

Tasks of the Seventh National Congress

by Basanta



The Seventh National Congress of our glorious party, the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist, is being convened in the second week of January 2013. The Communist Party of Nepal (Unity Centre), which was formed by the unification the erstwhile CPN (Mashal), CPN (splinter Masal), CPN (Fourth Congress) and the Proletarian Workers Organisation, had organised a Congress, 21 years before, in 1992. It was called the Unity Congress because the constituent parties in the Unity Centre lacked a common position on the chronological number of that very congress. Taking that Congress to be the sixth one, our party is going to realize its Seventh National Congress after a long 21 years now. It is a matter of pleasure not only for the oppressed Nepalese people but for the world proletariat.

In the context of world events, 21 years is a very short period. However, many events that have far-reaching significance in the world situation and Nepalese political scenario have occurred in between this period. Events like, the termination of cold war followed by the dissolution of Soviet social imperialism in the 90s, the unrivalled domination of the US imperialism for a brief period and again the emergence of multi-polar world along with the ongoing economic crisis are the events noteworthy in the international political scenario. In the same manner, many accomplishments including the initiation of great people's war under the leadership of the CPN (Maoist), formation of the People's Liberation Army Nepal, setting up of the people's power in the entire countryside and the end of 240 years' old absolute monarchy from the political scene of Nepal are the notable ones in favour of the oppressed Nepalese people.

On the other, a part of the central leadership accompanied by the main leader capitulated before imperialism and Indian expansionism and their running dogs in Nepal. Consequently, they terminated people's war, dissolved people's power, gave in the PLA into Nepal Army, dissolved the Constituent Assembly and as well signed the anti-national treaties like BIPPA, Upper Karnali and Arun III to please their foreign masters. In this way, the Nepalese revolution again suffered a setback as a result of the betrayal by the main leadership. It is a matter of grief for the oppressed Nepalese people and the world proletariat as well.

Nevertheless, the new democratic revolution in Nepal has not undergone a full stop. Rather, it is advancing amid various twists and turns. Rebellion by revolutionaries under the leadership of comrade Kiran amid intensive two-line struggle, reorganisation of the Communist Party of Nepal – Maoist and the convening of its Seventh National Congress etc. speak about the continuity and advance of the new democratic revolution in Nepal. It is a matter of pleasure and glory for the oppressed Nepalese masses and the world proletariat as well.

The political situation, in which the Seventh National Congress of our party is being convened, is not normal. In view of the serious political crisis, the present Nepalese society, which is at the crossroads of revolutionary transformation and regression, cannot remain at status quo for a long time. There exists no option other than revolution under the leadership of the communist revolutionaries or regression led by the agents of imperialism. This situation has posed great opportunities and unusual challenges before this National Congress. One must dare to confront such challenges to attain the goal. This situation in Nepal has demanded a qualitative and historic initiative on the part of our party. The Congress in the offing must accomplish the key tasks as follows.

The first task is obviously related with ideology. We have organisationally split from the neo-revisionists. It is an important and glorious achievement for the Nepalese and the world communist movement. But if someone thinks to have become a genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoist and no ideological struggle is necessary after this organisational rupture from the neo-revisionists, it is in itself another form of revisionism. Three wrong trends that generally appear in right, centre and left form remain attacking upon Marxism. It is equally true for our party too. A revolutionary must not overlook it. In the context of world communist movement, right revisionism is the main danger. Now, in Nepal Prachanda-Baburam's class and national capitulationism manifested in the form of neo-revisionism has been the main obstacle for revolution. The forthcoming congress must defeat it.

The Congress is the main place where the ideological struggle is sharply waged. This struggle must be able to defeat all sorts of wrong trends including the hangover of Prachanda's neo-revisionist school of thought. And in so doing it has to establish Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in our party and the Nepalese society as well. No one must forget the fact that Marxism can sink its roots deeper only in the ash of neo-revisionism. The success of this Congress and the future of Nepalese new democratic revolution are linked with how strongly can this fact be realised in our party and the Nepalese communist movement.

The second important task of this congress is to build a correct line. On the question of line Mao says, "Correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. Tenth congress document of the Communist Party of China has clarified it further. The document writes, "If one's line is incorrect, one's downfall is inevitable, even with the control of the central, local and army leadership. If one's line is correct, even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be soldiers, and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained. This is borne out by the historical experience of our Party and by that of the international communist movement since the time of Marx." No explanation is necessary for our own revolution has justified the correctness of this excerpt and we are the real onlooker of this reality.

Line is the sum total of strategy, tactic, programme and plan. It is evident that the stage of Nepalese revolution is anti-feudal and anti-imperialist i.e. new democratic revolution because the socio-economic condition of our party is semi-feudal and neo-colonial. There is no doubt as such in our party and the Nepalese society about this type of revolution which is manifested in the joint dictatorship of the oppressed people led by the proletariat. And there is no ambiguity that this kind of revolution cannot be accomplished peacefully. However, there are some inclarities in the form of armed struggle that plays a midwife role to realise new democratic revolution. It demands clarity from this congress.

The form of struggle does not depend upon someone's subjective wish. It largely depends upon socio-economic condition and the development of productive forces. On account of this, two models of proletarian revolution have developed till now in the world. The first one is the seizure of central power through armed insurrection and the expansion of revolution to the countryside by means of civil war. It is the model of socialist revolution in the capitalist countries. It is also known as Russian model. Second one is the model of finally encircling the cities to seize the central power through a protracted process of people's war by gradually building people's liberation army and establishing base areas in the countryside. It is the model of new democratic revolution in the semi-feudal and semi or neo-colonial countries. It is also known as Chinese model.

In general, the form of revolution in Nepal is protracted people's war because Nepal is a country which is in semi-feudal and neo-colonial condition. So, we marched ahead through a process of protracted people's war and the Nepalese revolution reached to the stage of strategic offensive via strategic defensive and equilibrium. It was the final stage of protracted people's war basing upon which the new democratic revolution could be accomplished by carrying out insurrection in the cities. At that time, party had entered into cities aiming at seizing the central power. Unfortunately, the main leadership instead of working for the seizure of power surrendered to imperialism, Indian expansionism and their puppets in Nepal. As a result, the entire accomplishments achieved by means of protracted people's war got lost. In other words, counter-revolution ensued in Nepal. It is a bitter reality.

Our party has organised its seventh national congress in such a situation. We are now discussing on how can we accomplish revolution in Nepal; i.e. we are trying to chart the path of revolution. In this very context, there is basic unity on the general strategy and tactic of revolution among

the leaders and cadres in Nepal. It is a good thing. But, there are some differences and confusions in the lower level committees on whether the path of revolution will be protracted people's war or armed insurrection. It demands an in-depth discussion to develop a common understanding.

In general, it is correct that the path of Nepalese revolution is protracted people's war because she is in semi-feudal and neo-colonial condition. But one must not take it mechanically. The path of struggle should be charted out on the basis of analysis of comprehensive objective condition. Right for this reason, Lenin has said, "Concrete analysis of the concrete condition is the soul of Marxism." In another context, Lenin has cautioned us to become creative by saying, "Marxism is not a lifeless dogma, not a completed, ready-made, immutable doctrine, but a living guide to action." In this sense, the forthcoming congress must become creative to sort out the path of Nepalese revolution and in so doing it should pay attention to the facts as follow.

One, the country is in the state of constitutional vacuum. Two, the political crisis is deepening and the solution the bourgeois parties have proposed is an anti-people and anti-national solution. Three, the principal contradiction of the Nepalese society is formed of a handful of compradors on one side and the broad masses on the other and it is sharpening. Four, the national independence is in danger. Five, the contradiction among the political parties and the same inside the individual parties is heightening. Six, almost all of the organs of the state power are entrapped in sharp contradiction. Seven, due to unbridled corruption and price hike the problem of people's livelihood has been serious. Eight, as a result of these and akin to such reasons, the Nepalese society is in a process of sharp polarization between the national betrayers, anti people and corrupt elements at one pole and the revolutionaries including the entire patriotic, leftist and republican masses at the other. Nine, a broad rank of leaders and cadres forged by the people's war and the mass movements is with us and our party has spread all across Nepal. Objectively, it is a very favourable and encouraging situation for people's insurrection.

However, there are some problems in building subjective strength to make the people's insurrection a success. A psychology of doubt towards the leadership is widespread owing to deception by the leaders, who led the struggles from 1950 to 1990 in general and the betrayal by Prachanda and Baburam who led people's war for ten years in particular. Secondly, there is a deep impression among the people that our party has become very weak because we have organisationally split from the neo-revisionist leadership only a few months before. These are the challenges in building subjective strength. We must be able to show us different than other party's leaders and cadres so that the people can judge in open. Proletarian culture and lifestyle, plan of revolutionary class struggle and the direct leadership to it, mass line and of course the sacrifice for revolution are the criteria that show us different than the neo-revisionists and other opportunist parties. There is no other way to gain confidence from the masses.

After the line has been decided along with ideological and political clarity, another important task that the congress must carry out is to build up material strength necessary for revolution. The material strength should manifest in to a revolutionary communist party, people's liberation army and the united front. Mao has said that they are three magical weapons of revolution and of them party is the main. On party Mao says, "If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist

revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people to defeat imperialism and its running dogs."

We are not yet free from Prachanda-Baburam's neo-revisionist hang over of the organisation eating up the ideology. Our seventh national congress must smash it and should be able to re-establish Leninist principle to consolidate the organisation. Prachanda destroyed party by distributing post and enticing with material incentives. We must establish the fact that the post does not denote to facility but to the level of sacrifice and responsibility. And we must encourage in building a communist party using the ideological incentives not the material ones. It has stood up as a big challenge before us. Party does not become strong only by numbers but by ideology and discipline. The Bolshevik party which was regarded to be small and led by a 'dwarf' leader Lenin accomplished the Socialist Revolution in Russia but the then biggest party of Germany led by the 'giant' leader Kautsky, a famous leader in the Second International, failed doing so. The entire party members should realize this fact and then make the masses understand it.

People make revolution and the party leads it. That is why Mao said that people are the makers of history. Party leads the masses through united front and the people's army. Mao has said that party, army and the united front are three magical weapons of revolution. On this Mao says, "A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people, an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party -- these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy." We have to grasp it seriously.

This congress must be able to sort out concrete plan on building a united front and the militant force necessary for the people's insurrection. United front does not take its shape in someone's wish. In the particular situation when the whole country is going towards polarization a possibility to build it exists. The polarization between a handful of national betrayers at one pole and the entire patriots including revolutionaries, leftists, progressives, republican and pro-federalism forces at the other is rapid and so a possibility of building a united front exists in Nepal now. This congress should take it seriously and sort out plans accordingly. The communists are proletarian internationalists. Workers of the world unite is our slogan. The international task which was not taken up in the later years must now be pushed forward in a planned way. There are four types of tasks in this regard. They include: building of firstly, an international organization comprising of the entire Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionaries all across the world, secondly, an anti-imperialist front in the international level, thirdly, a regional organization of Maoist revolutionaries in South Asia and fourthly, a regional united front against Indian expansionism. This congress must prepare plans to carry out these international tasks.

This congress is being organized when the country is in an unprecedented political crisis. Such a deep political crisis had not appeared in the past nor will appear in the future easily. The way out for this crisis is either revolution led by the proletariat or further national betrayal and fascism at the hands of the comprador bourgeoisie. Therefore, our party is undergoing a colossal test in this congress. It must take up scientific and courageous decisions in the field of ideology, politics and organization and thereby figure out objective plans to wage revolutionary class struggle and

thereby convert the ongoing political crisis into people's insurrection. This is the task posed before the Seventh National Congress.

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