



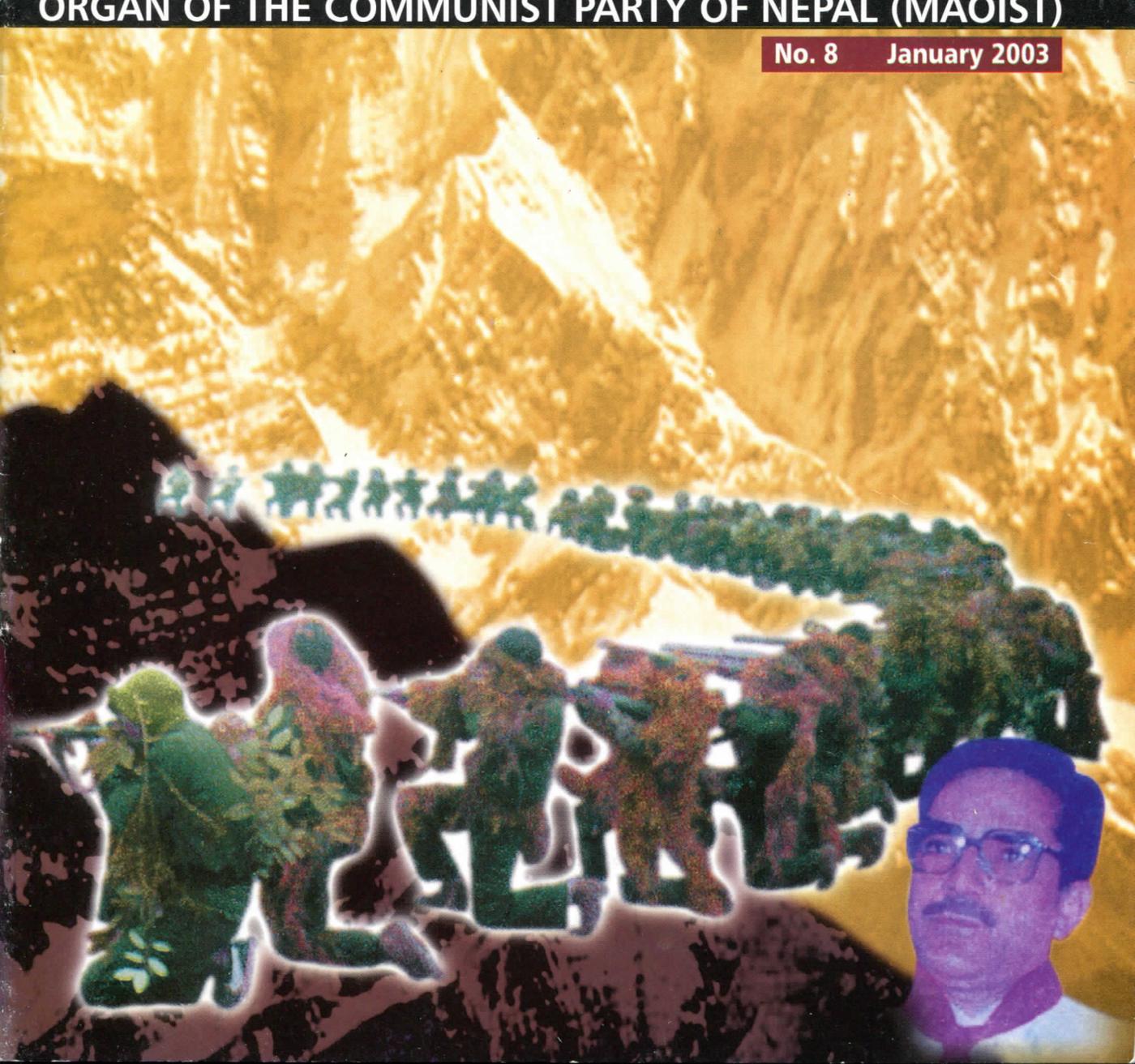
Workers of the World- Unite!
Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism & Prachanda Path!



the worker

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEPAL (MAOIST)

No. 8 January 2003





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TIME TO PUSH THE WHEEL OF REVOLUTION FORWARD

It is the universal characteristic of the reactionary ruling classes to raise a big rock against the people, but only to drop it and crush their own dirty feet with it. The genocidal feudal-bureaucratic ruling classes of Nepal have proved even worse than their counterparts elsewhere in this matter. Last year around this time, (i.e. on November 26, 2001) they declared a countrywide state of Emergency and imposed the most brutal royal military dictatorship, butchering more than five thousand revolutionary masses and cadres in a single year; but by the end of the year they have dug their own grave ever deeper and enabled the historic People's War (PW) to mature to the stage of strategic equilibrium. The revolutionary PW in the lap of the Himalayas, part and parcel of the world proletarian revolution, has made such a tremendous stride in the past year and reached such a crucial & exciting phase that the Marxist- Leninist- Maoist revolutionaries have to summon their greatest revolutionary acumen to guide it to the pinnacle of ultimate victory.

Equipped with the invincible ideology of Marxism- Leninism- Maoism and Prachanda Path and a correct politico- military line of the Party, the heroic cadres and masses have successfully turned the initial adversity into an excellent opportunity to develop the PW in leaps and bounds to the stage of strategic equilibrium. Keeping in mind Engel's exhortation that, *"....in revolution, as in war, it is always necessary to show a strong front, and he who attacks is in the advantage...."*, the Party adopted an offensive tactics from the beginning and prepared appropriate military plans, which were very ably and heroically implemented by the People's Liberation Army (PLA). A series of daring and successful military raids by the PLA, starting with the capture of district headquarters of Achham in February, through the highly fortified royal military camp in Gam (Rolpa) in May, to the

district headquarters of Argha Khanchi, Sandhikharka, in September and the zonal and district headquarters of Jumla in November, were instrumental in blowing up the false halo of the mightiness of the mercenary royal army and qualitatively altering the character of the civil war. These were accompanied by thousands of small and big raids, ambushes, sabotages and annihilations all over the country and throughout the year. Similarly, continuous mass mobilization programmes were chalked out to rally the masses of oppressed classes, castes, nationalities, regions and gender against the royal military dictatorship. Among these, the 5-day Nepal **bandh** (general shut-down) in April and 3-day Nepal **bandh** in November were very effective to channelize the mass ire against the reactionary state and to spread the flames of revolution to every nook and corner of the country. The Party also made concerted efforts to counter the vicious disinformation campaign and malicious propaganda war of the reactionaries through the national and international media with reasonable success. As a result the desperate attempts of the reactionaries did not cut much ice with the overwhelming majority of the population and a large section of the international community.

The reactionary state, on the other hand, kept on sliding into deeper-crisis every passing day. The inherent contradiction between the monarchist and parliamentarist factions of the ruling classes got furthermore aggravated with the advancement of the revolutionary PW. The apparent quarrel over the issue of further extension of the state of Emergency led to the untimely dissolution of the spineless parliament in May. Subsequent failure to conduct mid-term parliamentary elections in November in the midst of ever rising revolutionary upheavals in the country resulted in direct take over of executive power of the state by the King and virtual disbanding of the parliamentary system and

constitution. This is, however, interpreted by the Party as the culmination of the inevitable process of centralization of the old reactionary state authority in the autocratic monarchy, which was initiated with the infamous palace massacre of June 2001. The fratricidal and regicidal Gyanendra-Paras (i.e. father-son) clique with its stranglehold over the royal army and the most reactionary feudal-autocratic political persuasion is least inclined to share state power with the parliamentary forces. Hence, unless a dramatic turn-around takes place under the aegis of the international imperialist and expansionist forces, the widening hiatus between the monarchist and parliamentarist forces is not likely to be abridged soon and with ease. The Party has, therefore, rightly appealed to the parliamentarist forces to fight jointly against the autocratic monarchy for a common minimum programme of round-table conference of all the political forces, an interim government and election to a constituent assembly.

The international reactionary forces, particularly US imperialism and Indian expansionism, are naturally perturbed by the ever rising spectre of revolution in their traditional neo-colonial and semi-colonial backyard. The first ever visit to Nepal by a US Secretary of State, Colin Powell, in January, followed by the first ever reception to a Nepalese Prime Minister, Sher Bahadur Deuba, at the Oval Office in May, amply prove the level of concern of the sole imperialist super power USA towards the revolutionary PW. The British imperialists have taken the initiative to organize an international consortium to provide military and financial aid to the tottering reactionary regime. The role of Indian expansionists has been the most conspiratorial and obnoxious. After the first ever foreign visit of genocidal ring-leader Gyanendra to India in June, the Indian expansionists have pumped in massive military aid to the counter-revolutionary forces and carried out a series of treacherous activities against the revolutionary forces, with the evil intentions of

Bhutanisation and Sikkimisation of Nepal. However, a timely and resolute exposure of their evil designs by the patriotic and revolutionary forces seems to have compelled them to retreat a bit at the later phases and tone down their level of overt interference. Still the unholy alliance between US imperialism and Indian expansionism constitutes the most potent external danger to the revolutionary prospects. The other international forces including China, European Union, too, have expressed their concern to the ever rising PW. The recent offer of the UN to mediate in the future negotiations, if requested by both the warring sides, speaks volume about the wider significance of the rising revolutionary tide in the country.

The qualitative leap in the PW during the period has been accompanied by its horizontal expansion to all the 75 districts of the country. Whereas the old reactionary state authority is confined to the district headquarters and large cities, the revolutionary authority rules the roost in rest of the country. Revolutionary people's power in the form of elected people's committees are exercised in the large stretches of base areas and coordinated at the central level by the United Revolutionary People's Council (URPC). A host of independent and international observers have verified this ground reality, and a British Defense source is widely quoted to have reported that, "*Unless some things dramatic happens, it's only a matter of time before they (i.e. the Maoist) win*". The Central Committee of the Party has made an objective evaluation of the whole situation and concluded that the PW has effectively attained the stage of strategic equilibrium.

However, the heroic leaders and cadres of the CPN (Maoist) and the PLA and the revolutionary masses in general have made a tremendous sacrifice for this revolutionary advancement. In an average, about a dozen persons every day have been martyred by the reactionary hangmen in fake encounters. Of these around eighty percent have been

general unarmed masses. Several very important and promising leaders and cadres have also sacrificed their lives in the altar of revolution. Com. Rit Bahadur Khadka an alternate Central Committee Member (CCM) of the Party, has been the most high ranking member to be martyred during the past year. About a dozen Regional Bureau Members of the Party, some Company Commanders of the PLA and several Chiefs and Vice- Chiefs of the District People's Committees have also attained glorious martyrdom. Five CCMs of the Party, including Com. Rabindra Shrestha (also alternate PBM), Rekha Sharma, Krishna Dhvaj Khadka, Bam Dev Chhetri and Mumaram Khanal, have been captured by the enemy in the meantime. Several hundred revolutionary prisoners of wars have been 'disappeared' and thousands kept in captivity. Reports of inhuman torture, rape, arson, looting and all-round terrorization of the masses by the royal mercenaries where ever they go, at times tend to put even Hitler to shame. International human rights groups and even the state sponsored National Human Rights Commission have heavily censured the genocidal royal regime for its heinous crimes. Nevertheless, all these sacrifices and white terror seem to have all the more strengthened the resolve of the masses and cadres to resist and carry forward the revolution to final victory. This is corroborated by the ever increasing number of people from the basic classes and masses joining the Party, the PLA and the Revolutionary United Front. Moreover, the core leadership of the Party, the PLA and the URPC is safely preserved and active in the revolution.

As Mao has said, this phase of strategic stalemate is the *"transitional stage of the entire war"* and *"it will be the most trying period but also the pivotal one"*. A host of military and non-military factors, including an objective assessment of balance of power between revolution and counter-revolution and also international factors, given the specific geo-strategic position of the country sandwiched between two huge states of India and China,

will have to be taken into consideration while pushing the wheel of revolution forward to the next stage of strategic offensive. As of now both the national and international situations are turning in favour of the revolutionary forces; though there are some important hurdles to be surmounted particularly in the international sphere. If the Party correctly pursues the basic policy of strategic firmness and tactical flexibility there is no reason why all the apparent hurdles should not be surmounted successfully. Also, it would be worthwhile to keep in mind the following exhortation of Rosa Luxemburg: *"The 'golden mean' cannot be maintained in any revolution. The law of its nature demands a quick decision; either the locomotive drives forward full steam ahead to the most extreme point of the historical ascent, or it rolls back of its own weight again to the starting point at the bottom; and those who would keep it with their weak powers halfway up the hill, it but drags down with it irredeemably into the abyss."*

As long as ours is a just war and the masses are with us we will definitely win the war; but the most important point, as Lenin and Mao used to hammer again and again, is, we must "dare to win". ■

"Even if a revolution has started in a situation that seemed to be not very complicated, the development of the revolution itself always creates an exceptionally complicated situation.

A revolution..... is the incredibly complicated and painful process of the death of the old and birth of the new social order."

-V.I. Lenin, "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?"

LET US PAY RESPECTFUL HOMAGE TO IMMORTAL MARTYR COM. RIT BAHADUR KHADKA! LET US FIRMLY FOLLOW THE PATH SHOWN BY HIM!



The Eastern Command of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), first of all, pays respectful homage to immortal martyr Com. Rit Bahadur Khadka (Com. Pratap) and commits itself to firmly follow the path stained by his and other martyr's blood. Similarly, it sends condolence to his mother, Manmaya, and father, Birkha Bahadur Khadka, who gave birth to such a great revolutionary fighter like Com. Rit Bahadur Khadka, to his life partner Indira Khadka and his two children and all his relatives.

Com. Rit Bahadur, who was born in Jungu Village People's Committee, Ward No. 6 in Dolakha district on August 26, 1971, was the ninth child of the eleven children. Because of poor economic condition at home, Com. Rit Bahadur had to face hardship right from his childhood days. Through his own effort he had studied up to graduate level. At the young age of 31 Com. Rit Bahadur gave his valuable contributions to his country, people, class and the Party. Com. Rit Bahadur was all-round talented person. He was always full of revolutionary optimism and confidence and was always creatively active and dynamic. He was keenly interested in all aspects of philosophy, politics, and literature. In the field of literature, he was well known by the name of "Shining Red Star". He was very capable in giving leadership to all aspects of People's War. His development was in leap and bound because of his sharpness in politics, skillful handling of contradictions, capacity to take quick decision, ability to be active even in adverse situation.

Submitting his resignation from the student's front which was under the then ML, Com. Rit Bahadur rebelled against UML by forwarding his differences with their ideology in the year 1991, ever since then, within short period of time he had become member of Dolakha District Organization. He was captured and was handed over to the enemy by UML cadres when he was found working alone as secretary member of Sindhupalchowk and Dolakha Organisation Committee in the course of People's War. He was jailed for some period. Later when he was admitted to hospital for treatment he was able to free himself from the clutches of police and was able to return to war front as secretary of Solu and Okhaldhunga. After sometime he became secretary of Sindhupalchowk and Dolakha and a member of Eastern Bureau and thereby he was elected as an alternative Central Committee member in the Second National Conference held in February 2000. He was made

a member of Eastern Central Command and Commissar of a battalion and an in-charge of military sub-regional bureau, according to the new structure formulated in the plenum of Central Committee held a short while ago. This way his ideological, political and organizational development was rapidly striding at astonishing speed. In the course of Party work when he reached Rautahat on 15 June, 2002 he was shot down by the enemy while running away after being surrounded by the enemy with the help of conspiratorial plot hatched by the UML of the same district. This way he got martyred in a glorious and honorable way by resisting against the enemy till the last moment of his life.

The martyrdom of such a great revolutionary fighter like Com. Rit Bahadur has created a big loss for the Party. But, on the foundation of his blood a battalion level of military formation of People's Liberation Army has been formed. It has made a new basis for a new and firm unity. That is why one should not feel sad at his martyrdom but should be proud of it. The shining star of Nepalese sky will remain shining for eras after eras. And it will inspire us to march ahead till we reach the golden future of communism. In this world, many are destined to born and die, but all deaths are not same, some deaths are as lofty and weighty as Mount Everest, while some deaths are as light as feathers of chicken. The martyrdom of our lofty and glorious Party's Central Committee member Com. Rit Bahadur Khadka is as lofty and weighty as the summit of Mount Everest. Hence let us once again pay homage to brave and immortal martyr Com. Rit Bahadur Khadka with deep respect. And let us pledge that we will continue to fight till victory is achieved till the end of our life by holding firmly the gun and the flag left behind by him!!

*[The Eastern Central Command of CPN (Maoist)
issued this statement-ed.]*

SOME SENIOR COMRADES MARTYRED DURING THE YEAR 2002

[Nearly four thousand party and people's army cadres and general masses (about 80 percent of the latter) were martyred during the vicious genocidal campaign launched by the mercenary royal army under the cover of the so-called state of emergency during 2002. Since it is not possible to provide the full list of the brave martyrs who have laid down their precious lives for the proletarian revolutionary cause, without in any way undermining their grate contributions we are here presenting a select list of only the senior comrades who were martyred during the period.-ed.]

S.N	Name (Assumed Name)	Organizational Status	District/Region	Month
1	Rit Bahadur Khadka (Pratap)	Alternate Member of Central Committee	Dolakha/Eastern	June
2	Krishna Sen	Regional Bureau Member (R.B.M)	Kathmandu	June
3	Gyam Prasad Chalise(Ayam)	-	Banke/Western	January
4	Jaya Raj Bhatta (Binaya)	-	Bajhang/Western	June
5	Surya Parkash Pun (Sunder)	-	Bajhang/Western	June
6	Keshab Rimal (Samar)	-	Rupendehi/Western	October
7	Asha Kaji Shrestha (Himal)	RBM and Vice-Commissar of the 4th Battalion of the PLA	Gorkha/Western	October
8	Prem Bhadr Nagarkoti (Kanchha)	RBM of Chif of Production	Parbat/Western	November
9	Krishan Bahadur Bista	R.B.M	Eastern	May
10	Dilkaji Karki (Arjun)	R.B.M	Eastern	August
11	Janam Baral (sangram)	Sub-Regional Bureau member	Kailali/Western	January
12	Laknath Paudel	(SRBM)	-	-
13	Deepak Thapa Magar (Man Bahadur)	SRBM	Rupendehi/Western	October
14	Ms Kaushila Gurung(Shilpa)	SRBM and Deputi Head of District peoples Government	Lamjung/Western	May
15	Prem Baraili(sanjaya)	SRBM and General Secretary of Dalit Front	Kavre/Eastern	April
16	Ajab Lal Yadav (Surya Nath)	SRBM	Sarlahi/Eastern	March
17	Benoj Adhikari (Prashant)	SRBM	Eastern	February
18	Rohit Koirala (Diwas)	-	Eastern	February
19	Chhabi Acharya (Anu)	-	-	August
20	Kushmakhar Swar (Bimal)	-	-	February
21	Janam Singh Pun (Roshan)	Company Commander,PLA	Western	May
22	Com. Arun	-	-	September
23	Buddhi Lal Chaudhari (Ramesh)	CCM Tharuwan National Lib.Front	Bardiya/Western	May
24	Dharmā Dutta Joshi	CCM Seti-Makhali Lib.Front	Baitadi/Western	May
25	Shankar Darlami	CCM Dalit National Lib. Front	Pyuthan/Western	May
26	Pran B.Dharala (Tanak)	Chief,Jumla Dist.,People's Govt.	Jumla/Western	May
27	Kebal Gaha Magar	Chief, Palpa Dist.People's Govt	Palpa/Western	May
28	Ms. Anita Chaudhari	Member,Dang Dist. People's Govt	Dang/Western	November

*Note: R.B.M: Regional Bureau Member of the Party.
C.C.M: Central Committee Member of Fronts.
D.C.S: District Committee Secretary of the Party.*

ONE YEAR OF QUALITATIVE MILITARY LEAP

The sending of letter by the American President G. Bush on September 12 to the Nepalese Prime-minister Sher Bahadur Deuba congratulating him for fighting against terrorism on the occasion of first anniversary of 11 September bombing of twin towers of World Trade Centre signifies how far-reaching military actions under the leadership of CPN (Maoist) has become! It should be noted that just three days before the much hyped September 11 annual celebration in America was to be celebrated, in Nepal, a biggest casualty was inflicted to the reactionary government within the span of 24 hours leading to death of more than 100 armed personnel and more than 75 armed personnel injured in Eastern and Western part of Nepal.

The masterstroke military strike on Sandhikharka, the district headquarter of Arghakhanchi (which is barely 350 km away from Katmandu) has left 66 security personnel dead, nearly three dozen injured. In this attack an army barrack, district head quarter, district police office, residence of chief district office were completely destroyed. The PLA also raided the branch office of the state owned Rastriya Banijya Bank with cash and movable assets worth Rs. 92 million Nepalese currency. They managed to lay hand on huge cache of arms and ammunition consisting of SLR, GPM, LMG, SMG, two-inch mortar and hand grenades. According to the estimate of government authority the total value of government property destroyed in Sandhikharka amounted to Rs. 580 million. It should be noted that a night vision helicopter was sent but was forced to retreat due to heavy fighting; similarly two other military helicopters were inflicted with gunshots thus forcing them to hasty retreat. This is the nearest daring attack on district head quarter from Kathmandu indicating that PLA is slowly closing near Kathmandu, the seat of fascist fratricidal, regicidal Gyanendra. What makes this military strike important and memorable is that it was done to commemorate the martyrdom of Comrade Suresh Vagle, an alternative Polit-Bureau Member of CPN (Maoist) who was killed by the reactionary force. It should be noted that the military strike on Sandhikharka was preceded by another equally suc-

cessful military strike in Bhiman police post within 24 hours. Bhiman is situated about 19 km from Sindhuli district headquarter in Eastern region of Nepal, which left 49 armed personnel dead and more than three dozens injured. This is the biggest successful military strike inflicting heavy loss to the government in the eastern region so far. The additional armed force sent to reinforce the losing battle in Bhiman got ambushed on the way killing one military man dead and two injured. Attack on Bhiman has a symbolic value for the revolutionary communists, as it is the place where Com. Azad was martyred by the reactionary government. He was the first one to raise the banner of revolt against the then Fourth Congress for not carrying People's war.

The clamping of emergency on November 26th, 2001 for the facilitation of military mobilization has made almost no difference to the fighting ability of PLA and the spread of PW throughout the Nepal. If at all it has made a difference then it is in the scale of daily quota of killings, which is on an average of 5-7 per day. It is no secret that RNA is mostly confined to district headquarters, urban centers and roadsides, while PLA controls the rest of the countryside. Hence most the victims killed in so called "encounters" are innocent masses and political prisoners in custody.

There has not been any single military offensive launched by RNA so far, on the other hand

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every military offensive launched by PLA has resulted into resounding success, the loss being very minimal. Hence this indicates that they are still in defensive stage. Take the case of military strike on security forces in Mangalsen, the district headquarter of Accham, 600 kms northwest of capital on February 3, 2002, resulting into the killing of 48 armed policemen and 46 military men. Many were left injured. In the attack, chief district officer, National Investigation Department Director and his wife were also killed. Ten government offices including district police headquarter were burnt. PLA was able to secure SLRs, LMGs, three rocket launchers, six rockets, grenades and bullets. PLA was also successful in destroying a neighbouring airport at Saphe Bazar. This attack took barely less than three months of slapping emergency and military mobilization. It should be noted that the enemy had boasted of crushing the movement within few weeks of royal army mobilisation.

What is even more embarrassing for the enemy is the attack on police post in Lamahi and on army base camp in Satbaria, both falling in Dang district, in April 11, 2001. This has made a mockery of their claim that they had learnt lesson from the military attack on their well-fortified barrack and arms depot on Ghorahi, the headquarter of Dang district in November 3, 2001 which resulted in promulgation of emergency and army mobilization. The attack on both the places resulted in killing of 34 armed personnel with hundreds injured. The PLA managed to raid Rastriya Banijya Bank, destroying sub-station of Nepal Electricity Authority in Lamahi. The arms and ammunition captured consisted of ninety SLR, three LMG, three SMG, fifty nine 303 rifles, seven Magnums, 17 pistols and revolvers, eight shot guns and forty eight hand grenades from both the places.

The much hyped attack on Maoist training camp in Lisne in Rolpa by RNA was found to be a big hoax. The government was claiming that they managed to encircle and kill 350 "terrorists". However, the truth is that the PLA in Lisne camp got

the wind of approaching RNA, lured them to deeper areas and was instead encircled and attacked resulting to embarrassing withdrawal by the RNA with only their under-garments covering them. In fact what RNA did not know was that in the same month another attack was waiting to take place in the same district, Rolpa, but in another spot. The successful attack on base camp of the army in Gam in Rolpa took place in April 7, 2001. It should be noted that the army base camp in Gam had been fortified and designed according to advanced design by American military advisers. The attack left 24 military personnel dead. At the time of attack, some American military personnel were present, but they managed to save their skin by retreating hastily. The arms and ammunition captured was next to the amount captured in the first historic attack on Ghorai army barrack in Dang in November 23, 2001.

Between clamping of emergency in November 23, 2001 and up till today, innumerable smaller military actions in almost all parts of Nepal have been taking place. There has been increased number of ambushes, attacks on innumerable telephone exchanges, nearly 40 repeater stations, hundreds of village development offices and power plants. Similarly capturing and selective annihilation of arch enemies of the revolution, together with blasting of properties and houses of selective fascists and government personnel and inspectors have been carried out. Also there has been heightened surprise attacks on urban areas, specially in Kathmandu, the capital city of Nepal. In March 2002, Gorkhapatra Corporation, a state run national newspaper office was bombed in the capital city. Around the same time a posh private run college building belonging to Mohan Bahadur Pandey, a press secretary at the royal palace was bombed too. A special task force (STF) even dared to attack army installation in the capital causing damage to historic "silkhana" which stores antiquated arms and ammunition of RNA, in March, 2002. Right at the heart of capital, the then ruling Prime

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minister Sher Bahadur Deuba's central headquarters was bombed. Another notable attack was the bomb attack on Tej and Karan Enterprises premise in Kathmandu on August 25, 2002. New cars, buses numbering 22 were destroyed. The enterprise belongs to an Indian businessman, which created quite furor in India. In Chitwan Coca-cola factory of Bottler's Nepal was blasted in April, 2001. Similarly there have been numerable attacks on helicopters, the latest one being setting ablaze a privately run Karnali Air Ways helicopter in Juba in Solukhumbu district. It should be noted that last November PLA was successful in destroying Phaplu airport tower in the same district. All these have inflicted heavy economic losses on the government. Innumerable bomb hoaxes, bombing of different municipality offices in the urban are too many to mention.

The increasing number of statements issued by the office of American Embassy in Nepal to find a viable solution to insurgent problems in Nepal, together with increasing visits by foreign ministers, secretary of states of USA and UK, European nations and reciprocal shuttle visits by Nepalese Prime minister in these states for arms and ammunitions, together with the visits of armed advisers from different countries in some pretext or the other all shows, how internationalized Nepal's PW has become. The illegal extradition of alternative central committee member, Bamdev Chhetri and four other Nepalese journalists and several Nepalese citizens from India, and stationing of foreign military personnel in Nepal in some pretext or the other, all these show the measure of nervousness of ruling class of the world by the fast development of PW in Nepal.

Meanwhile another reverberatory military strike has taken place in Khlanga, the regional headquarters of Karnali region in Jumla district in western Nepal and in Takukot of Gorkha district in mid-western region in November 2002. These successful military strikes has important historic significance as they represent the first military attack after the royal coup.

On November 14, just after the conclusion of historic three days bandh called by the CPN (Maoist) and organised by URPC, hundreds of PLA forces attacked on security bases consisting of army barrack, armed police base, regional police unit and district police office from all sides in Khlanga, resulting in the killing of 33 police men, 4 army men, including chief district officer and two sub-inspector policemen. The PLA force set ablaze the district administrative office, district police office, land revenue office, Jumla Airport tower, and a barrack of armed police force and regional police unit. The PLA force also seized Rs. 2.1 million in cash and valuables worth 1.7 million from the bank before setting it ablaze. They captured innumerable arms and ammunition in the whole raid. They also managed to break the district jail. It should be noted that this is the first time that the PLA is able to attack and capture the regional headquarters. In the past PLA has been successful in attacking and capturing district headquarters such as in Dunai of Dolpa, Shyangja of Shyangja, Salleri of Solukhumbu, Ghorai of Dang, Mangalsen of Accham and Sandhikharka of Arghakhanchhi district.

Similarly the same day PLA forces attacked on police post in Takukot in Gorkha district, the ancient seat of the present king, killing 24 policemen and injuring many more. The PLA force managed to seize 37 rifles. It should be noted that this successful attack took place despite the presence of heavy concentrated armed force in this district. On December 4, a successful attack took place on Lahan in Eastern region targeting Area Police Office and the local Bank.

In recent Central Committee meeting CPN (Maoist) has affirmed to enter the phase of preparation for the strategic offensive from its previous position of strategic equilibrium. This decision by itself speaks volumes that the people's power can be of no match to any arms and ammunitions. For no missile can deter the hunger missile when it is fired by the power of MLM ideology!

□

NEW EXPERIENCES GAINED IN CAPTURING SANDHIKHARKA

People's War led under the leadership of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) is gaining new heights one after the other. The Central Committee of the Party decided to give one thunderous action programme in the process of going from strategic equilibrium to strategic offensive, the result is the excellent implementation in Sandhikharka, the headquarter of Arghakhanchi district. The Arghakhanchi battle has not only influenced nationally but internationally and as a result the war has taken new height.

In the process of gaining new height in the war, the Party has made a new form of cell formation and it has also promoted PLA's formation to the level of Brigade. Emphasizing the necessity of achieving lofty height and centralization, Sandhikharka was attacked by the brigadier level force, under the leadership of Com. Pasang.

Fixation of Spot

Arghakhanchi is a white area under the Western Central command. In the process of influencing over white area and expanding red area, the attack on Arghakhanchi was planned with the intention of advancing slowly towards Kathmandu. The first shot was fired after having congregated in a fixed place in a fixed day and time, by diverting the attention of the enemy through highly under-cover operation from different regions with the help of the masses. The fire was opened at exact 10pm. Before opening the fire the PLA had already tightened encirclement after having cordoned all the points, fortifications and forces of the enemy within a circle.

The Fight

After that intense battle started. The fight took place from 10 pm to 2 am. In the process civil police force surrendered around 12.45 pm. Before capturing civil police force the bank had been captured within half an hour. The office of chief district officer had already been captured within one and one and half hour. The Royal army and the armed police force were in fact found fighting till the last minute but before the PLA, which is equipped with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Prachanda Path, the forces of feudalist monarchical force could do nothing and at the end they lost the battle. The whole area was captured and was destroyed around 2.30 am.

Achievements

In the battle, one piece of rocket launcher, 9 pieces of LMG, 2 pieces of 2 inch mortar, 36 pieces of SLR, 72 pieces of 3-0-3 rifles, 15 pieces of MMG, 4 pieces of shotguns, 5 pieces of magnum rifles, some grenades, 4 pieces of 2-2 rifles, mouser and 12 pieces of pistols, 6 revolvers, all together 173 pieces of ammunitions were captured, 4 crore 85 lakhs Nepalese currency and about 15-20 kg of gold was also captured.

Destruction

The office of the chief district officer, royal military barrack, the chief headquarter of the police, bank, education institutes, drinking water, district development office, court including all government offices present there were destroyed.

The Fortification of the Enemy

The nature of battle waged this time has been different from the rest of the other battles fought so far. This battle was found to be of higher nature in comparison to that of battles waged in Thawang, Gam, Lisne, Accham, Satbaria and Lamahi. The position of the enemy, bunker, their fighting techniques, fortification etc were all found different from elsewhere.

Because of the defeats incurred by enemies in earlier battles modern techniques were found to be used. For example, the electric current was found circulating through the barbed wire, which was

REPORT FROM THE BATTLE FIELD

encircled in a new scientific way. In case of electric failure too, there was provision of flow of electricity through generator. The mines that were laid were also found to be of special nature. Around the fortification, pointed iron spikes were imbedded on ground in order to make crawling impossible. It was also found that cement roofing was used as a cover above a bunker instead of tin cover. Arrangements were made in such a way that even if fired from outside, the line of fire missed the target. Because of such strong fortification and also the use of sophisticated arms, the enemy's confidence was found to be obviously high. Three or four helicopters had also arrived but they were found hovering at a considerable height, otherwise targets would have destroyed them. PLA had occupied all the highest points with LMG, GPMG fittings ready to fire. The two helicopters that dared to hover below were fired upon and were partially destroyed due to gunshots. They had to flee away because of this.

After the successful completion of Sandhikharka battle, the enemy had made plan to block Purkot of Gumli, Alung and make survey against Maoists and terrorize people there. Army personnel were grounded three or four times from the helicopter too. PLA company went ahead to vanquish them. In this milieu 10 royal army personnel were killed while 3 Maoists were martyred. Royal army had come from Deurali, bordering Pyuthan. All of them were chased away by our PLA. This way PLA went ahead breaking all encirclements.

The reactionaries have spread rumour that 50-60 Maoist army had been killed in an ambush in Shaulibang. All these rumours have been propagated to hide their own defeat.

Effect on the People

It was found that the Sandikharka armed action had good and exhilarating influence on the masses. In the beginning there was some doubt that although the place had mass support still it had not been consolidated enough, however it was proved baseless because the people there gave considerable help right from the beginning. After the

completion of military action, most of the people, be it UML or Congress, Masal or any other parties, they felicitated Maoists for their success. In a way they organized a victory celebration.

This is natural because the people of Sandhikharka have never experienced such a high profile battle. Such successful military action has all the more raised the confidence, belief and hope of the people. The people were found commenting "**The Party which fights for the people is in essence the Maoist Party**". For the people of Arghakhanchi, it was a matter of joy and pride that such a big armed action has been accomplished in their district by the revolutionaries, at the same time this is an important event for the Maoists to find such a mass based people's support of that district, in order to make such an action a big success.

Lessons and Shortcomings

The Arghakhanchi military action has amply proved that Prachanda Path represents correct ideology and policies and that it is striding at higher height. This has raised the confidence of PLA, Party cadres and the masses while it has shattered enemy's confidence. This has not only influenced at national level but at the international level. This attack has also proved that Maoists can attack at any enemy's camp at any time of their choosing and can win. It is certain that if the reactionaries do not solve the problem through peaceful means then, they will again have to face more such shocks.

It is seen that the Maoists have the short coming of being extremely prudent when not winning and becoming too exhilarated more than the situation demands when the battle has been won thus under-estimating the strength of the enemy. It is because of this weakness that casualty in Hanspur must have taken place. That is why this point needs to be taken seriously.

The specificity of this battle was that besides commanders and political commissars of PLA there were many central level leaders and members of regional bureau who had also accompanied the

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team, thus making the participants more emotionally charged.

At the end, Arghakhanchi military action is the first action based on centralization of force and military. Even though, before this, actions such as in Sisne, Gam, Accham, Dolpa including all other actions have their importance in their own places, however, this action should be seen as having special relevance and representing a high leap. From the point of view of military plan, centralization of power, the art of war, the war fortification, from all points of view, the present action in essence was a specific kind of action. The other specificity of

this action is that the enemy had no clue even when such a big formation, centralization of forces and its maneuvering were being mobilized and it was able to give "surprise attack" to the enemy in the first firing itself. Although the war was mainly mobile but there were also high elements of guerrilla and positional warfare used. After concluding this successful intense battle which reflects the centralization of lofty ideological thought, military planning, courage, prudence, confidence and determination, now it can be firmly said that the Maoists can not only win the guerrilla war, but also mobile and positional war.

[A Commander of a team]

MAJOR PLA RAIDS DURING NOV. 2001-DEC 2002

<u>S.N</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE/REGION</u>	<u>TARGET</u>	<u>ENEMY FORCE</u>	<u>RESULT</u>
1	23-Nov-01	Ghorahi/West	Dist.HQ**	RNA+APF+PF	Total Success
2	23-Nov-01	Syangja/West	Dist.HQ**	APF+PF	Total Success
3	25-Nov-01	Salleri/East	Dist.HQ**	RNA+APF+PF	Success, except RNA
4	07-Dec-01	Ratmate/West	Telecom Security Camp	RNA	Failure
5	08-Dec-01	Kapurkot/West	Telecom Security Camp	RNA	Failure
6	05-Feb-02	Bhakundebesi/East	APO	APF+PF	Total Success
7	16-Feb-02	Mangalsen/West	Dist.HQ**	RNA+APF+PF	Total Success
8	16-Feb-02	Sanfebagar/West	Airport	APF+PF	Total Success
9	16-Feb-02	Lalbandi/East	APO	APF+PF	Total Success
10	11-Apr-02	Satbaria/West	APF Camp	APF	Total Success
11	11-Apr-02	Lamahi/West	APO	PF	Total Success
12	17-Apr-02	Barpak/West	APO	APF+PF	Total Success
13	02-May-02	Lisne/West	RNA Base Camp	RNA (Company)	Total Success
14	07-May-02	Gam/West	RNA Camp	RNA (Company)	Total Success
15	07-May-02	Chainpur/East	Dist.Sub HQ**	RNA+APF+PF	Failure
16	27-May-02	Khara/West	RNA Camp	RNA	Failure
17	30-May-02	Damachaur/West	RNA Base Camp	RNA	Success
18	08-Sep-02	Bhiman/East	APO	APF+PF	Total Success
19	10-Sep-02	Sandhikharka/West	Dist.HQ**	RNA+APF+PF	Total Success
20	27-Oct-02	Rumjatar/East	Airport	RNA	Failure
21	14-Nov-02	Jumla/West	Zonal HQ*	RNA+APF+PF	Success, except RNA
22	14-Nov-02	Takukot/West	APO	APF+PF	Total Success
23	04-Dec-02	Lahan/East	APO+Bank	APF+PF	Total Success

Note: RNA=Royal Nepal Army; APF=Armed Police Force;PF=Ordinary Police Force; APO=Area Police Office; Dist. HQ= District Headquarter

* Zonal HQ has Battalion level of RNA formation plus other forces

** District HQ has Company level of RNA formation plus other forces

- Others generally have platoon level of security forces

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH CHAIRMAN PRACHANDA



How would you like to assess the current position of the Nepalese Democratic Revolution? At present what are some of important gains and challenges faced by the Party?

The Nepalese democratic revolution, which is part and parcel of the world revolution, has today reached at a critical juncture of its development. The mighty People's War, which is marching ahead since the last seven years in order to complete New Democratic Revolution against feudalism, has now reached a stage when it is directly at loggerhead with world imperialists. Today ringleaders of world imperialist who replay the tune of "parliamentary democracy" are nakedly siding with corrupt and incumbent dictatorial feudal forces against the Nepalese New Democratic Revolution, which has once again validated Comrade Lenin's scientific conclusion about the specificity of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The loftiness and challenges of today's Nepalese New Democratic Revolution lies in its direct confrontation with the world imperialism.

The new energy released in the process of synthesizing the experiences gained through creative application of the almighty truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the context of Nepalese Democratic Revolution in the historic Second National Conference of the Party has given qualitative impetus to the People's War from a political as well as military point of view. The whole world is witnessing the unprecedented churning process of Nepalese society and the achievements gained by the mighty People's War in the past one and the half years. The formation of People's Liberation Army with its brigade level military formation, and central democratic state oriented "United Revolutionary People's Council" under the leadership of our Party which is conscious of its role in serving the 21st century world revolution, has successfully destroyed and captured enemy's district headquarters and has satisfactorily carried out military ac-

tions throughout the country leading towards the development of some inherent characteristics of People's War in an overall war context. "People's Council" representing broad united front for all class, nationality, regions and sex, oppressed by feudalism and imperialism and representing political manifestation of democratic new Nepal, is playing its role to prepare for mass insurrection.

According to the law of revolution, which gives birth to powerful counter-revolution, the main challenge for the Nepalese democratic revolution is the challenge to counter the imperialist intervention. Being a foremost front of world revolution which is preparing to launch counter offensive from its present position of strategic equilibrium, this challenge is not only addressed to the Nepalese proletarian class and its people but to the whole proletarian class and entire labouring masses. And only worldwide people's resistance can confront this challenge. Being a part of international proletarian-armed detachment, our Party is prepared to play its role to the hilt with full conviction and strength.

How are you observing the recent counter-revolutionary coup? What are your plans to counter this?

The reactionary coup staged by the medieval feudal murderer Gyanendra Shah under the direction and backing of American imperialist and Indian expansionist forces, in reality reflects the last stage of its desperation and indicates advancement of People's War and the glory of its victory. For any one who has been studying the process of Nepalese class war and the advancement of People's War, this incident should neither surprise him nor make disillusioned. The feudal state based on unholy alliance between feudalism and imperialism, which has become isolated from the masses and is on the verge of collapse due to ad-

vancement of People's War, has, by undertaking this reactionary and nakedly fascist step as a last resort, in fact sounded its own death knell. By siding with Gyanendra-Paras clique who are notoriously known as fratricidal, genocidal and smugglers, Bush, Blaire and Bajpai have exposed their so-called democratic mask by revealing their true fascist character before the people of Nepal. This reactionary coup, which has come over the surface, is the result of grand design of the past heinous palace massacre. Because our Party has been continuously apprising the result right from the time of palace massacre, the general masses have not only no illusion about it, but in fact they have hatred and anger against Gyanendra-Paras clique.

This negative incident has created a positive role for the Party to play, which is to forge a broader alliance amongst wider democratic forces, to mobilise international public opinion and mainly to prepare for general mass insurrection through People's War. We will fight against this counter-revolution by planning to attack the enemy at a wider scale through both political and military fronts. We are fully aware that behind this reactionary step undertaken by Gyanendra Shah, there is conspiratorial move by the interventionist American and mainly Indian military force, to massacre Nepalese masses. Knowing the importance of Nepalese geo-political and strategic position, American imperialism wants to place its military base in South Asia and to encircle its rival China. It is under this strategic design that the American imperialism is going ahead to use Gyanendra Shah as Pinochet, Suharto and Jigme. The people of Nepal as well as the people of South Asia can never tolerate this imperialist intrusion. This strategic design of the imperialists, who have got entangled with people's resistance, will ultimately mean nothing other than lifting a stone to crush one's own feet.

The mobilization of reactionary royal army against the revolutionary People's War is now completing one year; what are the main achievements and challenges faced in the military front

at present?

In Nepal, feudalist royal palace has been using its running dog, the "royal army" since hundreds of years as a big spectre to terrorize the Nepalese masses. Before mobilization of the so-called army on its own land, the feudal elements used to boast that People's War will end within 20-30 days of its mobilization, thereby terrorizing the masses. However, the events after nine months of emergency and one year of military mobilization have proved the other way round from what feudalist elements had expected and had forecasted. In every war front, People's War and People's Liberation Army proved invincible because of their sense of commitment, which is replete with consciousness, devotion and sacrifice, while on the other hand, the continuous humiliating defeats suffered one after the other, has turned the initial euphoria of the "royal army" totally shattered. Starting with the capture of Dang barrack and Shyangja and Solu district headquarters and through the massive attacks on Accham's Mangalsen, Satbaria and Lamahi in Dang, the shameful defeat of royal army's three company in mobile warfare in Lisne of Rolpa right at broad day light, attack on military base camp of Gam in Rolpa, Khara of Rukum and massive attacks in Damachour of Salyan, Lamki of Kailali, together with innumerable ambushes, raid in Barpak in Gorkha and successful ambushes in Chitwan, Dhading, Tanahu and other districts, continuous sabotages, raids and annihilations carried out in Kathmandu; similarly in the Eastern sector, attack on Kavre's Bhakundevesi, attack on Chainpur, Sarlahi (in Tarai region), Panchthar; and at the later stage attack on Bhiman of Sindhuli, Sandhikharka of Argha and Makwanpur, Siraha and Surkhet, along with innumerable small to big military actions of various kinds throughout the country after the so-called promulgation of emergency; all these have amply proved the superiority of People's Liberation Army over the royal army. In every big raid, People's Liberation Army has managed to capture ample storage of modern arms and ammunitions by paying with their blood.

Today, after one year, the commanders of royal army are themselves admitting their defeat. Their confidence is receding. Because now they cannot instill fear on Nepalese masses and it is not possible to put them under their control through mobilization of royal army, hence the reactionaries are openly challenging to bring in American, British and Indian army to fight the Nepalese masses.

The reactionary rulers themselves are admitting that most of the area in the country other than the capital and district headquarters is under the control of the revolutionaries. What are the experiences of running the people's power in these regions?

Along with the historic initiation of People's War, the Party has been emphasizing on the planned development of three instruments of democratic revolution. Even when People's War was entering or about to enter the second year, there was a situation of power vacuum seen in the local state machineries in the main conflict areas (where the Party had already started rural class struggle much earlier). Since that time the Party had developed initial plans to organize local people's powers. By now it has been made possible to have district level people's power in many districts of the country and to form "People's Council" at the central level. It is a fact that today all the rural areas of the country are coming under the direct or indirect control of the revolutionaries. At present the Party is giving special emphasis to run the democratic state power efficiently through various departments in main base areas and to prepare for insurrection through continuous political intervention at the central level and country-wide strike activities. In reality, today except in capital and district headquarters, the enemy is forced to follow underground and guerrilla tactics to fight against the People's War in the rural areas.

Even then as the enemy is now preparing to launch bigger strikes on rural areas with the help of imperialists and small attacks are being carried out the function of war and destruction of the old would play the primary role, and as a result, the

position of all local people's powers also remain in a state of war-like situation. In the course of intense civil war a process of people's power getting built, destroyed and re-organised at newer height is going on. To imagine that people's power can be exercised in an organized and planned way as in peaceful times is contrary to the prevailing civil war-like situation.

The Party is seen to be continuously talking about negotiations and a minimum forward-looking solution. Could you make this clear for the benefit of the international revolutionary community?

Certainly, our Party has been raising the question of negotiations and a forward-looking political solution as a part of political tactics right from the beginning. It is also a fact that last year our Party had initiated dialogue with the enemy in three rounds. The enemy was not coming out with any advanced political solution from that, and as a result the Party went ahead to launch all out attack on the enemy at a higher level after educating the masses about it which has not been hidden from anybody. Even today we have kept the door for dialogue open taking into consideration of people's interests and progressive political solution. Through experience it has been proved that this political tactics has been successful in attracting people belonging to the middle strata and isolating the enemy, and that this has been helping in uplifting People's War to higher level one after the other. This does not mean, and it cannot be, that every time and everybody should use negotiation and agreement as a tactics. When to call for dialogue and when not to, depends upon concrete analysis of concrete situation of that country. If anyone thinks our Party's tactics of negotiation and agreement as meaning to give permanent emphasis to negotiation, then, it should be assumed that such a person has not understood the head and tail of our tactics. In reality the truth is that we have continuously condemned and exposed negotiation for the sake of negotiation or negotiation against the interest of the people.

It is important to make clear here that on the basis of analysis of today's international and national situation, our Party is ready for dialogue on the issue of election to a constituent assembly, and institutionalization of the republican state. If a situation comes whereby an interim government for such purpose is to be constituted then we may participate in it. It is probable that international revolutionary community may have most questions to ask on our political tactics such as "interim government", "constituent assembly" and "institutionalization of the republic". We have confidence in ourselves that this revolutionary tactics conforms with the basic ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and that it fits into today's specific situation of balance of power of international forces and that it conforms with the necessity of the Nepalese class war. Here, in this small interview, it is not possible to give long analysis of this tactics. We want to apprise the revolutionary international community that no country's revolutionary development takes a straightforward and simple path, and it is by this very nature that Nepalese war is going ahead and that we are facing the challenges of its creative application and development in the 21st century with full faith on our class and ideology. The question of facing this challenge is not as straightforward and simple as explaining the general line of ideology, on the contrary it is a complicated question, which demands research through the furnace of today's international and national class struggle. For this, common effort of the entire international proletarian class is very necessary.

Probably because of Nepal's specific geo-political condition the ever advancing Nepalese democratic revolution towards the summit of victory seems to be creating a big flutter amongst the international reactionary ruling classes. How are you thinking of facing the possibility of foreign intervention? In particular how are you thinking of maintaining relationships with the two giant neighbouring countries?

The main reason behind the tension and flutter of the ringleaders of world imperialism is not

Nepal's specific geo-political position but it is the ideology, which uses MLM creatively in order to advance People's War and is an advanced form of 21st century world proletarian revolution. The reason behind their intense fear is that they know that their moribund imperialist world system, which is facing crises in all directions, will be engulfed into flames once the revolution succeeds in Nepal. Certainly, because of the importance of the secondary aspect, which is the development of revolution in the context of Nepal's specific geo-political condition, their fear has been intensified further.

Nepal is physically situated amidst two and a half billion population of giant India and China. From both physical and historical point of views there is no danger to Nepal at present from Chinese rulers. In Nepal there have always been direct intervention from Indian expansionist rulers. In the present new situation there is a direct danger of Indian military intervention under the leadership of American imperialism. There has always been continuous indirect Indian military intervention in Nepal. Gyanendra Shahi has betrayed the nation with the intention of making Nepal a Bhutan and on the condition of making himself a Jigme; he has already surrendered national interests by inviting interventions of the Indian military against the Nepalese revolution. The contradiction with China, the acuteness of Arab and Middle East problem and the development of democratic and national liberation movement within India and the increasing number of Indian masses supporting the Nepalese democratic revolution are forcing a clandestine intervention by foreign reactionaries till now. It is clear that at any time a direct military intervention is on the offing.

The moment such intervention takes place Nepalese People's War will be transformed into a national war. Using contradictions between foreign reactionary forces, the Party will give firm leadership to the national liberation war. From that negative situation, a positive result will come with the creation of a new wave of struggle in India and South Asia against the military intervention. Not

only that it will give new opportunity to communist revolutionaries to mobilize the masses of the world against such imperialist intervention. Certainly, in that process Nepalese masses will have to provide their utmost commitment, devotion and sacrifice. But at the end, victory will be won by the Nepalese masses and the People's War. That victory, which will have co-operation and support of people of South Asia and the world, will play great historical role of advancing world revolution.

The Party is seen to acknowledge that the fate of Nepalese revolution is deeply intertwined with the revolutionary process in South Asia. In that sense how would you present the relevance and importance of CCOMPOSA?

The document passed by the Second historic National Conference of our Party has dwelt deeply on the specific situation of South Asia and the necessity of forging unity amongst the communist revolutionaries of this region. In fact, today South Asia is becoming a kind of storm center of world revolution. In such a situation we have taken the formation of CCOMPOSA as an important and a very positive initiative with a long-term relevance. CCOMPOSA will play an important role as a co-coordinator, thereby providing help needed for every country's revolutionary processes in fighting against Indian expansionism, the common enemy of the masses of this whole region. In order to raise it to higher level, all communist revolutionaries of this region need to work hard even more. Certainly we have given high importance to this initiative as we have heartily acknowledged the fact that the fate of the Nepalese revolution has special relationship with the advancement process of South Asian revolution.

It has been seen that the Party has been giving high value to the role of "RIM". What is the Party's latest thinking regarding the future of RIM?

The Party, the People's Liberation Army and Nepalese people have high regards for RIM, not

because our Party is itself a responsible member of RIM, but because of ideological and other forms of help that it has been bestowing upon the Nepalese People's War in its preparatory period, initiation and advancement process. The future of RIM, which is advancing ahead with the clear cut aim of forming a new international so as to advance world revolution under the ideological command of M-L-M is bright. And unitedly we must make it successful. Even now many revolutionary organizations in South Asia and the world have not been organized under the RIM which is developing as an international organization with a clear-cut sharp ideology. We firmly believe that RIM will advance further by helping to co-ordinate all revolutionaries of the world and thereby learning from each country's revolutionary movement and helping to advance each country's revolutionary movement through the advanced consciousness of the world proletarian class. In this great historical process our Party has been trying utmost to fulfil its share of responsibility and will continue to do the same. It is self-evident that according to the law of science the development of RIM has been going on through the intense struggle against non-proletarian right and left deviations and will continue to do so.

Through this publication would you like to say anything else to the international revolutionary community?

Today, Nepalese People's War has reached a very challenging juncture in its development. To defeat this front of the international proletarian army, the ringleaders of world imperialism are attacking it in innumerable ways and are preparing for direct military intervention. At this critical point, as a commander of the Nepalese front of international proletarian army, I anticipate urgent voice against the imperialist intervention in Nepal from the revolutionary community all over the world, according to their strength and capabilities. ■

“WE ARE FIGHTING FOR OUR CAUSE IN OUR OWN STYLE”

[This is an exclusive interview with Com. Krishna Bahadur Mahara, Politbureau Member and Joint-Convenor of URPC of CPN (Maoist), by the CNN, which was telecast worldwide on November 14, 2002.]

CNN: *The Nepalese government has branded you as terrorists. How would you like to respond to that?*

Mahara: Just like the Americans branded al Qaeda and the Taliban as terrorists to wage a war on them, similarly the Nepal government has categorized the Maoist movement as terrorist because they want to get rid of us.

Our movement is based on an ideology. It has the support of the Nepalese people. I agree that in its initial phase, this movement, six to seven years ago, had little support.

We are a political force and do not support terrorism. We condemn all types of terrorism. Terrorism is what a few people do for their own selfish reasons but we are a political force. This is a people's movement, a people's war. It is a people's force.

We are not terrorists and that is clear. We want to tell the media that we are against terrorism. We are not a terrorist force. We have a proper political thought to serve the people, to liberate the people, to establish a society based on equality in the country and we are fighting for this based on a proper political idea and thought.

I want to tell this to you.

CNN: *The Nepalese government points out that you are using what they call child soldiers, that civilians have been attacked and that civilians have regularly been scared off by bombing campaigns. You call for vast strikes for across Nepal and if people don't obey your call they are killed in cold blood. They say such acts can only be defined as terrorist acts.*

Mahara: These are just baseless allegations made by the Nepalese government.

We have no children in our fighting force. We

do not admit anyone below 18 in our army. We do not have anyone below that age in our army. This is a baseless allegation.

As far as our movement is concerned, we have the support of the children as well as the elderly. But they are not part of our army. We only have young rebellions fighting for our cause.

Secondly, the allegation of Maoist killing civilians is also false. In fact the government is responsible for all those killings. They kill those innocent people just because they support our cause. The Nepalese government claims to have killed four thousand Maoists. But the truth is that more than 80 percent of them were innocent civilians. We have only killed the criminal elements of our society and that too after issuing them several warnings and it was done in front of the people and according to the wishes of the people.

CNN: *What do you mean when you say the Nepalese government is not killing fighters, your fighters, but killing Maoist sympathizers? What evidence can you show that this is indeed true?*

Mahara: We have loads of evidence against the government. Just to give an example, seven people were killed in Kavre district some time ago which the government claimed as Maoists but they had no arms and ammunitions they were just innocent musicians.

In Salyan, innocent people were killed in an air raid by the government. And this happened at a fair, later on [where] they claimed to have killed Maoists. If the government claims to have killed 4,000 Maoists then where are their arms they recovered from them or the uniforms that our fighters wear. Why doesn't the government show those?

CNN: *The U.S. government says you are like the Khmer Rouge, that you use the same tactics*

the Khmer Rouge used in the 1970's. How would you like to respond to that?

Mahara: We do adopt the strategies and tactics of all the past wars fought for the freedom of people all over the world. But we don't do that mechanically.

The allegations that we fight like the Khmer Rouge are absolutely wrong. We are fighting for our cause in our own style. According to the geography, the enemy and the situation of Nepal, we are fighting according to that.

CNN: *Are you angry and upset that world does not truly understand the nature of your cause and that the Nepalese government has actually got some international attention in labeling you in the manner that they have, as terrorists?*

Mahara: The rulers in today's world are all mad. They have no ideology. They have nothing to offer to the public and end up taking all the wrong decisions about any movement or any organization.

This does not surprise or anger us but, of course, disgusts us, and the disgust and the hate that we have for them gives us the power to fight. Because if they said that we were right then there was no need for any war or revolution.

They are so selfish that they can never see the people's viewpoint. Their ignorance fuels our will to fight and rebel. If they could see our viewpoint, there will be no need for this rebellion.

CNN: *Thousands have been killed in the ongoing conflict between the Maoists and the army and security forces in Nepal. How long can you sustain such a campaign? How many more deaths are you willing to put up with?*

Mahara: This fight is not our wish. The rulers of this nation have compelled us to raise a rebellion against them. If they listen to us then this fight can stop in a minute. We want this to end as soon as possible without a single casualty.

But our wish means nothing, it is up to the ruling class.

It is the ruling class that is committing injustice

on people; all we are doing is resisting. Now it's up to them when they want this to finish. They have forced this on us.

CNN: *You say you want peace but why is there no peace? What can be done to bring about peace from both sides?*

Mahara: We also want peace. As and when ruling class empowers the people, peace will prevail. We want them to decentralize all their powers to the people of this nation.

The ruling class has kept the power away from the people. We have demanded an interim government and constituent assembly. Whatever the people decide we are willing to accept and this is how peace will prevail.

CNN: *You are asking for a constituent assembly. Why does the ruling establishment or the king in particular not want a constituent assembly? Why are they saying no to that repeatedly?*

Mahara: This is a very important question. The government is not agreeing to our proposal for a constituent assembly because they know that they'll lose. They just have the support of the army and certain pimps in position of power. The common man is against them.

Our party's chairman comrade Prachanda has appealed for talks again and again. The slogan for constituent assembly is not ours, it is that of the capitalist.

Our slogan has always been people's democracy and new democracy. They know they'll lose that's why they are not even agreeing to our flexible demand.

CNN: *The situation is deadlocked. The government does not agree to your demands and the fighting goes on. Why do you think the government has not reached your forces? How are you managing to continue this conflict?*

Mahara: The reason why the government is opposing talks is that they are preparing for a full-fledged war. If the government agrees to a political solution, we are even ready for a ceasefire. We are ready to redefine our army and make it into a national army because the army that exists right now

is just serving the king. We have gone so far to say that.

But it seems that the government is not ready for talks or a political solution so we are being forced to a standoff. And this war will be a historical and decisive one.

CNN: Why do you call this a historical war? Is this going to be a fight until the finish? Because both sides have been trying to weaken each other for the last four five years, it's been a stalemate. Both sides are not strong enough to do it. So do you think this last round, as you put it, will be the decisive round?

Mahara: This will be the last war because there is no other solution. The king's army is preparing to bring in reinforcements from outside. And if they come then we will obviously get the people of Nepal and the world to fight for us.

History has shown that the people always win because the people create history. The rulers just know how to commit atrocities on the people and they create an atmosphere of fear. They can only think of making their army stronger.

Their rule is illegal, our war is legal. This war will stretch for long if the foreign army is called in. But we will definitely win. That's why we call it the last war.

CNN: How do you see the political landscape in the next few weeks, perhaps next few months? Will there be elections in Nepal as promised by the king? Can democracy flourish and prosper there?

Mahara: The king does not want actual democracy. It is a ploy by the king so that the people are on his side. If the king was on the side of democracy then he would not have dissolved the parliament.

After dissolving the parliament, there should have been a midterm polls. He had announced midterm polls ... that should have taken place. All these events, and for the last one year, King Gyanendra's emergency, the murder of King Birendra — all these events are linked together.

What we see is the king, who does not want

democracy, all he wants is the power for himself.

The slogan like fair elections and clean government, these are all like green grass.

It is a green grass for both the people and the political parties. This is a conspiracy by the king to suppress the people and to create a big war on the people. We do not believe that he is going to have elections in the near future. He is not going to have elections. His strategy is to buy time, keep the power for himself and keep the people of Nepal suppressed.

CNN: So you don't see any hope? You seem to paint a very drab, very dreary picture for your country?

Mahara: The king's inner desire is not for democracy but the situation around him is forcing him to talk peace.

All political parties are in favor of the Maoist movement and the whole world is putting pressure for peace talks and then an interim government.

In such a situation, the king does not have any other possibility but to take these talks forward. What I can say sitting now is that the king's army will not fight for very long.

They will fight for a while but then they will want peace. Right now the situation as it is is probably leading towards some sort of dialogue and interim government, the situation is hopeful. Apart from this there is no other solution for the king. ■

"When we say that in the entire war mobile warfare is primary and guerilla warfare supplementary, we mean that the outcome of the war depends mainly on regular warfare, especially in its mobile form, and that guerrilla warfare cannot shoulder the main responsibility in deciding the outcome."

-Mao Tse-Tung,

"On Protracted War", May 1938

REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN NEPAL

- Baburam Bhattarai

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A process of revolution and counter – revolution is unfolding with dramatic momentum in Nepal. Whereas a revolutionary People’s War (PW) led by CPN (Maoist) for a democratic republic is sweeping across the length and breadth of the country since the last seven years , the archaic feudal – bureaucratic monarchy has staged a coup d’e’tat against the spineless parliamentary democracy on October 4 , 2002 and centralised the old state authority in itself. This epic fight between monarchy and democracy (of both ‘old’ and ‘new’ variety), reminiscent of the history of all civilized countries in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has naturally drawn the attention of the outside world to the geo-strategically placed country of Nepal. It is , therefore , imperative that the internal and external dynamics of this political upheaval be scrutinized and the immediate prospects be assessed.

The Nature of the Coup

Though the October 4 proclamation of dismissal of the elected Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba and assumption of executive power of the state by the self –proclaimed King Gyanendra has been generally dubbed as a coup d’e’tat, there is discernible divergence of opinion amongst the political forces and observers about the real nature of the coup . Whereas a reactionary class interest has motivated some to view it as an unpleasant but necessary step by the monarchy to restore ‘order’ from years of revolutionary upheavals , others have failed to see through the essential retrogressive nature of the royal move against the limited democratic gains of the 1990 people’s movement be-

cause of some formal legalistic illusions. A formal “commitment and allegiance of Constitutional Monarchy and the multiparty democratic polity” in the royal proclamation seems to have lulled these gentlemen into believing that the royal take-over is just a transitory move and there is no permanent threat to the multiparty parliamentary democracy in the country.

Let us look at the royal proclamation itself, which says:

“As it is our responsibility to preserve nationalism, national unity and Sovereignty, as well as to maintain peace and order in the country and also to ensure that the state of the nation does not deteriorate for any reason , a situation has arisen wherein, by virtue of the State Authority as exercised by us and in the spirit of the constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990 ,as well as , taking into consideration Article 27(3) of the Constitution, Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba should be relieved of his office ,owing to his incompetency to conduct the general elections on the stipulated date in accordance with the Constitution, and the Council of Ministers dissolved. Similarly, the general elections slated for November 13 also needs to be postponed. We ,therefore, issue the following orders in accordance with Article 127 of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990

“As it will take some time to make new arrangements ,we will exercise the executive powers of the Kingdom of Nepal until such arrangements are in place and we ourselves undertake

responsibility of governance in the country.

"We will never allow the commitment and allegiance of Constitutional Monarchy and the multiparty democratic polity to be compromised. The government to be constituted will make adequate arrangements for peace and security as soon as possible and conduct the general elections."(emphasis added)

Firstly, it should be noted that from Louis Bonaparte of 19th century France to modern day military dictators in Pakistan and elsewhere to our own King Mahendra (father of Gyanendra) in 1960, every executioner of a coup d'état unmistakably swears by some obscure and double-edged provision in the prevailing constitution and dangles the carrot of restoring democracy "as soon as possible". But, as they say 'the taste of the pudding is in the eating', one has to judge the monarchical or military dictators not by their pious words but their actual deeds.

Secondly, Gyanendra, through his October 4 proclamation, has unabashedly usurped "executive powers of the kingdom of Nepal until such arrangements are in place" and sought to "undertake the responsibility of governance in the country". This is pure and simple coup d'état against the letter and spirit of the Constitution of 1990. As it is a matter of common sense that the so-called constitutional monarchy nowhere exercises 'executive powers' and assumes 'responsibility of governance' and the 1990 Constitution through its Article 35(2) clearly exhorts the monarchy to undertake "all functions according to the advice and consent of the Council of Ministers". Hence it is axiomatic that the King can operationalize the much flaunted Article 127 (which states, "If any difficulty arises in connection with the implementation of this Constitution His Majesty may issue necessary orders to remove such difficulty and such orders shall be laid before parliament") not through his own independent volition but according to the advice and consent of the Council of the Ministers. However, in

the present case the Council of Ministers advises the King to postpone the planned November 13 elections to a future date according to an all party consensus and the King in return castigates the PM as 'incompetent' and summarily dismisses the Council of Ministers. If this is not forcible restoration of an absolute monarchy, what is it?

Thirdly, Gyanendra has announced a puppet 'Council of Ministers' of his own henchmen headed by his ever loyal stooge, Lokendra Bahadur Chand, on October 11, against the joint petition of all the six parliamentarist parties having representation in the dissolved parliament. Though the nominated PM belongs to the pro-palace Rastriya Prajatantra Party (RPP) and the crumb of deputy PM (DPM) has been offered to the acting head of the pro-India Nepal Sadbhavana Party (NSP), they have been personally handpicked by Gyanendra against the stated policies of their respective parties, thus ensuring that the puppet cabinet would ever dance to the tune of the palace. And it is interesting to note that the King who had branded Deuba as 'incompetent' for not holding the midterm elections on November 13 has conveniently avoided to fix the new date of elections so far, providing enough hints of his disinclinations to share power with the showcase parliament in the near future.

Hence there should be no illusion to anybody that a retrogressive royal coup d'état has been executed in the country and an autocratic monarchy has been restored by nullifying the limited democratic rights won after the 1990 people's movement. Whether the parliamentary political parties would be allowed to function or not and the 1990 Constitution would be formally scrapped or not, is just a matter of convenience and expediency to the feudal autocratic monarchy. In any case, a 'multiparty Panchayat system' would be hardly different in essence from the previous incarnation of 'partyless panchayat system' of the 1960-1990 autocratic monarchical period.

'Why' & 'How' of the Coup

What are the objective and subjective factors that contributed to the ultimate restoration of despotic monarchy after 12 years of flirtation with the multiparty parliamentary democracy? Are not the parliamentary political parties accountable for this fiasco due to their apparent non-performance, corruption, etc? Did not the ever raging Maoist PW prepare a ground for this rearguard action by the feudal-bureaucratic monarchy? There are speculations galore in the media and armchair discussions of the urban intelligentsia. However, the issue would deserve a deeper probing than mere motivated or ill-informed insinuations.

First of all, it should be recollected and recognized that historical events of this import do not occur due to mere will or omission and commission of individuals or groups, but as an historical necessity propelled by incessant contradictions between antagonistic social forces. In that sense this royal coup d'e'tat is a further link in the long chain of revolution and counter-revolution generated by the epic fight between feudal monarchy and bourgeois democracy for the last half century

To the uninitiated of the Nepalese history it may be worthwhile to recount that in the immediate aftermath of the revolutionary sweep across third world countries after World War 2nd a nascent bourgeois parliamentary democracy was introduced in Nepal in 1950, which was snuffed by a royal coup d'e'tat in 1960 and continued to be suppressed under the feudal royal boot till 1990. A broad-based people's movement abetted by the then global hysteria for multiparty democracy in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet and Eastern European state systems, resulted in restoration of the multiparty parliamentary system in 1990 but without significantly weakening the feudal-bureaucratic-military basis of the age-old monarchy. The history of last 12 years is the history of continued contention between the semi-feudal and semi-colonial social formation principally patronized by

the monarchy and a progressive bourgeois democratic transformation, which had a qualitative leap with the initiation of revolutionary PW in 1996. The recent counter-revolutionary royal putsch is just one more link in the ongoing process of life and death struggle between the retrogressive and progressive forces, and this will continue till the reactionary feudal-bureaucratic forces are completely swept away by the ultimate victory of democratic revolution. And this royal coup d'e'tat has unmistakably validated the principled stand of the revolutionary Left that the 1990 political change had not consummated the bourgeois democratic revolution in the country and the feudal-bureaucratic monarchy with its continued control over the traditional Royal Army still constituted the main danger even to the incipient parliamentary democracy. In that sense the recent developments are not at all 'unnatural' and 'unexpected' as some people have claimed to be.

Now, let us see the developments through a purely constitutional or legalistic prism. As the revolutionary Left had warned right then, the 1990 Constitution and the process of constituting it had left enough loopholes for future subversion by the all-powerful monarchy. The 1990 Constitution was not made by any elected body, but drafted by a King-nominated committee and promulgated by the King using his so-called "inherent constitutional and state authority and privilege". This clearly meant that the ultimate source of constitutional authority were not the sovereign people but the monarchy, and the King could subvert the constitution using the same 'inherent authority' at the time of his choosing. The fact that the King has now quoted the same passage from the Preamble of the Constitution -i.e "by the virtue of the State Authority as exercised by us"- to execute the coup d'e'tat clearly underscores the Himalayan blunder committed by the parliamentary political parties in not insisting on a Constituent Assembly in 1990. The parliamentary political parties were lulled by

the passage, "The sovereignty of Nepal will be vested in the Nepalese people", in Article 3 of the Constitution, but they did not take notice of the Damocle's sword of the so-called inherent State Authority of the King as proclaimed in the Preamble of the same Constitution. It is clear that such constitutional ambiguity about 'Sovereignty' and 'State Authority' too has now enabled the monarchy to stage a counter-revolutionary coup in a very 'constitutional' manner.

However, if one closely follows the sequence of events particularly after the infamous palace massacre of June 1, 2002, it is not difficult to foresee the current developments as a logical conclusion or climax of the counter-revolutionary process triggered much earlier. It is now proved beyond doubt that the whole family of King Birendra was wiped out and Gyanendra placed on the throne as part of a grand international strategy to check revolution in Nepal and convert the country into a spring-board of imperialist and expansionist machinations. In a recent article "Comparisons Between Recent US-Backed Coups", Wayne Madsen, a former US Navy officer, writes, "*According to unblemished sources in Kathmandu the King (i.e. Birendra) and his family were quickly dispatched by a Nepali army commando unit trained at the time by US special operations forces sent by US Pacific Commander in Chief Adm. Dennis Blair (he is the same guy who propped up General Wiranto with special training while the good general was committing genocide in East Timor). What was to become the Pentagon's Office of Strategic Influence (PSYOP's division) prepared a story, with the assistance of India's Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) intelligence agency, that the King and his family were murdered as a result of the Crown Prince going nuts with automatic weapons after being forlorn over his mother's refusal to allow him to marry a commoner.*" (www.spiescafe.com). After eliminating Birendra for his apparently weak posture

against the revolutionary and democratic forces, Gyanendra systematically undertook the mission to concentrate powers in his own hands, primarily through the Royal Army and palace bureaucracy. From the declaration of nationwide state of emergency and imposition of royal military dictatorship last November, through the engineered split in the largest parliamentary political party, the Nepali Congress, and untimely dissolution of parliament, to the virtual reduction of the Supreme Court and the Election Commission into loyal palace stooges, the demolition of all formal democratic institutions was complete within a span of one year. Hence this direct royal take-over was just a matter of time.

As regards the role of major parliamentary parties in this whole process, their principal weakness and mistake was not to grasp the age-old feudal monarchy as the foremost bulwark of reaction and instead to fancy it as an ally of 'democracy'. Given the weak bourgeois class base of these parties, this is not very unnatural, however. Consequently, during the past 12 years in power these parties could not introduce a single programme to cut the roots of feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism and prepare a material base for sustainable bourgeois democratic institutions. None of these parties who shared state power during the period, including the parliamentary left UML, attempted to carry out radical land reforms. Rather all of them seemed to vie with each other to appease the monarchy and share the crumbs of power. As a result the shrewd monarchy continued to play one against the other and went on consolidating its own position. The utterly ridiculous position of Deuba faction of the Nepali Congress, which was conveniently utilized by the monarchy to dismiss the parliament and split the largest party, only to be kicked out in the end with an ignominious label of 'incompetent' on it, adequately speaks of the abject impotency of the parliamentary parties vis-à-vis the crafty monarchy.

And now coming to the role of Maoist PW in precipitating this counter-revolutionary backlash, there is no doubt that this last desperate action by the feudal autocratic monarchy has been consciously resorted to when all other means failed to check the ever raging revolutionary wildfire sweeping across the country. The course of events have adequately verified that the Maoist PW is basically intended to complete the bourgeois democratic revolution in the country and in that sense it was quite natural to develop a closer relation between the parliamentary forces and the Maoist revolutionaries against the feudal monarchy in latter days. This obviously alarmed the monarchy and goaded it to undertake this desperate step. However it is just the confirmation of the law of materialist dialectics that the advancing revolution would give rise to the corresponding level of counter-revolution until revolution finally triumphs over counter-revolution.

Response of Different Political Forces

There is a triangular balance of power among three political forces, viz. feudal monarchists, bourgeois parliamentarists and revolutionary democrats, currently in Nepal. Accordingly, three different responses are seen towards this royal coup, and this will largely determine the political course of events in the immediate future.

First of all, the feudal monarchist forces, sidelined but not crushed by the 1990 people's movement, have jubilantly welcomed this royal move and even audaciously taken to street celebrations shedding 12-year long political hibernation. The handful of ultra-rightist elements who had thrived on the previous autocratic monarchist Panchayati era and mostly belong to the Shah-Rana aristocratic families and big landlord and bureaucratic capitalist classes, have overnight floated various ultra-nationalist ('mandale' in Nepali parlance) and obscurantist outfits like Pashupati Sena, Shiv Sena, etc (a'la Bal Thackerays of India) and demonstrated their muscle power in favour of the King.

Similarly, comprador Marwari traders whose economic interests are closely tied with Shah-Rana families for long, are seen to be most vociferous supporters of this royal coup. However, when this orchestrated move by the discredited revivalist elements seemed to boomrang on the monarchy, it was mysteriously curbed within a few days.

Secondly, the parliamentarist forces, as usual, demonstrated their most vacillating, irresolute and meek character during this period. It seems to have taken several days to them to grasp the enormity of the royal move and to make any meaningful response against it. However, with the passage of time there are signs of positive development in their attitude and they are increasingly inclined to resist the royal coup. Their collective decision not to join the royal puppet ministry, after Gyanendra refused to heed their advice regarding the formation of an interim all-party government, is a significant pointer towards this. Nevertheless, there are important overt and covert differences in the postures of different parties. Whereas the most discredited Deuba faction of the Nepali Congress, perhaps in the feats of anger at being booted out at the last moment, has termed the royal take-over as 'unconstitutional' and 'undemocratic' and vowed to fight against it, the larger Koirala faction more aware of the repeated betrayal of the monarchy since the days of the late B.P.Koirala has shown enough indications to resist this retrogressive move. As usual the role of the revisionist UML in this case, too, has been the most opportunistic, timid, vacillating and conciliatory. It is all the more interesting to note that the higher one moves in the leadership hierarchy of this group the more opportunistic one finds them, which was amply reflected in the response towards this royal take-over. Whereas, the General Secretary, Madhav Nepal, was initially hesitant even to condemn the counter-revolutionary coup the lower level cadres were already in the streets in protest. It is also reliably learnt that but for the firm opposition from other parliamentarist parties Madhav

Nepal would have occupied the chair of puppet PM in place of Lokendra Bahadur Chand. However, the increasing pressure from other parties and its own cadres would ultimately compel the UML leadership to come out against the royal coup. As regards the other smaller parties, the rightists RPP and NSP seem to be vertically divided on the issue and the minor Left groups have so far shown positive signs to resist the royal take-over.

And thirdly, the revolutionary democratic forces, principally represented by the CPN(Maoist) and the United Revolutionary Peoples Council (URPC) (an embryonic Central People's Government Organizing Committee in the form of a revolutionary united front), have unequivocally condemned the royal take-over as a counter-revolutionary coup and called for joint resistance against it by all the parliamentary and non-parliamentary democratic forces. The CPN (Maoist) and URPC have already announced *Madhes and Tharuwan* (i.e. Terai) *bandh* (shut-down) on October 27 and a three day *Nepal bandh* on November 11, 12 and 13 to protest against the counter-revolutionary coup d'état. It may be relevant here to note that the CPN(Maoist) and URPC have advanced the immediate slogans of a roundtable conference of all patriotic and democratic forces, an interim government and election to a Constituent Assembly to complete the bourgeois democratic revolution, which is getting increasingly positive response from other democratic forces, the intelligentsia and the general masses. Now a general consensus is building around the revolutionary democratic proposition that unless a democratic constitution is drafted and promulgated by an elected Constituent Assembly and the feudal Royal Army is disarmed and replaced by a modern National Army such periodic royal coups cannot be prevented and democracy fully consummated and firmly implanted in the country.

Role of the International Forces

Because of the particular geo-strategic posi-

tion of the country sandwiched between two super states, India and China, and a semi-colonial relation with India since the days of the 1816 Sugauli Treaty, internal political dynamics of Nepal have been invariably conditioned by the external interferences, and overt or covert hands of imperialist and expansionist forces are widely suspected to be involved in the recent royal coup d'état as well. What ought to be firmly grasped in this context is that, despite their lip-services towards 'democracy', an autocratic monarchy or a military dictatorship is seen to be more convenient and acceptable for the guardians of international monopoly capital in the backward, underdeveloped and dependent third world countries like ours, which is amply verified by the intimate patronage of imperialist powers enjoyed by the medieval Sultans of the Middle East and a host of military dictators in other parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the light of the increased interventionist activities of the sole superpower USA in Central and South Asia in recent times and tightening collusion between the ruling classes of USA and India with a strategic perspective of containing China, the imperialist and expansionist forces seem to have chosen the autocratic monarchy as a better bet over the democratic forces to consolidate their vested interests in the region. Hence there are enough grounds to suspect prior knowledge and approval, if not direct involvement, of the US and Indian rulers in this royal coup.

Coming to the role of Indian ruling classes, the heightened bonhomie between the ruling Hindutwa forces in India and the so-called 'incarnation of Visnu' within the Nepalese royal palace particularly during and after Gyanendra's state visit to India last June, is there for all to see. Ban imposed on the All India Nepalese Unity Society under the draconian POTA on July 2, arrest and deportation of four journalists including P. Chhetri on July 11 and capture and disappearance of the popular mass leader Bam Dev Chhetri from New Delhi on Sep-

tember 5, were clearly designed to appease the monarchy. Though the South Block has so far sought to underplay the royal coup and much fuss is made about the absence of senior officers in the Indian Embassy at the time, the visit of high profile former Ambassadors K.V. Rajan and M.K. Rasgotra to Kathmandu on the eve could not have been without any implications. More significant pointers are, however, provided by the editorial comments of the pro-establishment dailies published from New Delhi. Penned perhaps earlier than the mid-night royal coup and published in the early morning edition on October 5, the **Hindustan Times** editorial entitled "Rumbles in Nepal" says: "*King Gyanendra is well within his powers under Article 127 of the constitution to establish an interim government under his personal charge.*" Why such hurry to provide advance legitimacy to the totally undemocratic actions of the monarchy? And **The Times of India** editorial of October 8 under the heading "King's Compulsions" says: "*New Delhi needs to understand the compulsions that led King Gyanendra, a monarch known for his modern outlook and pragmatism, to act in the manner he did and to help him and the interim government in every way it can to restore normality in the kingdom*" Note the eulogy heaped on the most discredited and unpopular 'King' in the Nepalese history! It is really disturbing that the Indian ruling classes who boast about their republican and democratic political culture should so openly condone the murder of limited democracy in a neighbouring country. This has all the more fuelled the suspicion in the minds of the Nepalese people that the Indian rulers are deliberately propping up an unpopular and weakened King so as to further aggravate the ongoing civil war and to militarily intervene with the King's formal 'invitation' in a grand strategy of Bhutanisation and Sikkimisation of Nepal. [It may be worthwhile to refer to Sunanda K. Dutta-Ray's **Smash and Grab** on the Sikkim episode in this context.]

As regards to other foreign powers, the northern neighbour China has as usual termed the developments as the 'internal affairs' of Nepal and refused to politically commit itself on the issue. However, there are enough indications that they are keenly watching the heightened interference of other external powers, particularly the USA, with deepening alarms. (See for example, "What is the United States Doing in Nepal", **The World Times (Huanqiu Shibao)**, 13 May, 2002.

The Western powers, on the other hand, have been intensely lobbying to rationalize the royal coup and pressurizing the parliamentarist parties to capitulate before the autocratic monarchy so as to defeat the "Maoist terrorists". The US Ambassador, Michael Malinowsky, is seen most active in this mission, visiting all and sundry in Kathmandu. The British Parliamentary Under Secretary of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Mike O'Brien, who was in Kathmandu on October 10-12 to chair a meeting of the so-called International Contact Group, is reported to have said, "*(Maoist) Terrorism can never be allowed to win. International community is determined to support democracy opposing terrorism.*" (**Kathmandu Post**, October 13, 2002). So who ever opposes "Maoist terrorists" is a 'democrat'! With this funny logic Gyanendra would naturally be the greatest 'democrat'! But, Mr. O'Brien, did all the colonized countries in the past "win" their freedom from British colonialism because you very gracefully "allowed" it? Of course, not. The European Union, however, has struck a milder posture and called for the settlement of the issue through negotiations.

Future Prospects

As the Nepalese politics has strange tradition of going on 'holidays' during the major festival of *Dashain* (or *Durga Puja / Dussehera*) and *Deepawali*, new courses of events are still to unfold after the initial royal move. However, they are expected to be unrolled any time after the festival season. Meanwhile there are speculations ga-

lore on the future course of events, according to one's class interest or outlook. Where will the wheel of history stabilize in the immediate future? What will be the internal and external power equations? As the objective situation stands today, we can only offer some clues.

In the specific historical context of spiraling contention between the moribund feudal monarchy and upsurging people's democracy in the form of a nationwide civil war, it is but natural to centralize one's forces for the decisive battle, and this royal coup d'état is just a manifestation of that. Hence in the coming days revolution and counter-revolution can be logically foreseen to clash with greater intensity and ferocity. Those conversant with the father King's (i.e. Mahendra's) coup of 1960 and subsequent thirty years' protracted struggle between the autocratic and democratic forces may be inclined to believe that the history would repeat itself. But things have undergone a fundamental change between 1960 and 2002, as not only much water but also a lot of blood has flown down the Kosi, the Gandaki and the Karnali rivers. The most apparent and significant change is that the most backward countryside which acted as the bulwark of feudalism and reaction for ages have now been turned into liberated areas of revolutionary democrats. Still more important from the practical point of view is that for the first time in the history of the country there now exists a well-motivated People's Liberation Army (PLA) to effectively take on and defeat the demoralized Royal Army. Also, tens of millions of masses of oppressed classes, castes, gender, regions and nationalities now identify monarchy as the principal guardian of the oppressive and exploitative order and the main target of their immediate wrath. In such a vastly changed scenario a successful anti-monarchy uprising could materialize much sooner than ordinarily expected.

However, two major factors are likely to influence the pace of the revolutionary democratic process. Firstly, it would be the role of the parliamen-

tary democratic forces in the anti-monarchy movement. Even though the guardians of international monopoly capital are working overtime at the moment to bring about one more rapprochement between the autocratic monarchy and the parliamentarist forces citing the rising spectre of "Maoist terrorists", the parliamentary democrats would have to decide for themselves whether they want to be deceived by a Musarraf-style 'election' under the aegis of Gyanendra (if at all he holds it in the near future) and get politically liquidated for ever, or they would like to do away with the despotic monarchy once and for all and consummate democracy in the country. There is no other alternative left. All 'constitutional' paths for restoration of the spineless parliamentary democracy of the past are now totally blocked. Since, once you acknowledge the 'right' of the monarchy to snatch away or return the 'executive powers' of the state at its whims, then the Damocle's sword of a royal coup will for ever dangle over the head of parliament and democracy. It is in this context that we have been hammering on a round-table conference of all democratic forces, an interim government, election to a Constituent Assembly and formation of a National Army in place of the Royal Army. Only this way can the 'Sovereignty' and 'State Authority' be effectively handed over to the people from the monarchy. And this is nothing but a pure and simple bourgeois democratic programme. Also, all concerned should note that the CPN(Maoist) has publicly committed itself to a multiparty system in the future. That is why our constant appeal to all the parliamentary parties has been - 'you accept republicanism, we will accept multiparty-ism'. Hence there are strong chances that on the basis of this common minimum programme there would be a second edition of 1990 people's movement, but with higher intensity and efficacy, in the near future.

Secondly, the role of the international forces, particularly the USA and India, would have a sig-

nificant bearing on this whole process. It is quite intriguing that these powers, who boast themselves as the greatest republicans and democrats in the world have so far chosen to side with the monarchy in this historic fight between monarchy and democracy, despite our best efforts to make them see reason. (See, *Nepalese People's Appeal to the International Community*, URPC, August 2002). What these powers fail to realize is that so-called constitutional monarchies in some advanced capitalist countries were brought back by the victorious bourgeoisies to function under their (i.e. bourgeoisie's) exclusive hegemony, and in the pre-capitalist countries like ours there would be either autocratic monarchy or no monarchy at all. This is the objective law of history, which cannot be altered by the anybody's pious wishes. As regards the vain hopes of restoring order in the strategically placed Himalayan state under the hegemony of a discredited monarchy, that is another great illusion of these powers which will burst asunder sooner than they realize. It is thus expected that the genuine democratic forces in the international community, particularly the closest neighbour India, will prevail upon the faulty policies of their respective governments and let the Nepalese people decide their own future themselves.

Wheel of history may be temporarily stalled, but it cannot be permanently turned back. As Karl Marx had remarked, the father King's (i.e. Mahendra's) 'tragedy' of 1960 may be repeated as the son King's (i.e. Gyanendra's) 'farce' of 2002, but nothing more than that. Our own new edition of 'eighteenth Brumaire' may not last that long.

October 18, 2002

Postscript

Meanwhile the traditional festival season is over and the country's politics is slowly coming out of the month-long hibernation. The much earlier declared 3-day Nepal *bandh* (general shutdown) for November 11-13 by the CPN(Maoist) and the

URPC has been a grand success. On November 14, in one of the biggest military strike by the PLA, the district headquarter of Jumla in far-western Nepal has been successfully raided and a police station over-run in Takukot of Gorkha, in which more than a hundred armed personnel of the old state along with the Chief District Officer of Jumla were killed. This has thoroughly exposed the utter fragility of the autocratic monarchical regime and boosted the morale of the revolutionary masses.

On the other hand, Gyanendra's frantic efforts to buy over the major parliamentary forces to his side have not overtly paid off, as they have refused to join in his puppet ministry unless he retracts his retrogressive steps. Utterly frustrated (or emboldened?), he has expanded the puppet ministry on November 18 with the inclusion of a host of 'rotten eggs' thrown away from different parties at different points of time to create the illusion of an 'all-party government'. But he is not likely to fool anybody, except himself and his close coterie.

The international community, in the meantime, seem to have fathomed some ground reality in the country and there are some signs of their distancing away from the hated monarchy. May be they do not want to risk their total stakes on the losing horse. Hence in the most dramatic manner (or with tacit prodding from US rulers?), the UN resident representative to Nepal has publicly offered to broker a negotiation between the two warring sides. The climb down of the Indian ruling classes has been all the more hilarious. In a series of four editorials within one and half month, (i.e. October 8, 19, 24 and November 18) *The Times of India* has progressively toned down its pro-monarchy posture. The gem of their new found wisdom on the situation in Nepal, as expressed in the November 18 editorial, is worth quoting in some detail:

"The state of near civil war in Nepal with the monarchy unable to check the unrelenting Maoist

Continued in page no.36

NEPALESE REVOLUTION: HOW IS IT INTERLINKED WITH WORLD REVOLUTION?

- Gaurav

A glorious and momentous People's Revolution is advancing in Nepal in leaps and bounds thereby influencing not only the politico-military-economic situation of Nepal but that of the world politics to a considerable extent. US imperialism has vowed to collide with this revolutionary war along with its accomplice the British imperialism and its allied imperialist forces of Bush's "war on terror". Serious debates are going on also at the international forums of the reactionary states on how to combat this revolution at the Himalayan country. In the international meeting of the donor states in London, which was sponsored by Tony Blair's government on mid-July of this year, sharp differences came up regarding the nature and character of the aids to be provided to the Gyanendra-Paras-Deuba regime of Nepal. US and its accomplice UK, were virtually in minority when all the other representatives opposed to assist the tottering "Nepal government" through military aid. They put forward their opinion that Nepal should be provided assistance in humanitarian and development works, not at the military equipment. Tony Blair government was exposed in its own parliament when it conspired to provide 2 military planes, 2MI-17 support helicopters, explosive ordinance disposal gear and military training to the regime of Nepal through 'Global Conflict Prevention Pool', which is run by the ministry of defense, the foreign office and the international development department, without being discussed the issue properly at the house. There was furore in Belgian six-party coalition government led by Guy Verhofstadt, after the government decided to make an arm deal with tottering Gyanendra-Deuba regime of Nepal. Belgian Green Party leader and vice-prime minister of Belgian government Magda Aelvoit resigned from the cabinet at the beginning of the third week

of August, in protest against the deal of selling modern weapons (particularly, machine guns), because Belgian law bans arms exports to countries engaged in civil war. The government was hardly survived in the no-confidence motion in parliament at this issue. Germany had already refused a shipment of arms. Deuba, in his visit to Belgium to procure the arms faced big protest demonstrations. One progressive organization of Nepalese in Belgium gave letters of protest against this arm deal and against ongoing genocide by the Royal Nepal Army (RNA) and also demanding the lifting of emergency in Nepal. Thus, it was not an easy matter for the Belgian government at this arms deal with such a fascist genocidal government against a people's revolution of Nepal. Because of all these developments the reactionary Verhoftadt government was compelled to postpone arm supply for few months.

So far the US senate is concerned, it demonstrated itself to be so diehard reactionary that there is no party in the senate to raise any voice against loot, plunder, oppression, brutal attacks and savage war against any country and the people carried out by the government. It is a matter of shame to claim US as one of the greatest democracy in the world, where there is no real opposition in the parliament, ruling party and "opposition" are alike! Just the shareholders!

Thus the Nepalese Revolution influences directly to the world political events at different levels. The Nepalese Revolution, which is considered as a beacon of revolution for the oppressed in the contemporary world situation, has been proving as a challenge for this rotten system of imperialism and reaction. Consequently, the Maoists and other revolutionary forces are waging various lev-

els of struggle and solidarity action in support of the Nepalese Revolution, in various parts of the globe on the one hand and US imperialism and reactions are vowed to suppress it on the other. Thus the ongoing Nepalese Revolution both on the part of revolutionary forces and the masses and that of imperialism and reaction, has become a subject of serious concern and all have to play their role according to their own outlook and class interest. Therefore, it will be a sheer ignorance to conceive the Nepalese Revolution as insignificant in world perspective and confining it to the territory of Nepal.

Nepalese Revolution, part of the world Revolution

In spite of many specificities of our society the Nepalese Revolution is based on the principle propounded by com. Mao. This revolution in its character is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal and anti-bureaucrat and comprador bourgeoisie. It is a democratic revolution but not of the old type but that of a new type. In spite of its bourgeois democratic character, how this revolution is a part of the world proletarian revolution is required to be understood necessarily. Only then it is understandable to every body why this revolution deserves to get worldwide support from the proletariat and all other revolutionary forces and oppressed masses and how it serves the world revolution. Following quote from the writings of Com. Mao is quite relevant:

“Although such a revolution in a colonial and semi-colonial country is still fundamentally bourgeois-democratic in its social character during its first stage or first step, and although its objective mission is to clear the path for the development of capitalism, it is no longer a revolution of the old type led by the bourgeoisie with the aim of establishing a capitalist society and a state under bourgeois dictatorship. It belongs to the new type of revolution led by the proletariat with the aim, in the first stage, of establishing a new-democratic

society and a state under the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes. Thus this revolution actually serves the purpose of clearing a still wider path for the development of socialism. In the course of its progress, there may be a the number of further sub-stages, because of changes on the enemy's side and within the ranks of our allies, but the fundamental character of the revolution remains unchanged.

Such a revolution attacks imperialism at its very roots, and is therefore not tolerated but opposed by imperialism. However, it is favoured by socialism and supported by the land of socialist international proletariat. Therefore, such a revolution inevitably becomes part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution.”¹

The quote presented above is self-evident, which throws light enough to characterize the Nepalese Revolution at this particular stage and its links and ties with the world proletarian and socialist revolution. Proletariat never hides the reality and thus it has already declared that after the coup in China, following the death of Mao, proletariat lost state power and the socialist base resulting proletarian revolution in any particular country to deprive of getting support of the proletarian or the socialist state. Therefore, right at this juncture, proletarian revolution, whether it may be New Democratic or Socialist, is constrained to advance in very difficult situation. The ongoing revolution of Nepal cannot be exception. But we Maoist, with this given situation never draw a conclusion that revolution cannot be initiated, sustained and developed. Just contrary to that our conclusion is that revolution not only can be initiated and sustained but also can be developed, succeed and conquered. Revolutions sustaining and developing in Nepal, Peru, India, Turkey, Philippines, and preparation going on in various other countries under the leadership of the Maoist parties are the living proof of how our conviction is based on scientific laws.

From what we discussed above, it is obvious

that in absence of a socialist camp or socialist base, our class the proletariat and all the oppressed revolutionary masses require more international unity than ever before. Our glorious Party, CPN (Maoist) firmly upholds that in the given situation, unity of our class is increasingly necessary, without which revolution in a single country to succeed is almost unrealizable, in case it succeeds, it is equally difficult to sustain. It will be relevant to mention couple of sentences from the document adopted by the Second National Conference of our Party, which reads:

“Due to such specific economic, political, cultural, and geographical conditions and hegemony of Indian monopoly capitalism, it is very difficult to fully accomplish the New National Democratic Revolution and if it succeeds in specific situation of contradiction, it will be almost impossible to be sustained. The revolutionaries have to focus their attention seriously at the point that due to the force of common and joint struggles, according to the condition of uneven development, particular country or particular area of a particular country can be liberated and which only enables to play the role of Base Area in the direction of the revolution of the whole region.”²

Though the document talks about the situation of South Asian Region, but it seems to be relevant for the situation of the world today. The main thrust is at the importance of the solidarity and unity of revolutionary forces in fulfilling the revolutionary tasks. The relevance of the present situation, in which there is absence of proletarian state and socialist base, calls forth all the revolutionaries of the world to strengthen their unity and solidarity more than ever before, thereby engendering a tremendous strength of the proletariat and revolutionary masses, which can combat imperialism and reaction by accomplishing revolutions in individual countries.

When we talk about international solidarity of revolutionary forces and carrying out world revo-

lution, we must talk about international organization as a vehicle of such a unity and solidarity. It is well known that we have no any international today, but the proletariat is making untiring efforts to advance in that direction. Formation and strengthening of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) can be considered as important step forward in this march.

Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), has played and is playing significant role in strengthening the unity of Maoist forces and other revolutionary forces at the world level. Though all the Maoist forces have not yet joined the RIM, but as an international center of Maoists, RIM has been widely acknowledged. The Co-ordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organisations (CCOMPOSA), which incorporates almost all the Maoist forces of South Asia within and outside the RIM, has adopted a unanimous Declaration in its recently held Second Conference, which acknowledges RIM as follows: “The inherent characteristics of ever concentration and centralization of capital and the resultant uneven and unequal development in the world scale has aggravated the crisis of the world imperialist system and created an excellent objective condition for the world proletarian revolution in the beginning of the twenty-first century. However, subjectively, the International Communist Movement suffered one of the greatest setbacks in its entire history in 1976, when the revisionists usurped state power as well as the leadership of the party by a reactionary coup d’etat in China following the death of Mao Tse-tung. Restoration of capitalism resulted in depriving the proletarian class of the leadership at the international level and the socialist base as well. In that course it has to fight against not only Khrushchovite and Dengist modern revisionism but also Hoxaite dogmato-revisionism. Despite fierce attacks from imperialism and its lackeys and betrayal of opportunists from within the movement itself; the genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoists throughout the globe refused to abandon the struggle for communism.

Contingents of the world proletariat made their utmost efforts to reorganize our class at the international level giving birth to various new initiatives, out of which the initiative of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), is a prominent one.”³

It is obvious for every body that South Asia is now a storm center of world revolution. After the US crusade against Afghanistan in the pretext of September 11 and open declaration of “war on terror” (which really means war against the oppressed masses) by US led imperialist alliance headed by Bush & Co. and targeting direct military intervention over sovereign countries and the toiling masses, the world situation is undergoing profound changes, giving rise to more intense revolutionary waves at the world level. In this particular world situation, every revolution should be more closely linked up and combined with world revolution and anti-imperialist struggle at the global level.

Ongoing revolutions in the world today under the leadership of the Maoist Parties –such as in Nepal, Peru, India, Turkey, Philippines etc. have achieved tremendous importance in the vigorous fight against imperialism and reaction. The strong People’s War developing in Nepal under the leadership of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), a genuine and correct Maoist Party, which is at the forefront, is really a highly significant event of the world today. It is thus quite understandable why the People’s War of Nepal deserves to be and is getting extensive support from the revolutionaries and oppressed masses of the world and has become the target of US led imperialist alliance in general and US- British imperialist in particular. Why the US super power is so much involved against the ongoing revolution in a small and poor country like Nepal, preventing the people of Nepal to decide their destiny by themselves? It is only because though in a small country Nepalese Revolution is hitting right at the heart of imperialists’ interest and inspires revolutionary forces and mil-

lions of oppressed masses of the world in worldwide fight against imperialism and the reaction.

“Today we can see more sharply the direct links between opposing the US imperialist-led crusade and our on-going task of supporting the People’s War in Nepal. There is the very concrete and immediate task of staying the hand of the US and world reaction, which is already intervening in Nepal to a significant degree and threatening and preparing to do so in a qualitatively greater way in the period ahead.”⁴ This opinion and determination expressed by the CoRIM reflects the real assessment of the role of the People’s War of Nepal and how the US imperialism is intervening and is going to do so in qualitatively higher level in the days to come. As envisaged by the CoRIM, “the very concrete and immediate task of staying the hand of the US and world reaction” has become an urgent and inevitable task of the revolutionaries of the world to safeguard and promote the achievements which have already been made in Nepal.

Why the only super power of the world today is hunting so much to the revolution of Nepal? There are some specific reasons for that. The PW in Nepal has developed from strategic defense to strategic equilibrium and making efforts to develop to another qualitatively higher stage of strategic offence. Relatively stable base areas are sustaining and new people’s power is constantly being exercised in the vast countryside and preparations are on to capture the countrywide power. The ruling class and the regime is in insurmountable crisis and has repeatedly corroborated its inability to fight the Maoist PW and are surviving on imperialist patronage. In spite of all efforts of US and its stooge, the tottering regime of Nepal to isolate the PW projecting it as “terrorist”, people are not ready to be deluded by this false propaganda and just contrary to that the PW is enjoying wide support of the masses of various parts of the globe. It is very hard to tolerate this development of PW for Bush, which provoked him consequently making the Nepalese Revolution its target.

Struggle against US war of aggression

George Bush has already declared war against the people of the world in the guise of "war on terror". US-British army killed thousands of innocent people of the impoverished country of Afghanistan, maiming many more and torturing another thousands not only in Afghan prisons but in US especial torture cells in Cuba. This war mongerer has made Iraq as its second target and has already flied its fighter Jets in Iraqi sky. But he has temporarily retreated from massive bombings due to tremendous international pressure. Massive attacks on Palestine people are continuing unabated by its Middle-East watchdog Israel. Though the Maoist Movements of Nepal and other countries are not under the US list of "terrorists", but it will not make any difference. They are not keeping these names in the "list" only because of the apprehension of being further exposed among the masses. This can be correctly understood through the news we received from Revolutionary Worker, a leftist weekly coming out from USA, which says "The People's War in Nepal is a genuine war of liberation-that has nothing in common with groups like al Qaida. But the Nepalese government and the Indian government have officially labeled the CPN (Maoist) terrorist. And the rulers of Nepal have packaged their plea for foreign help to fight the insurgency as part of the "global fight against terrorism." Again, the US State Department has not put the CPN(Maoist) on their official list of "terrorists" But the US government-along with Britain and other imperialist powers-are all supporting the Nepalese regime's campaign against the Maoists, in which hundreds of people in Nepal's countryside are being killed; many more, accused of being "Maoist sympathizers", are being rounded up and jailed; and all kinds of constitutional rights have been suspended. US secretary of state Colin Powell went to Nepal in January to meet with the King, Prime Minister and head of the Royal Nepalese Army. President Bush invited Nepal's

Prime Minister Deuba to the White House to talk in May and then asked congress to approve \$20 million in military and economic aid for Nepal. Christina Rocca, Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs, testified to the House International Relations Committee that "The Maoists [in Nepal] have shown themselves to be a ruthless enemy by their tactics in the field and through terrorist attacks against both government targets and innocent civilians." And the US government has given special training on "resistance against Maoist terrorism" to Nepali officials."⁵

Forces ranging from Maoists to Islamic fundamentalists are at the target of US imperialism. Though the immediate targets of US imperialism are some Islamic forces, but these are not its ultimate targets. Ultimate targets are Maoists and other revolutionary forces and masses.

The Indian state, which is expansionist, has become more aggressive these days when Maoist PW is advancing towards nationwide conquer of power. The Indian fascist state shattering all its so called "one of the biggest democracy of the world" veil, is constantly assaulting the journalists, human right activists and social leaders of Nepalese people in India and extraditing to the fascist Gyanendra-Deuba regime of Nepal. Their sole crime was that they supported the cause of the Nepalese masses and opposed the fascist repression unleashed by the regime of Nepal. This assault has been intensified by the Indian State especially since the last August and is going on unabated. One of the tasks of the Indian state has now become espionageing the Maoists and their sympathizers, if there are any in India and submitting them to their accessory, the hated fascist Nepalese regime. Why the Indian police are so loyal to the Nepalese regime is really ignominious. This type of naked assault to Nepalese revolutionaries was hardly seen before in the history of India. It has been outspread after US came at the front to suppress the Nepalese revolution and India works as lackey of US imperialism. Main

reason is that present Indian state is exercising all out fascism in its entire work. Guiding line of the present Indian state is Hindu fascism, which is being exercised in domestic as well as its foreign policy, which is being clearly manifested in the recent assault and extradition of Nepalese personalities.

Now the question before all of us is, who will lead this anti-US imperialist struggle and how can it be advanced ?

We Maoists through scientific analysis have drawn conclusion that only proletariat has the capacity to lead such anti-imperialist struggle thoroughly and up to the end. Many people doubt about it and draw other conclusions. Some misguided people even go to the extent of looking forward to AlQuida. The root cause of this type of idea is frustration and disappointment. Real practice has repeatedly proved even recently that such fundamentalist forces have not that capacity to lead anti-imperialist struggles. How the Taliban regime of Afghanistan fell so facily in the face of US attack is the recent example. It is likely that Iraq may withstand against US attack through the strength of anti-US opinion of the world people and its own military capability. But it has no capacity of leading this struggle. It has not clear-cut anti-imperialist line, it has no such history and it has no such an aim. Everybody knows what treatment Saddam has met with Kurdistan Movement. It does not mean that we should not support Iraqi people in their fight against US aggression; we should strongly support them in this genuine battle. Only point is that we should not lose sight from the scientific principle of characterization of the political forces and that of the struggle.

Therefore, it is Maoist forces, which has the capacity of leading this anti-imperialist struggle. We are not talking here about the capacity of Maoist forces fight against US super power militarily. It is known to all that US is a super power and has piled huge stock of lethal arms. What we mean by

anti-imperialist struggle is not the arm conflict with US. It is the question of building anti-US imperialist movement at the world level in a conscious and planned way, by incorporating broadest level of masses on the basis of a correct line.

This is 'era of imperialism and proletarian revolution' whose specific feature is—the revolution, whether it may be new democratic or socialist, or national liberation movement in individual countries are closely linked up with anti-imperialist struggle. Obviously, imperialism involves itself and stands against all revolutions taking place in any country, without exception. This fact has been repeatedly verified by practice in the past and also at present. When Maoist People's Liberation Army (PLA) strikes on the reactionary fascist state of Nepal and its armed forces US imperialism feels wounded and starts reacting against CPN(M) and the PLA at different levels. It has happened several times in the past. Recently, the reactionary state of Nepal and its army has been very badly demoralised after the two consecutive successful military actions carried out by the PLA at Bhiman of Sindhuli district on 8 September and at Sandikharka of Argakhanchi district at the next day, capturing all the arms and ammunitions and all the government offices including bank and killing about 125 government security forces. Right at this situation, at the occasion of observing the '11 September' (which has nothing to do with CPN (M) and its PLA), the US ambassador to Nepal persisted Maoists to surrender arms and come to the negotiation with the government. It is obvious how they interlink US interest with each gain of ongoing Nepalese revolution. It is also true for revolutions in other countries—how the US imperialism expresses its concern to suppress the armed revolutionary struggles led by CPI(ML)(PW) and MCC in India, how it is acting against the revolutionary struggle of Philippines in the name of wiping out Abu Sayed outfit and how the US is involving to suppress the revolutionary movement in Peru and

Turkey. So, these are the clear signals how the Maoist forces are ultimate targets of US "war on terror".

Thus the master plan of Bush to launch war of aggression against revolutionary forces against the masses and against the various states, especially aftermath of 11 September has caused the world situation to undergo change in various aspects. Coming months and years are sure to be marked by revolutionary upsurges and reactionary suppressions giving rise to excellent opportunities and new level of dangers and challenges. So, revolutionary forces in general and Maoist revolutionaries in particular have to be prepared to meet this new challenge and turning it to excellent opportunity for revolutionary transformations. Our Party is ready to shoulder this responsibility working along the side with all Maoists and other revolutionary forces to intensify our struggle further to achieve our objective and goal. Maoists and revolutionaries of the world unite! Workers and oppressed people of the world unite! □

Foot notes:

1. *Selected Works of Mao Tse Tung, Vol. II, On New democracy, p.344*
2. *Documents of the Second National Conference of CPN(Maoist), translated from Nepali*
3. *Declaration of CCOMPOSA, adopted by its Second Annual Conference held in August 2002*
4. *CoRIM Circular3-10, 27 July 2002*
5. *Revolutionary Worker 1166, September 15, 2002*

- [Com. Gaurav is Politbureau Member of CPN (Maoist)]

Revolution and Counter.....

offensive is an SOS that those interested in peace in the Himalayan Kingdom cannot ignore. Friends of Nepal would agree that the situation appears irretrievably grim as things stand today.....

"Clearly, the problem has become too big for the authorities in Nepal to tackle. Like in Sri Lanka, where Norway entered as a broker to persuade all parties to take the initiative for peace, Nepal to probably needs the healing touch provided by external brokers. Norway's peace venture in Sri Lanka did not gather momentum till the international community, especially Washington, threw its weight behind the moves. In Nepal too any headway towards ending the insurgency appears unlikely without Washington's tacit help. However, New Delhi, which has been giving all assistance to Kathmandu for combating "Maoist terrorism" will do well not to get embroiled any further in this conflict. For, that would be courting another fiasco like the IPKF mission to Sri Lanka. That does not, however, preclude the government of India initiating a proposal for a credible international broker, with SAARC, Europe and the United States supporting such facilitation. This is of utmost importance and should be done without delay before mischievous elements move in and further vitiate the situation in Nepal. "

So we will have to wait a bit more to see other acts of the unfolding drama. □

November 19, 2002

[Com. Baburam Bhattarai is Standing Committee Member of the Politbureau and Head of International Department of CPN (Maoist) and Convenor of United Revolutionary People's Council, Nepal]

"Dogmatism is divorced from concrete practice, while empiricism mistakes fragmentary experience for universal truth; both kind of opportunist thinking run counter to Marxism."

- Mao Tse-Tung, "On Coalition Government"

THE QUESTION OF WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP IN PEOPLE'S WAR IN NEPAL

- Parvati

Introduction

People's War (PW) in Nepal, which was initiated in February under the leadership of CPN(Maoist), has been developing in leaps and bounds. The fire of revolution, which initially sparked few districts in Western Nepal, has swept all over the country. According to the Government's own account, out of 75 districts, PW has affected 73 districts. All these gains could not have been possible without the mobilization of masses that are the backbone of PW in Nepal. The mobilization of women in particular is apparent in PW in Nepal. Consider their daring feats. They were the first one to break eerining silence, created by the first historic strike all over Nepal, which marked the initiation of PW in Nepal in 13 February 1996. On the occasion of March 8th 1996 the All Nepalese Women's Association (Revolutionary) [ANWA(R)] dared to organize seminar (amidst strong speculation that they all will be arrested) and to voice the need for overall revolution to solve women's oppression. It was after that bold step that other mass organisations started giving their own programmes. Dalit women in Kalikot district in western Nepal, were the first one to snatch rifles from reactionary armed force and hand them over to the local Party thus accelerating PW in that district. The first daring historical jailbreak in the March 2001 by six Maoists women from the heavily fortified Gorkha district jail is perhaps one of the rare events even in the world history. Until the clamping of emergency in November 2001, of all the mass organizations, the women's organization along with the student's organization were the most active and forefront in the movement. The successful anti-liquor drive, which rocked the whole country in October 2001 in fact, forced the government to negotiate with ANWA (R). Consider another feat, even before men in the Party started renouncing their parental properties to the Party, women of

Rolpa started forsaking voluntarily their personal jewellerys to the local Party. After the promulgation of emergency, more and more women are getting raped, killed, incarcerated and disappeared. Despite all this there are growing participation of women in PW in Nepal.

There is now objective ground for developing women's leadership in all fronts. Realizing this, CPN(Maoist) has created a separate women's department under the Central Committee of the Party. The function of this department is to make policies to develop women's potentialities to higher levels so that more and more women are able to reach policy making bodies in all the three fronts: Party, army and united front.

The question of women's leadership in CPN (Maoist)

The question of women's leadership became more and more important in Nepal as revolutionary united fronts were replacing the reactionary state machineries at village, district levels. It was seen that women were joining the movement in unprecedented scale showing tremendous enduring power, sacrifice and devotion, however they lacked expert knowledge to lead the movement. With the establishment of central level United Revolutionary People's Council (URPC) to co-ordinate the activities of all the united fronts at various levels, this question became all the more pertinent. Also with the increasing higher formation of military mobilization within the People's Liberation Army, the question of continuity and development of leadership quality of women started being sought by the women themselves. This has become more important as military formation has now reached the level of Brigade, and there are separate women's platoon and sections within brigade. It is seen that while men are continuing to develop in military field even when they have reached beyond 40 years

of age, women are hardly seen to continue in this field beyond 25 years. While from the field, objective condition was demanding the need of developing women's leadership qualities from the women cadres, within the Party itself there was a theoretical debate made on women's role in communist movement. It was in the Second National Conference, in the process of analysis and synthesis of achievements of PW in Nepal which, lead to passing of Prachanda Path, that, women's role in institutionalization of continuous revolution and their role in preventing counter-revolution were seriously discussed. In fact the creation of separate women's department is the product of Prachanda Path. Their role in three instruments of revolution, Party, Army and United Front was discussed. The Party being the most decisive amongst the three instruments, the question of developing revolutionary women leaders in Communist Party was given prominence.

The leadership question and women

Leadership is basically centralization of political ideology, hence in Communist Party it is the command in ideology that determines the leadership quality. This quality is developed through continuous class struggle, inner-party struggle and inner-struggle. Hence the real tested leadership can only come in countries where there is class struggle, where the Party thrives on healthy inner-party struggle demanding higher level of transformation of individuals through relentless inner-struggle. Indeed Rosa Luxemburg, Alexander Kollontai, Clara Zetkin, Chaing-Ching were all products of intense class struggle, inner-party struggle that was being waged in Germany, Russia and China in their time. And they being women in addition, they had to wage more complex inner-struggle than the men of their time.

The question of leadership is also linked to objective necessity and chance factor. In the dialectical relationship between the two, it is true that the objective condition necessitates birth of a leader but the question of who emerges as a leader is left to chance. It is here that women's leadership question becomes slightly complicated. It is seen that

revolutionary communist movements have always unleashed women's fury, but they are not able to channelise this energy into producing enduring women communist leaders. The question has been raised again and again as to why there are so few women leaders in communist parties when Marxism offers such a deep penetrating analysis and solution to women's oppression. Hence the question arises as to why the chance factor is not in the favour of producing women leaders in communist parties despite growing objective condition for it? This needs deep analysis.

Women are late arrivals in the political arena

Right from the period of slavery system men from privileged class developed their skill in running political state affairs. They developed their leadership quality at the cost of women of both the classes and the enslaved men. This continues till this day, in some form or the other. Here it is worth remembering Engels who said that the overthrow of mother-right was the world historical defeat of the female sex and that the man took command in the house also; the woman was degraded and reduced to servitude, she became the slave of his lust and a mere instrument for the production of children. By virtue of men's sole right over the property they became the rulers, the women upon losing their historic mother-right became ruled. The prevailing division of labour, according to which men undertook mental work, while women were relegated to physical work, lead to cumulative experience of men in the field of analysis and synthesis of the world, while women were lost in trivial world of household activities. Men thus monopolized in the field of knowledge, they have been actively involved in not only defining the world but changing it too. Consider this, women got the voting right much after men got. Even in today's 21st century, women in Kuwait, do not have right to vote. With the imperialist countries backing religious medieval feudal rulers like the Talibans in Afghanistan (which has now been replaced by coalition of small feudal lords under Hamid Karzia) and sheikhs in Gulf countries, women are being

refrained from public life. Also in Western countries, despite much noise being made by feminists, there are hardly women leaders in political parties. Take the case of Nepal where women are denied right to rule right from the womb, because of feudal monarchical system, prevalent there. All these have cumulative effect on the struggle for developing women's leadership in political parties, specially in communist parties whose history itself are of recent compared to others and which are so antagonistic to the prevailing mainstream political parties.

Prevailing mode of production is not favourable

The base and superstructure of the present society is based on exploitation in general and in particular on exploitation of women's reproductive and domestic labour. In property relation women are looked upon as maintainers of men's property and producers of sons to pass on the property from one male lineage to another. The prevailing superstructure such as social, cultural, educational, and political system, are all geared to support this exploitation. Take the example of marriage institution. It is an alliance of convenience for men to perpetuate their hegemonism in property relation. For women the same alliances in fact marginalize them to domestic slavery. Sadly this holds true amongst the communists too, although in lesser degree.

Nepal with strong left movements has periodically produced many women activists, but they seem to vanish as soon as they are recognized. One of the most apparent reasons is the institution of marriage, which has robbed promising women leaders. People's War seems to be changing that pattern, however, even within PW the question of continuity of women's leadership keeps cropping in, specially when they get married and decide to have children. This is because in countries like Nepal, where feudal patriarchal system is more backward than the capitalist patriarchal system in advanced countries, married life of women communists can be more complex. Although the element of private property notion is slowly disappearing in Nepal with the waging of PW, however the cultural root

of feudalism eventually creeps in many forms, such as conventional division of labour in the name of necessity. Added to this is the unilateral burden women have to carry when she becomes mother. With the birth of every child she sinks deeper into domestic slavery. In fact many women who have been active in People's War in Nepal are found to complain that having babies is like being under disciplinary action, because they are cut off from the Party activities for a long period. In this way many bright aspiring communist women are in the risk of being lost in oblivion even after getting married to their comrades of their choice. This is specially so in white dominated areas where women seldom get support system from the mass as well as from the Party, to sustain themselves in their reproductive years. However, it is heartening to see that this problem is being solved in base areas of Rolpa and Rukum, where the mass support and the consolidation of Party have made it possible for the Party and masses to support such maternal burden of women leaders. Another aspect of Nepalese feudal society is that there is a strong pressure on women to bear children, specially sons from the married women. With the launching of PW this aspect has been negated to some level, however, there is still pressure to have atleast one child.

There is also the tendency to create pressure on women cadres to get married covertly or overtly as unmarried women draw lot of suspicion from men as well as women for their unmarried status resulting into marriages against their wishes or before they are ready to get married. Also there is a tendency to take sexual offenses more seriously than political offenses.

Women's struggle is more complex than men's

For communist women, it is not enough for them to participate in class struggle, inner-party struggle, and inner-struggle. Often they may remain in minority even if they belong to majority line within the party. And because they are the product of this patriarchal structure, hence their inner-struggle consists of not only struggle against themselves as

individuals but also struggle against the effect of patriarchal values on them, such as fatalistic tendency, inferiority complex, guilty syndrome, victim syndrome etc. They have to face even more complex struggle if they happen to be single, divorced or married more than once. This is well documented in Alexander Kollontai's collection of articles. In fact she represents best example of revolt against such marriages. She left her first husband and the child in order to concentrate more on revolutionary work, then after she left her second communist husband on the ground of stereotyped expectation of marriage alliance. And because of her rebellion against conventional marriages she not only faced difficulties with the bourgeois society but also from conservative communists as well. As a result Alexander Kollontai is more known by the theory of "glass of water theory", (the theory that sex should be as easy and uncomplicated as drinking glass of water) amongst the conservative communists than her contributions to communist movement and proletariat women's movement. Take another example of Chiang-Ching, she had to face slander from bourgeois press and personalities because of her past marriages and even within the Party she was not taken kindly. Chiang Ching had to agree to political isolation for the period of 32 years as a condition for her to marry Mao. This decision was taken when the rightist Liu-Shao Chi was in the Party headquarter.

Manifestation of patriarchal values in communist party

Since feminist movement is the product of bourgeois revolution, hence quite often communist parties tend to become hyper-sensitive to women's issues. As a result they fall prey to patriarchal values even while agreeing in theory to women's liberation. This is manifested in many ways. For example instead of taking women as reliable long-term equal partners in Communist movement it takes women's role as supportive in communist movement. As a result the Party is found over-emphasizing on class struggle often at the cost of gender exploitation, forgetting the dialectical rela-

tionship between the two. There have been cases of delaying in formation of separate women's organization or even temporarily dismissing existing women's organization within communist parties. In parties where separate women's organization exists, there are cases where women's mass front are not often given required degree of freedom so as make their own plan and programmes thus robbing their creative and initiative power. This ultimately breeds alienation and tailism in the Party. This can also take place by not coordinating women's programme with the party programme as a result the party programme gets priority over the women's programme. The conservatism in the party can also be seen by relegating women cadres to only women related works thereby robbing them chance to develop in party policy matters and other fields.

In the practical front, this leads to spontaneity whereby women's issues are addressed but not implemented because one leaves it to circumstances to happen leading to gradualism. Often it is seen that the party does not actively intervene in the existing traditional division of labour between men and women whereby men take to mental work while women are left to do physical labour. This is also manifested in taking men and women as absolute equals, whereby not being sensitive to women's special condition and their special needs. This becomes all the more apparent when women are menstruating or are in reproductive period.

Lack of subjective effort on the part of women cadres

Women have to wage a longer struggle because of their double oppression. However due to lack of subjective efforts they loose half way. For example, where they have successfully rebelled against feudal values, they have not been able to sustain themselves in class struggle. And where they have been able to wage class struggle, they have not been able to sustain in inner party struggle. And by not participating or participating poorly in inner party struggle they loose the sharpness on ideology, thus robbing their chance of determining the course of

communist movement which has so much relevance to their own liberation. Their lack of subjective effort manifests in many ways. In the field of ideology, they fall pray to pragmatism, economism, sectarianism because they are not serious enough to study theoretical knowledge and involve in inner-party struggle to overcome their objective conditions which breeds these tendencies because of their past objective conditions.

In the practical field they often fall into tailism whereby they follow the directives of party blindly without questioning, just as traditional women have been following their fathers when unmarried, and their husbands when married, and their sons when widowed. They thus become victim of circumstances. This manifests in unplanned motherhood, which affects them most if they are in military field. It manifests in following husband's political line blindly instead of developing one's own political line thereby affecting their independent political life. By the not being assertive of their rights they fall into the trap of traditional division of labour as a result they covertly become the vehicle of traditional conservative ideas leading to counter-revolution. In many cases they take marriage and motherhood as a break in their political/military career as if it is temporary work. Similarly they become willing partners to their husband's field of work thereby loosing hold on their own previous work. It should be noted that it takes longer time for women to be established in their field of work. Hence frequent change of place and work affects them more than men. The effect of all these tendencies lead to developing inferiority complex among women which is counter-productive to revolution.

Men's lack of willingness to give up their special privileges

While women cadres have problem of asserting themselves, men cadres have problem relinquishing their privileged position bestowed on them by patriarchal structure. This is manifested in many ways. This is mainly seen in the form of formal acceptance of women's leadership, while in essence

not accepting their leadership. Thus there are delays made in establishing women's leadership in the Party, PLA and United front. This also results in their being impatient with women's mistakes, their general lack of skill. Often they relegate women's issues to women as if it does not concern them. This is manifested in not reading literature on women's issues, not taking part in implementing programmes given by the women's mass front. Some times this is covertly seen in the form of being overprotective about safety of women cadres when it is not warranted and by overtaking women's mental work on their behalf. This is also seen in their sticking to old traditional division of labour, without relinquishing their monopoly on mental work and relegating women to every day drudgery work. Not wanting to give up their privileged position they tend to discourage promising wives to take up independent works, which will take them far off from their husbands.

Political line and the question of women's leadership

It is the correct ideology and policy of communist party that will determine the quality of women communist leaders produced and the path of women's liberation. It was the correct political line of Bolshevik Party headed by Com.Lenin that produced fine women communist leaders like Alexander Kollontai, Clara Zetkin, Anessa Armada, and Krupskaya etc. It was the correct political line because of which communist women leaders like Clara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg were able to evolve the concept of celebrating 8th March as International Working Women's day every year globally, the decision being taken by the first international socialist women's conference in Stockholm in the year 1910. And is being followed by not only communists but also bourgeoisies (in their own way) even till this day.

It was the correct political line of Com. Rosa Luxemburg of exposing and struggling against Bernstein in her book "revolution or revisionism" and later her struggle against Kautsky that brought

her to the notice of revolutionary communists of the world. She dared to warn Lenin that bureaucracy may breed in the structure of the Party if the question of centralism and democracy are not understood in their dialectical relationship and under the specific condition of the individual country where it is applied. With the occurrence of counter-revolution in previous socialist states and with the tendencies of bureaucracy which seem to sap revolutionary parties engaged in PW time and again, her warning seem to have relevance even today.

Similarly it was the correct political line carried by Com. Mao, which heralded Cultural Revolution that unleashed women's fury. It was the woman who put up the first poster denouncing Liu Shao Chi heralding the revolt against rightist headquarter. It was Cultural Revolution that unleashed Com. Chiang Ching's suppressed leadership quality making her one of the resolute fighters against the capitalist roader until her death (or murder?). One must also remember that in the period of occupation of headquarter by the rightist Liu Chau Chi, he was the one who ordered women to go back home in order to solve unemployment problem that was looming at large. It was the rightist policy, Perestroika, and the capitalist policy of Deng, which slowly introduced commercialization of women thus bringing back prostitution, gambling, beauty contests etc in Russia and China.

Having said all these, let us not forget that just as women themselves are divided into different classes, so are the communist women who are divided along rightist centrist and revolutionary lines. Due to anti-working women's liberation policy taken by the rightist and centrist line, those women who belongs to these lines are eventually marginalized in their own parties and remain exposed outside the party because of their anti-women's stand. Whereas those women who stood by revolutionary line even while failing to make revolution in their own country remain popular. Take the case of Rosa Luxemburg, she is the most popular woman communist leader so far. She was killed before she could realize her dream, this all

the more enhanced her respect as a devoted women communist leader in the communist world. Similarly it was the tough stand taken by Chiang Ching who defended Mao's revolutionary line even in her captivity till her death in the revisionist China that made her the defiant heroine.

It is interesting to observe that revolutionary communist women have always been offensive when they are fighting against the revisionists. The reason may be because they are painfully aware that revisionism breeds bureaucratisation, which in turn strengthens patriarchal values, ultimately negating women in politics.

It should be noted that in third world country like Nepal where class differentiation is not sharp enough, the inner party struggle may often appear in the form of gender, ethnic, regional struggle. Hence gender issue becomes quite an important component of class issue. In such a case dismissing gender issue as an alien force will ultimately affect class struggle.

Private property and the question of women's leadership

It is time and again seen that women masses do come in tide to participate in revolutionary movements producing some potential women leaders. But this tide along with the prospective women leaders seem to recede once the revolution is completed, or is defeated. The chief reason behind this phenomenon is the existence of concept of private property. As long as private property remains women will always have to go back to tend individual household activities, maintaining private property for men, no matter how many social revolutions take place. Hence the concept of continuous revolution until one reaches communism has strategic relevance for women, because it is only then that private property gets abolished, unleashing the creativity of women. That is why it is important to make conscious efforts by revolutionary parties of the world to create conducive environment for developing revolutionary women communist leaders so that they can play as catalyst agents in arriving

at communism. Hence the question of developing women communist leaders cannot be left to chance, they need to be consciously nurtured, cultivated and safeguarded.

Some experiences of women's leadership in Nepal

Realizing the importance of revolutionary women and their role in the communist movement CPN (Maoist) has come forward with some encouraging results. Today there are several women in the Central Committee of the Party. There are dozens of women at the regional level and hundreds in the district levels, and several thousands in the area and cell levels in the Party. In People's Liberation Army, there are many women commanders, vice commanders in different sections within the brigade, platoons, squads and militia. There are separate women's section in the brigade, women platoon, women squad team, women militia team functioning in the field. In United Revolutionary People's Council, which is an embryonic central people's government organizing committee, there are four women out of 37 members. Women's participation in all levels of People's Councils has been made mandatory.

Just to give some idea about their participation in different fields, let us take Western region of Nepal. This region alone has 1500 women units, the total number of women membership in women's mass organization is 600 thousand. In the military field there are ten women section commanders in the main force, two women platoon commanders in the secondary force and several militia commanders in the basic force. The team commander of the health section of the battalion force is a woman. The women there have started a campaign called **"One village, one unit, one house, one friend"**. This has helped in organising and politicalising villages after villages. Similarly in the field of production, there is a campaign called **"Where there is contact, there is an organization; where there is organization there is production"**. Hence women are also involved in production activities. They are actively involved in conducting people's

court whereby informers, drunkards, gamblers, womanisers, and cheaters are punished. In such trials usually local women militias are actively involved together with the villagers. Hence one can say objective basis for producing women leaders in various fields are ripening in western region.

Today more and more women are encouraged to rebel against their oppressive marriages, politically incorrect marriages. Take the case of Com. Shilpa, who was first a commander in guerrilla squad and later a sub-regional committee member of the party and vice-chairman of district level people's committee. She had a heroic death while laying ambush against the reactionary armed forces in May 2002. She dared to denounce and divorce her husband who had reneged against the revolution after being captured. There are increasing trend of widow remarriages. The definition of family of martyre has now been extended to those wives of martyred comrades who have remarried without forsaking the revolutionary causes. This has indirectly helped widows of martyred men to remarry without guilt feeling. Take the example of Com Shilu, the commander of historic women jail breakers in Gorkha in March, 2001 she has remarried another comrade after loosing her husband Bhim Sen Pokharel who got martyred while giving protection to Com. Basu, the first martyred polit-bureau member of CPN (Maoist). There have been cases of husbands and wives being given challenging works. It is worth mentioning that Com. Phul Maya B.K., who was a section commander of a battalion in the historic Dang Barrack attack on November 23, 2001, was martyred along with her husband Com. Bijok in the same battle. Also it is worth mentioning that the political commissar for the Satbaria barrack attack in Dang in April 2002 is a woman. In the course of promulgation of emergency and military mobilization many husbands, wives and sons and daughters have been martyred, this also indicates the level of politicalisation of family in Nepal.

Conclusion

From above it can be concluded that the importance of revolutionary women's leadership in communist party has strategic importance as they are reliable, long term and mass-based force which will help push the communist movement from New Democratic Revolution to socialism, and from socialism to stateless and propertyless communism where complete women's emancipation is guaranteed. Talking on the relationship between communism and emancipation of women, Inessa Armand has rightly said that if the emancipation of women is unthinkable without communism, then communism is unthinkable without the full emancipation of women. The concept of right to rebel, cultural revolution, continuous revolution, overall revolution, mass based politics etc, all these have strong appeal and application for women because of their doubly oppressed status. Their double oppression and the continued false promise of equality given to them by the ruling class including the revisionist left parties keeps them alert and on their toe to check any counter-revolution, revisionism, because they have seen the gains of women's rights slowly eroding with every capitalist stands taken by the party in both Russia and China.

The Communists should be politically aware that if patriarchal values are not checked periodically through rectification campaign then it may slowly breed bureaucracy in the party. The result of bureaucracy in the party is that it gets cut off from the masses. Once the party becomes an end by itself, serving the interest of its own existence, it will eventually strengthen revisionism. This will result in party becoming vanguard of exploiting class instead of exploited class, thus losing both class and gender perspective.

Lastly for communist movement to flourish it is not enough to produce individual outstanding women communist leaders such as Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin, but also equally important to produce women communist companions like Krupskaya and Chiang Ching, who were leaders

in their own field, who stood by their husbands who were leaders of communist movement. They were not only providing their husbands with comfort and companion but were also actively engaged in two-line struggle in the party. We also need woman like Jenny Marx who stood by her husband like a rock in the hours of political and personal turmoil, and helped him in whatever capacity she had. For in order to preserve the gains of revolution and its continuous advancement, we need to not only produce revolutionary women leaders but also equally it is important to sustain and preserve revolutionary communist men leaders. Let us not forget that it was the revolutionary men like Karl Marks, Engels, August Bebel, Lenin, Mao etc who provided deep analysis of women's oppression and have shown the path of women's emancipation.

Also it is important to note that just as communist women know that for every gain in the proletarian people's power, there is relative gain in the women's power, similarly, communist men should know that the revolution and the gains of revolution can only be preserved and furthered when more and more women join and lead the revolution. Similarly just as proletariat movement needs the input of all those who have rebelled against their classes, similarly proletariat women's movement needs the input of all those who have not only rebelled against their classes but also against their stereo-typed sexist outlook. Hence the alliance between revolutionary men and women is not only desired but also historically necessary. This is all the more necessary in producing revolutionary women communist leaders.

Lastly it is important to note Mao's remark who said keep being dissatisfied, the world belongs to the dissatisfied. This is all the more true for women revolutionary leaders who have to tread longer and more complex class struggle, inner-party struggle and inner struggle.

[Com. Parvati is Central Committee Member and Head of Women's Department of CPN (Maoist)]

PRESS STATEMENT ON ROYAL TAKE-OVER

The so-called royal proclamation of last night is a naked step backwards towards feudalism, and amounts to a last-ditch attack on the achievements of the 1990 people's movement. The feudal palace has unveiled its autocratic, fascist character by attacking the fundamental rights of the people, wielding a sword of "royal authority" that it does not possess. Objectively this is neither unexpected nor unusual, as it is the logical consequence of the notorious royal carnage of last year and of the well-planned reactionary steps taken in its aftermath. It is crystal clear to everyone that our Party has been pointing out the possible danger of retrogression following last year's royal massacre and has been appealing to all the political forces allied in the 1990 movement to launch a united struggle against this. Today the course of events has proved the truth of our analysis and conclusions.

This feudal autocracy, imposed through a so-called royal proclamation, will never be tolerated by the great Nepalese people of the 21st cen-

tury. Already dissatisfied with the limited rights attained by the popular movement of 1990, they are now pushing ahead for greater rights and liberation. The Nepalese people have no choice but to sweep away the feudal autocracy forever by developing a storm of united struggle against this reactionary proclamation, which ignores the main issue facing the country – the civil war – and has no mention of the way out. The time has come to overthrow and dissolve the feudal palace on behalf of the sovereign Nepalese people by rejecting the illegitimate decisions of the feudal palace. Our Party forcefully calls on all the pro-people forces of the country to shun the phrase mongering, enticements and threats of the feudal forces and advance together in the historic task of building a new Nepal.

5 October, 2002

(Prachanda)
Chairman
CPN (M)

RESIST FORCEFULLY THE RETROGRESSIVE ROYAL PROCLAMATION!

Observe Tharuwan & Terai Bandh on October 27 and Nepal Bandh on November 11-13

It is well known that in order to create public pressure for a progressive political solution of the current serious problems confronted by the country, a series of programs of struggle under the call of CPN (Maoist) and organized by the United Revolutionary People's Council was declared for September 22 to November 13. But amidst this, when the major parliamentarist parties were making efforts to find out an alternative way out for the appropriate solution of the political problem by postponing the parliamentary elections declared for November 13, the feudal autocratic elements, fish-

ing in troubled water, have staged an utterly regressive 'coup' of grabbing absolute power through the so-called royal proclamation of October 4. The shameless claim made by the royal proclamation that by using the 'state authority' being exercised by the so-called king total 'executive power' and 'responsibility of governance' have been centralised in him, has left no scope of doubt that the limited achievements of the mass movement of 1990 have been hijacked and a new edition of autocratic monarchy has been formally proclaimed in the country. It is also obvious from the bizarre sight of the

reactivation of the counter-revolutionary storm-troopers (Mandale-Kundale), who were driven to their graveyards by the mass movement of 1990, right after the royal proclamation. In spite of the talk of immediate formation of a cabinet and holding of general elections by paying lip service to the 'constitutional monarchy and multi party democracy' in order to hoodwink the masses and the world opinion, it is sure to be nothing more than the puppet cabinet and the election-drama of the past Panchayat period. Because, once the 'state authority' and 'executive power' is recognised to be inherent in the so-called king, it is self-evident that either the political parties will have to go for ever according to the wishes of the palace or be 'dismissed'. In this situation, the tendency of justifying this regressive royal action or participating in the royal puppet cabinet in one or the other pretext, will not only go against the entire values and tradition of democracy but will also be a grave betrayal and deception against the country and the people.

On the other hand, in the mean time, instead of taking initiative for the positive peaceful way out of the present intense civil war in the country, the feudal palace is continuing to unleash a country-wide white terror killing dozens of unarmed people and political activists daily in fake encounter through its servile Royal Army. And to exploit and divert the attention of the masses and the industrialists-traders who are panicked by the economic stagnation, corruption etc. and to fulfill their self-interest, the feudal autocrats have parroted the slogans of so-called 'clean image' and started the stale drama of anti-corruption campaign. There can be no bigger hypocrisy and mockery than to talk about clean image and anti-corruption campaign by those palace elements who are themselves neck deep into smuggling, idol-theft and bribery for years are now striving hard to clean up and elevate Paras Shah, who is guilty in many murder cases. The path of the economic development can not be paved

in the country without completely destroying the monarchy, the bulwark of feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, which is monopolising all the resources and natural wealth of the country for many generations.

In this situation, the heroic Nepalese people who have adopted the path of fierce civil war to establish complete democracy by defending the rights achieved by the mass movement of 1990, will never tolerate the ill-efforts of the handful of feudal elements of the palace in pushing the wheel of the history backwards. Rather, it has become urgent to mount a forceful people's resistance campaign against this retrogressive step by uniting all the democratic forces within and outside the parliament in order to sweep away the feudal monarchy, which has been constantly the main enemy and obstacle for all kinds of democracy since 1950, from the stage of Nepalese history for ever, so as to make the Nepalese people sovereign in the real sense and to realise democracy in its completeness. In this context, our assertion that the only appropriate way to make the Nepalese people sovereign and to materialise complete democracy is to elect a constituent assembly by organizing an interim government through a broad round table conference of all democratic and patriotic political forces, institutions and individuals, and to build up a national army by disarming the royal army, has been proved all the more correct. For this, the correctness and relevance of the program of struggles declared by us on September 21 last has further increased, even though the targets of struggle have been further focused against the feudal autocratic elements. Therefore, in order to organize the countrywide people's resistance forcefully against this autocratic monarchical retrogression and open an onward political way out, we heartily appeal to all the democratic and patriotic political forces, organisations, and the broad masses to make our pre-declared program of Terai and Tharuwan **Bandh** on October 27 and the Nepal **Bandh** on

STATEMENTS: NATIONAL

November 11, 12 and 13 a grand success. At the same time, we would like to announce our natural support and assistance to the programs of struggle for the similar cause organized by other political forces and organisations as well.

Our immediate slogans

1. *Abrogate the retrogressive royal proclamation of October 4.*
2. *Organize a round table conference of all democratic and patriotic forces.*
3. *Hold the elections to a constituent assembly under an interim government.*
4. *Stop immediately the countrywide white terror of the royal army.*
5. *Make the position of all the prisoners of war public immediately.*

6. *Build up a national army by disarming the mercenary royal army.*
7. *Take stern actions against all the criminals and corrupted persons, including Paras Shah.*
8. *Guarantee the rights of national and regional self-determination and autonomy.*
9. *Fulfil immediately the legitimate demands of all the mass organizations.*

October 7, 2002

(Baburab Bhattarai)
Convenor,
United Revolutionary
People's Council, Nepal

(Prachanda)
Chairman, CPN (Maoist)
And
Supreme Commander,
People's Liberation Army,
Nepal

PRESS STATEMENT ON CURRENT SITUATION

It is well known that on this day the Nepalese society is passing through a tremendously serious and sensitive state of political transition. It is revealed to all that our Party, in the light of the achievements of 1990 still to be a meager and imperfect, has been representing the needs and aspirations of the masses of all the oppressed classes, nationalities, regions and genders for the onward political change, since the last seven years and have arrived at this challenging situation of the moment. In the present context of the onward political change being ingrained as a concrete historical necessity, none of the exercises of backtracking the society even from that of the achievements of the historical mass movement of 1990, will ever be tolerated by the country, the people and the history.

It is also necessary to grasp the fact that the post-1990 period governments of various parties, instead of appropriately recognizing the conscious uprising of the masses advancing by setting up unprecedented contribution, endurance and sacrifice in order to serve the best interest of the country and the people and taking up concrete steps of resolving them by preserving the nationality, democ-

racy and people's livelihood through the positive political way out, were submerged in the deal of narrow group and self interest and escalating mass-murder, suppression and state terror, has given rise to such a situation in the country now.

With the spirit of wholehearted submission and responsibility to the country and the people, in the present international situation and specific geopolitical condition of Nepal, our Party reckons it to be inevitable to heighten qualitatively the sovereign right and initiative of the masses to strengthen the national unity as well. For the same requirement with the stark objective of equipping the people with the further rights, we are keeping the door open for the talks and dialogues. The door for talks and dialogues for the positive and onward political way out is still open.

Recently in the context of backward step launched by king Gyanendra the vague tattle of dialogue has caused the situation confusing and embarrassing. We like the complete situation to be clear without any deception and conspiracy. In our view, there exist only two fundamental solutions to give way out to the country in this odd situation.

They are: first, working out onward political way out (in which the question of formation of a new constitution through the election of constitutional assembly will be prominent) collectively by the representatives of our Party, other political parties and intelligentsia and including the king and take concrete initiative to lead the country in the path of progressive development in peaceful way. King has to display necessary sacrifice for the interest of the country and the people, for this. Second, if the king clings on suppression by launching the royal army and foreign army instead of making the people sovereign in a real sense and provide opportunity to advance in the path of development by strengthening the national unity, the masses have no other option except advancing in the decisive and his-

toric struggle. Right at this moment, it is also the responsibility of the king to take initiative to create atmosphere accordingly if he adopts the first choice and should make the situation clear without any deception if he chooses the second one.

We like to clarify that our party is prepared for both the options and feels that mass-struggle is inevitable for both. Hence, our Party makes cordial appeal to all the political parties, intellectual personalities and entire people to rise in the struggle without delay for both the options, in order to lead the country towards onward political way out.

October 24, 2002

Prachanda
Chairman, CPN (Maoist)

BEAT BACK THE ATTACKS ON JOSE-MARIA SISON!

The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement strongly condemns the attacks directed against Jose-Maria Sison, a long-standing leader of the communist movement in the Philippines. After years of struggle, Comrade Sison was recognised as a political refugee by the authorities of the Netherlands. Now the government of the United States has declared the Communist Party of the Philippines, of which Comrade Sison was the founding chairman, a “terrorist” organisation because the CPP, with the support of millions of workers, peasants, intellectuals and middle class city dwellers, has been leading armed resistance against the US-backed reactionary Filipino state for more than three decades. Having placed the “terrorist” label on this esteemed communist leader, the US has threatened to raise a formal demand that the Netherlands government turn Comrade Sison over to the US.

In their frenzy to carve out their “new world order”, the US imperialists must not be allowed to overthrow the system of political asylum that has been built up on the basis of struggle and formalised in international treaties in Europe and elsewhere.

The right to asylum, like other democratic rights now under assault, must be defended.

But there are other, even more far-reaching reasons why it is crucial that these attacks against Comrade Sison be defeated. Not only do these attacks represent yet another attempt by the US overlord to protect its grip over its Filipino neocolony, they are also a direct menace to the whole international communist movement and all other revolutionary and progressive forces. It is further proof that the ultimate target of the so-called “war on terrorism” is anyone who refuses to buckle under to the imperialists’ dictates.

The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement calls upon all communist and progressive organisations to rally to the support of Comrade Sison and the Communist Party of the Philippines, who are currently in the crosshairs of the US imperialist crusade against the peoples of the world.

*-Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist
Movement
4 November, 2002*

OPPOSE, RESIST AND DEFEAT U.S. AGGRESSION IN IRAQ!

Rarely has any crime been so premeditated or so loudly broadcast in advance. The US imperialists have brazenly declared their intention to invade Iraq, kill or capture its state leaders, seize Iraq's oil fields and occupy the country with a large military force for a minimum of "several years". The future military governor of Iraq, the US general Tommy Franks, has already been chosen. In proceeding along this path of naked aggression, the US imperialists are running roughshod over the opinion of people all over the world, even most of their allies, who for various reasons are opposed to such an adventure. The US has even declared its intention to ignore the United Nations or go so far as effectively to dissolve it if it refuses to give the US a blank cheque to carry through its attack. The flimsy pretext for this crime, that Iraq may be producing weapons of mass destruction, fools almost no one.

In fact, the war-in-making against Iraq is a reflection of the heightening tension in the international situation since 11 September 2001 and of the US declaration of a "war on terrorism" directed against any persons, organisation or state that the US considers a threat to its interests, while the US terrorism of yesterday, today and tomorrow goes wild. Although they claim they are targeting Saddam Hussain's reactionary clique, in fact the US goal is to subjugate the peoples of Iraq and of the whole region. It is a reflection particularly of the sharpening conflict between imperialism and the oppressed peoples and nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the principal contradiction in the world today. US imperialism, as the leader and lynchpin of the world imperialist system, is obliged to be the global policeman and directly intervene military often and in many places. They have chosen to make Iraq the showcase for this new doctrine of unrestricted US authority.

The arrogance of US imperialists and their an-

nounced crime has already led to widespread opposition throughout the world. In the Middle East, Europe and in the United States itself hundreds of thousands of people have demonstrated against the US war plans. If the US proceeds with this war of aggression it is likely to ignite a worldwide storm of resistance such as has not been seen for many years.

We must harbour no illusions- the US is a powerful and vicious enemy that will not be easily dissuaded from its criminal plans. The other imperialist powers will either go along gleefully with the US (like Britain) or are likely to go along even while kicking and screaming (like France). Former socialist states such as China have long ago changed colour and will not resist the US. It is only the people of the world, including the masses in the US itself, who can prevent or stop US aggression in Iraq and ultimately destroy the imperialist system itself.

However well armed the US is, however much money it has, and however much support or servility it can count on from its allies and lackeys around the world, the US ruling class has a fundamental weakness that can never be removed-it represents only a relatively small handful and its interests are in conflict with those of the large majority of people in the world. The US is like a knife-wielding thug in a marketplace: for a while it can intimidate the peaceful crowd, temporarily stunned by its weapon in a brutish manner, but once the victims unite their ranks even the biggest of bullies can be subdued.

History has shown again and again that, although the weapons of mass destruction and terror in the hands of the imperialists are very real, it is the people who are truly strong. Even some of the imperialists themselves have been warning George Bush of the dangers created by his wild ambitions. But the imperialists, blinded by their arrogance and

contempt for the masses and compelled by their greed for ever-greater profits, are unable to learn the lessons of history. Only when their reactionary violence is countered by resistance and ultimately revolution can it be stopped. Even as the dark clouds of imperialists war are gathering, the bright hopes for a different future are shining from the Himalayas, where the People's War in Nepal is soaring to new heights, as well as from the people's wars and revolutionary armed struggles being waged in Peru, the Philippines, India, Turkey and

other countries, and from the powerful mass movements of resistance that are arising in the imperialist citadels.

The Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement calls upon all communist, revolutionary and progressive forces to oppose, resist and defeat the U.S. imperialist aggression against Iraq and to step up the revolutionary struggle.

November 2002

- **Committee of the Revolutionary
Internationalist Movement**

RESOLUTION ON THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

(Adopted by the Second Annual Conference of the Coordination Committee of Maoist Parties & Organisations of South Asia)

Since the Inaugural Conference which established the Co-ordinating Committee of Maoist Parties and Organisations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA) in June 2001, the world has undergone dramatic changes. The attack on key strategic targets in the US on September 11th has transformed the political landscape internationally presenting mortal dangers and challenges as well as historic revolutionary opportunities to the proletariat and the oppressed people of the world.

In the face of a spiralling crisis of the world imperialist system under the guise of a so-called global war against terrorism, the imperialist powers, led by the US have exploited these attacks as a justification to unleash a global terrorist war of aggression against the oppressed people and nations of the world. These dogs of international terror have combined to maintain and further consolidate their control over the resources and markets of the world and to sink their fangs deeper to bleed the labor power of the workers and rob the masses in a desperate compulsion to defend and expand their rival empires of profit and plunder. At the same time the dogs of terror are at each others throats to grab more of the share of profit and plunder. In this general context, seizing decisive control and exercising dominance over the vast oil resources of the Middle-East and the Caspian region have

become critical in maintaining imperialist global hegemony.

In the pursuit of these imperialist objectives, the US-led imperialist alliance has already bombarded the people of Afghanistan and reduced their lives, livelihood, cities and villages and all social & economic infrastructure to dust. This brutal and cowardly war of aggression was aimed not only at destroying the Al-Qaeda network and the Taliban regime-both of which owe their origins & growth to US imperialism and to install an even more loyal feudal comprador regime, but more fundamentally to establish a military base in Afghanistan through which to dominate Central and South Asia. However, the Afghan people are mounting stiff resistance to US- British imperialist aggression and occupation.

The US has unleashed the fascist-Zionist state of Israel- its No. 1 attack dog in the Middle-East to wage a sustained war of genocidal terror to crush the Palestine resistance. The US president, George Bush, has vowed to unleash a holy war in the manner of a barbaric crusade against a host of states which have no connection to the September 11th attacks, including Iraq, Iran, Sudan, Somalia, Libya, Yemen & N. Korea. It is presently preparing contingency plans to bomb the Iraqi regime & the people in an even more ruthless & destructive war than before.

The US has entered into a strategic alliance with India in order to extend & consolidate hegemonic dominance in the South Asian region. In this context, this strategic alliance has set out to assist the feudal comprador- autocratic monarchist state in Nepal in its desperate attempt to militarily crush the blazing protracted people's war led by the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), CPN(M). Since November 2001, under a state of emergency the Nepalese state has carried out a genocidal war against the people, where on an average a dozen people are killed every day. In the period of one year, more than 3,000 people have been killed. The Nepalese state has carried out mass massacres, gang- rapes & inhuman torture on an expanding scale, while carrying out a campaign of disinformation to cover its trail of blood. The Nepalese state has suspended all fundamental human & democratic rights, while killing & arresting progressive journalists and activists. In its effort to centralize, concentrate & monopolize state power, the monarchy has marginalized the parliament and all other institutions & agencies of the state, while strengthening the role of lackey forces such as the UML.

The Indian expansionist state backed by US imperialism has collaborated in these fascist genocidal policies by capturing oppositional journalists and deporting them to Nepal. People who have come to India seeking medical treatment have been abducted & delivered to the torture chambers of the Nepalese state.

The strategic alliance between the US and India has led to the establishment of an FBI office in Delhi to better facilitate & co-ordinate this counter- revolutionary strategy throughout South Asia. The political machinations of the imperialists global terrorist war agenda has brought India & Pakistan to the brink of a nuclear confrontation which would have the most devastating consequences for the people of the region. Although the machinations of a peace process and the active connivance of the Sri Lankan ruling class both the US and India have gained access to strategic military facilities in the island and penetrated the political life of Sri Lanka as never before. Those moves have violated the sovereignty of the people and the country and introduced even more intensive forms of domination & control.

The Indian expansionist state has been militarised

on a new level and its repressive & ideological apparatus has been geared up to crush all resistance and opposition by revolutionary forces and by the people, which is bound to increase and intensify in the face of the combined strategy of globalisation & counter-revolution. The central state has established new mechanism to coordinate the counter-revolution at the state & district level. Under the heinous Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA), the Indian state has banned the Communist Party of India – Marxist-Leninist- People's War (CPI-ML-PW) and the Maoist Communist Center (MCC) in a desperate bid to stop the rising tide of people's democratic revolution & protracted people's war led by Maoist vanguard detachments. True to their class character, the revisionist parliamentarist "left" parties have all colluded in this counter- revolutionary agenda. The Indian ruling class is whipping up big-nation chauvinism to aggressively push their reactionary counter- revolutionary agenda. This has been accompanied by anti-Pakistani war hysteria and unleashing fascist Hindu chauvinism. These have now taken an extreme and dangerous form by the ruling B.J.P. and their fascist goons. The policy of targeting minorities in general, and Muslims in particular has become routine & institutionalized within the state. The Conference specifically condemns the recent state sponsored anti-Muslim programs in Gujarat unleashed by the BJP rulers in the state.

The combined strategy of globalisation & counter-revolution has also intensified the exploitation, oppression and repression of the masses in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.

However, as Mao had said "where there is oppression there will be resistance". All these counter-revolutionary repressive policies & actions of the imperialists have served to further ignite mass protest & rebellion & to spread the flames of people's revolutionary war.

The oppressed people's of Palestine have resisted the wave of genocidal aggression by the Israeli state with characteristic courage sacrifice and determination. They are standing in the front lines of the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of the world. As each day passes, through their own experience, they see through the veils of deception, illusions & betrayal of the feudal-bourgeois leadership and will come to

demand genuine proletarian leadership based on the science of MLM. All over the world tens of thousand of broad progressive forces have come together to denounce & resist the increasing aggression & domination by international finance capital. Protracted people's war are being waged in Peru, Nepal, India, Philippines & Turkey, while Maoist organizations & parties across the world are accelerating their preparation to initiate & lead people's war in their countries.

The South Asian sub-continent is being transformed into one of the most volatile storm center of the world revolution. The New Democratic Revolution led by the CPN (M) has, through the path of Protracted People's War, turned every challenge & danger into opportunities & advances and has developed in qualitative leaps to a new turning point towards seizing political power on a higher level. It provides the dynamic of building a South Asian proletarian revolutionary process based on MLM. CCOMPOSA is an expression of this logic & necessity. The CPI-ML (PW) and the MCC are making new important advances ideologically, politically & militarily. Other participating parties in India, Bangladesh & Sri Lanka are also making new important advances in building their capacity to initiate and lead protracted people's war based on the science of MLM. In India, serious efforts are going on by the genuine Maoist Parties and Organisations to build a single revolutionary centre. In Bangladesh, the genuine Maoist forces are also striving to build a unified party based on a correct revolutionary line. So we can say "the path is torturous, but the future is bright". In this context, the 2nd Annual Conference of the CCOMPOSA constitutes another historic milestone on the path of reaffirming Naxalbari and giving rise to a new & higher level of the expression to the South Asian Revolutionary process in the context of advancing the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution and achieving the final victory of communism worldwide upon the ashes & ruins of world imperialism.

The Second Annual Conference of CCOMPOSA reaffirms its dedication and commitment to uphold and apply the invincible science of MLM to the concrete conditions of the South Asian Revolution as realised within the particular countries. This Conference reaf-

firms its commitment and dedication to unite with and support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people and nations in the region and in the world against imperialist oppression and domination. In this context, it defends and upholds the struggle of the Palestine people against the fascist-zionist Israeli state openly and brazenly backed by US imperialism. It calls on all the genuine Maoist revolutionary forces in the region to combine and co-ordinate their collective political will and fighting capacity in order to turn South Asia into an advanced liberated red fortress of world revolution and to hasten the final destruction of imperialism and reaction and the achievement of Communism worldwide.

September 15, 2002

**-Coordination Committee of
Maoist Parties and Organisations of South Asia
(CCOMPOSA)**

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1) PBSP (CC) [Bangladesh] | 6) MCC (India) |
| 2) PBSP (MPK) [Bangladesh] | 7) CPI-ML (PW) [India] |
| 3) BSD (ML) [Bangladesh] | 8) CPI-ML(Naxalbari)[India] |
| 4) CPEB (ML) [Bangladesh] | 9) RCCI (Maoist) [India] |
| 5) CPC (Maoist) [Sri Lanka] | 10) RCCI (MLM) [India] |
| | 11) CPN (Maoist) [Nepal] |

"A revolutionary would not 'agree' to a proletarian revolution only 'on the condition that it proceeds easily and smoothly that there is, from the outset, combined action on the part of the proletarians of different countries, that there are guarantees against defeats, that the road of the revolution is broad, free and straight, that it will not be necessary during the march to victory to sustain the heaviest casualties, to 'bide one's time in a besieged fort', or to make one's way along extremely narrow, impassable, winding and dangerous mountain tracks. Such a person is no revolutionary, he has not freed himself from the pedantry of the bourgeois intellectuals."

-V.I. Lenin, "Letter to American

BUILD THE WORLD PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE MOVEMENT!

The people of the whole world are confronted with a global challenge by a dangerous enemy aiming to solidify and expand a world-wide empire. This enemy has declared its right to use military force to intervene anywhere and everywhere, to destroy peoples and their lands, to slander the people's struggles as "terrorist" in order to legitimise snuffing out any resistance to their vicious military, political and economic order. They have proclaimed their "right" to replace regimes at will. But even when they attack the most despicable of tyrants (most of whom they themselves have created and fed), the ultimate victim and target is not these tyrants but the peoples themselves. The previous smokescreen of human rights and democracy has been largely replaced with the naked gangster logic of national self-interest and the resurrection of the "white man's burden" of nineteenth century colonialism and holy wars pitting Christianity (or the "Judeo-Christian tradition") against the "heathens". And this reactionary crusade carried out in the name of the "war on terrorism" is backed by the most powerful weapons of terror and mass destruction that have ever existed on earth.

The progressive forces in every country are confronted with a great challenge. The chieftain-in crime has said people are either "with us or against us". Long before 11 September the injustice of the world order, in which a relative handful live off the labour and misery of the world's peoples, was screaming out for resistance. Millions were already in motion and the need for world-wide unity was already apparent. Now it is all the more clear that the road to social progress and liberation cannot side-step a direct confrontation with the US-led machine.

It is the urgent duty of all progressive forces to dare to resist and unite against this common enemy of the world's people, whose name is imperialism.

When the masters openly praise the virtues of torture, it is a green light for every despotic regime in the world to use it freely. When the imperialists declare that there are no national frontiers that they need to respect, the people, too, are required to unite their forces across national lines. Powerful movements against the global institutions of the wealthy states calling the

shots, bring together demonstrators from many backgrounds and countries. The actions of even a relative few reverberate throughout the empire, and the blows struck in distant corners strengthen the resolve of those fighting in the belly of the beast itself. The courageous stand taken by prominent writers and artists in one country inspire counterparts the world over. The protectors of a vicious system want a global struggle-so be it!

We can never allow our foes to determine which struggle is legitimate and which is not. All struggles against imperialism and reaction must be supported, including those where the oppressed and exploited have taken up arms against the enforcers of the old order. We can never accept that the biggest criminals on earth can burn down whole cities, whilst the people are forbidden to light candles.

The World People's Resistance Movement (WPRM) is being formed to help the struggles all over the globe flow together into a mighty torrent. The WPRM provides an international vehicle to promote and facilitate the world-wide unity against our common foe. Today's focus must be opposing the imperialist crusade carried out under the slogan of the "war on terrorism".

The WRPM does not seek to supplement or compete with any other people's organisation on a national or international level. All those on the same side of the barricades are welcome. Help form branches of the WPRM in every country with individuals, circles, associations and political parties. North and south, east and west, unite the people's struggles!

Our first action will be in support of the Palestinian people who have been amongst the foremost targets of this ugly war on terrorism by the US and Israel, its attack dog in the Middle East. The Palestinian's courageous frontline resistance is giving heart to people all over the world. We call on all who can to demonstrate against George Bush's visit to Berlin on 23-23 May. We are also calling for demonstrations in many countries of the world on Saturday June 15.

*-By the Provisional Organising Committee,
World People's Resistance Movement*

POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF WORLD PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE MOVEMENT— SOUTH ASIA

The WPRM—SA joins with the progressive people of the world in condemning and resisting the global terrorist war of aggression and domination unleashed by the imperialist powers led by US imperialism. The politics of this war has nothing to do with eliminating International Terrorism, since it is being waged by the most powerful terrorist states in history who have together unleashed two world wars and countless wars and genocidal aggressions against the people of the world, with the US occupying the position of the No 1 terrorist Super Power in the world. We condemn the war against the people of Afghanistan and declare our firm solidarity with the people of Afghanistan in their struggle to rid themselves of US-British imperialist aggression and their puppet states. Equally we condemn the terrorist war of genocide carried out against the Palestine liberation struggle by the Israeli State, backed fully by the US imperialism. We declare our internationalist solidarity with the people of Palestine in their heroic struggle to free themselves from Israeli aggression and occupation and US domination. We condemn the efforts of US-British imperialism to wage yet another war of even more devastation and destruction against the people of Iraq. We shall stand with the people of Iraq in their just struggle to free themselves of imperialist domination.

We condemn the efforts of US imperialism and India to intervene in Nepal with the intention of propping up the autocratic-feudal-monarchical state in its counter-revolutionary offensive.

The US is moving into a strategic partnership with India with the aim of exercising joint regional hegemony in South Asia to crush all people's resistance and revolutionary struggle against the system. The US has established an FBI office in Delhi and both the US and India have gained access

to military facilities in Sri Lanka. Under the guise of United Nations Peace keeping mission, imperialism has also penetrated Bangladesh.

In the face of this grave challenge, as members of the WPRM – SA, we declare our determination to unite, mobilise and lead the oppressed masses of South Asia in order to oppose and resist the US-led imperialist crusade and to support all just struggles including revolutionary anti imperialist struggles and People's Wars led by Maoist forces in our region.

We resolve to unite with the progressive forces and oppressed peoples of the world in order to achieve our common goal of defeating the imperialist global war agenda and pave the way to achieving a world free of domination, exploitation, oppression and WAR.

*- World People's Resistance Movement
Provisional Organising Committee, South Asia*

"In favourable circumstances, we should employ the principle of concentration of forces, and in unfavourable circumstances that of their dispersion."

*- Mao Tse-Tung
"On Protracted War", May 1938*

"A new revolution is possible only in consequence of a new crisis. It is, however, just as certain as this crisis."

*-Karl Marx,
"The Class Struggle in France"*

"The UN office stands ready to assist in the peace talks between the government and the Maoists if we are asked to do so."

-Dr. Hening Karcher, UN Resident Representative to Nepal (October 24, 2002)

"Much is written in the western media about the Maoist leader Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarria, the leaders of the Nepal Communist Party (Maoist), being terrorists. Yet they are no more terrorists than Yassar Arafat is in trying to ensure an independent Palestinian state and David Ben Gurion was in his fight to ensure an independent Jewish state."

*-Wayne Madsen
("Comparison Between Recent U.S.-Backed Coups", www.spiescafe.com)*

"The Maoist movement now wields defacto control over most of Nepal. By following the Mao Tse-Tung model of guerilla warfare-becoming 'fish swimming in the ocean of the people'- the insurgents have won dominance of the Himalayas and of the foothills. King Gyanendra's rule is now limited to Kathmandu, Nepal's few towns and the southern low lands of the Terai."

*-David Blair, in London Telegraph,
September 21, 2002*

The Maoists "will continue to gain ground. Unless something dramatic happens, its only a matter of time before they win."

-A British Military Source, quoted in Ibid-

"I've never been to Nepal, and do not know what the prospects for the guerillas' victory might be. But let's say the British officer's prediction materializes. Imagine the international consequences. The radical left throughout the world would be heartened by a victory, somewhere; impressed to see the red flag planted, as the secretary-general of the CPN(M), Prachanda, likes to put it, a top Mt. Everest, the roof of the world The governments of the world-virtually all of them-would be very highly displeased, and mainstream intellectuals puzzled. The victory would after all, constitute a challenge to the Fukuyama thesis (about the "end of history" as a clash of ideologies) and the Huntington thesis (about the "clash of civilizations"). We'd be back to the old capitalism vs communism

discussion, which was supposed to be behind us, all settled, and consigned to the rubbish heap of history!"

*-Gary Leupp, Associate Professor, Dept. of History, Jufts University and Coordinator, Asian Studies Program
("The Resumption of History: Imagining the Global Consequences of a Maoist Victory in Nepal", Counter Punch, October 21, 2002)*

"You have a Maoist insurgency that's trying to overthrow the government and this really is the kind of thing that we are fighting against throughout the world".

-Coline Powell, U.S. Secretary of State, on his first-ever 'visit' to Nepal in January 2002

"the international community has pledged full support to the Nepali people to end Maoist insurgency and to bring about development in the country. Terrorism can never be allowed to win. International community is determined to support democracy opposing terrorism."

-Mike O'Brien, British Parliamentary Under Secretary of state in the foreign and Commonwealth Office, October 12, 2002

"The EU...urges the insurgents to immediately end their violent actions end enter into a political dialogue with the government of Nepal. At the same time the European union reiterates the urgent need to address the underlying causes of the ongoing conflict, including the issue of poverty, corruption, and human right".

-Statement issued by the Presidency of the European union, October 12, 2002

"India's worst nightmare would be a tri-cornered fight between monarchy, political parties and the Maoist rebels, who are threatening to overrun the country. It is in touch with Gyanendra as political unrest in Nepal could have security ramifications for Delhi".

-Report in India Today, October 21, 2002

"Undoubtedly, the happiest in Nepal are the Maoists who rarely miss the chance to denounce the monarchy. The rebels have fought the Royal Nepal Army more and less to a standstill, using terrain,

Continued in page no.66

COMMON MINIMUM POLICY & PROGRAMME OF UNITED REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S COUNCIL, NEPAL (URPC)*

This Common Minimum Policy and Programme of United People's Council, Nepal has been formulated in order to guide the struggle to complete the New Democratic or People's Democratic Revolution and to guide the state after the revolution. Attempts shall be made to implement them in areas where local state powers have been founded in course of the development of people's revolution, whereas they will be raised as objects of propaganda and struggle in other areas and at the central level.

SECTION-I

Basic Policies

1. The main objective of the People's Council is to institutionalize the New Democratic/ People's Democratic Republic in the country. The fundamental character of New Democratic or People's Democratic republican state shall be the people's democratic dictatorship with the participation of all the progressive classes including the national bourgeoisie and oppressed nations/nationalities based on worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the proletariat. It will end all forms of exploitation-oppression of feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism and imperialism/expansionism in the country and implement democracy for the people and dictatorship over the enemies of the people.

2. In Nepal, New Democratic/People's Democratic state can be founded only through the protracted People's War which marches forward building local base areas and in which guerrilla war plays a strategical role. Also, in the specific geo-historical position of Nepal and present world situation, it is essential to incorporate some parts of the strategy of armed insurrection right from the initiation of People's War. So, applying this particular military strategy in order to carry the people's revolution up to the apex of final vic-

tory, the People's Council shall unite and mobilize all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist/anti-expansionist forces and the general masses.

3. The sovereignty shall be entirely vested in the people in New Democratic/ People's Democratic system. To materialise this, an interim government consisting of all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist/anti-expansionist forces shall be formed after smashing present reactionary state by means of People's War, and a new constitution shall be drafted and implemented through the people's representatives elected on the basis of universal suffrage under the interim government.

4. In the New Democratic/People's Democratic system, the fundamental and political rights of all people including the rights to speak, write, publish, hold meetings & demonstrations and form organizations and political parties, elect and get elected, profess or not profess religions, settle in the place desired, etc. shall be guaranteed. Employment, education and health shall be considered as the fundamental rights of the people. Contrary to the propaganda of the reactionaries that there is one-party dictatorship of the communist party in New Democracy/People's Democracy, full freedom will be guaranteed for various patriotic, democratic and leftist parties on the basis of mutual co-operation and supervi-

* This is an extract from the document "Common Minimum Policy & Programme of United Revolutionary People's Council, Nepal", adopted by the First National Convention of the Revolutionary United Front under the leadership of CPN (Maoist) in September 2001.

DOCUMENT

sion with the communist party for a long time. However, the people of reactionary classes who would play reactionary role during the people's revolution and act against the cause of the country and the people shall be, deprived of all political rights for a definite period. Along with the exercise of fundamental rights, all citizens shall have to abide by duties like defending the country, obeying the constitution and laws, protecting public properties, observing labour discipline, serving in the army, paying taxes etc.

5. There shall be no discrimination against anybody on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language, gender etc. and the state shall guarantee equal behavior to and opportunities for all. Equal wages for equal work shall be guaranteed to all.

6. State shall be delinked from religion and it shall be fully secular. Religion shall be regarded as a personal matter of the individual and there shall be no favour for or discrimination against any religion. However, cheating, fraud, corruption, exploitation-oppression, subversive activities etc., in the pretext of religion, shall be curbed.

7. All the semi-colonial and neo-colonial treaties and agreements including the Treaty of 1950 and debt burdens imposed by imperialism and expansionism upon the country shall be nullified and the country shall be made fully sovereign, independent and self-reliant. The Gorkha Recruiting Center, which is there as a national shame, shall be closed down forthright and measures shall be taken to avail all the citizens of appropriate employment within the country. The plunder of national resources, including enormous water-resources, by imperialists and expansionists shall be stopped and the entire resources shall be utilised for the common cause of the people.

8. All the feudal, bureaucratic, and imperialist/expansionist relations prevailing in the field of

economy shall be ended and national capitalist relations shall be developed. Instead of imposing socialist relations in the economy from the very beginning, socialism-oriented capitalist relations shall be developed. Therefore, a proper balance of private ownership, joint ownership and collective ownership shall be maintained in the New Democratic/People's Democratic system. In other words, there shall be collective ownership of the state on large and basic industries and financial institutions, joint ownership of the state and individuals on certain large means of production and private ownership of peasants in agriculture, which constitutes an overwhelming proportion of the economy, and of the entrepreneurs and traders on small and medium industries and commerce. Except through legal means, nobody's private property shall be confiscated. In order to continue transforming the extremely backward condition of productive forces, the principle of "Grasp revolution and promote production" shall be made the basic guiding policy for economic development.

9. Democratic centralism shall be the fundamental principle of state organisation and attention shall always be paid to maintaining proper balance between democracy and centralism. A policy of "Politics in command" shall always be pursued in order to maintain proletarian leadership in every sector and to prevent bureaucratization in the organs of the state, and a method of high application of the mass-line shall be followed. The state shall protect the rights of the masses for exercising democracy, like, to debate openly, express opinions freely, display big posters in public places, etc. The right of workers to strike shall also be guaranteed.

SECTION-II

State System

10. The state shall be fully in the hands of the people. The House of People's Representatives

and People's Committees/People's Governments of various levels shall be the organs of the state of the people. The Houses of People's Representatives at all levels shall be elected by the people on the basis of adult franchise. The Houses of People's Representatives shall elect the People's Committees/People's Governments of the levels concerned. People's Committees/People's Governments shall act as organs of state of concerning levels during the when the House of People's Representatives is not meeting.

11. There shall be 4 levels of the House of People's Representatives and People's Committees/People's Governments, namely at the Centre (Union), Autonomous Regions, Districts, and Village/Town/Autonomous Town. But, keeping in view the specific situation of people's war, they may be formed at the area level above the village and at region/sub-region levels above the district. As per the wards below the village level, there shall be only Ward People's Committees and they will function under the Village House of People's Representatives or Village People's Committees. There shall be of House of People's Representatives and People's Committees/People's Governments of the appropriate levels in ethnic autonomous areas.

12. Unlike the bourgeois parliament, which is merely a toothless debating club, the House of People's Representatives shall be the most powerful organs equipped with legislative and executive rights. They shall make the people experience not only formal democracy but also genuine democracy since they shall have the representation of various classes, nationalities, regions, and also of patriotic and democratic eminent personalities. Delegates of the people shall be more responsible because the people will have the right to recall them if they do not function properly.

13. As the People's Council is a mechanism

of revolutionary united front of the people which enjoys the representation of workers, peasants, people's army, petty bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie, oppressed nations/nationalities, Dalit (oppressed caste) community, women, expatriate Nepalese and various patriotic, democratic and leftist forces, its National Conference shall exercise, until a conducive situation materialises for the election of National House of People's Representatives on the basis of adult franchise, the functions and the rights of the of National House of People's Representatives, and it shall enact necessary constitution and laws, elect a Central People's Government and grant it authority to run the state.

14. During the war period the Central People's Government shall depute military and non-military delegates to organise local people's governments in places where reactionary state apparatus would be destroyed but direct elections for houses of People's Representatives at various levels would not be possible, and the delegates shall hold local conferences /conventions of all the forces and organise local people's governments. Later on when a conducive situation will develop, elections for local Houses of People's Representatives shall be held.

15. Houses of People's Representatives and People's Committees/People's Governments of various levels shall function according to the principles of democratic centralism. Accordingly, Houses of People's Representatives shall be responsible to the people and the People's Governments to Houses of People's Representatives. In the Houses of People's Representatives and People's Governments, the minority shall obey the decisions of the majority, the appointments of People's Governments of various levels should be approved by the higher level, the People's Governments of lower level should obey the de-

cision of higher-level Governments and all local People's Governments should obey the decisions of the Central People's Government. In the course of autonomous organs, while implementing democratic centralism attempt shall be made to arrive at a consensus through wide democratic exercise.

16. The jurisdiction of the Central People's Government and local People's Government shall be defined in accordance with the nature and need of various works and the Central People's Government shall issue necessary directives keeping in view the national unity and local utility.

17. All laws, orders and judicial systems of old reactionary state that exercise exploitation-oppression on the people shall be declared null and void. New laws and directives favourable to the cause of the people shall be issued and people's democratic judicial system shall be founded.

18. People's Courts at various levels shall be constituted in order to impart justice to the people. Its office-bearers shall be appointed by House of People's Representatives of the concerned levels and they shall be responsible to them.

19. The security organs of the concerned level shall exercise the functions and rights of the procuratorial organs that administer cases against the criminals. While conducting trial against a person, the mass line should be properly exercised and the masses should be involved in debates on major counter-revolutionary criminal cases.

20. All organs of the state should follow revolutionary working style of honesty, simplicity and service to the people and they should strongly oppose red-tapism, corruption and extravagance.

21. People's supervisory organs shall be established to suppress the functions of office-bear-

ers of the People's Governments at various levels and to take disciplinary actions against them in case they violate the laws or do not discharge their duties properly. The people shall have the right to lodge complaints against such office-bearers or state organs in the people's supervisory or judicial organs.

SECTION-III

People's Army and People's Defense System

22. In order to completely smash the old reactionary state through the means of People's War and defend the New Democratic/People's Democratic state, there shall be a unified People's Liberation Army, which will comprise of Main Force, Secondary Local Force and People's Militia. The Chairman of Central Committee of the Communist Party shall be the Supreme Commander of the People's Liberation Army, which shall be mobilized through the Central People's Government led by the Party. The Main Force shall be mobilized at the central level and Secondary Local Force at the local level, whereas People's Militia shall take care of local defence and order.

23. In the present imperialist era, it will be necessary to organize the People's Army also in a centralized way in order to fight against excessively centralized army of the reactionary state, but the policy of putting the people's army under the command of revolutionary politics, uniting it with the masses, and maintaining greater democratic relations between the officers and soldiers in the People's Army shall be pursued in order to prevent the growth of professionalism as in the reactionary army. A policy of militarizing the whole masses shall be pursued to check the threat of counter-revolution and, for this, people's militia shall be expanded widely.

24. The principal task of the People's Army

is to continuously advance the People's War before the completion of the revolution and defend the New Democratic/People's Democratic state and motherland after the revolution, but at the time of leisure and peace it should also play the role of (political) organizer and (economic) producer among the masses.

25. During the whole period of revolution, the masses shall be specially inspired and encouraged to join the People's Army and special priority shall be accorded to the task of looking after of families and dependents of soldiers of People's Army and martyrs, and wounded and handicapped of the war. The People's Government shall pay special attention to necessary resources for the People's Army. Special encouragement shall be given to those who rebel from the reactionary army and police, and join the revolutionary camp.

SECTION-IV

Land and Agrarian Revolution

26. The agrarian revolution is the basic foundation of the New Democratic/ People's Democratic Revolution. Therefore, the main policy of agrarian revolution shall be to abolish the feudal, semi-feudal and bureaucratic capitalist production relations in the land and develop national capitalist relations, of which "land to the tiller" shall be the main policy tenet. In other words, the lands owned by feudals, bureaucratic capitalists and various Guthis (a type of feudal ownership by social and religious institutions), in the places where the old reactionary power structure have been smashed, shall be seized without any compensation and distributed to landless and poor peasants, and the tillers shall be made the owners of the land. In case of rich and medium level peasants, their lands shall not be seized but ceiling shall be imposed on them keeping in mind

the ratio of availability of land and population. In the places where old state structure has not been totally smashed or people's state power has not been founded as yet, only reformative measures shall be taken in the initial stage, according to which ceilings on lands shall be implemented, tenurial rights of tenants shall be guaranteed, the rate of land rent shall be reduced and made one-third, interest rate of credits shall be reduced, Guthi lands shall be turned into 'raiker', i.e. governmental lands etc.

27. Landless and poor peasants shall be relieved of all kinds of debts, and labour-service and other charges levied on them shall be abolished.

28. Medieval feudal practices like '*Kamaiya*', '*harwa-charwa*' (different forms of labour services against debts to the landlords) shall be completely abolished and re-settlement and employment shall be arranged for them.

29. Minimum wages for agricultural labours shall be fixed and it will be strictly implemented. Women labourers shall be provided wages equivalent to men.

30. Agricultural credits shall be made available at cheap interest rates and with ease. Proper irrigation facilities shall be provided all cultivable and irrigable lands. Rural infrastructure shall be developed by appropriate utilisation of reserve labour force existing in agriculture.

31. Fertilizer, seeds, pesticides, agricultural tools shall be made available to the peasants at cheap rates and with ease. Special attention shall be paid on the development of agricultural industries and proper arrangements shall be made for agricultural markets. Balance shall be maintained in the prices of industrial and agricultural products.

32. Co-operation shall be taken from local

revolutionary peasants' organizations, particularly in preparing actual records of ownership of the land, determining class status (i.e. landless, poor, middle, rich and feudal) of the peasants in the villages, determining the real tillers and implementing effectively the land-reforms during the implementation of revolutionary land-reform policy and programmes, and general masses of the peasants shall be mobilized. In addition, the land reform programmes shall be implemented stagewise in both class and regional terms, and during this process, full attention shall be paid to local particularities. While implementing revolutionary land reform programme in the autonomous areas of oppressed nationalities and regions, care shall be taken to prevent historical incursions into them.

33. The lands seized from feudals and bureaucratic capitalists and acquired from the rich peasants above the ceiling during the implementation of land reforms and public uncultivated land shall be distributed among all peasants of the village keeping in view the land they own without any ethnic or gender discrimination and on equal basis, and that shall be their private property. In this context, the proportion of quality of the lands, or irrigated and unirrigated lands, shall be obviously taken care of.

34. The livestock, agricultural tools, houses, grains etc. seized from the feudals shall be distributed among the poor and other peasants who run short of them, and they shall be their private property.

35. Large forests, big irrigation projects, mines, grazing meadows, large uncultivated lands, rivers, lakes etc. shall be in possession of local People's Governments as public properties. Similarly, places of historical and touristic importance, arts and artifacts etc. also shall be in possession of the People's Governments.

36. Land and property shall be distributed to the office-bearers of the People's Army, People's Governments and mass-organizations and their families who come from the villages like other common peasants. In doing so, special priorities shall be given to the families of martyrs. Old landlords and their families, and office-bearers of the old state who come from the villages, and their families, shall be given, like common peasants, land and properties to labour and earn a living. Reactionary traitors and war criminals however shall not be given any land and property. Nevertheless, the members of their families who were not involved in any criminal activities and want to labour and live shall be given land and property like other common peasants.

37. The documents of land ownership, other transactions and credits enacted before the implementation of revolutionary land reform shall be declared null and void and the People's Governments shall investigate and issue new documents to all concerned. Those who resist revolutionary land reforms and violate rules and laws shall be punished by the People's Courts.

38. Even though the ownership of land and other properties would be private in the stage of New Democratic/People's Democratic Revolution, agricultural production shall be encouraged to be organized in various kinds of co-operatives, given the small average size of the cultivable lands and generally extremely low level of productive forces particularly in hilly areas so as to develop productivity, utilize the labour properly, and accelerate the pace of economic development. A policy to develop production and distribution cooperatives from small to big and low level to high level shall be pursued systematically.

39. Taking into account the geographical diversity of the high Himalayas, the mid-hills and

the Terai (or plains) and the possibility of the separate specializations in animal husbandry, herbal, farming, horticulture, forest products and grain production a policy to make an integrated, balanced and inter-dependent development of those diverse regions and agricultural sectors shall be pursued. Special emphasis shall be given on attaining self-reliance in food-grains during the whole period of war and even in future.

SECTION-V

Industry, Commerce, Finance and Infrastructure Development

40. It is not possible, without rapid national industrialization, to radically transform the present economy of Nepal viciously trapped in acute poverty, unemployment, under-unemployment, underdevelopment and dependency, and to fulfil the advanced physical and cultural needs of the society. Therefore, in New Democratic / People's Democratic system, the industry shall be regarded as the leading sector of economy and planned attempts shall be made for its rapid development. For that, the path for rapid industrialization in the country shall be paved by nationalizing the capital being misused in the hands of the comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie in the country, liberating the labour trapped in the agricultural sector and promoting internal markets, on the one hand, and by liberating national industries from the grip of imperialism and particularly Indian monopoly capital, on the other. Also, the industrialization process shall be aided by providing protection and encouragement to the capital of large number of small and domestic entrepreneurs and the national bourgeoisie who are in minority in the country.

41. During the whole period of war, special emphasis shall be given on developing industries that supply essential war logistics, supply consumer and other goods (such as cloth, shoes,

equipment, paper etc.) to the base areas and that are based on local raw materials and skills. Taking into consideration the probable imperialist and expansionist economic sanctions during and after the war, the import-substitution industries shall be given special encouragement.

42. As there would be shortage of capital and excess of labour in the country for a long time, labour-intensive industrialization shall be mainly stressed. Special attention shall be paid on development and use of local technology. Particularly, special emphasis shall be given on supplying the most essential industrial energy by utilizing the immense water resources through small hydro-electric projects and guaranteeing the self-reliant, pollution-free and sustainable development.

The economic sectoral and geographic regional inequality and the process of extraverted development prevailing at present shall be ended and planned attempts shall be made for balanced development between agriculture and industries, small industries and large industries, cottage industries and modern industries, rural and urban areas, and the hills and the plains.

43. For the workers, weekly 40-hour working days and minimum wages shall be fixed and strictly implemented. Participation of the workers in the management of industries shall be guaranteed. Policy of encouraging co-operative system in cottage and small industries shall be followed.

44. Trade in basic goods and foreign trade shall be under the control of the state; whereas trade in other sectors shall be in the hands of the private sector. Stranglehold of Indian monopoly capitalists in the commerce sector shall be ended and the state shall offer protection to the national traders. Commercial relations shall be maintained with all on the basis of mutual benefit and equality.

45. Consumer co-operatives shall be encouraged so as to avail the people of consumer goods at cheaper prices and with ease. The state shall make necessary interventions in order to keep the prices of commodities stable and well managed. Appropriate customs policy shall be pursued to provide support to the indigenous goods. Special measures shall be taken to avail of consumer goods at cheap prices in remote areas.

46. The exploitation and oppression of imperialist financial capital in the country shall be ended, the country shall be freed of foreign debts and there will be state control over major financial institutions in the country. In the rural areas financial co-operatives shall be developed to make credits easily available. Private financial institutions shall be given permission to operate within rules and laws. But the interests rate shall be controlled.

47. Public expenditures shall be made under a well planned budgetary system. Tax policy shall be applied in keeping with the needs of the war and economic re-construction.

48. Imperialist financial penetration and internal sabotage on the pretext of NGO / INGOS shall be ended.

49. Considering the inaccessibilities and complexities of most of the hilly regions, transport and communication system shall be developed in a planned manner. Special attention shall be given on building infrastructures like roads, bridges, etc in the rural areas. The unsystematic expansion of the cities shall be controlled and a policy of planned urbanization shall be pursued. Attention shall be paid on developing planned settlement in the new liberated zones.

50. Instead of large and dependent hydro-electric projects, emphasis shall be given on constructing small and medium, and multi-purpose and self-reliant projects. Attention shall be paid

on developing the tourism sector in such a manner that it serves the cause of the country and the people.

SECTION-VI

Culture and Education

51. The basic character of New Democratic/ People's Democratic culture and education shall be national, democratic and scientific. In the field of culture and education, the main task of the People's Government shall be to promote cultural standard of the people, produce red and expert manpower for social and national re-construction, and develop progressive and scientific outlook that serves the people, in place of the feudal, comprador and anti-people ones. New Democratic/People's Democratic culture and education shall generate a sense of patriotism, respect to the masses, belief in science, respect to labour and responsibility towards public properties.

52. Education shall be made universal, free & compulsory. Special literacy campaign shall be conducted and all types of illiteracy including adult illiteracy shall be eliminated. Education shall be connected with labour and made useful to life. Education shall be imparted maintaining balance between natural science and social science. Special stress shall be given to poly-technique education. Necessary attention shall be paid to higher education and science-technology education. Proper arrangements for sports and entertainment to all shall be made.

53. Old textbooks shall be cancelled and textbooks in line with new scientific values shall be prepared. Provision for education in mother tongue up to a specific level shall be made.

54. Special attention shall be given to the preservation and promotion of literature and art. Lit-

erature and art that serve the masses promote the political consciousness of the masses, and increase respect to labour, shall be promoted. People-oriented plays and cinemas shall be encouraged. Excellence in literature and art shall be rewarded. Vulgar and obscene literature and films shall be prohibited.

55. Freedom of expression of the people shall be protected. Newspapers and journals which publish objective news and views shall be encouraged. People's radio and broadcasting shall be promoted. Special attention shall be paid to the publication of socially useful and popular books and journals.

56. Proper attention shall be paid to the preservation of old cultural heritages. Special attention shall be given to the preservation of languages and cultures of the oppressed nations/nationalities.

SECTION-VII

Health and Social Welfare

57. Health services shall be made available to all freely and universally. Special attention shall be paid to the extension of health services in the rural areas. Traditional systems like witch doctor etc. shall be abolished and modern and scientific medical system shall be implemented. Special stress shall be laid on producing lower and medium-level health activists. Use of medicines based on indigenous herbs shall be encouraged instead of importing several harmful medicines distributed by the imperialists.

58. Rights of disabled persons, the elderly, destitutes, children shall be protected and special attention shall be given to their care.

59. Minimum housing facility shall be guaranteed to all. Proper arrangements shall be made for settlement of the squatters.

SECTION-VIII

Nationalities and Regional Question

60. The state shall guarantee equal treatment to all nations/nationalities and languages of the country. All nations/nationalities traditionally oppressed by the ruling Aryan-Khas nationality shall exercise the right to self-determination, but their problems shall be resolved within the framework of national autonomy program in the New Democratic/People's Democratic system. According to which, all forms of exploitation/oppression of the oppressed nations / nationalities shall be ended and they shall exercise their own autonomous rule in the land they inhabit. If the nationalities are scattered in more than one area, there shall be more than one autonomous areas. The House of People's Representatives and People's Committees/Governments elected by themselves shall be the means of their state Power. Except for the People's Army, foreign relations, finance, currency, measurements, communication, international trade, large basic industries, and large hydel projects, all other sectors shall fall under the jurisdiction of the autonomy. They shall exercise the autonomy within the framework of the approved rules and laws.

61. In case of areas of mixed nationalities, or if there are other nationalities in the autonomous area of a particular nationality, there shall be representation of all in the local state powers on the proportional basis.

62. All the oppressed nations/nationalities shall have the right to join the People's Army and they may form People's Militia under the central command as a security force at the local level.

63. All the oppressed nations/nationalities shall enjoy the freedom to promote their languages, to preserve or reform their traditional values and systems. The Central People's Government shall assist the people of oppressed nations/nationalities in their political, economic,

cultural and educational development.

64. In the high Himalayan regions, Karnali region and Seti-Mahakali region, which have been regionally oppressed because of unequal economic development, there shall be regional autonomy. The nature of the regional autonomy shall be basically same as national autonomy.

65. The issue of Terai, which is inhabited by people of various linguistic groups is an issues of both national and regional oppression. However, since it is primarily an issue of national oppression, there shall be separate national autonomous regions for the nations / nationalities speaking different languages (e.g., Maithili, Bhojpuri, Awadhi etc.), and all the oppression and unequal treatment meted out to Teraian and, particularly, Madheshee people shall be ended. The prolonged issue of citizenship of the Madheshee people shall be resolved in a scientific, just and democratic manner.

SECTION-IX

Women and Family

66. All forms of patriarchal exploitation of women shall be ended and women shall be given all rights equal to men. Like son, daughter shall enjoy equal rights to parental property. Women shall be provided with special rights for participating in all organs of the state. All kinds of prostitution shall be prohibited and 'Badi', 'Jhuma' traditions shall be totally eradicated. Traffickers on women and rapists shall be sternly punished. Nepalese women sold to brothels inside the country and abroad, mainly India, shall be freed and honorably rehabilitated.

67. Marriage between a man and a woman shall take place only on the basis of mutual love and free volition but not under any coercion or through tradition. There should be strict monogamy in the marriage. Polygamy shall be

prohibited. Minimum age of man and woman for marriage shall be 22 and 20 years respectively. If both man and woman willing to get married apply to the concerned officer of the local People's Government, they shall be issued certificate of marriage after necessary investigation. Family planning and maintaining a small family shall be the responsibility of the couples. Women's right to abortion shall be protected. Widow remarriage shall be encouraged. Special arrangements shall be made for child-care.

68. If both husband and wife desire and request for, divorce may be granted. If only one party demands for it, the People's Government shall reserve the right to whether to or not to allow for the divorce, after necessary investigation. Taking into accounts the traditional oppression of women, a more sympathetic consideration should be given to women in such disputes. After the divorce, common property shall be divided on equal basis, but as far as the taking care of children is concerned, the father shall bear 2/3rd and the mother 1/3rd responsibility.

SECTION -X

OPPRESSED CASTES (DALITS)

69. All forms of prevailing exploitation/oppression of the Dalits (depressed castes) as per the Hindu varna system shall be ended and the Dalits shall be completely equal to other citizens. Untouchability shall be totally abolished and those practicing any kind of untouchability with the Dalits shall be severely punished.

70. Since the Dalits are oppressed castewise since long, and are generally weak and backward economically, socially, culturally and otherwise, the state shall make provision for the special rights to them until they turn practically equal to others, and this shall be governed by rules.

SECTION-XI

Foreign Policy

71. Diplomatic relations shall be established with all countries of the world on the basis of five prin-

ciples of peaceful coexistence (Panchsheel) i.e. mutual respect to each other's sovereignty and national integrity, policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of one another, equality, mutual benefits and peaceful co-existence, and attempts shall be made to promote friendly relations.

72. Principal basis of foreign relations of the democratic republic of Nepal shall be the preservation of the country's independence and national integrity, defence of New Democratic / People's Democratic system, promotion of people's interests and wellbeing, opposition to imperialism and expansionism, and support to national liberation movements in different countries and New Democratic or Socialist movements worldwide.

73. New Democratic / People's Democratic Government shall review all agreements concluded by the old state with various countries and institutions, and the treaties and agreements that run counter to the causes of the country and the people shall be cancelled, whereas the ones that favour shall be renewed.

74. As Indian expansionism is the principal external enemy and threat to Nepal and all countries of South Asia, particularly close relations shall be developed with various communist revolutionary groups and national liberation movements which have been fighting against Indian expansionism, and attempts shall be made to build South Asian Soviet Federation. After revolution is completed in all countries of this region

75. The causes of the Nepalese living abroad, particularly in India, shall be protected. Such Nepalese compelled to leave the country and go abroad due to poverty and unemployment shall be provided employment and properly settled. Special attention shall be paid on checking increasing brain drain and utilising their talent and skill within the country. Foreign nationals obeying the laws in Nepal shall be given protection. Any citizen of any

country of the world who is forced to leave the country due to his / her involvement in revolutionary activities shall be offered political asylum. ○

WHAT OTHERS SAY....

savagery and rural alienation to their advantage".

-BBC Correspondent Daniel Lak's Report in Outlook (New Delhi), October 21, 2002.

"The state of near civil war in Nepal with monarchy unable to check the unrelenting Maoist offensives is an SOS that those interested in peace in the Himalayan Kingdom can not ignore. Friends of Nepal would agree that the situation appears irretrievably grim as things stand today...."

"...In Nepal too any headway towards ending the insurgency appears unlikely without Washington's tacit help. However, New Delhi, which has been giving all assistance to Kathmandu for combating "Maoists terrorism" will do well not to get embroiled any further in this conflict. For, that would be courting another fiasco like the IPKF mission to Sri Lanka."

-Editorial in The Times of India, November 18, 2002

Rampur and many other villages in these hills and valleys are proof that the Maoists are manifestly not "on the run," as the government maintains. Nor do they appear to have weakened by nine months of army operations against them during a state emergency that ended in August. In many districts in this part of the country, the government still controls no more than major towns and the checkpoints on the roads between them.

-Bertil Lintner in Far Eastern Economic Review, October 24, 2002

"There is nothing more dangerous in a revolutionary period than belittling the importance of tactical slogans that are sound in principle."

-V.I. Lenin

"Two Tactics of Social Democracy..."

