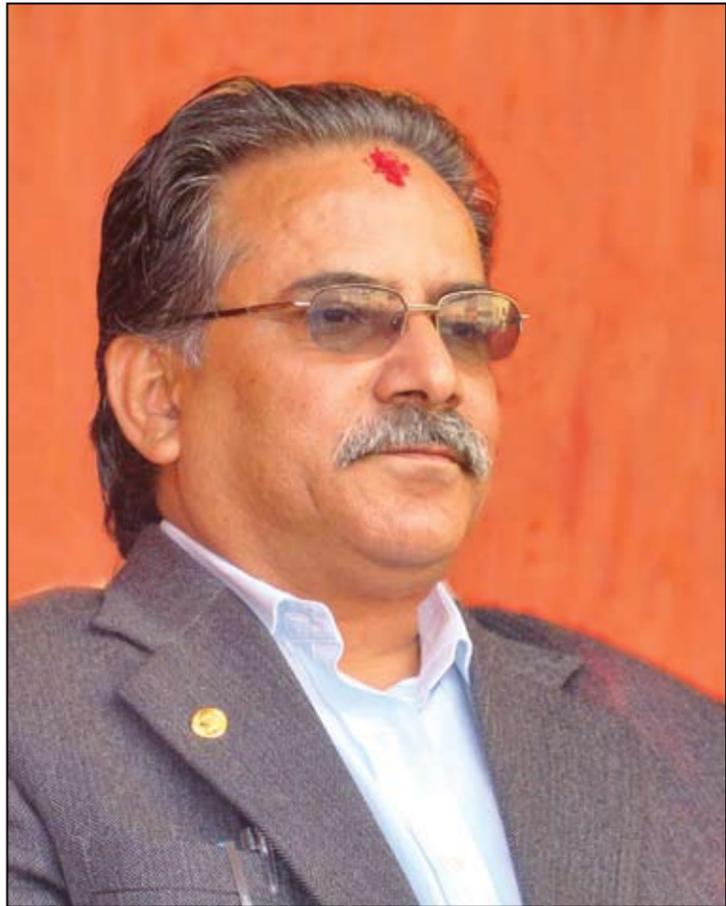


# THE RED STAR

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Nepal's National Magazine



## 'The first president of Republic of Nepal'

**The decision of the Party has enthused to all the people of region and nationalities, casts and genders, and religious minorities.**

tary parties came to 12-point agreement and advance up to interim constitution and declaration of Federal Republic of Nepal, still, in spite of the historical responsibility to break away from regressive understanding, those parties begun to harp regression in many ways. Some of the leaders begun to argue to give space to the king and to put as ceremonial monarchy, some other argued to crown the princes as a king and impose taxation over the property of the king. These

remarks were not only against the spirit and mandates of the 12-point agreement to the interim constitution that paved the way for the elimination of monarchy and establish Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal; they were also against the entire public sentiment, and the need of history. The CPNM had to relentless political struggle against these violations of the understanding and agreements by the parliamentary parties and the

*Continued on page 2*

### ■ Red Star Reporter

CPN-Maoist has declared in its Central Committee meeting that Chairman Prachanda has been approved as the first President of the Federal Republic Nepal. Similarly, the party has also come to the understanding so far, that Chairman Prachanda will also contest for the upcoming election of the Constituent Assembly.

These decisions of the Party have properly addressed the real demands of the history. There have been odd events in the Nepalese political movement for last two years. In one hand, the country is advancing in the political agendas forwarded by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), under the leadership of Chair-

man Prachanda. On the other hand, the transitional stage of Nepal is being led by the other Parties on the government. A political programme can perfectly be carried out only by those leaders who are the real inventors of it. The contradiction between the line and the leadership always puts the country into disarray, stagnation and status quo. Nepal could never remain untouched of this reality. This is what happened in the last two years of the in the peace process.

In the last two years, the country is passing through forward going political events. But this course had never been smooth and straightforward, as it had to be. However, a new political mainstream began to take shape since the parliamen-

## Forward going forces should Unite

The question to hold the election of constituent assembly (CA) on scheduled time has been the national issue at present. In this context, seven political parties- the then agitating forces, have to accomplish the election on time. The election will address the aspiration of the people and the mandate of a decade long people's war and the consecutive people's movement peacefully.

The present unity of the seven political parties is the unity built on the foundation of ten years' people's war and 19 day historic people's movement. So, the task of the alliance is to advance forward by restructuring the state adopting a innovative understanding and working style. For that, it should initiate the process of restructuring the state at once by abandoning the out-dated thinking and working style. In this sense, the par-

liamentary parties should prepare and activate themselves to fulfil the mission of the election of CA. The CPN (Maoist) has already taken the proper and bold decision to accomplish the CA election on time and is now set out for election campaign.

Some of the leaders of the main parliamentary parties are engaging themselves in conspiracies against CA. They are trying to twist the issue of the election of the CA in any ploy. It is well known that the imperialist and expansionist forces are pushing such regressive forces from behind the curtain.

Before this, the scheduled election date of CA has been cancelled twice. This has roused the wrath and suspicion among the people. The wrath is being transferred into energy. People have

*Continued on page 2*

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# CPN-M Central Orientation Concluded

■ Red Star Reporter

Kathmandu

The Assembly of the Central Orientation of CPN-M has been concluded by focusing the issue of coming election of the constituent assembly. The CPN-M has decided to conduct a nation-wide campaign to success the election.

With the slogan "The first president of Republic Nepal Chairman Prachanda", CPN-M has settled a principal slogan "let's Maoist make victorious for drastic change and perpetual peace." The other settled slogans are: For the nationality, republic and economic and social transformation! For independent and Federal Democratic Republic! For the right of self-determination of the national and regional autonomy! For the complete emancipation of the Madheshi, nationalities, women, Dalit and Muslims! To establish the new state of the workers and peasants! To realise the dreams of the martyrs and the disappeared of the People's War

and the people's movement! To establish the fundamental right of all people on education, health and employment! Vote on the sickle and hammer inside the circle to create a new Nepal!

CPN-M has already taken the important decisions from central committee

meeting held at Phoolbari, of Kavre district. According to the decision, an election mobilizing committee has been built under the leadership of chairman Prachanda.

Now, in the assembly of the central orientation, CPN-M chairman Prachanda

presented the decision of rectification within the party. The decision for the rectification will be executed from central committee to lower committees. According to the decision, the land and houses of the central committee members (CCM) will be owned in cooperatives and Party will use them for production. The family members of Central Committee Member will work in party and the weak and old members will be looked after through those cooperatives. For the children of the martyrs and disappeared, the Party will take responsibility for their education up to School Leaving Certificate.

Concluding the Assembly of the Central orientation, Chairman Prachanda directed all the party cadres to carry out the election campaign from door to door. In the concluding session, party leaders com. Kiran, com. Baburam Bhattarai, com. Badal, com. Biplab, com. Rakesh, com. Krishnadas and com. NK Prasain (observer of CC meeting) had given instruction and their feelings. Some of the participants from the hall had expressed their feelings on the occasion.



Party Chairman Prachanda with other central leaders in the program

## 'The first president of ...'

government.

These problems were inhabitable to occur, because of the Maoist politics and the Parliamentary leadership on the government. This will certainly further worsen if the revolutionaries are not raided over the power in the Constituent Assembly. Thanks to this struggle against these tendencies, and thanks to the help of the nationalist, democratic and republican forces within the parliamentary parties, the country is now at the threshold of a great and historical transformation. In this context, it is very important for the leadership of the CPNM and Chairman Prachanda win in the election of the Constituent Assembly.

Similarly, the country has entered into the new era

of its history through the great people's war in last ten years. In his bold and scientific leadership of Chairman Prachanda, the Nepalese people for the first time in its history hoist the banner of rebellion to build new Nepal. This kind of leader who has comprehensive plan and understanding, who has set of ideas to liberate the country and people and take the Nepalese people to the 21st century, must have a right to be the first President of the first Federal Republic of Nepal.

The decision of the Party to project Chairman Prachanda the first president of the Federal Republic of Nepal has enthused to all the people of region and nationalities, casts and genders, and religious minorities.

## Forward .....

clearly identified who are the nationalists and who are the treacherous; who are the republican and who are the anti-republican; who are the real supporters of CA and who are not. Therefore, if the CA election is disrupted, the people will take action against the actual enemy.

The Nepalese people are ready to built New Nepal

through another peaceful movement if some of the leaders of the parliamentary parties and the elements of status quoist tendencies try to conspire against the mandate and aspiration of people's war and people's movement. Therefore, the people demand that the entire revolutionary, progressive, nationalist, republican and forward going forces should unite and concentrate the struggle against treacherous, anti-republic and antis of the constituent assembly.

## Prachanda competing from Rolpa and Kathmandu

The central committee secretariat meeting of the communist party of Nepal (Maoist) has concluded the candidature of Party chairman and the secretariat members of the Party.

According to the decision,



CM Prachanda will compete from Rolpa and Kathmandu. The secretariat members Mohan Baidya (Kiran) will compete from Dang, Dr. Baburam Bhattarai from Gorkha, Ram Bahadur Thapa (Badal) from Chitawan, CP



Gajurel (Gaurav) from Sindhuli, Post Bahadur Bogati (Diwakar) from Nuwakot, Krishna Bahadur Mahara from Dang, Dev Gurung from Manang, Barshaman Pun (Ananta) from Lalitpur, Netravikram Chanda (Biplab) from



Kailali and Top Bahadur Rayamajhi (Anil) from Arghakhanchi. About the candidature of Central committee Members and the other is left to be decided.

Along with the decision of candidature, the meeting has



settled the out line of the election campaign programmes. According to the plan, the publicity and extension of the election and the fund collection will be during the period of 15 January to 12 February,



the unified people's campaign focusing on constituents will be held during 13 February to 13 March with the celebration of People's war and the election campaign will be carried out after 14 March.

## 'Every Booth, two hundred Youth'

Young Communist League (YCL), Nepal has decided to mobilize two hundred youth per election booth. The YCL central committee informed this to the journalists through in a press-meet held in its central office

at Budhda Nagar, Kathmandu. The YCL Central Committee has publicized the decisions related to the election taken from the meeting.

It has formed a Volunteer Mobilizing Committee under

the coordination of Kul Prasad KC (Sonam), CCM of CPN-Maoist and the In-charge of YCL. It has also decided to built volunteer mobilizing committee in the district and constituent level.

## Election Mobilization Committee

CPN-Maoist central committee meeting has built an Election Mobilizing Committee under the leadership of the chairman Prachanda. Likewise, an Election Synchronization Committee is built under the leadership of the senior leader Mohan Baidya (Kiran), Election Manifesto Forging Committee under the leadership of other

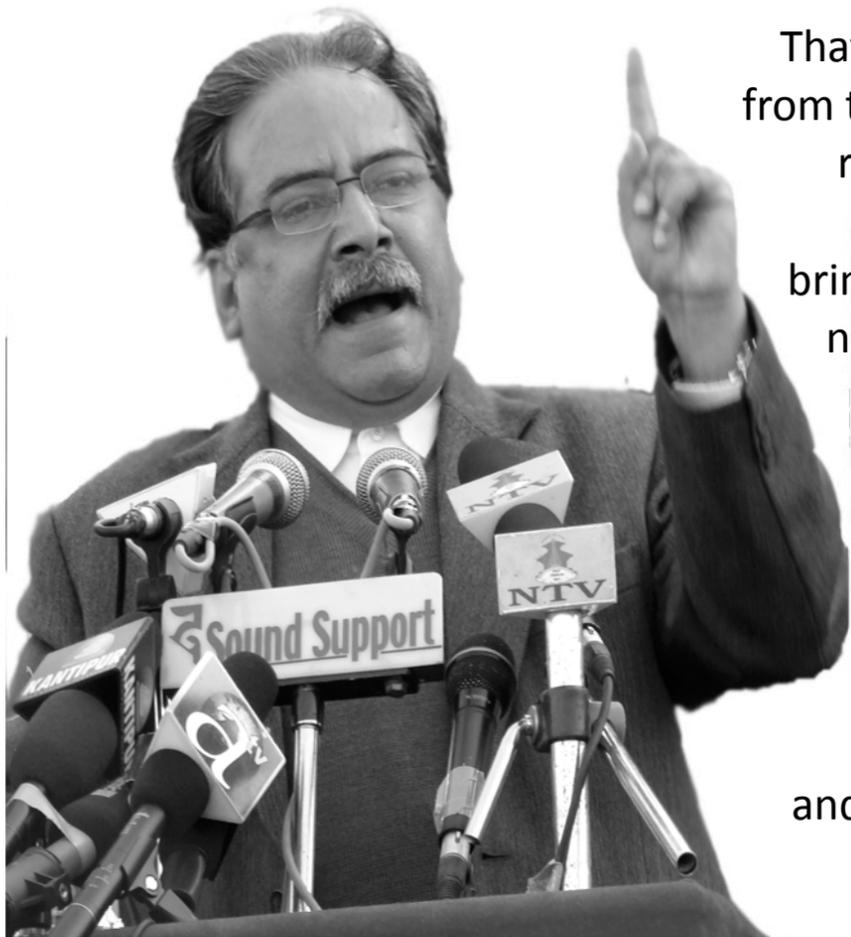
senior leader Dr. Baburam Bhattarai and The Candidate Selection Committee under the leadership of senior leader Ram Bahadur Thapa (Badal).

According to the source, CPN-Maoist is going to publicize the Election Manifesto and the name-list of candidates of both the first past the post election system and the proportional elec-

tion system. The party has decided to carry the election as a campaign from door to door to the people.

CPN-Maoist has changed its organizational structure according to the structure of the election constituents. The central committee has directed all of the cadres to be concentrate in the election.

# 'Constituent Assembly election at any cost'



That challenge is from those foreign reactionaries, who want to bring split in the national unity, who want to bring disintegration and who have frequently intervened and encroached over Nepali territory.

## ● Prachanda

Honourable masses of the people!

The frozen ice since 60 year has now been melted since the 12 point understanding and 23 point agreement has been signed. A new history has been erected. The three-partite struggle has been ended. The end of monarchy has begun. When the seven party alliance was holding meeting and the movement of Madheshi people was in climax, I had immediately told that the joint mass meeting would be held in the country, as soon as possible, starting from Kathmandu to different places of Madhesh. Though delayed, this joint mass meeting is organised. And it is initiated from Kathmandu itself, and the series of the mass meeting is reaching to the different places of Madhesh. We feel special pride on it. If we had been able to hold the joint mass meeting at that time, many serious illusions and suspicions created among the people, political parties and cadres would have been reduced and controlled in a big degree. Even then, we are involved in this process of this historical mass meeting.

Honourable masses of the people!

This mass meeting is a challenge to those all feudal regressive forces who want to avert the changes. This mass meeting is a challenge to those foreign reactionaries

who want to intervene in the internal affairs of Nepal. This mass meeting is an inspiration to the great Nepalese people who want to establish Federal Democratic Republic Nepal. This mass meeting is the inspiration and message to those justice-loving people around the world who want to build the New World. For we Nepalese, this mass meeting is a beginning of a campaign to guarantee the upcoming CA Election. Through this, we are expressing commitment to build a new Nepal. Therefore, this mass meeting is the commitment to build up a New Nepal. This mass meeting is the declaration for the restructuring of a new state and for the Federal Democratic Republic. In this sense, this meeting has multi-dynamic importance. The message given by this meeting will have a special character in countrywide as well as in the world.

Honourable masses of the people!

While we were in the process of 10 year people's great people's war, we had dreamed a great nation. We dreamed a Federal Democratic Nepal, sovereign in relation to class, caste, region and gender. We dreamed a New Nepal in the process of 19 day people's movement. Whatever the agreements we reached in the past, it was a miracle for the world. We did miracle in the first decade of 21st century for building a great nation: a Democratic Republic, to end

the monarchy and feudalism and to eliminate all types of exploitation even though we stood differently from the view point of ideology and politics. The 12-point agreement was a miracle in itself. In spite of the mistrust of the foreign powers, Nepalese people believed that the agreement could be made between parliamentary parties and CPN (Maoist) (CPNM) and Nepalese people showed through 19-day people's movement that they themselves are able to take initiative. When we entered into peace process, I had said at the moment that the Nepalese people showed the sacrifice and miracle for change, revolution and building a New Nepal; they will show another miracle to establish Democratic Republic through constituent assembly. I have been saying now a days, I believe, I feel that you all feel so, that there must be a birth of Gautam Budhha in Nepal again, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and again I have been saying that also there could be a birth of Janga Bahadur in Nepal.

The aspiration of the Nepalese people for peace is looking for Gautam Buddha of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. But the anarchy what we have been watching over, has been looking for the Jang Bahadur. Can Gautam Budhda and Jang Bahadur take rebirth at the same time? Yes. Gautam Budhda and Janga Bahadur can take birth at a time. By that, the aspiration of peace of the Nepalese people, and the aspiration of the termination

of anarchy could be met simultaneously. We want to accomplish that ambition through the election of constituent assembly. We want to accomplish that campaign through the election of CA. It is possible. The miracle that the Nepalese people has shown in between the movement has shown that it is possible. The sacrifice done by the Nepalese people in the course of people's war and people's movement and initiative have shown that Gautam Budhda and Janga Bahadur can take birth from one place and at a same time and can take birth from one ideology.

The issue of constituent assembly was raised along with the foundation of Modern Nepal from around 2007 BS and along with the struggle against feudalism and imperialist movement. But the issue of constituent assembly was forgotten for a long period. Constituent Assembly was, but forgotten as a methodology for democracy, as a means for changes. But our party CPN (Maoist) so strongly established the issue of the constituent assembly in the political arena and in the history of Nepal through people's war and the sacrifice of thousands in such a way that it became a common agenda of the entire nation, Nepalese people and all the political parties. Attempts have been made to accuse CPNM whether it is against the Constituent Assembly. But it was quite impossible. As a mother can nurture her baby scientifically and full of affection having given birth after bearing in womb for 10 months, in the same way, how can the CPNM be against CA having given birth after the sacrifice of ten thousand in 10 years? It's impossible. Only those, who are going to be swept away into the container of history, can be against the constituent assembly. Monarchists, feudalists, imperialists and reactionaries will be the opponent of CA election, but CPN Maoist can never be against the constituent assembly. As a pioneer presenter of this joint mass meeting, as a leader of the Party that has established the CA, I would like to say that still there are challenges in front of the Constituent Assembly. We are fully committed and there is no reason to suspect on our commitment. Challenges against the CA is from the feudal, and

from those who live in Narayanhiti (palace). That challenge is from those foreign reactionaries, who want to bring split in the national unity, who want to bring disintegration and who have frequently intervened and encroached over Nepali territory. We are speaking about many places including Susta. We are talking about Kalapani. We are not ready to endure the frequent intervention of foreign powers whether they are supreme power of the world or regional powers. Any intervention from anywhere is unacceptable for us. Those who launch invasion are against the Constituent Assembly. And, again, I say that this joint mass meeting is the challenge for feudalist-royalists, this meeting is a challenge for the royalist and autocratic. An energy has been emerged out of this joint mass meeting. A fuel has been emerged. If they try to create disorder, the energy will turn them into ashes and CA will stand on over that ashes. Through this mass meeting, a national force like this, will be given birth in Madhesh, also in the hills, and if the foreigners attempt to undermine Nepalese, if the self-respect and independences are challenged to weaken, that will be resisted. If necessary, we will fulfil our quota of sacrifice and protect the national liberty and geographical integrity, no matter how much it requires.

Madheshi people are the true guard of nationalism. Madheshi people have always stood themselves in favor of nationalism whether it is the change of 2007BS, 2036 BS or 2046BS. It is not acceptable for us to use those renegades and quitters as mercenary army into the army, as goons against the Madeshi people. The great Nepalese people have stood up. No one can stop wakened up people. Only the people are creator of the history.

Honourable masses of the people!

Some are harping the untimely tune, about the fusion of the army. Nonsense!

Honourable masses of the people, warn them! Who has raised the question of fusion of the army now? A clear agreement has been made from comprehensive peace accord to 23-point agreement about the integration of army. Who is that Rukmangad Katawal, who

*Continued on page 6*

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## EDITORIAL

### Hold election on time

The election of Constituent Assembly (CA) has been a national agenda for all walks of life. Either social democrats or nationalists; either reformist or royalist, all political parties are engulfed in this national agenda. Nevertheless, different sections of people have different intentions on this agenda. Overall, it is a matter of enthusiasm to all the Nepalese people that the CA election averted for long time in the Nepalese history has now finally coming to be realised thanks to the ten years of great People's War and 19-day people's movement. Thus, it has been an opportunity to decide the fate and destiny of the country and the people. If the election of constituent assembly holds on time, and the people are allowed to decide their destiny without any intervention from the domestic and foreign reactionaries, the nation will take the straight course for peaceful change. If not, the nation will be pushed in to conflict.

However, the Nepali people in this time have seized initiative to institutionalise the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal through CA Election, yet it is not beyond uncertainty. Because, the CA election that had been thwarted since 1949AD it now has been averted for two times after the promulgation of new interim Constitution 2007AD.

The vigorous political struggle of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (CPNM) has once again foiled all conspiracies of all reactionaries. These conspiracies had averted the CA election scheduled for both times – mid-June and December. Since the country is a de jure Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal, it has to be turned de jure as well as de facto by implementing this along with the election, by restructuring the Nepalese society into the national and autonomous republics, by restructuring the Nepalese economy, by eliminating the cast, gender, religious and national and regional oppression.

To bring the new society into being, the CPNM has to be brought into power with minimum two third majority in the Constituent Assembly. Why is it necessary to bring the Maoist into power? It is obvious that the challenges are alarming. Some people on power have been advocating against the interim constitution that the implementation of the interim constitution has been a political mistake. Some others have been saying that 1990 constitution has to be revived against the interim constitution. What happens if such people regressive elements again come into power? Some of the people are saying that if the Maoist comes into power, there will be a rain of tyranny! Well, has anyone forgotten that these were the people who once put the bounty over heads of the Nepalese people? If these elements ride into power, the Nepalese society once again will fall backward into the history, these people once again put the bounty over head of the Nepalese people!

The people of the whole nation have stood up! The participation and the public sentiment manifested in these joint mass-meeting hitherto organised have proved that the people have full support to the Party and are aware against the regressive elements. The seven party campaigns to hold joint mass meeting all over thy country is being organised successfully and enthusiastically.

In spite of this, the imperialist and domestic regressive forces are conspiring against the election of CA and they want to push the country into another conflict. Therefore, the progressive, democratic and republican forces within the parliamentary parties and in the interim government should be aware on time to defeat them. The CA election has no other alternative to build republic Nepal, if to go through peace process.

# Democratize means Politicize



● Nandakishor Pun 'Pasang'

We are serious about the integration of the army. These days, whatever expressions are in publicity, we are taking them seriously. Firstly, the version of Prime Minister GP Koirala, after the expression of the chief of Nepal Army (NA) Katawal against the integration of army, seems to be expressed after the consultation among them. This has been publicized in a pre-planned way as a conspiracy.

Secondly, they wanted to provoke and push us against the election of Constituent Assembly so that the environment would be created to blame us unilaterally. Thirdly, we have felt that they wanted to interfere us because our central committee meeting was running at that time.

Their version clearly shows that they wanted to break the ongoing peace process. If we study the documents of political agreements from 12-point Understanding and Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) to the 23-point latest political consensus, the question of integration of Army is addressed seriously every time. Likewise, the integration is prioritized and focused saying that the process should be moved ahead by forming a Special Committee as soon as possible.

It is a remarkable fact that the Prime Minister Koirala has been reigned in the interim government in the support and force of People's Liberation Army (PLA). If PLA would not have sacrificed and contributed for the Democratic Republic backing 19 days People's Movement, neither the dissolved house would have reinstated, nor the Constituent Assembly would be possible. Rather GP Koirala would have been counting the days of his life in a Jail because Gynandra Shah was in a plan to reign over Nepal for many years like his father Mahendra.

It has raised a question that PM Koirala doesn't seem to be in favor of political solution because he is speaking, conspiring and making efforts against PLA? Obviously a question has been raised whether Koirala is in plan to hook the upcoming Constituent Assembly. If he has spoken intentionally, he wants to entangle the country into another conflict. So far as the expression of army chief Katawal concerns, he has no right to say so. He, on one hand, talks about not to be indoctrinated but on the other hand, he always tries to interfere ongoing political agreement contradictorily. Nepali Army (former Royal Nepal Army) is involving continuously in the politics of Panchayat system for 30 years voicelessly. It followed the directive of autocratic rule and its chief King against democracy, freedom and Nepalese people. So the question of democratization of Nepali

army is meaningful in this sense.

Coming near to the last hour, Nepali Army is backing the status quoist tendency even though NA has been declared to be under the framework of multiparty competitive state power. The status quoist tendency or ideology has been circulated in the NA which is the dangerous politics. So it is a humorous version to claim that the army should not be influenced with the terminology of 'ism' or 'ideology' as Katawal claims that 'no army indoctrinated by ism or ideology' is acceptable (for NA) to integrate.

From the beginning, we have said to build national army by integrating PLA and NA with open debate of 'ism' and 'ideology'. The National Army should be democratic army, it means political army. It should be politicized democratically. Only the Democratic Army will be able to protect the nation and its people.

The current political situation shows that the country is passing through a different type of conflict. Therefore, to solve the problem politically, we should take the following efforts:

Firstly, we should go ahead firmly to hold the election of CA by implementing the 23 point consensus honestly. Secondly, seven political parties should address the Terai issue together from the same platform. Thirdly, a political campaign should be carried all over the country and the candidate should be selected according to the proportional election system.

(As told to Red Star reporter)

## FROM THE HISTORY

### Have firm faith in the majority of the people

The proletariat must build up its own army of intellectuals, just as the bourgeoisie does. The regime of a given class cannot do without its own intellectuals. How could bourgeois dictatorship be possible in the United States without its intellectuals? Ours is a dictatorship of the proletariat, and the proletariat must build its own army of intellectuals, including all those intellectuals from the old society who truly take a firm working-class stand after being remoulded. Probably Chang Nai-chi can be counted among those Rightists who refuse to change. When urged to make the change into a proletarian

intellectual, he refuses, saying he made the change long ago and is now a "red bourgeois". Well, let's follow the method of self-assessment and public discussion; you can make the assessment yourself, but it has to be put to the public for discussion. We say you are not up to the mark, Chang Nai-chi, you are a white bourgeois. Some people argue for becoming expert first and red later. To be expert first and red later means to be white first and red later. Not red now but red in the future; if they are not red now, then what is their present colour? White of course. Intellectuals should be at once red and

expert. To be red, they must make up their minds thoroughly to transform their bourgeois world outlook. They don't have to read a lot of books, what they must do is to get a true understanding of the following questions. What is the proletariat? What is the dictatorship of the proletariat? Why is it that the proletariat alone has great promise while the other classes are all dasses in transition? Why must our country take the socialist road and not the capitalist road? Why is the leadership of the Communist Party indispensable?

From the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. V, pp. 498-513.

# Historic CC meeting and its historic task



● Dharmendra Bastola

The Central Committee (CC) meeting of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) has recently been accomplished. Chairman Prachanda put forwarded a draft of a six-point political proposal, a great debate held on the proposal, Chairman Prachanda clarified some of the issues raised in the meeting and the draft proposal has unanimously been adopted as a political resolution of the CC meeting. The adopted six-point document by the CC meeting comprises the following issues: on general line of the Party; on strategy and tactic of the Party; on what should be the organizational structure and working style of the Party at the present situation; on rectification; on political situation at the present time; and on the future plan of the Party.

Let us go into detail what is elaborated in the six-point document. On the question of the general line of the Party, Chairman Prachanda has time and again educated the rank and file through numerous documents developed in last one and half decade. Theoretically, the Party had adopted the general line of the protracted people's war (PW), which Mao Tsetung developed and this war advances through the process of strategic defensive, strategic equilibrium and strategic offensive. This line, in general, helped the Party to initiate and continue the PW. While the Party was in the process of development of the PW, a good many problems appeared. Of course, these problems were genuine, because every problem demands new solution. Answering many burning questions that how can the proletariat accomplish New Democratic Revolution and Socialist revolution in the present world situation, that how can the proletariat check up the restoration of capitalism after the establishment of the Socialist state, that how can the proletariat exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisies, the historic Second Conference of the Party developed and adopted certain line on these

questions. In the second historic Conference of the Party in 2001, Chairman Prachanda had synthesized that neither the general line of protracted People's war developed by Mao nor the line of insurrection developed by Lenin alone are enough to accomplish revolution in the world today. Thus it is necessary to develop a correct politico-military line of revolution. In the wake of development of imperialism, including the US imperialism acting as a world state, in the context of development of science and technology, especially the development of electronic communication and mass

**The spirit of the document clearly covers up that no revolutionary political power can be achieved without smashing the old state and no revolutionary transformation of a society can be made with the cosmetic reform of the old one.**

medias; and in the context of rapidly changing production relation and productive forces thanks to the imperialist globalization, liberalism and world market policies, Chairman Prachanda had synthesized within a set of ideas that the politico-military line to accomplish revolution in the world today becomes the fusion of those two strategies—the strategy of insurrection and the strategy of Protracted People's war.

Along with the development of People's War, the Party had put forward the slogan of the Round table Conference, formation of the interim government and the Election of the Constituent Assembly as per the line developed. The correctness of this line has been proved through practice hitherto exercised in the course of Nepalese revolution. The Party sat for negotiation with the then government three times. But the negotiations failed and the struggle continued. And, an obvious question comes, what would it happened if the government agreed with those demands in 2002 itself? In fact the CPN (Maoist) would have joined the government under the leadership of King Gyanendra and launch struggle for another

height from there to smash out the semi-feudal semi-colonial reactionary state.

Today the same question is being rose all around the world what should be the general line of the Party. The document has made it clear that it is historical necessity to join the government and accomplish the election of the CA in spite the principal contradiction exists as it was, the contradiction between the Nepalese people and the reactionary state made of domestic feudalism and the comprador bureaucratic capitalism supported by the imperialism especially Indian expansion-

ism. This is to take the struggle to another height.

The Party has further synthesized that in the process of certain development of the people's war, it becomes necessary to combine different forms of struggle as the people's war, mass struggle, diplomacy and negotiations. This is the question how to navigate the proletarian revolution through the dangers of Scylla and Charybdis. In the history, especially after the death of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the revolutionary movements developed in different parts of world have either met Scylla or Charybdis. The history had time and again demanded an expert navigator; that is, the genuinely developer of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) to another height. In the absence of this historical necessity, either the revolutionary movement have ultimately fallen into reformism or dogmatism. In the both cases, the outcome of the struggle remained liquidation of revolution. This is the question of line, just as correctness or otherwise of the political line determines everything, the correctness or otherwise in upholding, applying and developing MLM will determine everything. If one has a correct

line it can initiate, continue and develop people's war, safeguarding the achievements attained in the course of the war, a revolutionary Party develops to a higher level of struggle towards seizing the central political power, and if one does not have a correct line, neither can it initiate such struggle nor can it continue and develop. Further, even if such struggles are initiated, they will certainly peril at one moment.

Similarly, the question of the democracy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is also related to the question of revolutionary line. Since the state, democracy and dictatorship are one entity in different forms, what kind of democracy or what kind of dictatorship comes to be an important question? The document highlights the importance that there will be a socialist competition of the communist revolutionaries in the society of the 21<sup>st</sup> century democracy that is the competition of the various revolutionary groups under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The spirit of the document clearly covers up that no revolutionary political power can be achieved without smashing the old state and no revolutionary transformation of a society can be made with the cosmetic reform of the old one.

**On the question of strategy and tactics of the Party, the document has made it clear that the strategy of the party is to accomplish New Democratic Revolution against feudalism and imperialism and tactics is to take democratic, nationalist, patriotic and leftist forces together to the revolutionary movement and isolate and destroy the major enemy of the people.**

Thus the general line of the Party is to make the oppressed masses prepared ideologically, politically, organizationally, and logistically and getting them ready to struggle for a new state.

On the question of strategy and tactic of the Party, the document has made it clear that the strategy of the party is to accomplish New Democratic Revolution against feudalism and imperialism and tactic is to take democratic, nationalist, patriotic and leftist forces together to the revolutionary movement and isolate and

destroy the major enemy of the people. In this case, the Party keeps on changing tactic as per necessity. The major aspect of the tactic is to unite different forces against feudal, autocrats in defence of Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal. To achieve these goals, the party will also use its ability to utilise international contradictions in the interest of proletarian revolution.

The third point of the document addresses on the question of organizational structure and working style of the Party. Chairman Prachanda has made it clear that the kind of working style should be set out as per the kind of organizational structure. If the organizational structure does not correspond to the working style or vice versa, any organization in general cannot achieve success in its mission. Having summarized the working style of our Party in last two years, Chairman Prachanda has stressed that there has been a contradiction between the organizational structure and working style in the past two years. Since we entered into the peace process, we should have set out our organizational structure as per the open environment than that of the clandestine practiced in last one decade of

people's war. Henceforth, the Party will radically change its working style as per the situation while the Party is going to the election of the constituent assembly.

On the forth point, the document asserts on rectification in the rank and file of the Party. Our Party has been raising the question of rectification campaign time and again. This is because, if a revolutionary Party is not rectified and renovated every moment ideologically, politically, organizationally and militarily it will

*Continued on page 7*

# Fasting People's March editor hospitalised, denied bail



**P. Govindan Kutty**

P. Govindan Kutty, editor of the Indian Maoist monthly magazine People's March, was transferred from jail to hospital 9 January. He had been on hunger strike since 20 December, when he was remanded to prison following his arrest the day before. On 18 January, before the Kerala High Court, the state government opposed the third and latest effort to obtain his freedom on bail. Once again adjusting the charges against him, the authorities have now made the political nature of this case perfectly clear. According to The Hindu (21 January), "In a statement filed in response to his bail petition, the police said there was a possibility of the accused indulging in anti-national activities if he

was released on bail. The police said he had been propagating the CPI (Maoist) ideologies and programme and publishing the CPI (Maoist) mouthpiece People's March."

There has been no further news about Kutty's health and the conditions of his imprisonment. His age is variously given as between 60-68.

A group of five Indian human rights activists was able to meet with the journalist in prison 8 January. They told a press conference that after his arrest, Kutty had been permitted to talk to a lawyer only with the authorities present. Acting on "orders from higher authorities," they said, his jailers were force-feeding him glucose after tying his hands and legs. They characterized his treatment as "torture". The next day, the authorities announced that he has been transferred from Viyyur prison to a hospital following what they called the "deterioration" of his state of health.

People's March is a licensed, government-registered publication. It has never before been banned or faced legal proceedings, although it seems to have been outlawed since Kutty's arrest. There is nothing clandestine about it. Kutty has long been publicly identified as

its editor, publisher and owner, with his address figuring in the masthead. Calling itself "The Voice of the Indian Revolution", it has never claimed to be an organ of the banned Communist Party of India (Maoist). Some of its articles have been reprinted by the mainstream Indian press.

Apparently the authorities first arrested the editor and then tried to find suitable charges. According to The Hoot, the blog of a Delhi-based media watch group, which has been one of the few sources of information on this case, after Kerala police raided the small office of this journalist, ransacked the premises and confiscated the computer and literature, they initially announced he would be accused of helping two alleged CPI(M) members find shelter. The two, Malla Raya Reddy and Suguna, had been captured in a secret police raid on a group of construction workers from neighbouring Andhra Pradesh living alongside a road in Kerala a few days before. The columnist, N. P. Chekkutty, who identifies himself as "a fellow Kerala editor," the hue and cry raised by local people who stopped the police vehicle carrying the two prisoners may be what forced

the police to take them to court rather than simply killing them, as often happens in such cases.

However, no evidence of any connection between Ketty and the two arrested persons was ever presented, and no charges seem to have been brought in this regard. Instead, the main accusation against him was that he had written an article five years ago allegedly praising an attack on the widely hated Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister Chandra Babu Naidu. No legal action had been taken against him or the magazine in this regard before now. The Unlawful Activities Prevention Act under which these accusations have been framed is usually used against common criminals, not in political cases, and never against a media person. Now, at his most recent bail hearing, he has been charged purely and simply with the content and opinions expressed in his magazine.

Some local and national media and people of various political persuasions have begun to make Kutty's case more broadly known. Statements of support have come from the Kerala Human Rights Samithi, student organizations, journalists, writers, scientists and others, as well as the Revolution-

ary Democratic Front of India (rdfindia@gmail.com).

The treatment of the human rights activists who saw Kutty has also stirred some further protests. The five, including several lawyers and a publisher, came from Delhi and Tamil Nadu as well as other cities in Kerala. They were initially blocked by the prison authorities, who wanted to force them to urge the editor to give up his protest fast. They succeeded in entering the prison the following day, but as they were leaving, the police tried to take them to a police station to "verify their identities" because they were suspected of being "extremists". The five protested that they had already presented their identification documents to the jail authorities. "Somehow, they managed to escape," wrote the newspaper Newindpress. They made a public appearance later that day at a conference at the Press Club in Thrissur, where they demanded that the state of Kerala drop the "false case" against Kutty and compensate him for his illegal detention.

*A World to Win News Service. (www.awtw.org)*

## Constituent Assembly election .....

now says that the integration of the army is not possible? A culprit of the people's movement raising the issue of army integration! A guilty saying that the army integration can be made! Nepal army, which played the role as the slave of feudalism since years, would be Nepal army! And that, who sacrificed for building a new Nepal, would not be the national army? Who is that?

He said that he would not adhere to the politics. Isn't Katawal's expression a politics? He performed a politics to safeguard feudal autocrats. Is he permitted to do this politics? If he is permitted, what does he think us? Is the 95 thousands army his property? CPN Maoist hasn't said that the army integration has to be done right now. Did we raise the dispute of the army integration? Who raised this? Remember, the challenge is from there!

Why this untimely harping? Yes, I had talked with the Nepal Army generals about integration. Not secretly but

openly talk happened. Once at the hotel Ambassador and the other in the hotel Summit at Kupandol. And then, why did he issue a false communiqué after a month and after returning back from Delhi? Who is that? Can't I talk to the generals? Where as, I and our party declared unilateral 3-months long ceasefire against Gyanendra Shahi by addressing the aspiration of peace of the Nepalese people. They want to trigger out another war.

Honourable masses of people!

The murderers want to trigger out war. If not, why the question of the integration of the army has been raised now? Why the question of integration of the army at the moment is needed? They want war! Beware! The masses of people! If you are not aware, these culprits wanted to push onto the war in last Dashain. We are flexible without any reason! We have faith over the people. We, thanks to be the children of the people, are advancing in the process of peace with

patience and flexibility. While we were in the meeting of our central committee discussing to make decision to success the constituent assembly, why the persons like Katwal raise the question of the integration of army? We all should take it seriously. Those who do not want to see the national independence of Nepal, those elements who cannot see the republic in Nepal, and those who make many pretension accuse CPNM and say that the Maoist has raise the issue of army integration? Raising the issue of army integration at the moment of CC meeting aiming at to provoke us?

Therefore, honourable masses of people! We are going to the CA with an entire force! We have the greatest love to the constituent assembly, because more than ten thousands best sons and daughters have lost their lives for the Constituent Assembly. Let not anyone perform hypocrisy! Let not anyone commit stupidity! No other has much love to the Con-

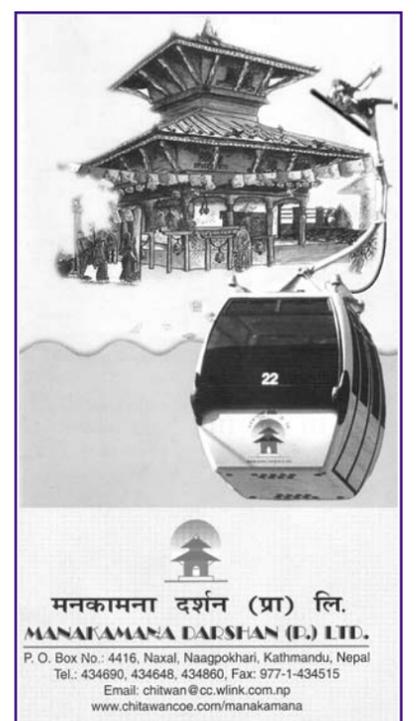
stituent Assembly than to us. Those, who wanted to abort it in the embryo, are in favour of the CA election, and we, who gave birth to the CA are to be against it? It is quite impossible!

Therefore, this historic mass meeting will create energy, that energy will be produced through that constituent assembly for a creation of a great nation. If someone wants to create the obstacles coming before the CA election, that will be broken, and turned into ashes and the election of the constituent assembly will be accomplished.

A great nation is going to be built up. We are at the verge of great opportunity and challenges! To have paid a little wisdom by us, a great nation will be emerged up and we will be able to take our country towards making it among the most prosperous countries of the world in 10-20 years. But if we can't understand the matter, a serious danger is also there. Therefore,

honourable masses of people, again the history is to be built by the people. It is in our hand. I believe that no power of the world will stop Nepal from the process of building up a new nation. Having done this commitment and having done this appeal, I would like to conclude my speech.

*(Speech of Chairman Prachanda delivered at seven-Party joint mass meeting held in Kathmandu on 14 January 2008.)*



# Review on Comprehensive Peace Accord



● Khimlal Devkota

The historical document was signed before one year on 21st Nov, 2006. At that time, seven party alliance [SPA] and CPN [Maoist] were fully confident that within six month election of the Constituent Assembly would be held. Programme of Socio-economic transformation would be launched. Democratization of Nepal Army as well as its size would be reduced. New national army shall be made by integration of the Peoples Liberation Army [PLA] and Nepali Army. Scientific Land reform programme would be launched. Relief shall be provided to the conflict victim, Martyr's family and Commission of the Disappeared shall be set up. High Level Commission shall be set up for the fulfilment of popular agenda of people's war and April movement for state restructuring. But one year has passed; nothing has been done in practice. Because of mistrust between SPA and CPN [Maoist], the confidence is continuously decreased. Comprehensive Peace Accord [CPA] declared the date of election of Constituent Assembly [CA] and expressed commitment on Publicity of disappeared persons, their whereabouts, release of detainees and disposal of explosive. But nothing has been implemented properly. So it is urgently needed to review of CPA for poor implementation on the one hand and time factors on the other.

Election of the constituent assembly date has mentioned in CPA in mid-June is still remained same, when as the change in constitution is already ratified. When the central theme of the CPA was election of the CA within mid June is lapsed and then the other conditions of the CPA has been automatically affected. When agreement and compromises has made in condition to election of CA in stipulated date,

if date is changed then others conditions also needed to be changed. It is obvious to say if CA election is changed other conditions also should have to be changed. For example, PLA has gone in cantonment in condition of CA election would be held in mid June but it is failed. As a highly disciplined force, they are in cantonment and they will remain continue there. Because it is a firm commitment to CA polls.

Major issues of present politics, after special session of the parliament-legislature, are republic and Proportional Representative system. The agreed point is that the fate of the monarchy shall be decided by the first meeting of the CA. But it is in condition that the election of CA would be held on



Comprehensive Peace Accord was signed on 21st Nov 2006

mid-June.

The conclusion of the CPN-Maoist was that when election of the CA failed in mid June it was because of monarchy so without removal of monarchy, CA election would never be held properly. It is proposed by Maoist that let's remove monarchy at first and declare the nation a republic which is already ratified by the interim parliament. Right now, according to direction of interim parliament the Democratic Republic has already been declared.

Mixed election system is another agreed point. It is also not unconditional. It is also in condition to hold election in mid June. Election date has already been changed and then election system is also needed to be changed. It is quit logical.

Although it can be said that it is already agreed point. But reality is that it is possible to hold election without declaration of republic and without adopting proportional representative system? It has been already proved that it is quite impossible. Election is failed and averted by monarchy from one hand and mixed election system from another. So, if we are really

committed to hold CA election, we should have accepted the proposal passed by the special session; which directed the government to declare republic and adopt the proportional representative system.

For this purpose, the review of CPA is necessary.

Another point for review CPA is the poor of implementation of CPA and interim constitution.

The CPA is unique document for the world. It has included three major component as human rights agreement, seize fire agreement and socio-economic transformation. It is incorporated within interim constitution also. But Government has not paid any attention on socio-economic transformation agendas. In the same way, human

right, media, civil society and all the others are also focused on human right but nothing on the socio-economic agendas. It is a bitter experience of this time. The spirit of the Conflict was focussed in the agenda of socio-economic transformation. Whether it is ambitious or it is the lack of interest of implementation, It is necessary to find out for the proper implementation of CPA.

Right now, six parliamentary parties and CPN (Maoist) has already reached on 23 point agreement, it is the result of 12 point CPA. It has declared that we will implement all the agreement honestly on time. After it there is no debate on Monarchy whatever it will be implemented by CA. And PR system is decided to apply from upto 60 percentage.

In conclusion, it is very necessary to review CPA to strengthen it and to upgrade to address the present realities, it is because CPA was signed one year before and within one year, the situation has dramatically changed. After CPA, we have been signed some more agreement and verbal understanding also. So, it is a prime duty for the political leadership to address present situation and peoples expectations. Let's review CPA and incorporate others understanding for the sake of strengthening and upgrading it for the fulfillment of the popular mandate of the April movement.

*(Writer is a member of interim legislature)*

## Historic CC meeting ...

not be able to solve the contradiction developed at present time. As per the challenges developed today, the party, the PLA and the masses have to develop their ideological, political and organisational level. The relation with the masses, the integration with the masses of the people has to be developed as per the necessity to accomplish revolution. Thus the rectification campaign has to be carried out in the party.

On its fifth point, the document evaluates the political situation of the country at the present situation. It is very important to note that our Party has been politically victorious while reaching to the 23-point agreement and declaring the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal. Since the fifth expanded meeting, the Party should have been capable to give a heavy pressure over the state. But this task has been accomplished after 22-point demands were put forward and pulled out of the government. Similarly, our proposal to declare Nepal a Federal Republic and ensure the full proportional election system had been ratified by the majority of the special session of the interim legislature. This situation gave raise to a confidence over the Nepalese people and finally seven party alliances arrived to 23-point agreement and a Federal Democratic Republic has been declared having politically abolished monarchy. This political development has caused the domestic and foreign reactionaries defeated politically. It has been a great victory of the party in the political battlefield.

The document has addressed on the future plan of the party on its sixth point. On this, the document has stressed to prepare the election of the Constituent Assembly in a full-fledged preparation. Similarly, the future plan will also link the leaders with the masses of the people in the course of election preparation. Along with the election preparation, the Party will also carry out the four preparations - ideological-political, organisational and logistical and preparation for struggle. The party will also expose the conspiracy, national treachery, national capitulation tendency of the feudal and the lackeys of imperialism and expansionism.

In total, the meeting has taken the entire party to a new height; united and developed enabled to seize the great opportunities and to meet the serious challenges to come in the course of history.

While we were sitting in the meeting, a lot of assumption and wistfulness were being propagated. Those assumption and wistfulness of the feudal autocrats had desired that the Party go towards disarray, that the Party go for war and not for the Election of the Constituent Assembly, that the Party capitulate in front of the feudal and bureaucrat capitalist, that the party capitulate to imperialism and expansionism, that the Party quit away from the responsibility of the interest of the people's, that the Party bug down into the parliamentary cretinism. Contrary to their wishes, our Party has taken historical decision to go to the election and make it success. This drive of the Party to go to the CA election itself is a blistering blow to those domestic and foreign reactionaries, who do not want to see the Nepalese people be sovereign and prosperous.

As Chairman Prachanda said in the meeting that every CC members are playing a historical role in the particular juncture of history, this meeting and its historical decisions will also be counted as a great historical development in the history of the proletarian class.

19th January 2008



Photo - Dinesh Shrestha

### ■ Dipak Sapkota

Leaders of seven political parties standing on common platforms have vowed to hold the election for the Constituent Assembly (CA) fixed on 10th April. Speaking at the mass meetings held in seven major cities of the country, leaders promised to pay any price if any elements try to foil the election.

These mass-meetings began from Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal. Huge joint mass-meetings took place in Kathmandu on 14 January; in Biratnagar on 19 January; in Bhairahawa on 21 January; in Dhangarhi on 25 January; in Janakpur on 26 January; in Nepalgunj on 28 January and in Birgunj on 30 of January. In these mass meetings the public participation and political enthusiasm have been manifested in support of drastic change of the Nepalese political, economic, regional, and national, gender and cast system. One of the most important characteristics of these mass-meetings is the higher level of political consciousness of the people that the Nepalese masses have always rejected the regressive elements and any support to the regressive elements from within the government.

Chairman of the CPN-Maoist Prachanda was the centre of attraction on the mass meeting held in Kathmandu, where hundred of thousands of people from seven political parties and all walks of life took part. Chairman Prachanda with his attractive personality and spellbound speech stood tall among all the political leaders. He insisted that CA election will be held at any cost and if anyone tries to sabotage it, then it will be held over their ash.

'There are challenges left from feudalism, reactionaries, expansionist and imperialist', Prachanda further added-'We will destroy all those elements who try to foil the CA election and hold it at any cost standing over their ash. This meeting has produced new strength.'

Prachanda seemed aggressive with the issue raised about the army integration at the time when his party was craving plans to go to CA election. He informed that this issue was settled in the agreements made between seven political parties and COAS of Nepal Army was not the right person to speak about it. For those who were arguing that People Liberation Army-PLA cannot be reintegrated to the National Army, Prachanda had a strong question to them-'Army that was made slave of the feudalism can be national army but PLA, who make such a huge contribution and sacrifice for the change, cannot be the national army?'

Although these kinds of joint meetings are not very new in Nepal but after the landmark 12 points agreement made between then insurgent Maoist and parliamentary parties, these were the significant occasions. After such a long time of coalition exercises, seven political parties have tried to create the overwhelming atmosphere for the CA election. Similarly activists of all seven parties took part with huge enthusiasm. The leaders reading the sentiment of their cadres and people expressed their strong commitment towards CA election.

UML leader Madhav Kumar Nepal stressed on the unity of seven parties and implementation of agreements made in the past. He said- 'If seven political parties move forward honestly, election is possible.' Senior Congress leader Sher Bahadur Deuba said CA election will be held on 10th April at any cost. He even insisted that the Republic will be established after the election. Amik Serchan, president of People's Front expressed that people should boycott those who speak on behalf of monarchy.

Prem Suwal CCM of Nepal Workers and Peasants Party informed that his party is in favour of socialist Republic as the democratic Republic cannot fulfil people's demand. The suspended vice-president of Nepal Sadbhawana Party-Anadidevi and cabinet minister of Nepal government opined that Madhesi-Pahadi should walk together with hand in hand. CP Mainali, general secretary of CPN-ML emphasized in the seven party alliances.

# Building confidence

These joint mass meetings have been successful in creating the environment of CA and to defeat all the conspiracies and plan against it.

The participating thousands of cadres, well-wishers, supporters and the masses showed their consciousness about what is happening day per day. The leaders tried to give the message to the people that they don't want the repetition of the history of the past. The election of the CA has been scheduled for 10 April '08 for the third time. Nepali people want to accomplish the objectives and the aspiration of the people's war and the people's movement through this CA election. For the first time in the history of Nepal, Nepalese people are going to write their constitution by their own hands.

Therefore, these joint mass meetings have been successful in creating the environment of CA and to defeat all the conspiracies and plan against it. If we observe the situation of the country, the revolutionary, progressive, forward going and democratic forces are activating openly. But on the other hand, imperialist and regressive forces are working secretly.

In this critical situation, seven political parties have conducted nationwide joint mass meetings excellently and successfully. The gateway of the success had been opened from Kathmandu. Crossing all the hurdles, seven political parties- CPN-Maoist, Nepali Congress, CPN UML, People's Front, Workers and Peasants' party, Nepal Sadbhawana Party and the United Left Front have addressed the joint mass meeting from the same platform in the history of Nepal.