### Workers of the World, Unite! Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism



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# People's Voice

(A Monthly Bulletin of International Department, CPN-Maoist)

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## "Election" drama, another conspiracy

Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist including its allies 33 parties, Madhesi Janadhi-kar Forum including its allies 8 parties and Federal Socialist Party appealed to the government not to announce the date of "election" without arriving at agreement with all parties in a joint press conference on 14 June. Refused to listen the voice of opposition parties Khilraj led non-party puppet government announced the date of "election" of second constituent assembly just after a couple of hours of the press conference. There is media report that tenure of present Indian Ambassador was going to be terminated, but it is extended till the new date of "election" of constituent assembly, 19 November 2013. These two events took place simultaneously and have a strange coincidence. It is simple for anybody to understand which force is working behind this plan.

There was a strong protest against the conspiracy, by the 42 parties just the other day of the announcement of the date. There was very successful general strike called by the same alliance of 42 parties on June 16. They have declared that the protest will continue until the announcement of the date is not withdrawn, present puppet non-party government resigns, "25 point order of removing the difficulties" is cancelled and unconstitutional "four party mechanism", which is popularly known as "four party syndicate" is dissolved.

Election commission has declared the plan of proposed election indicating that the "four party syndicate", puppet government will not deign. It is obvious that every step they are taking is predetermined. The talk of negotiation is merely a drama. There is no room for real negotiation.

"Election" has emerged as major political issue of the day. Everybody is talking about it. Wide spread debate is going on about "election". What about the fate of the "election"? Nobody believes that there will be "election" in Nepal in the given situation. How the "election" of constituent assembly can take place when so many political parties, civil society, bar association and masses are clearly expressing their views that they will not participate in the "election" at the given situation?

So, it is evident that the "election" will not be held. But still the puppets are making noise that they will hold the election by hook or by crook. Some puppet elements are calling to use armed force to perform the "election".

It seems that the reactionaries are going to take anti people measures including use of armed forces. If they make such attempts Nepalese people will retaliate. If the puppet forces do not rethink about their plan, it is sure to invite confrontation. People will be ready to give fitting reply.

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## Press Statement by Comrade Mohan Baidya 'Kiran'

संसारका मजदरहरु एक होऔं!

मार्क्सवाद-लेनिनवाद-माओवाद - जिन्दावाद !



## नेपाल कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी-माओवादी Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist



केन्द्रीय सिमिति Central Committee

पत्र संख्या/Serial No. :-चलानी नं./Regd.No. :-

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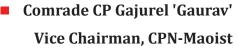
#### **Press Statement**

Our party's attention has been seriously drawn towards the recent confusing and fictitious news, published in some Medias, that party unity is underway between CPN-Maoist and the UCPN (Maoist). The reality that these two parties have taken up two opposite directions and trends as regards ideology, politics, line, programme, policy and conduct is evident. It is clear that Prachanda-Baburam clique by committing serious anti-national and anti-people crimes in the history has turned to be the naked agent of the world imperialism and Indian expansionism. In this situation, no question of party unity with the said agent and renegade clique can arise. We want to publicly clarify that there has been no any decision and even no discussion of any kind as regards our party unity with the said clique.

Mohan Baidhya ' Kiran'

(Chairman)

# Our party has taken decision to play active role to forge the international centre.





1. Comrade! six months have already been passed since the Seventh Congress of the Party was held successfully. How do you understand about some questions being raised by some party cadres such as-the party could not speed up according to the spirit of the Congress?

C.Gaurav: The Seventh Congress of our glorious party, Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist has historic significance. We have reestablished and reorganized the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist after rebelling from the renegade and traitor neo-revisionist Prachanda-Baburam group. I think there are two reasons for the concern being raised by our cadres that the party was not being able to move speedily: one, the wound of being betrayed by the traitor Prachanda-Baburam group, who deceived by repeatedly preaching "revolution", has not been healed and the suspicion of whether the leadership will again repeat the same, is haunting them. Second, our cadres have high aspirations and they want revolution to be completed very soon. But the revolution does not move according to our subjective wish. The enemies of revolution are also working actively to smash it and everything does not move according to what we want. Eventually, the suspicions can be overcome and enthusiasm will prevail after the correctness of the line is proved in practice and victory is achieved in the class struggle.

# 2. Is it true that it has also happened due to vague political line, disorder in organization and confusion in policy, plan and programme?

**C.Gaurav**: I do not think that it is true. Our party line was basically the line which was endorsed by the National Convention held one year back. There were political trainings several times, interactions were held to the grassroot levels, there were debates and discussions during the National Convention, National Congress. Therefore, there is no room for line to be vague.

However, this is a complicated issue which is not easily understandable and thus I think that it should not be considered otherwise.

So far the issue of "disorder in organization, confusion in line and plan" is con-

cerned; this tendency is rampant in present politics of Nepal. In other parties it is dominant and all other parties are either in constant state of split or they are converted barely in united front

Since we are working on the same society, it is natural that we are not untouched with this problem. But it is true that we are less infected by this disease. Since our party is conscious and responsible to large extent, it is not in disorder and confusion.

# 3. Despite strong protest from the party, the puppet government of international reactionary powers being led by Khilraj Regmi has declared the date of election of second constituent assembly. How have you conceived this challenge? Is it not a declaration of war?

C.Gaurav: Yes, this puppet of foreign reactionaries and party less government led by Khilraj Regmi has declared the date of election the same day in which 33 parties alliance including our party, eight parties of other alliance and one other party requested to the government through the press conference " not to declare the date of election at any cost without a congenial atmosphere is prepared". It cannot be considered merely as a coincidence. It is only a part of a big design of big foreign powers. There is no doubt that it has been done in a planned way in order to push the Nepali society to the path of confrontation. It is a challenge for us no doubt. But it can be turned into a good opportunity to transform the Nepalese society provided we can face it properly. So, we have taken it both, opportunity and challenge.

# 4. How can we say that the movement in future will be more effective when the movements related to the united front and unity in action has not been so effective?

**C.Gaurav**: The activities of such movements are generally not so effective at the very beginning. It looks like a movement of party cadres at the beginning. It intensifies gradually and turns to be a mass movement. It can be clearly seen in the mass movements of Nepal in the past. It is simply true for all the mass movements of the world. So far the context of Nepal at the present moment is concerned; our party seemed to be alone at the beginning to conduct the mass movement. We forged a nine party alliance after that. Now it is 33-party alliance. In the general strike of the last 16 June 013, it was participation of 42-party alliance. Though it was not as effective as we desired, but it was definitely effective. Its effectiveness was realized even by our opponents and it has been established internationally. We should try to make it more effective in the future.

It is also a reality that this type of movement only cannot bring about the transformation of Nepalese society and accomplish the revolution. Resistance struggle is necessary for that. Both should be carried forward. Our party has adopted the policy of moving with two legs.

# 5. We do not find plan of rural class struggle especially peasant movement in your plan. In a condition when the urban movement has not been so effective, are you

#### thinking to launch struggle in new way?

**C.Gaurav**: It has already been mentioned that only the urban mass movement cannot bring out huge revolutionary transformation. The significance of peasant movement is self-evident in our country which is still semi-feudal.

Taking into account of the character of the present movement, the rural class struggle has been manifested into resistance struggle. The remaining task of the revolution can be accomplished by coordinating these two struggles in proper way. We have not considered anything different from this.

# 6. The forthcoming movement is not only against Regmi government, it is basically a movement against U S imperialism and Indian expansionism. In such a situation, do you not think it necessary to create peoples' support at the international level? What policy the party has adopted regarding this?

**C.Gaurav**: This is an era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Therefore, any revolutionary movement taking place in any country endures the interference of imperialism and expansionism and thus it is anti-imperialist and anti-expansionist movement side by side. The Regmi government is a puppet government forged by the foreign reactionaries to fulfill their interest not formed at its own strength and to fulfill the necessity of Nepal. Therefore, the anti-Regmi government movement is also anti-imperialist and anti-expansionist movement. It is quite necessary to forge international opinion in its support. We are quite conscious about it and are trying hard on it.

# 7. There was a decision of the Party Congress to forge anti-imperialist movement, what is the progress in this regard?

**C.Gaurav**: Imperialism is a world system and it is major obstacle for the revolution of any country. Lenin has said, "Imperialism is war". Imperialism is enemy of all oppressed people and oppressed countries of the world as well. Oppressed people and the nations cannot get independence without fighting against imperialism. Yes, it is true that the National Congress of our Party has taken decision to forge anti-imperialist united front. In this regard, our party has made two fold efforts: One, trying to form an anti-imperialist front under our own initiative. Two, working jointly with the anti-imperialist united front already formed by progressive and leftist forces. Significant work could not have been done in this regard. However, basis of unity is being achieved in a slow pace.

# 8. It seems that you are giving more emphasis to forge unity with the "communist" parties in the government rather than that with the parties waging peoples' war and those fighting against imperialist puppet governments. Does it not create problem in ideological polarization?

**C.Gaurav**: As a genuine communist party we will continue to carry on the struggle for communism. Most important task in this regard is to make revolution in one's own country. It is necessary to establish and develop relationship with different types of forces

at different levels. Firstly, to establish fraternal relationship with genuine communist parties, the parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, are sincere to this cause and strive to implement in the specific condition of their country. Secondly, friendly relationships with the parties, which uphold Marxism-Leninism, are anti-imperialist, basically left-ist. Thirdly, diplomatic relationship with the progressive governments. Fourthly, temporary relationship with the governments in course of utilizing the contradictions among different types of governments. What relations we have mentioned above is on the basis of priority.

When making revolution is not the prime agenda of a communist party in the given country and the main task of the party is to propagate its line; in that situation to develop relation with the forces in first and second category would be enough. In that situation, major task of the party becomes to expose all wrong elements and wrong tendencies vigorously. In such situation the relation of third and fourth category is neither possible nor necessary. But, where the completion of revolution is at the immediate agenda, communist party is leading the revolution, the relations of all categories are necessary and possible. Today, the agenda of revolution in Nepal is immediate agenda of the party to be fulfilled. Therefore, it is necessary for us to pay attention on all types of relations. While establishing diplomatic relationship with governments, we should be very careful in not to spoil the fraternal and friendly relationship with communist parties and definitely we follow this policy resolutely. But it is a weakness to become hesitant to establish other relations. Also it is not correct to create suspicion in this regard.

# 9. At present, the people of Turkey are waging life and death struggle and justice loving people of the world and cadres are taking streets to express solidarity. Is it not necessary for us to come forward in support of the struggling people of Turkey and elsewhere?

**C.Gaurav**: Turkey is working as an outpost of US imperialism since many years ago. Turkish people are forbidden with all rights. Army is playing major role in all sectors. The struggle which is going on in Turkey against a kind of military rule is important. It deserves support from all justice loving people of the world. We strongly support the democratic movement of Turkey and all pro people and anti-imperialist movements at any part of the globe.

# 10. Is it not necessary for the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist which has led the Peoples' war and has a strong mass base, to take initiative in strengthening the 'Revolutionary Internationalist Movement' (RIM) by uniting RIM parties and new Maoist forces? Will you clarify, what are the problems-- ideology, organization or will power to give impetus to the RIM?

**C.Gaurav**: Our party is one of the founding parties of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM). We have been playing significant role in the development of RIM as a capacity of a member party or as a member of Committee of RIM, right from its formation. RIM has been playing important role in developing the International Communist Movement (ICM) without pause since the last 23 years. But, unfortunately the

important centre of the Maoist forces of the world has become defunct and passive since last few years. There are major two reasons for this: Firstly, the main leadership, esp Prachand-Baburam turning to be traitors and renegades to spoil the revolution by taking neorevisionist line in the then Communist Party of Nepal(Maoist) which was one of the major parties of the CORIM. Secondly, Revolutionary Communist Party, USA another major party of CORIM, trying to impose "New synthesis of Bob Avakian" as a guiding line of the RIM. First obstacle has been removed after we rebelled with the traitors and renegades and reorganized the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist. But the other problem still remains.

The other initiative of forming another centre of Maoist at the international level, International Conference of the Marxist-Leninist Parties(ICML), at the initiative of Communist Party of India (Maoist) and Communist Party of Philippines, has also become defunct and passive. In the given situation, it has become a major responsibility of all Maoist parties to move forward to forge a unified centre of Maoists by uniting genuine Maoist parties of the world. Our party has taken decision to play active role to forge the international centre. We have already started our initiative in this regard. It is very important but complicated task. It takes time to get substantive result.

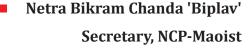
# 11. What message do you like to convey to hosts of well-wishers and sympathisers of CPN-Maoist at home and abroad, who like to see the party to move enthusiastically and with vigour to fulfill the remaining task of revolution?

**C. Gaurav**: It is true that hosts of our sympathisers and well-wishers were disappointed and had become desperate when Prachnda-Baburam neo-revisionist group had betrayed the revolution. They are becoming enthusiastic and hopeful after we rebelled from the renegade group and reorganized our party, Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist. It is very positive development. At this moment we can say that we will remain firm to achieve the goal for which Maoist party was formed. We will move forward to achieve the remaining task of the revolution taking into consideration of the latest developments.

At present the struggle for change has been concentrated at the point of so called "election". We have put forward concrete demands of: withdrawal of "25 points announcement of removing difficulties", withdrawal of "11 point agreements", removal of Khilraj led party less government. All decisions from round table meeting of political parties. If the demands are not fulfilled there is no other option except to actively boycott the "election" and completely spoil it. We request all of our sympathisers and well-wishers at home and abroad to support party strongly in the coming days.

June 25, 2013

# "Unique Revolution" and the question of New Democratic Revolution





With the failure in the revolution, several of the questions and suspicions have been raised on the forthcoming revolution and the revolutionary leaders. It is the responsibility of the leaders to address and response on such questions and suspicions. They need to response them not only for the single time, but time and again. Several of the questions and doubts have been raised on the Nepalese revolution because of the deviation of Prachand-Baburam and adverse circumstances befallen on the Nepalese Revolution. Several of the statement on the revolutions have been raised: "No-longer the former mode of revolution is possible in Nepal", "The former mode of people's revolution and armed struggle is not possible", "We need not think on running the revolution in the traditional method", "The revolution should be thought to be launched in the unique method" and so many others. We Maoists should give its correct answer.

Generally, several of such propagation and logics have been raised from the side of reactionaries, revisionist and parliamentary parties and groups. Similarly, these baseless assumptions raised on the revolution are not new at the context of Nepal. Such logics have been appeared, at the time, when the revolutionaries have been trying their best to practically implement the principles of the revolution, emphasizing on the class struggle and armed struggle. In the history, Dr. Kesharjung Raimajhi, the then general secretary of CPN, went to the side of palace in 1962 AD, using his fictitious logic that revolution is not possible just imitating the foreigners and thinking in the traditional way. The same logic was used to insult the 'Jhapa-Insurgence' of 2028, and the then CPN (ML) deviated to be CPN(UML) with its principle of 'Multiparty People's Democracy'. At the time, of 1996 AD, when CPN (Maoist) announced to launch the People's War, some of the 'communists' forwarded their logic- 'The revolution is not possible just with mechanical imitation of Chairman Mao, or forcefully imposing politics of weapon upon the people', 'Working for revolution is good, but is should be launched with the unique method taking the global circumstances and specialties of Nepalese society into consideration. Even in the struggle after the April movement in Nepal (of 2006AD) similar logic has been put forward, just to enter into the parliamentarianism. With the help of this same logic, many of the small and split- groups of communist party have been fallen down into the parliamentarianist,

capitalist and revisionist deviation. Now, when the CPN (Maoist) has been reorganized and preparing for the armed struggle, same logic has been raised again—"Revolution is not possible in the traditional method it should be launched in the new way". The reactionaries, parliamentarianists, and reformists have been rumoring such fictitious confusion, and the rightist-surrenders are at its helm. Sometimes, the impact of such logic is so intensive that, even the comrades of the revolutionary line might be pushed into the confusion.

The underlying intention after their forcefully raising such logic is completely unexpected and different one. First CPN-(Maoist) has participated in the peace-process post-poning the people's war, and the country is in the transitional phase. Second, the parliamentarianist parties as Nepali Congress and CPN (UML) have hatched the conspiracy upon the issues of the people's war, which were settled at the peace process. Third, one of the groups of the leadership of CPN (Maoist) has been deviated from the revolutionary spirit and has surrendered in front of the reactionary state and foreign masters. Fourth, because of this deviation, CPN (Maoist) has been divided and the party has been reorganized as the CPN-Maoist. This reorganized party has approved its party line: **People's Revolt on the foundation of People's War.** Sixth, Nepalese revolution and counter-revolution have been facing each-other, and the masters of the old state have known this truth. In conclusion, a futile effort has been made to liquidize the Great People's War in the conspiracy of the reactionary and surrendering elements.

The history has imparted the revolutionary of this time to bear up the responsibility of launching the people's war forward correcting all of these conspiracies and deceptions. From this perspective, these logics and propaganda—"The revolution in Nepal is not possible in the traditional method", "The traditional method of People's War, or the armed struggle is not possible", "The revolution of Nepal should be launched forward in unique way" are evil and ill-intended targeting against the renovated propagation of the revolution.

The evidence of the history say that, same logic was used even at the case of the Russian Revolution and Bolshevik Party of Lenin. This logic was widely raised just after the failure of the revolution of 1905 AD launched by Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin. All the opportunists and rightists were arguing that it was wrong to launch the revolution. Plekhanov in his note of decent, 'Herostretian', "Arms shouldn't have been raised". Lenin ' in his article 'Evaluation of Russian Revolution' has mentioned:

No one in Russia would now dream of making a revolution according to Marx... No one in Russia would now dream of making a revolution according to Marx... Today all and sundry are talking about the assimilation and critical evaluation of the experience of the revolution. Socialists and liberals talk about it. Opportunists and revolutionary Social-Democrats talk about it. But not all understand that it is between the two opposites above-mentioned that all the multiform recipes for assimilation of the experience of the revolution fluctuate. Not all put the question clearly: is it the experience of the revolutionary struggle which we must assimilate, and help the masses to assimilate, for the purpose of a more consistent, stubborn and resolute fight; or is it the "experiment" of Cadet betrayal of the revolution that we must assimilate and pass on to the masses?

Responding to those who have been crying, 'Revolution should not have been launched in Russia', Lenin told, Launching revolution was good, but certainly, there was some mistake, the revolution can be led to the success, correcting some of the mistakes there. Lenin wrote, "The struggle of December is the most essential, most valid, and largest proletariat struggle. Similarly, the working class of Russia, will be educated in similar ideologies, whatever the propaganda they have raised from the side of social democrats, however lauder the mourning they make." Lenin, on the weaknesses of the insurrection, has mentioned:

The struggle of December 1905 proved that armed uprising can be victorious in modern conditions of military technique and military organisation. As a result of the December struggle the whole international labour movement must henceforth reckon with the probability of similar forms of fighting in the coming proletarian revolutions. These are the conclusions which really follow from the experience of our revolution: these are the lessons which the broadest masses of the people should assimilate.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, negative propagation was raised at the context of Chinese Revolution and in the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It was mentioned over there – When the Chinese Revolution got failure, because of the leftist mistake of Li Li San in 1930 and others 'leftist' opportunist mistakes, not only the question was raised, but the pessimism on the revolution was widely spread. Addressing on such situation, Mao stated:

The Kuomintang's three "suppression" campaigns against the Chingkang Mountains was the high water mark reached by the counter-revolutionary tide. But there it stopped, and since then the counter-revolutionary tide has gradually receded while the revolutionary tide has gradually risen. Although our Party's fighting capacity and organizational strength have been weakened to the extent described by the Central Committee, they will be rapidly restored, and the passivity among comrades in the Party will quickly disappear as the counter-revolutionary tide gradually ebbs.<sup>3</sup>

Mao has mentioned that similar kind of difficult situation was seen at the adversities, raised by the Japanese attack over China.

Every Chinese suffering from the disasters of the war and fighting for the survival of his nation daily yearns for victory. But what actually will be the course of the war? Can we win? Can we win quickly? Many people are talking about a protracted war, but why is it a protracted war? How to carry on a protracted war? Many people are talking about final victory, but why will final victory be ours? How shall we strive for final victory? Not everyone has found answers to these questions; in fact, to this day most people have not done so. Therefore the defeatist exponents of the theory of national subjugation have come forward to tell people that China will be subjugated, that final victory will not be China's. On the other hand, some impetuous friends have come forward to tell people that China will win very quickly without having to exert any great effort. But are these views correct? We have said all along they are not. However, most people have not yet grasped what we have been saying. This is partly

because we did not do enough propaganda and explanatory work, and partly because the development of objective events had not yet fully and clearly revealed their inherent nature and their features to the people, who were thus not in a position to foresee the over-all trend and the outcome and hence to decide on a complete set of policies and tactics.<sup>4</sup>

While at the process of giving solution to the problems seen in the revolution, giving the instances of Russia and China, the logics of several categories including old and new, traditional and unique, mechanical and creative have been raised, they have single gist, they are not ready to raise the challenge of the revolution at any cost. They admire the greatness of the revolution, but at deviated from the intensity of the war. From this perspective, several of such logics fabricated to show the adversity for the revolution, raised in the country and abroad both are baseless. While closely observing them:

**First,** the logic that the revolution is not possible from the traditional method is philosophically wrong. The logic, whether the revolution should be launched in the traditional method or new method should be searched for, is opposite to the Dialectical Materialist view and it is rather metaphysical. Dialectical Materialist view is scientific, because it believes that the society, state, politics and things all are in the incessant process of change. When each and every thing is in the motion, how can the revolution be old or new? Even if makes such logic, it is baseless and observes the things as the static and motionless situation. Even if one advocates against the law of change and innovation of the thing, it is the production of the ignorance. We should save our thinking from such logics which are against the true nature of the object.

**Second,** just talking for the genuine revolution keeping aside the truth, which political context the people's war or the people's insurrection are being launched in, are subjective and are against the materialism. Moreover, it is not to understand the alphabet of the political-line. Because, just discussion on this or that method of the revolution, without having the knowledge on the foundation of determining the party-line is being subjective and baseless, and it has no meaning on the revolution. When the party-line can't be objective, even if the party or leader orally makes leftist logic, is rightist in political doings.

Even today, we are at the stage of the New Democratic Revolution, where the comprador capitalist and feudal remainings should be solved the first. To say it more concretely, we are at the stage of converting the old state into people's state. In this sense, the partyline in Nepal, should be party-line of the People's War. However, because of the political transition of Nepal, and the crisis created by the deception of the parliamentarian parties of Nepal, the possibility of people's revolt has been created more. We need to take into consideration, if this crisis doesn't continue, the possibility of the revolt also doesn't continue. Therefore, the party-line People's revolt on the foundation of People's War is objective and scientific. Whatever the party-line is objective and true, that is unique as well. It is Marxism that combines objectivity and uniqueness. Separating them is opportunism.

**Third,** it is against Marxism to deviate from the objective foundation at the time of making party-line. We have not come to find new party-line renouncing the people's war or saying the people's war impossible while coming to the peace-process. Rather, we have

come here to complete the people's war, linking it with the city. However, the Prachand-Baburam clique dissolved the people's war and its foundations with a conspiracy. At this point, we need to pay out attention, that, they didn't say the people's war to be unnecessary and wrong, rather trying once for the people's revolt, if got failure, then giving continuity to the people's war. But when they deceived on it, two-line struggle was intensified in the party, and reorganization of the party itself became necessity. The revolutionaries here need to understand that we have not protested Prachand-Baburam not as the protest of the individual, neither is it because of our envy to their facility, status and emotional protest. It is clear like day-light truth that we have been separated from them, because, they had abandoned all revolutionary thought, politics, people, revolution and all. We want to complete and succeed the people's war not through the compromise, but through the people's pressure. Therefore, the party-line which was at the stage of implementation can certainly not be the out-dated party-line.

**Fourth,** it has already been proved that, the state of Nepal is impossible to convert from the parliamentarian politics. For the proletariat to lead the state-power, the PLA is essential and armed struggle is inevitable. The armed struggle signifies that it is the line of people's war, and the line of revolt. They are different forms of armed struggle. No other more unique formula can we get to dissolve the old state-power and give birth to the new state-power. Otherwise, talking for the unique revolution, being deviated from this truth is just an intention to deviate the expectation of the revolution to the world of imagination. Therefore, it can't be out-dated.

A question might be raised, whether the revolution can't be unique, objective and innovative? Certainly, it should be. There is no debate on it. The revolution of any country should match with the social, economic and political characteristics there. It should include the relationships of working class people and rulers, workers and masters, exploited and exploiters. Some of these factors of one country do not match with the next. In some of the countries, there is majority of the peasants; some others have the majority of the labors. In some parts the conflict between the peasants and landlord is the dominant, in some other parts, the conflict between employers and employee. In some part, the civil war is dominant, in some other parts, the struggle of the national sovereignty. In some country, the settlement of the people is unitary, in other country, there is multi-characteristics of the people.

Some countries have small geography, while others have large geography. Some have the feudalist mode of production, some others have the capitalist mode of production. While systematizing the revolution of the country, only after keeping such objective features of the country, we can determine the correct the party-line, strategy, tactics and work-plan. Only when we are able to identify the political and economic characteristics of the country objectively, we can prepare for the revolution accordingly. Then the party-line and guide-line automatically becomes the unique and determine the guideline of the revolution accordingly, and they become successful as well. However, if we just talk for the uniqueness of the revolution, and if we are not able to identify them objectively, the thought, party-line and work-plan can never be the genuine (new). While talking on the unique, whatever we talk on it, we can be unique only to that extent, which the law of class-struggle

of the society allows us. We can never achieve the absolute and abstract uniqueness away from class ideology and class-interest. Searching for the abstract uniqueness out off the class-interest is like trying to fly going against the law of gravity, which becomes the desire against the objective law.

Now, let's seen the uniqueness linking it with the absence of revolution at present—was the people's war conducted in Nepal not unique? Is this situation the result with the failure of the party-line of the people's war? Or have we come to this point while searching for the different and unique party-line? Do we need to have a separate party-line different from the people's-war, is it possible to achieve?

While observing it deeply, some people are bearing such of the thoughts. To some extent they have anarchism, which is utterly wrong. In our evaluation, the people's war launched in Nepal is unique and objective on the ground of class-struggle of Nepal. Second, we did not come to the peace-process because people's war was non-objective, and got failure, rather we have come to the peace-process to complete it rising into new height. For some years of the peace-process, we had thought—if possible making the radical change through this transition, otherwise, developing the people's war to the new height of people's insurrection. This policy is still correct. Third, we have not come to change the party-line seeing the people's war, impossible. We had come to this process with the conclusion that it is correct to capture the state-poser linking the rural people's war with the city.

Some of the leaders, particularly, Prachand and his accomplices, have been making fictitious logic that we have come to the peace-process after getting failure in the people's war, particularly, at the incident of **Khara**. It is utterly a deception to the sacrifice of the people. According to the data of our commander Comrades, about 85 percent of the battles we had fought were won. Only 15 percent of the battles were defeated. While seeing the casualties at the battle, keeping aside the case of the general public, the combatants of people's liberation army had very little loss. On the other hand, Chunwang Meeting held after the Khara incident, people's liberation army has been developed into the size of seven divisions and a military campaign has been launched forward to hit on the head of the old state just standing on its back. That campaign gained glorious success with its area raid from Palpa to Sunwal. If the battle was defeated or the people's war had been weak, why did Prachanda develop the PLA from three divisions to seven divisions? Why did he command thousands of PLAs to attack over the Army of the old state? But he can't answer such question, because these decisions made by him were nothing but dishonest and deception.

However, the reality is different. Since 2060 BS (2004AD) People's Liberation Army was at the stage of strategic counter offense, it was not been weak, rather it was being stronger and stronger. It is not our fictitious logic, rather it is the stated saying of Prachand. As it has been mentioned over there: "The divisions of People's Liberation Army, under all three command of the country, have achieved the series of the successful raid over the Royal army in the Terai and Higway, and contributed to raise the fortified war into a new height."..... "Based on several of our experience we can come to the conclusion that the first work-plan of the counter-offense has achieved the success fundamentally." Moreover, Prachand's evaluation the first planning the successful, postulating the second work-plan of the counter-offense and wrote on the military- target, "Trying to add four more divisions

in the structure of People's Liberation Army." similarly, "Emphasizing to develop insurrectional military through the process of the decentralized, fortified, mobile, and guerrilla actions." (Political Document of Chunwang CC Meeting)

The revolution in Nepal is inevitable, and they will be conducted in the unique way. However, that unique is not abstract, rather it is successfully completing the people's revolt on the foundation of people's war; it is unique in Nepalese context. Then we can argue, wasn't it the conclusion of Palungtar Plenum, wasn't it formulated by Prachand himself? We are not arguing here on the old and new. Our concern is whether the principle is objective, practical and correct or not. It can't be the old method just because **People's Rvolt on the foundation of People's War**, was mentioned in Palungtar Plenum at the presence of Prachanda.

It was objective party-line postulated with the objective of maintaining the party revolutionary, and to accomplish the revolution successfully with thoughtful planning. It was postulated with the objective of stopping Prachanda and Baburam's plot of dissolving the People's Liberation Army and submitting the weapon and completing the revolution protecting the People's Liberation Army, and it was true.

Therefore, the principle of **People's Revolt on the foundation of People's War** is not new. At this time, our People's Liberation Army has been dissolved and a large portion of weapon has been submitted. However, it's our concern to re-organize the dissolved People's Liberation Army, and completing the Physical preparation. We know it well that it is impossible to complete the people's revolt without the ground of people's war in Nepal. It is just waste of time to think the possibility of revolt in Nepal, without the relation of the decade-long people's war in Nepal and its impact, as well as its' achievement. In other words, it is being fictitious and Utopian Socialist to think the classical insurrection in Nepal like in Russia. It is utterly impossible. We need to understand that naturally our country needs to go through 'People's War'. However, at the special context of the present time, we are saying revolt, only in the sense that there is possibility of organizing the revolt in especial way, when the **Ten-Years' People's War** has achieved something. **People's Revolt on the foundation of People's War** is new and special synthesis of the revolution. This is the right way to understand it. Otherwise, people's revolt without people's war is nothing but fictitious imagination.

Some people are arguing the revolution can't move forward, and it can't earn the people's participation. Lenin has mentioned clearly, remembering the incident of 1905: "... on the day after the onset of the revolution in 1905, there was striking evidence, and there is still evidence, of the illusions of petty-bourgeois opportunism, which hoped to achieve a compromise without a struggle, feared a struggle and after the first defeat hastened to renounce its own past, poisoning the public atmosphere with despondence, faint-heartedness and apostasy." <sup>5</sup>

Clarifying the reality that after the petty-bourgeoisie set back from the revolution, and they deceived it, the responsibility of the labors has increased on it: "And therefore on the Russian working class there has devolved with particular force the task of preserving the traditions of revolutionary struggle which the intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie are

hastening to renounce, developing and strengthening these traditions, imbuing with them the consciousness of the great mass of the people, and carrying them forward to the next inevitable upsurge of the democratic movement."

Moreover, reenergizing those who were discouraged seeing the failure of the revolution, Lenin wrote with full confident to the revolution: "The factory owners have taken away what we won, the foremen are once again bullying us, just wait, 1905 will come again....Just wait, 1905 will come again. That is how the workers look at things."

In his article 'Problems of strategy in China's revolutionary War', Mao has clearly mentioned emphasizing on the believe to the revolution and seeing the possibilities: "The revolution got failure, the deception of the capitalist in power was its primary cause, and the opportunists at the helm of the revolution deliberately left the leadership of the revolution."

Emphasizing on the inevitability of the possibility of the revolution, Mao clarified more in the article: 'Problems of strategy in China's revolutionary War' that "Some of the comrades of our party have yet not understood correctly, how to make correct analysis of the present context, and how to analyze them. Though they believe on the inevitability of the revolutionary upheaval, but don't believe it will be soon".

Mao had strong belief on the revolution, with a saying that 'A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire' and wrote: "We have also known that the outbreak of the revolution is essential against the Imperialist war-lords and land-lords. It will soon be appeared. Whole china is like the pile of dry firewood, it will set fire soon."

Clarifying the victory of the revolution, stated in his famous article 'On Protracted War', "We can take all afore-said as the political and military short-sightedness. Though appeared most appropriate they are void and baseless. Throwing the void thinking into the garbage and running the revolution in the right way is to lead the revolution to the success."

Let's talk on the possibility of the revolution of our country. Will the revolutionary force, class or community get confused; just bear the meaningless life, just searching for confused 'new' monolithic insurrection? It is far from truth. The people will directly participate at the revolutionary process, so far analyzed and objectively proved true. They will move forward to the direction, from where the suppression over them can be finished. The relatively true and objective way for this is nothing but **People's Revolt on the foundation of People's War**. In the countries like ours, we can say it the strategic counter-offense.

When the political, economic, and social relationship of Nepal accepts the people's war and the objective party-line of the **People's Revolt on the foundation of People's War** at the special present context, and adapts them, we can slam on those who have escaped away from the revolution saying, "Those who have been protesting against the people's war, those who are saying **People's Revolt on the foundation of People's War** the old, those who have been rumoring the confusion among the people, please just wait for a short while, wait that time, the upheaval is very near in Nepal, the **People's revolt on the foundation of the People's War** is inevitable. That revolt will wipe-away all the decep-

tions, all the ill-intentions, all the hypocrisies, and opportunist rumors, and would lead the people to the great victory of the history. It will complete the pious desire of the liberation, independence and transformation of the Nepalese people.

(It is the slightly edited version of the article "Maulik Kranti' Ra Nepalma Nayan Janawadi Krantiko Prashna" ("Unique Revolution" and the question of New Democratic Revolution) published in the Nepalese Vernacular Magazine **Communist Outlook**. Thanks friend Shusil Bhattarai for the English translation.)

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#### **Endnotes**

- 1 V.I. Lenin: Collected works, V 15, 4th edition (Masco: Progress Publishers, 1963), p.55/56.
- 2 Lenin- ibid, P. 60.
- 3 Mao tse-Tung: 'A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire', **Selected Works of Mao-tse Tung**, Vol 1, 2nd edition, (Peking: Foreign Language Press: 1967), p.127/128.
- 4 Mao tse-tung, 'On Protracted People's war' **Selected Workas** of Mao Tse-tung, Vo. 2.( Peking : Foreign Language Press, 1967), p.114.
- 5 Lenin: Opcit, p 52.

### On the policy of the special right to Dalits

■ Tilak Pariyar

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On the general context of the South Asia and special for Nepal, Dalit problem exists as the specific problem. There have been different of opinions on viewing, understanding and transforming the problems of Dalit. It is quite necessary to elaborate, analyze and synthesize the origin, evolution, historical background, reason (even in the 21st century era of information technology) and resolution of the problem on the basis of dialectical materialism. It is going to be 25 centuries, approximately, of inventing Varna system. For this long period, the large section of the historical working class never got opportunity to be alive with human dignity and self respect. They were driven backward from all sectors of life. They were disregarded from fundamental right including political, economic, social rights. Hundreds of the generations of Dalits had to bear loss. Without the compensation, there is no possibility to arise them equal to other communities. Only the theory of proportional inclusion, which was developed on the basis of absolute equality, can't solve the problem, but additional special rights should be provided according to the theory of compensation, which can maintain the relative equality. An apparent theoretical perception about it needs to be come out.

#### Historical Background of the Origin of Dalits

There were clannish societies once upon a period of the evolution of the society and none had special right. No religion, caste, family, private property and state had been originated. When the society was transformed from matriarchal to patriarchal, mode of production developed, private property and class were originated. After the class division between laborers and looters of others' toil and property, the class struggle was started. Class struggle was recognized as the driving force of the history. As a creation of the class struggle, the state power and the special power were created as a means of dictating one class by another. Whichever class occupies the state power that rules and mobilizes the state power in favor of its own class interest. That's why; it is not possible for the total abolition of Dalit problem without the access of Dalit community to the ideology, politics and the state power.

In the past, during the process of social evolution, cattle keeping, social work division related to cultivation and handicraft, private property, rise of the class and the state power, hereditary right system became the foundation of the feudalistic system. Religion was not invented until that time. Indigenous people were animist. When the Aryans entered

into the Indian sub-continent from North West, the aboriginal Dravids had been inhabiting and constructing infrastructures in the Indus valley (Mohenjo Daro and Harappa) and the Gangetic plain. Aryans started to invade to their lands. Dravids lost the war and were turned into slaves. After the permanent occupation of Aryans, the Hindu religion was invented from the Indus valley. Social Work Division, Varna system and Hindu religious tradition were established on the light of the Hindu ideology. In which, the Varna system of Brahmin, Kshetri, Vaishya and Shudra castes were classified as well as their limitations, duties and responsibilities.

#### Creation of the Shrudra division

The people, who were alienated to the hierarchy of Shudra, are today's so-called Dalits. Those people were alienated into the Shudra, who were defeated by Aryans, hard toiling Aryan working men with nothing except their hands, dissident Aryans, sentenced by rulers etc. These people were treated as untouchable and discriminated by caste on the basis of theories of Manu Smriti, which was created by the synthesis of Hindu religious ideology. By the time, it became a sharp weapon to extend the Hindu feudalism and establish the work division. The Brahmanist State Power is protecting it directly or indirectly. It's not only the social and cultural problem but also connected with the question of politics and power. Dalit problem is established as a different form and a continuation of class discrimination. In the other hand, this community is proved as the historical proletarian class by the facts of being property less by 90% of the community and living on their own toil most of the life period.

Although they seem near to the modern proletarian class in material life and near to the rural proletarian class by ideologically and practically but the correct and scientific terminology, for them, is historical proletarian class. In the beginning, there was the provision of upgrading in the caste hierarchy of Varna system. Therefore, some small handicraft industries were about to develop. So it is true that some of Dalits got opportunity to develop the handicraft industries. As the remnant of it, Dalits are in handicraft works of Sewing, work of smith, making musical instruments, leatherwork, bamboo work and so on. But it is clear that more than 90% of Dalit community are living as house servant, herdsman, tiller, daily wage worker, Adhiya Bataiya, agricultural worker and servicing for the elite class including Brahmin, Kshetri, Vaishya. Maximum merit of Dalits meets with the modern proletarian and less demerit meet with lumpen proletarian. Special priority should be granted to develop in theoretical, ideological and political sectors to transform it.

#### **State and Dalit**

Access of Dalits to the State and political power is the prime means of their economic and social progress. To talk less than that is nothing more than serving status quo. Therefore, participation to all organ, body and sector of the state power is not sufficient but the compensation for the historical oppression should be granted as the additional special right. The matter of special right without full proportionality would be "reserved quota". Electoral democracy (Bourgeois Parliamentarian Democracy) is ready to provide reservation quota instead of full proportional representation on the basis of population, which

has being practiced in neighbouring country India for 63 years. That has not succeeded to resolve basically the Dalit problem.

Today's, there are two types of democracy, first one is the parliamentarian democracy established after the termination of feudal totalitarian in European and American countries in 18th century which is known as Westminster system and the another is democracy obtaining people's dictatorship led by proletarian class and established in the light of MLM during 20th century. The bourgeois democracy based on the slogan of equality, liberty and fraternity is now slide down to the electoral democracy and transformed to the means of validating the license of oppressing, cheating and conspiracy.

Theoretical fundamentals of liberty, equality and fraternity defined by the French revolution are now proved to be show tusks of elephant. Nepal's Constituent Assembly-Legislative/parliament is the fresh example. The finest CA, so called, of the world, which had two third majority (466 among 601 seats) of the representatives of minorities, margin-alized community including women, Dalits, indigenous nationalities, Madheshis, Muslims etc, couldn't get the right to make the decision. The CA-legislative/parliament was dissolved from outside without tabling the draft of the constitution and disputed matters to the methodology and process of the house. Lenin's quotations were proved that the bourgeois parliamentarian democracy is a gossiping shop and as a show tusks of the elephant, dogs meet shop by hanging goat's head.

People's democracy was practiced for 70 years then in the USSR. Same as, after the Chinese democratic revolution in 1949, the minorities were provided special rights including the right to representation by 20% when they were only 6% of the population. These achievements prove that only in the people's democracy additional special right can be arranged including proportional representation. Lenin says, "Only after the full liberation to all alienated, oppressed and discriminated class, proletarian class gets liberation." Without the leadership of the proletarian class, in the age of imperialism and proletarian revolution, it is impossible for liberation of oppressed and discriminated class including Dalit, women, indigenous nationalities, Madheshis, Muslims. Past experiences had proved that after the equal competition among unequal, the weaker side like Dalit, women, oppressed class always should face the defeat. Thus the Westminster system (Bourgeois Parliamentarian Democracy) establishes the capitalist dictatorship. This circulated indifference, abhorrence and distrust among the people, then the capitalist rulers invented the theory of positive discrimination (affirmative action). It is clear that bourgeois class adopted the policies including reservation on the basis of that invention.

Democracy of the proletarian class doesn't accept this policy, but emphasis on making free and rightful the all by materialist and objective necessity of the history. The state power should compensate the historical oppression on behalf of the class society, which oppressed the Dalits imposing inhumane discrimination to the hundreds of generations and thrust backward in all sectors of political, economic, social lives. For that, it shall be justice to concretize the special right on the basis of the theory of the compensation.

## Party Reunification: A Designed Rumor

Rishi Raj BaralCentral Committee Member, CPN-Maoist



Recently, particularly after the formation of Khil Raj Regmi government, the Prachand-Baburam neo-revisionist clique named as UCPN-Maoist is spreading the rumor of party unification and the 'big print medias' along with the medias close to Prachand-Bauram are frequently circulating the news about the reunification between CPN-Maoist and UCPM (Maoist). It was/is natural to become this issue an issue of hot debate. It produced a lot of curiosity and confusion within the party cadres and outside also. The velocity of rumor was so high that Party Chairman Comrade Kiran released a press statement clarifying the situation, projected by the evil elements.

The question of party unification is a natural and relentless process. There always remains the possibility of unification with those party and organizations, which are close in ideology and politics. To wage the high level of class struggle it needs a revolutionary party, people's army, a strong united front and unity with the justice loving people. This is the basic guideline of Marxism.

Party unification is a charming and pleasant feeling word. But it is not the question of personal interest, it does not depend upon one's want and wish. The ideological and political question play the vital role in this regard. There is no any confusion to initiate the process of unification with the true followers of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is known to all that without the arm struggle, particularly without following the Protracted People's War, we can't achieve the goal of the New Democratic Revolution. This is the fundamental question concerning the party unification. And it is also true that at present, most of the party cadres and leaders of CPN-Maoist want a strong united front, rather than the party unification.

Regarding this issue, a committee has been formed in the leadership of Comrade Gaurav. Talk has been done with Matrika Yadav and Mani Thapa groups and the NCP( Unified) led by Pari Thapa. But there are some vital ideological issues to be solved. Without solving the ideological issues we cannot move forward. This is the spirit of the 7th National Congress and the lesson given by our party history. So far it is concerned about the unification with UCPN (Maoist), it has not become the issue of main concern in our party. In fact, this issue has not got any space and time within CPN-Maoist.

But there is another side also. Regarding the issue of reunification with

UCPN(Maoist) some medias have circulated the news and views referring the authentic and reliable source. They have mentioned time and date and the name of the leaders involved in the 'unification process'. In the 7th National Congress most of the party delegates raised the question regarding the class character of Prachand-Baburam clique. They were not satisfied with the Party document that mentioned UCPN (Maoist) as a neorevisionist party. The major voice of the delegates was that the UCPN (Maoist) should be pronounced as the neo-reactionary party. In fact, in which direction the UCPN (Maoist) was/is running, there should not be any confusion and hesitation to pronounce it as a neoreactionary party.

After the Hetaunda National Congress, UCPN (Maoist) came in its real position. Everything came into light, there was nothing to conceal. Regarding the issue of border 'dispute', in fact it is not the dispute, but occupying the Nepalese land by Indian expansionism, Prachanda in his document, announced—"final shape through referendum." We all know, India is presently occupying 60 thousand hectares of Nepali landmass at 71 different locations along the border. Likewise, after Hetauda Congress UCPN (Maoist) formally converted itself into a parliamentary party, abandoning the line of state capture by armed force. UCPN (Maoist) abandoned the significance of New Democratic Revolution and advocated the role of 'peaceful election' and multiparty system—a bourgeois system.

Day by day Indian hegemony is increasing in each and every aspect of Nepalese society. Since 1990 more than 4.5 Million Nepali citizenship certificates have been distributed to the Indian nationals, by the puppet governments of Nepal. In such a critical situation no one can imagine the process of referendum to solve the border 'dispute'! But it has been done by Pushspa Kamal Dahal, Chairman of UCPN (Maoist). What a matter of irony! Not only this, a recently written condolence letter to Sonia Gandhi, regarding the May 25 daring attack by PLGA of CPI (Maoist) in Chhatisgarh India, Prachanda, has proved himself as a real traitor and the enemy of the oppressed people of the world. In such situation, how can a revolutionary party like CPN-Maoist, takes the initiation for the reunification with the party lead by Prachanda! To think about the reunification with UCPN(Maoist) means to betray the Nepalese revolution and to cheat the oppressed people of Nepal.

At present, our party is moving ahead along with other 33 parties against the Regmi government-backed by the American imperialism and the Indian expansionism. The main concern of CPN-Maoist is how to sharpen the struggle against the reactionary forces inside the country and abroad. We are aware of that the neo-reactionary clique want to play the dirty games within CPN-Maoist. The reactionaries forces inside the country and abroad want to ruin our party and the neo-reactionary clique is assisting them as the tool. In such situation, there is no time and space to talk with the neo-reactionaries, regarding the party reunification.

Prachanda is a man of corrupted mind. He has gun far away from the lively support of the oppressed people. Only a few corrupted persons have accompanied with him. A huge number of Nepalese people always discard him as a conspirator and a traitor. In fact, these days, Prachanda is facing numerous problems inside the party and outside, and to get rid from it, he is crying for the reunification between UCPN (Maoist) and CPN-Maoist.

In our 7th National Congress one of the main issue of debate and discussion was the evaluation of the party history. We critically and analytically reviewed the party history and came into conclusion that there existed some serious mistake and shortcomings in the process of party unification, particularly unification with the Unity Center (Mashal), led by Narayan Kaji Shrestha—the most opportunist man. In the current juncture, we must be careful about the hidden agendas launched by our enemies. We are not in the position to slay the dream of our great martyrs. We are not in the position to play the suicidal games.

Recently, Comrade Kiran has released a press statement clarifying the issue of reunification with UCPN (Maoist):

A serious attention has been drawn towards the media reports referring to the reunification between our party CPN-Maoist and the UCPN (Maoist), are totally false and fabricated. It is known to all that ideologically, politically and in party line, program, behavior and in policy these two parties are running in exactly opposite directions, with their own separate political lines. It is clear that the Prachanda-Baburam faction has committed serious treachery against their own country and betrayed the people and they have already surrendered themselves to the imperialists and Indian expansionists. In this situation, there is no question thus to unite with the compradors and the traitors. We want to make public the fact that we have never talked with the UCPN (Maoist) about party unity and we have not taken any decision regarding that.

It is not just the hasty answer to those, who are circulating fabricated news and making rumors, it is also the guideline to all party cadres and leaders. It must be grasped with high revolutionary enthusiasm.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that we must grasp the spirit of our 7th National Congress. It is the need of the time to move forward in the direction of the New Democratic Revolution. Revolutionaries should not spoil their time in such worthless activities. Running hither and thither and doing worthless gossip is just to destroy ourselves.

June27, 2013

(This is the latest press statement by CPI (Maoist). We are publishing this statement for the public awareness. Source: www.bannedthought.net)



# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MAOIST) CENTRAL COMMITTEE

### **Press Release**

June 11, 2013

See through the conspiracy of the ruling classes to launch bigger offensives on the people using the 25 May attack as a pretext Unite, Fight back and Defeat the 'War on People'

The gangster community that made Indian Parliament its lair is in panic. Terrified. Aflutter. Seething. Fuming. Up in arms. Baying for blood. Baring its fangs. Spitting poison. After all the May 25 Jeeramghati attack struck down one of their best trusted lieutenants in field. Ouite Understandable.

Actually speaking, the scamster-gangster bunch does not care much for Mahendra Karma's death because they knew that this was something waiting to happen even when they were carrying on mayhem and murder under Salwa Judum (SJ) which they all had contributed to create or let pester like senators watching gladiatorial contests in amphitheaters, with Karma as SJ's public face and with the support of fascist central and state mercenary armed forces. They are frightened more because in this country where every kind of exploitation, oppression, suppression, corruption and scam is carried on almost unchallenged, as the order of the day and shamelessly under public gaze, the fact that somebody 'out there' can bring these fascist scamster-gangsters to book and deliver justice is not so easy to stomach. It is like finding oneself completely naked and vulnerable with all robes of Z plus securities and paraphernalia of security suddenly vanishing into thin air with the fury of the suppressed masses breathing down their necks. Highly explicable. A strong reason to be upset.

Who knows who will be next? More chillingly, what would be in store if people completely vexed with the increasingly unbearable treacherous, undemocratic, slavish and wicked anti-people deeds of the pet-dog politicians choose to consider this as an option to vent their ire to put an end to their habitual comprador performance? Even worse, what if they consider doing away with the whole bunch by overthrowing the parliamentary system as the Maoists vouch to and call upon the people to follow? Very worrying indeed.

And for once it is better that they be. They better understand that not every politi-

cian can get away with the kind of neo-fascist suppression of the poorest of the poor of this country that was perpetrated in the name of a Salwa Judum, a Sendra, a Shanti Yatra, a Shanti Sena, a Harmad Bahini, a Bhairav Bahini, a TPC or an Operation Green Hunt, can get away with selling the riches of our country one by one as a daily routine at breakfast, lunch and dinner to fill the insatiable black-hole belly of the imperialist beast, can get away with turning every word that gives meaning to our existence as human beings like freedom, independence, sovereignty, self-reliance and democracy meaningless. They better realize for the umpteenth time (counting all such instances since the days of a Spartacus) that a people crushed so cruelly can never take everything lying down forever. For once it is better that they be alarmed.

Karma, a medieval type land lord, architect of SJ, looter, sadist, rapist and enemy of his own tribe; most of his security men, cannon fodder but undoubtedly deployed to aid in his mayhem and massacre; some SJ leaders; and some top Congress leaders were wiped out in the 25 May incident. Unfortunately a few others who got caught in the initial firing also died in spite of our sincere efforts to minimize the casualties once the main targets were caught and Comrade Gudsa Usendi, the Spokesperson of our Party's DK unit had already tendered apology for it. The list of brutalities perpetrated by Karma and his ilk could fill many a volume. Though not all, many of them have been documented in detail by the CPI (Maoist), revolutionary and democratic mass organizations, civil and human rights organizations, democrats, journalists and concerned citizens for all those who want to see. There is no purpose to the various conspiracy theories doing their rounds in the media about the reasons for this attack other than diverting the people's attention from the truth. An unabashed conspiracy by the corporate media to hide the truth about the brutality of the SJ and the role of the Indian Army, big corporate houses, central and state governments, the Congress and BJP parties and slaughterers like Karma in its creation and developing it into a man-eating monster. Such is its impatience to get rid of the Maoists that it did not even take into account that SJ was termed illegal by their own highest institution the Supreme Court. And all of them including Jairam Ramesh have once again repeated the most nonsensical and exhausted argument of 'sandwich theory' that Adivasis are being crushed between the armed forces on one side and the Maoists on the other. If they really believe in this then why don't they demand first that the armed forces deployed in lakhs by the central and state governments be immediately withdrawn when they are agreeing that they suppress Adivasis? Their lies fly in their face with the fact that the overwhelming majority of Maoists are Adivasis in the strong areas of the movement. Our Party reiterates that we never work against the interests of the people. It is solely the ruling classes and their forces that suppress the people and our Party fights it back.

Let all the people's enemies face the truth – the plain simple naked truth. Our Party and the PLGA defend the right of the people to defend themselves from oppressors and looters and on May 25 our brave PLGA guerillas led the people from the front to eliminate one of the arch enemies of the revolutionary people of India, particularly Dandakaranya people and more particularly Bastar people and some other people's enemies as part of their broader resistance to big landlords and corporate exploitation and loot. And we take this occasion to deafeningly declare one more time that our PLGA would continue defending the people and their right to defend themselves and would lead them from the front as

long as government forces, state-sponsored vigilante gangs and class enemies continue their 'War on People'. For, the oppressed have nothing without the People's Army.

This is as much as the 25 May incident is concerned. But what we really want to draw the attention of the people to is the perplexing way in which democracy comes up for discussion only when such attacks happen. Isn't it too much of an oddity that it becomes the rarest of the rarest available commodity in the market square of the Parliament and is up for sale only when the toiling masses do a Bhagat Singh in some remote corners of our country? In fact, we are also weary of the manner in which we Maoists also make headlines only during such incidents. So for a change, why don't we look at what is happening as a routine in our daily lives to make democracy or Maoism a topic of everyday relevance?

True to its social fascist character the CPI (M) politburo demanded "firm action" to put an end to "these Maoists depredations" and urged "all democratic forces to fight the politics of violence by the Maoists" and all the major political parties from Congress and BJP to SP and JD (U) went over the top in condemning this attack without speaking a single word about the actual reasons behind it. Corporate media was at its lying best and bayed for the blood of the Maoists more than any other so-called democratic institutions, bootlicking scoundrel that it is. The meeting on internal security with the Chief Ministers and the later all-party meeting both held in the aftermath of the 25 May incident described it as a "direct attack on democracy and freedom". The CMs unanimously declared – "We strongly disagree with the ideology of the Maoists. They want to overthrow parliamentary democracy and Constitution of India through violent means... this must be resisted with all our might." They resolved "to use all legitimate means at their disposal" to counter the activities of the CPI (Maoist) and barked that they would not tolerate it or compromise about it.

"We appeal to the youth of the affected states to give up violence and pursue their goals through legitimate and democratic means. We assure them that we are sensitive to their concerns and will make every effort to bring them into the mainstream of social and political life," the resolution added. The same feeling was expressed at the all-party meeting.

Democracy? Freedom? Whose and what for? Better ask the women who were raped/gang raped and/or killed and the children who have been witnessing and are even victims of atrocities/massacres that are being committed by vigilante gangs like SJ and armed forces on their families and villages what these hollow words mean. The only democracy we see is democracy for the looters to hand over the riches of our country for peanuts to the imperialists and crave for their share in the remains. The only freedom we see is that of the armed forces to loot, destruct, rape, massacre and forcefully displace the oppressed masses for the interests of the imperialists, comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie (CBB) and the big land lords. The Indian Parliament is one of the most rotten institutions in the world that allows and facilitates all this in the name of 'democracy and freedom'. So what's wrong in wanting to or calling upon to overthrow an institution that led the people of our country since six decades into a dark tunnel with no egress leaving no option but to destroy it? Have you not taught in schools that democracy is by the people, for the people and of the people? Then do the people not have a right to reject it or even overthrow it when it exists and works exactly to harm their interests? Leave aside attacks like a Tadimetla or

a Jeeramghati. They are tactics and an inevitable part of people's resistance when lakhs of forces get deployed with huge gear of modern weapons to repress them as mentioned above. Don't reduce our political line and praxis to such attacks. CPI (Maoist) is a political party with a clear cut scientific ideology - Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, political line and political programme that would lead to the establishment of genuine democracy for the people of our country. Whoever wants to talk or write anything about Maoists better go through it first before labeling us with various names like terrorists, left wing extremists etc.

Briefly, it states - India is a semi-colonial semi-feudal country; the targets of our revolution are imperialism, the comprador bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism exploiting and oppressing the people of our country and are to be overthrown through New Democratic Revolution (NDR) to establish a People's Democratic Federal Republic. Contradiction between feudalism and broad masses is the principal contradiction at present. During the process of resolving this contradiction through the armed agrarian revolution, which is the axis of the new democratic revolution, that is, protracted people's war, the resolution of other contradictions will be facilitated. The semi-colonial semi-feudal character of Indian society determines that the Indian revolution would have to pass through two stages. The task of first stage is to change the semi -colonial, semi -feudal society into an independent new democratic society through the resolution of the two fundamental contradictions of the present Indian society, i.e. the contradiction of the Indian people with imperialism and the contradiction of the broad masses with feudalism. Again, in its continuity, the task of second stage is to establish the socialist system and continuing the revolution advancing towards communism on the world scale. This new democratic state will be the people's democratic dictatorship exercised by the united front comprising the proletariat, peasantry, petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie class under the leadership of the proletariat based upon the worker-peasant alliance. The state will guarantee real democracy for the vast majority of the people while exercising dictatorship over the tiny minority of the exploiters. This new democratic revolution will bring national independence uprooting the imperialist slavery, exploitation and control, and will establish the people's democracy uprooting the feudal autocracy.

Workers, peasants and urban poor who form the overwhelming majority of the population in our country are living in utter poverty as victims of hunger, disease, inhuman feudal-imperialist exploitation and oppression and they would be liberated from all these through NDR. It uproots the Brahminical feudal hierarchical inhuman caste system that kept crores of Dalits and other oppressed castes in suppression since centuries and the feudal and imperialist patriarchal social system that had been exploiting and oppressing half of the population i.e., women. It destroys the Hindu chauvinist domination that had been oppressing the religious minorities in our country particularly on Muslims and Christians. Vast majority of the Adivasis have long been deprived of their land and other traditional means of livelihood without providing any alternative and have been the major victims of 'development' and 'displacement'. They would live a life of dignity, freedom and self-reliance in a new democratic society. Present day India is a prison-house of nationalities. The New Democratic state would unequivocally recognize the right to self-determination of the nationalities including the right to secession and the New Democratic India would be

formed only with those states that voluntarily stay within it. The rotten, decaying, antidemocratic, anti-people, obnoxious semi-colonial and semi-feudal culture that is dominating all the spheres of our life would be destroyed. Hatred for labour, patriarchy, superstition, autocracy, imperialist slavery, national chauvinism, communalism, casteism, blind greed, self-centredness, consumerist culture, and perverted sex-centered ideology and culture would be ended. Feudal culture which is primarily the Brahminical caste-based culture of engrained superiority would be extinguished.

This state will try its best to peacefully and fairly settle border, water and other disputes with neighbouring countries and will develop friendly relations with them. This state will never exert any expansionist behaviour with the neighbouring countries. This People's Democratic State will establish unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations of the world; opposes imperialist war and aggression, bullying, subversion and interference etc. It will support and help by all means the revolutionary struggles and revolutionary war, especially the ongoing struggles under the leadership of various Maoist revolutionary forces against capitalism, imperialism and reaction the world over.

A succinct 25-point programme of the People's Democratic Federal Republic or New Democratic State is clearly laid down in the Party Programme of CPI (Maoist) for anybody who cares to go through it. Let any debates on Maoists center on it.

The ruling classes are appealing to the youth to give up violence and pursue their goals through legitimate and democratic means. Fair enough? Isn't it common sense that even to use 'legitimate and democratic means' you need some semblance of democracy at least? The workers organizations/trade unions, the peasant and agricultural laborer organizations, the women's organizations, cultural organizations, student and youth organizations and even children's organizations are banned. Voices of writers, cultural artistes, democrats, intellectuals and their organizations are stifled. Fundamental rights get curbed on a daily basis. Draconian laws are promulgated or updated in the footsteps of the colonialists with unfailing regularity in step with the intensifying repressive measures. Courts side with the big scamster-gangsters, treacherous politicians, smugglers and criminals, while political and social activists and innocent people are thrown into jails, maimed with tortures and put to death. This is what the youth of our beloved country with huge potential to develop our country into a genuine independent sovereign prosperous democratic state is going through. The lakhs of youth that have been murdered in cold-blood by the Indian security forces in Kashmir, North-East and in the vast rural tracts of Andhra Pradesh, Dandakaranya, Bihar-Jharkhand, Odisha, West Bengal, Maharashtra, UP, Karnataka, Assam, MP and other areas of revolutionary movement is the cream of present day India with independent creative thinking and productivity that is forming/joining democratic, national liberation and revolutionary organizations and parties to give a better shape to the future of our beloved country. The glaring fact is that youth have taken up arms as a historic task of the oppressed masses to shape their future with their own hands relying on their own strength and their own people only after decades of recurring and frustrating failure of the Indian State to respond to their usage of 'legitimate and democratic means' to gain their genuine demands and rights. Appealing to them to give up arms for 'legitimate and democratic means' is not only putting things upside down but also a cruel joke. Youth have not taken

up guns because they fancy them or in an atmosphere where there was no dearth of legitimate and democratic means or because they don't value democracy. It is quite the opposite. They are taking up guns because they want genuine democracy. Our NDR promises exactly that, which is the exact opposite of the present pseudo one.

The government that did not even mention basic concerns of the people like land, education, health etc in the CMs meet and the all-party meet is now announcing training programmes to train thousands of youth and particularly the Adivasis and women and is promising employment to at least half the trainees. This comes under the 'development' package (the other being the 'repression' package, the package of death and destitution with which the youth are more familiar in reality). You pull away the land from under their feet, displace them from their centuries old abodes, isolate them from their traditional means of living in forests and lands and then give just a few thousands of them training that does not really make them self-reliant, with false promises of jobs for even lesser number of people. What a convoluted concept of development! Low paid jobs for a tiny section even if provided would not be enough to fulfill the basic minimum needs of a family. With access to all traditional means of subsistence that were available while living in a forest cut off and the devaluation of the rupee, the situation turns even worse. The audacity with which the ruling classes declare that 'they are sensitive to the concerns of the youth' baffles. As all these are sham concerns the galloping rate of unemployment and underemployment becomes the ground reality. If they are really sensitive then why are PESA, 5th and 6th Schedules and FRA that the Indian Parliament had itself passed and are 'serious concerns of the youth' not being implemented? One must realize that all this is done as part of the psychological warfare against the Maoist Party to wean the youth away from it.

While the PM said government was willing to talk to all 'extremist groups' within the ambit of Constitution at the CMs meet, Home secretary RK Singh said there was no space for talks with Maoists after May 25 incident! So much for who decides such policies. However, our party had already several times in the past categorically stated our stand on going to talks with the government. We just want to draw the attention of the people and democrats who are advocating talks with the government or seize fire to the backdrop of such offers to judge for themselves the sincerity behind such offers - not a single day passes without some operation by armed forces being carried on in the Maoist movement areas to kill, destruct, torture and rape and several of our top leaders are languishing in jails in inhumane conditions since many years denied even basic amenities and bails.

Coming to the present context, the Indian ruling classes have already been making unprecedented preparations for another big offensive to finish off the Maoists but are now trying to use the 25 May incident as the pretext for it. The upcoming elections are another strong reason behind this intensification and expansion of OGH. And it is by now a well documented and well established fact that all this is being done to forcefully implement the various MoUs for mining and other 'development' projects in Adivasi areas. We appeal to one and all to see through the ploy and don't fall into the trap of thinking that incidents like May 25 are leading to more repression. In fact, massacres like in Edesmeta on May 17 where eight Adivasis including three children were killed by armed forces, just preceding it are part of the already intensified 'War on People'. Along with massacres, the new of-

fensive would mainly include air attacks, i.e. direct involvement of multiple units of helicopters of Indian Air Force and Unmanned Air Vehicles-Drones too. The Defence Minister said that Army would not be deployed but the fact is that the covert role of the Army has already increased manifold before and also after the May 25 attack. The preparations are on war footing like invading another country. The people of Edesmeta after the May 17 massacre put it poignantly – 'they want to finish us Adivasis off'.

On this occasion, we once again appeal to the people who are fleeing from their villages after fascist massacres like Sarkinguda, Edesmeta etc fearing complete extinction not to do so and to stand united under the leadership of Krantikari Janatana Sarkars to fight back the Indian state's offensive. The Party and PLGA vouch to defend you and your rights with our lives.

We appeal to the workers, peasants, students, youth, intelligentsia, democrats, women, Dalits, Adivasis and people of oppressed nationalities and religious minorities and all the organizations of these classes, communities and sections i.e., the vast masses of our country to see through the evil designs of the ruling classes, the arch lackeys of imperialists, particularly US imperialists that are once again uniting for another big offensive as part of the more cruel-inhumane-fascist War on People. Unite together as a mighty struggling force in an unprecedented and broadest possible manner to fight against it and to defeat the unjust war of suppression. Only by doing so we can march towards ending the ever threatening danger of the menace of state terrorism and achieving genuine democracy and real freedom and also save our youth – the most valuable treasure for the future of our country.

(Abhay)

Athay

Spokesperson,

Central Committee, CPI (Maoist)

### The Leaflet

# 1 July 2013 International Day of support to the People's War in India

In the anniversary of the martyrdom of comrade Azad, leader of the CPI(M), beloved by the revolutionary masses in India and the peoples in the world, all proletarian and anti-imperialist forces strengthen their support to the People's war and honour all the martyrs of the revolution. Nothing can subdue the fighting spirit of the revolutionary people of India and the CPI(M).



The Indian regime has unleashed suppression: murders, rapes, massacres - the infamous Operation Green Hunt - against the oppressed and fighting people of the country in general and the Adivasis in particular, against Maoist leaders and cadres, in order to crush the rebellion of people and stop the march of the People's War toward a New Democratic and anti-imperialist power.

But the people's war cannot be stopped. The people's war with an historic attack hit the political rulers responsible for inhuman atrocities and fascist terror against masses. Rulers in India were in the big illusion that they were unbeatable, but the People are invincible. People only are the makers of the history. Now more than ever the international support to the people's war cannot be stopped.

After the great international Conference in Hamburg on 24 November, an international day of support in various countries is launched on 1st July The people's war in India is our war against imperialism and our best support is to intensify the anti-imperialist struggle on world-level!

### International Committee to Support the People's War in India

## Solidarity with the Turkish Struggling People

(Our party CPN-Maoist and the oppressed people of Nepal, who are fighting against the reactionary government of Nepal, backed by American imperialism and Indian expansionism, would like to express strong solidarity with the oppressed Turkish people who are intensifying the mass movements against the Turkish reactionaries. The people of Turkey have raised the flag of revolt with a strong dedication against the puppet government the ruling class. The justice loving parties and oppressed people of all around the world are expressing their solidarity to the ongoing mass protests and occupy movement. Here are some statements supporting the Turkish Movement)



### 1.Lets Resist and Fight!

### Maoist Communist Party (MKP)-Turkey-North Kurdistan.

"As long as the masses are being tortured, shot down and massacred the Proletarian revolutionist's cannot be a bystander!" "The side by side struggle is growing with the resisting and rising masses!"

#### **To our Struggling Comrades!**

Those who should be leading, are acting as followers of masses today!

Communist and revolutionaries going through another exam today. This is the time for selfless struggle without dismissing the movement as self manifested. The definition of revolutionary movement or the revolutionary wave is the practice that masses exhibit.

Masses are revolutionary, their reaction is democratic, rebellion and uprising is legit! As our leadership role requires, we have to be in the front of the struggle with the masses even though it developed with our absence.

We will resist, struggle, and pay the price!

As long as the masses are being tortured, shot down and massacred, the Proletarian revolutionist's cannot be a spectator!"

#### To Our Valued Masses;

The masses who are filled with hate because of reactionary oppression and violence have shaken the ruling class and the Turkish Government.

The massive rising caused by destruction attempt of Gezi Park for the benefit of the bourgeoisie is moving forward.

Once again, the screaming masses have showed the neo-liberal bottom feeders that people can take their own fate into their own hands. AKP government's savage fascist oppression wasn't able to stop the resistance.

The masses continued to fight and wouldn't let go of their democratic requests even though they have been wounded, arrested, beaten and tortured.

Despite Turkeys sell out media and silence of bourgeoisie writers, the resistance was able to get the attention and support of the world.

Presence of enormous masses have become the nightmare for the AKP and reactionary and oppressive ruling class, who don't even recognize their own laws. On the firth day, the masses who started off with protesting destruction of the nature have turned into revolutionary and the masses claimed victory by forcing AKP to take a step back!

The reactionary, corporate, bureaucrat and bourgeoisie-feudal supporters of AKP have done their historical tradition and tried to surpass the democratic requests of the masses by using violence and bloodshed. On the contrarily the rising determent masses have caused the movement to grow and continue despite paying the price for it.

Thousands of people in dozens of different cities have united as one in the streets to join Taksim Gezi Park Resistance.

The history of reactionary classes have always been oppressing, exploiting the masses and its proper to cause any kind of pain to them. In order to keep their rule and their domination, they have never shied away from using reactionary violence against the oppressed and poor people.

The organized reactionary classes that are receiving the benefits of capitalism have always looked down upon the masses and caused them barbaric pains. They have pushed alienation toward proletarians and forced them to live in hunger and poverty. But the people have reminded the reactionary class that it is the people who are the real heroes and with their own fate in their own hands through revolutionary actions, they have caused system to be upside-down. Revolutionary masses have proven in unforgettable way that the mockery of the ruling class, such as "three five bare legged" and "looter" is baseless. This historical fact have materialized against fascist AKP through the resistance of the masses of ethnicities and marginalized groups in Turkey- North Kurdistan altogether!

AKP leader and "Turkish Republic" president Erdogan shamelessly and arrogantly insulted/humiliated the rising masses by claiming they are "dozens of looters". Even taking it further by threatening "As a party I can gather one million".

Unfortunately for him, once these "Bare legged looters" are awakened; threats nor blood stinking vampire fangs of yours will stop them!

The same warmongering two-faced Erdogan criticised Essad dictatorship for brutalizing its people, have sank low enough to call its own revolting masses "couple of looters".

What makes him so raged is nothing but the fear of its own people uprising!

Two-faced AKP government is using "priest-executioner" (Aztec Spanish massacre reference) tactics to suppress the fires of uprising while trying to please its own masses.

While Bulent Arinc, speaker of the government Cemil Cicek and couple of AKP mc have tried to soften the masses by telling them peoples request is democratic, Erdogan is not taking any step back by showing his fangs.

Proletarian and the masses are not gullible enough to fall for these tricks. All your tactics will hit that bronze wall of yours and shedder your power. Resistance is not over, it continues on. The nightmare of the reactionaries that called the masses "looters" will continue. Who is looter who is the hero has already been revealed and will continue to be revealed.

#### In Conclusion:

Us the proletarian revolutionaries are not absolving the bourgeoisie fascist parties such as CHP, MHP seeing the mass's democratic rebellion as a revolutionary reaction, and are greeting uprisings of all oppressed people.

We have vowed to fight the tyranny side by side with the masses as its our revolutionary duty!

With the same attitude, we are condemning the fascist torture and violence used against people, and forming a rank to oppose these fascist oppression. In order to accomplish more efficient, eligible and more organized revolutionary movement, with the leadership of proletarian we are calling all democratic and revolutionary powers to unite! For

this reason, alone we are calling all the Turkey- North Kurdistan proletarian, the oppressed poor people and the comrades to make war on the reactionary ruling class as well as the capitalist system.

We know that with our Peoples war and its blazing fire, we will be able to shatter this reactionary system. Rule of the people and building of socialism and finally communism will be accomplished through Peoples War!

It's our duty and necessity to wage revolutionary struggle by uniting rebellions of all the democratic and revolutionary masses with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism ideology under proletarian flag.

No obstacle can stand before the masses of people! Reactionary force will materialize the revolutionary one. The revolutionary force that materialized in the hand of masses is legit and necessary. Because it's the method that will stand against reactionary classes and lead to democracy, freedom and communist society.

The masses that unites, resist and fight will not lose.

Just like this one, all the reactionary forces and the classes that relies on it are condemn to lose sooner or later!

Its the revolutionary masses and their revolutionary actions that writes history!

Long live the legal- democratic resistance and the struggle of the people!

Long live the united revolutionary rebellion of the People!

Long live the peoples war!

June 3, 2013

## Long Live Turkey's Revolutionary Mass Movement

Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan

Turkey, the "island of stability" in the Middle East, has been engulfed by a storm. While almost all Arab countries in Asia and north Africa were inundated by the "Arab Spring", Turkey not only seemed stable, but its regime was viewed as a model of a "moderate and democratic" Islamic state worth replicating by the Islamists in Arab countries—particularly in Egypt and Tunisia.

The reactionaries in Arab countries and the American and European imperialists raised this model of Islamism in opposition to the Islamism of the al-Qaeda variety, as well as in opposition to the revolutionary movements in Arab countries, in order to mix

the religious sentiments of the masses in these countries in a blend of feudal-bourgeois compradorism dependent on, and in the service of, the interests of America and the west. The series of ongoing mass movements in Turkey began with a small spark. On May 28 a small collective of environmentalists peacefully protested the plans of the government of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) to demolish part of the Gezi park situated in Taksim square in Istanbul and transform it into a shopping-mall.

However, the repressive police force of the so-called democratic Islamist government of the AKP heavy-handedly suppressed this small and peaceful protest and on the night of June 1, attacking and burning the tents of the protesters. The masses in Istanbul from June 1 stood against this "democratic repression" and started a widespread protest movement. The repressive police force again cracked down on the demonstrators, wounding hundreds and maybe thousands of people. However, the series of demonstrations not only did not subside but spread to other cities in Turkey; several big trade unions, teachers, artists and many others have joined the movement.

Now the demands of the demonstrators has gone beyond the demands of the initial demonstration. Now they are demanding the resignation of the Prime Minister and the trail of the repressive police officers; even the apologies of the deputy Prime Minister has not been enough to calm down the protests. The obvious difference between the mass protest movement in Turkey and the protest movements in other Middle Eastern and North African countries is that the movement in Turkey is leftist and secular and the Islamist forces do not play a signficant role.

This movement has been ignited by environmentalists and supporters of the leftist movement in Turkey. Therefore, this movement can and should protect, even expand and deepen, its leftist and secular orientation, but on the condition that the leftist and communist forces, while struggling to preserve the movement's unity, should not forget their independent demands and slogans; they should strive for the further radicalization of the protest movement. This movement has the potential capacity to prepare the ground for a revolutionary movement capable of overthrowing the entire reactionary system in Turkey.

However, transforming this potential capacity into revolutionary activity is the duty and responsibility of concious revolutionary proletarians. Revolution will not materialize spontaneously without hard and continuous struggles and fights. The AKP has been in

power in Turkey for a decade; it is an Islamist party that acts in alliance and unity with (or, more accurately, in dependency and servitude to) western imperialists, particularly the American imperialists. The current government in Turkey not only acted in unity with NATO's onslaught in Libya, but it is also the main supporter of the insurgents dependent on the western imperialists in Syria.

This government has also participated in the imperialist invasion of Afghanistan: the Turkish presence in Afghanistan is not only the largest force of an "Islamic country" engaged in imperialist occupation, it also plays an important role in training the puppet regime's repressive police.

Therefore, we view and welcome the current mass protest movement in Turkey,

even at its current level, a movement towards weakening the regional gendarme of the western imperialists and one of the foreign occupying countries in Afghanistan.

Moreover, in light of the current role of the Turkish forces in Afghanistan and the political and economic role of Turkey in Afghanistan, the ongoing revolutionary struggle in the two countries, objectively and subjectively, are very closely interlinked.

Therefore, the advancement of every revolutionary movement in Turkey will have immediate and direct repercussions in Afghanistan, further stimulating the revolutionary movement in this country. The Communist (Maoist) Party of Afghanistan therefore welcomes the participation of the Turkish Maoist forces in the ongoing protests in that country, applauds the struggles of these comrades to give the movement a revolutionary direction, and wishes increasing success for these comrades.

June 8, 2013

## Land Seizure the Peasants' Program: A Report

Nepal remains semi-feudul country even after the declaration of the Republic and in the 21st century. Feudalist productive relation is not vanished yet. The most disappointing thing is that the most expected agenda of the scientific and revolutionary land reform is being marginalized. Prachanda-Baburam clique have adopted a revisionist/reformist line to solve this problem. They are planning to increase production, to make production brigades. They want to develop the productive force of capitalism and hope to displace the feudalist production relation. This is merely a reformation and the agenda of bourgeoisie party not of the revolutionary communists.

Revolutionary communists and the people of Nepal had a dream and faith that the last Constituent Assembly will solve the land problem of Nepal by applying the scientific land reform provision in the new constitution. Unfortunately neither the issue was well established in the CA, because of the hopeless parliamentarian leader of the party then Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), nor did the CA itself remain more. Inversely UCPN (Maoist) had begun to kneel down, before the split, to the landlords. Even Prachanda and Baburam attempted to return the lands, seized during the People's War period. Although they had tried to do this delinquency in their so called pocket district Bardia, people and the cadres stood against them making the shameless leaders to set back at that time.

CPN-Maoist has been raising the issue of scientific and revolutionary land reform as a legacy of Nepalese Communist Movement, especially of the Great People's War. During that period, Party had seized large amount of lands, in assistance of the people, from the feudalistic landlords and distributed to the tillers as the program of Revolutionary Land Reform.

Recently, CPN-Maoist has seized several acres of lands owned by neo-feudals, bureaucratic capitalists and compradors. We have reported some specific land seizure actions here with.

#### 1. Seizing the land of CM of the Interim Government

The revolutionary peasants of CPN-Maoist seized some 21.8 acres of land owned by Khil Raj Regmi, chairman of Interim Council of Ministers, among others, while capturing total 75 acres of land in Bardiya, western Nepal, in April 2, 2013. In a series of protests against the government demanding the formation of a new government led by political parties, CPN-M Bardiya chapter has clutched the land acquired by Regmi, his father-in-law Laxmi Prasad Updhyaya and a local landlord, Yubaraj Sharma at Khairi Chandanpur ward no 8 of Bardiya. Hundreds of local people were gathered at Khairi Chandanpur-8 while CPN-M Bardiya district secretary Drabya Shah and mid western command in-charge

Aryal jointly placed the red flag of the party, All Nepal Peasants' Association and All Nepal Squatters' Association on the captured land. This action had done according to the central policy of the party.

Dharmendra Bastola, politburo member of CPN-M stated that the action in Bardiya is a part of special counter regressive campaign launched by the party to oppose major parties agreement nominating the prime minister sidelining the political parties. He added, "Capturing the land is symbolic oppose towards the move of four political parties which we have termed as a political coup since the formation of interim election council headed by the chief justice Khilraj Regmi has suspended some 25 articles of Interim Constitution, 2006." The same land owned by Khilraj Regmi was seized during the 10 years People's War too, which was forcely returned by Prachanda-Baburam.

#### 2. Action on neo-feudalist and compradors of UCPN(Maoist)

The revolutionary cadres of CPN-Maoist have captured land tracts owned by UCPN (Maoist) local leaders in Banke district, western Nepal. It is the bitter instance that



the leaders of UCPN(Maoist) have changed their class character. In the past they were involved in such action which they are facing today.

People and cadres of CPN-Maoist led by the party's central committee member IP Kharel captured some 30 bigha land owned by two local Maoist leaders and placed party flags on the plots. The squad seized 16.8 bigha land owned by UCPN (Maoist) Banke in-

charge Prakash Subedi and his wife Purna Subedi at Fattepur VDC-3. Similarly, the land registered in the name of UCPN (Maoist) Tharuwan state committee member Sukai Lal Burma and his wife Urmila Devi in ward no. 7 of the same VDC was captured too. Purna Subedi is the central committee member of UCPN(Maoist) and was the vice chairperson of the former Constituent Assembly.

#### 3. Another feudal with the communist cover also looses land

CPN-Maoist cadres has captured the land belonging to Ninu Chapagain, PBM of UCPN(Maoist) with other feudals named Gayatri Chapagain, Nabaraj Chapagain, Tika Chapagain, Shanti Bahadur Basnet, Mahendra Basnet, Dambar Bahadur Basnet and Kosh Bahadur Basnet of Bhojpur District in Mulpani VDC on April 6.

Before this action Party had captured 932 ropani of land belonging to Shadananda Sitaram Guthi in Keurepani, Mulpani and Mulpani and Tungecha VDC on March 18.

#### 4. Lands recaptured in Kailali district.

CPN-Maoist cadres seized 60 bigha land belonging to Dev Bahadur Malla at Kailali's Dododhara and Tulsipur in Kotatulsipur, Kailali, western Nepal.

A squad of 150 Maoist cadres led by area in-charge Kshitiz seized the land. They hoisted party flags on the seized land. "Our party has hoisted party flags in five kitta land," Dododhara VDC in-charge Bikku Chaudhary said. Chaudhary went on to say that his party had seized the land after they came to know that UCPN(Maoist) leaders were selling land on commission basis. The land was under the control of the then CPN(Maoist) since 1996.

Chaudhary charged that UCPN(Maoist) had evicted the landless and freed kamaiya from the captured land and was selling it on commission basis. "We had settled landless people and freed kamaiya. It is not good to sell the same land on commission basis. We captured the land as per the party's central policy," Chaudhary clarified.

Earlier, CPN-Maoist had seized 15 bigha land owned by Gajendra Chand at Kaila-li's Lalbojhi VDC. Chand warned that more land would be seized in the days ahead.

### 5. Peasants captured Guthi (trust) land

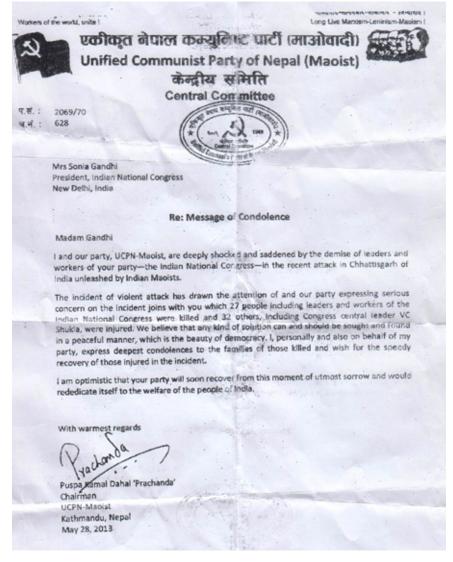
The landless people and the scattered people of Nawalparasi district, Midwest Nepal have captured 32 bigaha of land belonging to a Ram Lakshman Guthi in Gunar of Agyauli VDC-4. The land was captured by the group led by All Nepal Peasants Association (Revolutionary).

All of these captured lands are distributed to the real tillers of the land. These are all symbolic actions to call for the revolutionary and scientific land reform in Nepal.

### Real Face of Prachanda

(Concerning the daring action of May 25 on Chhatisgarh, India by PLGA of CPI-Maoist, the oppressed people of all over the world and the revolutionary parties and organizations sent their greetings and solidarity messages to the oppressed people of India.

But the reactionary and revisionist elements, like Prachanda the chairοf UCPN man (Maoist) sent the condolence message to Sonia Gandhi, that this incident has deeply shocked and saddened him. After all, the party led by Prachand-Baburam has come out in its real face. They have made clear their side. We have already declared that Prachanda-Baburam have betrayed the Nepalese revolution, they are the real followers of **Indian** expansionism. Now it has come true in practice. Prachand has



decleard to join his hands with Indian reactionaries against CPI (Maoist) and the oppressed people of India. Here is the scanned copy of that condolance message.)

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