

# THE RED STAR

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Nepal's National Magazine

## Mumbai attack signals intervention

Red Star Reporter

On 26th Nov. Mumbai, the financial capital city of India came under a very fierce attack. Dozens of attackers entered the city by boats and attacked about a dozen places, including hotels, hospitals, restaurants, train stations etc. The attackers took over the Taj Mahal Hotel, regarded as a symbol of Mumbai's financial success. It took 60 hours for Indian security personnel to regain control.

195 people were killed and hundreds injured. The attackers gunned down the chief of anti-terrorist squad. The Indian capital Delhi, Indian IT hub Bangalore, Ahmedabad and Jaipur have all seen explosions and killings recently.

The attackers acted in a coordinated and planned manner. The attack has shown the serious negligence and incompetence of the Indian security sector. The attack has seriously damaged India's security image. There are also some who believe that the attack was an 'inside job', carried out with the involvement of far right Hindu groups, however the Indian government are blaming the usual suspect, Pakistan.

As the raging fires and fierce gun battles ends in Mumbai, loud voices can be

heard from the Indian political circle straining the India-Pakistan diplomatic relationship. The Union home minister, the national security advisor and the Chief Minister of Maharashtra have resigned from their respective posts. India blames Pakistan for the attack. India summoned the Chief Pakistani diplomat and criticized them for not stopping the terrorist outfits. India believes that the attackers came from Karachi in a boat.

Pakistan has denied any kind of involvement in the attack and has said that it is ready to assist India in any way to investigate the incident.

After the Mumbai attack and tension escalating between India and Pakistan, the South Asia region is again becoming a hotspot in world politics. It is said that the Indian rulers are having some intensive discussions on whether to cut all the diplomatic relations with Pakistan or not. The US secretary of the state Condoleezza Rice has come to India, and she is likely to widen the rift between India and Pakistan.

On the first week of November, the Democratic party candidate Barack Obama won the presidential election. Obama had been saying that he will concentrate on Afghanistan rather than in



The attackers seized prestigious 'Taj Mahal hotel' for more than 60 hours

Iraq. He also has clearly spoken that US may attack the 'Al-Qaeda and Taliban' who are hiding in Pakistan without the consent of the Pakistani government. US bombers have been bombing inside Pakistani territory for the last few months. A few months ago, the US and India signed a Nuclear treaty. As soon as Obama enters office, the US will focus on South Asia as part of its plan to check the growth of Chinese power.

China has been developing super economic power with two digit economic growth. At the same time US is having its most severe economic crisis since the 1930s. China has good relations with Pakistan and is helping Pakistan in many aspects. Slowly the US-India and China-Pakistan alliance is becoming more visible.

Furthermore, the tension between US and Russia is escalating. The US had planted anti-missile defence system in the Eastern Europe. Likewise, Russia had a joint naval exercise with

Venezuela in the Caribbean. The concentration of the US in Afghanistan and Pakistan will bring Russia's interest in the region.

The US presence in South Asia means a worsening India-Pakistan relation. The US plays one against the other for its interest, just as the British did in the past. The US presence also has a long term plan to encircle China. The US is creating a heavy presence in Nepal for a few years, in keeping with its long term plan. Even US analysts have predicted that China will overtake the US by 2020. China and Russia will obviously feel a security threat with the US presence in South Asia. Rice's hasty visit to India shows that US want to 'fish in the troubled water' after the Mumbai attack. Will South Asia be playground of super powers in the near future? Can the leaders of South Asia do nothing more than act as good servants of the Western powers? The question is getting louder and louder.

## Historic national convention : a milestone of revolution

■ Dharmendra Bastola

The historic National Convention of the glorious vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) has been accomplished successfully. This convention was held at Kharipati of Bhaktapur on 21-27 of November 2008.

The National Convention of the Party was watched by many quarters of political life from all around the world. The proletariats and the bourgeoisies, the middle class and the upper class, the people of different nationalities and regions, women and socially enforced down-trodden castes, all people had their eyes on the Convention. This convention was also deeply

watched by the ruling classes of many countries: from India to the United States of America and from Japan to Jamaica. The eyes of the different people rested over the Convention because the Maoist revolution is not only linked to the rebellion against the old state, but it is also linked to the political settlement. This is not only linked to the peace process under the process of revolutionary movement, it is also linked to accomplishment of the New Democratic Revolution. This is not only linked to the future of the millions of oppressed people of Asia, Africa and Latin American countries, it is also linked to the demise of imperialism, expansionism and reaction all over the world.

This is not only linked to continuous uprising of the working class in Europe and America, it is also linked to the social peace and economic stability in those countries. In total, it is not only linked to the revolutionary movement and accomplishment of the New Democratic Revolution in this country, it is deeply linked to the understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the science of revolution and the science of social transformation. The Convention has been concluded putting aside the proposals put forward by Chairman Prachanda and Comrade Kiran and demanding to draft a new document based of the tactical slogan to establish a People's Federal Democratic

National Republic.

**The slogan: People's Federal Democratic National Republic**

The Kharipati National Convention has been a landmark in the history of the Nepalese revolutionary movement. It has been a breakthrough in the ongoing political process of the Democratic Republic. It has charted how to advance to a People's Republic.

The great People's War was initiated in 1996 to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat. Minimum programme of the great People's War is to accomplish the New Democratic Revolution and ad-

*Continued on page 2*

## Nepal firm on one-China policy

Nepal has reiterated its support for the One China Policy. Prime Minister Prachanda assured the Chinese Foreign Minister, who is in Nepal for 3 day visit, that he will not allow any anti-Chinese elements to use Nepali soil.

During the meeting, PM Prachanda proposed that China increase road connections to Nepal and expand the railway from Lhasa up to the border.

Chinese minister Jiechi said that China was committed towards Nepal's sovereignty and integrity. He also promised to provide equipment and necessary training to strengthen the security situation in Nepal.

Chinese FM has pledged a grant of Rs. 1.2 billion rupees to Nepal for various projects. Likewise, China has agreed to provide Rs. 16.05 billion as compensational loan.

Chinese Foreign Minister has invited Prime Minister Prachanda to visit in 2009. Minister Jiechi conveyed a formal invitation from Chinese Premier Wen Jia Bao for a visit to China at a mutually convenient time.

## Will Congress dissolve Tarun Dal?

Young Communist League (YCL), Nepal is the sister organization of the CPN-Maoist. This is a youth organization in Nepal. It has brought big changes in the ideological, political, organizational and cultural fields to Nepal. It is the popular organization which worked with people to combat crimes in the society and liberated them from the repression and exploitation. It has freed the people from gangs of dacoits, thieves and the goons locally and nationally. Therefore, it is the only organization to serve the people in the whole country. It is the heart of the people.

Now, the Constituent Assembly is working is working to institutionalize the federal democratic republic. Just before election, there was uncertainty in the process and the success of the election. YCL, at that time, played a vital role to

maintain peace and security to make the poll a success. It led the country forward. Many people think it a miraculous task. Unless the YCL had not played such an important role in the CA election; the polls would not have succeeded so well and there could have been a disaster. The opposition parties only accuse the YCL; but at the same time, they do not want even to see and evaluate the historic task of YCL.

Girija Prasad Koirala is again calling for the YCL to be dissolved, however he does not think about his party's own youth organization, the 'Tarun Dal'. Is he ready to dissolve his own young wing? All the other parties and organizations should take it seriously because is this demand not directed to dissolve of federal democratic republic?

Girija Prasad Koirala's de-

mands against the YCL are against the aspirations of the Nepalese people. Along with it, he is also against democratic norms and the values. If his undemocratic version is accepted, he will urge to dissolve party tomorrow and he will make a plan to suppress the people of the country by blaming Communists. Koirala is the spokesmen of the status quo and the regressive forces.

The Nepalese people are not ready to be cheated and betrayed by an outdated undemocratic bourgeois ideology; rather they are ready to die for liberty and equality. If GP Koirala is honest to the democracy he speaks so much about, then let him take action against the notorious murderer Khum Bdr. Khadka, a member of his own party, the Nepali Congress.

-Choodamani Oli 'Adarsh'

## Government unveils its achievement of 100 days

The present Maoist-led coalition government has passed 100 days. Krishna Bahadur Mahara, the Minister of Information and Communication and the spokesperson of the Nepal Government, has publicized the particulars of the works of government in a press meet organized on Saturday 29th November.

Spokesperson Mahara claimed that the 100 days are not enough to evaluate the tasks of the government. However, he stressed that the works of the government are satisfactory and they are in progress.

The government has accepted that the aspirations and the expectations of the people expressed through the decade long People's War (PW), the 19 days People's Movement and the Madhesh Movement could not be fulfilled in 100 days. Mahara told the opposition parties to be practical and not to

separate the expectations of the people from political, social, economic and cultural transformation of the whole nation.

The government has already announced its priorities to maintain long-term peace, to write a pro-people constitution and to bring socio-economic and cultural transformation. Clarifying the complexity of the government Mahara said, "The present government is not a single party government; therefore, the parties involved in the government have their own different backgrounds, their own opinions, principles and working style, which has created complexities in implementation of the agreements that have been done".

The notable achievements of the coalition government are the formation of special committee for integration of the Army, a relief Package for martyrs, wounded and vic-

tims, building of rural oriented progressive budget, reform in economic and financial sectors, and initiative in every sectors and bodies of the government for restructuring of the state.

The main achievements are the maintenance of peace and security, the beginning of the process of writing a new constitution and the starting of socio-economic and cultural transformation. Foreign visits and the expansion in diplomatic relationships is another important achievement of the government.

The other mentionable achievements of the government are the declaration of the conception of public private partnership in economic sector of the country, increasing rate of revenue, expansion of the areas of tax. The government has created the reliable foundation of a New Nepal in the period of its 100 days.

## Panel formed to investigate Joshi's murder



Journalist Jagat Prasad Joshi's skeleton had been found in a dense forest in the Kailali district of western Nepal. His clothes, mobile, driving license, identity card and note books were scattered around the spot.

These are the most reliable facts and the sources to claim that the skull and the skeleton are of the journalist Joshi who was captured by an unknown group two months ago.

Journalist Joshi was the chair person of the district committee of the Revolutionary Journalists Association (RJA) of Kailali district. He was associated with Janadisha national daily and Janadesh weekly.

The different organizations of the journalists in the capital

city Kathmandu and the different parts of the country are rallying against the murder of Joshi. The umbrella organization of the Federation of Nepalese Journalists organized a big joint rally in the capital and they gave a memorandum to the prime minister through the minister of information and communication.

The chairman of the RJA, Maheshwar Dahal, released a press statement urging the government to investigate the case of Joshi. He has released another statement to take immediate action over the murderer.

The local level chapters of the RJA and human rights organizations, along with mass organizations are demanding the government take action.

## New Nepal with 800 districts

The Culture and State Restructure Minister, Gopal Kiranti, has proposed a new conception about the geo-political structure of the Federal Democratic Republic. According to his proposal, the Federal Republic will have 800 districts all over the country. Now, there are only 75 districts in the country.

The Federal Republic will have three layers of the administrative mechanism. There will be a Federal (central) government or the government of Nepal on top, autonomous state government in the middle and the local (districts) governments at the lower level. The central government will 'play the role of co-ordination'. The autonomous state government will 'exercise political rights or the exercise of class struggle' and the local government will play 'the role of peace, security and reconstruction'.

According to the concept proposed by Minister Kiranti, the concept of the local body will be based on the concept of 800 districts. It means that there will be 800 local governments. Eight hundred districts mean 800 bazaars, 800 hundred industrial cities, 800 modern hospitals, 800 universities and 800 grand communes. Politically, it will be the institutionalization of 'direct democracy' instead of 'formal or parliamentary democracy'.

The culture of the marginalized will be given priority. Different cultures will be promoted. The culture, having the character of People's Republic and nationalities, will be established. That will be the foundation of People's Culture against expansionist and imperialist culture. The culture will promote the culture of multi-caste and be multi-lingual.

-Pratik Sigdel

## Maoist women leader elected vice-chairperson

Purna Subedi has been elected vice-chairperson of the constituent assembly (CA). She is also a member of the Constituent Assembly from CPN-Maoist.



Subedi won the election when the CPN (Maoist), the CPN (UML), People's Front Nepal, Sadhbawana Party and other small left parties supported her. She received two-third vote.

After victory, she informed media persons that she is able to play the responsible role given to her. She says, "I am ready to accomplish my task impartially". Clarifying the challenges before her, she says, "The principal thing is to

have the ambition, the will, the expectations and mandate of the people given to the CA".

According to her, the status-quo tendency has been the main obstacle in fulfilling the expectations of the People. The tendency of status-quo only presents the showy and pretended behavior and plots against progressive steps.

"To break the barricades, all the parties should be ready to accomplish the expectations of the people for peace and change", she says. "Though the parties have their own different opinions and ideals, the will of the majority of the people is to institutionalize the Federal Democratic Republic, and this is the solid foundation of our success."

## Construction of six-lane way begins

The government of Nepal has started the task of constructing 6 way lanes in Kathmandu Valley from the beginning of December. This message has brought a clear outline of the government in the development of infrastructure of the country.

After the formation of the Maoist-led government, the people are waiting for the socio-economic transformation along with political change in the country.

The CPN-Maoist had already opened the door for the development of infrastructure when it entered into the capital city, Kathmandu. Before the declaration of the Federal Democratic Republic (FDR), the Young Communist League (YCL) has broadened the narrow roads in Kathmandu Valley. This admirable task of the YCL created the foundation of multi-lane roads.

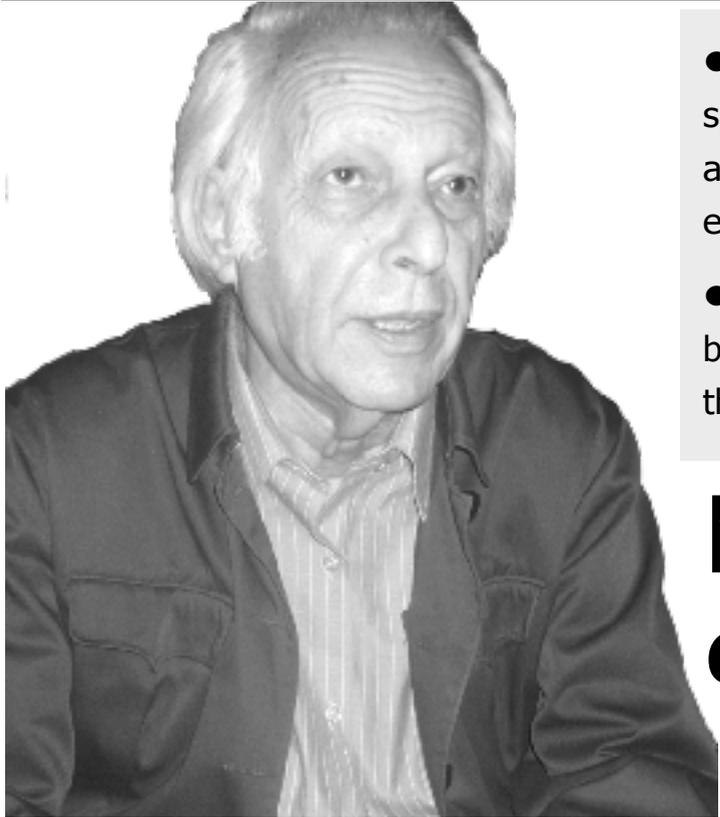
The beginning of this work is concerned with the solution of traffic-jams in the capital city. The first phase of building the road is funded by Japan. For this, a bi-lateral agreement was done between the government of Japan and Nepal before.

One Sector of the 6 lane road from Tinkune to Manahara will be finished up to the first week of coming March. It will help to solve the hours of traffic jam in Kathmandu Valley. Another sector from Manahara to Suryavinayak will be completed in the coming year.

The main cross-roads like Kalanki Chowk, Maharjung, Koteshwor have already been broadened by YCL before. The government of Nepal has its plan to extend the road in Putalisadak, Bagbazar, Newroad, Khichapokhari, Asan etc. This construction is one of the aspects of building a new Nepal.

Lekhraj Bhatta, the minister of Labour and transportation says that he is 'trying to make a national policy for transportation'. He informed that a 'special task force' has been formed to collect the suggestions and to make a draft for a national policy for transportation. He claimed that 'until and unless the syndicate system is ended, the systematization of transportation is impossible'. Therefore, the government is in the process to end the syndicate system and to abolish corruption.

The government of Nepal has formed a 3-member panel to investigate to probe the murder of journalist Jagat Prasad Joshi of Dhangadi district. Advocate Umesh Prasad Gautam is heading the panel.



- I think that Maoism is needed everywhere in the world; it is the specificity of our time. There are imperialist centres for sure and there are the oppressed peripheries of the imperialist global system. But the enemy is the same, the enemy is one, capitalism.
- Do not forget that in the First International there was not only Marx but also Bakunin as well as Proudhon. And, there were a large number of those different organizations.

## Maoism is needed everywhere in the world

– Prof. Samir Amin, Marxist Economist

*(Continued from previous Issue)*

**Can you tell us your ideas on how to organise?**

I think that socialism cannot be global, that, it is not going to be tomorrow. It will take time. Therefore, we need, in order to have the struggles everywhere, in the north as well as the south, move into this direction, to rebuild, number one: the legitimacy of the socialist stance. Second: Internationalism and I call it an internationalism of workers and peoples to face the cosmopolitanism of the international bourgeoisie led by the oligopolies of the imperialist centres. I think that the model should be inspired more by the First International, than the second or third or fourth.

The First International did accept the idea, or was based on the idea of a plurality of social and political organisations representing and defending the interest of working classes; organising in different ways. There were some of them organised in 'leagues', that was at the origin of the trade unions. Other ones as political parties-the first shapes, forms of political parties; other ones as, what is being called by a wording that I hate, 'civil society' i.e. associations of cooperatives of citizens for specific purposes in the same organization-that is plurality. Do not forget that in the First International there was not only Marx but also Bakunin as well as Proudhon. And, there were a large number of those different organizations. The pattern of the Second International was very different. It was one country, one party, the good one; the Social Democracy of that time becomes the Bolshevik later, it was there at the beginning, one country; one party. And the conception of this being 'the' vanguard party, the only legitimate one that has the knowledge, and that has the exclusive knowledge, and that leads and the other popular organizations, particularly the trade unions are submitted. The Third International inherited that. It broke with the second on some fundamental issues with respect to Internationalism and the global war; the First World War and nationalism. This is not the vision of one country one party- the good one, the communist one, the correct one etc. Now, I think that the 4th international didn't add anything to that, it was an attempt to bring back the 3rd International to what it was at its beginning, at best, nothing more.

We need, in the present circumstances, to bring together in each country a diversity of political and social forces, with local historically different traditions,

with perhaps even leadership, historical leaderships with different ideology and cultures, and bringing them together in order to constitute, to have the conditions for building unity. This I call convergence in diversity or with diversity, convergence, not necessarily a united front that is an electoral alliance in most cases for the vanguard party to drag in other parties and organisations. This means to move away from sectarianism; completely, completely away from it. That does not mean that you bring anybody together without any principals, but with a straightforward, honest debate, continuous debate, with no polemics and with a common desire to identify strategic targets at each point in time. And, we see what that convergence will lead to. We are not doing, as Marx says, we are not boiling in the pot food for the future; later generations will invent their own cooking.

*(Nb. Mikhail Bakunin and PJ Proudhon are the major theorists of Anarchist Communism, and Bakunin was the first to translate Marx's Kapital into Russian)*

**Can you tell us something on Euro-centrism?**

Well, Euro-centrism is a product of what I call 'really existing' capitalism i.e. capitalism can be analysed, as Marx started and raised in a very powerful way, at the highest level of abstraction i.e. the basic relation of production between labour and capital which explains the production and the extraction of the surplus value. That is a very high level of abstraction needed, fundamentally needed. However, we can look at historical capitalism as it developed from Western Europe and then expanding through the conquest, colonization and destruction of America and to the colonization of Asia and Africa. In addition, the international expansion in Europe, North America and later, Japan.

This historical capitalism has to be looked into as the other face of reality; the concrete way in which the relations, the capitalist relations of production, were embedded in historical relations. Now, that created the centre-periphery. And the centre started to be Western Europe. And from there Euro-centrism, which is an over simplification of the region of history which considers that what has happened in Europe is going to happen gradually elsewhere; Which is the opposite of what is possible because precisely the polarization means that periphery cannot catch up and cannot become centres in their turn. And, therefore, the blind alley in which

Euro-centrism has put, not only Western thought in general but also more particularly political vision of the Left in general until today; including many of the honest socialists among them. There are, for sure, honest people struggling with the working classes; they cannot imagine precisely the imperial characteristics of capitalism that has made impossible the expansion of the European model for the rest of the world.

**Can you tell us some of your views on the Chinese Cultural Revolution and revisionism?**

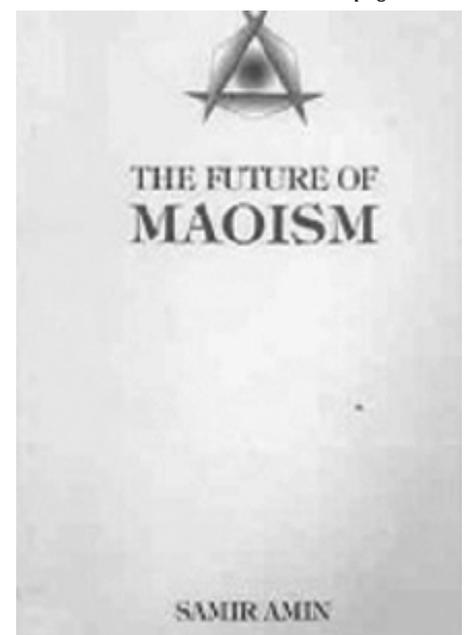
That was a long and complicated affair. I think that Mao-and that was also his big contribution-understood early the pattern of political power coming out of the success of the Chinese Cultural Revolution. The centralisation of this political power was creating a kind of new, arrogant, potential ruling class, and potentially bourgeois. So, he was aware of that danger. He saw the example of the Soviet Union. And he saw, rightly, that the new bourgeois that was in formation in the USSR was not outside the party but was inside the party. That is, you just look at who are the new bourgeois in Russia and the former Soviet Republics; they are all the former Communists. i.e. the Soviet model was a model of state capitalism with some socialist dimension - I do not deny that; and even partly inherited from revolution some socialist dimensions that was becoming more and more basically what I call 'capitalism without capitalists'. But the normal tendency of 'capitalism without capitalists' is to become 'capitalism with capitalists'. Those capitalists came out of the ruling class within the Communist party. Mao saw that China was developing along the same lines and he saw the danger. And he tried to find out how to uproot the danger by a Cultural Revolution. I think the choice, including the choice of the name was not wrong- a Cultural Revolution that will transform, or help transform the Communists themselves and make for basic and eventually possible crystallization within the Communist Party of a potential new bourgeoisie. He looked up to forces to do that and I think it was the only possibility, probably. He thought that the youth could play that role, and they did play the role, because the youth in general see the injustice more quickly than the elders, and the youth has this feeling that this was what was happening in China and started the Cultural Revolution. Nevertheless, the youth are also, and I think this was a mistake by Mao; the youth also lack knowledge, a lack of

mustering its own capacity to decide and so on. Moreover, this moved into various directions to the extent that the power systems which Mao himself was compelled to restore as a kind of centrally organised power. Now, the echo of the Cultural Revolution was tremendous. 68' in Europe cannot be understood without 66' in China. It was with China as model example of the revolt of the youth which inspired the youth in the West. So the Cultural Revolution is not as negative as has been portrayed after Mao's death, after the party moved to the right, after Deng even, at the beginning of the 90's. But, it's interesting, that in China itself, there is strong interest in restoring the legitimacy of the Cultural Revolution.

**There were recent debates inside the Indian Maoist movement recently about working with Islamic forces to fight imperialism as the common enemy. Coming from an Islamic country originally-Egypt-what are your thoughts on this issue?**

You can refer to my paper in Monthly Review some months ago with the title 'Political Islam in the service of imperialism.' I think that-I go back to my vision of the long transition- the first wave; the 20th century has come to an end. The second wave has not yet begun or is just starting. In between, you have a period of transition that is unclear. And in that period-and we are in that period, Socialism and Communism loses or appears to have lost legitimacy and so on. And there is lot of despair. And the people move to other forms of identities, there is a lack of a clear understanding, a clear capacity to understand their class identities. They go to religion or rather

*Continued on page 6*



Prof. Amin's book on Maoism

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## EDITORIAL

### Opening of the great debate

The national convention of the CPN-Maoist has concluded with important farsighted decisions. As one of the most hopeful centres of the international Proletarian Class, the CPN-Maoist has set-up a historical record while advancing ahead. As the CPN-Maoist has already declared its decision to write a 21st century Communist Manifesto, it has also started a debate and discussion in the Communist spirit, not only in the country, but also in the world.

In course of advancing ahead to achieve its goal, the CPN-Maoist sometimes goes left and sometime goes right. But at the same time, it has not hesitated to open, accept and handle the opinions correctly within the party. It has its own history, for the participation of cadres and even people in the historical debates to reach to the correct destination.

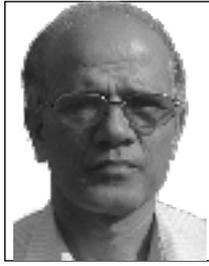
Revolution always makes its own way. The way is not a straight but a long and winding. In the process of advancing ahead, CPN-Maoist has set a new record in the history of world proletariat class. The slogan of Constituent Assembly, incompleting in Russia, at the time of Lenin, has been completed here in Nepal. The CPN-Maoist is the largest party and the leading party of the coalition government.

While the party is trying to write a new Constitution for the newly declared Federal Democratic Republic, it has opened the forum of debate which was uncompleted in the time of Mao-Tse Tung in China. The debate Mao launched at that time was titled as the "Great Debate". The debate was closed after the death of Mao. The proletarian class, after that, was in confusion due to the lack of a live ideological debate.

However, the latest development by the CPN-Maoist about the party, Army and the state power in its document 'the development of democracy in the 21st century' has inspired the proletarian class of the world. These have been the rays of hope to create a new world.

The national convention held in November 20 to 25 in Kathmandu Valley has given emphasis to unity-struggle-transformation, meaning thesis-antithesis-synthesis. For transformation, CPN Maoist has opened the debate.

# National convention : beginning the great debate



■ Indra Mohan Sigdel 'Basanta'

The Nepalese People's Revolution is now at a crucial juncture, full of opportunities and challenges. On the one hand, the possibilities are so great that the party's success to develop a scientific ideological and political line consistent with the present objective condition could lead the Nepalese people's revolution to a victorious accomplishment. And also, it could be a new opening of the world proletarian revolution in the beginning of the twenty-first century. While on the other hand, its failure to do so would lead to a disastrous consequence leading to an extensive demoralisation of the oppressed classes not only in Nepal but the world over. Therefore, in short, the recent National Convention of our party, the CPN (Maoist), has had an international dimension.

Clear to all is that the tactic of Constituent Assembly election and federal democratic republic that our party had taken up in Chunwang Meeting has been successfully concluded. As a result, our party emerged as the largest party in the Constituent Assembly election, the 240 year old monarchical autocratic system has been brought to an end, Nepal has been declared a federal democratic republic and, on top of that, our party the CPN (Maoist) is now leading the government. Without a doubt, it is a significant accomplishment.

On the other, in spite of this achievement there has been no any change in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial socio-economic condition of our country, the comprador bourgeoisie are leaders in the state, imperialist

and expansionist intervention is on the rise, national sovereignty and territorial integrity has brought in an added danger and, in short, the basic contradiction between feudalism and imperialism and the broad Nepalese masses has not yet been resolved. These are the challenges facing our party and the revolution at present.

Truly, neither had we any fundamental difference in the past nor do we have at present in assessing and grasping the aforesaid reality and challenges. Our party is principally united on these questions. However, there were some differences. In the history of our party, the CPN (Maoist), November 17 to 26, 2008, the sharpest debates took place over the questions of line. It can also be said that it was the sharpest struggle centred on questions of ideological and political line after the initiation of people's war. Naturally, the struggle was to become sharp because the victory or failure of the Nepalese people's revolution was close and the correctness or otherwise of the political line would decide it.

With this sense of responsibility, Chairman Comrade Prachanda and Comrade Kiran placed their line documents before the CC. In those documents, the main difference was centred on, firstly, how to synthesise the entire experiences acquired ever since the initiation of people's war until now in order to have a deeper grasp of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Prachanda path. Secondly, it was on how to develop political tactic and tactical slogan so as to help unite all of the allies of the people's revolution and isolate the principal enemy. And, thirdly, it was on how to develop under the leadership of party a coordinated mechanism of the three fronts of struggle, namely the street, constituent assembly and the government and which one to make the principal struggle.

In the history of the communist movement, the line

struggle has at large centred mainly on the question of tactics. If it centres on the question of strategy, new democracy or socialism depending upon the socio-economic condition of the given country, the only meaning it gives is that the either faction are not genuine communists. In that case, no unity is possible and the revolutionaries must go ahead even at the expense of splitting to keep the revolution on.

Right here, it is crystal clear that the differences our party had did not have any relation with strategy and the analysis of present national and international objective condition. But, definitely we had diverging views on how to go ahead from the point at which we are at. As mentioned before, the differences were on the question of ideological synthesis, political tactic and the befitting form of struggle corresponding to it. Of them, the main point was the tactic, because the immediate political programme would either open up the way to uninterruptedly reach to strategy, the new democratic republic in our case, or lead to create a separate stage of bourgeois republic before it. Such was the situation in which our party was to act cautiously so that no separate stage of bourgeois dictatorship could emerge before new democratic revolution. It was the main point at which the line struggle has centred.

As said before, we have golden opportunities now. But the only condition to seize this opportunity is a correct ideological and political line and party's organisational unity based on it. Thus, our central committee meeting had to confront two challenges, first, to develop a correct ideological and political line as to address the present contradiction and, second, to build a strong party based on it. Given the legacy of splits after each two-line struggle in the history of communist movement, it was un-

*Continued on page 6*

## FROM THE HISTORY

### The 1993 Bombay bombings

The 1993 Bombay bombings were a series of thirteen bomb explosions that took place in Bombay (now Mumbai), India on March 12, 1993. The coordinated attacks were the most destructive bomb explosions in Indian history. The single-day attacks resulted in up to 250 civilian fatalities and 700 injuries. The attacks are believed to have been coordinated by Dawood Ibrahim, don of the organized crime syndicate named D-Company, which had operated as a terrorist organization. It is believed that the attacks were carried out in retaliation for widespread massacre of Muslims in Mumbai during December and January, and also the demolition of the Babri Masjid.

In December 1992 and January 1993, there was widespread rioting in Bombay following the December 6 destruction of the Babri Mosque in Ayodhya by extreme Hindu groups. Although there was no loss of life in the incident at the Babri Mosque, a series of riots soon erupted throughout the nation, most notably in Bombay. After five years following the December-January riots, the Srikrishna Commission Report stated that nine hundred individuals lost their lives and over two thousand were injured, most of them Muslim, in the riots.

At 1:30 p.m. a powerful car bomb exploded in the basement of the Bombay Stock Exchange building. The 28-story of-

fice building housing the exchange was severely damaged, and many nearby office buildings also suffered some damage. About 50 were killed by this explosion. About 30 minutes later, another car bomb exploded elsewhere in the city, and from 1:30 p.m. to 3:40 p.m. a total of 13 bombs exploded throughout Bombay. Most of the bombs were car bombs, but some were in scooters.

Three hotels, the Hotel Sea Rock, Hotel Juhu Centaur, and Hotel Airport Centaur, were targeted by suitcase bombs left in rooms booked by the perpetrators. Banks, the regional passport office, hotels, the Air India Building, and a major shopping

complex were also hit. Bombs exploded at Zaveri Bazaar, area opposite of Century Bazaar, Katha Bazaar, Shiv Sena Bhawan, and Plaza Theatre. A jeep-bomb at the Century Bazaar exploded early, thwarting another attack. Grenades were also thrown at Sahar International Airport and at Fishermen's Colony, apparently targeting Hindus at the latter. A double decker bus was very badly damaged in one of the explosions and that single incident accounted for the greatest loss of life - perhaps up to ninety people were killed.

The official number of dead was 257 with 1,400 others injured.

[www.en.wikipedia.org](http://www.en.wikipedia.org)

# People's Federal Democratic National Republic : scientific tactics



■ Khim Lal Devkota

Very recently, the CPN Maoist has declared its tactics as People's Federal Democratic National Republic. The two documents in the national convention had two different tactics: People's Republic or transitional or democratic republic. Anyway, these issues have been already resolved with highest consideration from an ideological prospective. The new slogans of CPN-Maoist will be to make a new national army, to write a new pro-people constitution and self-dependent economy or economic development. Before this, one of the conclusions of the debate was on contemporary politics. I would like to analyse this chapter on a practical and theoretical basis.

The term "People's Republic" is receiving a high profile. After the result of the election of the Constituent Assembly, the Chairman and Prime Minister Com. Prachanda announced from an open platform that if any political parties hesitated to declare a democratic republic by abolishing the monarchy,

the CPN-Maoist would declare People's Republic. At that time, Chairman Prachanda said if the Nepali Congress and UML were not ready to act it, the people would declare a Peoples Republic. If that had happened, where would the space be for them? We can say nothing now. This is a clear message to the people and other political parties that the Maoist is not going to wait for a long time. They are ready to declare People's Republic as soon as possible.

Secondly, the Maoist party and its leaders spoke on the Peoples Republic as an ultimate goal of CPN-Maoist. The Nepali Congress is in the opposition now. Being in opposition, the Nepali Congress has accused the CPN-Maoist of advancing without any clear understanding or agreement held before. The NC is criticizing CPN-Maoist like the commoners in the open market. Why are the Nepali Congress and UML afraid of People's Republic? What does it mean? First, we must know about it.

First of all, a People's Republic means a republican system for the people by the people and of the people. If it is for the people, then why we should be afraid of it? If any one is in favor of the people, there is no reason to oppose it. Those who are in opposition to the People's Republic may be confused; they have no knowledge about it. If they are not in favor of the People's Republic, then they want to

establish a feudal-bourgeoisie republic.

Second, we have declared a republic but we haven't named it yet. Whether it is a People's Republic or a Bihari republic, we have to make it. Some people want to make it a Bihari republic. For this, most of the feudal and comprador bureaucratic capitalists are struggling. The masses of the people are in favour of the People's Republic. Therefore, it is a suitable and better debate; but it should be in a fair manner. Especially feudal, comprador and bureaucratic capitalists are afraid of it because they want to save their interest by making a Bihari Republic instead of a People's Republic.

Third, the People's Republic is not a strange matter which is against the people's interest; but some who are entirely against the people, they will be afraid of it.

Fourth, the aim of any Communist party is a People's Republic. There is no doubt on this. The CPN-Maoist aim is to achieve the People's Republic. Even the CPN-UML and other communist parties also have the same goal. However, the astonishing thing is the UML are against it. This is a very important question.

Fifth, there is no doubt that the goal of CPN-Maoist is the People's Republic like other Communist parties. But the fact is we have to know is we have

just been able to declare the republic successfully. We have to consolidate and institutionalize it on the basis of a democratic republic and then march forward to a Peoples Republic.

Debate has taken place knowingly or unknowingly. However, it is the result of the objective situation. The People's Republic is not an agenda against the people. It is in favor of the people, although the reactionaries are provoking people against their own interests of a People's Republic. Therefore, people should know the fact in time and they should be aware about what is right and what is wrong.

Some of them are trying to highlight the propaganda that the People's Republic is a single Communist party dictatorship. This type of understanding is completely wrong. If any one has any confusion about it, we suggest they study the documents of the CPN-Maoist. The CPN-Maoist has already taken the decision of multi party competition, there is no doubt in it. The CPN-Maoist has reviewed the whole communist history, especially the history of the 20th century. The first half of the 20th century was favourable to Communist states; but the last half of the 20th century was against communism and they lost their power. Except the CPN-Maoist, the Communist parties have not reviewed it. After reviewing history, the CPN-Maoist declared

some of the mistakes in the historic Communist movement; that is the lack of multiparty competition in the state under proletarian dictatorship. Therefore, the CPN-Maoist has learnt the lesson from history and is trying to correct it.

If capitalist revolution had been completed by the Nepali Congress and other capitalists parties before, the CPN-Maoist would have engaged with the socialist revolution. But capitalist parties always compromised with the feudal monarchy. Therefore, the CPN-Maoist engaged in capitalist revolution against feudal monarchy. After the consolidation of democratic republic, which is purely capitalistic, the party will go in the direction of a People's Republic by the way of socialism.

In conclusion, we should not be afraid of the Maoist version and vision. The Maoist vision is certainly pro-people. At first, they may be afraid of it; after a while they will get used to it; then they will love it. At the beginning of the peace process, the issues of the election of the Constituent Assembly, republic, federalism, state restructuring and military integration were the same as the issue of People's Republic. Now, we are in the phase of consolidation of democratic republic. On the basis of correct tactics, we can have a People's Republic.

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## Financial crisis and the declining world order

■ C. Welatantrege

**Each generation must out of relative obscurity discover its mission, fulfil it, or betray it - Frantz Fanon (1925-1961) - psychiatrist, humanist and revolutionary.**

The international economic crisis coupled with the failing war on terrorism waged by the various states is at a crucial point. The global financial melt down has precipitated a series of responses that are effectively putting an end to the uni-polar hegemonic world order brought about by the end of cold war. The beginning of last October saw the most sweeping government moves into the financial markets since The Great Depression and perhaps ever.

In the US, words are now being bandied about that have not been spoken of in decades: 'deficiencies of the free markets'. That month saw governments after government, whether in Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Spain or US, sworn to 'free markets' and deregulation announce that they were acquiring ownership stakes in banks. Declare they would prop up dying private institutions with billions in public funds. Neo-liberal Market fundamentalism has reached a bad mess. Keynesianism is now more relevant than ever is the tune across Europe. Volumes of Das Kapital were sold out across Germany while a manga version of it is selling like hot cakes in Japan.

But it does mark the end of the Pax Amer-

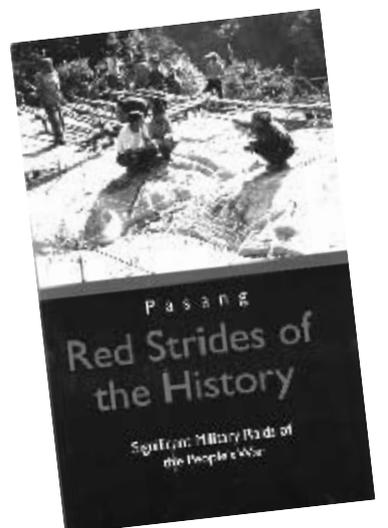
icana - the era in which the United States more or less maintained a monopoly on the use of military force in order to safeguard its exclusive economic and political interests and guarantee that the world economy runs to maximize and further the economic interests of a small club of elites and their local representatives who control the world markets. This raises some real questions about the future of globalization. Some analysts tell us not to worry: Global economic integration itself protects us against war, they argue, because successful trading economies won't risk their prosperity by engaging in military adventurism. But this, too, raises unpleasant historical memories. Shortly before World War-I British author, Norman Angell, published a famous book titled "The Great Illusion," where he argued that war had become obsolete, that in the modern industrial era even military victors lose far more than they gain. He was right - but wars kept happening anyway.

The raging war waged in northern Lanka between the government and LTTE; the attack at number of commercial ships by pirates in the red sea; crisis in Georgia and black sea involving Russian and American navies and number of drills conducted in the Atlantic by the Russian navies in reply; the recent drills by Iranian revolutionary guards at the straight of Hormutz in reply to a threat of aggression by US forces; recent attacks in

Mumbai at selected Jewish centers and commercial interests by suspected Islamic or Hindu militants; weakening of NATO forces in Afghanistan and collapse of UN strategy in Central Africa etc coupled with financial crisis points to a highly volatile situation faced across the globe.

On one hand, the omniscient and omnipotent international community who could not muster a merger 25 billion dollars to solve the world food, drinking water, education and, basic health problems of the majority of needy and poor are rushing up to their respective governments demanding public spending worth billions of dollars to save private commercial interests at the expense of the majority of public. On the other hand, the elite minority from Europe and America and their local representatives who control the IMF, WB and other financial institutions, who are supposed to provide 'financial stimulus' to save the world economy seem clueless than ever. There seem to be no public accountability for their decisions or democratic representation in financial decision making process for the emerging economies and their masses. The picture looks grim. The search for alternatives is the dire need of our epoch. The process of finding answers to these perpetual questions that affect all our daily lives should be looked outside these traditional political institutions and the governing elites, they have failed.

## New Book on Maoist Movement



*PLA chief commander Pasang writes about guerrilla warfare and wartime experiences during the People's War.*

# The politics of transition in our experience and expectation

■ Rajan Prasad Pokhrel

When the elites of the world are speaking about peace, development and democracy, we are working hard on truce, talks and transitions. We have our own pains and sorrows, hopes and aspirations and dreams and desires. We are languishing here with a forlorn hope thinking that the top is much easy and the other side of the hill is full of strawberries and water-melons. With a hope of coming to an easy path, we fought against the tyranny and despotism of the feudal regime for more than sixty years. Sometimes it came openly out and sometimes played pawns from the back, but it ruled, it oppressed and suppressed all movements of freedom and growth. Every time we fought, failed or rested, we said that we are in the phase of transition. Through all these sixty years of our fights and movements, we have had transitions after transitions, transitions within transitions and every time when the transition too failed without the achievement of any significant change, we consoled ourselves by saying that the change is only the thing that is constant and permanent in this world, and nobody can stop it.

After the pro-people democratic movement in 2006, we have again been going through an important transitional period of history in Nepal. This time

the transitional period is full of confusions, uncertainties, and inconsistencies. The political atmosphere is hazy and indecisive. The road of politics is full of quick sands and quagmires. There are cliffs and ditches all around. Now we realize that despite few limitations and weaknesses, the ten years people's war was a system, an order, and a solution to many problems of the people. The ten years' people's war had established people's power, and it had the straight clashes with the old rotten feudal system. We came to a halt and negotiation at the point when people were very close to capture the political power for drastic changes in all existing political, economic, social and cultural structures. This time again people's most powerful uprising was deceived. It could have been launched further to a wider road of freedom and democratic practices. In that case, it would have swept away all previous feudal connections and modes of productions.

Realizing the fact that the movement for drastic changes was obstructed by the mid-night negotiation between the king and the seven parliamentary parties, the CPN (Maoist) denounced it and declared that it was a deceit to the people. But soon it thought that it could still interfere into the system and power both from the base and superstructure. It came to the peace process on the basis of 12

point understanding that had been signed between the Maoist and the seven parliamentary parties. The CPN (Maoist) had to execute its tactics of the formation of interim government, arrangement of a national convention of all social and political forces, the election of the constituent assembly and the institutionalization of the republic. By all pressures the Maoists came victorious about achieving their tactical goal. Now with the highest number of CA members, the CPN (Maoist) is in the CA as well as in the leadership of the government. The goal of the constituent assembly is to build a new constitution and restructure the nation in the federal framework. The government has to facilitate and accelerate the process, and also has to provide relief to the people with peace, convenience and rapid development.

currently, we are at crossroads or at a convergence. There are various interest groups willing to take different roads. Some political forces want to divide the nation to several free countries. Some are willing to have their own self-governed federal states. Some parties want to continue the bourgeois-type of political system after building the constitution even without restructuring the nation. The CPN (Maoist) and its close allies want to reach a further stage democracy. These contradictions are leading us still more violent clashes, aren't they?

The Maoists are in the peace process trying to integrate its PLA with the Nepali army for the formation of a new democratic national army but other forces are vehemently rejecting the idea by rejecting the spirit of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. The task of the CA also is obstructed by minor issues, discussions and minor settlements. Now the question arises, "Where are we going?"

In Terai, the Pahade communities are displaced. In Jankpur municipality area only, it is said that two years ago there were more than 2500 Pahade families but now there are hardly five hundred, and in Rajbharj there were more than 2000 and there are only about 600 families left by the threats and attacks of the armed Terai groups. In this situation how can these groups be tackled with?

The Nepali congress party has become almost mad at the loss of power and people's support. It wants to launch movement to disturb the whole political process. The CPN (UML) too is not satisfied with the present exercises. The Madhesi and Teraian parliamentary parties are in the bargain. The CPN (Maoist) leaders too have been saying that their set of tactics has been successful and now they think that they have to move ahead to their strategic goals. In this context when no body is satisfied with the present situation, why not to go further ahead? The new people's democratic republic

will be the best solution because it will have broken all feudal connections and cleared the dirt of the remnants of old modes of productions and relations, but how can this stage of republic be achieved? Can the new tactics of the CPN (Maoist)- "People's Federal Democratic National Republic" - be effectively applicable to gear up its speed to the higher elevation?

In this situation the politics of transition is quite challenging and problematic. The most important thing is to manage it. It requires courage and determination to face all those challenges. There are challenges as well as possibilities for building a new Nepal. Aren't you ready for it? Now the politics of transition has to take a clear direction for its straightforward destination. When a bourgeois democracy cannot solve the people's problems and many are discontent with what is going, we should be witty enough to take a road to a higher form of democracy. Let's put a question to ourselves whether we are ready for a big political transformation or not? I assure you that we will definitely attain the state of peace, prosperity and the people's democracy. This time we simply need courage to lead the present transition to the height of its success transferring the political power to the people for their maximum satisfaction. Okay?

*Writer is a central committee member of Nepal National Intellectual's Organization.*

## National .....

*(Continued from page 4)*

doubtedly a very difficult task to maintain organisational unity in our party too. However, the only way to achieve this goal could be nothing other than open and unprejudiced two-line struggle keeping in mind the emancipation of proletariat and oppressed classes the world over. And, nothin other than intra-party democracy could make it happen.

With this understanding, the central committee meeting entered into a thoroughgoing and sharp debate over the documents that Chairman Comrade Prachanda and Comrade Kiran had put forward before the central committee. However, the party did not make either document as the only official document of the party. It was not that CC was unable to reach to a certain conclusion through a democratic process, for example majority and minority. But the CC thought that only a serious debate over two documents in the national convention could develop a higher level of understanding among the entire ranks over the ideological and political questions involved in both of the documents. So, it decided to place both of the documents before the national convention as official documents of the central committee. It was in fact a new and a developed form of democratic practice and an initiation of the great debate in our party history.

Not an exaggeration, but a fact is that it was in this convention that each and every participant took

part in discussion more responsibly than before, keeping in mind the future of revolution.

In spite of obvious differences in their understanding and grasp of MLM, the whole house was unanimously united on the question that party must develop a revolutionary ideological and political line and strengthen party unity based on it. In the light of spirit from the house, the central committee meeting held in between the convention reached to a unanimous position as mentioned below.

Firstly, taking into account of basically a unanimous position of the house, it decided to bring out a single document in the next CC meeting, organise an internal forum based on the Leninist concept of 'freedom in expression and unity in action' prior to the forthcoming Party Congress and synthesise thereby the experiences and ideological and political positions that we had taken up during ten years of people's war, 19 days mass movement, the ongoing peace process and so forth. So the whole chapter of synthesis was deferred till the upcoming Party Congress.

Secondly, setting aside those which comrade Prachanda and comrade Kiran had placed before the CC and the national convention, the CC meeting developed a skeleton of unanimous immediate political programme. The new political slogan termed as 'People's Federal Democratic National Republic', the People's Republic in short, was in fact, a synthesised expression of

the programmes, 'Federal and Competitive Pro-people Republic' and 'National Federal People's Republic' that Chairman Comrade Prachanda and Comrade Kiran had proposed respectively through their documents.

Thirdly, the CC meeting decided to build up a mechanism under party leadership to coordinate all the three fronts of struggle, in which the street struggle would be the principal one.

When these CC decisions were placed before the house for approval the whole house unanimously ratified them and so the entire rank and file was united more strongly than before. The development of political programmes and sorting out of corresponding forms of struggles was of course a matter of joy among the delegates, including the whole CC members. The bitterness that was at times witnessed among the participants in the course of discussion in the house turned into an ideological and political unity and comradesly feeling with each other. In short, this national convention became such a platform where the entire participants took part vigorously along the lines placed by two comrades and finally helped reach to a stronger unity and higher sense of responsibility for the New Democratic Revolution in Nepal under the leadership of Chairman Comrade Prachanda. This is of course a victory of not only the Nepalese proletariat but also the oppressed classes of the entire world.

December 1, 2008

## We need a new .....

*(Continued from page 3)*

para-religion or ethnicity or para-ethnicity as in the case of Sri Lanka, for instance, or former Yugoslavia or many other countries. And all these tendencies are in my view absolutely and fundamentally reactionary. Even if the circumstances are a response to an ugly policy of others; as in the case of Sri Lanka. Political Islam is the use of Islam by the most reactionary and in the service of imperialism. Imperialism has nothing against them. It has nothing against Islam, just as it has nothing against political Hinduism, the BJP. The Communists in India have the courage to call them (RSS/BJP) Fascists, and they are, and the same should be said of political Islam.

**What do you think of the economic category of feudalism, as used by F.Engels, and the category of 'semi-feudalism' as used by Maoists to describe the mode of production in Africa, Asia, and Latin America?**

I also never use this term and I question it. If you refer to my books, some of which are not very recent, I have suggested another pattern of analysis of the nature of class society, of previous capitalism and qualify them as 'tributary-systems' - feudalism is one of them specific to Europe. And, perhaps the use of feudalism, the culture of the use of word 'feudalism' to Asia is probably improper. Nevertheless, it is not very important.

**Anything you would like to say to our readers:**

Well, I think that Maoism is needed everywhere in the world; it is the specificity of our time. There are imperialist centres for sure and there are the oppressed peripheries of the imperialist global system. But the enemy is the same, the enemy is one, capitalism. Capitalism is in imperialist centres as well as subordinate peripheries and therefore understanding that characteristic of capitalism is the prerequisite for any significant internationalism in the north as well as the south. Therefore, in that sense, we need Maoism in the North as well as the South. Otherwise, we will have in the north a pro-imperialist left, and in the south, the bad response: political Islam and political Hinduism etc.

*Interviewed by Roshan Kissoon and Chandra*

# Caribbean war games dubbed 'successful'



Russian warships have left the Caribbean after completing their joint exercises with the Venezuelan navy. A nuclear missile cruiser and a submarine hunter along with two support vessels took part in the drills.

The Russian ships arrived in Venezuela last week in an operation widely seen as the Kremlin's response to the U.S. decision to deliver aid to Georgia aboard warships following the country's conflict with Russia.

However, President Hugo Chavez insists the naval exercises weren't

meant as a provocation to the United States or any other nation. Chavez has praised Russia for raising its profile in the Americas, while saying the U.S. Navy's Fourth Fleet, which has been recently re-activated, poses a threat to Venezuela.

Russia sent the nuclear-powered cruiser Peter the Great, the destroyer Admiral Chabanenko and support ships. They were joined by three Venezuelan frigates for the exercise, which was dubbed 'Venrus 2008'.

The Russian squadron captained a Venezuelan frigate, while Venezuelan Admiral Luis Morales acted as captain of the Peter the Great.

The exercise involved 1600 Russian navy personnel.

"The exercise was quite a success. All things that had to be tested were tested with good results and in full. Now we have some experience of teamwork with the Venezuelan Navy. If our Navy needs these skills some time in the future, the experience of this exercise will certainly come in handy," concluded Anatoly Dolgov, captain of the destroyer Admiral Chabanenko.

Soviet ships and planes regularly visited Cuba during the Cold War, but Russian troops have been absent in the region since the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991.

[www.russiatoday.com](http://www.russiatoday.com)

## Maoists seize truck with bomb-making material

RANCHI, India - Maoist rebels in Jharkand hijacked a truck loaded with 23 tonnes of ammonium nitrate that was bound for an explosives factory on Monday.

The ammonium nitrate has been taken outside the state.

The truck was headed on Sunday to a factory where explosives are made with ammonium nitrate and then used for mining in the area.

Ammonium nitrate is commonly used as a fertiliser but can be mixed with other materials to produce a powerful explosive. A bomb made with ammonium nitrate ripped apart the Alfred P. Murrah federal building in Oklahoma City in the United States in 1995, killing 168 people.

Maoists are fighting for the rights of peasants and landless labourers in eastern and southern India, and periodically attack government property or target police and politicians. The aim is to seize country wide power and establish a People's Republic as part of the world Revolution.

Distributed by [http://groups.yahoo.com/group/MAOIST\\_REVOLUTION](http://groups.yahoo.com/group/MAOIST_REVOLUTION)

## The differences.....

vance to socialism. The CPN-M had adopted a tactical slogan: Democratic Republic aiming to abolish monarchy. The tactic of the historic Chunawang meeting of the Central Committee of the Party had ushered the way to a Federal Democratic Republic that has finally abolished the monarchy. After the abolition of monarchy, this slogan had fallen behind, and was insufficient to lead the society ahead to accomplish the New Democratic Revolution.

Even though the feudal monarchy has been abolished, the semi-feudal semi-colonial character of Nepal has not changed. As long as the rooted feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism is not abolished, the Nepalese people cannot be free, and the national economy cannot be built up. To make the Nepalese people free of the feudal oppression; and bureaucrat capitalist domination, the Nepalese people have to establish a new government that is People's Federal Democratic National Republic. In essence, this national republic is a People's Republic. This People's Republic will be a state where the nationalist, patriotic, democratic and the revolutionary forces will exercise a joint dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat. This state will be a special type of dictatorship of the proletariat that will take the country towards socialism.

The slogan People's Federal Democratic National Republic encompasses the necessary characteristics that are historically demanded by Nepalese society. The term "federal" ensures internal security of the oppressed regions and nationalities. Against the centralised feudal state, the Nepalese society has demanded a federal structure on the basis of the right to self-determination of the nation. The term "democratic" represents the competition among the friendly organisations to lead government in the state of People's Republic. Again, democracy is a dictatorship, the dictatorship of the revolutionary forces that stand against feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism. The term "national" represents the external security from imperialism and expansionism. And, in essence, the state will be a People's Republic with the joint dictatorship of the friendly forces.

### Inner party Democracy

Inner party democracy is the soul of revolution. Chairman Prachanda has stated that inner party democracy becomes the causative element of revolution and counterrevolution. In the past, a general

tendency in the International Communist Movement had established that a two line struggle eventually leads to a split. This culture was also deeply rooted in the Nepalese Communist movement. There have been several splits in the Nepalese. At present, ideological struggle is underway to correct this mistake. Our glorious Party, under the leadership of Chairman Prachanda and the leading team of the Central Committee made breakthroughs in handling the Two-line struggle. We made a breakthrough from the unscientific practice "unity struggle split" to the scientific practice of "unity struggle transformation".

In the historic Kharipati National Convention, not only has the scientific application of inner Party democracy been fully exercised, it has also been further developed. The delegates had ruthlessly exposed and criticised the reformist tendencies, the ideological, political and organisational life that has knowingly and unknowingly developed among many leaders and cadres. This struggle was so vibrant, so acute and aimed at to transform oneself and others that led the party to become more united, stronger, consolidated, and getting much clearer on the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist vision; this made the entire rank and file committed to discard reformist, centrist and ultra leftist tendencies and take the revolution to the end.

### Right to rebel

Closely linked with the inner party democracy is the "right to rebel". In general, the spirit of the "right to rebel" used to be understood that one group or a group of people negates or even overthrows another. In particular, this kind of struggle had been manifested into the process of unity struggle and split. This practice had dominated the Nepalese Communist movement leading to splits, with one group or section of people labelled by others as being either reformist, or centrist or ultra leftist while the political differences exist. The contingent of the international proletariat: the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) under the leadership of Chairman Prachanda had summed up, the practice of split under the guise of two line struggle is wrong and the correct process is unity struggle transformation. While analysing this, our party has paid full attention on theoretical premises that this does not lead the party towards "two combines into one".

The historic Kharipati National Convention has laid a milestone in the theoretical premises that the revolutionaries rectify their understanding rather than separating

oneself from each other.

### Chunawang meeting and the question of state

The historic Kharipati National Convention looked back to the Chumnawang meeting. This meeting has termed the Democratic Republic as a transitional state neither bourgeoisie nor proletarian. The Marxist-Leninist-Maoist principle has taught the revolutionaries that there can be either a bourgeoisie state or a proletarian state and there cannot be any other state between capitalism and socialism. Only the Socialist state is a transitional state which lies between capitalism and Communism. Marx pointed out: "Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." Having settled the slogan People's Federal Democratic National Republic, the confusion created by dictum "transitional" in the Chunawang meeting has been clarified. This slogan will lead to a people's democratic state where there will be a dictatorship of the progressive, nationalist, democratic and revolutionaries and will have no such stage between capitalism and socialism.

Similarly, the Chunawang meeting had adopted a document scientifically analysed that a new type of situation will arise up along with the establishment of the Democratic Republic. The reactionary class and the bourgeoisie parties will attempt to transform it to a parliamentary republic, and our Party of the proletariat will try to transform it to a New Democratic Republic. Exactly at this point, the Kharipati National Convention put its finger over the heart of the political problem that this bourgeois element wants to transform this republic towards parliamentary democracy; these bourgeois elements not only exist outside, in the bourgeoisie parties, but also could emerge from within the revolutionary party itself.

### Unity of opposite or monolithic

Just as every form of matter is a unity of opposite, a revolutionary party is also a unity of opposites. Thus, there is always debate and line struggle, which is the soul and life of a revolutionary party. The history of the International Communist Movement has time and again proved that on the historic course of line struggle and class struggle in the society, there is always a possibility that a revolutionary leadership

gradually attain a monolithic property. The historic Kharipati National Convention has also established a scientific methodology not to let the party and the leadership grow monolithic against the principle of unity of opposites.

### Struggle from all fronts

Since the Party entered into the peace process, the rank and file gradually came to understand that the main front of struggle is the legislature and the government. This understanding was gradually negating the vital role of the revolutionary masses in order to accomplish revolution. This tendency has also been negating the historical facts that even in socialist society, the revolutionary masses need to keep on agitating to keep the bourgeoisie away from taking back the power of the people and even to make the Party aware if they are taking a bourgeoisie line. In this connection, a danger could emerge to isolate the Party from the masses of people and its interest. The historic Kharipati National Convention has made it clear that the Party will fight on all fronts: the fronts of street, the legislature and the government to establish the People's Republic. Among these fronts, the street will be principal. The masses will be mobilised to facilitate the government under the leadership of our Party and will also support to establish the People's Federal Democratic National Republic.

### Exercise of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution

The Kharipati National Convention has been a great experience of the exercise of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In the past few months, since the Party signed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, the Party has fallen into a complicated struggle. This struggle has gradually separated the leadership from the rank and file as well as from the masses. The struggle from the top was gradually becoming isolated from the revolutionary masses. Hence, the danger was arising that a gulf between the leadership and the masses of people was widening, which the reactionary elements in the society want.

The Kharipati National Convention has ruthlessly exposed these drawbacks in the party. It has also exposed the eclectic, lopsided, self-centrist and pragmatic approach of the leadership. This Convention was an application of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and has pushed all the rank and file to be dynamic, vibrant and standing firm on the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Prachanda Path.



## National convention paves the way

Dipak Sapkota  
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The 'People's Federal Democratic National Republic' is now the working policy of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). The six-day long national convention of the party concluded on Nov. 26, and decided one the new policy, which in short can also be called the 'Republic of the People'. The party went through very intensive inner struggle but, at the end, the party came out more united and galvanised.

The convention was held in Kharipati, about 15 KM from Kathmandu city. Roughly 1100 regional bureau level cadres from all 13 state committees and party central advisors took part.

### 'Don't dream of a split'

Inaugurating the convention on Nov. 21, among a throng of local and international journalists, the Party Chairman and Prime Minister of Nepal Prachanda said that he had a different feeling from previous occasions. He further added that the convention will send tremors to the 'enemies' who dreamt that Maoists are going to split.

'At present, we are on a new stage of the history of ideological and inner struggle'; he also added that 'this is both a matter of pride and challenge'. He admitted that the people are looking towards the party seriously as their aspirations couldn't be fulfilled properly,

He challenged those who were expecting that the CPN (Maoist) would split from the latest inner-struggle. He said, 'Their dream will go in vain, those who have dreamt that the Maoist Party will split. We will prove that they are wrong. Stop dreaming of a party split'. He said the party is a revolutionary party and it can develop plans and policies to move forward. He added, 'We will lead the peo-

ple's revolution to new heights and give a new message to the people from this convention.'

### Two different documents

The closed session was held for three days. Two different documents were presented in the meeting for the first time in the history of CPN (Maoist). Chairman Prachanda and, number two leader of the party, Com. Mohan Baidya 'Kiran' presented their documents with short briefing. But both of them emphasized on the need for party unity. Chairman Prachanda said that it doesn't mean that the party should split when there are two different documents. Likewise, Com.Kiran said that he had not brought a different document with the intention of splitting the party.

On the second day, the participants were divided into 20 different groups plus central advisory committee forming another group. Each team comprised of about 50 participants from various state committees, to hold vigorous and heated debates on the documents. The party exercised inner party democracy. All of them had a common concern-what will be the future of the revolution?

They pointed out the pros and cons of both documents. According to participants, the debate was healthy and constructive. Most of the cadres who had spent several years in armed struggle during decade long People's War had serious concerns about the working-policy of the party.

On the fourth day of the convention the group leaders presented the synthesis of the discussions of their groups. 21 group leaders presented their views on the documents while some others who differed from their group leaders presented their own. Party Chairman and all the central leaders heard what the grass-root leaders of

their party had to say about the documents and immediate working policy. The message was loud and clear- Unity, transformation and completion of the revolution.

### Single document at last

The central committee meeting was held the next day to discuss over the mandate of the national convention. The meeting, with the aspirations of the convention, agreed to bring a single document to the meeting. The leaders came up with a single document that carried the slogan 'Peoples Federal Democratic National Republic'. Both Chairman Prachanda and senior leader Com.Kiran answered queries raised by the cadres during the group deliberations.

Chairman Prachanda, in a lengthy speech said that party has transformed and unified from the discussions and debates. 'The 'great debate' was approved by the 'Chunwang' meeting has been initiated', and he added, 'The evaluation of the movement and the matter of synthesis of the ideology will be the agenda for the coming party

congress'.

Maoist senior leader Mohan Baidya 'Kiran' said that he put forward a different document due to anxiety about the party's present acts and future policy. 'The synthesis has been made on the condition of transformation and unity' stated Kiran. Other party leaders, Dr. Baburam Bhattarai, Ram Bahadur Thapa 'Badal', and Netra Bikram Chand 'Biplo' also expressed their views on the latest party decision.

On his closing speech, after the meeting applauded the decision of the party to go with a single document, PM Prachanda gave an emotional speech. He said the unity has taken the party to a new height. 'The meeting has provided the guideline and potential to move forward,' He added 'we have again gained the victory'.

### Celebrations at the closing session

With the single document and the decision of the central committee to move forward united, joy and happiness was felt among the party leaders

and cadres. There was music and dancing in which the leaders also participated, including Chairman Prachanda and senior leader Kiran. The celebrations overshadowed the rift between the central leaders during the convention.

### What next

The national convention gave the mandate to Chairman Prachanda to submit a document incorporating the deliberations of the central committee meeting and convention to the next central committee meeting that will be held within first week of December.

The central committee will put into action the convention's decisions and make concrete plans for the future. The meeting will make specific proposals for the party and directives for Constituent Assembly and the government. The central committee is expected to declare the party congress date for Mid June. Likewise, The party will set plans to coordinate governance, Constituent Assembly and street struggle to fulfil people's aspiration.



Regional bureau level cadres from all state committees and party central advisors took part in the convention..