

# THE RED STAR

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Nepal's National Magazine

## Twelve turbulent years of revolution



Thousands of people from all walks of life attended the celebration to mark the 13th anniversary of People's War in Kathmandu

### Red Star Reporter

The 13th anniversary of people's war (PW) has been celebrated magnificently all over the country. Different programmes on the occasion were held in the cities, rural areas and in the cantonment of the People's Liberation Army (PLA). This anniversary is celebrated historically with a new start.

During the war period, the anniversary of PW used to be celebrated for four weeks by making week-wise program. The first week of publicity and broadcasting; the second week of as remembrance of sacrifice; the third week of honor to martyrdom and the fourth week of review were used to be celebrated with different programs gathering people, cadres, leaders, PLA soldiers and the other

mass organizations together. The revolutionary tradition has been given continuity in the period of the peace process in a new height.

The country is in the transitional period from autocratic rule to federal democratic of republic. The historical achievements are being institutionalized through the election of the constituent assembly. For this, there is a sharp struggle

between the regressive-reactionary forces and revolutionary-progressive forces. CPN-M is leading to the direction of building New Nepal. The restructuring of old state power, the fusion of two armies, the awareness of the people and the adoption of proportional election system, the federal framework in place of unitary feudal state-structure and the participation of the

nationalities, women, region, Madhes, Dalit, minorities etc. in the state power, are all achievements of the great people's war. A decade long people's war has given birth to the power of people and its leadership without alternative. But to wipe out the old and establish the new victoriously, the last encounter is inevitable.

Analyzing the political situation when addressing the celebration of the 13th anniversary of the people's war held in Kathmandu on 13th February, Maoist party chairman comrade Prachanda said, "We are in the critical moment of the history. The occasion that appears in the hundreds of years in the history of any nation is in front of us."

Naming the transitional period as the preparation for the last encounter, chairman Prachanda said, "The war has been ended. But some battles are left. Some encounters are left. We are in the preparation for the last encounter. Will we be victorious in that last encounter? Yes. We must be. We are fighting the last encounter, we all know, through the election of the constituent assembly. We are fighting the last encounter in a peaceful manner." He further added "With this historic occasion, the traditional powers of

Continued on page 6

## The mandate expressed in People's War



■ Mohan Baidhya 'Kiran'

Right before 12 years, Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M) had brought a historical initiation of the people's war to establish a New State Power by assaulting over the old state power on 13th February. The day has been established as the momentous day for the Nepalese people. Now, we are going to celebrate the day as the entrance of the 13th year all over the country.

At this moment, it is necessary to be serious for the adoption and the implementation of the expressed mandate of the great people's war remembering the commitments committed before the initiation of the people's war.

Now, we are advancing ahead in the peaceful process through between the historical process of the ten year long people's war and nineteen days people's movement. The goal of the great People's War is to move ahead to the direction of Socialism and Communism by establishing the New Peoples Republic in Nepal. At present, we are advancing ahead energetically to the direction to built new Nepal through the election of the constituent assembly (CA) as the starting point of achieving the goal.

In this entire historical pro-

cess, more than twelve thousand martyrs have set the unprecedented records of dedication, bravery and sacrifice for protecting the national independence and establishing the People's Republic by inspiring the ideal of the communism. Likewise, a great number of the party cadres and people's warriors have been disappeared during the period. In this process, thousands of the people, people's warriors and Party comrades have to face the misbehavior, torture and repression in the custody, torturing camps and jails of the old state power. Simultaneously, people, in this great campaign, have to face and resist against the innumerable incidents of the white terror including horror, abuse, insult,

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# Attempt to obstruct CA election

## Red Star Reporter

A clique in Nepali Congress has once again tried to make efforts of conspiracy against CA election. Targeting Young Communist League, it is trying to obstruct the election and bring a political impasse. As the Constituent Assembly (CA) election is at the doorstep, the monarchial gang of Sujata Koirala is in the attempt to push the country in an encounter. The country has demanded peace and the people are in favor of peace and prosperity. That means not the peace to protect anti-people elements like king or the agents like Sujata Koirala.

There is still a sharp struggle between progressive and regressive forces in a different form. The nation is moving ahead to institutionalize the declared Federal Democratic Republic through CA Poll. But the regressive forces, monarchial elements and the handful foreign elements are trying to sabotage it. They have deployed police force and attacked suddenly in the offices of League in the hope of spoiling the election environment.

The new generation, who is in the campaign to succeed the upcoming CA election resisted bravely and chased the police deployed by Sujata Koirala

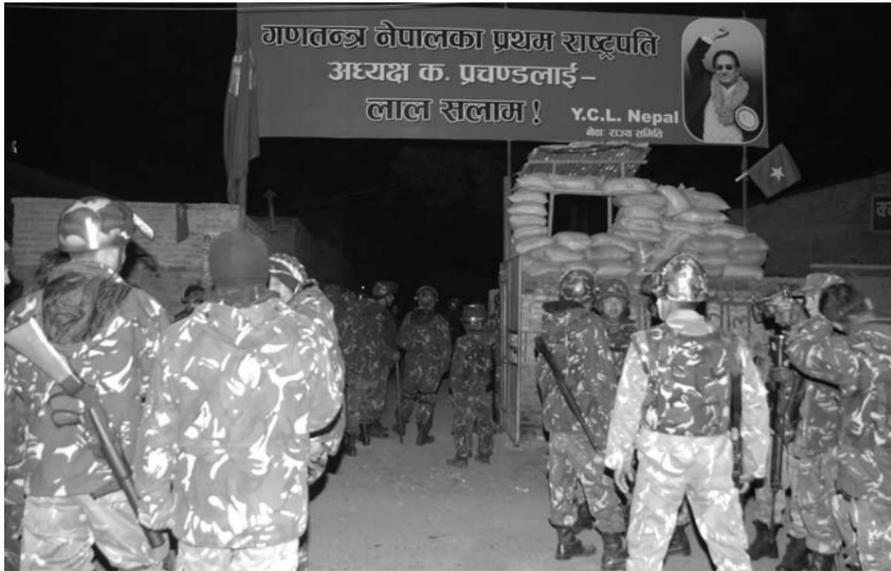
gang that they will be obliged to raise arms if they continue their activities in attempt to foil CA election.

This incident has raised various

powers and monarchial elements are trying to use Sujata Koirala as their reliable agent. But she was exposed soon among the Nepalese people and she didn't get the credibility as they had thought.

If someone blindly sees it a suitable time to fulfill their interest, s/he will be eliminated forever by scribing black on his/her face. CPN-Maoist took the historical decisions to protect the nation and its people from foreign intervention and came to the peace process. If someone dreams to sweep away Maoist and disrupt CA polls, it will be unfortunate to the nation. If someone thinks that the Maoists are disarmed and it is the suitable time to suppress them again, the indoctrinated physical bodies shall transform into sophisticated weapons.

Although some retrogressive forces is to be eliminated in CA election, they should by burning their heart, grinding their teeth and shedding blood from their eyes, be ready to face the election. Everyone should try to get prepared themselves to accept the result. Otherwise if anyone dares to foil the election they should be ready to face rebellion.



Police encircling office of Young Communist League in Balaju on Feb. 6

gang away with their sticks. The League announced its resistance program immediately and exposed all the conspiracies regarding the raid in their office. The League has cautioned the notorious

questions. Does Sujata have the authority to handle state power alone as her private property? Do these kinds of ill ambitions of Sujata will drive the country in a prosperous way? The foreign

## Extradition on Pressure!

The notorious kidney smuggler Amitkumar Rawat has been extradited to India on the pressure of Indian government. He was arrested on 7th February in Chitwan district.

Amitkumar who was smuggling the kidney for five years had come to Nepal to hide after some of his colleagues were arrested. Although Nepal Police had informed the media that case will be filed against him in Nepal, but he was suddenly submitted to Indian authorities. The state minister for the Home said that Amitkumar was extradited according the INTERPOL law but it is believed that India had put pressure on Nepal government.

This is the irony of Nepal that Nepali young girls were/are smuggled to be used as prostitutes in the brothels of Indian Cities. Hundreds of thousands of Nepali citizens are working hard on a extremely low wages. India in the past captured the rivers of Nepal and that is still going on through the non-mutual treaties. And for the past few years, Indian smugglers are smuggling valuable organs of poor Nepali Citizens. Smugglers like Amitkumar sell a kidney in more than half million rupees where as they give Nepali citizens only about 50 thousand rupees.

The Amitkumar issue has once again degraded Nepal's prestige. He has been submitted to India after the pressure and Nepal even couldn't bear pressure for a single person. When will these kind of disrespect situation end? Nepali people have a strong question.

## Alternative Communication Highway

An alternative communication highway is to be built to link Nepal and China in the beginning of this year. Minister of Communication and Information Krishna Bahadur Mahara and the Ambassador of China for Nepal Zheng Zhiangling jointly laid the foundation to spread the Optical fiber in the last week of January.

The work has been started as according to the bilateral agreement between two countries. Chinese government has donated twenty five crore (250 million) rupees for it. This highway will link Khasa (Chinese trade centre bordering Nepal) with Kathmandu. Before this, the horizontal communication highway of east-west Nepal has been made with the assistance of India.

The vertical communication highway will make the communication transportation easier. It will help to provide the communication opportunities and services to the people of remote areas too. Along with it, the new start has been on the basis of new relationship of China with the interim government. This vertical communication highway seems to fulfill the necessity of communication of future New Nepal.



## The mandate expressed in People's .....

dishonoured, threat, murder, arson, rape, loot and suffering by the old state power. The great momentous hymns of the dedication, bravery and the sacrifice are grand, vigorous and generous for us from the view point of political, cultural and aesthetic values.

The old Nepal was reigned under the order of the kings-emperors and feudalism, bureaucrat and comprador capitalist class. The people have kicked out the order of old Nepal through people's war. Nepalese people wanted change, liberation and new Nepal against the old. For that, they wanted new ideology and new leadership. A great number the masses of people including workers, peasants, women, dalit, nationalities, students and the intellectuals participated in the People's War.

The two main aspects are expressed in the great People's War: they are the new people's power and the new ideology. The development of the new economy, new politics and the new culture was moved ahead through new people's power. The work of production, development and construction including the establishment of people's communes were started for building national independent economy in the rural areas against the deeply rooted bureaucratic capitalist economy of Nepal. People's democratic powers were established in the big rural areas against the old power of feudalism, bureaucrat and comprador capitalist class. The local people's governments were the expression of the power. Likewise, the process of creating democratic, national and scientific culture went on developing effectively against the

feudalism, imperialism and expansionism. In the process of the great people's war, the powerful voices were raised against the conservative thought, Hindu religion and the domination of the Brahminist ideology, the old thought to dominate women, dalits and the nationalities, sub-division of caste and untouchability in the big rural areas. The people abandoned the opinion to think the king as the incarnation of Visnu (the God). The process developed in the form of economical, political and cultural is running in the different form now. The creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is advanced effectively in Nepal and Prachanda Path has taken birth as a new ideology. The mandate expressed in the people's war is in building new power and new ideology.

Now the country has been made a secular state. Nepal is declared a Federal Democratic Republic. The commitment is expressed to go ahead by addressing all the problems including class, caste, region and gender. Objectively, these all are the achievements of the great People's War. But it is not enough and it is necessarily needed to concretize all these in the new constitution and implement them by institutionalizing through the election of CA.

In this context, the mentionable things are as follows:

The restructuring of the state on the basis of local autonomy with racial self-determination by eliminating the old feudalism central state power of unitary framework, or, to establish Federal Democratic Republic in the real sense, to provide the special right

to women and dalits, to make the policy of the revolutionary land reform under the slogan of 'Land to the Tiller' and bring it to the execution, to drive the process effectively ahead to build national and independent economy, to establish the democratic educational system, to provide the employment properly, to provide work and food to the workers, to establish the new cultural values, to liberate Nepal from all types of repression and from social discrimination and make it sovereign and harmonious. In totality, masses of the people should be possessed with full democratic right economically, politically and culturally. And, thus, we can advance towards the direction to establish new People's Democracy.

Our party CPN-Maoist is committed to fulfill the mandate expressed in the great People's War. Although, we are surrounded from all sides by feudalism, imperialism, expansionism and opportunism and the serious challenges with great possibilities are in front of us. We have a large number of the masses with us sacrificing in the continuous struggle. Along with it, we have a new ideology, plenty of willpower and firmed confidence. Therefore, we are able to advance ahead into the great historical campaign by destroying all the encirclements to fulfill the mandate of the people. No one can shake us as far as we belong to the people with revolutionary principle, tactical line and plan, we can advance ahead continuously with victory one after another.

—Writer is a senior Maoist leader  
(Translated from the Nepali version)

# Nepali people will defeat their enemies

**After 12 years, how do you remember the beginning of People's War?**

When I remember that time I still feel a great pleasure. Before the declaration of people's war, we'd prepared a lot regarding its practical aspects and concentrated on basic plans of People's War. Really, that very moment was romantic as it could be the starting of revolutionary epoch. More than this, we're dedicated to contribute world's revolution and feel everything on that ground.

**So, in which stage is the historical People's War at present?**

According to our analysis, it has already crossed two initial stages i.e. strategic defense and equilibrium and now it's in strategic offensive position. In the meantime, we've developed a new model. Especially after the second convention of our party, we followed the fusion of People's War with urban movement and our fundamental concept of the democracy of 21<sup>st</sup> century brought the war in this present position and we're struggling in the peace process. In fact, it is under the strategic offensive position.

**Had you imagined that People's War would reach this position in a very short time?**

We discussed over this matter seriously at the time of starting period. To tell you the truth, we didn't think it will get this height in a decade. However, we were quite optimistic. One thing is real, due to certain struggle existed here, we'd thought whether it will move very fast and get victory or it will face setback. Fortunately, the first way happened and now it's been the part of new study.

**How can you concretize the achievements of people's war?**

It has various dimensions. First, the present Nepali politics has moved following its steps on its way and it has proved certain basic aspects of our politics. Second, it brought the awareness among the people living in different corners of the country. Similarly class, regional, racial, gender issues have been established in Nepali society which are the day properties for the people of Nepal and world. Third, Constituent Assembly, Federal Democratic Republic, the concept of new Nepal, restructuring of the state are the basic achievements of this war. For this, thousands of great people of

Nepal sacrificed their lives, many more got wounded and disappeared. To sum up the ideas it's a historical revolt. To my mind, the final victory is too near, we got victory and the last struggle is still going on and surely Nepali people will defeat the enemies. That would be the greatest achievement of People's War.

**Right now the International Communist Movement is in defensive stage, but here it got popularity. Can you tell us certain salient features of it?**

Ideologically, it's offensive. No capitalist and imperialist can deny this philosophy. However, it's defensive on the basis of authority. Right now, no real socialist power exists in the world. The situation is unfavorable for the movement everywhere, but Nepali People's War developed rapidly proving its necessities. I think, there are three causes behind this. First our party CPN-M creatively used the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism rightly and followed them properly. Second, our party specifically pointed out the certain class struggles of our society which were sufficient to launch people's war and we handled them scientifically in the context of Nepal. Third, the revolutionary party guideline, militant party cadres and Nepali people are the main factors of this grand success. Moreover, our party addressed the problems of Nepali society, (class) caste, region, gender and the huge number of people participated in our campaign.

In this way, theory, practice and people's support stood on the same point. Here, I would like to add certain things. Before the launching the People's War, we struggled for ten years against rightist, opportunist and eclectic and prepared a ground for this. And during ten years, we fought and glorified the war. During this decade long People's War, a matured leaders and leadership born. Party cadres got ready to implement party lines and despite the fact that there was unfavorable situation, it occupied new height as we fought differently.

**Now the movement is moving peacefully. Some people argue CPN-M left People's War and quite the contrary others argue Maoists cadres have war-trend? How do you respond it?**

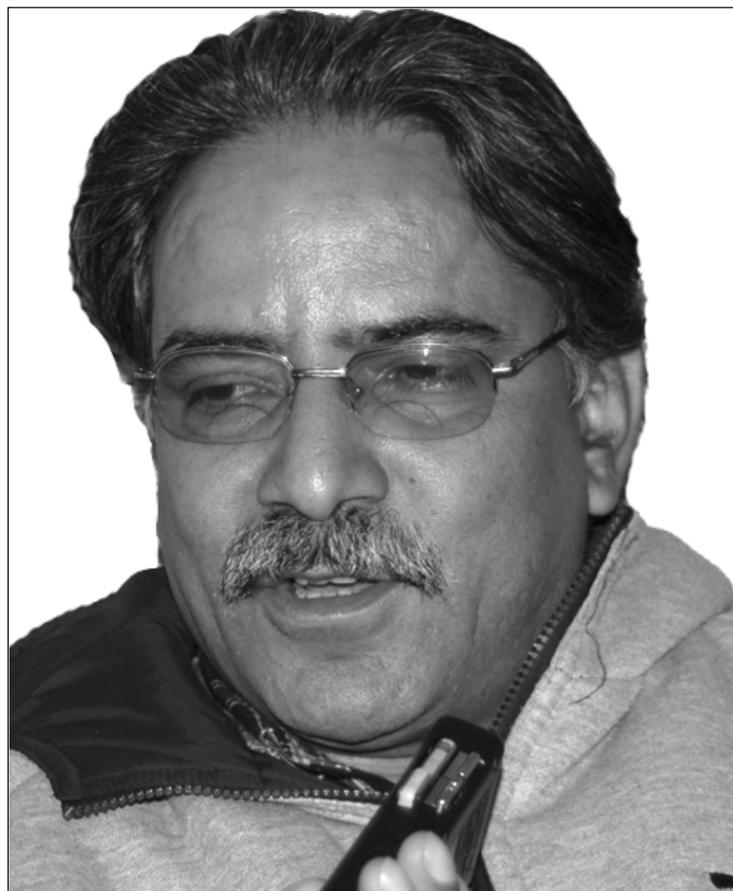
Both are extremist. Some

forces bluffed one's way out of something. The present trends are frequently repeated in different times in different names. Before the war, when we were preparing for this, we got united to whom we called rightist. On the other hand, we used parliamentary system for the preparation. Beside these, we walked ahead with opportunist and dogmatic group. At that time, some blamed us extremist leftist and some blamed us that we were trapped in the quicksand of parliament and they tried to prove us being rightist opportunist due to party unity. Truly speaking those who watched us from mechanistic and dogmatic angles, they blamed us rightist opportunist. Similarly, the rightist revisionist like Unit Marxist-Leninist concluded we followed the path of extreme leftist as we practised class struggle and taught our cadres the way of revolution. Hence, everything happened according to our political line. Even today, during this peace process period neither we are rightist nor we are extremist. In short, we are Marxist, Leninist and Maoist. In order to fulfil our strategic goal we've rightly handled the situation and analyzed international and national power balance truly. CPN-M is committed towards our class, people and revolution. If the reactionaries and imperialists blame we're not corrected and as they say we are still in war. In the other hand, some say we are about to finish as they fail to understand the situation and watch everything from mechanistic angle and they lack the principle of dialectical materialism to conclude the overall situation.

**The present tactics of CPN-M is different from other tactical uses of communist movement. Can you justify over your use?**

I think it's different and similar both. You can argue in both ways why because Marx and Engels practised class struggle in Germany and learnt many more. But the German blueprint was not repeated in France during Paris Commune, though both concluded it was a great revolution, Again Lenin didn't use the same dogmas in October Revolution. Similarly Mao used it differently. As a result it proved Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has some similar basic ideas.

The necessity finds the way and we should use the theory in



**Com. Prachanda, Chairman, CPN-Maoist**

changed context as our predecessors did. We're used different tactics as well, it's a little bit different from Mao's tactics. Again it's some similarities as Lenin's tactics was different from Marx and Mao was different from Lenin. Thus it's same, we say every one knows those revolutions happened in different times. The situation is changed, the international power balance is not same, our predecessors developed their own tactics gradually in specific time and we too go ahead from this process. Now the situation of 21<sup>st</sup> century is not same as in the past, here are some influences of global politics and the main thing nowhere the socialist authority is in power. In this bitter situation, if we used the old tactics the revolution would have got a setback and collapse. I say to our comrades frequently if we used the carbon copy of long term People's War it would face an accident as in other countries though they were revolutionary in nature and sacrificed their lives. So, we want to get rid of those mistakes. This is the lesson we learnt from Marxism, Leninism and Maoism. Now we are here. Otherwise, we used to be in the initial stage and we would have fought to declare war. We fought continuously for ten years and challenged imperialists and regressive forces due to our new development of tactics.

**Now CPN-M is a main and big revolutionary party of Nepal and this party is about to complete the revolution. Moreover this party aims to unite other parties. Can you tell a little bit on it?**

Of course. Before entering this peace process, we united the thousands of revolutionary people in our Maoist move-

ment. Recently our comrades from eastern Nepal reported that around 80 percent cadres are from other parties. Even after entering this new phase, our party has declared only one communist party should be formed and we've moved towards this.

Last year, our central committee meeting has passed this agenda and decided on it every unity is possible if the parties have common ideology and political tactics. Formally, we got unity with four groups in this one year i.e. CPN (MLM centre) led by Krishna Das; CPN (2006) led by Keshav Nepal, Democratic Republic Forum and Democratic Forum of Bhim Bahadur Kadayat and Ramman shrestha respectively. Very soon, one Marxist party is getting united with us. Similarly, our talk to CPN (Unity Center-Masal) and CPN-United is going on positively. Our unity with first group is too near. We agreed in it and both sides are sincere enough to unite the revolutionary group. Only procedure is yet to be finalized and we'll talk on it. Our talk to CPN-United is positive. Hence, there's a sufficient room to do a progress on party unity. Definitely, it's the influence of People's War. It will make a new power center and lead the nation. Again, there are some parties with whom we've some fundamental differences in terms of party principles, we have proposed them to make a common platform, which can go against imperialism, feudalism, in order to make an easy journey. I think, only in this case, we can lead the Federal Democratic Republic Nation and complete the revolution obtaining the height of full democracy.

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## EDITORIAL

### Achievements of People's War

The thirteenth anniversary of the great People's War is celebrated grandly all over the country. The anniversary is celebrated in cities, rural villages and in cantonments in a delighted environment.

Nepalese People's War was initiated right before twelve years in 1996 as a historical phenomenon. The People's War was initiated with the proletarian commitment for bringing the liberation of the millions of exploited and repressed Nepali people and to cooperate with the movements of the world proletarian class.

In this sense, the protracted People's War was launched to root out the feudalistic state power and to liberate the country from the foreign intervention. In the process of the People's War, Nepalese people formed their regular People's Liberation Army, exercised their own People's Powers and reigned their own autonomous powers with independent economy in the history of Nepal. One of the greatest achievements is the development of Prachanda Path which was developed in course of implementing Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the Nepali soil. Millions of people got instructed with the political education especially in the remote villages. The nationwide awareness emerged in a short period of the armed struggle. This is the other achievement in the history of Nepali society.

The great achievements acquired from the People's War are being institutionalized in the process of the peaceful development of the revolution. The nation is advancing ahead towards the process of restructuring. The restructuring of all the sectors of the old state and the fusion of People's Liberation Army and the Nepal Army is already ratified by the Nepali people. It has also been clearly mentioned in the interim constitution.

According to the mandate of the People's war and 19 day People's Movement, the nation has been declared Federal Democratic Republic and the autocratic rule has been ended legally. People are actively participating in all the political programs to institutionalize the republic through the election of Constituent Assembly (CA). The Federal democratic Republic is being implemented through the first meeting of the constituent assembly and proportional election system is being adopted in the CA election. These all are the achievements of the ten years people's war and it's commotional expression of 19 day people's movement.

The achievements of a decade long People's War are momentous and historical in this context. It has carried the nation up to the height of building New Nepal. Long live the People's War!



■ C P Gajurel (Gaurav)

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

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

national perspective.

#### An internationalist movement

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

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

notion in hand he brought many wrong concepts, such as—Communist Party as the "party of the whole people", "class coordination", "peaceful coexistence", "peaceful way of transition from capitalism to socialism" etc.

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

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

#### International situation: favourable of unfavourable?

We are making revolution in Nepal as a part of the world revolution which serves the interest of the op-

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## FROM THE HISTORY

### Proceed on the path of Protracted People's War

#### The Form, Target and Motive force of Nepalese People's War

Our party has settled political-strategic tactics to accomplish New People's Democratic revolution with democratic dictatorship in the leadership of proletarian class on the basis of the unity of workers and peasants aimed against the feudalism and imperialism. The future objectives of the party are to advance forward to the direction of proletarian socialist revolution and conduct the cultural-revolution under the proletarian dictatorship and the principles to achieve communism. It is clear that the form and the direction of the Nepalese armed struggle will be directed by the very political and strategic objectives. According to it, the National Unity Congress has cleared the form and direction of the Nepalese armed struggle that the tactical line of

protracted people's war will be on the basis of besieging the cities from rural areas.

#### Target of armed struggle

The principal task of the armed struggle is to handle the basic contradiction between feudalism and Nepalese people, imperialism mainly the Indian expansionism and Nepalese people and contemporarily the domestic reactionaries made of feudalist, bureaucrat and comprador capitalist, protected by the Indian expansionism and Nepalese people.

Thus, it is clear that the policy of the struggle is to confiscate the land of landlord and distribute it to the landless and poor peasants under the slogan of 'land to the tiller,' attack upon them, nationalize governmental and non-governmental projects including industries, banks etc. owned by the handful comprador and bureaucrat capitalist

to root-out the exploitation of imperialism, and attack over them. Thus, it is clear that feudalist, bureaucrat and comprador capitalists will be the target of armed struggle.

#### Motive force

##### A. Proletariat

Proletariat is the basic motive force of New People's Democratic revolution. The number of proletariat class working in the industries, factories as proletariat workers is less now but it is increasing. Though less in number, this class fully deceived from the conducting of the modern productive force and productive means is the most revolutionary class of the society. This class has the historic responsibility to give leadership to the allied classes for the success of New People's Democratic Revolution.

##### B. workers of the farm

The more reliable and the larger number of the population of ploughmen, herds, homeless, porters and peasants and artisans, cart-carriers, rickshaw-tempo drivers including workers of transportation and hotel workers are the main motive force. Here, we should understand that the poor peasants are those who have possibility for earning their livelihood only from cultivation

##### C. Middle peasant class

Who hardly earn their livelihood from working hard in their own farms and take the land in contract or the half-share of production. The number of these peasants is found more than others in the hilly regions of Nepal. This class is an important motive force for New People's Democratic Revolution.

##### D. Rich peasant class

Whose livelihood is earned easily from

*Continued on page 6*

# The development of tactical line; history of Party and PLA



■ Barsaman Pun 'Anant'

The glorious Nepalese People's war has been victorious in the originality of its preparation, initiation and development. We have generally seen only two models of the People's War in the history of communist movement. There is a model of protracted People's War developed by comrade Mao-Tsetung and the other is the model of the armed Mass-insurrection developed by comrade Lenin. Before the initiation of the Nepalese People's War, we reached to the conclusion that the model of the protracted People's War will be suitable for the under-developed nation like Nepal. This is the synthesis of our party. The present view of our party is to fuse the different forms of mass-insurrection in it. The embryos of the very thought were in our party line from the beginning.

Com. Pushpalal, the founder General Secretary of the communist party of Nepal, had raised the question of agriculture revolution, people's new democracy and the leadership of the proletarian class as the line of revolution when communist party of Nepal was established. If we study the history, the protracted People's War and the strategy to besiege the urban area from the rural areas was passed through Gorakhpur convention in 1969 AD. It was a political line. The other political line was Jhapa rebellion, the line of Protracted People's War with Guerrilla Warfare and the Base Area.

Along with it, the convention of district committee secretary of the contemporary Communist Party of Nepal (Fourth Congress) passed the line of protracted People's War. Therefore, we see the three-types of the efforts of tactical line and the line of revolutionary ideology. The study and the understanding in totality of these all in the context of Nepal and the development of revolutionary line, the political line in CPN-Mashal, (after the split of the party into Mashal and Masal) is more clear and the tactical line of protracted People's War is enriched under the leadership of com. Prachanda.

The party prepared for the people's war around 1990 AD, but it was postponed after the movement. Then, after the unity held among the different groups of communist parties in 1991, the excessive debate and discussion were taken place on the communist movement and its synthesis and the tactical line of Nepalese revolution. The debate was focused on the protracted People's War and urban people's movement. The tactical line of Nepalese people's revolution was more clearly defined after the expanded meeting of CPN-Unity

Centre in 1995. The originality of the expanded meeting was to reach to the conclusion that the class struggle of Nepal will have the protracted character and it will advance forward through the Strategic Defense, Strategic Equilibrium and Strategic Offense according to the conception of com. Mao and the strategic defense will have four phases- preparation, initiation, continuation and guerrilla warfare and base area. We had settled the basic of People's War on this basis.

The tactical line of rural class struggle was passed through the congress of the CPN (Unity Centre) in 1992 and the rural class struggle was initiated in Rolpa and Rukum districts. The class struggle was initiated against the feudalist, local tyrants and usurers. It played a vital role in synthesizing the ideology of the protracted People's War.

Chairman com. Prachanda, in an occasion, had said that two members in the parliament and the majority, including chairman in the District Development Committee, of Rolpa, were elected in the parliament and in the local election on the one hand and the rural class struggle was running on the other hand at the same time. Our party was in power and functioning legally on the one hand and was conducting the illegal struggle on the other hand at the same time. Therefore, Rolpa and Rukum became the base of both the legal and illegal struggle. The reality was that we were executing the tactical line which was in the embryo at that time.

Our Party was in the parliament and was exposing the bourgeois state-power. Our party was in the District Development Committee and was conducting legal struggle and the struggle of resistance in the villages. The base of the People's War was being prepared through these struggles. The ten tactics were synthesized in the document of the historical initiation like 'give stress on the rural work and pay attention on urban work'; 'give stress on the people's war and pay attention on people's movement'; 'give stress on armed struggle and pay attention on legal struggle' etc.

We started People's War on this basis and the Party went underground. The legal tasks were executed by workers, women, peasants, intellectuals and publicity in the cities including Kathmandu. The People's War went on victoriously. This originality and development was synthesized in 2001 reaching to the ideological conclusion by developing tactical military line and military structure in the entire development of political-tactical line with the fusion of armed insurrection into the protracted People's War with the synthesis of Prachanda Path. This is the question of the principle.

Under the light of Prachanda Path, if we observe the development of organization from the beginning, the local election was held in 1992 and, simultaneously, the struggle of resistance began. Young Communist

League served the local people in working, security and the works of resistance. After that, the volunteer teams were formed in 1996 in the occasion of the initiation of People's War, we formed three organizations- the combatant team for implementing the central level struggle, security team for its assistance (village security teams) and volunteers to make people aware, armed and powerful. We launched the People's War by mobilizing these three organizations.

After the People's War, we upgraded the combatant team into guerrilla squad in 1997 and the security team and the volunteers remained same. Coming to 1998, the formation of guerilla squads was made up to platoon level. The fourth expanded meeting of the party was held in 1999. We synthesized three-year long People's War and developed the guerrilla warfare. After the guerrilla warfare, we made the slogan of base area by crossing the dangers of guerillaism, the tendency of mobile rebellion and the reformism within people's

Base Area in those evacuated local areas. By synthesizing it, the Task Force was built in Eastern and Mid-Nepal also.

The four regular guerilla platoons were formed in the Western Nepal. Regular campaign of the military assault was advanced by attacking the regional police posts after the formation of the regular platoons.

Then, regular guerilla company was formed in 2001. It was a jump in itself. We took action upon Dunai, the district head-quarter of Dolpa, in a battalion-formation; it was a historical raid upon district head-quarter. If we observe the series of the raids and assaults taken against the police, the war (against police started from Holeri) was almost finished in Dunai.

Although the second Holeri raid was taken place in 2002, the climax of the war against police was in Dunai. The war with police was ended and there were only a few battles and fronts left to be won. The historic Holeri assault ended the war against police and the peace



Women soldiers performing parade on the 7th People's Liberation Army day

war. After building the political and military tactical line by focusing the base area, it obviously demanded the mobile form of war, regular form of the army and upgrading of the formation. It demanded the mobile and fortified war. Consequently, a Task Force was made in the Western Nepal on the leadership and the directive of com. Prachanda. Before the Task Force was made, some military actions were taken place. These military actions helped to synthesize for building the Task Force. The Task Force was formed by gathering all the capable guerrilla comrades of the Western Nepal. The number of the Task Force was 32 and I was commissar and com. Pasang was the commander.

It was an embryo of the regular army. After the formation of Task Force, a military action was launched by defining the circle in a big area by exercising mobile military action from Dang, Rukum, Rolpa, salyan to Jajarkot. This mobile military action helped to develop the regular military character and upgrade the guerilla warfare into mobile warfare. It evacuated the local area at the first time by driving away the police and their police-posts from there. It played an important role to build models of

negotiation was taken place.

On account of the peace negotiation, we organized a national assembly of the guerrillas. We built Regular Army formally. The national assembly named People's Liberation Army (PLA) and elected chairman com. Prachanda on it's honourable and responsible post of Supreme Commander. The battalion of the PLA was declared in the west from the assembly. Company and squads were in the East and Middle of the country. The PLA was mobilized on the conception of main force, assistant force and the basic force. We built regular formation of PLA in 2004. We submitted the basic force into people's militia in the local levels. Thus, the formation of PLA was developed.

I and comrade Pasang were commander and vice-commander when we attacked on the Holeri police post at the first time. Comrade Rasmi and comrade Vijaya Ghale (now martyr) were commander and vice commander of the attack of Aathbiskot, Rukum. The attack upon Sindhuligarhi in the Eastern Nepal had been at the same time. An action was taken upon a feudalism in Kavre as the symbol of attack upon feudalism. The action was taken upon the rural bank of Chyangli,

Gorkha as the symbol of action against comprador bureaucrat-capitalism. Nepalese people were targeting upon the enemies as the symbol of exploiters and repressors. For example: the state power and its part police; comprador bureaucratic capitalism and its part governmental bank; feudalism and its agent local feudalism and Multi-national company (Imperialism) and its agent Pepsi-cola company were fixed targets of the actions.

When the PLA was built in 2004, the formation also developed qualitatively. After the failure of the first peace negotiation, its first expression was the raid of Ghorahi, Dang which was accomplished historically. Putali Bazaar of Syangja district of mid-Nepal, and Solu in the Eastern Nepal were attacked simultaneously. After these assaults and raids, we entered into the direct confrontation against the Royal Nepal Army (RNA) declaredly. We were able to take the historic initiation in the war against the RNA from the first attack. After then, we were defeated in the battle

of Ratamata (Rolpa) and Kapurkot (Salyan) but we became victorious in MangalSen of Achham district. Then, victory after victory, we advanced from Satbaria (Dang), Lisne Encounter (Rolpa) to Gam (Rolpa) barrack of RNA with full victory.

With this victorious campaign, the RNA was demoralized and harassed. The RNA was defeated in this way in this victorious campaign. But after that, American technology and American tactics imported in the country. Then our war was targeted not only against the RNA, but also against the American technology, training and tactics. The other new phase was commenced from this point.

We advanced by synchronizing the political and military tactics and the climax military action was in Jumla. If we had been victorious in Jumla and put the zonal head-quarter under the direct control of the people and PLA for a few days, we would have been able to bring changes in the form of political and military structure of the entire nation; we would have been able to take the military initiative; and create national and international opinion along with the insurrectional environment.

Continued on page 7

# Some features of Nepalese People's War



■ Narayan Sharma

## Introduction

Under the leadership of our Party- Nepal Communist Party (Maoist), the People's War was initiated on 13 Feb. 1996 (1 Falgun 2052 BS). In its starting period, it was limited under the norms of protracted People's War, invented and applied by com. Mao Tsetung. It has passed through its two strategic stages, such as- Strategic Defense & Strategic Equilibrium. Now, it is running in its third and final stage Strategic Offence, the stage of decisive warfare. In this period of 12 years (10 years long armed struggle and two years of peaceful war) many more new features have been seen, by which we have developed the MLM. We can mention these features as follows.

## Features

### 1. Original, creative and critical outlook

Although our people's war is basically guided by Maoist ideology and protracted People's War, but there we find more original, creative and critical visions. Our party chairman com. Prachanda had manifested in the initiation that the Nepalese Revolution will be succeeded in its own original and creative way. These features are seen everywhere in our warfare which inspired us to develop MLM & reached us to more success.

### 2. Rebellious initiation

Our war was started with a different way from the any other countries such as China, Korea etc. The most remarkable & different thing is that we launched more than 5000 actions within 15 days at the time of initiation of people's war. It means that the war was started as a rebellion style, the style of armed insurrection but based in protracted People's War. This style established the war & party soon.

### 3. Fast and qualitative development

The war developed itself in the fast speed and qualitative form. It is seen in forming the military units and in the volume & quality of the war which was quickly expanded directly all over the country and indirectly all over the world.

### 4. Fusion of political and military war

We can define this feature

in other words, as the fusion of peace and war for the success of revolution. Within 10 years of war, we participated in peace talks at least three times formally and many more times informally. This fusion empowered not only the military power but also the people, party and ideology.

### 5. Combination of local and central actions

Local action, we can say small actions and central action as large & thunderous action. In philosophical term, we can define it as the combination of part and whole. In political terminology, it can be described as the combination of the strategy and tactics. This type of war style empowered us and guided towards victory.

### 6. Fusion of protracted people's war and armed insurrection

The symptoms of protracted People's War and armed insurrection had been seen in our war period. Then we

parts of the class exploitation and oppression. Therefore, their struggles are related to one-another and similar in content but different in form. That is why, it is scientific and revolutionary to make a fusion of those struggles. This thesis made conscious, empowered, and united to all the oppressed and exploited groups of people. This extended our war all over the country and people.

### 8. Expertness on handling contradictions

In war period, we gained knowledge about the handling of contradiction. The war itself taught us to play with contradiction among classes of enemies. The main education that we learnt is to find out contradiction and to make it sharp and wide in every group of enemies to isolate the major enemy at first by making tactical front with other minor enemies; secondly, by using them for war in any way, and thirdly, by neutral-

many more revolutionary forces, to neutralize or to use many more reactionary forces, and to spread our war and revolution all over the country and the world. Thus, we became very powerful and reached near the complete victory.

### 10. Fusion of the struggles of road, legislature-parliaments and the cabinet

By using the legislature-parliament and cabinet, and making struggles into the street, the parliament and the cabinet together, and by making them a fusion, in one side we got the recognition for the war, and we and our war also became legal, powerful, sharp and wide all over the world. Thus, the revolution has come to the doorstep of complete success.

### 11. Attempt to make revolution through peace process

To make revolution through peace process is an astonishing and somewhat impossible thing also. But our people's war oriented us to the way of revolution through the peace process. Apart from this feature, there are other more surprising features that are given below.

a. To stop fighting unilaterally by the rebellious party without complete victory. b. To put the People's Liberation Army in cantonments.

c. To make peace agreement with the opponents and the then enemy side.

d. To form an interim government with reactionary forces and if necessary to leave it and to rejoin.

e. To balance foreign reactionary forces with diplomatic efforts. f. Attempt to mobilize all the national & international revolutionary, friend allies and fraternal forces.

## Conclusion:

These are not only the features of our People's War but also of our ideology (MLM & Prachanda Path), politics, leadership and the whole communist movement of Nepal synthesized in the periphery of the protracted People's War of more than ten years. We can say them as the nature of dialectics related to war and peace for revolution. In the period of 10 year of war and two year of peace attempt, the first emphasis is in the war and the last in the peace. In the cover and form of peace, we developed not only the war but also the new strategy and tactics, new idea of revolution which has been synthesized in Prachanda Path.

11 February 2008, Chandol, kathmandu

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



A poster published on the occasion of 3rd anniversary of People's War

synthesized it in our second National Conference in 2001. We explained it as the fusion of the strategies of People's War with the tactics of armed insurrection. We defined that in semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries, the protracted People's War will be the basic strategy, but in developed capitalist countries, armed insurrection will be the basic strategy in which the tactics of each other will be fusion. We can plead it boldly that it is the way of successful war for the revolution everywhere in the world.

### 7. Fusion of class struggle (war) with other struggles (war) of the country

We defined that the national (related to the nationalities), gender and regional exploitations, and repressions are the

izing them. The expertness on handling the contradiction, the people's war became very powerful. In other words, we can say that the expertness made us able to find out or to make contradiction within the enemies, to make it sharp and destructive, to take one comparatively right and weak forces in the front to isolate most reactionary forces and to attack over them. In short, it means we should unite all other forces to defeat main enemy.

### 9. Unified handling of people's war, people's movement, peace talks, and diplomatic efforts

The war itself showed that no revolution would be successful without the fusion of these four things- **people's war, people's movement, peace talks, and diplomatic efforts.** This type of our war tactics helped to gather

## Twelve .....

the history and the traditional elements are knitting the web for the last conspiracy not to let the historical occasion be institutionalized."

Stressing on the historical fact, chairman Prachanda said; "In the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, we are giving a new message, a new ideology, a new nation and a new process of change not only for the whole Nepal but also for the entire world. We are in the preparation of the final execution of the dreams that were decorated through the PW, but the traditional forces are in the last preparation not to let to be accomplished the process of the change, the dream we decorated and the dream that the Nepalese people have decorated."

Justifying the causes of the struggle Chairman Prachanda said, "Behind the so many established political agendas, there is sacrifice of the best sons and daughters of ten thousands of Nepali people. The Federal Democratic republic and proportionality and the progressive restructuring of the state has emerged on the foundation of the sacrifice."

## Proceed on ..

farming and they can employ some workers though they themselves work hard. They achieve a few share of their income through exploitation. This class is the opportunist ally of New People's Democratic Revolution.

### E. Petty bourgeoisie class

The teachers of school and campuses, students, doctors, engineers, lawyers, lower level bureaucrats, tradesmen and businessmen of lower level, retail sailors and artisan and craft-men belong to this class. This class is opportunist due to its own way of production and its status. In spite of this, this class has an important cooperative role in the New People's Democratic Revolution. Imperialism and feudalism have paid more attention to divert the intellectuals of this class from revolution.

### F. National capitalist class

The free role has not been seen as a class of National Capitalist in Nepal but it is in progress. This class participated in the small domestic and modern industries and business haven naturally dual character due to the dream of accumulating wealth through the exploitation of workers on the one hand and the monopoly repression of the comprador and bureaucrat capitalist on the other. This class changes its character according to the changed situation.

- Excerpt from the document passed by the third extended meeting of CPN-M before the initiation of People's War

# People's War of Nepal in international ..

pressed people of the world. It has duty to serve the world revolution and has its right to enjoy support from the revolutionary forces of the world. International situation is considered as one of the fundamental factors for the development and victory of every revolution led by communist party. Main hurdle in making revolution in present world situation is the serious lack of international support and favourable international situation. At present day world, there is no such thing like socialist block. There is no real socialist country, which follows the principles of proletarian internationalism. There is no such a strong working class movement in the world which can support and assist the on going revolution in Nepal. To make revolution in such adverse international situation is a tough task. There was no socialist block or any socialist country to support during October Socialist Revolution of Russia in 1917. But there was one strong positive factor. There was a very strong working class movement in Europe during that time. In Germany, it was almost in winning position. The October revolution enjoyed the support of the working class movement. One more factor present during that time was the World War-1. The imperialist forces were engaged in killing each other and thus they had no enough time and strength to suppress the rising revolution in Russia. The Russian Czar regime was desperately engaged in the WW-1, which caused deeper economic and political crisis in Russia. The soldiers, workers and peasants were so much in trouble and in so miserable situation that 'peace, bread and land' became the catch word of the day.

Definitely there are some communist parties who are trying to sustain and develop the revolution even in the adverse international situation. In India CPI (Maoist) is struggling hard. In the later period they were able to carry on bigger confrontation with the para-military forces of the state. In spite of all efforts of the state and the parliamentary parties to wipe them out from their strong hold of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and their strong holds they have withstood the assault. The "salvajudum" joint operation to wipe out the Maoist base from the forest area of Chhattisgarh also could not succeed due to the wide opposition from various sections of the society and due to the strong resistance from the Maoists. In the past the central government of India simply tried to ignore the Naxalites' movement. But now the Prime minister of India frequently admits "So far internal security of India is concerned, Naxalism is the potential threat". While in the past they used to comment that the "separatist movement was the major threat". In the Philippines, low level armed struggle is continuing since late '70s. They have entered in the process of negotiation with the government, but with no visible results. However it can be clearly said that the armed struggle in the Philippines has neither been crushed nor surrendered, despite

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

Many revolutionary communists dropped the revolutionary line and joined the bandwagon of "main stream politics" in the pretext of unfavourable international situation. Therefore, there are two obvious options in the given situation—to drop the revolution until favourable situation will arrive or try to create international favourable situation based on the concrete situation. The second option is correct. Definitely

in reality it proved to be more than what he said. Finally it resulted in a big set back from which the PCP has not been able to get out of.

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

In the wake of the disturbing and disappointing developments in Peru the red flag of the revolution was raised high in the Himalayan country, Nepal in 13<sup>th</sup> February 1996. Facing all kinds of suppressions from the state, which was supported by most of the governments of the world, the PW developed unabated. Within a span of over a decade it developed from the stage of strategic defence to strategic equilibrium and further developed to strategic offense. The PW of Nepal became a beacon of revolution for the revolutionaries of the world.



A poster published by World People's Resistance Movement in support of the revolution in Nepal

there is no readymade favourable situation but it should and can be created by the conscious effort of the party. Our party is trying hard for this option.

#### Daring efforts

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

They were enthused by the development of revolution in Nepal. The development of the PW was hailed by the revolutionaries of the world and many of them loved this revolution as their own. They appreciated it as the daring step and a Herculean task taken up by our party.

#### New experiment

During the course of the PW we have formulated some new things. We think that revolution can not be recurred but developed. Revolution taking place in many different countries in different situation can not be applied mechanically as photo copy of any other revolution. In order to accomplish any revolution the concerning parties should be able to develop the correct strategy and tactics of the revolution in that country. So in a sense every revolution is a new experiment. Communists should dare to make a new experiment based on the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Definitely it is the duty of communists to defend our universal ideology. But it is not enough. But it is never enough for the communists.

If we think that our duty is fulfilled when we defend it in theory, is not correct. We should not only defend but also apply and develop. It can also be paraphrased like this—our science can be defended when applied. When it is applied in practice of the revolution it develops. So there is close link and inseparable relation among defending, apply and develop. If anybody wants to develop without applying in the practice of revolution, it is impossible. Defend, apply and develop, this is the process how the scientific and invincible ideology develops. In order to apply we have to find or create some specific conditions. In other words, we have to go for a new experiment.

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

#### Victory is difficult but achievable

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

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

February 9, 2008  
(Writer is in charge of int'l commnad, CPN-Maoist)

## The development .....

This failure brought the continuation of former military campaign. Then, we executed mobile assaults mainly. We advanced forward by synchronizing mobile warfare and fortified warfare and one after another, for example: fortified after mobile and mobile after fortified. The series of assaults Bhiman in the East, Bandipur in the Mid, Beni in the West and Pili in the Far west were executed. After that, we advanced forward to Thankot and Dadhikot under the strategy of 'strike on the head by stepping on the backbone.'

To review the history in totality, the development of PLA has been in a wave-like process. On the other hand, we have advanced with the synchronization of the political and the military step (political step on the ground of military initiative and military step on the ground of political initiative).

The first phase of the peace negotiation in 2002 and then the first attack over RNA; the second phase negotiation in 2004 and then the series of assaults; the unilateral ceasefire for three months by our party; 12 point understanding and 19day people's movement; the synchronization of two fronts: between the people's movement and protracted People's War, these all are new experiments. We have adopted and applied the political, military and organizational tactical line of break through one after another, made the leaders stand in every test and advance successfully.

Now, Our PLA is in cantonment. We are in the government. We are preparing for the election of the constituent assembly on the one hand and the people's movement on the other hand if the parliamentary parties and foreign forces try to make conspiracies. We have PLA, Base Areas and the reliable foundation of the protracted People's War. We are also in the central power of the present state, people's movement and diplomatic efforts and the table of the peace negotiation. With the grand totality of these all, we are in the place to take initiative to hand over the political power to the peasants, workers, Dalit, oppressed, nationalities, Madheshi, women and minority and take the political initiative for that.

Therefore, it is necessary to understand that it is the 21st century political and military tactical line of the party because we couldn't capture the capital city Kathmandu militarily through protracted People's War. We defeated millions of armed force by letting themselves to stay in their own place attacking militarily and defeating politically. We are advancing forward victoriously in the psychological front and the front of the peace negotiation. We can understand it only by studying the political and military tactical line together.

– Com. Ananta is Central Committee Member of CPN-M and Deputy Commander of People's Liberation Army (As told to Red Star reporter)

Photo - Dinesh Shrestha



# Nationwide celebration

The 13th anniversary celebrated on Wednesday was different than the previous ones, as this was

also the official initiation of election campaign for the upcoming Constituent Assembly (CA) election scheduled for 10th April 2008.

**Dipak Sapkota**

The date was the 13th February and it was the 13th anniversary of the imitation of People's War. 12 years ago on 13th February 1996 Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist 'CPN-M' had declared the protracted People's War-PW to establish the People's Republic overthrowing the reactionary regime. The war lasted for 10 years nine months and five days before it was agreed officially on 21st November that the war was ended. The initiation of PW was declared following the attacks after the midnight of 12th February 1996 in two police posts in Western Nepal (one each in Rolpa and Rukhum), one in eastern Nepal (Sindhuli) and raid in feudal's house in Central Nepal (Kavrepalanchok). A branch office of Agricultural Development Bank was captured by hundreds of masses in the broad daylight in Gorkha district on the first day.

The 13th anniversary celebrated on Wednesday was different than the previous ones, as this was also the official initiation of election campaign for the upcoming Constituent Assembly (CA) election scheduled for 10th April 2008. CPN-M called for the mass-meetings and demonstrations in many district headquarters where locals participated with enthusiasm. Central Maoists leaders addressed those mass-meetings.

The rallies and demonstrations those converted into a huge gathering in SAHID MANCH Kathmandu, were convened by the Newa regional committee of the party where Party Chairman Prachanda along with some central committee members and ministers represent from the

party comprised. Addressing the huge masses of the people who were eager to hear the commitments of the party for the upcoming election, CM Prachanda asserted that his party will hold the power in the future obtaining the majority in the CA election. CM Prachanda, proposed for the president of Republic of Nepal by his Party said that some retrogressive elements and foreign powers are trying to foil the CA election fearing that Maoist will be victorious.

The CA election is at the doorstep and parties have started the election campaign. But CPN-M is in the forefront. The election commission has set the date to submit the closed-list of the candidates for the 335-seated proportional election on 21st February. Maoist leaders have informed that they have almost prepared their party list. In the first official election campaign mass meeting, on Wednesday CM Prachanda said the election Manifesto shall be the declaration of insurrection if CA election is foiled.

The decade long PW almost destabilized the feudal mechanism of the country. The feudalist political and economic relations are to be replaced by republican political system and socialist economic relation. 239 years old Shah Dynasty is counting its days for its own cremation and Nepali people are preparing themselves to take the state power. The PW brought the political consciousness in the class, region, nationality and gender as never before. But for these great achievements more than 11 thousand Nepali citizens sacrificed their life, thousands injured and more than five thousands are still disappeared. Countless people get tortured

and faced lots of difficulties.

PW spread its influence not only within the boundary of Nepal but in the international arena too. It filled courage and hope to the oppressed people from South Asia to Europe and to American continent. But on the other hand, it attracted ill interests of the foreign powers like US too. They tried to increase their roles in Nepal showing the PW. In the past days they provided weapons and ammunition; and now they are investing in the propaganda tools against the Maoist. Learning these circumstances of Nepal, fraternal parties of CPN-M have cautioned that Nepali Revolution may faces the challenges like Nicaragua (dismissal through election) and Indonesia (Massacre).

Back to the anniversary celebration, Maoist leaders Baburam Bhattarai, Barsa Man Pun, Hitman Shakya, Matrika Yadav, Dalit front's president Tilak Pariyar, Women front's president Jayapui Gharti also addressed the masses of the people on Wednesday. 60 thousand cadres of Young Communist League had been mobilized for the security and management of the program. Artists performed various cultural presentations that reminded the courage and sacrifice of PW. They even requested the people to vote Maoist party in the CA election.

As reported earlier, these kinds of mass meetings, demonstration and rallies were held across the whole nation. Maoist senior leader Ram Bahadur Thapa 'Badal' addressed the mass meeting in Chitwan whereas senior leader C P Gajurel addressed the meeting in Sindhuli district. Likewise Party Spokesperson and Minister for Information and Communication

Krishna Bahadur Mahara addressed the meeting in Dolakha district. Senior leader Post Bahadur Bogati, Top Bahadur Rayamaghi addressed the meetings called respectively in Nuwakot and Arghakhanchi. Maoist central leaders Agni Sapkota and Kul Prasad KC addressed the programs in Sindhupalchok and Kavrepalanchok. The enthusiasm and celebration shown on the anniversary attracted the press and media too.

Although the PW initiated on 13th February 1996 is said to be ended in the Comprehensive Peace Accord signed between the CPN-M and Nepal

Government a year before, the revolution for the transformation of Nepal is continue. If the attempts to halt the process increased in the future, no one can stop the other wave of PW. The class struggle will continue in any name or form unless the class, nationality, region and gender get their rights. When the 13th anniversary is being celebrated across nation the agendas CPN-M has proposed are to come into reality. To institutionalize the Republic, Federalism and the transformation of the nation, the victory of the revolutionary force is a must.

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