


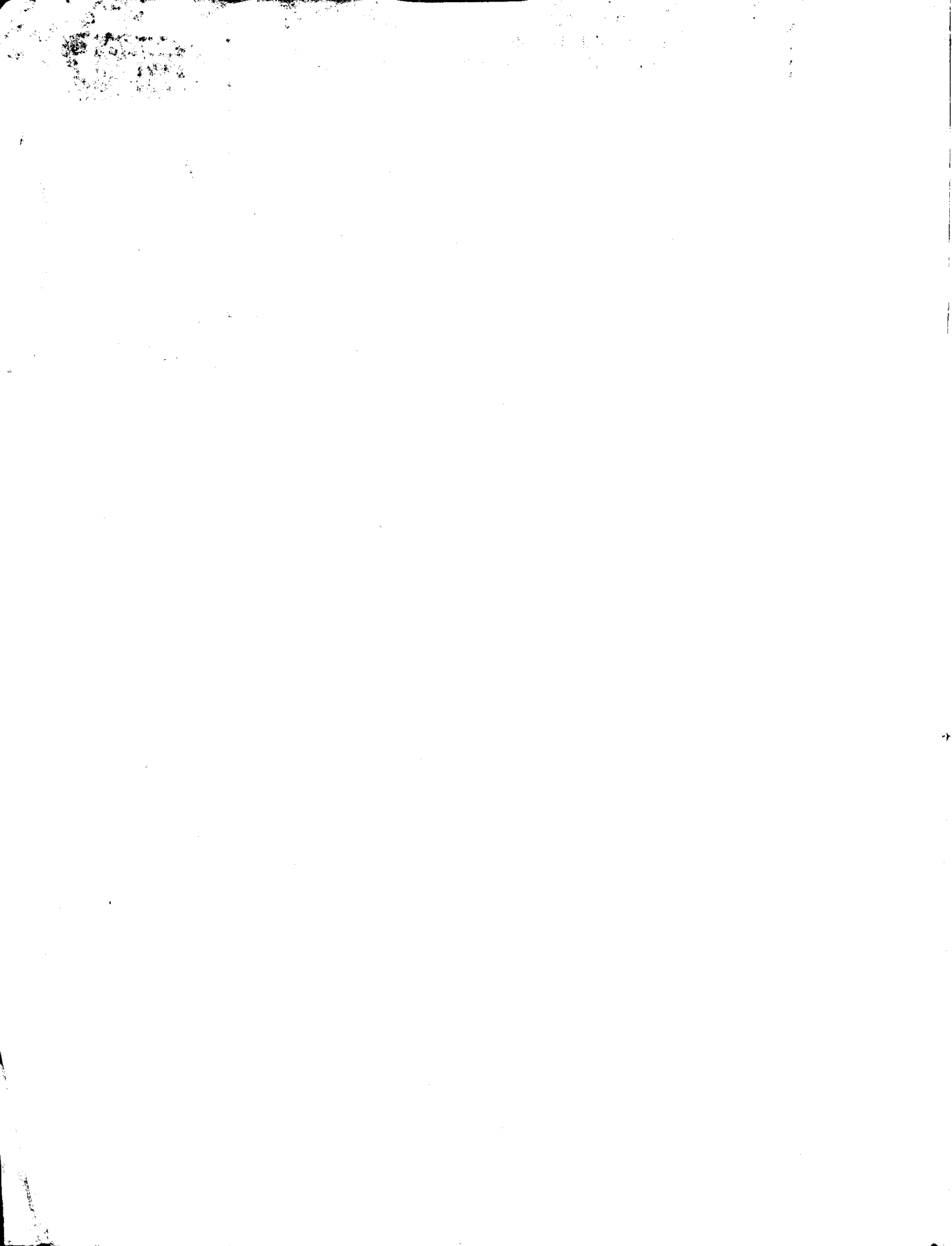
Workers of the World- Unite!
Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism & Prachanda Path!



the worker

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Cover: Massive rally in Chitwan
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NEW SITUATION, NEW OPPORTUNITIES AND NEW CHALLENGES

World proletariat made a giant stride towards, perhaps, the first state power of the twenty-first century in Nepal with countrywide successful military offensive by the People's Liberation Army (PLA) under the leadership of CPN (Maoist) on November 23, 2001. The old reactionary state thoroughly shaken to its foundations, acknowledged this possibility when it declared a countrywide 'state of emergency' on November 26, and deployed its royal army with its full military might against the advancing People's War (PW). This has given rise to a completely new situation in the country, opened new vistas of revolutionary possibilities and, as is the law of revolutionary dialectics, produced new challenges for the PW rapidly heading towards total victory in the relatively short span of six years. The world, forced to witness the mad fury of the wounded beast, US imperialism, in poor Afghanistan after the September 11 attacks on WTC and the Pentagon, should welcome this new revolutionary advance in Nepal, and the new opportunities and challenges should be borne as the common destiny of the world proletariat by all the genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoist forces the world over.

The past year has been, perhaps, the most eventful year in the recent history of Nepal. The dialectical interactions of a number of subjective and objective factors has given rise to the current situation, which needs to be correctly grasped so as to be able to intervene properly in the ongoing process. The current situation is the direct sequel to a spiral process that was set in motion with the historic Second National Conference of the Party convened in February 2001 and has passed through the bloody palace massacre of June 1, 2001, when the entire family of the reigning King Birendra was wiped out.

The Second National Conference was historic in the sense that it made a scientific summation of the experiences of the international and national communist movement, in general, and last five years of revolutionary PW, in particular, and distilled 'Prachanda Path' as the new set of ideas borne out of the concrete application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) in Nepal. (See the full text of the historic document "The Great Leap Forward: An Inevitable Need of History" in this issue.). The essence of the 'Prachanda Path' is its unequivocal rejection of both revisionism and dogmato-revisionism and creative application of MLM in the given concrete condition, which is usually marked by strategic firmness and tactical flexibility in the concrete political practice. Equipped with this newest ideological synthesis under the supreme leadership of Chairman Prachanda, concrete plans to raise the three instruments of revolution, viz. the Party, the People's Army and the Revolutionary United Front, to new heights were drawn, and military and non-military plans-of-action finalised. Consequently the whole country was shaken with hundreds of armed and mass actions in the first week of April 2001, culminating in the highest ever military actions in Rukumkot and Naumule in Western Nepal. This set in a chain reaction destabilising the old reactionary state, rotten to its core, leading to the palace massacre of June 1, 2001.

With the elimination of King Birendra, who was seen reluctant to deploy the royal army under his supreme command against the PW due to his relatively liberal political persuasion and nationalistic streak inherent in him as a feudal legacy, the internal and external reactionary forces had envisioned a smooth consolidation of their class forces to be pitted against the revolutionary PW. But the result was just the opposite. There were not only spontaneous countrywide protests against the foreign lackeys and murderers Gyanendra-Girija clique, our Party took timely lead to expose the conspirators and to mobilise the masses for immediate institutionalisation of the republic accidentally born by default. The week-long 'shock' programme with some of the most daring military actions and a '*Nepal bandh*' (general shut-down) in the

second week of July completely destabilised the old reactionary state. With the virtual collapse of the traditional monarchy after the inglorious palace massacre and the perennial instability of the lately grafted parliamentary institutions, the reactionary ruling classes were temporarily forced to change their tactics against the ever rising PW. As a result the much-hated Girija Koirala was kicked out of the Prime Ministerial chair, Sher Bahadur Deuba with a more liberal face was put in his place and a drama of negotiation was sought to be enacted with the revolutionary forces.

Meanwhile there was unprecedented revolutionary upsurge of the masses all over the country. United People's Committees (UPC), the revolutionary organs of power, were sprouting in almost all the rural areas and district level UPCs were constituted in more than half of the 75 districts. The reactionary armed forces were forced to retreat to the district headquarters and major cities alone. Battalion and company level formations of the People's Army would be marching openly in the predominantly hilly regions. Masses in hundreds of thousands (at times 3 to 5 hundred thousand) would attend rallies in urban areas. All this meant a sort of strategic stalemate, at least in the political sense. Even though the royal army was yet to be deployed in combat positions, it was already deployed in many districts in the pretext of 'security and development', there were enough signs of cracks within it. In such a situation the proposal for 'negotiation' would mean only one thing, i.e. buying time for preparations for the final offensive. Fully aware of this evil design of the reactionaries, our Party responded positively to the negotiation offer as a 'tit for tat' policy. Throughout the four-month long negotiation period from August to November, our Party pursued a two-pronged strategy. Firstly, to endeavour sincerely for a political solution to the problem; and secondly, to prepare militarily and politically to counter the offensive of the reactionaries. Accordingly, we proposed the formation of an interim government, drafting of a new constitution and institutionalisation of the republic as the immediate minimum political solution to the problems of the country. The proposal was further toned down to the question of an interim government and the election of a constituent assembly, when the question of direct proclamation of the republic endangered to short-circuit, the talks prematurely. Even though these proposals were confined to the demands of a bourgeois republic and were much below the goals of our New Democratic Revolution (NDR) we found them appropriate for the immediate purpose given the intricate power balance of the political forces (i.e. revolutionary, parliamentary and monarchical forces) and the low level of political consciousness of the middle strata in the country. However, when the reactionaries slammed the door for any political solution after three rounds of talks and foolishly went ahead for a military showdown, our Party accepted the challenge and gave them an appropriate blow with biggest-ever military action on November 23.

With the first ever full scale war between the PLA and the reactionary royal army engulfing the whole country, the revolutionary PW has definitely entered a new and higher stage. The first one month of the new war has provided enough indication for the ultimate victory of NDR in the country. So far the opportunities and successes have far out weighed the challenges and failures that are bound to come up with any revolution. Firstly, the halo of so-called invincibility of the royal army has been shattered in the very first encounter in Dang on November 23 and the reactionary mercenaries have entered the battle-field with a defeated, demoralized and divided mind. Since these mercenaries have no experience of fighting any war inside the country ever since the lost war with British-India in 1814-15 and in course of time have been reduced into domestic slaves of the feudal monarchy, they stand no chance of winning against the highly politically conscious and disciplined PLA. Moreover, the prevalent class, caste, national, regional and gender oppression within the feudal royal army is bound to result in large-scale rebellion against the oppressor Rana-Shah officers in course of time, which would be a major factor for the final defeat and liquidation of the royal army. Secondly, the inherent contradictions among the different factions of the ruling classes, particularly

between the monarchist and the parliamentarist factions (including revisionist left), are quite deep-rooted and they are not likely to be eliminated or abridged in the near future. Already, with the declaration of the state of emergency and suspension of the fundamental and political rights promised by their own constitution, the power balance has shifted to the monarchist faction and this has sharpened contradictions between different cliques. Thirdly, and most importantly, the correct ideological and political leadership of the Party, the high fighting morale and guerilla war expertise of the PLA and the overwhelming mass support based on the oppressed classes, nationalities, gender, castes and regions in favour of the PW are the best guarantee for the ultimate victory of the NDR. The recent formation of the PLA and the United Revolutionary People's Council (URPC) at the central level constitute a great leap in the construction of the three 'magic weapon' of revolution and would contribute substantially in the completion of the NDR. Thus, the recent developments have definitely increased the prospects of NDR in Nepal and first-ever proletarian state of the 21st century.

According to the law of dialectics, however, new opportunities would give rise to equally formidable challenges as well. Among the internal factors, the most glaring challenge, perhaps would be the development of the Party, the People's Army and the United Front as per the actual requirements of the revolution. The predominantly petty-bourgeois class base of the society and the historical legacy of long domination of various forms of revisionism and opportunism in the Nepalese communist movement, would weigh heavily on the way of developing a truly proletarianised Party. And the lack of a truly proletarian leadership would naturally hamper the development of the People's Army and the United Front. A sustained plan and programme for the correct ideological and political schooling of the cadres on the basis of MLM and Prachanda Path and an all-round rectification campaign within the Party should accompany this new advance in the class struggle. And externally, the imperialist and expansionist military or otherwise intervention in the country has been the most potent danger to the advancing revolution. Ever since the deployment of the royal army the reactionary state has been frantically begging for military and other supports from the external reactionary forces, particularly Indian expansionism and US imperialism. The so-called global campaign against terrorism spearheaded by US imperialism in the aftermath of September 11 has been a handy tool for the reactionary ruling classes of every country to exorcize the spectre of revolution. Hence proletarian internationalist solidarity among the genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoist forces of different countries has been all the more pertinent. The role of RIM in this context has been particularly valuable and would have to be further enhanced in the future. The formation of CCOMPOSA this year has opened new vistas of proletarian solidarity in South Asia, which is more crucial for defending and consolidating revolution in Nepal. The recent joint letter sent to the international community on behalf of the Party, PLA and URPC asking them not to interfere in the internal affairs of Nepal should also be viewed in this light.

Howsoever daunting the challenges may be, the prospects of NDR in Nepal have definitely brightened in recent days. The declaration of so-called state of emergency and imposition of royal military dictatorship merely verifies the deepening crises of the old reactionary state. So long as there is correct ideological and political leadership and overwhelming mass-support continues unabated, no power on earth can prevent the ultimate triumph of NDR in Nepal. Hence the real challenge may be, firstly, to ward off external, particularly Indian expansionist, military intervention and secondly, to prevent counter-revolution from within. Our Party under the able leadership of Chairman Prachanda has sought to draw the attention of all the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionaries on these crucial questions and attempted to develop a new model of PW for the twenty-first century, which would be characterised by the complete militarisation of the masses or by the elimination of distinction between the military and the non-military from the society. Just as a spark can set a prairie fire, so the advancing NDR in Nepal could be the precursor of a revolutionary chain reaction in the twenty-first century. Let us be imbued with revolutionary optimism! As Lenin had said, the revolutionaries ought to dream!

INTERVIEW WITH CHAIRMAN PRACHANDA

(We are pleased to present a reprint of an interview of Chairman Prachanda, leader of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) for the mainstream daily newspaper published in India 'The Times of India'. The interview took place on 3 December 2001.)

Why have the Maoists broken the cease-fire?

Anyone with a democratic mindset and a capacity to delve into the essence of the problem will realise that it is not the CPN (Maoist) but the feudal palace murderers and the corrupt and fascist Girija clique that have broken the cease-fire. We had emphasized on the political solution of the problem from the very outset of the negotiation with the government. For that purpose our major proposals were: an interim government, a new constitution and institutionalisation of the republic. However, instead of grasping the political essence of the problem with due seriousness and creating a conducive atmosphere of dialogue accordingly, the Deuba government, under the pressure of the feudal royalists and the corrupt Girija clique, not only made nationwide preparations for military offensive but even banned the peaceful mass rallies. Even then we exercised maximum patience and flexibility and proposed the convening of a constituent assembly, which was proclaimed even by King Tribhuvan after the Delhi Agreement of 1951 but never implemented, so as to make the people the ultimate decision-makers on the question of monarchy or a republic. But the government not only rejected this foremost democratic method of resolving the problem but intensified the preparations of military offensive by procuring arms and ultra-modern military helicopters from the USA. In this situation of closing down of all political avenues we had no alternative but to continue with the people's armed resistance.

Why did you not try for another round of talks?

How can somebody continue to clap with one hand? When the talks were reduced to meaningless drama with no political outlet and the condition of forcible acceptance of the discredited feudal monarchy were sought to be imposed on the people, which amounted to virtual surrender and renegacy by the revolutionary forces, the government had, in essence, closed the door for the Fourth round of talks.

What will be the next course of action? Are you still open to dialogue?

The rapid growth of the six-year old people's war and the prevailing public opinion across the country have amply demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of the people in Nepal are in favour of our Party and the republican form of the state. In this context, if the right to determine their own political future is granted to the people we are once again prepared to suspend our armed activities and sit down for the talks. On the contrary, if the lunatic course of action of imposing military dictatorship under the leadership of the perpetrators of recent palace massacre is to be continued, we will fight till this so-called monarchy is completely abolished.

How do you justify the use of violence?

It is not us but the feudal palace and the corrupt Nepali Congress government that have initiated political violence in Nepal. When we were present in the parliament as the third largest Party after the first general election in 1991, the then Girija Koirala government unleashed widespread state terrorism of the most barbaric nature against our Party leaders and cadres for their revolutionary political views. Hence we were forced to raise arms for the defense of the people. Even now, only after the Deuba government mobilised the royal army against the struggling masses and in favour of the feudal palace intriguers, that we were forced to resort to armed resistance.

What is the difference between Maoist fighters and terrorists?

There can be no comparison whatsoever between a terrorist and a Maoist revolutionary. The terrorists make senseless and suicidal attacks against the innocent and unarmed people and have no ideological clarity or a very reactionary ideology. The Maoist fighters, on the contrary, do inevitably possess a clear-cut political goal of liberation and progress of the country and the people, are equipped with the most scientific ideology of dialectical and historical materialism, and target the attacks against the feudal monarchical (or any other reactionary) state backed by imperialism. Another distinguishing feature of a Maoist movement is the pursuance of the mass line, or the involvement of the large masses of people in every military and political action, which the terrorists completely lack.

So you think the Sept. 11 attacks on the WTC and the international co-alition against terrorism will make it more difficult for your movement to survive?

We don't see any reason why that campaign should affect our people's revolutionary movement. We view the nature of action on the September 11 as terroristic; though we regard US imperialism as primarily responsible for that. We would also like to caution the world public opinion against the tendency of the reactionary ruling classes of different countries to join the bandwagon of 'anti-terrorism' to suppress genuine people's (or national) liberation movements in their respective countries.

What is the role of monarchy in your set up?

The archaic feudal monarchy in Nepal has been the biggest obstacle in the path of progress of the people and the country. After the conspiratorial palace massacre of last June, the traditional rationale of the institution of monarchy has ended and the people are not prepared to accept fratricidal and regicidal Gyanendra and his hooligan son, Paras, as the 'king' and the 'crown prince'. It is now high time that a republic be proclaimed in the country.

In your concept of 'New democracy' will other parties be allowed to function?

We are definitely against a one-party dictatorship. There will be full freedom to all the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist political parties in New Democracy.

What kind of relationship do you envision with India?

We want to develop good neighbourly relations based on equality and freedom, in accordance with the five principles of peaceful co-existence, with India. We fail to understand why the Government of India, being itself a republic, should oppose the people's movement going on in Nepal against the feudal monarchy. We appeal to the democratic forces in India to fathom the ground reality in Nepal and not to precipitate any action that will touch the sensibilities of the Nepalese people.

Would you be prepared to take on the Indian army if the Indian govt. decides to help Nepal govt?

If the government of India sends troops in aid of the tottering rule of the feudal reactionary and corrupt bureaucratic forces in Nepal we will be forced to wage a resistance struggle against it as well till the end. We hope friendly Indian people will put pressure on their government not to interfere in the internal affairs of Nepal.

Will there be a pro-China tilt if the Maoists come to power in Nepal?

In keeping with the geo-political specificities of Nepal and historical experiences, we will maintain non-aligned and equi-distant relations with both our giant neighbours, India and China.

What is the 'Prachand path'?

'Prachand Path' is the product of creative application of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist science in the concrete conditions of Nepal

EARTH-SHAKING MILITARY ACTIONS BY THE PLA

November 23, 2001 was a historic milestone on the six-year long People's War (PW) in Nepal. On this day the heroic fighters of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) carried out the greatest-ever military actions so far in Dang and Sangja shaking the whole country and to some extent the whole world. This was followed by equally daring military actions in Salleri on November 25, and thousands of other actions all over the country. The result was the declaration of countrywide state of emergency by the reactionary state on November 26, and the PW had taken a great qualitative leap forward.

The November 23 PLA action in Dang can, perhaps, be equated with one of the biggest and most successful military actions by communist revolutionaries after Vietnam war. And in the case of ongoing PW in Nepal it was undoubtedly the biggest and qualitatively highest military action so far, as it was for the first time that the PLA had attacked a well-fortified barrack and arms depot of the reactionary royal Nepal army (RNA) and that, too, with hundred percent success. Added to this is the strategic significance of the capture of the entire city of Ghorahi, which is the district headquarter of Dang and zonal headquarter of the Rapti zone (i.e. comprising Rolpa, Rukum, Salyan, Pyuthan and Dang districts), the epicentre of the revolutionary PW in Western Nepal.

On that historic night the main battalion of the PLA along with the local forces and the militias had conducted a daring raid on the city of Ghorahi (Dang) and captured the RNA barrack and arms depot, district police headquarter, administrative head-quarter and related government offices, all the banks and a jail. The RNA barrack with a total of 237 personnel (but slightly less on that day) and the district police office were captured within hours without much resistance in a superbly planned swift raid. 14 army men, including a Major, and 11 policemen were killed and dozens injured whereas 3 PLA comrades (plus other 4 succumbed to injuries later) attained glorious martyrdom. About 450 pieces of arms (including 99 SLRs, a dozen each of SMGs, and GPMs, several rocket launchers and mortars, etc.) and a heavy cache of ammunitions and a large quantity of grenades and bombs were captured. It may be interesting to note that a total twenty-two vehicles including twelve army trucks were used to transport the captured arms, ammunitions and other valuables. Also about 100 million rupees worth cash and gold etc. were captured from the several banks. 37 jail inmates were freed from the jail, and tonnes of government documents were destroyed. The Chief District Officer (CDO) and several other officials were taken into custody, but were released later.

That very time in the Central Region the main Company of the PLA along with the local forces and the militias executed another daring raid over the district headquarter of Syangja. As the township of Syanja is located along the main north-south highway just 32 km from the main city of Pokhara, the highway was blocked by blasting the culverts and bridges at over 50 places and the whole of the district headquarter along with an adjoining municipality of Waling were captured without much resistance. In the process 14 policemen were killed and over a dozen injured, whereas there was no casualty on the PLA side. About 150 pieces of arms, including about a hundred rifles, and a large quantity of ammunitions were captured. About 50 million rupees worth cash and gold etc. were recovered from several banks. 34 prisoners were set free from the district jail and the reactionary administrative offices were destroyed or ransacked. The CDO and other high-ranking officials were taken into custody and released later on. The reactionaries were so panick-stricken that it took more than 24 hours for them to clear the highway and re-enter into the district headquarter. Syangja and the surrounding areas were placed under strict curfew for over a month.

In the Eastern Region, Salleri, the district headquarter of Solukhumbu in the foothills of the Mt. Everest, was raided by the PLA on the night of November 25 and captured after some resistance from the RNA posted nearby. As the plan there was not to attack the RNA but merely to blockade them from coming to the rescue of the policemen and the government officials in the district headquarter, there was some bitter fighting with the RNA for some time. However, the RNA was successfully blocked, the policemen thoroughly vanished and the district headquarter completely captured. In the process there were 33 deaths on the reactionary side, including 4 army men,

27 policemen, the CDO and the land revenue officer, and 15 comrades of the PLA also attained martyrdom. About 200 pieces of arms, including 125 rifles, and a huge quantity of ammunitions were captured. About 50 million rupees were obtained from different banks in cash and gold. 26 prisoners were freed from the jail. As the nearby Phaplu airport tower was also destroyed the reactionaries had a tough time to rescue their lackeys from the high mountain area even days after.

These high-scale military raids in three district headquarters in the three regions, were accompanied by hundreds of other smaller military actions like sabotage or blasting of government offices in all the districts of the country. Among these complete destruction of a private helicopter used to carry government armed forces in Surkhet (Western region) and blasting of the multi-national company owned Coca-Cola plant in Kathmandu received the widest publicity.

After the declaration of a 'state of emergency' and full-scale deployment of the RNA from November 26 onwards there have been regular but minor clashes between the PLA and RNA in different parts of the country. As the PLA successfully laid mines and ambushed the reactionary armed forces inflicting substantial damage and casualties several places including Surkhet and Pyuthan in the very beginning, the RNA has not so far dared to venture into the revolutionary base areas and instead confined itself to aerial bombings from helicopters. When the PLA raided the smaller RNA camps posted to guard the telecommunication towers at different places including in Ratamate (Rolpa), Kapurkot (Sallyan), Nuwakot etc., they were forced to retreat from many areas and as a result the reactionaries are deprived of communication links in most of the hilly regions.

As the PW has entered a qualitatively higher stage and there are signs of external military (covert and overt) intervention to bolster the already shaky RNA, more daring military exploits of the PLA can be well anticipated.

THE FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION OF PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY, NEPAL

September 2001 was a historic month for the Nepalese people. During this month the First National Convention of People's Liberation Army (PLA) was successfully convened in a base area in the Western region of Nepal. It was held in a well protected area with three layers of sentries provided by the people's army. It is to be noted that this convention is a land mark as it is the first of its kind in the Nepalese Communist history, considering such formal people's armed force has never been formed before.

The delegates, observers and other participants from all over the country were welcomed into the area with a number of attractive gates representing various mass organisations. The Supreme Commander of people's army, Chairman Prachanda was welcomed into the venue with the resounding sound of gun-fire salute given by the people's army. This was followed by unfolding of Party flag by Chairman Prachanda. Then the international was sung in the Nepalese language.

THE INAUGURAL SESSION

The inaugural session was chaired by Com. Pasang, the battalion commander. The convention was inaugurated by Chairman Prachanda amidst profound zeal and enthusiasm. This was followed by rich revolutionary tributes paid to the great martyres, both national and international. The Party in-charge of all the regions namely Com. Baburam Bhattarai, Com. Kiran, Com. Diwakar and Com. Badal gave their felicitation speech. This was followed by much-awaited speech by Chairman Prachanda. He called for forming people's army of 21st century which will not only make revolution but will also defeat counter-revolution. Contrary to the propaganda spread by the imperialists that socialism is dead, he predicted that the present 21st century will be the century of socialism. He also said that nowhere in the world, the revolution has been complete without the dissolution of the central army of the reactionary state. He further added that in the Nepalese context such a time has come for the people's army to work for the destruction of the royal Nepalese army.

THE CLOSED SESSION

The closed session took place on the next day. A presidium consisting of Com. Pasang, Com. Baldev, Com. Parwana, Com. Apar and Com. Sujan chaired this session. This was followed by reportings by representatives of various regions. The reporting centred around the problems of politicizing the ever swelling masses of the people who have joined the army. It also deeply probed the problems related to centralization and decentralisation of the army. It also delved on the problem of logistics, financial and technical aspects of the army. This was followed by the reportings given by women representatives from all the regions, who dwelt on activities and specific problems faced by women combatants in the field. An interesting account of historic jail break by six women in Gorkha district was given by Com. Shilu, the main commander of the jail break (She is the wife of martyred Bhim Sen Pokharel who laid his life in the course of giving protection to Com. Suresh Wagle, and at present she is a platoon commander)

Considering that revolution is the main trend of the world, the question of structure of people's army becomes all the more important. Hence the discussion on draft report presented by Com. Anant was centred around the need of building people's armed force of 21st century which will not only make revolution but will also prevent counter-revolution. Citing the crucial role of PLA Red Guards during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR) period, it pledged to follow the spirit of GPCR in fighting against counter-revolutionary forces within the Party. Hence the need to politicalise the army was emphasised again and again.

Discussion also centred on how to draw the spirit of MLM and Prachanda Path into the military line. With the rapid imperialist intervention all over the world, together with fast development in electronics media, a new situation has arrived whereby the duration of strategic defence will no longer be long and that the duration of strategic equilibrium and strategic offence will be even more relatively shorter. Hence the old Chinese model of protracted people's war or the Russian model of armed insurrection can no longer meet the need of today's changing situation. An objective basis for integrating some of the features of armed insurrection within the protracted people's war has now occurred. Hence discussion was also focused on armed insurrection, in the light of its integration with protracted people's war

Also considerable discussion took place on ways to make the army a truly people's army so as to apply correct mass line in military field. In order to militarise the masses a campaign to enrol large-scale militia has been emphasized so that the people's army becomes truly an army of oppressed class, nationality, caste, sex and region.

The draft report was subjected to intense group discussion. The draft report consisted of analysis of Nepalese Communist Movement and the various armed uprisings that took place before the initiation of PW in Nepal. It also dwelt upon the development of military line within the history of the CPN(Maoist) and its culmination into a set of military ideas based on MLM and Prachanda Path. In political analysis it discussed the two strategies of insurrection and protracted people's war in the global context and the need to integrate the two in the present context. It then discussed on the relationship between the base area and the guerilla zone. It also dwelt on the relationship between the three instruments of revolution and the qualitative development of the army in relation to the three forces, the main force, the secondary force and the basic force. It also highlighted the problem related to that of centralization, decentralisation and the mobility of the army. It then gave a brief summation of 5 year's experiences of various military actions. At the end the report presented future plan and programme of military line, wherein it dealt in the question of structure of military organisation, the role of the Party in the army and the question of political work. After thorough discussion with few alteration the convention adopted the resolution unanimously.

At the end of the programme it was decided that PLA will have one central headquarter and that general staff, general political department and general logistic department will be created to facilitate the central headquarter. A central General Staff was formed under the leadership of Chairman Prachanda. The Chairman of CPN (Maoist), is to be the supreme commander of the newly formed People's Liberation Army.

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF UNITED REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S COUNCIL (URPC)

The historic National Convention of United Revolutionary People's Council (URPC) was convened in September 2001. It is to be noted that united front, one of the three instruments of revolution has been functioning in the name of People's Committees at village and district levels in the course of development of PW in Nepal. This has resulted in ripening the objective basis for making united front at the central level. The royal palace massacre on 1st June 2001 and the deepening crisis within the reactionary state has hastened this process. Hence the convention of URPC held on this historic moment has strategic importance.

The specificity of the Nepalese society is such that apart from social class distinction the exploitation is manifested in the form of national, regional, gender, and caste oppression. Hence, under such a situation the challenge lies in forming a central broad-based united people's front incorporating all these oppressed groups for the successful completion of New Democratic Revolution (NDR). Such a front will act primarily as an instrument of struggle at the central level and as an instrument of power at local level and base areas.

The Convention of URPC should also be seen in the light of recently passed MLM and Prachanda Path. It fulfils the need of three instruments of revolution to intervene not only at local level but also at central level so as to enable the integration of insurrectionary tactics within the strategy of protracted people's war.

The three day convention was attended by hundreds of representatives of the Party, army, and mass organizations like peasants, workers, intellectuals, teachers, students, women, and dalits and those of oppressed nationalities and regions and distinguished individuals. It was attended by various representatives of newly formed people's governments at district level among whom were some prominent mass leaders previously with revisionist United Marxist-Leninist (UML) and Marxist-Leninist (ML) groups but who had recently resigned from the reactionary local and district bodies to join the newly formed People's Committees under CPN (Maoist).

INAUGURAL SESSION

Member of Standing Committee of the Politbureau of CPN (Maoist) and the Chairman of Convention Preparatory Committee Com. Baburam Bhattarai chaired the convention. It was inaugurated by the chief guest, Chairman Prachanda amidst great enthusiasm and excitement. This was followed by singing of the international song. A rich tribute was paid to all the national and international martyrs. Felicitation speech were given by various standing committee members and politbureau members of the Party, representatives of peasants, intellectual, and cultural organizations, representatives of several nationality organisations and regional organisations and representatives of various district people's governments. Then Chairman Prachanda gave a very inspiring speech in which he said that Nepalese State which is about 250 years old is based on a forced unity in which various nationalities were brutally suppressed. He emphasized that the need of the hour is to make a new state based upon voluntary association of all the oppressed nationalities and regions. He further highlighted the need to learn from and go beyond the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. At the end Com. Baburam Bhattarai, in his concluding remark said that this inauguration should be looked as inauguration of a new state of the 21st century which will represent proletarian state. Talking on the dialectical relationship between the Party, state and the people, he said that the state should be led by the Party and should come under the constant supervision of the people.

CLOSED SESSION

A presidium comprising of Top Bahadur Rayamazhi, Rekha Sharma, Suresh Aley Magar, Ram Charan Chaudhari and Dilip presided over the closed session. Com. Bhattarai presented the draft report entitled 'Common Minimum

Policy and Programme of United Revolutionary People's Council (URPC)" and Com. Dev Gurung presented the draft constitution of URPC. The draft report was divided into two parts. The first part dealt with brief background on the history of formation of centralised state, the class structure of Nepalese state, the development of class struggle, the importance of revolutionary united front and its forms and the scientific outlook about the state.

The second part deals with the plan and programmes of URPC in which 75 points pertaining to the structure of the state have been given under 11 subheadings related to political, economic and cultural aspects.

The group discussion on the draft report was centred on the structure of new state. Considerable time was spent in discussing how it was more difficult to fight against counter-revolution than making revolution. Referring to the loss of once well established socialist states in the world, particularly those in China and Russia, it was opined that the challenge today lies in creating a 21st century state which will not only consolidate dictatorship of the proletariat but at the same time it will have elements to pave way for withering away of the state. Today, the starting point of any attempt to create a new state should begin with incorporating the spirit of GPCR, at the same time one must go beyond it so as to pursue continuous revolution. Discussion was also centred on the dialectical relation between the Party and the people's government and correct method of ensuring continued proletarian leadership over the government. After intense discussion the draft report and the constitution were unanimously passed with some amendments.

CONCLUDING SESSION

On the third day Com. Bhattarai chaired the concluding session. Congratulatory speeches on successful completion of the URPC convention were given by representative of various mass- organizations and distinguished guests. The highlight of the concluding session was the presentation of a variety of revolutionary cultural programs ranging from reciting poems to solo songs, group songs, solo dance, group dance representing cultures of different nationalities and regions. It gave the feeling as if the whole of Nepal was represented in the hall. The spirit of voluntary association of different nationalities was truly felt.

At the end of the convention a 37-member executive committee of the URPC representing Party, army, oppressed nationalities, depressed regions, depressed caste and mass organizations was constituted under the convenorship of Com. Baburam Bhattarai. Com. Krishna Mahara was elected co-convenor and Com. Dev Gurung, as the secretary. Later on an 11-member secretariat and different Departments to conduct day to day affairs of the embryonic state were constituted.

Revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society, and without them it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power.

— Mao Tse-tung "On Contradiction" (August 1937), **Selected Works**, Vol. I, P.344."

NATIONAL**ROYAL MASSACRE AND THE POLITICAL CRISIS**

Today, even while one is entering the 21st century, a medieval-styled massacre involving the entire royal family of king Birendra, has occurred in the Himalayan Kingdom of Nepal on June 1, 2001. In an era of imperialism and expansionism where medieval monarchy can only exist with the blessing of these forces, some streak of liberalism and patriotism on the part of the late king Birendra in dealing against the class-conscious Maoist People's War proved to be suicidal for him and his whole family. To sharpen the instrument of suppression the feudal hard-liner forces represented by Gyanendra, the younger brother of the late king Birendra, and the comprador bourgeois class represented by Girija, the then Prime minister under the backing of American imperialism and Indian expansionism, conspired to murder the whole family so as to pave way for Gyanendra, who was in favour of suppressing the People's War.

The ruling class thought they could hoodwink the people with the support of domestic feudal forces and the imperialist and expansionist forces with their concocted story of 'love affair' theory behind the palace murder. However, CPN (Maoist) under the leadership of Chairman Prachanda issued timely statements and articles exposing the nexus between Gyanendra and the imperialist, expansionist forces. This analysis proved to be all the more correct when an article "The New Kot Parva (massacre) must not be legitimized" written by Com. Baburam Bhattarai was printed in one of the main-stream newspaper, Kantipur (June 6, 2001), and that resulted in the arrest of four journalists including the chief editor. In fact the incident of royal massacre indirectly helped in propagating the People's War at world level.

This incident also exposed the parliamentary forces who dared not to condemn the incident, leave alone organising any protest against the massacre. It specially exposed the hypocrisy of the so-called leftist forces like UML and Masal, who are supposed to be republican but resorted to supporting the new 'king'. After the royal palace massacre, the CPN (Maoist) issued a statement not to accept the new 'king' as the massacre had made monarchy redundant and to protest against the massacre. This led to massive turn out in streets protesting against the massacre and demanding to punish the culprits. The growing ire against the state was so strong that prince Deependra's body had to be cremated under curfew, which continued even when the new 'king' Gyanendra was coronated. Not only that Girija's attempt to accompany Gyanendra for his coronation was thwarted by stone-throwing masses. It is also worth noting that a 'Public Security Ordinance' (PSO) was promulgated on the very same day of the coronation. Bolstered by new king's hardened attitude, Girija came out with a 14-point agenda of common understanding; an attempt to rope in all political forces to isolate CPN (Maoist) and to suppress it. However, by this time Girija became so unpopular that there were movements to oust his government, to which most of opposition parties, including the main opposition party UML, lent support. CPN (Maoist) also made the resignation of Girija as one of its immediate demands while calling for protest against the massacre. While no party dared to protest against the unholy nexus between Gyanendra and American imperialism and Indian expansionist in connection with royal massacre, and the promulgation of PSO, it was CPN (Maoist) which boldly called for 'Nepal Bandh' on July 12. Week-long campaign involving mobilization of the masses together with torch-lit demonstrations, burning of effigies of Gyanendra and Girija, together with armed actions on police posts took place preceding the 'Nepal Bandh' day. On the 'Nepal Bandh' day several daring armed actions took place, like armed action against Holleri police post in Rolpa in which 72 armed policemen were captured. Similarly total number of 42 policemen were killed in police out post raids in Lamjung, Nuwakot and Gulmi districts of Central region. Attack on police outpost in Eastern region were also carried out. As expected Girija in connivance with Ganendra mobilized the royal army in Nuwagaon in Rolpa to recapture government police forces from the Maoist custody. It should be noted that Girija had been in favour of army mobilisation right in the beginning, but the late king Birendra had not permitted the use of the army. Hence, this is the first time he was able to mobilise the army through Gyanendra. However, the military force sent in helicopters were attacked resulting in severe damage to one helicopter and the royal military force that managed to land in Nuwagaon village, was soon encircled by the

People's Army together with the villagers. However, the Girija government came up with white lies claiming that it was the reactionary military force which was encircling the People's Army and that several of them had been killed. When the truthful news reached the masses Girija got thoroughly exposed. This incident proved to be the last straw on the camel's back resulting in resignation of his government. Sher Bahadur Deupa of the same Nepali Congress Party formed a new government with its tall claims to solve the so-called Maoist problem. Then ensued the process negotiation, of breakdown of talks resumption of war in higher scale, declaration of a state of emergency on November 26 and the rest.

Thus the political crises enhanced by massacre of king Birendra and his family resulted into bigger crisis for the reactionary state. As aptly commented by Com. Mao, the Nepalese reactionaries had picked up a stone against the people but dropped it onto their own feet and hurt themselves. Since monarchy has been the strongest traditional institution of the reactionary classes particularly due to its control over the royal army, its destabilisation has shaken the very foundation of reaction in the country.

NEGOTIATION WITH THE REACTIONARY STATE

The question of negotiation has always been viewed differently by different classes. The ruling reactionary class uses it as a weapon to lull the revolutionaries into inaction and surrender, or to mislead the masses against the revolutionary forces, alleging that they are rigid, warmongers and that they are not for peaceful solution. For the proletarian revolutionary forces, the question of negotiation becomes relevant only when it helps in consolidating, or preserving its forces in order to advance the revolution. When they decide to go for negotiation, they use it as an opportunity to put forward their ideology, and political views frankly before the masses and to mobilise them for the revolution.

It should be noted that the question of negotiation in Nepal has been raging since the very beginning of the PW and the latest one was forwarded by the Sher Bahadur Deupa government as soon as it came to power in August 2001. This he was forced to do so because he formed the government on the basis of promise to solve the so-called Maoist problem and the new 'king' Gyanendra wanted to buy more time to consolidate his position.

Within the Nepalese ruling class there have been two strands regarding the question of negotiation. While the relatively liberal force has sought to use it as a political means to bring the CPN (Maoist) within the status quoits parliamentary politics, on the other hand, the fascist hardliner force has conspired to use it as a deceptive measure to further consolidate its military might and prepare for armed offense against People's War. For the CPN (Maoist), the question of negotiation has always been an open political tactics to advance the revolution, or a tit for tat tactics according to the enemy's position. In the current context, specially in a situation of sudden stalemate between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces after the palace massacre and prevalence of certain degree of illusion among the petty-bourgeois section of the masses about a negotiated solution to the problem, the CPN (Maoist) thought it more opportune to engage in the process of negotiation with definite aims. Hence the CPN (Maoist) put forward the demand for releasing all it's prisoners and to make public the status of those who had gone missing as a pre-condition for starting negotiation. The government responded it by releasing some prisoners. The CPN (Maoist) also responded it by releasing all the police men and other prisoners it had captured. However the government did not release all the prisoners, and they did not make public the status of the missing persons.

The first round of negotiation took place on August 30. It was an introductory meeting to familiarise the negotiators and issues that were likely to be raised. The second round of negotiation took place on September 14. The negotiation was centered on drawing the agenda and the three immediate political demands put forward by our side, namely (1) formation of an interim government (2) drawing a new constitution (3) institutionalisation of the republic. Among these demands the reactionary side understandably stuck to the question of monarchy, apparently under the pressure of the Gyanendra clique, and the talks seemed to make no political headway. Even then keeping the public sentiment in mind, it was agreed to sit down for a third round of talks. Meanwhile,

utilizing comparatively relaxed atmosphere, the Party used this opportunity to organise and mobilise the masses in support of the PW. The Party, educated the masses on why monarchy had become redundant after the massacre of the royal family, and on the relevance of a republican state. It also educated the masses on the relationship between its immediate demands and the programme of NDR. Meanwhile it held the conventions of the PLA and the revolutionary united front within the country to consolidate its position for the central level political intervention when the situation demands.

The negotiation period also gave opportunity to organise massive rallies in urban areas. It was also possible to mobilise various oppressed groups such as women, dalits, oppressed nationalities and regionally oppressed people and explain to them the Party's position on the nature of their oppression and the solution it offers. The most notable rallies were held in Dang, Nepalganj, Dhangadhi in Western region, Chitwan, Pokhara and Butwal in Central region, Katmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur in Kathmandu valley and Hetauda, Biratnagar Janakpur in Eastern region, where several hundred thousands gathered in each mass meetings. There were reports that such massive rallies had never taken place in the entire history of Nepal. The star attractions of the rallies were the Party negotiators and those mass-leaders that had just been released from enemy jails. The Party used this occasion to explain its ideological and political line, particularly the relevance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Prachanda Path, which was recently passed by the Second National Conference.

Negotiation also became one more method to expose the hypocrisy of the ruling classes as they were mobilising its military and para-military forces to harass and arrest the revolutionary in the meantime. Not only that, they were preventing even peaceful demonstrations and mass meetings at various places. They were openly arming themselves with modern military equipments from different countries. The fascist Girija clique was inciting the activities of sabotage in the name of so-called united resistance committees so as to derail the negotiations. Several attacks on revolutionary cadres and the masses took place. Particularly in Tarai regions, where arson and looting took place against the Hill people, thus giving it a communal colour. However such an act got backfired when the real evil intention was revealed and people turned out to be more sympathetic to the PW. The dilly-dallying tactics of the government also taught the masses not to rely on negotiation alone.

During this period, the Party organised meetings of various leftist and patriotic forces so as to form broad alliance in support of its demands. However, a broad understanding achieved by the meeting was breached by the revisionist UML. Subsequently none of the so-called left parties dared to come out against the monarchy. Similarly it is interesting to note that while most of the countries of the world welcomed the decision of the government to negotiate with CPN (Maoist), the Indian expansionist state condemned the CPN (Maoist) as a 'terrorist organisation', thus contributing to derail the negotiation process.

The third round of negotiation took place on November 13. As there was apparent pressure from the feudal-militarist clique not to concede to the demand of a republican form of state, our side made an alternate proposal for an elected constituent assembly under an interim government to settle the immediate political issue. There was seen enthusiastic support to the proposal from the general masses and a large section of the bourgeois intelligentsia. But the meek Deuba government once again surrendered to the murderous Gyanendra clique and did not dare to support the new proposal. Meanwhile the Gyanendra clique has tended its conspiratorial plan to mobilise the royal army under its command against the revolutionary forces. Subsequently Chairman Prachanda issued a public statement on November 21 announcing the virtual collapse of the negotiation process and placing the blame for the same on the reactionary side.

The Party, however, assessed several important gains from the whole process of negotiation. The first was the opportunity for organisational consolidation, mass mobilisation and all-round preparation, both political and military, for further advancement of the PW. The second was ensuring the release of several important comrades from the enemy custody. And the third, and perhaps the most important, was the thorough political exposure of the enemy's hypocrisy among the masses and practical education to the masses on illusions about the negotiations.

INTERNATIONAL**FORMATION OF CCOMPOSA**

In the era of imperialism, the mad pursuit for profit has broken all barriers of national boundaries, so has the crisis that goes hand in hand with the appropriation of social labour for private gains. As a result there is objective basis for revolution in the world in general, and in the Third World in particular. However, subjectively the International Communist Movement (ICM) has still to recover from the setback it suffered after the demise of Mao Tse-tung and counter-revolution in China in 1976. Among the many initiatives to streamline ICM in the revolutionary track, the initiative taken by Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) is most promising because of its clear-cut ideology of MLM.

The so-called globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation that is being forced by imperialist countries on the already fragile economy of the Third World has intensified crisis in these countries and as a result the storm centre of revolution has shifted to Third World countries, particularly South Asian countries.

South Asia, one of the poorest regions of the world, and which carries more than 15th of the world population, has increasingly become the hotbed of conflict. The void created by dissolution of Soviet social imperialism in this region is being rapidly replaced by other imperialist countries particularly the American imperialism at a much faster rate. The war on Afghanistan by US imperialism has made this region all the more volatile. Thus the notion of Asia, Africa and Latin America as the storm centres of world revolution as envisaged by Mao, is getting more relevant. The crisis in this region is being manifested in the form of class wars in most parts of Nepal and in Bihar, Dandakaranya and Andhra Pradesh in India, in the form of national liberation movements in North Eastern states and in Kashmir in India and in Northern Sri Lanka and in the form of religious fundamentalist movement in Pakistan. Of all these conflicts, class wars in the form of PWs being waged in Nepal and parts of India have the most promising future because class oppression is the mother of all oppressions. Thus, the responsibility of Maoist parties and organisation in this region has added responsibility of not only co-ordinating between PWs being waged by different countries and assisting those who are seriously trying to wage PWs in their respective countries, but also to integrate various movements with class war under the leadership of the proletariat. Also when one talks of South Asian region, one has to particularly see it in relationship to the Indian expansionist state which is the common enemy of the people of all the South Asian countries including its own people. This state has repeatedly attacked Pakistan, it has gone to attack Tamil nationals in Sri Lanka, it has gobbled up the independent country of Sikkim into one of its states, it has turned Bhutan into its virtual colony and now it is eyeing on Nepalese Maoist movement with the intention of intervening to Bhutanise the country. Thus the question of consolidating and expanding PW throughout India has strategic importance in South Asia as this will help in consolidating and expanding PWs in the rest of South Asian countries. It is in this context that Co-ordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organisations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA) has been formed in June 2001.

CCOMPOSA is a body for co-ordinating the Maoist Parties and Organisations and their struggles and actions in South Asia. It has pledged to fight and defeat revisionism-both parliamentary and armed as the main obstacle to developing protracted People's War. It has pledged to develop principled unity and conscious determination to hoist the red flag of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in its full splendour on the silver summits of the Himalayas and throughout the region. It has pledged to fight against the Indian expansionist state, backed by world imperialism, particularly US imperialism, as it constitutes the common enemy of the people of entire South Asia.

CCOMPOSA consists of 10 Maoist Parties and Organisations representing Bangladesh, Cylon (Sri Lanka) India and Nepal, namely: 1. Purba Bangla Sarbahara Party (CC) 2. Purba Bangla Sarbahara Party (Maoist Punarghatan Kendra) 3. Bangladesh Samyabadi Dal (ML) 4. Communist Party of Cylon (Maoist) 5. Communist Party of India (M-L) (Naxalbari) 6. Communist Party of India (M-L) (PW) 7. Maoist Communist Centre 8. Revolutionary Communist Centre of India (MLM) 9. Revolutionary Communist Centre of India (Maoist) 10. Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

A week-long publicity campaign hailing the formation of CCOMPOSA was launched in all the countries of

the region from October 1 to October 7, 2001. A common leaflet in different languages was distributed in large numbers, common revolutionary slogans were widely pasted and written in public places and several seminars and mass meetings held in important cities. Though in its formative stage, CCOMPOSA has united the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses and needs to be well-groomed in the days to come.

11 SEPTEMBER AND ITS AFTERMATH

(Maoist) 10. Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist).

In one of the most daring attacks against US imperialism, the twin towers of World Trade Centre (WTC) in New York and a significant portion of the Pentagon in Washington were destroyed, killing more than 7000 persons in the process, by unspecified suicide bombers September 11, 2001. This provided a long sought out pretext for US imperialism to carry out brutal armed aggression against Afghanistan and other oppressed countries in the name of 'global campaign against terrorism'.

Ultimately US imperialism attacked on Afghanistan on October 7. This aggression has further verified the scientific analysis that "imperialism means war". At the beginning US said that this war would be the "war against terrorism". The more the imperialist allies went on building up it said that it will not end up with bringing Bin Laden to justice, it will continue the war for years. Targets were fixed for to the Middle East and South Asia, and the aims are clearly to nip in the bud the national liberation and revolutionary movement in this region. The submissive role of the US lackeys in South Asia, specially the role of Hindu chauvinist regime of India, military dictatorship of Pakistan and the merderous Gyanendra clique of Nepal, has jeopardise of regional stability and independence.

In response to the US aggression, Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (CoRIM) "called upon the people of all countries to unite in their millions to oppose and resist every act of US aggression"⁴. Revolutionary Communist Party of USA also called for resistance. Similarly, Communist Party of Iran (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist), Communist Party of Afghanistan, Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (People's War) and the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) have condemned US aggression on Afghanistan and repression on the masses the world over.

As CoRIM statement states, "this war will be met with a storm of resistance not only in those countries designated as targets, but through out the whole world, including in the US and other aggressor countries themselves"⁵. Anti-war protests were held within the US and the other imperialist countries. In London 20000 people demonstrated against the US and the allied aggressors. 10000 people in Scotland, 15000 in Berlin, 10000 in San Francisco, 5000 in New York, 800 in Seattle, 200 in Los Angeles, 500 in Vancouver, 500 in Toronto, have demonstrated to protest the aggression. In these anti-imperialist demonstration the slogans, "no war, support peace"; "this war is not patriotic war," etc. were chanted.

There have been big demonstrations in many states in India, such as in Punjab, West Bengal, Andhra, Bihar, and New Delhi. Thousands of people including students, workers and peasants demonstrated in Nepal and Pakistan. In Nigeria, the Nigerian Army - lackey of the US imperialism, killed 200 people. Thousand of masses protested in Indonesia. Similarly on Oct 7: 4000 in Brussels, Belgium; 1500 in Tokyo, Japan. demonstrated. On October 8: 2000 in Barcelona, Spain; 2000 in Brisbane, Australia; 1200 in Copenhagen, Denmark; 1500 in Melbourne, Australia; 1500 in Oslo, Norway; 6000 in Rome, Italy; came on the streets against US aggression. On October 10: 3000 in Berlin, Germany, gathered and protested. On October 7, over 3,000 people marched over three miles through the streets of San Francisco to protest the start of U.S. bombing. The march went through immigrant communities in the Mission District and many people joined the march along its route. In Palo Alto, 500 demonstrated in an action sponsored by the Palo Alto Peace and Justice Centre and the Stanford Community

for Peace and Justice. The Filipino group Bayan and others rallied downtown against the war. Students from college campuses across the country are also mobilizing anti-war teach-ins and demonstrations in response to the bombings. On October 8, rallies were held at campuses around the USA, from the University of Southern California in Los Angeles to the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor to Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York. Rallies and marches have taken place in many other areas throughout the U.S. in response to the war on Afghanistan.

The US bombing in Afghanistan reminded holocaust caused by its bombing in Hiroshima. An Afghani farmer near Kandahar says: *"I have never seen such a sight. Bombs were dropping in and around the village, and there was fire and smoke everywhere. I grabbed my family and some clothes—we must have walked about 10 kilometers in the night before we found a car that would bring us to the border."* A Afghan refugee says *"This war has become darker and darker. Our country has been completely destroyed. I don't care who's responsible. But when the Americans decided to attack, I was overcome by sadness. I hope all the enemies of Afghanistan will be destroyed."* (*The Revolutionary Worker*)

US imperialism exercises its superpower, which, in fact, violates any international law and order for internal security of the third world countries. The September 15 joint resolution of the Congress, states: "The President is authorized to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations, or individuals". This is clearly an open threat against oppressed masses of the world.

The masses of the people are not only standing against US imperialism, but against the puppet regimes of their country. The imperialist puppets are facing protest in Nepal, in Indonesia, in Egypt, and in America itself.

Despite the myth of imperialist super power, what is once again proved is that masses of the people are invincible and only the masses are the makers of history. The attacks on WTC in New York and on Pentagon in Washington are definitely of political motive, which symbolically represents the attack on the imperialist economic and military might, even though, no forces claimed responsibility. However, thousands of innocent people died both working in the WTC and travelling on weaponized airbus. Their death enlists on the list of millions of masses that the US imperialism had killed in the world over. US imperialism is responsible for this casualty. Nevertheless, such dramatic blows have never been the correct solution in history to get free of the hill of oppression. Further more, it requires a political aim, policy and programme based on the masses of the people. At the same time, neither any religious fundamentalism, nor any bourgeois democracy can be the real solution for the masses. It is only the dictatorship of the proletariat that abolishes all kinds of injustice and oppression of man by man. It is only the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist science that gives us a guideline to make that kind of revolution.

In the name of "war against terrorism", the world imperialists are trying to hijack the sentiment of the people to unite reactionaries worldwide to suppress the nationalist democratic and revolutionary movements. In fact, the national liberation movements are very strong in different parts of the world, which need to get integrated and embodied to the proletarian revolutionary movement to lead the masses towards the real emancipation-communism. This is a time in history, which has strongly demanded the unity of all these movements, for which the Maoist revolutionaries have to play a leading role.

We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun.

— Mao Tse-tung "Problems of War and Strategy" (November 6, 1938), *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 225."

1. PRESS STATEMENT OF CCOMPOSA ON CURRENT SITUATION IN SOUTH ASIA

Recent developments in South Asia, including the US imperialist aggression in Afghanistan in the pretext of fighting 'terrorism', declaration of a state of emergency against the Maoist People's War (PW) in Nepal, promulgation of the so-called anti-terrorist ordinance POTO and banning of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties in India and the war hysteria fanned by the reactionary ruling classes of India and Pakistan over Kashmir, have once again confirmed that this region is fast turning into a storm centre of world revolution. These developments have also brought into focus the inherent dialectics of serious challenges and excellent opportunities of proletarian revolution, which the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist revolutionaries of the region ought to grasp correctly so as to meet the challenges successfully and lead the revolution to victory.

The imposition of a countrywide state of emergency with suspension of all fundamental rights of the people, promulgation of the so-called anti-terrorist ordinance and deployment of the royal army to counter the ever-raging PW led by the CPN (Maoist) in Nepal is a very significant event with wider ramifications for the world proletarian revolution. This is in fact the last desperate act of the tottering monarchical regime there stung hard by the heroic military actions of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the declaration of an embryonic Central People's Government Organising Committee in the form of the United Revolutionary People's Council (URPC) under the leadership of the CPN (Maoist) in the last week of November 2001. It may be noted that when all the avenues for a minimum political solution through negotiation in the form of immediate institutionalisation of a republican form of state or convening of an elected constituent assembly to draft a new constitution were summarily closed by the arch-reactionary monarchical regime, the CPN (Maoist) was forced to launch the latest series of successful military campaign and to go ahead with the formation of URPC. Thoroughly defeated in the real encounters with the PLA, the reactionary royal army has taken recourse to ghastly massacre of the unarmed masses in the usual fake encounters and the fascist regime there has sought external military aid or intervention particularly from the expansionist Indian state. Already a huge consignment of military aid including sophisticated helicopters have been sent by India and USA and the reactionary ganging up between the ruling classes of these countries has been proved beyond doubt. The CCOMPOSA expresses its wholehearted solidarity with the revolutionary forces in Nepal and warns all the external reactionary elements, particularly Indian expansionism, not to intervene militarily or otherwise there and let the Nepalese people decide their own political future themselves.

The CPI (M-L) (PW) and MCC in India have made significant revolutionary advancements in recent times with a series of heroic military actions in the last few months. A number of successful military actions carried out by the CPI (M-L) (PW) on the occasion of the first anniversary of founding of People's Guerilla Army, and also by MCC, in different parts of India have shaken the reactionary Indian state. As a consequence the expansionist Indian state headed by the Hindu chauvinist BJP has promulgated POTO and banned these two revolutionary Parties along with their associated mass organisations and several other nationalist groups. The CCOMPOSA denounces this fascist act of the Indian state in the strongest possible terms and demands that the ban imposed on these Parties and organisations be lifted immediately and unconditionally.

The naked aggression carried out by US imperialism in Afghanistan and the abject servility of the reactionary rulers of this region to US imperialism has heightened the need for a broad front against imperialism, expansionism and reaction in the region. Lack of any effective resistance against US aggression in Afghanistan has once again proved beyond doubt the hollowness of the anti-imperialist posture of the religious fundamentalists and other obscurantist forces and has goaded the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist-Maoist forces to forge and lead a genuine anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist front. Similarly, the so-called anti-terrorist rhetoric and war hysteria created and spread by the reactionary ruling classes in the region, particularly by the Hindu fascist BJP in India, needs to be thoroughly unmasked, as imperialism and their lackeys are the real root cause of 'terrorism'. The sinister designs of Indian expansionists led by the Hindu fanatic BJP to whip up anti-Muslim and anti-Pakistan hysteria and to brand the revolutionary communists as 'terrorists' for their own sectarian ends ought to be defeated

thoroughly and people-to-people level solidarity strengthened in the region. Recent threats posed by Indian expansionists to Bhutan and Bangladesh also deserve to be condemned in the strongest possible terms. The CCOMPOSA, therefore, calls upon all the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist forces to come forward to defeat the challenges posed by the Hindu fascist and monarchical forces as gendarme of US imperialism, unitedly, and to turn it into an excellent opportunity for advancing proletarian revolution in the region.

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

1. PBSP (CC) 2. PBSP (MPK) 3. BSD (ML) 4. Communist Party of Cylon (Maoist) 5. CPI (ML)(Naxalbari) 6. CPI (ML) (PW) 7. MCC 8. RCCI (MLM) 9. RCCI (Maoist) 10. CPN (Maoist)

January 5, 2002

2. CONDEMN, OPPOSE AND RESIST US WAR EFFORTS

U.S. imperialism, the number one enemy of people across the world and main source of world terrorism, has turned wild after the unprecedented attacks on the World Trade Center, the symbol of imperialist financial might and on the Pentagon, the center for military brutality the world over. We emphasize the fact that it is ridiculous and unbecoming of American butchers to shed tears for the dead ones. It is U.S. imperialism which always trampled under feet aspirations of democracy, equality and freedom for so many decades, now masquerading as saviour against terrorism. It has the ghastly record of dropping atom bombs on Japan, butchering thousands and thousands of freedom loving Vietnamese and resorting to large scale napam bombing in Vietnam, unleashing frequent missile attacks on Iraq, killing lakhs of people in various parts of the world and so on.

It is none but American imperialism that is interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, engineering coups and counter-coups, toppling elected governments in various countries by providing various lethal weapons to anti-democratic forces and encouraging them to take up terrorist activities. It is looting the world people, bullying the opposition with economic embargoes and starving millions of people all over the world to death. It is encouraging and practicing racism everywhere.

This savage imperialism is now howling being, hurt and humiliated by the strikes at the very heart of its financial and military might. The U.S.A. is now shoring up support of other states in its deadly military mission in Afghanistan. It even rejects the UN in its "Operation Infinite Justice" to let loose the floodgates of injustice against humanity.

In course of this development people worldwide are gradually registering their protests against this heinous act of US imperialism. Even good number of USA citizens are raising their voice against this declaration of war. It indicates that in future all peaceloving democratic people worldwide will put a strong resistance against war.

A black pall is descending on this part of the world. Now not only the people of America and the likely victims of the American beastly attacks, the whole of the international community is drifting towards a bloodbath of unimaginable proportions.

We strongly condemn the warmonger U.S. trying to drag the world towards a massive war. We appeal to all peace-loving democratic people to oppose U.S. war efforts in every possible way. We condemn the servile role of the reactionary governments of this region including India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan, dancing to the tune of U.S. imperialism in the name of countering terrorism.

Let us redouble our initiative and effort to resist imperialism by rallying the people worldwide and specially those of South Asia. Let us build up a strong and mightily anti-imperialist movement in these regions and spread it throughout the world.

- Co-ordination Committee of Maoist Parties and Organizations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA)

September 24, 2001

3. FORWARD IN ORGANISING AND UNLEASHING PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE TO IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION!

- Communist Party of Afghanistan, 17 September, 2001

Once again the suffering people and the grief-stricken country of Afghanistan are being subjected to imperialist invasion and occupation, this time under the pretext of the "war against terrorism". The U.S. imperialists have declared this a world-wide battle and intend to broadly unite the globe's other imperialists and reactionaries behind them.

The slogan of a "world-wide war against terrorism" is a big lie because it is raised by the biggest terrorist power in the world. The Yankees have been wounded in their own home and this wound, no matter who inflicted it, is painful, not only because of the scale of the damage and casualties, but especially because it has revealed to the masses of the world the general weakness of the system and the fragility of the edifice of imperialist world domination. That is why they shriek like a wounded beast and howl for bloody vengeance. In fact, they want to display their might in the most terrifying way and scare the people of the world so that their world-wide power and domination is not weakened. That is why their proclaimed "world-wide war against terrorism" will be one of the bloodiest imperialist state-terrorist campaigns, overall and in particular for Afghanistan.

Who organised and carried out the suicide actions in New York and Washington? Osama bin Laden and the gangs related to him have been declared suspect number one. But who is Osama? He is a product of the CIA. For years he was an open and obedient servant of the Yankees, and it is possible that even now he may be linked to a section or sections of the imperialist powers. The American imperialists themselves created, bred and trained this "great terrorist". The gangs connected to this "great mujahedin" have taken an active part in a series of the most terrifying and barbaric acts against the masses of Afghanistan, with the direct and indirect consent, encouragement and support of the American imperialists and their allies, who have built up these gangs to use them against our people and invade our country.

Who is being targeted for the same "severe repression" as the "terrorists" for having given them refuge? The Taliban regime tops the list. But who are the Taliban? U.S. imperialism & Co. pulled them out of the dark corners of mosques and religious schools to achieve their imperialist political and economic goals in Afghanistan and the region. It was this support that took the Taliban from begging at people's doors to the heights of power. During the years of their rule, these bestial terror-mongers have not shrunk from mass murder, killing thousands of people and forcibly displacing hundreds of thousands more under the pretext of suppressing opposition to their reactionary rule. Without a doubt, the very essence of their politics in relation to the masses of people, the toilers, women and oppressed nationalities, is horror and terrorism. Their gangs, whose self-proclaimed task is to "bring order to the good and discourage the bad", are a savage reflection of this horror and terror.

It is clear that imperialism's hand-picked servants are appreciated only as long as they are useful, and when their usefulness ends or their existence becomes bothersome for the masters, or when there are grounds to exchange them for better servants, they become worthless and lose the support of the masters or are even subjected to the master's rage. Mobuto, Suharto, Fujimori, etc., are among those obedient imperialist lackeys who, after years of serving their masters, lost their ability to perform their function in the face of the struggle of the masses, became useless, and were put aside. But Noriega of Panama, whose existence had become troublesome for the master, became a target of attack and was not only toppled from power but arrested and sent handcuffed to the U.S. for "trial". It is very likely that such a fate awaits Osama and Mullah Omar. The Taliban project in its entirety, including the establishment of the Osama-led gangs in Afghanistan, was meant to bring about the political stability desired by the U.S. imperialists and their allies in the

country and pave the way for their influence in central Asia. But this project not only failed to bear fruit for the U.S. imperialists, it turned into its opposite and became not only a barrier to their influence in central Asia, but a nuisance for them altogether. That is why the Taliban and Osama lost U.S. support and now face the fury of their American masters—not because this world-eating power is against terrorism and fright-mongering. Aren't the U.S. imperialists the number one supporter of Zionism and the occupying and fright-mongering state of Israel, one of the most blood-thirsty gangs of horror, terror, murder and plunder in the world? Why aren't Zionism and the state of Israel targets of U.S. imperialism's "world-wide war against terrorism"? It is clear that, far from being a target of the "war", they even comprise an important section of this war camp.

Further, the slogan of "Jihad against American blasphemy" raised by the Osama gang, and now repeated by the Taliban as well, is also a big lie and a great hypocrisy. The masses of Afghanistan have felt with their flesh and tasted with their lives the "fruits" and "benefits" of this "jihad against corruption and decadence". It is crystal clear that this "jihad" in Afghanistan against the invasion of "American blasphemy", even if it could be turned from an empty slogan into action, will yield no better result or fruit for the country and the people. What is more likely is that either these hand-picked servants will in one way or another strike a deal with their revered masters, or in the face of their aggression and invasion rapidly flee the field.

In this context, the desperate and gloomy condition of the reactionaries at war with the Taliban, that is the "Islamic state of Afghanistan" [the Northern Alliance – *translator*], who have recently become commanderless and "orphans", is disgusting and despicable. These lowly reactionaries have already been eating from the feed trough of Russia and India and their allies in the Afghanistan affair. Now they repeatedly declare that they are willing to serve the U.S. imperialist aggressors with the hope that like vultures they will get a piece of the corpse to eat.

In any event, there is a clear demarcation and contradiction between the interests of the people of Afghanistan, on the one hand, and on the other not only those of the U.S. imperialists and their imperialist and reactionary allies and the world imperialist system in general, but also the interests of the lackeys of the imperialists and the reactionary and dependent system.

It is the absolute right and responsibility of the people of Afghanistan to resist the invasion and occupation of the U.S. imperialists and their allies, just as it was to resist the invasion and occupation of the Soviet social-imperialists. But the nature of this right and responsibility puts them into contradiction with the imperialist lackeys, whether obedient or disobedient, including the [Taliban's] "Islamic Emirate". The experience of the war of resistance against Soviet social-imperialism must be studied more deeply and applied in the present situation.

The Communist Party of Afghanistan strongly condemns U.S. imperialism's threats of aggression and strongly resolves to stand against it if such an imperialist invasion and occupation takes place, and will strive to organise and unleash the people's resistance under the independent revolutionary banner as part of the world revolution. Only if this just cause becomes a material force and is increasingly strengthened and expanded can we advance the anti-U.S. imperialist war of resistance as a stage of People's War and the New Democratic Revolution in Afghanistan. A crucial condition of this cause is that "pan-Islamism" and the present ruling reactionary "theocracy", whether of the Taliban or non-Taliban variety, continue to be one of the main targets of the revolutionary struggles, and that the struggle against it be carried out in different forms. Otherwise, once again the precious blood of the masses will be wasted and the chains of oppression and slavery will remain intact.

Down with imperialism and reaction!

Hold high the banner of people's resistance against imperialist aggression!

Long live revolution, long live communism!

STATEMENT OF RIM

4. OPPOSE BUSH'S "ANTI-TERRORIST" CRUSADE AGAINST THE WORLD'S PEOPLE!

On September 11, thousands of innocent people were killed on United States soil. In the murky waters of terrorism and the intelligence services, where intrigue and double-dealing are the currency, it may never be possible to know exactly who organised the attack or their motives. But two things are clear: first, the victims in New York join the millions of direct and indirect victims of the policies and actions of the US ruling class. Second, even greater crimes are in preparation.

The US declared a "war against Terrorism". With this, they are declaring their right to attack any and all forces and governments in a wide area stretching from the Middle East through South Asia. Targets will be determined by how quickly one bows to US dictates—a lack of democracy or a regime's use of terror against their own people or others need not exclude them from being an honoured US accomplice, as we can see in Pakistan's sudden transformation from potential victim to a US staging-ground. This war will be met with a storm of resistance not only in those countries designated as targets but throughout the whole world, including in the US and other aggressor countries themselves. It is a reflection of the conflict that pits world imperialism led by the US against the oppressed peoples and nations, the principal contradiction in the world today.

It is not surprising that many people moved by fear, ignorance or selfishness have been taken in by the attempts to march "Western civilisation" off to yet another bloodthirsty crusade. But even now, as the situation is just beginning to unfold, a growing number of people feel that the rulers are trying to hijack their sorrow at the loss of innocent lives to win support for a criminal war.

Why doesn't the US tell the victims that America's designated "number of suspect", Osama bin Laden and his movement, were sponsored by the US government: financed, armed and nurtured for a decade by the CIA, the United Kingdom's M16 and their partners in the Saudi Arabian secret services, for use by the Western bloc against their Soviet rivals? Why don't they tell the world that the US also had the thoroughly reactionary Taliban recruited and trained in a subservient Pakistan and sent Pakistani troops into Afghanistan to put them in power? And now the same powers that inflicted the Taliban on the Afghani people want to unless even more punishment?

Bush originally called the US "new war" "Operation Infinite Justice", but it is infinitely unjust. After all, he represents a country that used the first atom bomb against the people of Japan in order to consolidate their empire at the close of World War 2 in a monstrous crime against humanity. It was US bombs and soldiers that killed well over a million Vietnamese and 600,000 Cambodians, and it was the CIA that stood behind the massacre of as many as a million people when Sukarno was overthrown in Indonesia in 1965. The very day of 11 September was already carved into the hearts of the people of Chile and the world as the horrifying moment in 1973 when the CIA toppled Salvador Allende and applauded whilst Pinochet proceeded to slaughter 30,000 opponents in that small country. The US government also backed the military and death squads who hacked and shot 150,000 people to death during the last four decades in Guatemala and provided lifelines for the infamous Contras in neighbouring Nicaragua and for the EI Salvadoran regime's death squads in the 1980s. During the Gulf War it was US planes that rained "death from above" on tens of thousands—perhaps as many as 200,000—Iraqis, including surrendering soldiers. The US-led blockade as well as the systematic destruction of the Iraqi economy has caused the death of at least half a million children according to UN statistics. Israel is the US' well-fed guard dog in the Middle East, the US has provided weapons and backing for each and every Zionist crime from the founding of the state of Israel on the land of others to the mowing down of Palestinian youth today and "smart" bombing of political leaders. Bush represents a country whose police wage a merciless war on its own minority nationalities, one that sends helicopters to patrol its own ghettos and even bomb its own people (the Move commune in Philadelphia in 1985, killing 11 men, women and children). It has 3,500 people on death row, including some of the world's best-known political prisoners. US "democracy" has responded to the September 11th events by proposing laws to allow the indefinite detention of any non-citizen. Abortion doctors are murdered there, and the most fundamentalist religious fanatics have the ear of the president.

Why don't Bush, Blair, Chirac, Schroeder, Berlusconi and the rest of them tell us that this war will not be for justice but for empire? What is going on is not a 'clash of civilisations' but the efforts of these barbarous rulers flying the banner of "Western civilisation" to consolidate their control and contended among themselves for regions of strategic importance and for world domination. Other imperialist powers are supporting the US war moves while sometimes grumbling over the US' heavy hand toward even its partners-in-crime-these are two sides of the same effort to protect their own place at the imperialist banquet table, where the labour and lives of human beings is the first, last and only course, washed down with the planet's natural resources.

In the last decade the basic tendencies of the world imperialist system have been intensified under the signboard of globalisation. The powers are exploiting every corner of the globe more deeply than ever before-and this has inflicted unbearable violence everywhere through both force of arms and the grinding out of profit in daily life. If this has brought some prosperity for some of the people some of the time in the imperialist countries, the decent lives and happiness they promised their own middle classes in return for silence have proved to be an illusion. In the oppressed countries, electronic gadgets and a taste of the worst of Western culture have been offered to a minority in hopes of purchasing their acquiescence, whilst the masses of workers and peasants are driven further into poverty and the dignity of is trampled into the dust.

The US' towering crimes and its swaggering domination of the world made many people around the world glad that a big blow had been delivered at the heart of its empire. But those who want out from under the heel of the US boot and not just a fleeting and degrading revenge must look to history when the masses of people were able to take on and defeat even the mightiest of enemies. Most important to remember today is the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, which defeated the American army in the context of a worldwide revolutionary upsurge centred in Maoist China that not only rocked all the colonialist and imperialist powers but also saw unprecedented militant opposition and revolutionary mass movements in the rich countries themselves, including the US. That is a history lesson few dare talk about lately. But it is just history. Maois-led people's wars-wars that rely on the people and embody the whole new kind of society they aim to bring into being, without oppressive relations-are being waged today in Peru, Nepal and other countries.

While support for an attack on peoples of the oppressed countries is one of today's war fever, the other is a widespread suspension of many rights and freedoms within the imperialist democracies themselves, along with a sweeping crackdown against all opposition to imperialism in the countries run by their lackeys-all under the banner of suppressing terrorism. In some countries the authorities are proclaiming that they will no longer tolerate the kind of opposition they have so far been unable to squelch by more indirect means. Cowardly attacks on Muslims and foreigners are being unleashed in the US and across Europe in an effort to create a generalised climate of fear.

Whether the resistance to the announced "crusade" advances as part of the worldwide battle to rid the earth of imperialism, or whether the struggle is hijacked by reactionaries, depends ultimately on what programme and vision lead the people's struggle. We can never allow people to be presented a false choice between exploitation and oppression in its modern, imperialist form and packaged as Western-style "democracy" or an impossible return to an oppressive medieval form of existence under the signboard of Islam or other religious movements. In the last two decades, history has proven again and again in Iran, Algeria, Afghanistan itself and elsewhere that Islamic movements will never liberate the people or defeat imperialism. On the contrary, history has shown that it is only when the masses have political power in their own hands, in socialist states or new-democratic republics led by the working class and its communist vanguard, that it is really possible to shape a new future.

The need for the communist vision of a world society based on the free and voluntary association of all human beings-no longer divided by classes and into oppressed and oppressor nations, no longer marked by the subjugation of women to men-cries out as never before. Even as we unite in struggle with masses who still embrace other ideologies, our scientific vision provides the backbone to stand firm in the crosscurrents of a tumultuous world and gives strength and courage to rally the people to meet the trials of the moment, to rise to the occasion.

The revolutionary Internationalist Movement calls upon the people of all countries to unite in their millions to oppose and resist every act of US aggression. Reject the hypocrisy of the imperialist enemies. Aim high and fight for genuine liberation. Remember that the darkest hour comes right before the dawn.

- Committee of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement

24, September 2001

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF THE PROLETARIAT IS AN URGENT TASK

-Gaurav

"There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is – working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own* country, and supporting (by propoganda, sympathy and material aid) *this struggle*, this, and only this, line in *every* country without exception." -Lenin

"NEW WAR"- SITUATION

US imperialism the only super power of the world today, has started its "new war" against Afghanistan. It is making a big show of lethal weapons that the US imperialism has, to the people of the world, in order to frighten and terrorize them against its military superiority. The arrogant super power has imposed this cruel war in the pretext of taking revenge against the September 11 attack on the twin tower of the World Trade Centre, the symbol of US financial might and Pentagon, the symbol of military brutality against the world people. But who has the right to take revenge against whom is not yet really decided, because it is none other than the US imperialism itself, who is responsible in creating the 'attackers', against whom it is shamelessly yelling of "taking revenge". Thus this right of 'revenge' goes to the American people to punish their own rulers, who are the main guilty of this horror.

The cry of "war against terrorism" is a mockery, it is a fraudulent slogan of the imperialists, who are the real terrorists, and architect and patron of terrorism. It is aimed at establishing total control over the world and expanding its empire, in order to intensify and expand its exploitation and plunder unbridled. Both Bush and Laden have declared this war as a crusade. Even then the governments of Islamic nations except the Taliban of Afghanistan, have knelt down to US imperialism by participating in the war directly or indirectly, against their own religion, which fantasy they are always playing to hoodwink the Islamic masses. And the US bombing on Afghanistan, killing thousands of innocent Afghan people, is going unrestricted.

There is no doubt that this war is a reactionary war and people have nothing to gain but only to lose from this war. But imperialists are crushing a poor third world country and butchering thousands and thousands of innocent people, to which we communists can never be mute spectators. We have to expose and attack vigorously against imperialism in general and US imperialism in particular. Also it is necessary to study deeply about this latest expression of the imperialism, so that it may be possible for the communist revolutionaries to draw a correct line to fight a decisive battle against it. It does not mean that this war of aggression has changed the situation dramatically. It has rather reaffirmed our previous opinion that the US imperialism is number one enemy of the world today.

Destructive and deadly bombs are being dropped by B-1, B-2, B-52 bombers and cruise missiles are being thrown from the US bases, along with British, on Afghanistan. But, in one or the other way the war has acquired international shape. The aggression is led by NATO headed by US imperialism, whipping the reactionary rulers of the third world countries to support them. According to their character, clerics headed by Laden and Umar are making sentimental appeals to the Islamic masses to jump into the Jihad (holy war). Islamic people seem to have responded the call positively and come to the streets in some countries. Islamic fundamentalist militant organizations headed by Al Qaida and other like minded organizations are basically leading these protest demonstrations.

Imperialism, since its very birth is having international character and it has attained more global character through its "globalization". In this war NATO, the imperialist military organization headed by US imperialism, is leading the war of aggression. Even clergyman like Osama Bin Laden understands the importance of international organization at present international context and has tried to spread Al Qaida at international level (according to the report given by FBI and CIA it has networks in more than 50 countries).

We, Maoists, like to convert this "crusade" into class war of international level. There is excellent possibility of carrying out 'anti-imperialist struggle' at the world level. But is it possible to launch such a struggle without any organization of the same level to lead it? The correct answer will be no. Therefore, the latest development, which has taken place, will reaffirm the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist approach of advancing towards a new international, for which the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) has been working as its embryonic centre. It will help those Maoist revolutionaries to re-think about their understanding and realize this necessity, which is being verified several times by the reality.

TAKING LESSONS FROM THE HISTORY

As communists, our goal is explicitly clear: Communism. Who have been deviated from this goal are not communists. Communism cannot be established in a single country or nation. To talk about communism in a single country, is a seer fraud, which Khrushchev did. Com. Gonzalo's explanation in this regard is very concrete and clear; he said, "Either we all will reach or none of us will reach". In order to achieve this common goal, we have common ideology: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Therefore, the communists are real

internationalists. It was Karl Marx, who elucidated the principle: 'The emancipation of the workers is not a local, nor a national, but an international problem'. It was imperative to translate it into the practice, for which a vehicle of international organization was obvious to be felt necessary, which caused the birth of the First International.

Lenin developed Marxist theory to the higher level also in this regard. It was Lenin, who fought relentlessly against Kautskyites, who abandoned this Marxist principle and became accomplice of the bourgeoisie of their own country, in course of the First World War. Lenin condemned Kautsky as renegade of the working class movement and described their conduct as treason. Even in course of the stormy years of October Revolution, Lenin exercised his enormous strength in the formation of a new International, which acquired a concrete shape in 1919. It is important to understand what Fernando Claudin has said, "One of the features that most sharply distinguished this new International from its predecessors was the absolute primacy accorded to the 'international' over the 'national'. From the very moment it elevated to a principle the necessity of 'subordinating the interest of the movement in each country to the common interest of the international revolution'." (The Communist Movement - pp16). Lenin's idea of the possibility of the world revolution has been clearly expressed in his concluding speech of the First Congress of the Comintern, "The founding of an international Soviet republic is on the way."

Stalin, who was the leader of the International Communist Movement for 30 years, after the death of Lenin, great hero of anti-fascist war, architect of the Soviet Socialist State, vowed to advance the Communist International after Lenin's death. He made promise, in 1924, "Departing from us, Comrade Lenin enjoined us to remain faithful to the principles of the Communist International. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we shall not spare our lives to strengthen and extend the union of working people of the whole world the Communist International". But almost 30 years later the Communist International, which he vowed to 'strengthen and extend', he himself played decisive role in dissolving it. Some Maoist revolutionaries, instead of taking this event in a critical way are taking it as positive lesson and reach to incorrect conclusion of 'the international organization such as Communist International is not necessary to build up'.

What were the differences in thinking between Lenin and Stalin, regarding the unity of International Communist Movement and revolution in a particular country, has been expressed explicitly in the resolution of the Second National Conference of our glorious Party, Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), as follows: "It has to be remembered that Lenin, while organizing the Comintern, had given emphasis in the idea of World Revolution and World Communist Party and put forward clear opinion that every thing should be subordinated to it. But, under the leadership of Stalin, some mistakes were being made, in various occasions, in place of considering Soviet society as part of the world revolution, considered world revolution as part of the Soviet society. This is what Mao has said that Stalin had given some wrong counsel to the international communist movement." (Resolution put forward by Chairman Prachanda and adopted by the Second National Conference, 2001, Nepali).

Some Maoist revolutionaries draw wrong conclusion from why Mao opposed the Comintern at several occasions and did not take any initiative in the formation of new international, which he could do if he had felt necessary. No doubt, Mao had opposed bureaucratic method of functioning of the Comintern, which created and added more difficulties to the Communist Parties including the Communist Party of China (CPC) and Mao in resolving the two lines struggle in the party and also in some questions of party line. We think that these were the real weaknesses of the Comintern and it is necessary to take lessons from these mistakes that has to be avoided in the course of formation of the new International. Therefore, the Declaration of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) has pin-pointed this question as follows: "It also is necessary to evaluate the overreaction of the Communist Party of China to the negative aspects of the Comintern that led them to refuse to play the necessary leading role in building up the organizational unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces at the international level." (Declaration, pp.45)

In the opinion of our Party, C P N (Maoist), the negative experience of the Comintern is not only the reason for CPC and Mao not playing the leading role in the initiation of a new International. More than that specific situation existing during that time in the ICM, the role of Communist and Workers' Parties of Vietnam, Korea and Albania was the main hurdle in taking initiative of a new International. The resolution says, "In this respect, there is another point, why Mao did not take initiative of organizing a new International, on the basis of experience of the historical struggle against Khrushovite revisionism and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Partly, there can be a possibility of due to the negative experience of latest period of the Comintern, but it can not be the main reason. Virtually, Mao was leading the International Communist Movement ideologically, by launching the struggle against Khrushovite revisionism, by leading the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and by assisting, supporting and propagating in favor of the national liberation, New Democratic and Socialist Movements. Objectively, there were serious practical difficulties in that situation, to give it an organized form. Among the visible difficulties, there were dogmatist-revisionist and centrist and chauvinist Parties of Albania, Vietnam and North Korea, which denied Mao's universal contributions in the development of Marxism-Leninism. During that time it

was not possible to form an International by simply ignoring all these things.” (ibid)

Therefore, it is not sufficient for the Maoists just to simplify the question of why Mao did not take initiative in the formation of a new International and reach to a hypothetical conclusion. It should not also be made any pretext to justify one's own mistaken idea about the formation of a new type of International.

REAL POSSIBILITIES

It is obvious, if we start counting the number of Maoist Parties and Organizations in global level right at this moment, they are not many. If we consider another factor, how many of them are leading armed struggle or strong revolutionary movements in their own countries, the number becomes lesser.

But, does it mean that the situation is disappointing for the onward march towards the formation of a new International? No. Here the arithmetical number is not decisive. Mao's principle that 'correctness or otherwise of ideological political line decides every thing' precisely applies here too. The main question in front of us is, whether it is necessary to form a new type of International on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism or not? This ideological perception is going to decide every thing. How we Maoists have to dare, has been correctly put forward in the Declaration: "And this goal must be boldly proclaimed before the international proletariat and the oppressed of the world with the same revolutionary daring of our predecessors from the Communards of Paris to the proletarian rebels of Shanghai who dared to storm heaven and resolved to do the "impossible" – build a communist world." (Declaration. pp. 46).

This process has already begun since 1984, after the formation of RIM, as an embryonic center in the protracted process of the formation of a new type of International. As appraised by the Second International Conference of Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations, the formation of RIM 'represents an extremely important step for the international communist movement'.

It is well known that Peruvian Communist Party (PCP) and Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) are leading the most advanced People's War, which have become source of inspiration for the revolutionaries of the world over, are founding participating members of the RIM. Other parties and organizations of the RIM are also striving hard to initiate revolutionary movements and PW in their own countries. It is important achievement for the RIM that some Maoist parties and organizations leading strong revolutionary armed struggles since many years are joining the RIM.

South Asia is storm center of the world revolution and bastion of the RIM. Formation of Coordination Committee of the Maoist Parties and Organizations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA) is an important step forward in carrying out joint and unified activities of the Maoist forces of South Asia, in which RIM and the RIM-parties have important role. In a short span of time of its formation CCOMPOSA has become source of inspiration for the struggling people of South Asia and a big challenge for the enemy.

Deservedly, RIM is developing itself according to the overall development of the revolutionary situation of the world. In 1984, the basis of unity within the RIM was agreement with the position of the Declaration. In 1993, RIM adopted Maoism as the guiding ideology of the proletariat and basis of unity was developed and shifted to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This advance of the RIM was able to give rise to new polarization in the Movement, the organizations which were not really Maoist left or were expelled and other forces who were really Maoist joined or are joining the RIM. The Fourth Expanded Meeting of the Committee of RIM held at the beginning of the new millennium adopted a new basis and new criteria-People's War, for the basis of unity in the Movement.

New waves of world revolution are emerging and are clearly visible at the horizon. It is the responsibility of Maoists to seize this opportunity and translate into the revolution in reality, for which a vehicle of international organization, such as RIM, is indispensable. It is high time for all Maoists of the globe to think it up earnestly. Regarding this, it will be relevant to cite a few more sentences from the decision of our Party: "But, lot of change has taken place in the situation today. Not even a single socialist state is existing now. Real revolutionaries of the world have acknowledged Maoism as higher development of Marxism-Leninism. New wave of the world revolution is appearing at the horizon. In this situation, ideological basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has been prepared for building a new Communist International. It is necessary on the part of all the communist revolutionaries to give it an organized form in a creative way in the midst of the class struggle and ideological struggle. Today Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) has been born in its embryonic form. All of us should strive hard to refine and develop it further. In this regard it is necessary to pay specific attention to organize many of the revolutionary parties in the Movement by carrying out debate and interactions." [Resolution of the Second National Conference of CPN (M)]

Let us conclude this piece quoting the last sentences of the 'Declaration': "The words of the *Communist Manifesto* ring out all the more clearly today: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." ■

THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD: AN INEVITABLE NEED OF HISTORY

[This is the full text of the historic document presented by Chairman Prachanda and adopted by the Second National Conference of CPN (Maoist) in February 2001. -Ed]

"Correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything. If it is correct, everything is gained but if it wrong, everything, even if gained, is lost." -Mao Tse-tung

With its own originality and grandeur, the People's War has completed its five memorable years and is entering the sixth. Through its rapid development process, it is entering an entirely new and higher stage of achievements and challenges during this period. The ideological synthesis of the experiences of those five years on the basis of universal principles of invincible Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has been necessary for the continuation and further development of the Nepalese revolution and to serve the world revolution as well. Needless to say, this synthesis shall be based on lofty objectives of furthering the world revolution in the 21st century, learning lessons from both world communist movement and Nepalese communist movement. Moreover, it shall be the synthesis of achievements gained through initiatives and active participation of millions of masses in the historical and great process of People's War. Lastly, it shall be the rehearsal of the great leap forward. This National Conference held amidst the People's War shall in keeping with the gravity and broadness of the question, draw correct conclusions through broad and serious discussion in a fully democratic environment, and, ultimately, be indisputably successful.

HEARTY HOMAGE TO THE GREAT AND IMMORTAL MARTYRS

The toiling masses have been forging ahead the struggles for thousands of years in various forms and levels against all kinds of discrimination, exploitations, oppression and atrocities by men on men. The human society has reached the capitalist era from slave and feudal era in course of incessant process of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment. As an inevitable consequence, modern proletarian class emerged together with the capitalist era. The emergence of this last and revolutionary class of history produced Marxism, which is, in fact, the supreme synthesis of the knowledge and experiences of the human beings and ideology of the proletariat. For the first time in history, Marxism consciously established the right of the proletariat and toiling masses to rebel against the right of exploiting classes to exploit, which they had been enjoying for thousands of years. Besides, it drew a scientific conclusion that the ultimate result of this rebellion shall be the founding of communism in the world.

Together with Marxism as an historical invention of the proletariat, the class-struggle began shaking the whole earth. In the process of the class-struggle, the proletariat developed its ideology from Marxism to the level of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. During the turbulent years of class-struggle, the proletariat and working people have set unparalleled records of dedication and sacrifice for the achievement of lofty goals of communist ideals. And they are still on their voyage to reach their ultimate destination, synthesising the triumphs and defeats of the class-struggles.

As an inseparable part of world proletarian revolution, the People's War led by Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), a vanguard of the Nepalese proletarian class, has been going on in Nepal for the last 5 years. Hundreds of Nepalese heroes and heroines have shed their blood in order to bring the great process of achieving the great ideals of communism to this height. In particular, more than 1,500 people including the Alternate Politburo Member of Central Committee of our Party, Com. Suresh Wagle (Bashu), first child martyr Dil Bahadur Ramtel, Tirtha Gautam, Bijaya Ghale, Lali Roka, Kamla Bhatta etc. have sacrificed their invaluable lives in this context. This Second National Conference pays hearty homage to all the martyrs of the People's War and resolutely expresses its commitments to fight till the end against the enemies in order to materialise their dreams. Moreover, the Conference pays tributes to Chiniya Kaji, Bhim Datta Pant, Kami Budha, the martyrs of Harre-Barre, Juedi and Jutpani, Rishi Devkota "Ajad", Rambrikshya Yadav, the martyrs of Jhapa revolt, and all known and unknown martyrs of historical mass movements of 1980 and 1990 who sacrificed their lives in the fight against feudalism and imperialism before the People's War was initiated in Nepal.

With full commitment to and solidarity with proletarian internationalism, the Second National Conference of the Party pays tributes to all the martyrs of Peru, India, the Philippines, Turkey, Iran, Columbia, Bangladesh and others who gave their lives in order to advance the world revolution.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND ITS HISTORICAL LESSONS

Born together with capitalism, the proletariat is the last, revolutionary and international class of history. In Europe, its emergence and struggle against capitalism paved the way for propounding of Marxism. Of extraordinary talent, Karl Marx along with his very intimate friend, Frederick Engels, discovered the world outlook of the proletariat -the dialectical and historical materialism. Known as Marxism, this scientific discovery was nothing but in essence a supreme synthesis of the experience and knowledge the mankind achieved in thousand of years. This science synthesized with a revolutionary objective of transforming the world, not merely explaining it, brought an unprecedented revolution in thinking of mankind, and provided a scientific device to understand and transform the world, and to fight against all kinds of dogmas, superstitions & evils of the society.

Marxism proved irrefutably how an unique production relationship is maintained between the people and people, with the development of productive forces in the process of production and reproduction for fulfillment of material needs, and how total development of history after the stage of primitive communism is the history of class-struggle as determined by definite scientific laws. This is the allegation of historical materialism against total history.

Exposing the real cause of capitalist exploitation and accumulation of capital in the hands of a handful of capitalists in the society, Marx put forward the great theory of surplus value. Also, Marxism made it clear how capitalism has created a vicious circle of exploitation by turning the human labour into a non-living thing in order to make more profits, and, at the same time, how it is developing huge battalions of modern proletarian class and is ultimately digging its own grave.

Considering the unprecedented development of productive forces, and the contradiction between socialization of production process and private appropriation of production, Marxism presented, bearing the responsibility for social revolution on the shoulder of the proletariat, a scientific ideal of golden communist society by demolishing the classes and states, and ending all kinds of exploitation of men by men. Marx and Engels laid foundation of basic principles relating to the strategy of the proletariat to pursue for the achievement of great ideals of communist society. In total, fundamental views on the dictatorship of proletariat and socialist state as an inevitable need for the transitional period from capitalism to communism, need of violent revolution, need of the destruction of the old capitalist state, concept of development of armed masses, were presented. In his whole life, Engels fought fiercely against the bourgeois trends appearing in the worker's movement to establish this scientific view.

Against the concept of bourgeois nationalism developed for security and need of the market, Marxism upheld the banner of proletarians internationalism. Chanting the slogan "Workers of all countries, unite!" loudly, the first Communist International was founded with initiative of and under the leadership of Marx and Engels. It spread the scientific ideas of "Communist Manifesto" among the workers and, simultaneously, fought vigorously against various opportunist trends appearing in the International Communist Movement. It is in this context that in Paris (France), the proletariat, for the first time in history, seized the state through armed revolt. Renowned as "Paris Commune", all over the world, this historical revolt not only justified the basic principles of Marxism but also helped Marx and Engels to refine it with the synthesis of the experiences. Though lasting for a short period of only 72 days due to its inherent mistakes, Marx and Engels declared that its experiences would live forever.

It is particularly remarkable that the views of Marx and Engels on the Paris Commune have been working as a historical inspiration even today to identify and fight against revisionism and opportunism in the communist movement. Due to the defeat of Paris Commune and conspiracy of opportunists within, the First Communist International was dissolved. However, after the death of Marx and as per need of new situation, the Second Communist International was formed again under the leadership of Engels in 1889, which played a significant role in disseminating Marxism in the primary stage. But after Engel's death, the leaders of the Second International, mainly Karl Kautsky, knelt before the bourgeois parliamentarism and betrayed revolutionary principles of Marxism. In course of the hard struggle against reformism and parliamentarism a Bolshevik party and revolutionary struggle of a new type developed under the leadership of Lenin and socialist revolution was completed in Russia in 1917. During the life and death struggle against revisionism for the defense of its scientific and revolutionary teachings, Marxism developed into Marxism-Leninism. Lenin highly stressed that there can be no struggle against reaction unless it is linked with that against opportunism. He elevated the philosophy of dialectical materialism to a new height. The fact that the principle of unity and struggle of

opposites is the only fundamental principle of dialectics was further explained. By analyzing and researching on the characteristics of imperialism, Lenin contributed qualitatively in the field of political economy and defined the new era as the "era of imperialism and proletarian revolution" which made a great contribution in devising the strategy and tactics of revolution. His analyses which were well justified by later events are equally correct even today. Lenin not only enriched Marxism on total aspects of scientific socialism including concept of a new party, strategy of socialist revolution, struggle against revisionism, uniting peasants for revolution in the backward countries and significance of full democratic revolution, proletarian view on right of nations to self-determination, proletarian revolution to lead the national liberation movement in the eastern countries, development and struggle of the workers and masses in capitalist countries developed in the imperialist period, but also elevated it to a new height of development.

The success of Great October Socialist Revolution created unprecedented waves in the world. The masses oppressed for centuries felt that they had found out a new way to real liberation. Fiercely resisting the outlook of the imperialists and reactionaries, the Third International was formed with the initiative and under the leadership of Lenin in 1919 in order to forge ahead the world revolution in an organized way. He, taking Soviet socialist state founded in a very large part of the earth, as a base area, gave emphasis on advancing the world revolution. The revolution of Germany among the developed countries and the issue of the same in the countries like India, China among the undeveloped countries was seriously thought over. Declaring that the proletarian revolution in backward countries with a majority of peasants is "very hard and great," he emphasized on applying general principles of communism in accordance with concrete situation of the country concerned. Eventually, a concept of "National Democratic Revolution" was put forward as it required to fight against colonial and semi-colonial exploitation, too, in such countries. However, Lenin emphasized that communist revolutionaries of the countries concerned must work out and develop strategies for revolution themselves. At this juncture, particular attention must be paid to the stress given by Comintern led by Lenin on the significance of creative application of general principles of proletarian internationalism and Marxism while then in accordance with the national characteristics of such countries.

At a time, when the struggles are still needed in the international communist movement against the trend which, even today, represents, on the one hand, sectarian nationalism on the pretext of national characteristics, and, on the other, the Trotskyist trend which undermines national characteristics on the pretext of internationalism its significance is evident.

After the death of Lenin, Stalin led the international communist movement. He served proletarian movement by undertaking historical tasks such as defeating the right liquidationism which emerged in the form of so-called permanent revolution of Zenoviev, Kamenov and, mainly, Trotsky; establishing Leninism; strengthening Soviet Union by collective farming and planned economic development; knocking the Hitlerian fascism to the ground in the Second World War; synthesizing the experiences of Soviet economic development, and leading the whole international communist movement for about three decades.

Nevertheless, the fact that many serious weaknesses prevailed in Stalin and eventually, they caused some serious problems should not go unheeded. While doing so, our starting point should be, of course Stalin's evaluation made by Mao, in which he has divided his thoughts and works into two aspects and declared 70% of them correct and 30% wrong.

Advancing on the ground of general guideline about revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of pre-capitalist stage as put forward by Lenin during the initial period of Third International and greatly influencing the international power balance, the new democratic revolution was completed successfully in China. The successful revolution in a huge area with the largest population in the world through struggles of decades, presented a new model for revolution in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries of pre-capitalist stage. As Lenin had called for, Communist Party of China led by Mao undertook the "great and difficult" task of revolution in an eastern country by creatively applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism in their own specificities. In this contest, Communist Party of China led by Mao enriched and developed the Marxist science. The theory and knowledge of contradiction in the philosophy, analysis of bureaucratic capitalism in the political economy, development of strategy for new democratic revolution, and universal principle of people's war, concrete concept of party, army and united front, clearly show the enrichment of Marxism-Leninism.

During the process of revolution, Mao had to fight hard against right and 'left' opportunism of various kinds and the elements who wanted to mechanically copy the foreign experiences, such as LiLi San, Wang Ming, Chang Kuo - Tao etc. When deeply cogitated, Mao's struggle against LiLi San, Wang Ming etc., seems, in essence, to be related to the struggle against many mechanical materialist thinking and working styles of Stalin and Comintern, though he never disclosed it. Mao had called upon the people to be alert against the threat of mechanical materialist and metaphysical thinking that existed in the Communist Party of China and international communist movement not only through his policy of unity and struggle worked out in the case of united front but also through his great works like "On Contradictions", "On Practice", "Reform Your Studies", "Rectify Working Style", "On New Democracy" etc.

In the international communist movement, Mao defined the party as a unity of opposites, and not as a monolithic and homogenous unity and clarified the fact that two-line struggle inside the party is, in deed, always the motivating force for the party life. In addition, clarifying the inter-relation between class-struggle in society and two-line struggle in the party, he presented scientific explanation about the fact that as long as classes are there, the party exists and as long as the party exists, ideological struggle prevails. He declared the concept of monolithic unity as anti-dialectical and flatly rejected it. His view on party added a new dimension to the Leninist view of militant party of a new type. According to Mao, a struggle between the right and wrong ideas always runs inside the party and at certain stage, wrong ideas appear as revisionism and takes in turns into a hostile struggle with the revolutionaries. If non-proletarian ideas prevail in the party, the whole party changes its colour. Therefore, the revolutionaries should be always continuously revolutionizing the party through the two-line struggles.

Thus, the Chinese revolution grounded on Marxist-Leninist thoughts goaded millions of workers and peasants on their way to be the masters of their own destiny. Communist Party of China led by Mao put forward a programme for socialist revolution right after the success of New Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. In this historical process of socialist revolution, the contradictions between the revolutionaries and the people who had been influenced by the bourgeois character of New Democratic Revolution and joined the revolution, intensified. Right at that period, Stalin died in Soviet Union. The Khrushchev revisionism seized the leadership in the 20th Congress in a counter-revolutionary coup in the Soviet Union, and capitalism was restored. The Khrushchev clique was successful to overturn socialism and dictatorship of the proletariat in the pretext of struggle against personality cult of Stalin. This event shocked the revolutionaries all over the world. Terrorizing with nuclear arms the clique rejected the decisive role of the people in the making of the history. The renegade Khrushchevite clique advocated class-conciliation instead of class-struggle in the name of "three peacefuls". He cloaked his blatant advocacy of bourgeois parliamentarism with the possibility arisen from the changed world situation. Encouraged by the restoration of capitalism in Russia, the Chinese rightists intensified their attack on the proletarian revolutionaries in the party. The Peng Teh Hui event is a concrete example of it.

In the face of the complex situation, Mao seriously thought over the class-struggle in socialism and upheld the banner of struggle against modern revisionism of Khrushchev outside the country and right opportunism inside the party. During the fierce struggle, Mao put forward, with a scientific analysis of class-struggle in socialism, a concept of continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as the principle to prevent restoration of capitalism and led the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution, which is considered as an unprecedented mass-revolution in the whole history of mankind. With this earth-shaking revolution, Mao armed the proletarian class with a new weapon to prevent the restoration of capitalism in the socialist society. This great contribution established Mao as the propounder of a new, third and higher stage of Marxism, i.e. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This great revolution prevented restoration of capitalism in China for 10 years. Notwithstanding the success of capitalist roaders to restore capitalism in China through counter-revolutionary plots due to various national and international reasons after Mao's death, the significance of the principle he developed has not declined at all, but, instead, it has grown as a beacon for future revolutions.

What is notable here is that Mao, after the Khrushchev clique succeeded in restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union without any serious resistance, fought, on the one hand, to safeguard the achievements of the first socialist state of the world, and on the other, persevered seriously in studying the weaknesses which caused such an irreparable loss. It is in this context that we must understand his defense of Stalin against the attack of Khrushchev clique, and explanation of various mistakes and weaknesses of him. Mao's evaluation of Stalin stands apart against both rightist revisionism that negates him completely, and sectarian dogmatist revisionism that accepts even his mistakes and weaknesses. In the

international communist movement, the former trend is led by Trotsky, Tito, Khrushchev etc., while, the latter trend is led by Enver Hox, etc. Another important point to note is that the Euro-Communism, on the pretext of opposing Stalin's concept of monolithic unity and bureaucracy, began opposing integrated dialectical materialist science of Marxism, itself from bourgeois anarchist pluralist angle.

When the debate was going on in the international communist movement and Khrushchev, the ring-leader of modern revisionism, along with imperialism was simultaneously defaming Stalin from counter-revolutionary angle, it was but necessary to defend Stalin emphasizing his essentially correct and positive aspects. Doing so did not mean defending him alone but also the whole communist movement, socialism, and in all, Marxism-Leninism itself. But today things have changed greatly; the Khrushchev revisionism, later turning into social imperialism, has fallen completely with the dissolving of the Soviet Union. In China, the Chinese Khrushchovites have usurped power through a counter-revolutionary coup and restored capitalism after Com. Mao's death. Today there isn't even a single socialist state in the world.

At this moment, the revolutionaries all over the world are free, without any political pressure, to draw the essence of the experiences of history, and a great responsibility has been laid on their shoulder, to fulfil which they must work hard, no doubt. In this context, we must go into the depth of what has been mentioned in the very beginning of the letter entitled "The Question of Stalin" during the Great Debate launched by the Communist Party of China led by Mao against the Khrushchev revisionism. It states, "The question of Stalin is one of world-wide importance which has had repercussions among all classes in every country and which is still a subject of much discussion today, with different classes and their political parties and groups taking different views. It is likely that no final verdict can be reached on this question in the present century". The century as stated by the Communist Party of China led by Mao has ended and 21st century has already started. We must focus our attention on defending Stalin's 70% positive contributions and drawing lessons from his 30% errors. As else-where stated in the same article, "It would be beneficial if the errors of Stalin, which were only secondary, are taken as historical lessons so that... the Communists might take warning and avoid repeating those errors or commit fewer errors". Another important point is that his errors contain two aspects - the errors committed inevitably due to lack of experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the errors caused by ideological mistakes. It was not possible to prevent the former errors but the latter ones could be.

Listing the errors of Stalin, it is stated in the same article of Great Debate, "In his way of thinking, Stalin departed from dialectical materialism and fell into metaphysics and subjectivism on certain questions and consequently he was sometimes divorced from reality and from the masses. In struggles inside as well as outside the Party, on certain occasions and on certain questions he confused two types of contradictions which are different in nature, contradiction between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people, and also confused the different methods needed in handling them. In the work led by Stalin of suppressing the counter-revolution, many counter-revolutionaries deserving punishment were duly punished, but at the same time there were innocent people who were wrongly convicted; and in 1937 and 1938 there occurred the error of enlarging the scope of the suppression of counter revolutionaries. In the matter of Party and government organization, he did not fully apply proletarian democratic centralism and, to some extent, violated it. In handling relations with fraternal Parties and countries he made some mistakes. He also gave some bad counsel in the international communist movement. These mistakes caused some losses to the Soviet Union and the international communist movement".

In the background of experiences of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Maoism and contemporary international communist movement, what is evident today is the fact that although he was a great Marxist-Leninist, Stalin's ideological mistakes have substantially influenced the world communist movement subjectively. Categorically speaking, he had some weaknesses in his thinking of understanding and dealing with fundamental principles of dialectics, the unity and struggle of opposite. Taking the communist party as a monolithic unity, instead of unity of opposites, led him to errors in identifying the nature relations and ways of dealing of two-line struggle inside the party. As a result, it was declared, on the ground of rapid economic growth through elimination of private ownership, collective farming and industrialization, that there was no hostile class-contradiction in the Soviet society, which violated basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. Such analysis made Stalin think one-sidedly that threat to the Soviet society may occur from external intervention and conspiracy only. The emphasis on possibility of counter-revolution from external intervention and conspiracy, instead of

paying adequate attention on how new capitalism is produced within the communist party itself in the Soviet society and how to control them, violated at times Lenin's basic postulates on the relation building formation in one country of socialism and development of world revolution developed at the primary period of the Comintern. Though there was no ill intention at all, the emphasis on safeguarding the Soviet society from external threat virtually undermined internationalism and exaggerated Russian nationalism, which created a lot of confusions about understanding and advancing the world revolution and functioning of the Comintern. It is to be remembered that Lenin, while forming the Comintern, had stressed the concept of world revolution and world communist party and everything would be subsumed under it, but under the leadership of Stalin, the world revolution was considered as a part of Soviet Society, instead of vice versa. This is what has been pointed out by Mao as wrong advice of Stalin on the international communist movement. Stalin took collective farming, industrialization and rapid development of production and productive forces due to centralized planning in the economic field enough as grounds for the guarantee at the success of socialism and kept on stressing on it onesidedly. It undermined the importance of resolving differences prevailing in the society and revolutionizing the production relations. This helped in developing a new bourgeois class which was represented later by counter-revolutionary Khrushchevite clique from inside the party and thus established the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by overturning that of the proletariat.

Drawing lessons from the errors of Stalin due to historical limitations and ideological weaknesses, Mao studied seriously the economic policy and pointed out its positive and negative aspects to elevate the Marxist-Leninist principles regarding the class-struggle in a socialist society to a new height in order to prevent restoration of capitalism and presented a new model of socialist economy that required one to be red and expert, and to walk with two legs, etc. Collective ownership of production alone does not guarantee the success of socialism because many kinds of differences such as mental and physical labour, city & village, capitalist stage of the production of commodities still exist in the society which continue to provide material ground for growth of new capitalist class. Therefore Mao made it clear that characteristics of both communism and capitalism exist in socialism and there remains the danger of capitalist restoration. He aptly presented the scientific truth that march towards communism is possible by regulating capitalism through the process of continuous revolution after the proletariat seizes the political state power.

On the basis of this principle he led the people to exercise the right to rebel against the capitalist roaders of the party who advocated the Khrushchevite line which advocated that it was good to be rich. He drew a clear demarcation line between the Marxist revolutionaries and revisionists with the principle of 3 Dos and Don'ts: 'Practice Marxism, not revisionism; Unite, do not split; Be open and above board, do not conspire and intrigue'. With the slogan, "Bombard the bourgeois headquarter," he called upon the people to invade the fort of revisionists. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, through the struggle against the renegades Liu Shao Chi, Lin Biao, and Teng Hsiao Ping, he further developed the dialectical method of achieving new unity on a new basis in the party through a process of unity-struggle-transformation and emphasized the need to form party committees according to the principle of 3 in 1 with olds, adults and youths in order to transfuse new blood in the party. However, it was not possible to sweep away all the rightists who had reached higher echelons in the party and government, because of several negative impacts of international communist movement, historical limitation of class struggle and since it had been virtually late in exposing them. But it has enhanced the importance of the principle developed. Some people do not realize the complexity of the cultural revolution period and blame Mao for a number of compromise in the later period, which is completely wrong. He had been promoting the rise of revolutionaries including Chiang Ching, Chiang Chun Chiao as a revolutionary core in the party. He was in fact, leading the so-called gang of four and was the most farsighted.

In this regard, an important question may be raised-why didn't he take any initiative for building a new Communist International, through he had experience of waging historical struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism and conducting Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution? In reply, several negative experiences of the Comintern in the latest period might be put forward but that simply can't be the major factor. As a matter of fact, Mao had been ideologically leading the international communist movement by waging struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism and leading the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and by supporting, co-operating with and disseminating the national liberation, new democratic and socialist revolutions all over the world. But objectively there were some serious practical difficulties in giving them an organized form. Among the visible ones were dogmatist revisionist, centrist and chauvinist communist

parties of Albania, Vietnam and North Korea etc. who would reject the universal contributions of Mao. And it was not possible to form the communist international by ignoring all of them at that time.

But today the situation has changed greatly. There is not even a single socialist state in the world. Genuine revolutionaries have upheld Maoism as higher stage of Marxism-Leninism. New wave of revolution appears in the horizon. Now, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is there as an ideological foundation for the creation of a new communist international. All the communist revolutionaries need to march forward seriously to give it an organized form through class and ideological struggle. Today RIM has already emerged as an embryo of it. Everybody has to attempt to refine and develop it. Special attention must be paid to conduct discussions and interactions with revolutionaries outside the RIM, and uniting them in the movement.

While doing so, the communist revolutionaries should seriously look into the experiences of Comintern and try to resolve the issues of evaluation of 7th Congress of Comintern, Second World War and dissolving of Comintern, suggestions given to the communist parties of several countries to form government with anti-fascist bourgeoisie and Lenin's criticism of Millerandism, the position of communist parties of Greece, Italy, France, Spain, India, China etc. and Stalin's role etc. These questions lie in front of the international communist movement as challenges. Maoism has already provided the scientific basis for the answers to these questions. Therefore, the communist revolutionaries of the world need to accelerate the initiative to learn from the positive and negative experiences of the past by applying Maoism.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The analysis of basic characteristics of imperialism made by Lenin just before the great Russian October Revolution is still correct. Accordingly, the world is in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution even today. In today's world, there are 4 kinds of basic contradictions—the contradiction between bourgeois and proletariat, the inter-imperialist contradiction for profit and plunder, the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed countries and people, and the contradiction between the capitalist system and socialist system. Among them, the fourth is not in the surface now but as per the past experience and for future guarantee, we must take it into account continuously. The socialist revolution comes out of the first contradiction and that is its solution. The second contradiction leads to world war for redivision of the world but is not permanently resolved. As Mao has said, the proletariat should attempt to prevent the world war as far as possible, but if unsuccessful, they should work out the policy to turn the world war into world revolution. The third contradiction leads to the national liberation movements and the contradiction ends with its success.

Among them, the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed countries and people is the principal world contradiction today. The party should be clear about some important ideological and political questions as regards to deciding about the principal world contradiction, because a wrong trend to undermine and neglect the historical significance of national liberation movement and label it as a sectarian nationalism has been prevailing in the international communist movement. Moreover, the Trotskyist and, chiefly, Khrushchovite revisionism has influenced it to a great extent.

The first thing to note here is that, in the course of development of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, founding of Russian socialism and forming the Comintern in order to advance the world revolution and formulation of its strategies, Lenin had stated that the proletarian revolution and national liberation movement should fuse into each other and the fusion would be a historically important task. Imperialism has been blocking socialist revolution by creating an aristocratic class even within the working class with a portion of their unaccountable profits extracted through merciless exploitation and plunder of the masses of colonial and semi-colonial countries of the world. Therefore, Lenin, paying due attention to the importance of incorporating national liberation movement within the proletarian movement, forwarded the slogan, "Workers and oppressed people of the world, unite!" He concentrated maximum attention on the national liberation movements of the oppressed countries including India, China. On the basis of this analysis of Lenin, Mao developed in the world proletarian movement a total concept of the significance and the question of leadership of the national liberation movement.

Imperialism has been maximizing the exploitation, oppression and political suppression of the people of oppressed countries by using their reactionary ruling classes. It has been reducing the people poorer and poorer by making use of

the economy of the oppressed countries as its own integral part and drawing excessive profits through cheap labour and raw material. That is exactly what has made the situation mature for new democratic revolution in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This is why Mao declared these regions as storm centres of world revolution and asserted revolution as being the basic trend of the world. He proclaimed the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations as the principal contradiction of the world. Grasping the historical truth that national liberation movement had become the integral part of world proletarian movement, Mao developed the strategic method of establishing proletarian leadership over it.

In spite of important changes in the form, Mao's analysis stands correct in essence even today. During the cold war, the Russian social imperialism and U.S. imperialism spent huge amount of money in arms for the expansion of their influence and eventually turned into superpowers. They imposed various kinds of regional wars on the oppressed countries and another world war appeared very close. But the Russian social imperialism could not maintain its old form due to the imperialist crisis and collapsed politically and economically. Ironically, the western imperialism propagated this collapse as the collapse of communism and celebrated joyously its unipolar hegemony.

This event definitely enabled the US imperialism more opportunity for direct plunder, exploitation and intervention in the "third world" and the entire world. This accelerated the unhindered mobilization of financial capital in the world-wide scale. This is what has been hailed by imperialism as 'globalization'. Through this 'globalization' imperialism has entrapped the whole economy of the oppressed countries and has been dictating and pressurising the ruling reactionary classes of those countries to pursue the policy of liberalization in order to speed up the flow of capital. Through the economic giants like World Bank, IMF etc, imperialism has created the environment to play the role of director and controller of economic affairs of the oppressed countries. Mainly the U.S. imperialism grew more and more encouraged to grab unlimited profits by mixing up the unprecedented progress in science and technology including electronics with the cheap labour of the third world.

After all, what ultimate objective result has the imperialist campaign of 'unipolar world', 'globalization' and 'liberalization' brought? The experience of the last 10 years has been already showing the truth. This is intensifying the contradictions between different classes and between rich and poor countries. Even according to the data (which is best manipulated to suit the interests of the authority concerned) prepared by the imperialists the rich countries with only 25% population of the world own 80% of world wealth, meanwhile 85% have only 15% in their hands. Today 2.5 billion people are extremely poor, 1 billion people are living their extremely miserable life below the absolute poverty line. 80 million people of third world are forced to leave their country for their livelihood every year. More than 20 million children are forced to labour. Class contradiction is intensifying even in the imperialist countries. Even in the USA, the number one hoodlum of the world, more than 20 million people are suffering from absolute poverty. Racial discrimination, inequality, unemployment, homelessness, social insecurity, women's oppression etc. are growing day-by-day. They cause the resentment of the people from time to time, to suppress which the ruling classes are compelled to use special military force and devise new strategy. In Western Europe, unemployment has been institutionalized and people resort to street struggles because of shortage and inflation. Suppression, terror, religious and communal riots against people's resentment, national liberation movement and socialist movement developing everywhere in the third world countries have been the daily routine of the imperialists and reactionaries.

The fact that their political cover bearing the signboard of parliamentary democracy has been torn to pieces has been splendidly brought about by the recently conducted drama of U.S. presidential election. If a country advocates even a little of economic and political freedom, the imperialists take no time in imposing economic sanction against them, resorting to political pressure, and military intervention and genocide. Their intervention in Iraq, Yugoslavia, Palestine, Mexico along with other Asian, African and Latin American countries verify this.

Imperialism has built a gigantic mechanism of military force and strategy in order to maintain the new 'world order'. The U.S. imperialism has developed military strategy 'to keep up' its global economic plunder and hegemony. According to the data of their defense budget, the U.S imperialism has allocated \$262 billions in the defense alone which is almost half of that of the world. When the defense budget of its alliance partners like NATO countries, Japan, Israel, South Korea, also are included, it exceeds 80% of the world. Today the USA has become the main headquarter for arms smuggling. The US imperialism has, through its military - industrial complex been successfully looting the world and

fooling their people by parting with a small portion of its loots. It has put on alert a huge military force in the Gulf and Korean Peninsula to fight against Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, North Korea and Cuba whose total defense budget amounts to \$15 billion only. As Lenin has stated about imperialism, the USA has been giving priority to its military force to continue its political and military hegemony over its alliances, and is intensifying the activities with its global military hegemony in the countries like India, China in order to capture the huge storage of cheap labour and raw materials. On top of this its strategic alliance with the Indian expansionism has been rapidly growing and dark clouds of massive plunder and genocide in South Asia are looming larger. The opening of a FBI branch in Delhi is its evidence. These facts show the importance of Mao's concept of three worlds in the immediate tactical sense.

However, facts have also indicated that objectively the imperialists, mainly the Yankee imperialism, have been getting fully engulfed in the contradictions with the oppressed countries and people. Though there is no contention between the super-powers at present, following the end of cold war, the so-called unipolar dream is what can never come true as shown by open and disguised clashes and conflicts of economic and political interests between the USA, European community, Japan and Russia. With this crisis the possibility of revolt by millions of masses has seen intensified day-by-day.

We must seriously pay our attention on the following distinct situation, though created by imperialism with an evil intention of grabbing the profits in the present world. Firstly, it has guaranteed the acceleration of people's consciousness to move from the world of necessity to that of freedom by linking high technology with cheap labour of the huge population of the masses. Secondly, with the globalization to grab profits, the unprecedented development in the field of information technology, mainly electronics, has narrowed down the world just to a small rural unit. Therefore, it is very likely that an event of any place will have a great positive or negative impact on the whole world and vice versa. Thirdly, the worldwide system of imperialism of producing and distributing the arms has been indirectly playing role for technical preparation for the people's war at worldwide scale. Fourthly, the unlimited production and globalization of the social process of it has strangely built a material ground in a rapid way for the communist principle of work according to the capacity and distribution according to the need. Fifthly, and mainly, imperialism, by intensifying the class struggle, principally the contradiction of the imperialism and oppressed countries and people to the maximum, has been preparing a revolutionary objective situation for 80% people of the world.

Through the internal contradiction of the imperialists, unequal development and distribution as per the inherent character of capitalism, the development of this objective situation will lead to the revolution in any country in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and its international importance is just evident. It magnificently justifies Mao's analysis that Asia, Africa and Latin America shall be the storm centres of revolution. These characteristics clearly indicate that 21st century shall be the century of people's wars, and the triumph of the world socialist system. Apart from this, it also shows that there has been a significant change in the prevailing concept of model of revolution after 1980. Today the fusion of the strategies of armed insurrection and protracted people's war into one another has been essential. Without doing so, a genuine revolution seems almost impossible in any country.

The historical need of today is to advance the world revolution through the means of people's war in accordance with particular characteristics of each country by developing genuine communist parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to lead the masses in different countries. This historical responsibility can't be borne until the universality of Mao's contributions for the world revolution is upheld and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is established as its ideological commander.

The new situation has been preparing ideological and material ground for the formation of a new communist international to advance the world revolution by learning lessons from the past experiences. RIM (Revolutionary Internationalist Movement), constituted on the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to coordinate revolutionary movements of various countries and to advance the world revolution, is a significant step in this direction. It has been developing through experiences of revolutionary movements and ideological struggles of various countries. Serious challenges are posed before the RIM for the development of a new International, like developing an integrated understanding through scientific synthesis of the world communist movement, mainly, Comintern, second world war and Stalin's role; struggling against ultra-internationalist Trotskyist deviation that minimizes the national liberation movement, on the one hand, and ultra-nationalist deviation that undermines proletarian internationalism, on the other; cooperating to develop the genuine Maoist parties in various

countries; and uniting with all existing revolutionary parties through struggles, etc. Facing these challenges successfully, all genuinely proletarian revolutionaries need to accelerate their initiatives for the development of a new International.

What is most important is to correctly grasp the nature of contradiction between imperialism and oppressed countries and people, and establishing proletarian internationalism as the leader of national liberation movement. A world revolution isolated from the struggle to establish the worldwide significance of revolution developed in any backward country of Asia, Africa and Latin America is just impossible.

Finally, it is crystal clear from the analysis of the world situation that the world order of the imperialists is the rotten, barbarian and terrorizing system which is but a curse for the whole mankind, Material condition for the establishment of the great ideals of communism with complete elimination of exploitation and oppression of man by man has been growing more and more mature and the political parties of the proletariat need to take initiatives from new heights in order to courageously advance the world revolution. 21st century shall be the century of world revolution. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism shall be its ideological leader.

ON THE SITUATION IN SOUTH ASIA

South Asia, with 20% of the world's population, has suffered greatly from poverty, scarcity, illiteracy, and unemployment due to feudal and imperialist suppression. The people of this region have been making for years a series of dedication and sacrifices in the national liberation and democratic movements for their progress and liberation. It should be comprehended that both the feudal and imperialist suppression and the just struggle of the people against it are reaching to a climax and are heading toward the decisive collision. The more the revolutionary struggle of the people intensifies, the more the reactionary ruling classes of Nepal, India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh kneel down before imperialism, increase the exploitation and suppression of the people and heighten the state terror. Ruling classes of each country of this region are facing severe contradictions with the needs and aspirations of the masses. Armed national liberation movements, democratic movements and people's war are shaking the whole region. Advancing Maoist revolutionary movement by posing grave challenges to reactionary classes and presenting a concrete alternative for the masses, is another positive aspect of this region.

The Indian monopoly capitalist ruling class, the true successor of British imperialism, has been pursuing the expansionist policy of pressure, intervention and sabotage against the national aspirations of the people and neighboring countries. It has been endeavoring to quell with guns and state terror the aspirations of the people of Kashmir and North-Eastern states and new democratic movements in Andhra, Bihar, and intensifying the pressure, sabotage and provocative activities under the strategy of making Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka as new Sikkim. With an intention to isolate Pakistan after the end of the Cold War and fulfil its desire for regional hegemony, the Indian ruling classes have knelt down before US imperialism and have opened the door for them for merciless exploitation of the people of this region in the pretext of liberalization. The Indian ruling class has been abetting the imperialist master-plan to encircle China and make it capitulate completely by taking India in its grip. It has been blatantly making interventions in the internal affairs of neighboring countries in order to enthrone its agents and advance the process of 'Sikkimization'. It has been harboring plots to link the people's war in Nepal going on for 5 years with Pakistan, China and smugglers and thereby confusing the Indian people.

It has been the characteristic of the Indian ruling class to conspire to use the common aspirations of national democratic revolution against the semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition, distinct nature of geo-political position and economic, political, religious and cultural relations established among the people since history, to fulfil its regional hegemonistic aspiration. The Indian ruling class and its aspirations have been working behind the similar policy and nature of suppression and terrorist intrigues practiced by ruling classes of all the countries of this region.

This distinct condition provides a unique nature to the need, possibility and importance of unity in the just struggle of the people of all countries of this region. Theoretically, the possibility of direct fusion of national liberation movement and proletarian movement, as stated by Lenin, can also be witnessed here. Due to the uniqueness of economic, political, cultural and geographical condition and the unchallenged hold of Indian monopoly capitalism, it will be very difficult for any single country of this region to successfully complete the new national democratic revolution and even

if it succeeds following the distinct contradictions, it will be almost impossible for it to survive. The revolutionaries need to seriously concentrate on the fact that a particular country or a particular territory of a country shall be liberated through the force of common and joint struggle of the people of this region following the unequal stage of development, and that can play only a particular role of base-area for the revolution in the whole region.

Right here, all the revolutionaries of the region should pay their attention on Lenin's effort to generalize the great Russian October Revolution of 1917, founding of Soviet Union and their experience. It is clear that real liberation is impossible unless it becomes a part of or serves the world revolution on the basis of proletarian internationalism. This is the peculiarity of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The workers have no country and the slogan "Workers of the world, unite" has been always making the proletarian revolutionaries cautious about their international responsibility. The challenge of applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the particularity of the national liberation and democratic movements of this region under the guidance of the great idea and aspiration of proletarian internationalism, remains formidable. The unification of the struggles for right of nations to self-determination and the proletarian movement alone can meet this challenge. To grasp this properly, we should seriously ponder over the concept of national democratic revolution put forward by Lenin after founding the Soviet Union and in the initial period of Comintern, and the concept of new democratic revolution put forward by Mao.

When we think over this, because of the distinct condition of this region it becomes clear that it is inevitable for the communist revolutionaries to devise an integrated strategy against the Indian ruling classes of monopoly bourgeoisie and their agents in various countries. This inevitability has knocked the door of the necessity of turning the region into a new Soviet federation of 21st century. Therefore, the Maoist revolutionaries of various countries of this region are required to debate from this height and to work out a unified understanding, integrated strategy, organizational structure of a distinct kind, and long-term and short-term plans of struggle.

Apart from the economic, political, cultural and geographical peculiarities, from the perspective of the growth of communist movement the region-wide influence of Naxalbari movement led by Charu Majumdar as a against modern revisionism, fraternal relations and exchange of ideas and technical cooperation growing among the Maoist revolutionaries, and common programmes at the people's level, etc, have been preparing concrete basis for the fulfillment of this historical need. It is clear that the more the revolutionary struggle develops, the more intensifies the counter-revolutionary conspiracy, and therefore, there is need to develop integrated efforts among the revolutionaries.

The process of applying the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the regional peculiarity will play an effective role in waging struggle against the conspiracy of U.S. imperialism in this region, mainly in India. Thus, the unified initiative of this region as an integral part of world revolution will make important contribution to the world revolution. Hence, the cooperation of mainly the RIM and other revolutionary internationalist forces is essential in order to advance this process in a natural and scientific way. However, the important thing is the responsible initiative of the revolutionaries of the region themselves. The road is difficult and challenging, but the future is bright; the victory of proletarian internationalism and that of the masses of the people is guaranteed.

ON NATIONAL SITUATION

General Review of History

Though formally considered sovereign, Nepal is, indeed undergoing in a state of semi-colonialism for about 200 years. This state of Nepal caused by the notorious Sugauli Treaty with the British blocked the natural development from feudalism to capitalism. The self-reliant economy with agriculture, trade, exchange etc. began collapsing from the time when the foreign capital made its entrance into the Nepalese society. When some small industries were established to meet the interest of foreign capital, Nepal gradually transformed into a semi-feudal stage from feudal stage. Thus, Nepal is still in semi-feudal and semi-colonial state.

It is necessary to understand this situation of present Nepal from the historical background. Before the growth of centralized state, Nepal was divided into many small kingdoms, principalities and tribal republican states. At that time, the form of monarch and state was not as it is today. The fact that Manjushree and Ne-mumis, representing attempts from the north and south respectively to lay the foundation for patriarchal society from matriarchal one, had pursued the

process of unanimous selection of the king prove that by 'king' it was meant nothing other than a "tribal leader." The Nepalese society has undergone a long historical process of changing the king according to the need, looking for, selecting, and punishing and sentencing the king to death in case he committed crimes. This helps to understand the very psychology of the Nepalese society.

Moreover, the fact that the process of inner-struggle, interaction and fusion with the people coming from north and, mainly, from south with high skill and technology of production system and war skill have greatly influenced the progress and psychological set-up of the Nepalese society, should be taken into account. The process has contributed to struggles and compromises between several feudal kings and tribal republics just before the emergence of the centralized feudal state. With the growth of class-division in the society, some relatively powerful feudal kings began identifying themselves as incarnation of gods. The king who was not more than a tribal hero chosen by the people gradually established himself as the incarnation of god. With the development of divine theory about king and state, the theory of full right of king to land is found to have been established. In course of time, the previous status of the tribal hero has been changed into feudal, then to 'Great Feudal' from 'Feudal', to 'King' from 'Great Feudal', to 'Great king' from 'King', to 'Emperor' from 'Great King', and to 'Human God' from 'Emperor'. (Pushpa Lal Shrestha, "The Origin of Monarchy in Nepal")

The need of new production system as required by the general progress of productive forces made tiny kingdoms, principalities and tribal republics unnecessary. The objective necessity gave rise to a single strongly centralized feudal state in course of time. The success of feudal state-expansion of Prithivi Narayan Shah of Gorkha, though a new and weak state at that time, is nothing but the consequence of this objective need, and to undermine this fact would not be historical materialism. It is notable here that the Nepalese process of development of feudal autocratic monarchy tallies with Engel's research and analysis as described in his book "Origin of Family, Private Property and State".

Thus the monarchy bore a fully autocratic character with the development of a centralized feudal state in Nepal. Economic, political, administrative and all powers were centralized in the palace. With this centralization a series of clashes, violence and counter-violence started to occur among various feudal warlords inside the palace for power and property. It developed big feudal landlords families, on the one hand, and violent clashes for power inside the palace, on the other. For example, the families like Pandey, Thapa, Kunwar, etc. and their conflicts and clashes. Along with this lingual, religious, cultural, economic, political and all other rights of the peoples were gradually snatched. The state established Hindu feudal 'high'-caste chauvinism through the policy of reward and punishment.

Another important point to note is that when the centralized feudal state-expansion was going on in Nepal, expansion campaign of the British bourgeois class was also going on to its climax in India. They had been succeeding in founding their colonial empire by splitting hundreds of feudal kingdoms and invading them. As such, it was but natural that they would inevitably clash with each other at last. The Nepalese campaign, which had been marching forward by expanding itself to Tista River in the east, Kangra in the west, and Lucknow and Gorakhpur in the south, had been posing a great threat to British India. In such a situation, the British rulers declared war against Nepal with their superiority in capital, technology and military force. Fierce war broke out between the two sides. In several fronts Nepal defeated modern army of the British. In the wars, the elders, women, and youths set historic records of dedication, sacrifice and chivalry for the country but ultimately, Nepal was defeated and it signed a shameful Treaty.

One thing to synthesize here is that supremacy of capital, technology and military force alone was not what defeated Nepal. The real and principal factor was the violation of people's rights and endless series of violent clashes among the feudal royal, lords for the power and luxury developed in the palace with the growth of centralized feudal state. If, at least, Prithivi Narayan Shah's tactics of surprise, way of mobilizing the people and strategy of protracted people's war had been pursued, Nepal would not have to be shamefully defeated. On the contrary, as per the king's whim and palatial conspiracy they attacked all the patriots including Bhimsen Thapa who was relatively more patriot and envisaged a united front at the Asian level against the British. At last, the Jang Bahadur Kunwar dynasty, the puppet of British India, was victorious in the palace and their autocratic rule lasted for 104 years in Nepal. This whole period was the blackest one from the point of view of democratic rights.

Nevertheless, while discussing the history of Nepal, what should not be forgotten is a strong sense of patriotism and resistance that existed in the people and even in a section of the ruling class, along with the war against British India and

the shameful defeat. Even today the strong feeling of national self-pride against the external intervention, mainly expansionist intervention of Indian monopoly bourgeoisie, is linked with that sequence of history. This patriotic current amongst the people should be specially taken into consideration in connection with strategy and tactics of national democratic revolution against feudalism and imperialism. In fact, this historical inheritance has played an important role in the soft attitude of several persons of the reactionary classes towards people's revolution against Indian expansionism and its agents.

The force of national integration had been weakened in the initial stage by curbing economic and political rights and destroying the language, religion, culture of people of various caste and community, internally, and later by capitulating to the British India externally. When we talk about genuine national integration today, it directly means in today's context, internally, nothing but restoration of the rights usurped yesterday and externally, opposition to the national capitulationism.

During the later period of Rana regime the world had entered the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Mankind had witnessed the grave consequences of First and Second world wars and powerful undercurrents of national liberation movements and socialist movement. In India, anti-British movement was marching toward the climax. In this historical context, political activities grew up against the Rana regime in Nepal, too. The bureaucratic and comprador bourgeois class growing within the feudal state, while working simultaneously as agents for the British imperialism, also began demanding its 'proper' share in the state. Together with the historical wave of national freedom and revolution, the Communist Party, which truly represented the people, was also formed during this period. One should understand the political struggle of 1950 in this context.

Actually in 1950, the aspirations of the king-compelled by the Ranas to act as their puppet-for 104 years-to be the real ruler, of the Indian monopoly bourgeois class-which was an heir to the British-to have for their own agents an 'appropriate' position in the state power of Nepal for the hegemony of the comprador class, and of the Nepalese people for the liberation from feudalism and imperialism, had been expressed simultaneously against the Rana regime. When the people's struggle was likely to develop directly against feudal, bureaucratic and comprador bourgeois class, the notorious Delhi compromise was signed as a conspiracy against the necessity of history and sentiment of the people. In fact, the Delhi compromise, which was signed by the King, the Ranas and the (Nepali) Congress under the direction of India, was in essence, a compromise between feudal, and bureaucratic and comprador bourgeois classes for share in the state-power in the interest of monopoly capitalism. That was a serious deception and betrayal to genuine need and aspirations of the people.

In order to understand the reason behind this compromise we must theoretically go to the characteristics of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. With the development of this era, the capitalist class lost its progressive role whatever was left and turned totally reactionary. Politically, its regression was expressed in compromising even with medieval feudalism against the aspirations of the people for bourgeois democratic revolution. Basically, there is no difference in the nature of treaties signed by British India with the Rana regime and new Indian rulers with the King, the Ranas and the Congress. Today what the modern revisionism has been trying to confuse the masses about is inherent in the dissemination of bourgeois form of parliamentary 'democracy', separating the imperialist reactionary essence from it. Today parliamentarism has been like a torn piece of rags of the reactionary imperialists, and it has been the daily routine of the revisionists to serve the feudal, bureaucratic and comprador bourgeois class for the fascist oppression on the people, covering this blatant historical truth with empty rhetorics.

The Party must be clear about the fact that feudal, and bureaucratic and comprador bourgeois classes are not the same. Feudal and land lord classes are very conservative and they advocate medieval feudalism and the comprador bourgeoisie serves the interests of imperialism. The bureaucratic capitalist class acts as a bridge to combine these contrasting trends into a single thread. That is why bureaucratic capitalism which emerged together with the development of the era of proletarian revolution, is called the 'hybrid' produced by the unholy alliance of feudalism and imperialism. In fact, the analysis of bureaucratic capitalism is the great contribution of Maoism in the context of revolution in third world countries. It should not be forgotten that today a feudal is a 'landlord', an 'industrialist', and can be even a high level bureaucrat of the state at the same time. Similarly, a comprador or a bureaucratic capitalist also may be all the three at the same time. But the partial difference between the interests of a landlord and a comprador can't be

eliminated completely. Therefore, the 'struggle' goes on between the representatives of the same class for special share in the state and various imperialist and expansionist groups keep on intensifying it for their own interests.

In Nepal, whatever changes have occurred in the system of management of reactionary state-power from 1950 till now, they are, in essence, only the changes in the shares of partnership of the state-power between the feudal, bureaucratic and comprador classes. Feudalism uses the label of 'nationality' and imperialism that of 'democracy' in order to deceive the masses. The characteristics of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution and the experience of Nepal have made it clear that imperialism and feudalism do not go against each other. In this situation, it is important to understand that the genuine communist policy is that which, strategically, develops independent revolutionary struggle by freeing the masses of the illusion of 'nationality' spread by feudalism and that of 'democracy' spread by imperialism, and, tactically, concentrates the struggle against the one which has seized the state-power and has been directly exploiting and suppressing the people, whether in the pretext of nationality or democracy. In Nepal, this is what has caused serious deviations in the communist movement. The biggest plague of the Nepalese communist movement of talking about utilizing the contradictions of enemies without strategically developing independent revolutionary struggle or of declaring the slogans of nationality or democracy of enemies relatively progressive and advocating it, has been creating grave problems for the success of the revolution even today. There is no difference between the revisionism of today which endeavors to protect the country-selling fascism and corruption of the Nepali Congress government against the country and people in the pretext of the danger of revivalism, and the revisionism of yesterday which would attempt to safeguard the corruption and state-terror of the autocratic Panchayat regime on the pretext of threat of Indian expansionism. The Party should understand the importance of enlightening the people about it.

Only on the basis of this can it be scientifically understood the political development of 1950 onwards. Incessant struggle for nationality, democracy and people's livelihood has been the characteristic of the people who have set lofty examples of dedication, devotion and sacrifice in the peaceful and violent struggles for their progress and liberation. But due to lack of correct political leadership (which could lead this stream of the masses to the struggle to achieving class state power), the feudalism and imperialism, mainly Indian expansionism in our particular context, have been always successfully using or rather misusing them for the benefit of feudal and comprador and bureaucratic capitalist classes. The Nepalese people were exploited from 1950 to 1960 in the name of 'democracy', though the masses had been vigorously resisting against Delhi Treaty to the Gandak Treaty, against feudal land relations to corrupt bureaucrats. Its height can be witnessed in the martyrdom of Chiniya Kaji to Bhim Datta Pant, who led the armed struggle in the western Nepal, and peasants struggle in the Tarai region to countrywide resistance against the Gandak Treaty.

On the pretext of nationality, a notorious coup was staged in 1960 by the feudals in order to utilize the great process of people's resistance for consolidating their own hold over the state power. The feudal elements succeeded in imposing autocratic monarchical Panchayat dictatorship on people in the cover of 'nationality'. Shortly the cover was unmasked and people's resistance advanced in various ways and reached 1990, setting several records of dedication, devotion and sacrifice. Feudalism and imperialism were once again successful to betray the aspirations of the people and need for total change, as they ended up with a compromise for sharing the state-power between various groups of reactionary classes. The fact that the 1990 compromise held in the palace was, in essence, nothing but a repetition of the notorious 1950 Delhi Compromise has been verified by the later events. Reactionaries have turned back the clock of history and taken it to between 1950 and 1960.

However, the people may be fooled for once, twice or thrice but not always. Reactionaries attempt to resolve the problem by pushing back the clock of history, but nobody has been able to do so, nor will ever be. The reactionary elements may turn back for their own interest for power, but can never turn the people back from their experience and consciousness they have gained during the struggle. Historical experience clearly shows that the people do not trust anything other than the new revolutionary options. The Nepalese people have gathered long experience of waging struggle against the trend of imposing fascist rule by chanting hollow slogans of 'democracy' and 'nationalism'.

The thunderous launching of protracted People's War under the leadership of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) on 13 February 1996 against feudalism and imperialism for founding a New Democratic system in Nepal was virtually the centralised and synthesized manifestation of this new awakening. The height it has gained during these 5 years stands on the base of the experiences of long struggles of the masses. It is essential to focus our attentions on the following

historical conclusions:

A. The analysis of the reactionaries that the king and monarchy are deep-rooted in the Nepalese society is not true. It has been already mentioned elsewhere that before the emergence of centralized feudal state, democratic system of tribal type prevailed and had a great influence in Nepal, and the tradition of electing, changing and sentencing the king to death, if required, shows that by king it was meant nothing at all other than a 'tribal hero or leader' at that time. Therefore, the tradition of the Nepalese society has not been monarchist but democratic and autonomy-oriented. It was only after the emergence of the centralized feuded state in a certain stage of development of class division that attempts had been made to unnaturally impose the king and monarchism through the practices of the system of reward-and-punishment and divine theory.

B. The shameful defeat in the war with British-India and nature of the treaty signed indicate the contradiction and alliance of feudalism and imperialism. Though Nepal became semi-colonial, the war played an important role in exposing the national capitulationist character of feudal ruling classes and developing patriotic and national feeling of modern sense in the people. The contradiction of that time between the Bhimsen Thapa trend that did not want to kneel down to the British, and the king and Jang Bahadur trend that acted as their agents, can still be found among the Nepalese ruling classes today. At a time when contradiction between imperialism and oppressed countries is the principle one, it is of great importance that the proletarian class correctly understands the historical contradictions and deals with them for the cause of democratic revolution.

C. The centralized feudal state has imposed Hindu feudal and Bramhanist ethnic chauvinism on lingual, ethnic, religious, cultural and traditional rights of people of various communities, nationalities and religions of Nepal and thereby hindered the natural development of genuine national unity and power. Therefore, the New Democratic revolution needs to lay the foundation of a consolidated national unity on the basis of equality and freedom in accordance with the right of nations to self-determination.

D. Following the deprivation of minimum political rights to information and activities by the Rana regime for a long time, and very delicate and fragile economic base of other classes, except the feudal and bureaucratic and comprador classes, the class-base and identity of political parties have not been very strong and mature. This is what has caused the formation of and disappearance of many political parties from 1950 onwards and trend of making great changes even in the basic policies now and then. Political difference between the party of the proletariat and the elements that represent the feudal, and comprador and bureaucratic capitalist classes is evident. Political fluidity resulting from the fluidity of economic class base does not only exist in a Party of the proletariat but also poses a great threat to it. Therefore, the Party should always make efforts and struggle to be flexible with due consideration to the fluidity of other political groups and to protect itself from its influence.

E. The major subjective factor behind the failure to get due political advancement for the continuous struggle of the Nepalese people since around 1950 and their dedication, devotion and sacrifices displayed in them, is nothing but the reformism and revisionism dominant in the Nepalese communist movement. The main characteristic of the Nepalese revisionism has been the deviation from the historical need of leadership of the proletariat in the bourgeois democratic revolution. It always harped on the policy of following various groups of reactionary classes, instead of developing independent revolutionary struggle for the workers and peasants under the leadership of the proletariat with the question of seizing state power in command. Eventually, the reactionaries have always been successful to betray the people. After the launching of People's War led by Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), things have changed qualitatively.

ON THE SYNTHESIS OF THE NEPALESE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

We have been incessantly discussing and making evaluations of the development process of the Nepalese communist movement. Our sole objective in doing so is to overcome revisionism by scientifically synthesizing the history with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the new consciousness of class struggle and to guarantee the victory of revolution by accelerating the process of revolutionary polarization. For this we have been stressing on making ideological and political line the basis for the evaluation because we consider our starting point the scientific conclusion that ideological and political line determines everything. Because of new consciousness that goes on synthesizing together with the growth of the revolutionary movement and the need of acceleration of the movement, we need to make such observations repeatedly.

We have been regarding the founding of Communist Party of Nepal, which was inspired by international and national contemporary revolutionary movements, as an historical event of far-reaching significance. Also, we consider the preliminary declaration, policy and programme of the Party on democratic revolution against feudalism and imperialism basically correct. But later, the Party leadership deviates from its basic principles of its declaration, policy and programmes. The main factor for this has been the non-proletarian petty-bourgeois thinking of the leadership, as stated by the Party. Emerging in the First Congress of the Party in 1953 and getting well-organized and declared in 1955, this petty-bourgeois reformism remained dominant in the Nepalese communist movement for decades as tailism. Giving up the necessity of developing independent revolutionary struggle on the basis of the leadership of the proletariat and unity of the workers and peasants in the bourgeois democratic revolution, has been the main characteristic of the Nepalese revisionism. It violated fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on proletarian leadership in the bourgeois democratic revolution and the characteristics of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. As a consequence, the Party changed into a device to make reforms and fulfil the strategic objectives of various reactionary groups.

The impact of international communist movement, mainly that of India, may be taken as another reason for this. It is notable that Communist Party of India had decided, on the advice of Stalin, to withdraw the historic Telangana armed struggle. A revisionist thinking of regarding protracted People's War as an 'ultra-leftism' had developed among the leaders of the Party. Communist movement is an international movement. So it is but natural that ups and downs in the international movement influence the Communist Party of every country. On top of it we should not forget the influence to be generated by continuous relations between the communists of India and Nepal.

Thus, when the Party leadership was entrapped in tailism abandoning the necessity of proletarian leadership in the democratic movement, the Khrushchovian revisionism emerged in Russia as modern revisionism with parliamentary theory of peaceful transition in the international communist movement. As expected, it had a serious impact on the Communist Parties all over the world. This dreadful international revisionism helped the revisionism developing in the Party leadership in Nepal to grow more blatantly and rapidly. It is then that the Rayamajhi trend emerged as naked capitulationism. When the Communist Party of China led by Mao upheld the banner of struggle against Khrushchovian revisionism, debate on ideological and political line began in Nepal, too. The international communist movement clearly shows divided into two camps: the Khrushchovian revisionist trend and Maoist revolutionary trend. In the beginning, Com. Pushpa Lal Shrestha played an important role for an organized and systematic dissemination of the Maoist revolutionary political trend. (Please note that he had been opposing the revisionism developed in Rayamajhi, Manmohan, etc. right from the First Congress but he lacked strategic and tactical clarity required to break off decisively with revisionism and lead the revolutionary movement). Shortly thereafter, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution against the bourgeois revisionists was launched in China under the leadership of Mao shaking the whole world. Naturally, the great revolution had its direct influence in Nepal, too. It played an important role in generating waves of zeal among the youths, students and revolutionaries.

Actually, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and Mao's struggles against Khrushchovian revisionism had provided a solid ground for reorganising the Party in Nepal on the basis of a revolutionary line. Right then, attempts for the same were made from various angles. Among them, the attempts made by Pushpa Lal through Gorakhpur conference, by the Central Nucleus in 1970 and by young revolutionaries through Jhapa revolt, are the most important ones. All these three attempts carried similar basic principles in them, like accepting Marxism-Leninism and Mao Thought as guiding principles, supporting Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and opposing Khrushchovian revisionism, completing New Democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat against feudalism and imperialism, necessity of armed struggle to make the revolution a success, and, therefore, that period of history particularly draws the attention of all revolutionary communists today. The principal question we should specially pay our attention to is: in spite of the great international environment of Mao and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, and ideological similarities in all the three attempts mentioned above, why could not there be a single united Party?

On the basis of our present experience and thinking, we firmly opine that a single united Party could be formed at that time and should have been. If it had been so, the condition of the Nepalese communist movement and people's revolution would certainly have been in a higher stage. Hence, it becomes the duty of sincere communists of the country to endeavour to seriously think over and study that period of history, and weld the disconnected chains. We, as a Party

that has been leading the great People's War, are committed to make the most responsible initiatives to discharge our duty. At the same time, we appeal to all sincere and genuine communists scattered in various groups to deeply ponder over the issue and create new waves of polarization.

As far as the question relating to the main hurdle in the Party unity at that time is concerned, we should look for it in the ideological and political line and working style of the then leadership concerned. Thus, despite lacking in experience and containing some element of mechanicalism in thinking, the Co-ordination Centre emerged together with the Jhapa revolt was much more correct and superior to others in the ideological and political line, mainly in revolutionary spirit. It had upheld the banner of revolt, in accordance with the spirit of GPCR, against revisionism that was dominant in the Party since 1953. It had been striking at pseudo-revisionism, that is revolutionary in words but revisionist in practice. Therefore, the Jhapa revolt has occupied a historical place of pride in the Nepalese communist movement. The Jhapa revolt had, in essence, played the same role in the Nepalese communist movement as what the Naxalite revolt had done to expose revisionism in the Indian communist movement and establish the universal contributions of Mao. Therefore, the Jhapa revolt can't be accused of splittism. In fact, it had provided a ground for unity of the revolutionaries.

From the perspective of ideology, political line and commitment to the goal, the efforts of Puspa Lal in reorganising the Party also had been positive. Indeed, the ideas and political line of Pushpa Lal has helped, in totality, the revolutionaries, and not the revisionists. Pulling him to the revisionist camp by the revisionists is nothing but sheer dishonour to him. His works and contributions such as the dissemination of Marxism, historical leading role in founding the Communist Party, view on the proletarian leadership in the bourgeois democratic revolution, devising preliminary manifesto, policy and programme, emphasis on revolutionary peasants struggle, continuous stand for republican system, view on protracted People's War, opposition to modern revisionism and support to universal contributions of Mao, dedication for revolution throughout his life, genuine effort to materialistically explain the history of Nepal etc. prove the fact that Pushpa Lal Shrestha was a sincere communist leader of the Nepalese communist movement. Since the communist revolutionaries have degraded him as a rightist, the revisionists could dare to distort his contributions and thereby use them for their own vested interests. Definitely, he suffered from some ideological and some contextual weaknesses. Of them, a liberalist weakness in practical implementation of political line, mechanical materialist weakness in the analysis of class character of Nepali Congress, lack of seriousness about total planning for the development of armed struggle and people's army are the major ones. But these mistakes alone do not suffice to label him as a rightist in the relative context of that time. In comparison to his total contributions, his errors stand far below and, in all, in spite of some weaknesses, he was a sincere communist leader. Therefore, the communist revolutionaries of today should firmly struggle against the revisionism of various forms, but with the same essence, which either uses his personality for lowly parliamentary interests, or defaces him by declaring him as an agent, renegade and rightist, and, must honour Com. Pushpa Lal without any hesitation.

At that time, the Central Nucleus was ideologically in the most ambiguous and disputable state. Firstly and most importantly, the Nucleus was completely unclear about the Russian model of general armed insurrection and the Chinese model of protracted People's War in regard to the New Democratic Revolution and armed struggle and this represented eclecticism. Secondly, it declared the New Democratic Revolution as the maximum programme and presented the government of patriotic and democratic forces as the minimum programme regarding the principal political line and, thereby, displaying a kind of neo-revisionism. Thirdly, at that time, it assailed, theoretically, Pushpa Lal and Jhapa rebels, and practically, Nepali Congress and thereby, helped autocratic monarchy and the then Panchayat dictatorship. Fourthly, as regards to the principal contradiction, it declared equal contradiction of the Nepalese people with both domestic reaction and Indian expansionism, and, thereby, indirectly, blunted the struggle against the Panchayat autocracy. In totality, the thinking of Manmohan and Mohan Bikram at that time would ideologically represent eclecticism, neo-revisionism and pro-king line in the Nucleus. It is to be remembered that Manmohan played main role in turning the Party towards the revisionist and pro-king direction right from the First Congress. Besides, Mohan Bikram also would advocate in favour of the king. If they talked about Mao and armed struggle, it was merely a cover to conceal their revisionism. But later, Manmohan disliked even that cover, exhibited naked revisionism and pro-king thinking and turned completely passive. But, Mohan Bikram actively embellished this eclectic neo-revisionism with revolutionary phrases and institutionalized it through the Fourth Congress. It created an enormous ideological confusion in the Nepalese

communist movement for over a decade. The only positive aspect of the Fourth Congress was the correct analysis of the class character of Nepali Congress. But it should not be forgotten that in doing so, the then leadership of the Fourth Congress was motivated by the objective of opposing the revolutionaries and not by any revolutionary objective. It is evident in Mohan Bikram's policy and conduct towards parliamentarism and Congress fascism today.

The above mentioned state of ideological and political line and working style make it clear that what struck at the possibility of formation of a unified Party on the basis of revolutionary political line developed by the influence of the GPCR in China was none but the eclectic neo-revisionist line institutionalized by Manmohan, Mohan Bikram and, principally, the Fourth Congress led by Mohan Bikram. This is the most splittist line of the Nepalese communist movement. The books such as "The Renegade Pushpa Lal" and "Refutation of the Ultra-leftist Thoughts" written by Mohan Bikram from the neo-revisionist angle were mere devices to hit at the possibility of Party unity.

It is true that in the beginning, a large section of the sincere revolutionaries ignorant of political line had been united under the banner of Fourth Congress due to the so-called personality of Mohan Bikram, revolutionary phrases and eclectic politics with double meanings. Revolutionaries including immortal martyr Com. Azad had made efforts to explain and apply it in their areas as per their revolutionary objectives. But, without overcoming the eclectic neo-revisionism existing in the basic ideological and political line, the revolutionary spirit, intention and attempt to partially correct it alone could not resolve the problems and they were not. As was inevitable, the Mohan Bikram trend unleashed a series of splits inside the Fourth Congress. Wherever this trend prevails, it is bound to recur.

When the internal struggle was intensified in Nepal after the end of possibility of formation of a unified Communist Party on the basis of correct line at a very crucial bend of history, Mao died in China. Within one month thereafter, bourgeois revisionists seized the state power in China conspiratorially. Naturally, it had extremely negative impact all over the world and in the Nepalese communist movement as well. It, consequently, led the then Marxist-Leninist group leadership, which had been vacillating after the severe setback of Indian Naxalite movement following the death of Charu Majumder, to revisionism. But the Fourth Congress opposed the counter-revolution in China and led the Nepalese revolutionaries to rebel against revisionism. With this historical event, on the one hand, the M-L group which emerged from the Jhapa revolt and led the revolutionary trend in the Nepalese communist movement for about one decade degenerated into revisionism and gathering all new and old revisionists has now turned into gendarme of the state and system of the feudal and comprador and bureaucratic capitalists, and, on the other, the sincere and genuine revolutionaries of the Fourth Congress fighting against and rebelling from old and new revisionism, devising correct ideological and political line, and uniting all the revolutionaries, have been leading the great People's War in Nepal today. Moreover, they are resolutely marching forward to rejoin the disconnected chains of history with initiative for revolutionary polarization and to make the New Democratic Revolution in Nepal a success.

At last, while synthesizing the Nepalese communist movement, it can be said that it is marching forward by maintaining new unity on a new basis in accordance with dialectical principle of unity-struggle-transformation, or thesis-anti thesis-synthesis. The founding of the Party, its preliminary manifesto, policy and programme was unity or thesis. In the process of development, various trends, internal conflicts, ups and downs, splits and factions was struggle or anti-thesis in the Nepalese communist movement. The great People's War led by CPN (Maoist) going on for 5 years is a manifestation of the transformation and synthesis or a new unity on a new basis. The whole process of the Nepalese communist movement can also be seen as a negation of negation. The initial correct policy of the Party was negated by the revisionism and later the revisionism by the revolutionary correct policy, and, eventually, the great process of People's War emerged. But it would be against the dialectical principle of development to understand or take it as perfect and final. The process of unity-struggle-transformation will continue. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has provided us with a key to handle this dialectical process of development in favour of the proletariat and lead mankind to the apex of communism.

ADDITIONAL POINTS ON THE PARTY HISTORY AND THE PROCESS OF IDEOLOGICAL SYNTHESIS

Today we are synthesizing our thoughts on the background of the experiences of 5 stormy years of great People's War. After the death of Mao and counter-revolution in China thereafter, the international communist movement had to face an extremely strenuous and challenging situation. Consequently, revisionism turned dominant all over the world.

Imperialism and revisionism intensified their assault on the universal contributions of Mao in the science of proletarian revolution and achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This situation was like a situation of life and death struggle for the genuine revolutionaries of the world. In this hard and complex situation, the proletarian revolutionaries of the world including Nepal had been upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and GPCR, and conducting ideological struggle against world revisionism including the Chinese one. This struggle led to the formation Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM). This inspired the People's War in Peru and armed struggles of people accelerated under the leadership of communist revolutionaries in various countries of the world. In this context, RIM committee kept on playing important role in synthesizing experiences of the world and disseminating experiences of the parties through great ideological struggles against centrist revisionism and rightist liquidationism of various types in the international communist movement. Among all of them, those of People's War in Peru initiated by Communist Party of Peru led by Com. Gonzalo had been the highest and most important. Also, the document and articles written and prepared by Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and its Chairman Bob Avakian played an important role in lifting the debate to a new height. At the same time, positive and negative experiences of armed struggles in various countries including Turkey, India, the Philippines, Bangladesh, Iran had been the agenda for direct debates and interactions.

In spite of serious setbacks and losses in the developing international communist movement by the capture of the leaders including Com. Gonzalo in Peru by the enemies, and capitulationist rightist opportunism emerged simultaneously with the conspiracy of the enemies, the struggles waged by Communist Party of Peru, RIM and revolutionaries of other countries of the world raised the understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to another new height in the later period.

The international reality that the later two decades of our Party history have been closely linked with the international communist movement which had played a significant role in the preparation of great People's War, its launching and development shows the importance of our ideological synthesis. This makes it clear that we are not only synthesizing application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the particular context of Nepal but also the international communist movement to some extent. This process of synthesis grows much more serious and responsible particularly when the international importance of the People's War initiated after drawing lessons, mainly from Peru after the great setback to the People's War there is naturally evident.

A- Struggle against neo-Revisionism of the Fourth and Fifth Congress and Party Unity

It has been already mentioned above about the first three decades of the Party in reference to the Nepalese communist movement. We, therefore, concentrate on the struggle against eclectic neo-revisionism of the Fourth Congress and growth of ideological and political line. Please remember that at the end of the analysis of the line of Fourth Congress, it is stated, "It is true that in the beginning, a large section of the sincere revolutionaries ignorant of political line had been united under the banner of Fourth Congress due to so-called personality of Mohan Bikram, revolutionary phrases and eclectic politics with double meanings. Revolutionaries including immortal martyr Com. Azad had made efforts to explain, and apply it in their areas as per their revolutionary objectives. But without overcoming the eclectic neo-revisionism existing in basic ideological and political line, the revolutionary spirit, intention and attempt to partially correct it alone could not resolve the problems and they were not". Another aspect to pay attention to is that the rightist reformists had also been united, as is natural, inside the Party as a result of the eclectic neo-revisionism of the Fourth Congress. When the revolutionaries started explaining the line in a revolutionary manner, the rightists, as an inevitable reaction to it, put forward reformist explanation of it as suited to their interests. Mohan Bikram Singh, the chieftain of Fourth Congress line, came forward to stand against the reformist line sincerely led by Nirmal Lama and co. by displaying some mysterious revolutionary hypocrisy like the 'Tiger cave' (i.e. a guerilla training camp-tr) and intensifying his eclectic neo-revisionism with a design to salvage his sagging 'image'. It seemed there existed three trends, though there were only two in essence. It was not possible for the sincere revolutionaries to fight firmly on the basis of ideological and political line against Mohan Bikram's neo-revisionism. As a result there was no solid ground for unity of the revolutionaries. In this situation, the Fifth Congress was convened. During the Fifth Congress, several sincere and genuine revolutionaries were also illusioned and divided, though they were in the majority, in the central committee and in the house. Because the discussions were focussed only on issues like 'Covering the mistakes', and 'sexual scandal', instead of ideological and political line, and Mohan Bikram presented himself as the principal planner and author of the documents that disguised neo-revisionism as theoretical struggle against

centrism. The expulsion of Mohan Bikram from the Congress hall on the charge of indiscipline in sexual conduct, for which any action against him could have been taken whenever required, before or after the Congress, undermined the ideological and political status of the Congress, on the one hand, and, on the other, helped him to draw attention and sympathy of several sincere revolutionaries. Since there was no struggle on ideological and political basis, clear and firm view could not be formed even inside the Party. Eventually, the leadership of majority was constituted as proposed by the minority. Because of serious weakness of the majority group and the Congress, Mohan Bikram was successful in confusing several sincere revolutionaries, and preparing a separate group, and to split the Party within one year.

It is to be noted that in the Congress, present General Secretary of the Party, Com. Prachanda, had, on behalf of the majority side, vigorously assailed Mohan Bikram declaring, for the first time, that the question of his sexual conduct is minor but major question is serious deviation in his outlook and political line. Com. Prachanda had prepared a document enlisting Mohan Bikram's ideological and political deviations, which of course, was not likely to be adopted officially. But that list was handed over to the then elected General Secretary Com. Kiran. Afterwards, young revolutionary comrades including Com. Badal had made attempts to advance the discussions based on ideology. The fierce attack on Mohan Bikram's ideological and political line, however, could not unite all sincere revolutionaries because it was not well-organized and developed to the level of a correct line, but the discussions created a new wave and indicated future possibility of formation of revolutionary thought against eclectic neo-revisionism of Mohan Bikram.

Though ideological and political line was the same, the Party split after one year as stated above. As a matter of fact, the split played an important role negatively in the ideological development. A period of four years there-after, in which Com. Prachanda had discussions, interactions, joint works, studies and organizational activities with other young revolutionary comrades including Com. Kiran and Com. Badal, was extremely fruitful for the ideological development of Com. Prachanda. He played an active and leading role in laying the foundation for ideological and political development of far-reaching importance by grasping and expressing the guiding principles as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, changing the reformist view on political power, determining the basic nature of protracted People's War and organization and struggle, linking the reactionary election, with the need of the People's War, emphasizing all activities of organization and struggle with the preparation of People's War in command, changing the eclectic view on principal contradiction, defining rural class-struggle and four preparations and engaging in the preparation of armed guerrilla warfare, stressing on the Party unity and new polarization declaring that the splits in the past were not on the ground of ideology and politics, etc.

It is to be noted here that the progress in the ideological and political line expresses its complete splitting away from the original line of the Fifth Congress and both Mashals formed after the split. This new line, in fact, expresses the synthesis of the experiences basically of the whole Nepalese communist movement, not only of a particular group, and to some extent, of the international communist movement. Indeed, Com. Prachanda was selected for the post of General Secretary of Mashal for his active and leading role in developing a new line.² In the context of evolution of this line, there was a long and fierce struggle against rightist opportunism in the Mashal. As the ideological and political line determines everything, the new line led the leadership to the realisation that it was essential to unite all communist revolutionaries on a new basis, to further improve it and establish it among the people. This consciousness inspired one to realize the fact that the People's War in Nepal could not advance under the leadership of a particular group alone split nonpolitically in the past. Consequently, in a propitious environment created after the historic people's movement in 1990, a concrete and conscious initiative for Party unity was advanced under the leadership of Com. Prachanda. Ultimately, Party unity took place with its own originality, particularity and complexity. In the Unity Congress, the line led by Com. Prachanda was extensively refined and established by conscious efforts of all unified communist revolutionaries. It boldly overcame the liquidationism that had entered into the unity process with a rightist reformist objective.³

After the split, as stated above, the Mashal led by Mohan Bikram did not attempt to transform and develop the ideological and political line, it rather took a more rightist form. Measures like conspiracy, suppression, disciplinary actions etc. began to be used against the sincere revolutionaries who emphasized on advancing the Party towards the revolutionary direction. Nevertheless, revolutionary struggle against rightist neo-revisionism of the leadership continued further. But, as was natural, it was impossible to defeat the revisionism of the Nepalese communist movement which had seized the main leadership from inside, and to lead the whole group towards the revolutionary direction, and it

didn't happen either. Eventually, as expected, the process of revolt by the revolutionaries against rightist neo-revisionism of Mohan Bikram followed after some time. In this regard, the very first revolt was by Dynamic Youth League under the leadership of Com. Anukul and others. This faction joined itself in the process of refining the line developing within the Mashal.

The second great revolt took place under the leadership of Com. Sheetal Kumar and Com. Jeetbir etc. and a new Communist Party of Nepal (Mashal) was formed. After the historic people's movement in 1990, it joined the unity process and participated in refining and establishing the line led by Com. Prachanda, and in defeating the rightist liquidationism. We will discuss later about another significant revolt in the group led by Mohan Bikram, and Party unity with the rebel Mashal.

The fact that the former Fourth Congress and Proletarian Workers' Organization had also joined the historical unity process is well-known. In this context, what is important that is the revolutionaries associated with former Proletarian Workers Organization rebelled again from the Unity Centre formed by the rightist liquidationist after their expulsion from the Party, and they joined the Party unity again and are actively working for the cause of great People's War.

B- Struggle Against Rightist Liquidationism and Evolution of Strategy and Tactics of the Nepalese People's War

After the adoption of revolutionary political line by the Unity Congress following the collective efforts of all communist revolutionaries, the reformist and liquidationist group led by Nirmal Lama, Rup Lal etc. began laying hurdles on the way when the line was to be applied into practice. It was crystal clear that the line could not be implemented unless a decisive struggle was launched against the reformist and liquidationist trend that wanted to turn the limited use of the first parliamentary election held in a particular situation, after the historical people's movement in 1990, into parliamentarism. This liquidationist clique was maintaining unholy alliance with some evil elements outside the Party and making the application of Party line impossible by its immoral activities such as exposing all secrets of the Party, indulging in open groupism and conspiracy. After strenuous struggle for three years after the Congress, the Party succeeded in expelling the liquidationists and reformists from the Party under the leadership of Com. Prachanda. Behind this success, the important role of resistant rural class-struggle developing in the Western region, mainly in Rolpa, Rukum, should not be forgotten. The new triumph in the parliamentary and non-parliamentary external political struggle and internal hard and challenging two-line struggle remarkably developed the ideological and political maturity of the whole party and Com. Prachanda. Thus the expulsion of rightist liquidationists through the First National Conference opened the practical door for the implementation of Party line. The National Conference of the Party qualitatively increased the zeal of whole Party and determination to implement the revolutionary Party line. The Conference directed the Party to prepare for People's War and focus on its initiation. All these express the historical significance of the First National Conference.

Shortly afterwards, the Extended Meeting of Central Committee was held which took an important decision to boycott the parliamentary election and conduct primary resistance struggle. The significance of this Extended Meeting lies in the fact that it practically took out the Party mechanism from the parliamentarian swamp which had been heavily polluted by parliamentarism for 4 years. It is to be noted that Com. Prachanda had to work very hard to take the Party to this stage. The role RIM committee played in this regard is also very important. Ultimately, as per the decision, the boycott movement turned successful with completely new experiences of new types of resistance struggle. The success built a concrete ground for preparation and initiation of the People's War.

Because of securing highest number of seats in the so-called parliamentary election, he extremely revisionist UML clique was enthroned as the gatekeeper of the reactionary state. It had been intensifying the steps of leading the whole Nepalese communist movement to a reactionary path. This would also express, on the one hand, the attraction of the Nepalese people to the communist movement and, on the other, the danger of liquidation of the same. At this very crucial juncture of the movement, the Third Extended Meeting of the Central Committee was held, which turned out historical and far-reaching.

The Extended Meeting and its decisions were a milestone of historical importance, as Polibureau Member Com.

Jeetbir has put it while talking about it, in the whole Nepalese communist movement in general and in our Party history in particular. The meeting presented a Maoist synthesis of the experiences of Nepalese history, communist movement and armed struggle for the first time. The historic meeting enlisted the class-analysis of Nepalese society and its characteristics, and then, on their basis, devised plan for final preparation and scientific outline of strategy, tactics, stages and sub-stages of the Nepalese People's War. Today the synthesis and outline proved correct even by the five years of experiences of the great People's War infact represents the higher understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism developed in whole Party and mainly Com. Prachanda.

The meeting dropped the term 'Unity Centre' from the name of the Party as it smelt of compromise and groupism and named the Party, "Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)" in its place. The change in the name was not a simple technical change but it expresses, in essence, the ideological uniformity to be built on the basis of development of Prachanda's leadership and the end of fractionalism. The change manifests the historical declaration of the Party to make GPCR against revisionism and universal contributions of Mao its starting point. It virtually and finally expresses the new unity on the ground established in the Party. The importance of comprehending it correctly has been same as before for the revolutionary polarisation today.

After the great and historic Third Extended Meeting of the Central Committee, the whole Party and all organizations under it involved with full zeal and confidence for the last preparation. Inside the Party, several training conventions were held under all bureaus with the direct participation of General Secretary. It played an important role in comprehending the essence of decisions taken by the Third Extended Meeting and taking oath to triumph. Then United People's Front led by Com. Jeetbir played a historic and important role in spreading the message of the essence of the decisions and final preparation throughout the country. Through the mass-meetings held countrywide, thousands of masses were appealed to rebel. Moreover, Com. Prachanda, on his capacity of Incharge of the Central Military Commission, himself directly led various technical and military trainings of primary level and management of minimum war logistics.

After the internal and external preparation were completed in the last meeting of the Party Central Committee before the launching of the People's War, Com. Prachanda presented a historic plan for the launching and commitment of the Party. After serious discussions, the plan was adopted by the Central Committee. However, it should be noted that the Central Committee could not succeed to reach the height of Centralization of leadership conceding its role and importance as required by the initiative of People's War. Instead, the discussions on it led to some doubts and coldness among responsible comrades of the centre. But as the leadership was fully conscious about preventing any mistake or weakness to occur in the commitment to the plan for launching, it could not create any problem.

Lastly, all the leaders and cadres of the Party left for their working field with resolute determination to shed their blood and fight until the victory of the people is achieved and great beacon of communism is reached. At last, the historical day of 13 Feb. 1996 arrived when the revolt was thunderously launched in a cautious and planned manner as directed by the revolutionary principles of invincible Marxism-Leninism-Maoism under the leadership of the political vanguard of the proletariat in accordance with the distinct condition of the country. The sentiments of the people suppressed for thousands of years were superbly manifested through the revolt that represented a new war in the history of New Democratic revolution against feudalism and imperialism.

C- Struggle of the Party after the Launching of People's War

After having entered into the armed struggle from the peaceful one, with a great leap, old contradictions ended and new ones emerged which is but a dialectical principle. The launching of great People's War struck the state of the reactionaries and 'heaven' of their rests with a powerful earthquake and posed a grave threat to them. It seemed to have endangered parliamentary dream of old and new revisionists. It created new waves of new curiosity and attraction among the masses. But the enemies tried to nip in the bud, turned extremely fascist and unleashed a reign of terror, massive arrests, suppression, raping, torture, and genocide. The revolutionary fighters and masses set new records of dedication, devotion, chivalry and sacrifices in their resistance. Unmasking the reactionary and revisionist hypocrisies, the Party focussed its attention on synthesizing new situation and devising new plans.

Even before one month, political and military goals as specified by the First Plan were achieved. Then-after Politbureau

of the Party adopted Second Plan for People's War presented by General Secretary Com. Prachanda with serious evaluation of the situation. The full meeting of the Central Committee extensively explained the plan with some serious ideological synthesis as complementary plan to it. With its indigenuity and grandness, the People's War entered the Second year.

At the very beginning of Second year, some highly responsible comrades of the centre suffered from serious anarchist deviations. The anarchism, which appeared in a very sensitive period, shocked the whole Party. The deviation of the responsible comrades, who had been very intimate and co-operative for the Party and movement for two decades and played a significant role in the ideology-building after the Party unity, damaged the natural growth of psychology of General Secretary himself. This unexpected central accident caused on several occasions doubts more than necessary. In this context, broad interactions of General Secretary with Com. Jeetbir helped in resolving the problem. But as the whole Party was united under the leadership of General Secretary Com. Prachanda, and the deviated comrades had expressed their commitments to stay disciplined after serious repent and self-criticism, the problems were relatively resolved in an easy way. No doubt, this event incurred a great loss to the Party but, though negatively, played an important role in the growth of dialectical method of comprehending the inner-struggle of the Party and dealing with it. It helped in the development of alertness, carefulness, and cleverness of the whole Party. The fact that the comrades concerned ~~have been holding central responsibilities~~ and working sincerely with full zeal and self-confidence and playing significant role in the development of the revolution displays the spirit of the comrades concerned on the one hand and Maoist view of the whole party and leadership on the other.

In the middle of second year of People's War a meeting of Party Central Committee was held which reviewed the Second Plan and worked out the Third. In one year of implementation of Third Plan, political and military efficiency of the People's War grew up and expanded. This growth and expansion indicated a need of a qualitative leap in its plans. At the end of this plan, the government launched an extremely fascist and genocidal 'Kilo-Sera-2 operation'. Series of killings all over the country followed. Thus, the Party was compelled to think qualitatively for both positive and negative needs. Taking into account the seriousness of the situation, Fourth Extended Meeting of the Party was organized on the other.

The cent percent presence of the comrades concerned crossing over the fascist campaign of the enemy called 'Kilo Sera-2' proved the efficiency to break the circle of the enemy. The historicity of the Fourth Extended Meeting lies, mainly, in developing concepts and conditions of the growth of base area in Nepal, making Party alert about probable reformism in the army, creating qualitiveness in the concept of formation of people's army, theorizing the distinct needs of political and military intervention on local and central level in the particularity of Nepal, and laying emphasis on the centralization and establishment of leadership as required by the development of People's War etc. Also, the process of resisting against the enemy with countrywide protests initiated since the Fourth Extended Meeting.

The discussions of Fourth Extended Meeting synthesized in the slogan "March Forward to the Direction of Building Base area" provided far-reaching directives for progression of total People's war. The decision on the centralization of the leadership is, in essence, indivisibly associated with the great objectives of building base area. Those decisions of Fourth Extended Meeting which have been proved essentially correct indicate Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology being synthesized in the Party. However, one major thing to note here is though the Fourth Extended Meeting unanimously adopted the resolution on centralisation and establishment of the leadership, there was no uniformity in its comprehension. Trends to take to take it as a victory or defeat appeared in the Party. Public expressions of some responsible comrades made the situation more serious. Distrust and doubts started growing in the very sensitive level of leadership in the Party. As is natural, the reactionaries and revisionists outside the Party intensified their conspiracy and propaganda to worsen the situation with an intention to take advantage of opportunist trends of various kinds started moving. Pre-group mentality raised its head slowly. In order to overcome such a negative situation that lasted for about one year, and resolve the problem through open and clear discussions, a meeting of the Central Committee was held. Extremely serious, high and open discussions turned the negative situation into positive one and touching another height of dialecticism, it not only drew general solution to the problem but also founded new unity on a new ground through the process of unity-struggle-transformation. It was really a hard blow at the face of the opportunist trend inside the Party

that did not want unity and reactionary and revisionist elements who were dreaming of our splits. The new unity founded on a new ground through open discussions generated the self-confidence of the leadership on the efficiency of using dialecticism in the Central Committee and the whole Party. In fact, the solution to such serious problem reflects the height of the ideology developed in the Party.

The founding of new unity on a new ground laid a concrete ideological and organizational ground for conducting "rectification campaign" as directed by Fourth Extended Meeting of Central Committee. The same meeting worked out Fifth Plan for the PW. The Fifth Plan period which had succeeded in lifting the whole People's War to a new height of development occupies an important place in our Party history for the following reasons- (1) In the very beginning of this plan implementation, alternative Politbureau Member Com. Suresh Wagle (Bashu) was martyred in Gorkha. His great martyrdom led to set-up of new and high records of sacrifice in the People's War and intensified the resentment of the masses against the enemies all over the country. It further established the revolutionary image of the Party among the people. (2) In the middle of Fifth Plan "rectification Campaign" was conducted by the Central Committee which strengthened ideological emotional unity of the Party. The campaign which was conducted up to the lowest level developed substantially the ideological level and efficiency of the Party to fight against the opportunism. (3) During this plan period, qualitatively high-level military successes were achieved in all regions in general and the Western region in particular. The successes achieved in the military field and political interventions at the central level on issues including talks opened the doors of new possibilities for the People's War. (4) At the stage of this period, all mysteries and characteristics of the Alok trend emerged in the surface as 'left' liquidationism were found out and exposed by Com. Prachanda and others with strenuous and incessant efforts. Indeed, the exposure and synthesis of the Alok trend is a great success of "rectification campaign" which negatively educated, enlightened and warmed the whole Party and masses. In essence, this is yet another triumph of the proletarian line led by Com. Prachanda.

A need of ideological synthesis of the experiences of class-struggle and two-line struggle, together with the basic successes obtained during the period of Fifth Plan arose. In order to meet this need, the Central Committee decided to conduct discussion on ideological synthesis in the Party, international communist movement and, to a certain extent, in the masses also. A transitional plan was adopted for a period of discussions conducted with a view to taking final decision in the National Conference. During the implementation of Sixth Transitional Plan, the overall situation of the country was reviewed and a decision was taken to attack a district headquarter in the meeting of Western Regional Bureau under the direction of Com. Prachanda. Besides, concrete programmes for military actions and mass-mobilization were formulated as the expansion of the Sixth Plan.

In this regard, the successful military raid on Dunai, headquarter of Dolpa district, raised new questions in the total political scenario of the country. This military action represents high-level military actions of universal significance among the successes gained under the leadership of the Maoist revolutionaries after the restoration of capitalism in China. Together with the success, the mass attraction to the Party increased qualitatively. Contradictions and crises in the camps of the enemies accelerated. Right then the new policy on talks and united front put forward by the Party Centre played an important role in dividing the enemies politically. The so-called consensus of the enemies against the People's War was shattered by the military and political success above-mentioned and, as a matter of fact, the consensus turned (in immediate sense) against the fascist Girija government. The reactionary government was ultimately compelled to stage a drama of talks.

The situation developed as expected by Party centre. The possibility of holding national programmes of the Party, army and front in a grand manner in the political environment of talks drew closer. But self-protectionist cowardice of Com. Dinesh Sharma, over-highlighted by the Party, had an extremely negative impact on the total situation, which was developing in a conscious and planned way, unmasked the governmental conspiracy and his capitulationist thinking. Therefore, the Party decided to expose the governmental conspiracy and expel Dinesh Sharma from the Party. The decision indeed ended the confusion, doubt and frustration emerged in the Party, revolutionary fighters, and masses, and generated new self-confidence. The decision to expel Dinesh from the Party and publicly expose his self-protectionist cowardice is the manifestation of yet another success of the proletarian line led by Com. Prachanda.

Though the Dinesh case discussed the possibility of holding certain programmes in a certain way by creating a certain political environment, the party decisions taken in this regard and countrywide military actions continued. In this context, the historic success of nationwide general strike called by students' fronts, and countrywide mass meetings in third week of December are of great importance.

At the end of Sixth Transitional Plan implementation, ideological development and maturity have been further elevated, the synthesis of which should be done from the same height.

D- Party Unity Between Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and Communist Party of Nepal (Mashal) and its Significance

On 26 Dec. 2000 or 10th anniversary of Mao Tse-tung, the propounder of Maoism, the party unity was held between Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and Communist Party of Nepal (Mashal) led by Com. Dinanath Sharma on the ground of similar ideological and political lines. The example of revolutionary political polarization set by Communist Party of Nepal (Mashal) forwarded under the leadership of Com. Dinanath Sharma, a veteran, experienced and renowned personality in the Nepalese communist movement, after having rebelled against Mohan Bikram group's revisionism, has, no doubts far-reaching significance. The courage as displayed by CPN (Mashal) with full sense of responsibility of the historical need for revolutionary political polarization standing loyal to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, at a time when all the reactionary, and new and old revisionist elements have been intensifying their attacks over the People's War from all corners, shall remain unforgettable in the history of Nepalese revolution.

There can be no doubt that the party unity held during the fierce fighting of great People's War will play a leading role in the process of new revolutionary polarization in the Nepalese communist movement. This unity had been entirely different from the ones in the past in which groupwise unity and bargaining would have been dominant. It has been a real unity of the revolutionaries from all perspectives such as ideology, political line, and spirit. The unity guided by high scientific assumptions that great People's War and the ideology conceded by its leadership are the assets of not only a single particular group but are collective assets of the whole international proletariat, all true and genuine revolutionaries and masses expresses the first and important success gained in meeting the objectives of ideological synthesis to rejoin the disconnected series of the history.

In essence, the unity has been a hard blow against reactionism and revisionism and has generated additional self-confidence and zeal for the revolutionaries. Conceding the ideas and sentiments as expressed in the unity process, we have to accelerate our efforts and initiatives in order to unite the revolutionaries still disillusioned by various revisionist leadership and, thereby, create new waves of polarization, and rejoin all disconnected series of the history. Without any collective effort of the revolutionaries and revolutionary masses, no great revolution of history has been successful, nor shall be. Great need of the revolution demands from the true and genuine revolutionaries to be free of personal and groupist conceit, and to unite all revolutionaries and masses with the broadness of the heart.

Present unity should be taken as a continuity of the historical Party unity held in 1990 on the ground of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line developed under the leadership of Com. Prachanda in the history of Nepalese communist movement. The ideological synthesis going to be completed in the Party will lead to a serious and responsible initiative for another advancement in the process. We need to seriously concede the scientific truth that ideological and political line determines everything. If it is correct, everything is gained but if wrong, everything gained is lost. We can see the live picture of the scientific truth right in front of us as produced by the fact how the revisionist line of Fourth Congress led to groups, conspiracies and series of splits but, on the contrary, how the line of Unity Congress led to unity, People's War and series of revolution. But we should not be proud, nor content. Serious problems and challenges still lie ahead of the revolution. Lack of proletarian consciousness, tradition and working style required for the success of revolution still exist in us. Struggle against them should be advanced. We can serve well the world proletarian revolution by developing the struggle, rejoining all disconnected series of the Nepalese communist movement and uniting them and making revolution successful. For that, we must be very serious.

Present Party unity has been indicating positively towards the direction of fulfilling that historical responsibility. Now the whole Party standing on this point of unity should unite to maintain another new unity on another new basis.

We need to strongly grasp the ideas and sentiments expressed in the context of unity in order to uproot the heritage of groupism sectarianism, conspiracy and split.

It is quite essential to particularly focus the attention of the whole Party on the following conclusions of the total analysis made on the international and Nepalese communist movement and Party history. The unity in comprehending these conclusions shall be the level of unity of today.

1. Regarding these conclusions of Stalin, there are 3 different concepts-revisionist, dogmatist and Maoist. Modern revisionism rejects Com. Stalin totally, and dogmatism upholds him totally. But Maoism evaluates him as 70% correct and 30% wrong. In the Nepalese communist movement, however, there prevails a unique cocktail revisionism made up of Khrushchovian modern revisionism and Hoxaite dogmato-revisionism. Nepalese revisionism which has been expressed as tailism abandoning the leadership of the proletariat in bourgeois democratic revolution holds a Hoxaist view on the question of Party. Stalin viewed and managed the Party not as a unity of opposites but as a monolithic and homogenous mechanism and, thereby, committed metaphysical errors. Mao not only rejected the metaphysical errors but also developed qualitatively Marxist-Leninist theory of the relations of class struggle and two-line struggle and the methodology to deal with them. But the Nepalese communist movement neglected great contributions of Mao for a long time. In practice, the Hoxaist trend of imitating Com. Stalin's errors on the question of Party remained dominant in Nepal. Consequently, metaphysical concept of monolithic and homogenous unity gave rise to factionalist sectarianism, spilitism and a series of conspiracy. In the Party, practice of proletarian democracy and dialectical method of building up centralization on its basis were encroached upon. In Nepal, the Mohan Bikram trend has been the most glaring representative of the Hoxaite revisionism which refuses to learn from Stalin's mistakes.

As a result of decisive struggle against and breaking away from such cocktail revisionism the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist conception on the question of the Party has been developed under the leadership of Com. Prachanda. The more strongly the Party grasps Com. Mao's appeal to learn from Com. Stalin's mistake, the greater would be its capacity to lead the revolution.

2. On the background of Great Debate with Khrushchovian revisionism in the international movement and the GPCR in China, enormous ideological basis and possibility for building an unified Party consisting of the Pushpa Lal group, revolutionary current of the Jhapa revolt and sincere revolutionaries of the Fourth Congress prevailed in the Nepalese communist movement. But the possibility was shattered and for this, the pseudo-revisionist pro-King and pro-Panchayat thinking and activities of Manmohan and Mohan Bikram were wholly and solely responsible. This evaluation of the Nepalese communist movement is expected to inspire all the sincere revolutionaries of the countries, who were equally active yesterday for the cause of revolution in different groups, to re-think. It should be clear that this ideology-based scientific evaluation of history also expects to unite all the disjointed chains of history for the success of New Democratic revolution against feudalism and imperialism. Moreover, this evaluation hopes that our Party itself, which has been leading the great People's War, would elevate the struggle to a new height against all kinds of factionalist sectarianism, conceit, and spilitist trends and would take serious initiatives to unite the whole Nepalese communist movement.

3. The lesson of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and experiences of the Party history teach us that the Party unity led by Com. Prachanda one decade ago was a great leap in the direction of revolution and entirely a new beginning, and not any plus-minus change or transformation of any of the former groups of the Nepalese communist movement. The ideological and political line adopted by Unity Congress under the leadership of Com. Prachanda was not a natural result of the development of Fourth or Fifth Congress or any group under them, but virtually it was the outcome of long struggle waged by the revolutionaries against eclectic pseudo-revisionism that existed in them and breaking away from it. The ideological and political line, in its essence, and in the relativity of that time, reflects the synthesis of the experiences of the Nepalese communist movement and, to some extent, contemporary international communist movement. Objectively, this unity with its originality and specificity represents, as stated above, the far-reaching, historical and important process of rejoining the disjointed chains of history. It is not a mixture of insoluble elements but a process of chemical reactions, which produces a qualitatively different matter. If this scientific truth is not grasped correctly, it will be impossible to drive the chariot of revolution up to the last destination. Distrust, doubt and petty-bourgeois sectarianism will weaken the Party from within.

4. We learn from the experiences of the Party history that Third Extended Meeting of the Central Committee holds historical importance from the perspective of the developments of indigenous ideas, strategy and tactics of the Nepalese revolution. Evolution of the Party in the form of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) and its synthesis provided the real and genuine key to turn the strength of the Party unity into physical strength against enemies and apply the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the particularity of Nepal. The internal and external preparation for People's War made on this basis laid the foundation for the historic initiation of the People's War. Just before the initiation, the Central Committee enlisted commitments of the Party in accordance with the idea and spirit of the decisions of the Third Extended Meeting. These commitments issued fundamental directives for the distant future of the People's War, which has not only national but also international significance.

5. We clearly see that all Plans, from the first one prepared for the historic initiation of People's War to the Sixth one, have been proved basically correct and were implemented successfully. By the end of the implementation of the Fifth and Sixth plans, Dolpa military raid and its political implications, base areas developing in the Western region and the state of the local people's government, countrywide military actions and mass-mobilization, and the impact of the Party's political intervention at the central level, point out the fact that total People's War has reached a qualitative stage of development. Right here, what should not be forgotten is the fact that behind these successes, there have been indescribable dedication and devotion of the leaders, cadres and revolutionary fighters of the Party and masses, and sacrifices of lives of the thousands in the face of fascist terror and atrocities of the reactionary state and innumerable conspiracies of various revisionist elements. Also, it should not be forgotten that behind the development, implementation and success of the plans, there has been tremendous struggle against various kinds of capitulationism and adventurism, bureaucratic and anarchist deviations splittist and factionalist sectarianism, blind servility and scepticism, rightist, 'leftist' and centrist tendencies, parochialism and war-lordism, 'left' liquidationism, and meanest Alok trend etc. within the Party.

The experiences and successes achieved in the internal and external struggles have prepared the preconditions for ideological synthesis of the Nepalese revolution. Through negative and positive experiences of every struggle, the whole Party and its supreme leadership have matured ideologically and politically and definite ideas about the Nepalese revolution have developed. We should be clear that the concretization of the ideological synthesis has been quite essential because the Party has been achieving successes in all the important struggles from the Party unity till today under the leadership of Com. Prachanda.

6. The above analysis makes it clear that it is highly necessary to learn lessons from, generally, the whole international communist movement, and particularly, the Comintern, and positive and negative experiences of Stalin's role in order to advance the revolution in any country of the world today. The Party has attempted to evaluate the history basically relying on and moving further ahead from Maoism and the GPCR. Hence, it should be perfected amidst struggles with a view to advancing the world revolution in the 21st century.

ON THREE INSTRUMENTS OF REVOLUTION

1. On Party Building

We have been continuously struggling hard to enable the Party to lead upto communism through democratic, social-ist and cultural revolutions in accordance with the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In this regard, the long ideological struggle against tailist-revisionism that abandons the proletarian leadership the capitalist democratic revolution but war dominant in the Nepalese communist movement has been the most important one. This ideological struggle is linked with the struggle against metaphysical thinking that praclises groupism on the pretext of monolithic unity instead of dialectical method of developing the Party through unity of opposites and two-line struggle. Indeed, the historical party unity and its line led by Com. Prachanda conceding the views of Mao on party and two-line struggle developed while leading the GPCR divorced decisively from the tradition that regarded groupism as party but still dominant in the Nepalese communist movement, and laid strong foundation for real Marxist-Leninist party.

The Unity Congress set up a scientific method to contest two-line struggle on actual and genuine ideological and

political ground instead of hypocritical tradition of addressing the individual and groupist dispute with ideological struggle within the same revisionist line. Accordingly, the very first struggle was with rightist revisionism that wanted to turn the Party into a legal parliamentary mechanism with freedom of groupism, not as a unified leader of the revolution based on a certain ideology. The strenuous ideological struggle, which lasted for three years and victory, gained in it further refined the concept of a militant communist of new type.

All the decisions of the Third historic Extended Meeting of Central Committee transformed the Party into a Maoist one that was able to lead the People's War. The Meeting strongly raised the fact that the policy, plan and programme should not be based on gradual evolutionist concept of leap, push, discontinuity, breakup from the old etc. From the perspective of the party building, the development of this concept decisively hit hard at the reformist heritage and set up scientific and revolutionary value of unity-struggle-transformation.

The Party had been laying great emphasis on the significance with the general masses. Extensive exercise of legal and illegal, open and underground, country-wide urban mass-struggle and rural class-struggle make the indigenuity of our view on party building. In fact, this view manifests the scientific application of the Maoist view on massline of the party building.

The commitments of the Party as adopted by the Central Committee Meeting held just before the launching of the People's War armed the party ideologically against any reformist deviation likely to emerge in the future. They have directed, indeed, general massline of the Party upto the communism. Continuous study and thinking of the communists by every Party member inspire him or her to take the party and revolution upto the ultimate destination, the importance of which is universal.

The storms of both internal and external struggle before and after the People's War qualitatively changed the old structure and working style of the party. New and young Party members from poor peasants, women, depressed communities, nations and indigenous nationality communities, and backward region rapidly came out of the fireplace of the People's War in an unimaginable number. Today there has been majority of the Party members developed by the People's War in almost all districts of the country. As Lenin has said, the process of revolution deviated and even degraded several old party members on the one hand but produced and developed new ones in thousands on the other. Even today, the old factionalist residues can be witnessed in the thinking, conduct, behaviour and working style of several old party members but there are not even a smell of old biases, and prejudices in the new ones. The Party honours the healthy blood transfusions of the new members.

In the meanwhile, historic Fourth Extended Meeting of the Central Committee was held which took three important decisions on party building. They are: to conduct rectification campaign, to centralize and establish the leadership at various levels, and nomination of youths to the Central Committee. All these three decisions manifest the development of Party's Maoist view on the leadership building. The Party emphasizes to institutionalize it as a scientific method to keep healthy the transfusion by maintaining appropriate co-ordination of the old, adult and young revolutionaries. Deeply conceding the principle of continuous revolution under the leadership of the proletariat, the Party has, through the decisions, endeavoured to develop the revolutionary successors. Against bureaucratic centralism and bourgeois anarchism, the three decisions express high understanding of proletarian democratic centralism.

Having undergone the solution to the problem emerged in the Party centre after Fourth Extended Meeting through open discussion, central initiative for rectification campaign, exposure of the Alok trend, and, lastly, expulsion of Com. Dinesh Sharma from the Party on account of his self-protectionist cowardice and new party unity, a qualitative maturity developed in understanding dialectical method to build the Party through class-struggle and two line struggle. Due to all these struggles and victories gained, a strong headquarter led by Com. Prachanda developed as a core of the Party unity. On the basis of struggle against and victory over right, 'left' and centrist trends, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology was synthesized in the HQ and has been the duty of all party members.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to think that the progress of the Party building has perfected. According to the principle of class-struggle and two-line struggle, new needs, problems and challenges appear and facing them requires continuous revolutionization of the party. For the development and success, the Party should concentrate on the followings:-

A- The rectification campaign has not been complete even relatively. The Party must stress to add relative perfection to it. We are afraid the campaign will be merely a formal process of ideological interaction, and criticism and self-criticism. The problem exists more in the upper committees than in the lower ones which must be ended. In fact, the quintessence of rectification should be reflected in physical and organizational proletarianization. For this, the Party centre should forward the process of organizational rectification and physical proletarianization with concrete plan and policy.

B- On the ground of present new synthesis of the Nepalese and international communist movement, the Party should accelerate its efforts for a new revolutionary political polarization. The Party should not underestimate that a large section of the revolutionaries are still disillusioned by various reactionary and revisionist leaderships. A true revolution cannot be successful until they are united. Without any conceit and bias, we should continuously make serious and responsible initiatives in order to rejoin the disconnected series and develop a unified Party.

C- In the Party, there has been substantial inadequacy in the studies of history of international communist movement. As synthesized above, it is particularly necessary to evaluate both positive and negative experiences of international communist movement to draw correct lessons from them for the success of revolution in any country of the world. Hence, the Party should increase its study and research in a planned way.

D- It is necessary to take seriously the suggestions, complaints and criticisms of various sources that the dealing and relation of the Party with people has been like that of a master, instead of servant, on several occasions and places. As per Mao's teaching, we should accept correct things told by even the enemies and the Party must emphasize on standing resolutely on the principal duty of serving the people in any difficult situation and not imposing pressure, interference and or load of any kind, any where.

E- Developing the proletarian style of simple living and hard working has been essential. Adequacy of resources, and economic and physical sources centralized in the Party with the emergence and development of the People's War and new state power is likely to threaten the proletarian life and working style of the cadres. Moreover, it poses a possible picture of the emergence of new democratic capitalist class in the experiences of Russia, China, and, mainly, GPCR and advance the struggle against those trends.

F- Taking into account the future development of the war, the security of the leadership of various levels, chiefly, the central level, and underground structure of the Party should be given more emphasis and the Party should be made more organized and swift. Admitting the fact that our security system is not that much scientific and strong, all Party committees should further take more initiatives in this direction.

2. On the Formation of Army and military line

Synthesizing the scientific teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the universal character of revolutionary violence, armed struggle, protracted people's war and the formation of army in a class-oriented society, the discussions on them, in the Nepalese society and empirical experience, the Party has been developing the formation of People's Army and Nepalese military line. Assimilating seriously the semi-feudal and semi-colonial situation of Nepal, and need of the new democratic revolution, the Unity Congress of the Party, under the leadership Com. Prachanda adopted military line of protracted People's War, with strategic role of base area and guerrilla warfare based on the strategy of encircling the city with villages.

After having defeated and expelled from the Party the rightist liquidationists who labelled the military line of People's War as 'extremist' and 'gunman trend', doors opened for the growth of strategy and tactics of People's War. From the perspective of the formation of army and growth of military line, the decisions synthesized by General Secretary Com. Prachanda in the Third Extended Meeting of Central Committee hold the most significant position. It proved with a general review of the Nepalese history the fact that Nepalese people are used to violent struggles since long, and there has been major role of dedication, sacrifice and violent struggle of the people behind whatever reforms and freedom they have been enjoying today. The meeting presented an orientation of future military line with an objective evaluation of the positive and negative experience of the Nepalese communist movement and armed struggle. Also, the meeting drew an concrete outline of the formation of army and strategy and definition of class conditions and fundamental characteristics of the Nepalese society and international situation. Accordingly, it defined four sub-stages under the

stage of strategic defensive in the Nepalese particularity.

Opining that today the People's War can be advanced only as a total war and it is essential to do so, the Meeting presented tactical series required for as follows:

"Stress on rural works, but do not leave the urban ones, too; stress on the illegal works but don't give up legal possibilities, too; stress on certain strategic areas, but don't leave other areas, too; stress on the works of war, but don't leave the mass-movements, too; stress on the underground works, but don't leave the overground ones, too; stress on the rural class-struggle but don't leave the countrywide struggles, too; stress on the guerrilla warfare but don't leave the political propaganda and exposure, too; stress on the dissemination inside the country but don't leave the worldwide publicity, too; stress on the works of the formation of army, but don't leave the works of the formation of fronts, organizations, too; stress on depending upon your organizations and forces, but don't give up actional unity and taking support, cooperation from international community, too". This tactical principle was expected to characterize the process of Nepalese People's War and the experiences have proved its scientificness today.

In accordance with the spirit of the decision of the Third Extended Meeting, the Central Committee meeting held before the People's War took the hilly regions from east to west as the backbone of People's War and according to the economic cultural, historical and geographical characteristics and North-South flow, Regional Commands were specified. With a view to turning the People's War as a storm of the armed masses, a concrete policy of developing the military organization in the form of the militant, defence and volunteers groups was devised at that time. As expected, they have been developing now as people's main military force, supporting or reserve force and people's militia. Also, the meeting fixed quota for military actions of various levels throughout the country. At last, disseminating throughout the country the principal slogans like "It is right of the people to rebel!", "Let us march towards the direction of founding new democratic system against reactionary state" the People's War was rebelliously launched on 13th Feb. 1996.

The balance maintained between centralized plan and decentralized implementation, countrywide actions with preference to certain strategic areas, political intervention at the Central level and military actions, military activities and mass-mobilization and mass-struggles displays the indigenuity of the Party's military strategy and tactics. After the implementation of three plans under this process, the acceleration of the People's War required new and qualitative plans. Accordingly, Fourth Extended Meeting of Central Committee put forward a plan for building base area.

The Fourth Extended Meeting not only specified conditions for building base area, the strategic backbone of the protracted People's War, but also ideologically explained guerrilla zone base area and cautioned the Party about possible reformism in the military field. The meeting, stressing most the issue of the formation of army, developed the concept of main military force, supporting or reserve force, and people's militia. It formulated a unified military policy of rejoining all three military forces in centralized and decentralized actions as per need. Taking decision of far-reaching significance in military line, the Fourth Extended Meeting divided the whole country into and defined them as proposed base areas, guerrilla zones around them, and the areas of general actions around them, and the cities including the capital as propaganda zone.

Strategically, the decisions of Fourth Extended Meeting have been mainly directing all the activities upto the end of Sixth Plan. With the development of military force including Dolpa military raid all over the country, their influence on the national politics and need of facing the main military force of the enemy at the background, a challenge of developing a qualitative plan, in the special context of army formation, has stood in front of the Party. On the basis of correct synthesis of the experiences of the past, the Party needs to devise plans for future.

While synthesizing the characteristics of international and national situation and the great People's War today the Party needs to develop more its views on serious ideological questions regarding military line. The question is centralised on the strategies of protracted People's War of encircling the city with villages, and general insurrection. It is quite clear these two military strategies, generally known as Russian and Chinese model of revolution, are two different strategies of two countries with two different stages of the development. But today there has been an important, if not fundamental, change in nature of differences of these two military strategies. Without assimilating this change properly, apt development of the formation of army and military line will be almost impossible in any country of the world.

The influence of the end of cold war, state of so-called unipolar imperialist world, monopoly imperialist capital on

the pretext of globalization in the oppressed third world countries of the world, direct control over the economy of every country of the third world on the pretext of liberalization and privatization through financial institutions such as World Bank, IMF, world military strategy prepared by the imperialist on the basis of progress in the information technology and science including the electronics etc. has made it necessary for the proletariat to synthesize more seriously about military strategy of the People's War in the 21st century. Actually, the new situation clearly indicates the change in the nature of strategic difference that occurred between armed insurrection and protracted people's war generally until the eighties of 20th century.

There should be no confusion at all that basically, the developed imperialist countries must essentially pursue the path of armed insurrection and the oppressed countries of the third world protracted people's war even today. But the change occurred in the world situation as mentioned above has created a situation that necessarily links the characteristics of armed insurrection and protracted people's war with one another, and, moreover, there is a need to do so. Because of this situation of the development, it has been almost impossible to successfully advance the strategy of protracted PW of encircling the city with villages and building base areas in any third world country, without pursuing several characteristics of armed insurrection from the beginning.

The military line of general armed insurrection contains some fundamental characteristics such as continuous intervention by the political party of the proletariat at the centre of reactionary state on the ground of political propaganda right from the beginning, training the masses including the workers with continuous strikes and street struggles on the basis of revolutionary demands, developing works in the military force and bureaucracy of the enemy in a planned way, waging intensive political struggle against various revisionist and reformist groups from the central level, and, lastly, seizing the central state power through armed insurrection in appropriate international and national situation, etc. It is evident that the proletariat of a third world country should concede and apply the above-mentioned characteristics of general armed insurrection, too.

What we can witness from this situation is generally, under the distinct influence of development of strategic stages of the protracted People's War and when there is no external military intervention, the base area should be developed and preparation for the final revolt should be advanced even under the stage of strategic defence, and the stages of equilibrium and offensive are relatively very fast, short and rebellious. The seriousness of it can be understood in the background of the latest setback to the Peruvian People's War. In case of external military intervention, that will later turn into national war and even then, its fundamental process will basically follow the same direction.

When we view the experiences of the Nepalese People's War, a distinct manifestation of this process can be seen. Continuous political intervention on the central reactionary state, incessant strikes and street struggles, and other mass-movements by various classes of the people, political propaganda against various revisionist and opportunist elements, rebellious initiative of the People's War, countrywide pushes, general strikes, and, simultaneously, military actions, army formation, and development of military line etc. make the distinct relation between two strategies. Therefore, what can be announced clearly is the protracted People's War can be advanced and army formation and base area building may be developed qualitatively, only by lifting the strategies for preparation for the revolt to a new height. It is guided by not only the national situation of Nepal but also by the international. Hence, the importance of the synthesis will be not only national but also international. The progress of international, South Asian and world revolution, which we have discussed above, indicate the same conclusions. In fact, it is impossible to move forward without developing high and centralized attack, political and military plans under every plan against the enemy. From this perspective, the Party needs, by integrating the preparation for the revolt with, to develop qualitative military plan against the enemies.

For this, central Army HQ and general staff should be forwarded in order to mobilize the army of the country under an integrated and centralized command and a provision for handling all activities of defensive and offensive should be guaranteed. The Party Central Committee shall pursue a certain way to institutionalize the process with central naming which will elevate the development of army formation and military line to a new height.

3. On the New Democratic State and Development of the United Front

Without making the development of independent revolutionary struggle led by proletariat a starting point, it is the

characteristics of the Nepalese revisionism to speak on united front. In the course of struggle, the revolutionary concept of the party concerning the united front has been developing against such revisionism. The question of political power is the central question of the revolution. If struggle is not waged for the sake of state power, the development of genuine revolutionary united front becomes impossible. In the New Democratic Revolution proletariat's leadership and united democratic dictatorship of the people on the ground of the worker-peasant's unity is the only class ideological basis for state and united front. The doors of its development opened only after the party led by Com. Prachanda grasped firmly the above-mentioned fundamental Maoist concept. This concept has established the scientific proposition that prior to the initiation of war the aims of all sorts of organizations and struggle should be to assist for its preparation and after the initiation of war for the provision of serving it.

For the first time after the historic launching of People's War in Nepal, the question of state power and united front required a creative development as per its particularity, including the study of wholesome nature of its impact in less than one year of People's War, the Party started to proceed by adopting the proposal as presented by Com. Prachanda that the New Democratic state in Nepal shall take the form of a class ethnic and, regional United Front. The theoretical essence of this concept remains internalized with the necessity of amalgamating the national liberation movement, too, in the proletarian movement as stated by Com. Lenin and Com. Mao. In fact this concept expresses the creative development of the principle regarding revolutionary united front in the particular social structure of Nepal and India where Hindu feudal high-caste chauvinism is dominant.

With the entrance into Second year the People's War created a situation of state vacuum, mainly in the Western Nepal and in the various rural areas. In this situation through its own Third Plan the Party took some concrete decisions to exercise local democratic state in the form of United People's Committee. Through the development of local United People's Committee, Nepalese United Front obtained practical shape in the form of solid expression of the state from the root level and the process of the formation of ethnic, regional fronts on the basis of the recognition of the right of oppressed nations to self-determination and programme of autonomy as well. The central political intervention, countrywide mass-mobilization and the development process of people's struggle in various forms are other remarkable events that should not be forgotten.

In the Fourth Extended Meeting of Central Committee, the Party, synthesizing the above-mentioned total situation, as proposed by Com. Prachanda, propounded solid policies for the protection, consolidation and extension of Local New Democratic State founded in the Nepalese particularity. The dialectical relationship between Central United Front for the Central political intervention and Local United Front existing in the process of state power exercise was defined accordingly. According to the definition it was clarified that it was essential to develop a united front that emphasizes on developing a structure of local democratic state power from village area upto the level of base area and plays an elementary role for the protection, development and co-ordination of the local democratic state power.

According to the ideas developed by Fourth Extended Meeting today in Western zones, declared state power at various district levels and undeclared in base areas is being exercised. The situation of preliminary exercise of People's state in various levels under all of the regional commands has been developed. Development of various ethnic front is taking place gradually. At the same time, the Party's political intervention against the old state from the central level is rising constantly upto the level of 'dialogue', 'constitution' and 'United Revolutionary Government'.

It necessitates to think up qualitatively about the above-mentioned experience as developed by the People's War and national and international situation of today (as synthesized above). The experience has made it explicit that both the strategic process and tactical series as complementary to the former require to be elevated to a new height.

"Strategically the development of revolutionary UF as an organizing committee of new democratic government for the co-ordination of total local democratic states and base areas and an organized political invasion against the enemy is compulsory. Protecting the achievements of PW, this sort of government will follow the process of preparing general mass for general mass insurrection with regard to the characteristics of today's international and national situation. The organizing committee of the New Democratic government led by proletariat and founded on local people's state power and base areas shall take the form of a class, ethnic and regional united front against feudalism and imperialism. According to the new democratic programme it would be primary agenda of the new government to enact concrete policy, rules

and laws about all aspects of nationality, democracy and livelihood and implement them in base areas and local state power, and to take a firm initiative to develop struggle in other areas on their basis. New government organizing committee will develop various central departments and ministries as per need in order to meet the purpose. As a legal representative of Nepalese people this organizing committee will emphasize on developing national and international relations and publicity. While making such strategic front, the importance should be laid on the patriotic trend in accordance with the historical characteristics of Nepal. Party Central Committee will issue concrete policy and directives in order to undertake the task mentioned above.

Under the leadership of Comrade Prachanda the Party has been developing tactical theory in reference to utilizing the contradiction between enemies, along with the development of the above-mentioned strategic process of the state and UF, developing the tactical united front to centralize the invasion against the principal enemy, building people's comprehensive national unity against the so-called national consensus of enemies. Unless the importance of tactical theory is acknowledged properly and a proper attention is paid to its total development, the achievement of a strategic purpose becomes impossible. The development process of tactical theory expresses, in essence, Party's capacity to apply the dialectical and historical materialism in the Nepalese context, particularly under the leadership of Comrade Prachanda. The importance of this tactical theory has increased greatly in the world situation of imperialism or the universal defeat being faced by proletariat in the struggle for state power today.

In order to attract broad masses in the revolution, the development of Party's tactical theory is being expressed in the series from top to bottom of tactical United Front, handling process of the weapon of dialogue discussion concerning the construction of constitution, slogan for united revolutionary government, discussions with various political parties, social unions, institutions and national personalities, study of contradictions and method of their utilization etc, for the benefit of revolution. Its use according to new essentiality would be mentioned in its future plan.

4. On Party Massline

Acknowledging a renowned Marxist-Leninist-Maoist principle, "The People are the creator of history", the Party has been developing total massline in accordance with the particular situations of Nepal. Synthesizing the historical process of general mass insurgency, the Party has laid emphasis greatly on organizing the aspiration of mass insurgency. It is revisionism to speak on mass mobilization and massline without a political purpose to seize state power by means of PW. Virtually, revolutionary massline of our Party is inseparably joined with the tough ideological struggle against revisionism which talks on the so-called mass struggle on the basis of reformist demand revolving around the old reactionary state deeply rooted in the Nepalese Communist revolution. The revolutionary massline started to speed up only after the revolutionary line led by Comrade Prachanda was modified, adopted and established by the Unity Congress.

Development of this line inflicted forcefully upon the decade-old reformism that had been deceiving the masses by misusing mass insurgency and their aspiration for total change for ordinary reform or minor change in the form around the reactionary old state. This signified that the massline before the initiation of PW meant preparing for it and afterwards rendering service to it. In the context of developing Party massline the struggle against sectarian dogmatism, that devaluates the scientific truth 'trust the general masses in any of the harsh hours and be in the midst of general masses' cannot be forgotten either. Due to the effort of grasping the Maoist assumption concerned with the massline in the deepest level, the Party has to face the isolation from people in none of the harsh moments. Hence the Party has been ever laying emphasis upon the assumption that right line exists always in the supreme cause of people and the line cannot be right unless it merges with the supreme cause of people.

The line of Party has been based on the dialectical inter-relation between preparing ground for launching of PW through mass struggle of mass mobilization and various forms, and more broadly mobilizing the masses through it afterwards, and it has elevated to newer heights through stages of constant development. To seize the state power by revolutionary violence has become the main objective of people's work set by the Party today. In accordance with this military organization of various levels has been the main form of organization and military actions at various levels the main form of struggle. Development process of armed masses as the main, subordinate and basic forces and the diversity of guerrilla actions elucidate it.

The Party has been laying emphasis constantly on the task of the development of people's struggle and various

people's organization on the basis of various demands along with the development of this main form of organization and struggle, as an important part of massline. The basic policy of the Party is to accelerate this process with an objective of organizing general masses. In this regard, in base areas proposed today mainly in Western region, the task of organizing general masses in any of the organizations is being done as per need. For us, it is essential to urge constantly to put into practice the scientific assumption that 'an organized general mass is the iron fort in the struggle against enemy'.

Assimilating the class reality of changeable definition of the people according to the nature of revolution, our another characteristic is to develop massline on the basis of class outlook. Accordingly, seizing the reality that the people of other classes of strata except feudal, bureaucratic and comprador capitalist class, are the masses in the present phase of NDR, pushing ahead the mass mobilization and building organization has become the basic task of the Party today. In this connection, organizing and revolutionizing the general peasants, mainly, poor peasants is to accept it to be of primary importance. The fact that historic launching and development of the PW and the process of organizing the general peasants including the poor ones have taken a qualitative speed can be easily noticed. The fact that peasants are the resource of main, subordinate and basic military force developed under the leadership of the Party and the base for their protection and development clarifies the role of peasants in NDR. The utmost important objective of the Party's massline is to effectively organise and revolutionize the peasants by firmly grasping the historical fact that 'none of the power in the world can stand in front of the united peasants' uproar, and accept the directives of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism regarding the invincibility of the organization of the poor.

After the historic initiative of People's War in Nepal, the glorious achievement advancing forward with surprising rapidity is the development of revolutionary women's movement. The old state and its conductors have been entrapped into the whirlpool of surprise and terror by the impact left by People's War on half portion of the population which is grinded doubly under class and gender exploitation-atrocities. The rapidity in the extension of rural peasantry women's organizations, increasing series of higher records of devotion, dedication bravery and sacrifice revealed against enemies countrywide and mainly on the areas of struggle have guaranteed the victory of total People's War and revolution. In comparison to males the higher resistance capacity of women against repression and atrocities of the enemy including sufferings, brutal tortures and rapes has explicitly displayed the miraculous power inherent in the women to rebel. Assimilating more firmly the Marxist science that women's participation is the measuring rod for the success of any great revolution in the history it is another significant aspect of the Party's massline to assist in elevating the process of revolt the consciousness of proletariat. The basic policy in this regard of the Party would be to march forward by grasping the historical reality that the new democratic and socialist norms and values may be set up only when patriarchal, feudal values, assumptions and norms including bourgeoisie values on family sex, marriage, personal property are demolished upto the root with participation of women in the revolution.

Serious studies of the development of the historical peculiarities of Nepalese Society and formulation of ethnic and regional policies on the basis of the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and their implementation is another important part of the Party massline. The guarantee of progress and emancipation of a great majority of total population victimized by exploitation, suppression, and discrimination of Hindu feudal 'high' caste chauvinism of century-old reactionary state and deprived of economic, political, religious and cultural rights, is the objective of ethnic and regional policy of the Party. The honour and recognition of the right of suppressed nationalities to self-determination and the programme of the establishment of national autonomy clarifies the proletarian policy on it of the Party. It has already been stated that this policy expresses the characteristic of era imperialism and proletarian revolution about the fusion of proletarian revolutionary movement and ethnic liberation movement into each other in the peculiarity of Nepalese society. The policy which aims at developing fronts and organizations of the oppressed nationalities and regions, and guaranteeing their participation in the local and central new democratic states has been playing a role of historic importance and shall be doing so in making the gigantic part of Nepalese Society jump into the political process. This policy represents the only scientific method to make millions of the suppressed nationalities including Magar, Gurung, Tamang, Rai, Limbu, Tharu, Newar, Karnali Pradesh participate in the great journey of revolution. Highly evaluating the economic and political importance of the Terai, the Party is laying emphasis on the programme of regional autonomy for the Madheshee community as against the discrimination and oppression of old state. The Party offers high priority to involving Madheshee Community in revolution. Its historic importance lies in the development of

Nepalese national unity against Indian monopoly capitalism. The Party is stressing on the policy to organize and revolutionize the Dalits, i.e. depressed community, who are the masters of basic labors and number more than 15% of total population, but most suppressed by the inhuman atrocities of old state, for a battle of equality and freedom. This is the especiality of our Party policy related to the Dalits to ensure their liberation and participation in the state with privilege. After the initiation of People's War, this part of the masses also has been rapidly advancing in the process of revolt. The Party intends to lay further emphasis on the necessity to put into practice more effectively the correct policies on the massline which it has developed in the Nepalese particularity.

Policies of the Party on students, workers, intelligentsia, teachers etc. elucidate another significant expression of revolutionary massline. The Party has been continuously urging to develop students' movement as the conductor of radical change synthesizing the experiences of struggling traditions of young students in the revolutionary movements of all countries in general and in Nepalese history in particular. There has been the unforgettable role of the students' front in the past both in preparing the nationwide ground for the initiation of People's War and afterwards in rendering its service to it. It has been the essence of the Party to advance in a planned and conscious way in the revolution the physical and mental situation of the young students who assimilate the new consciousness, necessity of change and the very essence of revolt in a most natural way. A week-long successful general strike recently called by student's front proving the whole educational machineries of old state to be a paper tiger reveals its strength. Even now the Party feels the necessity to add more emphasis to advancing the task of student's, front linking the preparation of future general insurrection and reserve force in constant development of People's War. The specific indivisible relation between student and peasant throughout Nepal indicates the historical role students can play in the preparation of insurrection.

The Party has been developing the line of revolutionary workers movement during ideological struggle against trade unionist parliamentarianism and economic reformism in the trade movement. Because of The worker's front has been, along with the revolutionary transformation, providing direct help in the process of People's War right from the beginning. The strong trade unionist influence of reformism and dual relation of an overwhelming, majority of the workers in Nepal with rural agricultural system and modern productive system, it has not yet attained qualitative rapidity. The Party will render its special effort in advancing the worker's front, like that of the student's, too, by joining it with the preparation of future general insurrection.

The Party has been urging continuously for revolutionary transformation of the intellectuals and teacher's front according to the political line and revolutionary idea. The essence of the Party's policy is to assimilate the significant role of intelligentsia in revolution and struggle continuously against swaying and anarchic, individualistic character persistent in the intelligentsia as prepared by the old state. Prior to the historic People's War, and even afterwards, intelligentsia and teacher's, front have been certainly playing important role. But in comparison to the needs, that is lacking greatly. The problem of proletarian revolutionary transformation is the main problem of development of this sort of front. The Party will lay emphasis on advancing these fronts effectively with that sort of transformation.

From the very beginning the Party is stressing on advancing cultural front as its another important organ of its massline. The Party attaches high importance to the publication and mainly the historic role played by cultural front through cultural groups and teams scattered throughout the country for the launching of the People's War. That sort of cultural activities have directly contributed in involving millions of masses in the great process of revolution ideologically and emotionally. After the historic initiation of People's War virtually, a huge cultural army has been developing today by means of continuous development of article, composition and publication of poets and actors at the central level and through waves of development of cultural teams and programme all over the country. The Party intends to urge the question of revolutionary transformation of the leadership of the fronts by learning a lesson from the experience of history and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. With regard to the need of rapid development of People's War, the Party gives primary importance to the development and publicity of novels, video or audio cassetts based on organizational consolidation, experience of the war. The experience has proved that if we manage properly the task of cultural front, qualitative progress shall be obtained in the preparation, ascending in another new height, of future general armed insurrection. And the Party will focus its attention in this direction.

The Party has assumed the expatriation of millions of Nepalese in search of jobs in India as a significant character-

istic of Nepalese society. In fact, the success of Nepalese People's War and revolution cannot be imagined if Nepalese dwelling in India are separated from it. Assimilating this reality in the Third Extended Meeting of Central Committee led by Com. Prachanda, the Party has mentioned the role of Nepalese dwelling in India relying on the strategic characteristics of the country. Nepalese front located in India has been playing the role of far reaching importance in the process of historic initiative of People's War and afterwards in its total development process. Nepalese front in India has made its contributions to the Party and People's War with several important technical and organizational assistance and other activities such as organizing and revolutionizing the Nepalese people according to the spirit of People's War, disseminating the People's War of Nepal among the Indian people with an alliance of various solidarity parties, organization and institutions, organizing protest meeting, demonstrations and other, resistance programmes against the state terror created by reactionary state, going back to the country for the activities like direct participation in the movements if needed. The Party will continue its endeavor in making it broader and effective along with the revolutionary transformation in the form of expression of Party massline. The Party para change has been urging continuously to organize YCL in the form of factory producing cadre to participate ideologically and physically in the process of revolution.

The Party has been attempting to make its own massline effective by development of various department, forum etc. along with the above-mentioned basic fronts, for the purpose of mass mobilization. Its positive result also has been established in the revolution. The Party policy of developing various departments, forums will continue according to the revolution.

In this connection, admitting the significant policy propaganda was the internal and external publications have to be made systematic. According to the new characteristics of the age, the Party will emphasis upon the management of the publication and propaganda more scientifically.

Thus, the Party has been developing Maoist massline to awaken, organize and revolutionize more masses in a faster and better ways, for the success of People's War and revolution. Five Years experience has been inspiring this process to move forward from another height. No enemy of the world will be able to defeat us as long as the Party continues this revolutionary massline.

A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT

As an inseparable part of the international proletariat, the Party determined the line of the Nepalese revolution in the midst of class struggle and two-line struggle, based on the universal principle of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM). This was the first important achievement in the direction of development of ideas of the Nepalese revolution. A new epoch was initiated in the Nepalese history on February 13, 1996 with the historic initiation of People's War (PW) in the guidance of the same line and with the great aim and determination of reaching to communism through New Democratic, Socialist and Cultural Revolutions. Under the leadership of the Party, this historic attempt in itself was another great qualitative leap in the direction of upholding and application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the revelation of specific laws of the Nepalese revolution. Today, the synthesis of experiences of five stormy years of PW has developed into a set of ideas guiding the Nepalese revolution, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and it is a great achievement of five years of the PW.

This great achievement stands on the great foundation of the historical records of untold grief, pain, dedication, bravery, courage and sacrifice of millions of masses and the revolutionary fighters. This achievement has been acquired at the cost of blood, shed by thousands of best sons and daughters of the Nepalese people. This great achievement has been attained through consistent contribution of the whole Party, all leftist, progressive, patriotic and democratic forces and all the communist revolutionaries of the world including the RIM. In this whole process, the Party has been leading successfully on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, resistance against genocidal campaigns of reactionary regime, exposure of the revisionist conspiracy and lies and struggle against deviationist trends inside the Party itself. Because of the successful leadership in this struggle, today, not only the Party's. set of ideas but also a team of worthy leaders at the central level and a promising section of thousands of cadres as revolutionary successors have been developing. Because of the correct and continuous leadership of General Secretary Com. Prachanda, ever since the Party unity up to the present height of synthesis of ideas a strong proletarian headquarter, as a center of gravity of unity of the Party has been developed a round Com. Prachanda. So, the Party names the set ideas that have developed in the form of centralized expression of collective leadership, as 'Prachanda Path'. Developed in the background of prolonged discussion inside

and outside the Party and International Communist Movement, most importantly high level of theoretical interaction with the RIM Committee, Prachanda Path while enriching MLM expresses the specific set of ideas of the Nepalese revolution. This set of ideas crystallized in the form of Prachanda Path, will act as a significant guide in the onward march of the Nepalese revolution

MLM is the science of social revolution of the proletariat. Being a science, it always obligates its development through practical application in the class struggle to change the world. The synthesis of experiences of the Party as 'Prachanda Path', finally expresses the specificities of the application of the universal principles of MLM in the practice of Nepalese revolution. This synthesis of the Nepalese experiences, based upon the indivisible dialectical relationship between international essence and national form, universality and particularity, whole and part, general and specific, objectively serves the world proletarian revolution and proletarian internationalism.

This synthesis of experiences has been acquired through the process of "practice-knowledge-again practice-again knowledge" based on the theory of knowledge of dialectical materialism. MLM has taught us that this is a never-ending cycle. Through practice of class struggle and ideological struggle, our Party developed the Party line as initial knowledge, and applying that knowledge again in practice to change the world attained present synthesis as a new knowledge. It is clear that this process is not going to end and complete over here, it is bound to continue to develop all the way, through the process of again practice and again knowledge. The communist revolutionaries should continuously try to be expert in applying the universal principles of MLM to correctly grasp and apply the law of this dialectical motion of development.

GREAT LEAP FORWARD AND SKETCH OF FUTURE PLAN

Ideologically, the synthesis of idea of the Party by itself represents a great leap forward. From this height of thought, the importance of evolution of a totally new plan with regard to the country's concrete condition is obvious in itself.

The series of high military success that has been achieved through the execution of Party's Fourth Plan arriving at the end of the execution of Sixth Plan has yielded into a qualitative jump with the successful military raid at Dunai, Dolpa. During this period many qualitative successes in the field of Party's political central interference were also achieved. Thus successes and mainly the successful Dunai operation made a qualitative influence in the national politics. The masses were rapidly drawn towards the Party and the People's War whereas the reactionaries and revisionists had to face a new challenge of red terror.

Today the country is moving forward with increasing clashes between the old state's parliamentary fascism and the New Democratic state founding and growing through People's War. The old and the new states have become the present political reality of the Nepalese society. The old state, caught in the cyclone of economical, political and social crises, has got down to prepare for genocidal fascist exercises against the country, its people and growing people's State. This is made clear by the immense effort put up by the enemy to develop the so-called armed police force and regional chief simultaneously, the conspiracy of reactionary and revisionist alliance against our Party and People's War has reached the climax of meanness. The enemy invested millions of rupees to confuse the masses with penetration, sabotage actions and planned false propaganda. The enemy and the revisionists have been forming newer standards of alliance to arrest and murder the revolutionary leaders and cadres.

In fact, this situation is the result of terror and defeated mentality of reactionaries and revisionists because of the qualitative development of the People's War. Strategically, the Party sums up this to be the result of victory of People's War. But from tactical point of view, it considers the enemy's conspiracy and exercise as a new challenges posed by the old state and feels necessary to face it seriously. In accordance with the famous proposition of Mao, "It is the nature of reactionaries and revisionists to create chaos till the end and that of the people to continue the struggle until a complete victory is attained", the country's state of affairs is taking its course today as per the very law of evolution of class struggle.

In this situation, according to the above-synthesized idea, it is essential today to develop a political and military plan to attack the enemy from newer heights. In new situations, it has become urgent to advance this type of plan from both levels, strategical and tactical. Main slogans of strategical master plan will be "Consolidate and extend the base areas, march on towards the direction of forming New People's Central Government". Under this great slogan, the Party Central Committee will develop a concrete work plan related to the political and military objective and its preparation.

From tactical point of view, the policies like centralizing attacks on the main enemy, continuing the of Party policy for dialogue, stressing on the development and tactical united front etc. will be retained as they are. But this alone will not be enough to achieve the above-mentioned strategical objectives today. For this the Party needs to advance in a planned way the issues like organizing a conference of all political forces to be participated by representatives of all political parties and People's organizations of the country, conducting the election for an interim government by the conference and guaranteeing they formation of constitution by the people under the leadership of this elected interim government. The Central Committee itself will develop a concrete programme and plan for its initiation. Properly assimilating the fact that tactics of general armed insurrection in the protracted People's War, in according with the characteristics of international and national situations today, this sketch of plan will have great importance in mobilizing the whole Party, Army, United Front, all people's fronts and the masses, too.

Slogans-

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Prachanda Path!

Long live the Proletarian Internationalism!

Long live the World Revolution!

Long live the Great People's War!

Long live the New Democratic Revolution!

Glory to the Fallen Heroes!

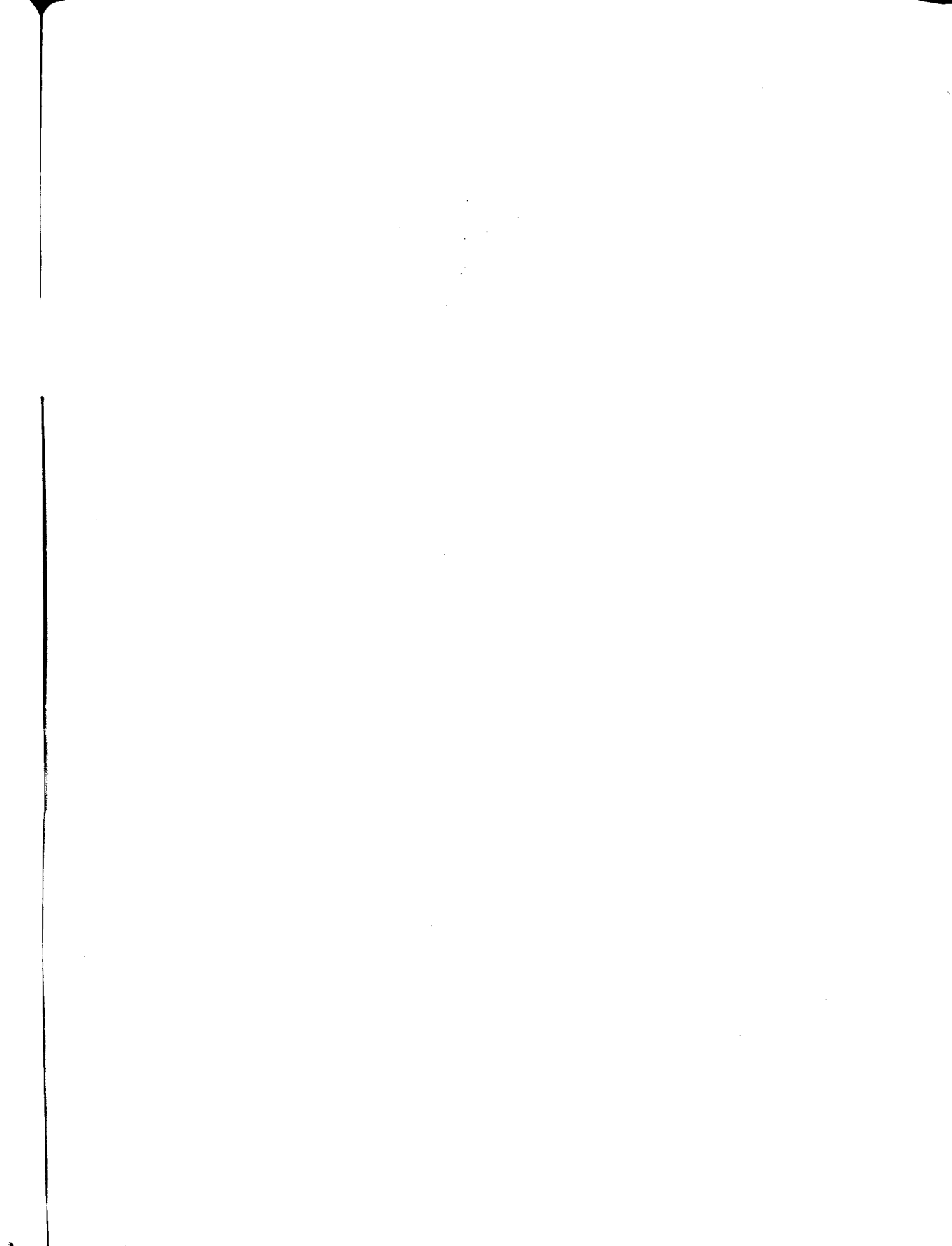
Long live Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

Foot-notes:

1. *Today what the experience has proved irrefutably is that Mohan Bikram trend is a feudal trend that strangles Marxism and revolution in the pretext of upholding them. Its characteristics are to be soft towards and to defend the group of reactionaries which has seized the state power and rules the country and people in an anti-national and fascist way but to assail with full force those who wage revolutionary struggle against that rule. Its policy of assailing the Jhapa revolutionaries, Pushpa Lal and Nepali Congress, in the past, and the Maoist People's War and the forces supporting it, today, proves this.*
2. *Actually, the publicity that the then leadership of Mashal was changed because of a technical mistake in the Sector case is a mistake of presenting the reason-for as the principal one. It created confusion in the then Mashal and even after unity for a long time. Com. Kiran has clarified it in his preface to *The Problems of Nepalese Revolution, Part-II**
3. *Before discussing the development any further, it is essential to be clear about some wrong thinking. Among them, the principal one is the bias and sectarian factionalist thinking. Even this thinking is expressed in two ways one views the improved line and leadership with the vision of the same old particular faction and rejects or undervalues the historical importance of unity, evolution of thought and its role in establishing it among the people, and the other claims that everything happened after the unity and thereby rejects or undervalues the objective process and reality of ideological evolution. The former fails to understand the scientific fact that the evolution of thought is not the asset of former groups only but of the general masses, and to concede the fact that the evolution of new thought in our condition is a result of fierce struggle against all groupism, factionalism in the Nepalese communist movement and their so-called line and break-up from them. The latter also ultimately expresses factionalist sectarian view which attempts to separate the line and leadership from each other, and views the leadership with the eye of previous groups and unnecessarily links the line alone with itself. In deed this kind of thinking is the residue of petty-bourgeois sectarianism, personal biases, groupism and factionalism prevailing in the Nepalese communist movement since long. It fails to concede the universal character of science. Therefore, the whole party should struggle against and be alert and conscious about such thinking.*

All our officers and fighters must always bear in mind that we are the great People's Liberation Army, we are the troops led by the great Communist Party of China. Provided we constantly observe the directives of the Party, we are sure to win.

– Mao Tse-tung "Manifesto of the Chinese People's Liberation Army"
(October 1947), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p.152."





Cultural Program in Dang



PLA Camp