significant PW was initiated by the Communist Party of Peru in the early '80s. In spite of all hardships the revolution advanced in leap. In a span of one decade the PW developed from strategic defense to the strategic equilibrium. But unfortunately, after the arrest of its supreme leader Com. Gonzalo in September 1992 the party received a big blow. After that there were series of arrests of many central leaders. Though Com. Gonzalo called it "a bend in the road", in reality it proved to be more than what he said. Finally it resulted in a big set back from which the PCP has not been able to get out of.

Definitely, the advancement of the PW in Peru in a very adverse situation enthused revolutionaries of the world. New efforts to make revolution in various countries were made. Where the armed struggles were in place were energized. Where armed struggle had not been started, preparations were started vigorously. We learnt a lot from Peru and really it was source of inspiration for many including us. The set back of Peruvian revolution was really disappointing event for all revolutionaries of the world.

In the wake of the disturbing and disappointing developments in Peru the red flag of the revolution was raised high in the Himalayan country, Nepal in 13<sup>th</sup> February 1996. Facing all kinds of suppressions from the state, which was supported by most of the governments of the world, the PW developed unabated. Within a span of over a decade it developed from the stage of strategic defence to strategic equilibrium and further developed to strategic offense. The PW of Nepal became a beacon of revolution for the revolutionaries of the world. They were enthused by the development of revolution in Nepal. The development of the PW was hailed by the revolutionaries of the world and many of them loved this revolution as their own. They appreciated it as the daring step and a Herculean task taken up by our party.

### ***New experiment***

During the course of the PW we have formulated some new things. We think that revolution can not be recurred but developed. Revolution taking place in many different countries in different situation can not be applied mechanically as photo copy of any other revolution. In order to accomplish any revolution the concerning parties should be able to develop the correct strategy and tactics of the revolution in that country. So in a sense every revolution is a new experiment. Communists should dare to make a new experiment based on the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Definitely it is the duty of communists to defend our universal ideology. But it is not enough. But it is never enough for the communists. If we think that our duty is fulfilled when we defend it in theory, is not correct. We should not only defend but also apply and develop. It can also be paraphrased like this—our science can be defended when applied. When it is applied in practice of the revolution it develops. So there is close link and inseparable relation among defending, apply and develop. If anybody wants to develop without applying in the practice of revolution, it is impossible. Defend, apply and develop, this is the process how the scientific and invincible ideology develops. In order to apply we have to find or create some specific conditions. In other words, we have to go for a new experiment.

The way we are advancing the revolution seems to be something new. The way we initiated the PW in Nepal in 1996 was not exactly same like others in the past and in other countries. The way we developed the PW was also different as compared to the traditional way. We have entered in the peace process. This is not the first time that we came to the negotiating table. We were in the process of negotiation two times before—one in 2001 and other in 2003. This time we entered in the negotiation not with the government at the beginning, but with the parliamentary parties. In course of time new government was formed and we negotiated with it along with the 7 political parties. Now we are also part of the interim legislative parliament and the interim government whose main responsibility is to hold the election of the constituent assembly. This experiment is quite new for the whole ICM.

### ***Victory is difficult but achievable***

World is looking at us very keenly. New experiment in Nepal has drawn attention of many in the world. A strong communist party has entered into the peace process, has joined the interim legislature parliament and is a part of the government on the one hand and the PLA has been confined in the cantonment but it is intact, arms have been kept in the containers whose key is in the hands of the PLA commanders, on the other. It is really a strange thing for many people to understand how it happened. Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) has its army intact under its leadership, it has strong presence in the legislature and it is present in the

interim government. Really it is a new experiment and a strange thing to understand for the people who are accustomed to see the things in a usual way.

Some people think that the road to victory is straight and does not contain risk. It is not true. Victory can be achieved through difficult struggles and great victories can be achieved through great difficulties. The road to victory is zig-zag, not straight. There are many twists and turns. There are ups and downs. The road to victory is not only zig zag but also thorny and difficult. Still victory is achievable.

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