



Maoist Outlook



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From the Text:

“The history of whole international communist movement and history of Nepalese communist movement is the history of two-line struggle. Essence of this history has presented as the dialectics of “unity, struggle, up to split and again new unity on new base” by the Chinese communist party led by Mao and it is true. This also implies in the history of communist party of Nepal.”

“Lenin has defined imperialism as monopoly capitalism. In its essence, even today imperialism is same as Lenin has analyzed about it. But, there is little bit change and development on its form. Though, imperialism itself is globalized, but because of development on electronic information technology and the success of imperialism to capture on it, imperialism is being more and widely globalized than past.”

“Nepal is a semi or neo colonial state which is oppressed by imperialism in general and Indian expansionism in particular. There are many unequal treatise signed between Nepal and India in the past. 'Treaty of 1950' 'Treaty of 1965', 'Gandak treaty of 1959', 'Tanakpur Agreement of 1992', 'Comprehensive Mahakali Treaty of 1996', 'Upper Karnali Project 2008', 'Koshi High Dam', 'Arun III' and so on are some glaring examples. Some agreements which were extremely unequal and dangerous for national security were not signed even during the period of acknowledged pro-Indian governments of Nepal, have been signed by present coalition government. Bhattarai signed infamous 'BIPPA agreement' in 2012.”

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The Road is Tortuous, Future is Bright

Disengaging relations with neo-revisionism, we build Communist Party of Nepal -Maoist by the historical National Convention. This is a particular phenomenon in the history of international communist movement and Nepalese communist movement. On ideological and political line, we struggled a long in the party. But, we could not correct opportunism and transform them. It was urgent to break relations with rightist liquidations, class capitulationism and national capitulationism, which was making its position strong in the party. We did courage for that. We raise again the red flag of communism in the country of highest peak Mt. Everest. We, proletarian, feel pride on it.

Basing on the aim of establishing new democratic republic, forwarding along the direction of socialism and communism, at the end of twentieth century and in the beginning of 21st century great people's war effectively developed under the leadership of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). It wake up whole country and as well as world. Base areas and people's government formed in vast area of countryside of Nepal. From the guerrilla team to people's Liberation army of seven divisions has developed. In that great people's war people's broad participation of peasant, woman, Dalit, indigenous-ethnic, Madhesi, Muslim, Masses of the backward areas great people's war was passing the stages of strategic defense and balance, a part of party leadership reneged to the country, proletarian internationalism and revolution, sink on the quicksand of compromise. In that serious situation, there was not left any alternative to move towards revolution in the new way learning lessons from the positive and negative experiences of history.

Class-conscious masses and well-wishers of revolution have given positive comment on the historical disengagement with neo-revolution. In an encouraging manner reorganization of the state committee to district committee and cells has gone ahead in the party. Majority part of revolutionary leaders and cadres, who were participated in the great people's war, are with us and an important part of revolutionary comrades, who were entered into party in the process of party unification are also with us. Experienced leaders and vast part of mass fronts are with us including masses, workers and peasants are in support of new type of communist party for revolution and liberation.

We are participating in the historical campaign of new democratic revolution with new life and revolutionary spirit. The History of revolution always moves ahead via zigzag turn with sometimes slow and sometimes speeds. Nobody has strength to stop the pace of world, revolution are international communist movement in the world. Relating Nepalese revolution with the world revolution, let us promise again. The road is tortuous. But future is bright. Committing the new democratic revolution in Nepal, let us go ahead towards socialism and communism.

Let forward the revolution by waging ideological struggle against neo-revisionism!

Dear Comrades,
Revolutionary Greeting!

Today we are standing on the new and special curve on the history of Nepalese Communist movement. History of Nepalese communist movement is the history of sharp two-line struggle between Marxist line and Revisionist line. We have been struggling against rightist revisionism with various forms and colors for long. Now we are in the course of complex two line struggle against the serious types of neo-revisionism which has existed within one faction of the leadership of our glorious Party, Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). We have been struggling for long against the rightist and centrist tendency that existed in the Party. We have tried to correct such tendency since the Kharipati National Convention to till now on the basis of unity, struggle and specially transformation. In this process we have submitted the separate proposal with different view on Central Committee and the convention and meeting of central level; and we agreed to move forward with the common proposal and passed that by accumulating the issues in which we were able to make common vision and keeping the remaining issues aside for the three times. We have corrected the party's main political slogan and line. But one part of the leadership didn't pay attention toward the agreed proposal and the implementation of the revolutionary line rather discarded it. At last, surrendering before the class-enemy, they ascended the conspiracy up to the highest limit to sink the party on the quicksand of rightist revisionism.

We came on the situation that tends us to take a hard decision so to reach on the conclusion on the basis of democratic way, we have organized this Convention. We are going to take a decision which will have a long time impact on the history of international and Nepalese communist movement. The true revolutionary communist of all over the world are observing us. At this time the world proletariat class and the people of Nepal are waiting for our correct and scientific decision. We believe, the ongoing national Convention will address all the hopes and desire with

strong commitment and will success to reach on the correct and scientific conclusion.

In this historical event we want to pay great homage to the brave immortal martyrs who have sacrificed their life for the revolution, people's movements and the Great people's war on the behalf of nation and people's liberation. We want highly respect on the remembrance of the missing veterans who has disappeared in the course of people's war after the authority arrested them. And, we respect the brave veterans who has been handicapped and wounded in people's war and people's movement. Along this, we want to respect the family members of the martyrs and the missing veterans.

1. On the International Situation

- Today, on the one hand, the imperialism is being globalized and on the other hand it is carrying out various sever types of crisis. The crisis which spread on United State of America and Europe has a great impact on the people all over the world.
- Three types of contradictions are running on the present world. They are- contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed countries; contradiction among the imperialist countries and contradiction between the proletariat and the capitalist within capitalist countries. Among these contradictions the principal is the contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed countries. Even today, Asia, Africa and Latin America are the main centre of revolution and revolution is the main tendency of the world.
- Because of the internal crisis of imperialism, inter-imperialism contradiction is widening. To hegemonies the different countries and to capture the sources of profit they are in the competition of development of weapons and war technology.
- To resolve the financial crisis, to capture the oil storage the American imperialism and its allies are shamelessly attacking on the countries

which are danger for such motive to eliminate them from the earth so they have attacked on Libya and middle-east. And, movements are organizing on the Arab countries against such intervention and hegemony.

- The crisis which is developing in the imperialist countries has impact on the youth and workers of their own country. The Wall Street demonstration of America and the workers, the workers movements in European nations such as Greece, Spain, and Italy are some notable examples.
- In which degree the economical crisis is heightening, by this the objective base for the movement is forming in the same proportion. But in this comparison the subjective strength of the communist revolutionary hasn't developed. In this situation, it is necessary to initiate to make the movement more dynamic.
- In the present world the revolutionary communist movement is being weak and the rightist opportunism is being effective. In this context, the rightist revisionism is being the main danger for the world revolution.
- South Asian countries are being victim of Indian expansionist intervention and at Nepal such intervention is growing day by day. In India, though there is very cruel suppression of the movement, CPI (Maoist) is keeping the revolution on.
- By taking the negative benefit from the geo-political situation of Nepal the imperialism and expansionism are trying to use Nepal according to their own interest. From this Nepal and its neighbor are facing own types of severe challenges to their national Sovereignty.
- We are also taking initiation from our side to develop new contact in international arena. At this time we have to adopt the policies that strengthen its relations with the country which is in favor of revolution and in against of imperialism and expansionism, and with the fraternal parties. And this has to support the national liberation movement and proletariat movement, people's revolution.
- The present need is to make the communist movement strong on the world on the base of Marxism- Leninism-Maoism. Being the proletariat internationalist, we have to enhance our effort on this direction.

2. Today's National Political Situation

- After the Sugauli Treaty, Nepal has transferring from semi-colonial and semi-feudal to neo-

colonial situation. To liberate the nation from this several people's struggles, people's movements, and armed struggle are mobilizing. Among such struggles the 10 years long people's war which has started on February 13, 1996 is most remarkable. But, the people's war has aborted before reaching to the destination.

- The Nepalese peoples have expected the respectful integration of the army and new constitution from Constituent Assembly (CA), after it has come to the peace process. Nepalese peoples have given the position of the largest party by the election of Constituent Assembly to the CPN (Maoist). But, even by four years long exercise constitution on people's side could not be written. The People's Liberation Army which has made several records of sacrifice, bravery and contribution has dissolved with appeasement by making them disarm and the Constituent Assembly also has dissolved without any achievement.
- Nepalese peoples and the political forces from different aspect are raising voices to pressurize to the writing of constitution in favor of country and people. In this process the protests, strikes, Mass meeting and rally in different parts of country especially at Far Western Region, Tharuwan, Madesh, Far Eastern, and at Kathmandu valley are notable. At this process, our revolutionary faction also is mobilizing signature campaign independently and by making alliance with other. But no one paid attention to the views that peoples delivered through such protest and struggles.
- Why Constituent Assembly (CA) failed to give a constitution and who are responsible for this? Nepalese peoples are searching brief but correct answer of this question. The reasons that prevent CA to give the constitution are mainly: contradiction between some of the political parties for the government and conspiracy against constitution, failure of the leadership of the main political parties, intervention of some external reactionary power centre, the obstacle surfaced by old regime, development of the opportunist and capitulationist thought in one faction of leadership of UCPN (Maoist). To concretize and crystallize, Prachanda as the chairman of Dispute Solution Sub-Committee of Constitutional Committee and Baburam Bhattarai as the Prime-Minster are most responsible. All of these events prove that these leaders are failed in the history of Nepalese Politics and they can't give any progressive way

out for Nepalese peoples. Nepalese peoples are searching a new political leadership so we have to be serious on it.

- Today, our country is going to be entrapped on the fist of neo-colonial trap of Indian expansionism. The main feature of the neo-colonialism is by keeping the comprador capitalist class in the fist, taking the bureaucratic capitalist and feudal class in their favor by luring them, playing active role as interventionist by the effigy government formed by themselves keeping their agent on it and fulfilled their interest by using them. After starting the peace process such things has accelerated. Let forget all of the past, the present Baburam's government also functioning the same role.
- Presently, the main principal contradiction is between comprador capitalist class, bureaucratic capitalist class, feudal class, Indian expansionism at one side and peoples of Nepal at other side is going on. We have to understand this contradiction very clearly and should forward on the way to resolve it. Only by the New Democratic Revolution we can resolve this contradiction and we are saying this from the very beginning.
- The problems related with nationality, democracy and livelihood is being complex for long. The solidarity of workers, peasant, women, indigenous-ethnic peoples, Dalit, Madeshi, Muslim and peoples of oppressed region in the leadership of proletariat class is needed to resolve the problem. Such solidarity was being strong in the process of Great people's war and now it should make stronger.
But since some past, the imperialist and

the expansionist forces are detached the Janajati, marginalized groups, women, Dalit from the leadership of proletariat class and heading them absolutely on the issue of nationality. And, Khash national-chauvinism, patriarchic and Bhramists are attacking severely on the existence and independent identity of the Janajati, Dalit, Madeshi, Muslim etc. The seriousness of this situation should understand clearly. We should be serious on Janajati, Women, Dalit, Madeshi, Muslim community's special self and respect their identity; and should be serious to resolve their problems.

- Nepalese peoples are not only suffering by feudalism, imperialism and expansionism but generally by all types of revisionism and especially by rightist revisionism. We have been fighting against revisionism in the history of Nepalese Revolution and now we are fighting against the neo-revisionism within the Maoist. In the era of imperialism and proletariat revolution, close relations can be seen between imperialism and revisionism and such impure relation between them becomes the main reason of the party division. The uncountable facts of the history have proved this. So, even today the main danger for the Nepalese revolution is generally by all types of revisionism and especially by rightist revisionism.
- Today, a serious type of crisis is in the country. There is no legislative; neither constitutional executive body. Neither the possibility of drafting a new constitution in favor of people. The economy of the nation being bankrupt. The foreigner's evil eyes are centered on the natural resources such as forest; rivers etc. and they are exercising to capture all of these. But the leaders of the major political parties are not thinking to



Photographs of the National Convention, Baudha

give the solution for the country but are busy in internal fighting to reach in the government. To provide a right and permanent solution to the country in this situation an alternative political power is inevitable so, we have to think seriously on it.

- The political and economical crisis which is fostering in the country, the conflict increasing between the political parties to ascend in the government, the situation in which the constitution as expected by the peoples couldn't be drafted, and the failure of Constituent Assembly -all are the signal that project the objectively favorable situation to organize the movement by new angle. But, different type of opportunism has developed in the Maoist and that caused weak the subjective situation of the revolutionaries.
- Today the leaders from different reactionary and revisionist faction are being failed because of their weakness to catch the feeling and revolutionary spirit of the peoples. In this situation, it is seemed that a process of polarization and unification had started in all of the parties.
- Today, though the objective situation is matured for revolution, but the subjective situation is very weak. But, if the real Marxist so hard labor to wage struggle against external reactionary forces and internal rightist revisionism by building new party and start to focus on new organization then we can change the unfavorable situation to favorable one. With a strong courage and rigidity we have to do this.
- Now in Nepalese politics there is traditionalist and status-quoist NC and UML are active on one side and on the other side alliance of neo-revisionist is active. Neither of these works for the betterment of country and people. So, third political line formed by amalgamation of patriotic, republic, leftist and all mass organization and front is needed to organize the movement effectively and to give a new and progressive political way out to the country.

3. Review of Revolution and party Work

In the process of initiating the Great people's war, at the time of making plan for first phase, we had promised on seven point theoretical commitment. Third point of that commitment says, "our this plan is to destroy the feudalism and imperialism to complete the people's revolution, on the basis of the theory of going forward on the direction of socialist revolution and keeping on the revolution within proletariat

dictatorship mobilization of cultural revolution it will base on the objective of reaching on the golden future with the establishment of communism. We are rigid on the point that without the commitment once the arms has raised then it should reach to the destination otherwise it will be betrayal for the proletariat and the mass peoples. This struggle will not be a tool for make partial change on the people's situation neither will be tool of pressurizing the reactionary force and will ended on compromise. In this way our struggle will be free from all types of petty-bourgeois, sectarian, nationalistic, religious, communalism, and castism illusions."¹ Special attention should pay on the above saying on the course of reviewing party's policy, line, decision, people's war, two-line struggles.

(A) Review of party decision and policy

It is necessary to make self criticism by finding out the existing weakness and lacks of the party to review the party policy and decision objectively and to move on the party and revolution in the correct way. In this context, we have to look on the following issues:

(1) Second National Conference

The second National Conference which had held after five years of the starting of Great People's War had passed a proposal related with new tactics and Prachanda Path.

The document of that conference said on the tactics: "It is necessary to guaranty the constitution of the people by elected interim government and for this we should forward the proposal for all party conference and election of the interim government by this conference."² All Party conference, interim government and the question of drafting the constitution on the leadership of this government is basically right tactics but though, the abstract nature of this slogan opened the door for opportunism.

On the same document, it has written about the Prachanda Path, "developed thought series of the centralized presentation of the collective leadership is named by Party as Prachanda Path."³ In the period of five years of people's war there was some progress in thought and policy but to give the name Prachanda path for that was not correct. It has proved by the practice till now.

(2) Proposal of 21st century Democracy

In the proposal it has mentioned that attention

1 Historical Documents of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), Mechi-Koshi Regional Bureau Eastern Command, P.13 First ed. 063
2 Ibid p.206
3 Ibid. p.204

should be paid based on the objectivity to conclude the revolution and to stop the counter-revolution by developing democracy on the party, army and state power. In this proposal for people's democracy in 21st century," the state power will develop as the institution which organizes the current of uninterrupted revolution. "has written with," not on the mechanical relation on which the people always helps to the communist party but focus should centered on the dialectical relation by the democratic competition.⁴ The need of the development of democracy is correct. But, the objective of forwarding such proposal by Prachanda-Baburam seems that they were not trying to develop democracy but wanted to make base to land on parliamentary system. And, it has proved by practice.

(3) On the passed proposal of Chun Bang

The meeting of central committee held on Chun Bang is notable generally on Nepalese communist movement and especially on the history of Great people's war. Three aspects are notable of this passed proposal of that meeting:

First: Question of main slogan. In this meeting the main slogan of second plan of counter-offensive "Let make front in favor of democratic republic ! Let lift the political and military counter-offense up in new height!" was determined the main slogan. The main slogan passed on the Chun Bang meeting seems contradictory and wrong on the theoretical and political view. To propose the slogan of democratic republic to heighten strategic offensive in the context where base-areas were already established and people's governments have formed locally was not only a general opportunism but a serious types of regressive step.

Second: Slogan of democratic republic. The slogan of democratic republic has been passed in the proposal. Proposal says-" Being clear on the objective of tactics to serve the strategy party has taken democratic republic neither as the bourgeois parliamentary democracy nor as direct new democratic republic. The republic will play the role of transitional multi party republic which will solve the existing class, national, regional, and gender related problems by drastic restructure in the country. It is certain that the reactionary class and their party will try to convert this republic into the bourgeois parliamentary republic but our party which as party of proletariat will have effort to change it into new democratic republic." (Historical Documents of CPN (Maoist), p.312) The slogan may correct as the then tactics in the situation when the king had in power by coup but in different context

as the slogan of transitional republic it may not be correct. Such republic is not different then the form of capitalistic parliamentary state-power.

Third: Analysis of Imperialism. In this proposal it has mentioned that the imperialism has been globalized so on the one "the analysis of imperialism made by Lenin and Mao and the proletarian strategy formed on the base and belief of this analysis is far behind then present situation" and on the other hand the American imperialist has portrayed and categorized as main danger and the Indian expansionism as less danger. It is true that imperialism has been globalized. But, to say that the analysis made by Lenin and Mao and the proletarian strategy constructed on the basis of this analysis as irrelevant is to go back from Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is so because the present era is the same era of imperialism and proletarian revolution about which Lenin has explained and Mao has made further elucidation. And till now the main features of the imperialism is as explained by Lenin.

(4) The Twelve point agreement

On the 12 point agreement held between seven political parties and Communist party of Nepal (Maoist) on November 22, 2005 (Mangsir 7, 2062) has mentioned, "To implicate the concept of total democracy by progressive restructuring of state is must." It adds, "The commitment to establish the permanent peace by concluding the armed struggle" and "competitive multi party system" commitment on all this terms. All of this saying proves that it was forming the base to give up the new democracy and to adopt the bourgeois parliamentary system.⁵ It is the continuation of the rightist revisionist politics started from Chun Bang.

(5) Eight points agreement and others

On the meeting organized by the Government-Maoist Talk Team on June 16, 2006 (2063/03/02) at Baluwatar the Maoist has made its commitment on competitive multi-party system and agreed to "dissolve all the People's Government formed by CPN (Maoist)". It is serious betrayal and opportunistic deviation.

Except this, in another agreement made on June 18, 2008 (2065/03/04) it has agreed to integrate, rehabilitate the certified fighter of Maoist Army, management of the arms, and return the captured house and land within six months. Here, it is clearly seen the wrong on the agreement that made with the terms of integrating the People's Liberation Army within six months without assuring the draft of constitution and

⁴ Historical Documents of CPN (Maoist), p.256

⁵ Collection of the documents of Nepal's peace process, 2067, Government of Nepal, Ministry of Peace and Restructure, Singh Darbar, Kathmandu

returning the land to the feudal except given it to the tillers.

(6) Decision of the Kamidanda meeting

In the proposal presented on the Kamidanda meeting which has concluded after the twelve and eight point agreement, it has written, "For the success of Nepalese people's revolution a balanced and coordination and diplomatic initiation is necessary between armed people's war, people's movement and peace talk. Because of the rapid development in information technology and the special nature of imperialist globalization, party should go forward to talk about new theoretical model.⁶ The new model based on people's war, armed people's movement, diplomacy and peace talk was only the Ivory of elephant. It has proved by the Comprehensive Peace Accord which has singed right after the proposal had passed.

(7) Comprehensive Peace Accord

On the comprehensive peace accord signed by Government of Nepal and CPN (Maoist) on November 21, 2006 (2063/08/05) has mentioned, "Giving the permanent form to the ceasefire, the armed war which was continue since 2052 has ended." This announcement is the severe violation of the commitment made at the time of initiating the people's war and it is the betrayal to the country, people, revolution, and commitment to the party.

(8) Party Registration and Election of Constituent Assembly

When there was no assurance of progressive political way out but instead of taking new way to utilize the election of Constituent Assembly and government, Communist Party registered directly and the main leadership of the party participated in election and their participation on government made the struggle of the front weak. Taking such line before solving the main problem was wrong.

(9) Since Kharipati National Convention to present

Since before the Central Committee's meeting at Balaju, there is a debate on the Party line and at Kharipati that has developed in a new way. In the history of party the National Convention concluded at Kharipati is a signal of bend. It has tried to raise a voice against rightist opportunism and to protect the revolution and principle.

In the Kharipati national Convention it was decided that as the tactical slogan of people's federal democratic national republic or People's Republic

instead of democratic republic and it has also decided to prepare the four ways for people's insurrection. This process has forwarded in Palungtar and the CC meeting has done many more and has played important role to correct the wrong decision taken by Chun Bang Meeting.

(B) Review of the front of Road, Parliament, and Government.

The Party is utilizing the entire front road, parliament and government after it came to peace process. The experiences achieved in this process are very important while viewing it positively and negatively. In this context about the utilizing of the front of road, parliament, and government and the required balance between up and below has to observe especially on the context in which Lenin has presented his theoretical stand. About this Lenin has clearly written in his famous writes up '**Two Tactics**' and we should seriously assimilate its importance.

Lenin had focused on the impressive role of the proletariat from both up or government and below or, road in the process of Russian democratic revolution of 1905. In the proposal presented by Lenin, he has mentioned two goals of taking part in revolution, "1) a relentless struggle against counter-revolutionary attempts, and 2) the defense of the independent interests of the working class."⁷

In this process Lenin says, A provisional revolutionary government is the organ of struggle for the immediate victory of the revolution, and not at all an organ for the implementation of the historical aims of the bourgeois revolution in general"⁸ understanding this saying by Lenin on the Nepalese context we get government or intervening by up means to suppress the activities of anti revolutionary and to preserve the freedom, right, betterment and interest of people isn't observed as otherwise. Likewise Lenin also has clarified about the role of road. Lenin Says, "We must in any case exercise pressure on the provisional revolutionary government from below, the proletariat must be armed-for in a revolutionary situation matters develop with exceptional rapidity to the stage of open civil war- and must be led by the social- Democratic Party."⁹ Taking these sayings of Lenin in Nepalese context, the essence is to organize the movement effectively on the road, to make the role of people's revolutionary army effective if needed and to be ready to take the leadership of country, people, and revolution. But, we couldn't play

6 Historical Documents, p. 332

7 V.I. Lenin, "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic revolution", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Fourth printing 1977, Progress Publishers Moscow, vol.9, p.30

8 *Ibid*, p.43

9 *Ibid*, p.31



Photographs of the National Convention, Baudha

any role neither from up nor from below. Rather we are in opposite direction.

At the same time, it is necessary to understand that the proletariat and revolutionary people can't forward the task of revolution without dissolving the old governmental system and can't be mobilize old state machinery as it is. We can't forget the reality which has proved by the world history. Even the Nepalese context it is the reality.

Except this, in this time we have to understand that only the real revolutionary can imply the proposition made by Lenin and opportunist can't do it. Opportunists want to make the proposition a ladder to climb to the government and to create illusion to the revolutionary. The same is happening here in Nepal now and the party's main leadership is using Lenin's proposition as the ladder for parliamentary politics. Marxism does not negate the thesis of using the parliament and the government. But the utilization only can be with revolutionary way not by opportunistic behavior. To use the parliament and government in revolutionary way, first the party should be revolutionary, disciplined and devoted toward Marxism. Otherwise instead of using the parliament, we will be utilized by the reactionaries. In reality we aren't using the parliament and government but we are being used by reactionary. It is time to think on it theoretically and practically. It is the point where we have to understand that Lenin in 1905 said that if the situation demand then in the process of using parliament and the government a balance have to be created between 'up and below' but after February revolution he declared the Menshevik who was participated in government as the agent and the effigy of reactionary force. In the present situation of Nepal, these sayings of Lenin are especially important.

We tried our best to utilize the parliament and the government with revolutionary spirit and trying to do it till now. But, all is being vain. In fact desire or objective of the opportunistic faction of leadership is to use the parliament and government for the parliamentary democratic republic and not for revolution or people's insurrection and it had clearly proved now.

The party has played the negative role in the important subjects and issues like, policy determination for national security, discarding the unequal treaty and agreement, managing the compensation to the martyr's family, publicized the situation of the missing veteran, respectful integration of PLA, drafting the constitution in favor of people, inclusive and proportional representation in all governmental body, control of corruption and market price of goods, minimum subsidy for the livelihood of people, in both situation when the party was leading the government or it was participated in government on other's leadership. All of this declared that the utilization of government was not for the betterment of country, peoples and revolution but to serve the reactionary forces and their regime.

In spite of the difficulties in this process, the function of the three months long struggle on the road has to be taken positively and evaluate properly which was concluded being centered on the issues like; nationality, democracy, livelihood and civilian supremacy. In parliament also the revolutionary faction are playing the necessary role. Especially, they prevented some of the bill and law which were in against the country and people. Even in the time when the revolutionary faction was in government they have performed positive role in general though there was some limitation and lacks.

C. Review on people's liberation army

People's liberation army is one of the important tool along there tools of New Democratic revolution in Nepal. From a general fighter groups to guerilla team and from guerilla team to PLA -Nepal has developed. For the effectiveness of the great people's war which was mobilized with different phase of strategic defense and strategic balance by making base area and organizing people's government to establish the new democratic republic the people liberation army have played a special role. It is known that the PLA has made records of bravery, scarifies and contributions on the military front in the course of great people's war. In this process many brave fighter have lost their life. Thousand of them are wounded and are handicapped. But at last the people's war has dismissed and the PLA sent to the cantonment. The promise of respectful integration couldn't be materialized. At last, the government in the leadership of our own Party mobilized the Nepalese army to capture the PLA and disarm, dissolution and dismiss them. Ever world history, it is the most pitiful and tragic event.

D. Review of the work of Constituent Assembly.

The party has took the decision of making balance between government and road through Constituents Assembly and initiate for the drafting of people's federal Republican constitution and integration of army simultaneously . But Prachand - Baburam went in the opposite direction. Party policy and stand on some issues has left such as of proportional representation Ethnic people, women, Dalit, Muslim working class including all the oppressed class in the all of the organs of state and determination of proportional and inclusive electoral system, restructuring of state on the basis of single national identification, right of self - determination, autonomy and privilege, special rights of women, Dalit and Muslim, judicial responsible to legislative, revolutionary land reform with the provision of limitation of land and citizenship .The decision taken in the concerned committee by univocal or majority also have reversed . In the name of so-called agreement the party leadership participated on the dispute solution sub - committee and left the party stand luring by the post of president and supreme leader and surrendered with NC and other powers that made a serious hurt to the dignity and rights of CA members and the democratic norms and values . At last they made an agreement on the nameless eleven states which was a betrayal to ethnic community, Madeshi and other oppressed community and when voice rose against it they hold all the reports on dispute solution sub -committee and stopped all the process of

Constituent Assembly. If they have taken the process of decision by election than the state with single identity would be decided and it has shown by the signature collected by the CA members but by keeping the work-schedule by the coordinator of the sub - committee Prachanda -Baburam have proves nakedly that the slogan of federalism with identity is mere a drama. And by blocking the work-plan at last the CA has dissolved instead of drafting the people's constitution by the Constituent Assembly. In all this process it is cleared that Prachand- Baburam has seriously betrayed Nepalese people.

At the same time, the point of remembrance is that Party had decided to create Tharuwan, Awadh , Mithila and Kochila states in Tarai Madesh . But at the latest phase the proposal with fourteen states presented by the state restructure and division committee has accepted. And as defined in the proposal only Tharuwan at west and Madesh Pradesh at east have accepted. And by the revolutionary comrades who were at CA has taken stand and played important role on drafting the reports of different committees including state re-structuring committee effective participation on the debate for the drafting of constitution of people's to influence other parties and advocating for the proportional and inclusive representation on the all organs of the state.

E. Review of two-line struggle

The history of whole international communist movement and history of Nepalese communist movement is the history of two-line struggle. Essence of this history has presented as the dialectics of "unity, struggle, up to split and again new unity on new base" by the Chinese communist party led by Mao and it is true. This also implies in the history of communist party of Nepal. The two-line struggle can be presented in this way:

1. Initiation of People's War to Peace Process

From the initiation to people's war and peace process in this one and half decade long period various inner - struggle has been going on in the Party. In these inner-struggles, the inner struggle with Baburam was being somewhat complex but it has resolved by an agreement between Prachanda and Baburam. Since the party came to peace process several inner-party struggles and two-line struggles were continue but it accelerates around Kharipatio. Party's situation of that time and inner- struggle the revolutionary side also has made some mistakes.

2. Kharipati to present

The inner struggle or two-line struggles, which

was within the party, reach its uptime point when the Kharipati national Convention was organized. In this Convention our faction has presented a different political report based on people's republic. In the document which was presented in Kharipati by our faction says, "It is necessary to take the works such as to project the defense of national independence and keeping the task of establishing People's Federal Democratic National Republic at centre, concluding the task of drafting new constitution and integration of army simultaneously, making a united front between patriotic, democratic forces and preparation of revolt and struggle and determination of forms of organization according to this preparation etc have to be accepted as series of line. From this line strategic goal can be achieved.¹⁰ In this Convention the proposal presented by our faction had been accepted by Prachanda's faction. At last by mixing some issues from documents presented by our faction and Prachanda's and keeping the remaining subjects for next meeting we had decided to forward the work such as keeping the people's insurrection at centre, ideological, political organizational work and managing the struggle and technical issues. But Prachanda didn't go in the way to prepare for the work and implementation of the decision. The special people's demonstration of the second stroke of the three strokes Kathmandu centered movement, couldn't achieve desired goal. Third stroke couldn't move ahead. From this a kind of dissatisfaction, anger and frustration aroused in the whole party has accelerated. Inter Party struggle became more acute. In this situation an extended meeting convened in Palungtar. Three documents were presented by Prachanda Baburam and our faction respectively.

On the proposal presented by us at Palungtar plenum it has written on the proposal related with the implication of passed line from Kharipati - "why the process of preparation and implication of revolutionary line couldn't forward effectively? There are many reasons for this the main among these: From main leadership (a) Instead of struggling with the existing rightist opportunism keeping head below before them making agreement and preserving it; (b) Not paying required attention on the implementation of line preparing concrete plan by the leadership; (c) Arising contradiction between line and leadership; (d) Accepting the revolutionary line in word but don't pay required attention on action for implementation; (e) Giving priority to the contemporary daily and ad hoc task and neglect the works and preparation which have strategic importance are some of the reasons. These reasons are related with certain thought and

tendency."¹¹ Such thought and tendency is mainly: eclecticism and centrist opportunism.

After the Palungtar Extended Meeting in the Central Committee's meeting that has concluded after a long discussion, the issues in which we had agreed are mixed up by our faction's proposal and Prachanda's proposal a common report was made by keeping the remaining issues aside. But, even after this, Prachanda didn't pay attention in the implementation of the passed report. The contradiction inside party accelerated more. Since the CC meeting of 2068 Baisak to present the two-line struggle inside party is deepening in very high speed. In the meeting of Baisak in the proposal presented by Prachanda the passed proposal of Palungtar had canceled. At that time our faction submitted another proposal. Prachanda - Baburam made a unity and our proposal fallen in minority.

In the CC meeting held on 2068 Paus and Magh, different political report submitted by our faction and Prachanda an agreement formed between us in which we argued to form a common unified plan and program for party work and sending the disputed issues to the lower party committee for discussion. According to this proposal on Party's immediate work-plan and program was passed. But even it didn't implemented. Since last Baisak to present the Party two-line struggle became more intensive especially on the issues such as four based and four preparations of struggle, integration of army, drafting of constitution, returning of land, inclusive and proportional represent in government, BIPPA agreement. At last in this period the PLA were disarmed and liquidated and instead of drafting constitution in favor of people they dissolved the Constituent Assembly.

Kharipati to present in this whole process the subject matter of this two-line struggle was based on: whether sticks on democratic republic or go forward on people's federal democracy, whether wage struggle against internal comprador, bureaucratic and feudal class and external specially against expansionist intervention for the preservation of sovereignty or surrender with them whether be prepared for people's insurrection or adopt the peaceful parliamentary way; whether organize united front with the patriotic, republic and leftist forces or making alliance with capitalist class; whether integrate the PLA in Nepalese army with respectful condition or liquidate this force after disarming them; whether drafting the constitution in favor of workers, tillers, and all peoples by preserving the rights and identity of women, Dalit, Muslim, peoples from marginalized sector or

10 Samayabhadra bi-monthly, volume-1, issue-10 Magh/Phalgun 2068, p.125

11 Ibid, p.143

drafting status quoist and regressive constitution in favor of comprador bourgeois and feudal class. At last Prachanda jumped on rightist direction taking the way of centrist opportunism. In brief, the two-line struggle was a serious ideological and political struggle between revolutionary line and rightist revisionist line.

In the whole process of this two-line struggle Prachanda has shown some behavior such as mobilizing with monolithic world outlook, transformation of the friendly struggle into antagonistic, provoke and direct the cadre of his faction to use force, dismiss the comrade with opposite view, not being open and clear uses the tool of deceive and conspiracy, keeping aside the issues which raised in the party without discussion to search the opposite view, economical blockade to the comrades who presents different view, protection for the opportunist and pushing out to the revolutionary etc.

We have tried a lot to forward the party in the process of unity, struggle and transformation. Maximum effort was used to change Prachanda in this process. As the result we combined the two different proposals in several times and kept the issues of disagreement aside. Several interactions have concluded in this context. The rules were formed in the organizational sector for several times. But none of these provided the fruitful result. Prachanda faction deceived us several times, made us issue and agenda less and at last used different tools, played role and secret steps to capitulate our faction. From Kharipaati to till now most of the meetings of Central Committee have the common feature i.e. submission of different proposal adjusting them but never came in implementation again two-line struggles and again the same painful circle.

(F) Review of united front and tactical unity

In the process of great people's war and before the 'coup' by king we paid attention on the existing strategical and tactical contradictions between various internal and external forces but didn't develop any front with other political forces. On political and strategic issues even the groups who claim themselves as revolutionary communist and comparatively progressive blamed the great people's war as romantic, social fascist and terrorist activities and rejected to form an united people's movement against the suppression by the state.

After the coup by king, NC, UML and other political power attracted with Maoist and they adopted the policy making Maoist tired for the tactical unity. In that time Party had base area, people commune and people's liberation Army - Nepal, strong party organization and people support so instead of bringing

them in united front or tactical front according to Party line, Party had dragged by them and agreed for twelve points, eight points, Comprehensive Peace Accord and other agreement and helped them to reestablish the parliament. It is a serious error.

The question of national sovereignty is being more serious when we came in peace process. Party has decided that the main contradiction of the nation has developed by polarizing comprador capitalist class including expansionism in one side and the peoples in the other. In such situation united front or has to be create with patriotic, democratic and leftist forces but in opposite the united front has made with the power who are serving the imperialism and expansionism. It is a serious tragedy.

On the sector of united front one positive aspect since the initiation of people's war to present is that workers, peasant, woman, Dalit, ethnic community, Madeshi, Muslim, marginalized community came in strong solidarity. But the wonder is that now by the opportunist part of the party leadership has ended the relation with these communities and is leaving their demand.

G. Review of party unity

After entering into the peace process, different Marxist group and revolutionary comrades have attracted by CPN (Maoist) in one side and on the other to make the party strong and to spread its area, Maoist also started to take initiation for party unity. In the process of unification party has unified with not only a single party but with several in different time so it has a long process. The base for such unification was mainly Marxism - Leninism - Maoism / thought, line of new democratic revolution, democratic centralism etc.

In such party unification the comrades of united centre are on one who were separated from the Party in the time when Party was taking initiation for great people's war and the comrades from UML and ML has revolted with the existing opportunism. And some independent individuals and communist group also participated on it. By this way if we analysis we can get a sum of different back ground, psychology, working style, feelings, rituals and the way of thinking. We should take it positively. A new thing comes out from the unity of opposites.

But the point to be noted here is that with the progress in the process of unification the two-line struggle also increased with in Maoist in high speed. In such situation the party unification could have effect on two-line struggle and such happened as well. The mentionable point is that one big part which came in Party through party unification supported the opportunism in this two-line struggle within Party. So



Photographs of the National Convention, Baudha

the revolutionary faction became minority. It should be taken as the main negative effect of party unification. And at the same time thousands of comrades from unification are in favor of revolutionary faction which is positive impact. And some of the comrades who are entered in party through the process of unification are neutral. The lesson that we can taken from the process of unification the revolutionary communist should aware especially on theoretical, political and organizational issues.

So the bases for the party unification in future are - 1. To accept Marxism-Leninism -Maoism as the guideline theory; 2. To take new democratic republic program and main political line. 3. To accept the theory of use of force theoretically. 4. To agree for ideological struggle against all types of revisionism mainly rightist-revisionism, neo- revisionism and national and class capitulation. 5. To accept the organizational theory of democratic centralism. Including this we have to take the person's or groups, commitment and honest feeling toward nation, people and revolution and proletarian internationalism as base to enter in the process of unification.

H. Review of the lacks and weakness of Revolutionary faction.

There are several weakness, lack and limitation in the revolutionaries in the process of making party policy, decision and line. Such weakness was happened in course of debate on centralizing of party leadership and giving name to the Prachandapath and even in post Chun Bang meeting. The mistakes are mainly: metaphysical, fideism and liberalism. Metaphysical means the thought in which the subject always

observes the things events and process only by one angle. It observes only either positive or negative parts but not as a whole. Fideism means to believe any power or individual with full devotion. We believed that the faith on the leadership of Prachanda which we had shown is our weakness. Liberalism means to remain indifference with any negative aspect. We have to be self-critical on such mistakes and should be serious to correct them.

From Kahripati to Palungtar and up to now, we are struggling against the deviations which have been seen in one faction of our party leadership. It is good. And even in this process there are some lacks and limitation of awareness that was needed in two-line struggle. In this context, the notable event was that in the meeting in Party executive we didn't study the four points agreement with Madeshi front in depth and didn't presents our views because of weakness of awareness which is our lacks and limitation.

(I) Review of the role of Revolutionary faction on two-line struggle

We have already mentioned the lack, weakness, and limit of revolutionary faction from people's war to present. Now it is time to make a brief review of the role play by the revolutionary faction in the context of two-line struggle. The revolutionary faction in the Party had played an important role against the struggle with all type of opportunistic thought and tendency. It had played an important role to prepare the party for people's war when CPN (Mashal) and CPN (Unity Centre). It is clear that in course of Great people's war we have paid positive role to develop revolutionary line, policy and decision. In the lacks of such role it

was almost impossible to move forward and develop it. Likewise, to stop and transform the existing wrong thought and tendency on Prachanda-Baburam, the necessary struggle is mobilized. We have focus on the people's federal republic because the democratic republic has already established. The revolutionary focuses on the protection national sovereignty. It has taken the decision for the preparation of people's insurrection and had stopped the Party to move in the direction of right opportunism.

The gathering of some Central Committee member held on June 18, 2011 (2068-03-04) at Dhobighat was based on the objective of establishing collective leadership and to struggle against the bureaucratic monopolistic tendency, which was in main leadership, and developing a new party. Although, the gathering failed to achieve its main goal. But to identify the rightist and centrist opportunism and to take necessary initiation in against those tendencies revolutionary faction became success.

In the present context, when Baburam-Prachanda are trying to betray the country, people, revolution and proletarian internationalism and when they are liquidating the party and revolution the revolutionary faction is holding the flag of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism which is in fact the notable role played by them.

(j) Review of Great People's War

The great People's War, initiated under the leadership of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) on February 13, 1996 (Falgun 1, 2052 BS), was a great phenomenon in the history of Nepalese Democratic Revolution and Nepalese Communist Movement. The People's War was initiated to advance in the direction of socialism and communism establishing New Democratic Republic on the leadership of proletariat against feudalism and imperialism and expansionism. The People's War developed from its initial stage of strategic defense to the stage of power balance and finally rose itself to the stage of formation of seven divisions of People's Liberation Army and establishment of huge base areas and People's Government in the remote areas of the country like Rolpa, Rukum and others with the participation of women, ethnic community, Dalit, Madhesi, Muslims based on workers-tillers' unity. People's Commune, People's Co-operatives, hospitals etc were established in Rolpa and other various places. The works related to Party and various fronts went ahead developed in an effective way. Not only of Nepalese people, the People's War also became the centre of hope and bright future of the proletariats and oppressed masses around the world. We had even called Nepal as the base area of

world revolution. These are the distinct type of major historic achievements of the great People's War and we should move ahead standing on these achievements of the People's War.

However, the situation did not remain the same. The Prachanda-Baburam faction formed unethical alliance with comprador capitalist class and expansionists. They betrayed the nation, people and world proletariat class by abruptly declaring the end of People's War. They did not safeguard the institutions like People's Commune, which is an issue of concern.

4. About Rightist Neo-Revisionism

We reviewed the policy and decisions, strategies and two-line struggle opted by the Party at various times and People's War in brief. Now, we need its ideological, political and organizational synthesis.

The main characters of neo-revisionism are Prachanda and Baburam. Although Prachanda had played a positive role in a certain part of the history and People's War, opportunism and aristocrat class deliberation creep into him during certain of the People's war. The petty bourgeois mentality within him, globalised effect of imperialism, defeat in Khara military action led by him, the philosophical development of eclecticism and class collaborationist thinking and others played a huge part in this. Baburam had also played a positive role towards the revolution and Party. However, in recent times, serious deviations developed in him as well. Lack of experience of revolutionary class struggle, petty bourgeois intellectual mindset, long contact with expansionists, and empiricism in thinking, behaviorism and effect of pluralism worked in this.

There has always been unity and struggle between Prachanda and Baburam. The struggle had reached its peak while arriving at the Lawang meeting whereas they established unity during the Chun Bang meeting. Prachanda accepted the Baburam's line of Democratic Republic while Baburam accepted Prachanda's leadership. From Chun Bang till date, there have been differences between them regarding organizational issues and the area and angle of deliberation; however, there is uniformity in the line. The deliberation and trend that has been developed in them from a long period is undeniably neo-revisionism.

About rightist liquidationism, Lenin has said, "An attempt on the part of a group of Party intellectuals to liquidate the existing organization of the R.S.D.L.P. and to replace it at all costs, even at the price of downright renunciation of the programme, tactics and traditions of the party, by a loose

association functioning legally"¹² Lenin, regarding the characteristics of liquidationism, further speaks, "liquidationism is ideologically *connected* with *Renegacy*, with *the renunciation of the programme and tactics*, with *opportunism*."¹³ Similarly, Lenin further speaks about liquidationism, "Liquidationism means not only the liquidation (i.e. the dissolution, the destruction) of the old party of the working class, it also means the destruction of the *class independence* of the proletariats, corruption of its class- consciousness by *bourgeois ideas*."¹⁴ The thought presented by Lenin regarding the characteristics of liquidationism are worth taking a notice. We can find the same characteristics in both Prachanda and Baburam.

The present ideological characteristics and trend of Prachanda-Baburam can be presented by dividing them into three main parts. They are – rightist liquidationism, class capitulationism and national capitulationism. When these three characteristics are merged together, it would be better if the line or trend is termed as rightist neo-revisionism. The traditional and modern revisionism clearly renounces and manipulates the basic recognition of Marxism including dialectical and historical materialism, class struggle, and the role of force in revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat and others. The neo-revisionism does the same protesting the dogmatism artificially and making the excuse of creative application of Marxism and uniqueness of revolution. To captivate the quintessence of Marxism in the name of creative application of Marxism is the main characteristics of neo-revisionism.

The characteristics of deviations of Prachanda-Baburam can be presented as follows:

a) **The area of ideology**

The base of revisionism is petty bourgeois. In the present era, revisionism is strongly connected with imperialism. After all, revisionism is a form of capitalism. Ideologically, revisionism is based on the corruption of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism.

"The democracy of 21st Century" presented by Prachanda, the political strategy of democratic republic adopted in Chun Bang meeting, "Analysis of Imperialism" and "Today's Marxism" written by Baburam etc. can be taken as the main issue and link to ideological liquidation. "Today's Marxism"¹⁵ written

by Baburam has tried to distort Marxism by raising the issue of reinstatement of Marxism. The article tries to revoke the ideologically important issues like the role of use of force in revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat and others. The article separates the question of nationality and democracy while mentioning the line of democratic revolution. While it protests Stalin and supports Trotsky. Likewise, Prachanda's "Krambhanga"¹⁶ clearly depicts the height of liquidationism in the area of political line.

The party, which took Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as its guiding thought, has accepted Maoism/Mao thought during the party unification process. Although it was said that the party would arrive at a conclusion on the use of terminology soon, it was always intentionally delayed. This has had a very negative effect on the legacy and height of Maoism. Although the "Democracy of 21st Century" talks about democratic competition between anti-feudalist and anti-imperialist forces, a multi-party system of competition has been accepted after liquidating new democracy and forging an agreement with non-democratic and non-patriotic forces like comprador, bureaucratic and feudal forces.

Looking at them, the question of renouncing of ideology in terms of philosophy is expressed in eclecticism, monolithism, pluralism, and acceptance of vulgar evolutionism in terms of political economy it is expressed in pro-imperialist and class collaborationist analysis 21st Century Democracy in terms of scientific socialism and in the strategy of democratic republic etc, can be seen neo-revisionism clearly.

b) **Area of Philosophy**

In terms of philosophy, the characteristics of monolithism and eclecticism can be found in Prachanda and empiricism and pluralism in Baburam. Monolithism means the idealist monism. This does not accept the existence of opposing forces or varying voices and considers oneself as the supreme. To adopt eclecticism is the main characteristics of Prachanda. Eclecticism means to mix varying thought, ideology, trend and deliberation in one place. Prachanda has been continuously applying eclecticism in the area of class struggle and two-line struggle. About eclecticism Lenin says, "eclectics are either uncultured men, or cunning (die klugen leute)."¹⁷ These characteristics of eclecticism can be found in Prachanda. On one hand, Prachanda has the thinking to mix Marxism and Reactionism in one place while cunning in the other—these are the characteristics of eclecticism. Empiricism ignores the

12 V.L. Lenin, "Sixth (prague) All- Russia Conference OF R.S.D.L.P", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Fourth printing 1977 Progress Publishers Moscow, Vol.17, p.460.

13 V.I., Lenin, " Controversial Issues", *Collected Works*, Eng ed., Fifth printing 1980, Progress Publishers Moscow Vol. 19, p 151.

14 Ibid, p.155-56

15 Rato Jhilko Quarterly, Year 1, Issue 1, July-September 2009.

16 Krambhanga Year 1, Issue-2, Kartik 2068.

17 V.I.Lenin, "Philosophical Note Book" *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers Moscow, Fifth printing 1980, vol. 38, p.302.

importance of ideology. It thinks that daily experience and behavior is everything. Pluralism is against the unified world-outlook of dialectical materialism. It sees pluralism or differences everywhere; it cannot see uniformity in diversity. These characteristics can be found in Baburam. At last, the similar characteristic of vulgar evolutionism can be found in both. Vulgar evolutionism means to be limited to reformism and slow pace in protest of revolution, qualitative leap or breaking order and believes in peaceful transformation.

c) Area of Revolutionary politics and line

Stating- "the distinction between new democratic revolution and socialist revolution is wiping away," in an interview, Prachanda has said, "this now concludes that the strategy of completing remaining task of new democracy revolution (we have completed some task) and socialist revolution has centralized at same place. Instead of the new democratic revolution first and then completing the socialist revolution, it has been centralized to conclude the remaining task of new democratic revolution and complete the socialist revolution through People's Revolt and Armed insurrection."¹⁸ This statement clearly depicts that the program and orientation of new democratic revolution has been renounced. There are two major tasks of new democratic revolution –to establish a people's democratic state under the leadership of proletariats and make the movement of national sovereignty successful. To see the completion of new democratic revolution without completing these two major tasks, to tell that the distinction between new democratic revolution and socialist revolution is being cleared and to try to mix the strategy of revolution and tactics of two different stages is worst example of parliamentarism in terms of politics and eclecticism in terms of philosophy.

d) Question of liquidation of People's War and People's Liberation Army

The end of People's War, launched from 1996, has been declared in the Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) without its result-oriented political conclusion. Likewise, they have ended the existence of People's Liberation Army by mobilizing Nepal Army in cantonments, decommissioned them and liquidated them. We should take these two incidents as the condemnable episode in the history of new democratic revolution and communist movement. This can be presented as the height of class-collaborationist coordination and concordism with national and international reactionary forces.

e) Liquidation of party organization

After landing into the peace process, there have been activities to destroy the party's revolutionary legacy and dignity. The party has been made open and legalized before the completion of the task of revolution. In terms of both class and ideology, they are trying to make the party impotent. The dominance of opportunists has increased in the party while the revolutionaries have been discouraged and disgraced. Instead of revolutionaries, large numbers of opportunists has entered during the process of unification. The majority of opportunists and minority of revolutionaries have made in the party's central committee.

The system of taking unanimous decision in the party has been revoked while the decision taken unanimously has been overlooked. With the coordination of Prachanda and Baburam, the base area and People's Government have been liquidated and the end of People's War has been declared. In this whole process, the democratic right of the Party's Central Committee and all comrades of the party has been completely defied. The system of self-criticism and criticism has been completely destroyed. The code of conduct are made but only to deceive the party activists. The party leadership is always reluctant to implement them. They are trying to turn the party into the convention of their relatives. This clearly shows that Prachanda and Baburam have change the color of a revolutionary party and turned into rightist opportunist party.

f) Class Capitulationism

To give up philosophy, ideology, politics and class stance of proletariat related to the right and development of class and masses like workers and tillers and bow below to reactionary forces during the struggle against them is class capitulationism. This type of class capitulationism is based on the class-collaborationist philosophical belief of "Two in one" instead of "One divides into two." All the agreements and consensus made with the reactionary and opportunist forces by Prachanda and Baburam are the expression of class capitulationism. It clearly shows that Prachanda and Baburam have betrayed the right of proletariat class and oppressed masses and have adopted the policy of serving the reactionary forces.

g) National Capitulationism

We can see that the deliberation of national capitulationism was being developed within Prachanda and Baburam from a long time. From the analysis of imperialism in Chun Bang meeting and arriving today, the deliberation has reached its peak. The faction has been bringing anti-national bills like BIPPA to

18 Karambhanga, Year-1, Issue 2, Kartik 2068, page 11

safeguard foreign multi-national companies, foreign investment and comprador-bureaucratic capital while the issue of developing the national reliant agriculture and industries has been ignored. The hydro-projects like Upper Karnali, Arun III etc have been handed over to expansionist forces. Not only this, a ministerial level meeting of Nepal and India held on Falgun signed a 10-point anti-national agreement to allow India to build dams on all the border areas, take forward the Pancheswor project and building Koshi barrage. Similarly, a conspiracy is being plotted to hand over the management and security of international airport to an Indian company.

Regarding major contradiction, Baburam is trying to fade the contradiction with expansionism while Prachanda too is moving on the same direction. India, in a new colonial manner, is increasing its intervention on political, economic, social, cultural and other fields. However, no efforts have been made to raise voice against it and revoke all the unequal treaty of 1950. The thing to be noted is in an interview with "The Hindu" magazine Prachanda had said that Nepal had a "special relation" with India, clearly depicting his effort to please the Indian expansionism.

h) Renouncing Party decision on the question of Constitution Writing

It is clear that the party has been working to write a people's federal republic constitution with an essence of anti-feudalism and anti-imperialism and taking various important decisions to solve the problems of class, ethnicity, sex etc, restructuring of state based on identity and others. However, Prachanda and Baburam have renounced the decisions and stance taken by the party on the issues. They have been engulfed in the marsh of feudalist eclecticism, status-quoism and parliamentarism. Regarding the issue of federalism, it has to be noted that during the process of constitution writing Prachanda had made an unethical alliance with Nepalese Congress, CPN-UML and other forces and agreed on the concept of 11 federal states without identity and name. However, after the Constituent Assembly members of other parties along with our faction launched a signature campaign garnering maximum majority, Prachanda was forced to review his decision. It is so amusing to see the same Prachanda presenting himself as the advocate of federalism based on identity.

i) Renouncing the proletariat class economic and cultural behavior

The class regeneration and aristocratic class deliberation and culture are being developed in Prachanda and Baburam. Both have renounced the proletariat class economic and cultural behaviour and

created a new record in corruption and commission. Prachanda has been defying the economic system and transparency in the party. Now, the economic and cultural identity of corrupt and aristocrat class has become the real identity of Prachanda and Baburam.

This shows that Prachanda and Baburam have been trapped in the neo-revisionism marsh, from where they can never escape. Without breaking relation with this neo-revisionism and strictly launching an ideological struggle against it, the revolution cannot move ahead.

Similarly, we believe that we can hold dialogues and cooperation with the faction regarding agreeable issues related to nation and people. In addition to this if the faction seriously and honestly self-criticize its past deviations, mistakes and weaknesses, express its strong commitment towards the program and orientation of new democratic republic and transform its behavior, the doors for unity will be always open with the faction.

5) Question of party unity, split or disengagement

Party is the unity of opposites. Party moves ahead between unity, struggle and transformation. The basis for party unity is the totality of philosophy, ideology, policy, program and line. There cannot be unity separating them.

There has been misapprehension regarding the party unity and split. Regarding unity and split Engels says, "One must not allow oneself to be misled by the cry for 'unity'. Those who have this word most often on their lips are the ones who sow the most discord... The biggest sectarians and the biggest brawlers and rogues shout loudest for unity at a certain times. Nobody in our life time has given us more trouble and been more treacherous than shouters for unity."¹⁹ The statement of Engels during the struggle with lassalleanism needs to taken into consideration in the present context of Nepal.

Similarly, Lenin on unity says, "Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is the unity of Marxists not unity between Marxism and opponents and distorters of Marxism."²⁰ These statements made during the struggle of wrong trends like Liquidationism are notable.

Who are Splittist? Generally, people disengaging themselves from organization, minority splitting against the majority are taken as splittist. However, it is not true. To denounce the revolutionary

19 Frederick Engels "Engels To August Bebel, in hubertusburg, London, 20 June 1873", Karl Marx, *Frederic Engels Collected Works*, Eng. ed. Progress Publishers Moscow 1989, Vol. 44, p 512

20 V.L. Lenin, "Unity" *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers Moscow, Third printing 1977, Vol 20, p. 232.

philosophy, ideology, policy, program, tactics and line and betray the proletariat and masses is splittism. In a letter written by the Communist Party of China to the Communist Party of Russia regarding Splittism, splittists it is written, "What is splittism? It means a split with Marxism-Leninism. Anyone who opposes and betrays Marxism-Leninism and undermines the basis of Proletarian unity is a splitter.

"It means a split with the revolutionary proletariat party. Anyone who persists in a revisionist line and turns a revolutionary proletarian party into a reformist bourgeois party is a splitter."²¹

These statements on splittism and pro-splitter elements are notable. Splittism and pro-splittism does not mean the disengagement of minority from the existing majority of the party. The real meaning of splittism and pro-splittism is to disengage from proletarian ideology, politics and theory.

Class is the main basis for split in a communist party or movement. Lenin in an article titled, "Imperialism and The split in socialism" says, "Objectively the *opportunists* are a section of the petty bourgeoisie and of certain strata of the working class who *have been bribed* out of imperialist super protests and converted into *watchdogs* of capitalism and *corrupters* of the labor movement." Here Lenin has referred petty - bourgeois deliberation, alliance with imperialism and the bribe given by imperialists as the source of opportunism or split. Lenin further says, "The only Marxist line in the world labor moment is to explain to the masses the inevitability and necessity of breaking with opportunism, to educate them for revolution by waging a relentless struggle against opportunism."²² These statements of Lenin are noteworthy. Real revolutionaries should disengage themselves from opportunism and make people aware about it.

When we notice all the statements, the neo-revisionists who renounce the revolutionary ideology i.e., the Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the line of new democratic revolution and right and interest of Nepalese proletariats and masses are the splitters in real sense. Therefore, it is necessary to disengage from neo-revisionism developed in the party to safeguard ideology, revolution and the right and interest of proletariats and masses. There are many revolutionary comrades within this neo-revisionist group. We also urge them to disengage themselves from this opportunism and stand in line of the revolutionaries.

21 The leader of the CPSU are the Greatest Splitters of our Times", The Great Debate, The polemic on the General line of the international Communist Movement. Mass line Publication, November 1994, p. 236

22 V.I. Lenin, "Imperialism and the split in socialism", Collect Corks, Eng. ed., Progress Publisher Moscow, Fifth printing 1981, Vol. 23, pp 110, 120

6) Question regarding policy, program and line

Although republicanism, federalism and secularism has been established in the country, it is still in the situation of semi-feudal, semi-colonial and neo-colonial. We have been in the oppression of feudalism, imperialism and expansionism. We had launched the People's Movement, class struggle and great People's War to establish new democratic republic in Nepal and move ahead in the direction of socialism and communism. However, we have not achieved our goal.

The two-line struggle in our party has been very complicated and intense for a very long time. While moving ahead a decade long People's War, a faction of the party has been trapped in rightist neo-revisionism and there is an intense struggle against such deviation. Therefore, in this situation, we need to think seriously on taking ahead the party activities effectively and take ahead the line of revolution and organization to the safeguarding the ideology, interest and liberation of nation and people.

Our main aim is to complete the new democratic revolution in Nepal. After establishing new democratic republic in the country, to move ahead towards communism through socialism is our ultimate goal. The basic and minimum programs of our party are as follows:

- a) establishment of new democratic republic;
- b) to safeguard nation's geographic integrity and national sovereignty;
- c) Federalism based on national identity;
- d) Ensure right and interest of workers, tillers, women, Dalits, Ethnic groups, Madhesi, Muslim, people of backward areas and national capitalist class. System of privilege and priority. Proportionate and inclusive representation in all bodies of the nation ;
- e) Development of independent national economy;
- f) Revolutionary Land reform;
- g) Independent Foreign Policy;
- h) Democratic Education system;
- i) Democratic Judicial system;
- j) To solve the basic problem regarding livelihood including education, health, food, employment, shelter etc; and
- k) National, democratic and scientific culture.

There are two major tasks of new democratic revolution of Nepal- establishment of democracy and safeguarding of national sovereignty. These should be completed in same period of the revolution. Theoretically it is clear that we should move ahead towards People's insurrection on the foundation of People's War to complete new democratic revolution

in Nepal. Even if People's insurrection is not possible immediately, the role of force to end imperialist and expansionist oppression and for real people's revolution is unquestionable.

The foundation of People's War should be understood as 1) The formation of People's Liberation Army and the experience gained from the armed struggle; 2) The knowledge learned while establishing the base areas and operation of people's government; 3) The development of class awareness, mass awakening among masses including workers, tillers, women, Dalits, ethnic groups, Madhesi, Muslim, people of backward regions; 4) the sacrifice and experience learned from the involvement in good activities by the people, fighters of PLA, proletariat and ethnic fronts and whole party and 5) knowledge from the interaction with international sector and fraternal organizations, cooperation and help. Along with this, lessons learned from the experience of various people's movement and class struggle is important in this regard. We should synthesized all these aspects in a ideological way and determine party's further orientation.

In the process of revolution in international sector, the world proletariats have developed two models for revolutionary war – model of protracted People's War in case of under developed countries and model of armed insurrection in developed countries. In terms of the model of protracted People's War, it is clear that we should ultimately arrive at armed insurrection during the stage of counter offence passing through the basic stages of defense and balance. We should take the valuable lesson learned while the People's War in Nepal moved ahead from the stages of defense and balance. Similarly, it is considerable that the Nepalese revolution will move ahead in a unique way.

We have been talking about the fusion of protracted People's War and armed insurrection. However, we should be careful that the two different laws applicable on different stages and condition are not used in a eclectic manner. We should aware on it. Here, we should also consider the fact that, if the right circumstance for People's insurrection is not created despite necessary preparation or the situation arises to counter the intervention of foreign reactionary forces, we can even go for protracted People's War or develop a third model based on our knowledge and experience. In total, we should take the Nepalese revolution in a creative and unique way.

The party has been adopting the policy of People's insurrection if the political situation of the nation remained static for a long period. In Kharipati meeting, the common political report endorsed the policy that stated, "Keeping People's insurrection in centre, to take ahead the works of ideological, political,

organizational and struggle related preparation" in an effective way. Likewise, the common political document endorsed by the Central Committee meeting during the sixth extended meeting held at Palungtar made the policy clear that, "We should organize for People's insurrection giving priority to struggle in peace, constitution and government front along with the street front through four preparations and four bases for the establishment of People's Federal Republic, i.e., People's Republic."²³

Not only this, the common political report and proposal endorsed by party's Central Committee meeting held on 2068 Poush and Magh states, "After analyzing the international and national situation and power balance, the party has concluded People's Federal Republic as its main tactics to achieve the strategical aim of new democracy. Along with this, the question safeguarding of national sovereignty has been a major part of party's tactics. The party has been opting the policy to complete the People's insurrection by building four bases and four necessary preparations by taking necessary initiative from street, parliament and government. Our party is committed to this line and tactics." Likewise, in the same proposal it further states, "Despite giving emphasis on writing a new constitution based on people's federal republic and providing logical conclusion to peace process through respectable integration of armies, if this does not happen, the people have right to go for insurrection."²⁴

Despite giving priority to those issues, if the nation fails to get progressive political outlet and if necessary focus is not given to solve the basic problems related to nationality, democracy and livelihood, we should adopt the line to complete the people's revolution through People's insurrection on the foundation of People's War and stress on its preparation. We are theoretically and politically clear that we can exercise various forms of legitimate struggle and parliamentary election as per the necessity.

Today, the situation of the nation is perplexing. At this complex situation where the Constituent Assembly has been dismantled, election of new Constituent Assembly has been declared and there is no existence of Constituent Assembly and legislative parliament, we should give special priority to the question of providing progressive political outlet to the nation. In conclusion, the ideological rationale of the old type of Constituent Assembly has ended. There is a need to make whole party and the people aware about this.

23 Samayabadha, Page 93, Common Document of Palungtar Meeting.

24 Proposal for Party's immediate working-plan and program

Our main political line is to establish people's federal republic and safeguard national sovereignty. However, it is necessary to adopt Multi-lateral round table conference, interim national unity government and progressive political passage as the immediate strategy of the party. Multi-lateral round table conference should be formed based on representation of patriotic, republic and leftist political parties, supporters of federalism, women, ethnic groups, Dalit, Madhesi, Muslim and civil society members. Necessary discussion with all concerned parties is must for this. However, we should be clear that this type of tactics can only take a form of compliment to main political line.

7) Work related to mass organization, front and mass line

The creators of Nepalese history are the people of Nepal. Nepal is a confluence of Mongol, Aryan, Aagneya and Dravid origin of human community based on multi-ethnicity, multi-caste, multi-language, multi-religion and multi-culture. In the process struggle for production and class struggle, Nepal passed through tribal stage and arrived at the centralization of state power with the traces of feudalistic age. While the process of development of feudalistic centralization was moving ahead in Nepal, the situation of contradiction against the British imperialism aroused. Nepal bravely fought the intense war of patriotism. However, due to intense contradiction between feudalist ruling class and strong military power of the opponent, Nepal entered into the stage of semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism through Sugauli treaty. In this whole process, tillers, women, Dalit, Madhesi and indigenous ethnic and class had to face the wrath of feudalistic autocratic monarchy and in later stages oppression and repression of Rana regime.

With the end of Rana regime, capitalist and proletariat class came into rise along with some industries. With the end of Rana regime in 1950 A.D., the British rule also ended in India. However, after the treaty of 1950 AD, Nepal has been a continuous victim of Indian expansionism.

Nepal moved through autocratic monarchy, Rana regime, multi-party rule, autocratic Panchayati system and once again through multi-party rule. During this process, the nation passed through various people's struggle, armed struggle, class struggle and decade long People's War and finally has arrived at republicanism, secularism and proposed federalism. However, the nation is still at with semi-colonial, semi-feudal characteristics a neo-colonial state.

Nepalese people have been struggling against feudalism, imperialism and expansionism for a long

time. The large number of landless in remote areas of nation, poor and middle class peasants, Dalit, women, indigenous-ethnic community, Madhesi, Muslim, workers of urban areas and intellectuals and teachers and students from all over the nation had creditable role in the great People's War. During this process, people exercised people's state power through people's government under the leadership of Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist). After landing into the peace process, the masses, proletariat and mass organizations and national fronts had a huge contribution in making our party the largest party in CA.

Today's era is the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. In this era, the world proletariats and Nepalese people have gained experience and knowledge of winning and losing against the fight with class enemy. In this situation, the class enemies have been following the principle of "divide and rule" to make the movement weak launched by the people. We should also move ahead adopting the principle of "unify and fight" against such principle.

Here we should know that in, today's era the most dynamic, progressive and revolutionary class is the proletariats and the most hard working party is the communist Party which is the political representative of such class. In today's era, the liberation of proletarian class and other class is possible only under the communist party in any country. Otherwise, it is impossible. The class enemies have been making series of attacks on communist party and communism-line ideology by covering the proletarian class identity, class-world out-look and class-consciousness. Without the leadership of proletariat class and communist party, the liberation of any class or masses is not possible in Nepal or in the world. Everyone should assimilate this fact.

Along with this, feudalism representing patriarchy, Khas national chauvinism and Brahmanism and political forces and elements lackeying for imperialism and expansionism have been ignoring the identity of indigenous-ethnic community, women, Dalit, Madhesi and Muslim community. It is clear that they are against single national identity, exclusive rights and privilege for women, Dalit and Muslim community. We should be able to understand such tactics and unveil them.

We should strongly adopt the concept of taking from the people and giving back to them and give special care while preparing policies. Here, we should see ideological struggle against both forces who think caste, ethnicity and identity of sex everything ignoring class, class perspective and class-consciousness and also those who thinks class and class-consciousness everything and ignore the identity of caste, ethnicity and sex.

There is a long history of worker's movement in Nepal and the success of Nepalese revolution are possible only under their leadership. The reactionary forces and opportunist forces have continued serious oppression on the workers while on the other hand they have been the victims of reformism and economism. Therefore, there is need to organize militantly the worker's movement, ensure political representation of workers in the party and establish the comrades from working class in the leadership.

Nepal is a nation having the majority of peasants. The backbone of Nepalese economy is also agriculture. The centre of struggle against feudalism is also related with the rights and interest of peasants, end of feudal relation on land property and agricultural revolution. The peasants in Nepal are divided into various classes. The peasant movement also has long background. Giving the slogan of 'Land to the tillers', we should give special importance to the interest and right of the middle peasants and move ahead continuing the struggle for the liberation of peasants and developing the process of revolution.

The students, teachers, professors and other intellectuals working in various fields have an important role in the Nepalese revolution. It is noteworthy that the students had played the role of political parties during the Panchayati regime when the political parties were banned. Privatization of education, intellectual unemployment and brain drain has been haunting Nepal in recent times. Being serious towards these issues, we need to take the organization to a new height in the area of students, teachers, professors and intellectuals.

The cultural front, writers and artists have played an important role to take ahead the revolution in a right direction by making the people aware in all types of revolution against reactionary and opportunist forces. Recently, the Samana Family had launched the nationwide cultural campaign against the opportunism prevalent in the party. We should provide huge respect to such campaigns. Along with this, we should address the various problems of the Cultural Front including Samana Family and others.

The women in Nepal have been oppressed by feudal patriarchal system. Therefore, we need to provide equal right to women and ensure special privilege in all the government bodies for their liberation. Similarly, the Dalit communities also have been the victim of Hindu cast system, Manuism, Brahmin deliberation, feudal oppression and untouchable system. We should protest these systems and think about providing rights and special privilege to them. The Muslim community is also victimized by the Hindu-Brahmin religious and cultural oppression. In this situation, we should make

effective policy and process to provide special privilege to Dalits, women and Muslim community and also develop and establish their leadership in mass fronts and party.

We should seriously think about Madhesi community and the work of party in Madhes. The Madhesi community has played an important role in peasant movement, rural class struggle, various People's Movements and great People's War. However, they are oppressed by the Khas national-chauvinist egoism of people of Hilly community and are yet to be liberated. In this situation, we have to serious regarding establishing the rights of Madhesi people and strengthening the Madhesi Front and party organization. Special care should be taken to include and establish the comrades from Madhesi Community in party leadership.

The Kirant community also had a huge participation in the Nepalese democratic movement, national liberation movement and communist movement and great People's War. The Newa community are not only ethnic community but are developed into nation level. They have a huge contribution in the Nepalese communist movement. The indigenous Tharu community in Madhes/ Terai have presented themselves as the real son of the motherland during peasant movement and have a noteworthy contribution in the communist movement of Nepal.

Today, there has been a huge development in the field of electronic communication and media. However, it has been dominated by imperialism. The same also affect Nepal. Although the party has tried its best to take the party ideology, policy, and decisions to the people, but the effort has not been sufficient. The comrades working in this field have given special attention in making people aware during the two-line struggle in the party. However, this cannot move ahead in the status-quo and we should move ahead with new ideas and thinking.

At this situation where there is a need to organize the party and tasks of revolution in a new way disengaging from neo-revisionism and learning lessons from the past. We also need to think about organizing the tasks of various fronts which includes workers, peasants, women, Dalits, indigenous-ethnic community, Muslim, Madhesi people, students, intellectuals and cultural Front including mass organization, national and regional Front.

7) Plan for future tasks

We should take ahead the theoretical, political, organizational and struggle related tasks in an organized way. In this context, we need to make the party active and organized first. There is need to

stress on reinstating democratic-centralism, method of criticism and self-criticism, collective leadership system, revolutionary working style etc. We need to stress on following issues;

1) **Theoretical and political work**

- Take ahead the Theoretical and political tasks on the guide line of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in an effective way;
- Unveil the comprador and Bureaucratic capitalism, feudalism, imperialism and expansionism;
- Stress on Theoretical study and discussion and prepare propogative material;
- Provide political training in local level;
- Protest all kinds of revisionism in general and especially rightist revisionism;
- Take ahead ideological struggle and exposure campaign again neo-revisionism;
- Take ahead the task of peoples revolution in an organized way; and
- Take ahead the task of international sector and form different front.

2) **Organizational Work**

a) **Party**

- Disengage with neo-revisionism;
- Form a new type of communist party;
- Making code of conduct, implement in party;
- Prepare the list of full times and part times party activists and provide special attention on managing them; and
- Hold Party Congress on the first week of Poush

b) **People's Volunteer**

- Organize the people's volunteer;
- Form various committees in local level.

c) **United Front**

- Organize united front against feudalism-imperialism-expansionism in a new way. Make efforts to make such united front in different form and level like party, class, national and community in central or local level.
- Form Front Committees in local level; and
- Make special effort to safeguard the People's Commune established during People's War in the various base areas like Rukum, Rolpa, Jajarkot, Kalikot etc.

d) **About People's Movement and people's mobilization**

- Organize struggle for Multi-lateral round table conference, interim national unity government and progressive political passage;
- Revoke all the unequal treaties including the treaty of 1950 AD, recent treaties like BIPPA and agreements on hydropower,

boarder encroachment protest against various interference and the conspiracy to handover the management and security of international airport to Indian company, and launch propogative struggle in defence of national independence and sovereignty;

- Launch struggle raising the basic issue of livelihood including inflation, scarcity on fertilizer, price hike on petroleum etc.;
- Expose corruption and launch resistance struggle against corrupt elements;
- Raise strong voice to provide already declared 1 million rupees compensation to each martyrs families, make public the situation of all missing fighters and provide compensation to injured and disabled fighters;
- Raise voice to address the legitimate demands of the disqualified PLA fighters; and,
- Press to revoke all the false petitions filed against Maoist leaders, activists and sympathizers during the People's War and peace process.

e) **Economic Aspect**

- Organize the economic resources and its mobilization from top to bottom level; and,
- Reinstated the party's economic system

Our Slogans

- New Democratic Revolution in Nepal- Long live !
- World imperialism and expansionism -Down down!
- Neo- colonialism- Down down !
- National Capitulationism -Down down !
- Feudalism, comprador and bureaucratic capitalism- Down down !
- All type of revisionism and neo-revisionism - Down down !
- Marxism-Leninism-Maoism Long live !
- Brave Martyrs -Long live!
- Let's unite against foreign intervention and national capitulationism !
- Let's Struggle for national independence and people's federal republic!
- Let's struggle for Multi-lateral round table conference, interim national unity government and progressive political passage!
- Workers of All Countries, Unite!
- Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist -Long live!

* The Political Report was presented by comrade Kiran and passed through the National Convention of The Party held on June 18, 2012

Revolution has not paused; it is developing on slow or, fast speed.

(An interview with the chairman of CPN-Maoist Comrade Kiran)

1. International

1.1 How do you evaluate present international situation?

☞ Electronic communication and information technology has developed significantly since some decades. It is a qualitative progress in the sector of productive force. But, the hegemony of imperialism is there in this area, and American imperialism is dreaming of unipolar world system by standing on this base. But, the crisis which has rapidly grown around 2008 A.D has affected United States of America and several European countries. The crisis is the consequences of unproductive investment in army sector and cut off of the financial capital from production.

Imperialism doesn't have the real solution of this crisis, as consequences of development and rapid growth of such crisis in United States of America and other countries, on the one hands the peoples of all over the world are being attracted toward socialism and fed up with imperialism and one on the other, the possibility of workers movement also being strong in the developed countries. In competition with American Imperialism other competitive forums are also developing now. In this situation there is not possibility of fulfillment of the dream of unipolar world system of American imperialism.

American imperialism and its allied forces are accelerating their movement of interference now Libya to Syria by capturing the oil stock of Middle East including the Arab countries to avoid the crisis and they themselves are circling on the maze of this movement.

Presently, in the world development of the contradictions among the imperialist countries and the contradictions between capitalist and proletariat class becomes sometime slow and sometime fast. Even now the contradictions between imperialism and the oppressed countries is static as the principal contradictions. Revolution is the main tendency of the world even today.

Observing in totality, we get objective situation favorable for revolution. But, the

subjective condition is weaker in comparison. The set back of Revolution on Peru and emergence of capitulationism and rightist liquidationism in Nepal is the subject of worry. But in some of the countries of the world there are serious attempt of revolution and CPI (Maoist) is presenting itself effectively in this area. In this time, the main duty of the revolutionary communists of the world is to build the subjective situation strong and start to prepare for revolution by focusing on the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

Revolution has not paused; it is developing on slow or, fast speed. History of revolution is based on the dialectics of ebb and flow. Defect of all types of imperialism and reaction and victory of scientific socialism is inevitable. At last, no one can stop the progressive development of history and speed and velocity of revolution.

1.2 Can you please, describe in briefly about the international communist movement since after the death of Mao to till now?

☞ After the death of comrade Mao, revisionism has got opportunity to raise its head forcefully in international communist movement and rightist revisionism is being the main danger for revolution in world level. Today, international communist movement has divided in two by one. There is a severe struggle of do or die, between revolutionary line and opportunist line. The revolutionary communists are moving forward by waging strong struggle against rightist revisionism and raising the red flag of Marxism-Leninism- Maoism and communism in new height.

1.3 How is the condition of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) at present? How does Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist is perceiving its future?

☞ Now, the situation of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) is somewhat weak and ill-managed. It can't move in this present situation. It should organize in a new way. The concern parties and organization have to pay enough attention on it. At last, its future seems bright.

1.4 Comrade Chairman, let me go on some theoretical queries. There is difference in time analysis of imperialism at present and its development between neo-Marxist and the bourgeois thinkers, what is the analysis of CPN-Maoist regarding it?

☞ Lenin has defined imperialism as monopoly capitalism. In its essence, even today imperialism is same as Lenin has analyzed about it. But, there is little bit change and development on its form. Though, imperialism itself is globalized, but because of development on electronic information technology and the success of imperialism to capture on it, imperialism is being more and widely globalized than past.

Even in Lenin's time the capitalist thinkers and revisionist elements were active to glorify the imperialism. Even today such thinker and elements who glorify the imperialism have emerged. It is not new and strange. Though there is change in form of imperialism but not in essence. Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism and it is monopoly capitalism.

1.5 Not only bourgeois thinkers and neo-Marxist but even the UCPN (Maoist) has declined through the Chun-Bang meeting that many of analysis on imperialism of Lenin and Mao has been irrelevance now. Almost all of the comrades of the newly organized CPN-Maoist were there in that meeting; how does your party, CPN-Maoist, review this decision?

☞ The analysis of imperialism in the passed proposal of Chun Bang meeting is based on pessimism, liquidationism and national capitulationism. This proposal is against the analysis of imperialism made by Lenin and norms developed by Mao. After such analysis about imperialism, the proposal has severely deconstructed Marxism-Leninism-Maoism by saying that the party-line and tactics developed by Lenin and Mao is irrelevant. One of the main features of neo- revisionism has manifested in such analysis of imperialism. This analysis has pushed the offensive and revolutionary essence of Marxism in defensive condition.

1.6 At the Palungtar extended meeting Baburam has analysed about two new features of imperialism; as financial capital and Hyper-Dominance of American imperialism and said that the tactic and party-line of new democratic revolution and socialist revolution developed by Lenin, Stalin, Mao and Revolutionary

Internationalist Movement have lost its validity and need a new party-line. What is your party's view?

☞ The analysis of Imperialism by Bhattarai is the continuation of the description submitted at Chun Bang. This description is far back from the analysis made by Lenin. And this proposal is in favor of accepting the Imperialism strategically as real Tiger by going back from the analysis of Mao about which he has said that Imperialism is merely Tiger tactically. From this analysis they have gone back from the establishment of new democratic Republic in the name of development of tactics and strategy and adopting the opportunist tactics and line of Loktantrik Ganatantra (democratic republic).

1.7 At present in the world, in what form and essence of colonialism has existed?

☞ After Second World War imperialism has adopted a new form in the place of colonial oppression. But in essence it is same as colonial oppression. Such new form of oppression is known as neo-colonialism. In this course, they create the agent in the concerned country, make puppet government by this agent and fulfilled their economical, political, cultural and strategic interests by this government. This method is different than the direct military intervention. They can use method of military intervention if needed or, can merge the concerned country by different way. New-colonialism is more danger than old type of colonialism.

1.8 How do you respond Baburam Bhattarai's view that says the national struggle of oppressed states against the imperialism especially American imperialism is impossible?

☞ The principal contradiction of the present world is the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed countries. Even today American imperialism is the main oppressor for the oppressed countries. Baburam has hidden and destroyed this reality. It should be taken as the shameless protection and act of agent of Imperialism.

1.9 After WW-II and especially after 1970 bourgeois economists, neo-Trotskyites and neo-Marxists has made various research on the development of globalized form of imperialism in their way. And by this they try to prove Lenin's analysis of imperialism useless now. But Marxists-Leninists haven't objectively studied and researched

about the development of capitalism or, imperialism. How your party observes this situation? And, do you have any plan to fill the vacuum?

☞ By understanding the developing features of imperialism to unveil the illusions created by bourgeois economist and Trotskyites and to develop the party line and tactic, the process of study needs to forward. Party is serious on it.

2. National

2.1 How do you prove the relevance inevitableness and necessity of the CPN-Maoist which has recently formed by the split of UCPN (Maoist)?

☞ Correlation is needed among the basic principle, party line, main strategy and tactics to be remaining united any revolutionary communist party. But, it didn't seem among us.

Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has been adopting as the guide line principle of party but Prachanda-Baburam group presented the terms Maoism and Mao-thought as parallel being eclecticist. Instead of taking the political line and tactic suited for new Democratic Republic, they have adopted opposite line, tactic and strategy of reformism and parliamentarism. Instead of creating a united front with the forces that are against feudalism and imperialism, expansionism, the policy of creating united front with the opposite forces had adopted. The need was to take stand against class-enemy and to make party as the frontline of proletariat but they have caught the way of national capitulationism and class-capitulationism. There was not any other option than to break relation with opportunism and the declaration of new party was an inevitable need.

2.2 National Convention of your party held on 16-18 June of this year has declared the Prachanda-Baburam group as neo-revisionist. In what issues they are different than old and modern revisionist so, you have categorized them as neo-revisionist?

☞ Yes, the Nation Convention of our Party, Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist that concluded on 16-18 June, 2012 has defined and described Prachanda-Baburam group as neo-revisionist group. There is similarity between traditional and modern revisionism and neo-revisionism in essence but is difference in form. Traditional revisionism openly and overtly opposes and discards the basic principles of Marxism such as dialectical and historical

materialism, class-struggle, armed-struggle, proletariat dictatorship etc. Modern revisionism opposes Marxism from under the veil of Marxism. But neo-revisionism hits on Marxism by pretending the acceptance of principles of Marxism and on the name of creative implementation of Marxism and opposition of dogmatism.

Neo-revisionism has adopted traditional (old) revisionism's rightist and centrist tendency and eclectic thought. It also uses the modern revisionist norm i.e. veil of Marxism. More, it opposes the dogmatism and in the name of creative use and uniqueness of Marxism it opposes Marxism. Such types of neo-revisionism should take as the totality of rightist liquidationism, class capitulationism and national capitulationism. It liquidizes and discards revolutionary theory, politics, organization, proletarian stand, etc. In essence, traditional (old), modern and neo all types of revisionism should be taken as a form of capitalist thought.

2.3 Prachanda-Baburam has passed the proposal of "Development of democracy in 21st century" by the full meeting of Central Committee in 2004 and claimed it as the higher development thought of proletarian democracy given by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao. How does your party take this?

☞ In the full meeting of Central Committee of the then CPN (Maoist) held on April 2004 (Jestha, 2060 B.S.) the proposal of "Development of Democracy in 21st century" has passed. In this proposal, it has mentioned that to develop the democracy not only co-operative but also competitive role can be managed even with friendly parties. But, after accepting the peace process when the competition started with other parties more than friendly parties and they made plan for multi-party competition as the norms of old (Traditional) capitalist. Regarding the democracy, at that time it was cleared that proposal was in opposition of class struggle and proletariat dictatorship. So, we have opposed the proposal of development of democracy as the proposal which is not for development of democracy in reality but it is with the objective to make base to jump on bourgeois parliamentary system.

2.4 How do you see the famous Chun-Bang meeting of CPN (Maoist) and the party-line adopted by that meeting?

☞ The political party-line which had passed by the Chun Bang meeting of Central Committee

held on September-October 2006 is basically rightist opportunist. In the condition of rapidly development on the construction of people's governments (People's commune) and establishment of base area, the forwarding policy of making United Front on the base of establishment of Loktantrik Ganatantra (democratic republic) and making the plan of strategic attack for was in fact contradictory.

2.5 Do you also agree with Prachanda-Baburam that it is impossible to reach in new democratic republic without crossing the phase of bourgeois democratic republic in the context of our country?

☞ Yes, the slogan of bourgeois democratic republic is the slogan of old capitalist democratic revolution against feudalism. France had seen as a role model in the world which had completed the capitalist democratic revolution by raising the slogan of democratic republic by opposing the feudalism. But, the world has changed a lot. Capitalism has taken the form of imperialism. Capitalist class has lost its progressive characteristic. As the most progressive and revolutionary class, the proletariat class has born and developed in the world. Two World Wars have concluded. The socialist revolution has completed in Russia in the leadership of Proletariat class and we have the history of several countries which are in this direction. In this background the capitalist-democratic revolution in any semi-feudal, semi-colonial, or neo-colonial country will not as same as old but it will be new. The form of such revolution will not only in against of feudalism but also against imperialism. This is true for Nepal also.

By observing all of this it is cleared that to talk about the different Phase of bourgeois democratic republic in the context of Nepal is to go back in one hand and to show the devotion to imperialism and expansionism on the other hand.

2.6 There is blame on you that on the recently concluded National Convention you have presented illusionary view regarding basic and principal contradictions. How do you defend it?

☞ It is not true to say that our party-line was not clear before the partition of party and has not seemed basically different than of Prachanda-Baburam. We have declared Prachanda-Baburam faction as neo-revisionist group. There is difference in party-line between our party, CPN-Maoist and neo-revisionist group theoretically, politically, on organizational view point etc, and

it can be presented briefly in this way:

First: Question of guideline principle. There are two sides in this question. One side is related with the use of both terminologies, Maoism and Mao-thought. We have accepted Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the guide-line principle of our party. The neo-revisionist group believes in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism/thought. We had been struggling from the beginning by saying that we shouldn't use the terminologies such as Maoism and Mao-thought as parallel. From the National Convention which had concluded recently, we have decided to use only the term Maoism. But, the neo-revisionist group has used both.

Regarding the question of guideline principle of the party, the difference between our Party and neo-revisionist group related on the question whether assimilate the principle correctly or, distorting and wrongly define it. In this context, an article with title "Today's Marxism" (Rato Jhilko. Quarterly, year-I, Issue – 1 July-September, 2009) written by Baburam Bhattarai is notable. He has talked about the re-establishment or re-definition of Marxism. It says "The science and thought – system higher than Marxism may be invented immediately?" It is a serious question on Marxism. In this article, he has wrongly described the already accepted essence and principles of Marxism such as class-struggle, use of force and proletariat dictatorship. Along this, he has also has written in this article, "The Marxists of present world have to think about the reality that today's world is being a bit more Trotskyite than Stalinist. It is notable that this article has become the foundation base of neo-revisionist group. All reactionary and opportunists are praising for this article. We are strongly opposing this article.

Second: Question on analysis of imperialism. Lenin had explained imperialism as the monopoly capitalism and Mao also had used the same analysis as base. According to this analysis they had determined the strategy and tactics of proletarian class. Even today, we basically view that the analysis of imperialism and the policy determined by Lenin and Mao on the basis of this analysis is correct. But, the neo-revisionist group says that the analysis of Lenin and Mao is irrelevant and they portrait imperialism as immortal and claimed that we can't mobilize struggle against it. After such analysis they gave up the policy and program of new democratic revolution and have adopted the policy and program of Loktantrik Ganatantra (democratic republic).

Third: Question on basic program. We have adopted the program of new democratic republic as the basic program of our party in the context of Nepal which is in the situation of semi-feudal, semi-colonial and neo-colonial. But, neo-revisionist group has given up the program of New democratic revolution has almost concluded and strategy to, conclude the remaining task of revolution has automatically connected with the strategy of making plan for socialist revolution. On one side, they have mixed the democratic and socialist revolution being eclecticism and on the other, they are presenting the establishment of democratic republic as democratic revolution. It should be understood as the discards of policy and program of new democracy.

Fourth: Question on protection of national sovereignty. We are specially focusing on the issue of protection of national sovereignty and in this question we are talking about the struggle against Indian expansionist intervention. But, neo-revisionist group has left the issue of national sovereignty and is sinking on the quicksand of national capitulationism.

Fifth: Question on principal contradiction. We have passed the view that says even now, there is national comprador capitalist – class, bureaucratic capitalist class and feudal class with Indian expansionism in one side and Nepalese peoples in other side and there is principal contradiction between them. But, neo-revisionist are going back from the previously passed decision on this issue of principal contradiction and are presenting themselves with unstable, unclear, and abstract views. In brief, they have adopted the policy of serving as agent of the Indian expansion.

Sixth: Question of formation of revolutionary communist Party. We want to create a new type of revolutionary communist party as the political frontline of Nepalese proletariat class. But, in opposing of this, neo-revisionist group has exercised to change the color of revolutionary communist Party and to transfer it in opportunist Party. Lenin has told about the intimate relation between imperialism and revisionism and on the protection and in support of imperialism the revisionism grows. This has implied on the neo-revisionist group. The neo-revisionist group has changed the revolutionary communist party into elite party. That's way we are in break up with such opportunism.

2.7 You have a blame that in the time when you were in UCPN (Maoist) your group hadn't clear on party-line and even after the

formation of CPN-Maoist also your party has not basically difference party-line than of Prachanda-Baburam. How do you address this?

The decision taken by our National Convention regarding the principal contradiction is theoretically and objectively correct. On his book entitled 'On contradiction' Mao has clearly mentioned that theoretically in any semi-colonial and semi-feudal country when the enemy force stand on single line two basic contradiction related with the protection of national sovereignty and establishment of democracy dissolves within each other and can be changed on a single principal contradiction. On the subject and issue of studying the practical and concrete objective situation of present Nepal, we are paying attention especially on it. For example Nepal is now not only on the condition of neo-colonial but also in semi colonial and semi-feudal situation. Now Indian expansionism has taken the political force that represents comprador capitalist class which is in favor of India and has constructed the puppet government as the tool of fulfilling its interest. Indian expansionism is presenting itself as the barrier of Nepalese democratic revolution. So, principally and practically our vision about basic and principal contradiction is correct and scientific.

2.8 What do you say on the saying that for the degeneration of UCPN (Maoist) in this level the unclear and compromising way of your group in two-line struggle is responsible?

Yes, we have made some errors, mistakes and weaknesses. We have made self-criticism about our metaphysical, fideism and liberal weaknesses and issues. Even in the course of two line struggle, we couldn't be aware on it which was our mistake. It is necessary to learn lesson from such mistake.

2.9 After the split both of Maoist parties are competing to take support of ethnic groups. By observing this, people's are saying that even the newly formed Maoist is not serious to correctly address the problems of Nepalese peoples by class-struggle and by giving the right solution of ethnic problem.

There is not any competition on ethnic issues. Ethnic issue is a main issue of Nepalese new democratic revolution. We mainly focus on the question of class. But it doesn't mean that we leave ethnic issue. There is special identity or importance of ethnic problem and we have to

search solution according to this problem. But again, at last the ethnic problem is class problem.

2.10 How seriously have you taken the issue of Citizenship which is uses to be big issues times and again?

☞ Yes, the question of Citizenship has seriously linked with the national sovereignty in Nepal. There are two sides of this problem. First, the poor peoples who dwell in Madesh/Tarai can't get citizenship easily even now. Second, several Indian citizens are getting citizenship easily. We have taken this condition seriously.

2.11 Are you satisfied with what the Nepalese peoples have got in return of their sacrifices in movements, struggles, and people's war?

☞ There is no question of satisfaction. In the whole Nepalese revolution and in course of great people's war, peoples have made records of sacrifice, bravery and contribution. We can't limit us only with the goal of republic and secularism. Our country was in the condition of semi-feudal and semi-colonial situation when we had started the people's war and even now it is in the same condition. The main task is to liberate the country from semi-feudal, semi-colonial and neo-colonial situation and to conclude the new democratic revolution.

2.12 Then CPN (Maoist) has deviated from Leninist organizational structure. In this context you have taken the leadership of the party. What are your plans on it?

☞ Yes, party has become unmanaged since it became open. We are serious on this situation. The action of breaking up with the opportunism and formation of new party has provided important base to make a new type of discipline and revolutionary party. We have to work hard to make the party a real vanguard of proletariat. To the present, we have decided to make a code of conduct. We are going to organize a general congress of the Party soon. To make the revolutionary party, on the one hand the revolutionary ideological and strategic line plays important role and on the other side the purification movement also should mobilize when needed. We are also serious on these issues.

2.13 What types of plan and programs are there with newly formed CPN-Maoist to resolve the contemporary political, economic, cultural problems?

☞ The Party policy is to go to struggle by picking up the current problems related with existing political and economic issues, national democracy and livelihood. Party is seriously

thinking about the mobilization of struggle on the issue of protection of national sovereignty. Along this we have decided to start struggle on the issues of inflation (highly raising price of goods), fertilizer, and raising price of petroleum products and struggle against corruption by taking action against corrupt peoples and unveiling them publicly.

2.14 Than Party leadership has already dissolved the revolutionary communes, base areas, People's Liberation Army. In this situation what kinds of plans and programs do you have to fulfill the promise that you have done in the initial days of People's war?

☞ Even now we are rigid on fulfilling the promise that we made in front of the peoples. We have decided to forward the preparatory task effectively related with ideological, political, and organizational and struggle to conclude the new democratic revolution.

2.15 At last, a query on Marxist philosophy, we haven't got any significant development in the area of philosophy of International Communist Movement after Marx, Engels and Lenin. But science has developed significantly and excessively. New branches of science have come in existence. Bourgeois philosophers are saying that natural science, Biology, military science, chemistry etc., have invented many things which has pushed Marxist norms and values back. What do you think, which is the best way for Marxist in this situation?

☞ In the area of philosophy on the international communist movement, Mao has contributed after Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Mao has lifted up the philosophy in qualitative height and we never can forget his contribution.

Yes, in various branch of science there is significant development. The whole world know that the bourgeois thinkers are saying that with the new invention on science, Marxist philosophy are irrelevance. We have to focus on two issues on this context. First, the bourgeois philosophy of today is the post-modernist philosophy and it is in opposition of total objective reality, history, revolution, class liberation and science. Marxists have to condemn on it logically and are doing so. Second, it is necessary to develop and make dialectical and historical materialism prosperous on the base of new thought and development in on science. But, we have to understand that the development and progress on the various branch of science has clearly protecting the Marxist philosophy and rejecting the capitalist philosophy.

Present crisis and prospect of change in Nepal

C.P. Gajurel 'Gaurav'

Nepalis now undergoing through a severe crisis apparently too difficult to resolve. The latest crisis emerged and reached to the climax, when Baburam Bhattarai, Prime minister of care taker government, declared election of next Constituent Assembly (CA) by virtually assassinating it from carrying out its two different functions of making constitution as well as working as a legislature. There was still possibility of survival of the legislative functioning of the CA, by the consensus of the political parties. But Bhattarai and Prachanda, chairman of Unified Maoist party, opted for terminating both the functions of CA arbitrarily at midnight of June 27. It seems that this event has certainly correlation with their design of liquidating the People's Liberation Army. They are the leaders whose political trend has been recognized as neo-revisionism and their capitulationism is acknowledged as 'national capitulationism' and 'class capitulationism'. There is a wide spread speculation that 'declaration of next election of CA' was well planned and under the design of foreign powers. This designated move resulted in shutting all the doors of constitutional ways, virtually compelling the country to go in severe constitutional crisis.

Who is to be blamed?

There were eleven thematic committees of the CA, assigned to prepare the drafts, reports and concepts, which were supposed to be the materials of different chapters of the new constitution. According to the rules, based on the materials of the thematic committees, after a thorough discussion, the CA would formally endorse by a vote of two third majority making it part of the new constitution. All these materials were duly submitted to the CA in the stipulated date as scheduled by the full meeting of the CA. According to the rules, the thematic committee materials were supposed to be managed by the 'constitutional committee', to place it before the full house for discussion. But major parties, namely Unified Maoist party, Nepali Congress, UML along with Madhesi Morcha decided to form a sub-committee called "dispute resolution sub-

committee", under the constitutional committee, comprised of "senior leaders" of three major parties and alliance of Madhesi, which was headed by Prachanda. This "sub-committee" completely blocked the reports and drafts prepared by the subsequent thematic committees from being moved to the constitutional committee and then to the CA. Thus the "senior leaders" of major parties completely captivated the 601 member CA, by not allowing it to function by stalling all the materials and giving no agenda to the CA for discussion, till the CA was finally declared dead. It is clear that the "dispute resolution sub-committee" was fully blamable to create such a crisis.

So, it is quite evident that six or seven "most senior leaders of major political parties" who conspired to block all the materials of making new constitution are solely responsible for preventing CA to write a new constitution in the repeatedly extended date. The "dispute resolution committee" was used as an instrument to paralyze the CA. Prachanda as convener of "dispute resolution committee" is most guilty man along with other leaders as mentioned above, for complete failure of the CA to provide a new constitution and for the aftermath events of crisis.

There was still an option of keeping legislative function of the CA intact and enabling it to accomplish the remaining task of the CA. But Bhattarai declared it dead by announcing election of the next CA, which is not even imagined by interim constitution. So the duo is fully liable to be blamed for causing this constitutional crisis.

The political crisis of the present day Nepal has confirmed the fact that the "major parties" and their "senior leaders" as mentioned above deserve the blame for the political crisis, and for the worst situation that we are facing now. This fact has to be established in public. It is a well-known fact that the ruling class parties are unable to lead the political process. So, the country needs new alternative. It has become a historical necessity that revolutionary alternative should emerge and lead the political process which can resolve the confronting problems.

Contradictions intensify

Unity among the "most senior leaders of major political parties" has been shattered. The difference that started at the point of Bhattarai to step down from PM culminated after the episode of June 27. Leaders of NC and UML are accusing Prachanda and Bhattarai that they have betrayed the 5 points agreement that they had signed, in which it was categorically accepted that Bhattarai would resign. But Prachanda has declared publicly that the 5 point agreement had no relevance.

They have completely failed to achieve unity and the situation is heading towards confrontation. Bhattarai has completely failed in all fronts and independent reports speculate that he is leading Nepal to a failed state. But this man is more intent to protect the post of PM than to solve these problems. Facts have proved that it is most corrupt government in the history of Nepal. Patriotic people of Nepal hate him as a national betrayer and puppet of foreign powers which he is unable to deny. Quite recently he acknowledged before the journalists that 'key of Nepal is somewhere outside'. People are asking him to divulge where the key really lies.

After June 27 midnight episode, the ruling class parties have plunged in such a severe crisis that it is not so easy for them to come out of it. Contradiction among them has centered at the question of 'government'. Bhattarai, who heads most hated government in history, has been reduced to minority. Opposition parties, mass organisations, civil society activists and so many other are demanding his removal, but he is repeating the same verbiage that he will not tender his resignation unless and until another PM is nominated by consensus, which he is pretending to remain at the post. Protest is going on in the street to force Bhattarai to step down. But he seems to glue in the chair until foreign power wants him to stay. Thus the fight for the government is not going to be ended very shortly.

President of Nepal called the parties registered in the election commission to find way to come out of the crisis and expressed fear that the country may be declared as a 'failed state'. He asked them to arrive at consensus as soon as possible. Right contrary that the dog fights among the ruling parties is escalating.

In another event, Prof S D Muni, an Indian professor and known as Nepal specialist and think tank of Indian government, was said to be instrumental in making bridge between Prachanda-Bhattarai and office of the Indian Prime minister (PMO) during the time of People's War in Nepal. Mr. Muni in a book release programme at Kathmandu

revealed the fact that the duo made a humble request and submitted a written petition to the PMO assuring that they will never do anything that does not correspond to the Indian interest. Surrender is considered heinous act, more so in case of leadership. Serious question is being raised if they had to surrender why did they work out a military plan during the People's War "to fight a tunnel war against Indian expansionism"? That is the reason why, Prachanda and Bhattarai are blamed for the lives of over 15,000 people. Reality has proved that it is true. The hidden story of how Prachanda and Bhattarai succeeded in becoming successive PM of Nepal, has thus been revealed.

Class nature of the crisis

In a class based society there are conflicting interests of existing classes in the society. One important question is, what is the class nature of this political crisis?

Nepal is still a semi-feudal and semi or neo-colonial society. The monarchy, which represented the highest form of organization of feudal class, has been brought down, and republic is in place. But the rule of bureaucrat and comprador capitalists and remnants of feudalism still prevail in the state power and society of Nepal.

Nepal is a semi or neo colonial state which is oppressed by imperialism in general and Indian expansionism in particular. There are many unequal treatise signed between Nepal and India in the past. 'Treaty of 1950' 'Treaty of 1965', 'Gandak treaty of 1959', 'Tanakpur Agreement of 1992', 'Comprehensive Mahakali Treaty of 1996', 'Upper Karnali Project 2008', 'Koshi High Dam', 'Arun III' and so on are some glaring examples. Some agreements which were extremely unequal and dangerous for national security were not signed even during the period of acknowledged pro-Indian governments of Nepal, have been signed by present coalition government. Bhattarai signed infamous 'BIPPA agreement' in 2012; energy minister in a joint press statement in 2012 agreed to expedite 'Pancheshwar Development Authority', 'completion of DPR of Koshi High Dam Project' and the government has signed a secret deal with I L &FS company of India, in which major 14 air ports, including the lone Tribhuvan international airport, situated at Kathmandu would be handed over. So there are genuine reasons to blame the present government led by Bhattarai, which has been acknowledged as a betrayer of nation and puppet government of India. It has further pushed Nepal to neo colonization.

Therefore, the crisis that we realize today is the

creation of this system and leaders of major political parties. Only revolutionary forces of Nepal can and should resolve the crisis. So there is no reason for the revolutionaries to be frustrated from the ongoing crisis. It is quite evident that objective situation of Nepal is favourable for the revolution, but subjective situation does not correspond to that. The betrayal of Prachanda and Baburam to the revolution of Nepal is a setback to advance and complete the revolution. But this setback is temporary. Revolutionaries can and should overcome this temporary setback.

Question of United Front

Question of making united front is a very significant question for every revolution to succeed. Nepal cannot be its exception. How to forge a united front depends on the specific condition of a country. It is necessary to identify the forces to be united with. Our party has clearly identified the forces of the united front as follows : working class, peasantry, patriotic, republican, federalist forces, women, dalits, Madhesis, people of remote areas. We are working hard to forge such a united front and hope we will be successful.

The proposed round table meeting can also be considered as a basis of forging temporary unity among likeminded forces. It can also be used as a platform to bring all the forces who like change and transformation of Nepalese society by making new constitution of People's Federal Republic.

Parties in the government are trying to make one grouping, for which Baluatar seems to be very active. This front is formed to safeguard the hated government. N C and UML have created other grouping calling it as opposition alliance. They have also single agenda of creating pressure to bring down present government and grab it. They have no other pro-people agenda.

We are different from these groupings. We are trying to develop a new and revolutionary front. We have generated a new front, 'Federal People's Republican Front of Nepal'. Its aim is to struggle for resolving the confronting problems of national sovereignty and independence, constitution of people's federal republic, people's livelihood. It is becoming clear the practice that already failed parties and leaders are unable to solve, only the new front can solve the confronting problems faced by the country and the people.

Prospect of revolutionary movement

There is no eminent solution to the existing crisis. We have already discussed about different aspects of the crisis. It is a paradox that the same

leaders who have thrown the country into such severe crisis are claiming shamelessly that they will provide the solution. But the people have no hope with this fraudulent claim.

The creators of the crisis may arrive at any understanding or compromise when they find a common point of their interest. But the real solution of the problem is far from the reach of the common and concerned people. For the common people it will be nothing but a political fraud. So it will not be acceptable by the people.

Though the people of Nepal have risen up number of times, but they are always betrayed by the "leaders" who played the role of political frauds, and turned to be traitors. It has been repeated once again. It is quite obvious that the task of revolution for real change still remains unfulfilled. There are some unavoidable reasons which indicate that next historical mass movement is inevitable. There is no sign of real change in the life of common people; the crisis has engulfed the whole society; revolutionary consciousness in society is high; subjective strength of revolutionary force is not so weak and international situation is not so unfavourable. Those who have betrayed the revolution will be exposed but the revolutionary movement will not be terminated.

Every revolution brings out total change in the society and fulfills the promise being made during the revolution. But in case of Nepal, the common people, the oppressed and needy were unable to get any substantial benefit that could bring any change in their lives. Visibly the life of the downtrodden has not been changed. The demands of the workers, peasants, women, dalits, Madhesis, Janajatis have not been fulfilled. Problem of unemployment has further accentuated. The economic development of the country is going down. The national sovereignty of the country is in danger.

In conclusion, Nepal is confronting with a severe political crisis for which "senior most leaders of major political parties" are solely to be blamed. So, it is quite natural that the people have lost their faith on them. This crisis is escalating instead of being reduced. It has been repeatedly demonstrated that "main stream politics and politicians" have lost their credibility and capacity of resolving the existing crisis.

What has been stated above clearly demonstrate that the Nepalese society requires change. There are clear signs that Nepalese society will definitely go for change. To bring out the change, revolutionary movement is unavoidable. Emergence of revolutionary movement in Nepal is inevitable.

August 15, 2012

International Dimensions of Prachanda's Neo-revisionism

Basanta

I had authored an article about 6 years before. It was entitled: "International Dimensions of Prachanda Path". The article, published in the 10th issue of **The Worker**, Party organ in English, had created debate in the international communist movement. Is Prachanda Path really a creative development of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism or merely a deviation from it was the question under debate at that time. Given the development of people's war in leaps, one after another, it was also not an easy task for them to take position against it. But, most of the revolutionary parties did not assimilate it rather they opined that it resulted from the ideological deviation on the part of CPN (Maoist). The wave of Prachanda Path, which was said to be the synthesis of the experiences of 5 year's long stormy people's war, had stretched all across the world. It was not unnatural too. Party had defined Prachanda Path as a series of particular ideas generated by the Nepalese revolution. I had prepared that article as our party, the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), comprehended it at that time. Unsurprisingly, Prachanda was happy with the article.

After 6 years now, I am writing again a short article centring on Prachanda. It is titled: "International Dimensions of Prachanda's Neo-revisionism." Some readers may think that Basanta is correct because Prachanda has taken a U-turn from his earlier Marxist-Leninist-Maoist position. Someone may say that to think of Prachanda, who considers Marxism as a vibrant science and applies in practice accordingly, a revisionist is the result of mechanical and dogmatic thinking on the part of Basanta and his team-mates. This debate will obviously surface in the days to come. The revolutionaries will regard that Basanta is correct; but the revisionists and liquidationists will do its opposite. Naturally, this article will not make Prachanda happy this time.

Everyone is aware that an intensive and extensive two-line struggle was on between Marxism and right revisionism inside the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) mainly for the last four years. But, in the recent days, there has been a turn in this process and the revolutionaries,

dissociating from the party led by Prachanda, have built up a new party. As a member of this new party, the Communist Party of Nepal – Maoist, I am here with this article. We have not yet synthesized the entire experiences acquired during the tumultuous period of people's war and the period that followed. The forthcoming Party Congress will do it. For now, we have taken only a preliminary position according to which the people's war had definitely amassed new experiences but it was not correct at that time to synthesise them in the form of Prachanda Path. The national convention organized on June 15, 2012 summed up the strength and weakness of the revolutionaries also. It concluded that there were three kinds of ideological mistakes namely fideism, liberalism and metaphysics with them. These weaknesses were manifested mainly on the question of ideological synthesis i.e. Prachanda Path and the centralisation of leadership. On the other, the convention unanimously concluded that the appropriate terminology to denote Prachanda's ideological and political degeneration is neo-revisionism.

The neo-revisionism noticed in Prachanda has been manifested in different form than it had in the past revisionists, who used to attack upon the basic principles of Marxism in a direct and straightforward way. Like for example, Proudhon and Lassalle opposed the scientific socialism with the arguments that the process of continued reforms and strict discipline in the bourgeois society can pave the way for capitalism to reach communism. Bernstein concluded the basic principles of Marxism like class struggle and the theory of surplus value have been outdated. Khrushchev took position against the role of violence in revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat under socialist society. Liu Shao Chi and Teng Hsiao Ping stood against the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat put forth by Mao Tsetung. They one-sidedly emphasized upon the development of productive forces as opposed to the Maoist principle of grasp revolution and promote production. In our context, Prachanda has not made him stand yet in open against the basic concepts of Marxism as the

aforsaid leaders did in the past. He has been doing it in the name of creative development of MLM.

When the situation develops to a new level, the old logics are not sufficient for the political parties to support their new position. It is true not only for the Marxists but also for the revisionists and other parties as well. Mao has said that revisionists are the reactionaries who mislead people in the guise of Marxism. So in the new situation the revisionists need to find new logics to misguide the revolutionaries. Prachanda understands it well. So he has been steadily sowing seeds of revisionism since long in the guise of creative application and development of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. He has not yet directly opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat as Khrushchev did. But, the development of Marxism which he has claimed is in fact the development of revisionism. In this way, revisionism has been replacing Marxism in the party led by him. The classical and modern revisionism openly oppose the basic tenets of Marxism including the dialectical and historical materialism, theory of class struggle, role of violence in revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat etc. etc. But, the neo-revisionism does the same in essence but in the pretext of opposing dogmatism, creative application of Marxism and the originality of revolution. To arrest the essence of Marxism in the name of its creative application and development has been the main characteristics of neo-revisionism. In this way, the features in points of Prachanda's neo-revisionism can be cited as follows.

Prachanda has been slowly attacking upon the universality of Mao's contributions. In the wake of party unity that took place with the Unity Centre - Masal, the UCPN (Maoist) had adopted Marxism-Leninism-Maoism/Mao Tsetung thought as its guiding principle. He argues that there is no difference as such in using two terminologies, Maoism or Mao thought, so long as they are done to mean the universality of Mao's contributions. It is indeed his artful deceit to blur the difference between Maoism and Mao thought which respectively refer to universality and particularity of Mao's contributions. By so doing he has been weakening the grasp of Maoism in the party and the revolutionary movement as well.

Mao has said that the struggle for production, class struggle and scientific experiment are the three sources of knowledge. In addition, he has stressed Marxism goes on developing through an infinite spiral of practice to theory and theory to practice. But quite the opposite, Prachanda claims that Marxism has become a matter of common knowledge for him. He had said in a CC meeting held about five years

before. By so saying he has stood against Maoist theory of knowledge and of course Maoism itself.

Marxism believes that an entity is the unity and struggle of opposites and the struggle between them helps one transform into another. However, Prachanda has brought about a conciliatory concept of **Fusion** of two opposites which stands against Marxist principal. It is merely a different form of expression of 'two combine into one', not 'one divides into two'. In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Mao had strongly criticised 'two combine into one' as a reactionary philosophy serving bourgeois interest. Mao said 'one divides into two' is the law of dialectics.

Prachanda says that the world situation has undergone considerable changes and these changes necessitate the development of MLM. It is absolutely correct. But a strange, in the pretext of the development of Marxism, he has been attacking upon the basic principles of Marxism itself and in this course he has been developing revisionism. On the one hand, he presents the Federal Democratic Republic as a synonym of New Democratic Republic, and on the other, he says that in order to prevent counter-revolution in the 21st century it is necessary to develop democracy. While arriving here, it has been crystal clear that these logics were brought about to pave the way for assimilating bourgeois parliament by the party and consequently reversing revolution in the name of preventing counter-revolution. In fact, the development of democracy in the 21st century has been a tool to replace the democratic or proletarian dictatorship by the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Prachanda had put forward a concept of non-class nature of State Power and the possibility of peaceful development of revolution in Nepal in the Balaju Expanded Meeting held in 2007. He tried to justify his arguments by the fact that Nepal Army and the PLA were kept inactive in their respective barracks. Prachanda stopped saying this again after the delegates in the convention strongly opposed it. In fact, it was merely a polished form of the 'state of the entire people' and 'peaceful transition' propounded by Khrushchev. But now all these things have been transcribed in their documents in a disguised form.

Insurrection and revolution in decision and parliamentary exercise in implementation i.e. revolution in word and reform in practice has been his characteristics. In all of the meetings from Chunwang to Palungtar via Kharipati, he has been raising the question of people's insurrection and the need to build up four bases to achieve it. However, except for misleading the revolutionaries he never

put stress on building four bases to prepare for insurrection. His speciality has been not to take on preparation seriously till there is time and plead for reform at the last in the excuse that necessary preparation is not complete.

Communist revolutionaries are the followers of proletarian internationalism. At the time of preparation, initiation and continuation of the great people's war in Nepal he used to lay much emphasis on party's international task. But for now proletarian internationalism has become a big bone stuck at his throat. He sometimes talks of RIM and CPI (Maoist) to mislead the revolutionaries inside his party. In the document that he placed before the last expanded meeting, organised by the neo-revisionist group led by Prachanda, he has written a phrase reading, "For the development of international communist movement it is necessary to go ahead by maintaining relation with the revolutionary parties and groups in and outside of RIM in a planned way". On the contrary, he has been working hard to make both imperialism and expansionism happy by rudely criticising RIM and the CPI (Maoist). Not only that, he had sent a condolence letter along with a central committee representative to please his masters in India when Jyoti Basu, a leader of revisionist CPI (Marxist) and the ex-chief minister of West Bengal, had died. On the other, Prachanda did not dare to issue even a statement when the Indian ruling class killed comrade Azad, the spokesperson and comrade Kishenji, the politburo member, of the CPI (Maoist). In this way, not comrade Azad and comrade Kishenji, but Jyoti Basu and Manmohan Singh have become international fraternal comrades for Prachanda.

Prachanda-Baburam group has now appeared in a little different form in the context of maintaining relationship between the line and organisation. The revisionists in the past used to firstly build, in general, a reformist line and then transform the whole party organisation to fit into it. But, the speciality of this group has been to continue saying people's insurrection as the path of revolution to mislead the masses but create such a situation in the party that there can be no insurrection at all. One of the ways they have done to serve this purpose has been to make party organisation a crowd of yes-men, anarchists and wrong elements that cannot lead revolution.

Prachanda has deviated from the basic theory of new democratic revolution. He has defined new democratic revolution in such a way that it is completed in two stages - once against feudalism and next against imperialism. In fact, it does not go along with the characteristics of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. In the course of the

new democratic revolution, sometimes there is major threat upon democracy and sometimes upon national sovereignty and the form of struggle is sorted out to respond to the given threat. But it does not mean that there are two stages of revolution: one against feudalism and another against imperialism. The feudalism and imperialism are inseparably interconnected with each other and the state power in such a country simultaneously represents the interests of both of them. It is the characteristics of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Therefore, to destroy the reactionary state power that represents the interest of both feudalism and imperialism and build a new one in its place is the first step towards making the new democratic revolution in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. Prachanda and his clique have gone too far from this reality.

In one context he has said that the end of monarchy is a kind of completion of the new democratic revolution in Nepal. It is utterly wrong. In an interview he says, "Now it leads to a conclusion that the remaining task of new democracy (a part of which has been completed) and the strategy of socialist revolution have converged into one. The remaining task of new democracy and task of completing the socialist revolution by way of people's insurrection and armed insurrection have converged into one strategy rather than completing new democratic revolution at one stage and socialist revolution at the other."¹

Aforesaid quotation means that the new democratic revolution has been accomplished in Nepal. It does not agree with what Marxism-Leninism-Maoism says about the new democratic revolution, which is accomplished only after feudalism and imperialism both are brought to an end. Monarchy has been abolished in Nepal but it has not brought about any basic change in feudalism and the feudal mode of production as well. The agents of Indian expansionism are dominant in the state power. The national independence is in grave danger. Country is going towards Sikkimisation. Then, in such a situation, how did the new democratic revolution complete in Nepal? Does the new democratic revolution mean republic, federalism and secularism only? Has the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist people's power been established in Nepal? Certainly not. His position that the new democratic revolution has been almost completed and the socialist revolution is the next task in hand is nothing other than a neo-revisionist fraud brought forward to confuse the people and get stuck in the bourgeois democratic republic with the blessing of

1 Krambhanga, year 1, Vol. 2, November 2011, page 11

imperialism and Indian expansionism. It is in fact an ugly example of betrayal against the Nepalese people and the nation on the part of Prachanda.

Mao has said that party, army and the united front are three magical weapons of revolution. He says, "A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people, an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party -- these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy." Mao has pointed out here at the crux of the problem by identifying the urgency of party, army and the united front to make revolution a success.

Did the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) resemble with the one that Mao has referred to in this quotation? No, not at all. How did Prachanda work ideologically and politically to loosen the grasp of revolution in the party has been mentioned before. In addition, he opened the door to bourgeoisify party by gathering a crowd of bureaucrats in the higher committees and that of the anarchists and yes-men in the lower ones. Party committees became so bulky and clumsy that neither there was an encouraging environment for discussion, criticism and self-criticism nor for practicing collectivity. It created such a situation in which the system of collective decision and individual responsibility got replaced by that of individual decision and collective responsibility. Now, none must be confused with the fact that it was a plan designed to gradually disorient cadres from the communist system and conduct and by so doing transform the communist party into a bourgeois one. It is Prachanda's neo-revisionist characteristic that weakened ideological grasp and bourgeoisified party by way of wrong organizational methods. Prachanda, in this manner, liquidated party's revolutionary character from all the aspects of ideology, politics and organization.

Prachanda has made the People's Liberation Army, Nepal that was built with the concept of "People have nothing without people's army" surrender before the Nepal Army. He said it is integration. The people's Liberation Army, Nepal that was organised to accomplish new democratic revolution in Nepal, exercise democratic dictatorship upon the class enemies after new democratic revolution has been accomplished and prevent counter-revolution in the whole course of building socialism has been dissolved in the name of integration. It is a counter-revolutionary step taken to please the imperialism

and expansionism and heartily open the way for reconciliation with their agents. He said it was a daring step aimed at building peace in Nepal. What a ridiculous argument is this? Lying also has a limit. One can hardly find such examples of class and national capitulation and shameless treason in the history of the world communist movement.

Another important weapon for revolution is a united front formed under the leadership of a revolutionary party. What kind of forces shall be involved in the united front is decided by the principal contradiction of the then society and it is built under the leadership of a party of the proletariat by incorporating entire forces that have contradiction with the principal enemy. The party led by Prachanda had analyzed that the contradiction formed of the comprador, bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the feudal and their master Indian expansionism at one pole and the entire Nepalese people at the other is the principal contradiction in the Nepalese society. But he did not take any initiative to build a united front among the entire patriotic, republican, progressive, leftist and revolutionary forces under the leadership of the party of the proletariat against the aforesaid reactionary alliance. Contrary to it, he kneeled down before the reactions and surrendered the remaining achievement of revolution to them. What can this act be said other than naked submission to the domestic and foreign reactions?

In the beginning of the 21st century, the world proletariat had had a high regard for Prachanda as their emancipator and imperialist marauders had disdained him as their grave-diggers. It was a matter of pride and glory for the world proletariat. Now he is in a quick race to become just its opposite. It is a matter of grief for the oppressed people of Nepal and the world as well. Nevertheless, it is not the sentiment but ideological and political line and the vanguard of the proletariat that lead the toiling masses to revolution. Therefore, sooner the Prachanda's neo-revisionism is unmasked and defeated the faster can the world proletariat re-establish MLM in the world communist movement and liberate the oppressed people from the yoke of imperialism. The revolutionaries have no alternative to it. To weaken the ideological and political struggle against neo-revisionism is in fact to nurture it. Therefore, the urgent need of the day has been to intensify the ideological and political struggle against all shades of revisionism in general and Prachanda's neo-revisionism in particular. And it is the supreme task of the revolutionaries now in Nepal and the world as well. Let all of us strive for this.

August 10, 2012

Reformism in the Russian Social-democratic movement

V.I. Lenin

The tremendous progress made by capitalism in recent decades and the rapid growth of the working-class movement in all the civilized countries have brought about a big change in the attitude of the bourgeoisie to the proletariat. Instead of waging an open, principled and direct struggle against all the fundamental tenets of socialism in defense of the absolute inviolability of private property and freedom of competition, the bourgeoisie of Europe and America, as represented by their ideologists and political leaders, are coming out increasingly in defense of so-called social reforms as opposed to the idea of social revolution. Not liberalism versus socialism, but reformism versus socialist revolution is the formula of the modern, "advanced", educated bourgeoisie. And the higher the development of capitalism in a given country, the more unadulterated the rule of the bourgeoisie, and the greater the political liberty, the more extensive is the application of the "most up-to-date", bourgeois slogan: reform *versus* revolution, the partial patching up of the doomed regime with the object of dividing and weakening the working class, and of maintaining the rule of the bourgeoisie, *versus* the revolutionary overthrow of that rule.

From the viewpoint of the universal development of socialism this change must be regarded as a big step forward. At first socialism fought for its existence, and was confronted by a bourgeoisie confident of its strength and boldly and consistently defending liberalism as an integral system of economic and political views. Socialism has grown into a force and, throughout the civilized world, has already upheld its right to existence. It is now fighting *for power* and the bourgeoisie, disintegrating and realizing the inevitability of its doom, is exerting every effort to defer that day and to maintain its rule under the new conditions as well, at the cost of partial and spurious concessions.

The intensification of the struggle of

reformism against revolutionary social-democracy *within* the working-class movement is an absolutely inevitable result of the changes in the entire economic and political situation throughout the civilized world. The growth of the working-class movement necessarily attracts to its ranks a certain number of petty-bourgeois elements, people who are under the spell of bourgeois ideology, who find it difficult to rid themselves of that ideology and continually lapse back into it. We cannot conceive of the social revolution being accomplished by the proletariat without this struggle, without demarcation on questions of principle between the socialist mountain and the socialist Gironde *prior* to this revolution, and without a complete break between the opportunist, petty-bourgeois elements and the proletarian, revolutionary elements of the new historic force *during* this revolution.

In Russia the position is fundamentally the same; only here matters are more complicated, obscured and modified, because we are lagging behind Europe (and even behind the advanced part of Asia), and we are still passing through the era of bourgeois revolutions. Owing to this, Russian reformism is distinguished by its particular stubbornness; it represents, as it were, a more pernicious malady, and it is much more harmful to the cause of the proletariat and of the revolution. In our country reformism emanates from two sources simultaneously. In the first place, Russia is much more a petty-bourgeois country than the countries of Western Europe. Our country, therefore, more frequently produces individuals, groups and trends distinguished by their contradictory, unstable, vacillating attitude to socialism (an attitude veering between "ardent love" and base treachery) characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie in general. Secondly, the petty-bourgeois masses in our country are more prone to lose heart and to succumb to renegade moods at the failure of any *one* phase of our bourgeois revolution; they

Here we are publishing famous article of Lenin. We hope this article is helpful to recognize anti-Marxist-Leninist view and trend, which are severely prevailing in our movement.

are more ready to renounce the aim of a complete democratic revolution which would entirely rid Russia of all survival of medievalism and serfdom.

We shall not dwell at length on the first source. We need only mention that there is hardly a country in the world in which there has been such a rapid “swing” from sympathy for socialism to sympathy for counter-revolutionary liberalism as that performed by our strivers, Izgoyevs, karaulovs, etc., etc. Yet these gentlemen gentle men are not exceptions, not isolated individuals, but representatives of widespread trends! Sentimentalists, of whom there are many outside the ranks of the social-democratic movement, but also a goodly number within it, and who love to preach sermons against “excessive” polemics, against “the passion for drawing lines of demarcation”, etc., betray a complete lack of understanding of the historical conditions which, in Russia, give rise to the “excessive” “passion” for swinging over from socialism to liberalism.

Let us turn to the second source of reformism in Russia. Our bourgeois revolution has not been completed. The autocracy is *trying* to find new ways of solving the problems bequeathed by that revolution and imposed by the entire objective course of economic development; but *it is unable to do so*. Neither the latest step in the transformation of old tsarism into a renovated bourgeois monarchy, nor the organization of the nobility and the upper crust of the bourgeoisie on a national scale (the third duma), nor yet the bourgeois agrarian policy being enforced by the rural superintendents—none of these “extreme” measures, none of these “latest” efforts of tsarism in the *last* sphere remaining to it, the sphere of adaptation to bourgeois development, prove adequate. It just does not work! Not only is a Russia “renovated” by *such* means unable to catch up with Japan, it is, perhaps, even beginning to fall behind China. Because the bourgeois-democratic tasks have been left unfulfilled, a revolutionary crisis is still inevitable. It is ripening again, and we are heading toward it once more, in a new way, not the same way as before, *not at the same pace*, and not only in the old forms— but that we are heading toward it, of that there is no doubt.

The tasks of the proletariat that arise from this situation are fully and unmistakably definite. As the only consistently revolutionary class of contemporary society, it must be the leader in the struggle of the whole people for a fully democratic revolution in the struggle of *all* the working and

exploited people against the oppressors and exploiters. The Proletariat is revolutionary only insofar as it is conscious of and gives effect to this idea of the hegemony of the proletariat. The proletarian who is conscious of this task is a slave who has revolted against slavery. The proletarian, who is not conscious of the idea that his class must be the leader, or who renounces this idea, is a slave who does not realize his position as a slave; at best he is a slave who fights to improve his condition as a slave, *but not* one who fights to overthrow slavery.

It is, therefore, obvious that the famous formula of one of the young leaders of our reformists, Mr. Levitsky of *Nasha Zarya*, who declared that Russian social-democratic party must represent “*not* hegemony, but a class party”, is a formula of the most consistent reformism. More than that, it is a formula of sheer renegacy. To say, “not hegemony, but a class party”, means to take the side of the bourgeoisie, the side of the liberal who says to the slave of our age, the wage-earner: “Fight to improve your condition as a slave, but regard the thought of overthrowing slavery as a harmful utopia”! Compare Bernstein’s famous formula—“The movement is everything, the final aim is nothing”—with Levitsky’s formula and you will see that they are variations of the same idea. They both recognize *only* reforms, and renounce revolution. Bernstein’s formula is broader in scope, for it envisages a socialist revolution (=the final goal of social-democracy, as a party of bourgeois society). Levitsky’s formula is narrower; for while it renounces revolution in general, it is particularly meant to renounce what the liberals hated most in 1905-07—namely, the fact that the proletariat *wrested* from them the leadership of the masses of the people (particularly of the peasantry) in the struggle for a fully democratic revolution.

To preach to the workers that what they need is “not hegemony, but a class party” means to betray the cause of the proletariat to the liberals; it means preaching that *social-democratic* labour policy should be replaced by a *liberal* labour policy.

Renunciation of the idea of hegemony, however, is the crudest form of reformism in the Russian social-democratic movement, and that is why not all liquidators make bold to express their ideas in such definite terms. Some of them (Mr. Martov, for instance) even try, mocking at the truth, to deny that there is a connection between the renunciation of hegemony and liquidationsim.

A more “subtle” attempt to “substantiate”

reformist views is the following argument: the bourgeois revolution in Russia is at an end; after 1905 there can be no second bourgeois revolution, no second nation-wide struggle for a democratic revolution; Russia therefore is faced not with a *revolutionary* but with a “constitutional” crisis, and all that remains for the working class is to take care to defend its rights and interests on the basis of that “constitutional crisis”. That is how the liquidator Y. Larin argues in *Dyelo Zhizni* (and previously in *Vozrozhdeniye*).

“October 1905 is not on the order of the day,” wrote Mr. Larin. “if the Duma were abolished, it would be restored more rapidly than in post-revolutionary Austria, which abolished the constitution in 1851 only to recognize it again in 1860. Nine years later, without any revolution (note this!), simply because it was in the interests of the most influential section of the ruling classes, the section which had reconstructed its economy on capitalist lines”. “At the stage we are now in, a nationwide revolutionary movement like that of 1905 is impossible.”

All Mr. Larin’s arguments are nothing more than an expanded rehash of what Mr. Dan said at the conference of the R.S.D.L.P. in December 1908. Arguing against the resolution which stated that the “*fundamental* factors of economic and political life which gave rise to the revolution of 1905, *continue to operate*”, that a new-*revolutionary*, and not “constitutional”-crisis was developing, the editor of the liquidators’ *Golos* exclaimed: “They (i.e. the R.S.D.L.P.) want to shove in where they have once been defeated.”

The shove again toward revolution, to work tirelessly, in the changed situation, to propagate the idea of revolution and to prepare the forces of the working class for it—that, from the standpoint of the reformists, is the chief crime of the R.S.D.L.P. that is what constitutes the *guilt* of the revolutionary proletariat. Why “shove in where they have once been defeated”—that is the wisdom of renegades and of person who lose heart after any defeat.

But in countries older and more “experienced” than Russia the revolutionary proletariat showed its ability to “Shove in where it has once been defeated” two, three and four times; in France it accomplished *four* revolutions between 1789 and 1871, rising again and again after the most severe defeats and achieving a republic in which it now face its *last* enemy- the advanced bourgeoisie; it has achieved a republic, which is the only form of state corresponding to the

conditions necessary for the final struggle for the victory of socialism.

Such is the distinction between socialists and liberals, or champions of the bourgeoisie. The socialists teach that revolution is inevitable, and that the proletariat must take advantage of *all* the contradictions in society, of every weakness of its enemies or of the intermediate classes, to prepare for a new revolutionary struggle, to repeat the revolution in a broader arena, with a more developed population. The bourgeoisie and the liberals teach that revolutions are unnecessary and even harmful to the workers, that they must not “Shove” toward revolution, but, like good little boys, work modestly for reforms.

That is why, in order to divert the Russian workers *from* socialism, the reformists, who are the captives of bourgeois ideas; *constantly* refer to the example of *Austria* (as well as Prussia) in the 1860s. Why are they so fond of these examples? Y.Larin let the cat out of the bag; because in these countries, after the “unsuccessful” revolution of 1848, the bourgeois transformation was completed “*without any revolution*”.

That is the whole secret! That is what gladdens their hearts, for it seems to indicate that bourgeois change is possible without revolution!! And if that is the case, why should we Russians bother our heads about a revolution? Why not leave it to the landlords and factory owners to effect the bourgeois transformation of Russia “*Without any revolution!*”

It was because the proletariat in Austria and Prussia was weak that it was unable to prevent the landed proprietors and the bourgeoisie from effecting the transformation *regardless* of the interests of the workers, in a form *most prejudicial* to the workers, retaining the monarchy, the privileges of the nobility, arbitrary rule in the countryside, and a host of other survivals of medievalism.

In 1905 our proletariat displayed strength unparalleled in any bourgeois revolution in the west, yet today the Russian reformists use examples of the weakness of the working class in other countries, forty or fifty years ago, in order to justify *their own* apostasy, to “substantiate” *their own* renegade propaganda!

The reference to Austria and Prussia of the 1860s, so beloved of our reformists, is the best proof of the theoretical fallacy of their arguments and of their desertion to the bourgeoisie in practical politics.

Indeed, if Austria restored the constitution which was abolished after the defeat of the revolution of 1848, and an “era of crisis” was ushered in Prussia in the 1860s, what does this prove? It proves, primarily, that the bourgeois transformation of these countries had not been completed. To maintain that the system of government in Russia has *already* become bourgeois (as Larin says), and that government power in our country is no longer of a feudal nature (see Larin again), and at the same time to refer to Austria and Prussia as an example, is to refute oneself! Generally speaking, it would be ridiculous to deny that the bourgeois transformation of Russia has not been completed: the very policy of the bourgeois parties, the constitutional-democrats and the octobrists, proves this beyond all doubt and Larin himself (as we shall see further on) surrenders his position. It cannot be denied that the monarchy is taking on more steps towards adapting itself to bourgeois development—as we have said before, and as was pointed out in a resolution adopted by the party (December 1908). But it is still more undeniable that *even* this adaptation, *even* bourgeois reaction, and the Third Duma, and the agrarian law of November 9, 1906 (and June 14, 1910) do *not* solve the problems of Russia’s bourgeois transformation.

Let us look a little further. Why were “crises” in Austria and in Prussia in the 1860s *constitutional*, and not revolutionary? Because there were a number of special circumstances which eased the position of the monarchy (the “revolution from above” in Germany, her unification by “blood and iron”); because the proletariat was at that time extremely weak and undeveloped in those countries, and the liberal bourgeoisie was distinguished by base cowardice and treachery, just as the Russian cadets are in our day.

To show how the German social-democrats, who themselves took part in the events of those years, assess the situation, we quote some opinions expressed by Bebel in his memoirs (*pages from My Life*), the first part of which was published last year. Bebel states that Bismarck, as has since become known, related that the king at the time of the “constitutional” crisis in Prussia in 1862 had given way to utter despair, lamented his fate, and blubbered in his Bismarck’s, presence that they were both going to die on the scaffold. Bismarck put the coward the shame and persuaded him not to shrink from giving battle.

“These events show”, says Bebel, “what the liberals might have achieved had they taken

advantage of the situation. But they were already afraid of the workers who backed them. Bismarck’s words that if he were driven to extremes he would set Acheron in motion (i.e., stir up a popular movement of the lower classes, the masses), struck fear into their hearts.

Half a century after the “constitutional” crisis which “without any revolution” completed the transformation of his country into a bourgeois-Junker monarchy, the leader of the German social-democrats refers to the *revolutionary* possibilities of the situation at that time, which the liberals did not take advantage of owing to their fear of the workers. The leaders of the Russian reformists say to the Russian workers: since the German bourgeois was so base as to cower before a cowering king, why shouldn’t we *too* try to copy those splendid tactics of the German bourgeoisie? Bebel accuses the bourgeoisie of not having “taken advantage” of the “constitutional” crisis to effect a revolution because of their fear, as exploiters, of the popular movement. Larin and co. accuse the Russian workers of having striven to secure hegemony (i.e., to draw the masses into the revolution in spite of the liberals), and advise them to organize “not for revolution”, but “for the defence of their interests in the forthcoming constitutional reform of Russia”. The liquidators offer the Russian workers the rotten views of rotten German liberalism as “social-democratic” views! After this, how can one help calling such social-democrats “syolypin social-democrats”?

In estimating the “constitutional” crisis of the 1860s in Prussia Bebel does not confine himself to saying that the bourgeoisie were afraid to fight the monarchy because they were afraid of the workers. He also tells us that was going on among the workers at that time. “The appalling state of political affairs,” he says, “Of which the workers were becoming ever more keenly aware, naturally affected their mood. Everybody clamored for change. But since there was no fully class-conscious leadership with a clear vision of the goal and enjoying the confidence of the workers, and since there existed no strong organization that could rally the forces, the mood petered out (*verpuffte*). Never did a movement, so splendid in its essence (*in Kern vortreffliche*), turn out to be so futile in the end. All the meetings were packed, and the most vehement speakers were hailed as the heroes of the day. This was the prevailing mood, particularly, in the worker’s Educational society at Leipzig.” A mass meeting in Leipzig on

may 8, 1866, attended by 5,000 people, unanimously adopted a resolution proposed by Liebknecht and Bebel, which demanded, on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage, with secret ballot, the convening of a parliament supported by the armed people. The resolution also expressed the "hope that the German people will elect as deputies only persons who repudiate every hereditary central government power". The resolution proposed by Liebknecht and Bebel was thus unmistakably revolutionary and republican in character.

Thus we see that at the time of the "constitutional" crisis *the leader of the German social-democrats* advocated resolutions of a republican and revolutionary nature at mass meetings. Half a century later, recalling his youth and telling the new generation of the events of days long gone by, he stresses most of all his regret that at that time there was no leadership sufficiently class-conscious and capable of understanding the revolutionary tasks (*i.e., there was no revolutionary social-democratic party understanding the task implied by the hegemony of the proletariat*), that there was no strong organization; that the revolutionary mood "petered out". Yet the leaders of the Russian reformists, with the profundity of simple Simons, refer to the example of Austria and Prussia in the 1860s as proving that we can manage "without any revolution"! And these paltry philistines who have succumbed to the intoxication of counter-revolution, and are the ideological slaves of liberalism, still dare to dishonor the name of the R.S.D.L.P.!

To be sure, among the reformists who are abandoning socialism there are people who substitute for Larin's straight-forward opportunism the diplomatic tactics of beating about the bush in respect of the most important and fundamental questions of the working-class movement. They try to confuse the issue, to muddle the ideological controversies, to defile them, as did Mr. Martov, for instance, when he asserted in the legally published press (that is to say where he is protected by stolypin from a direct retort by members of the R.S.D.L.P.) that Larin and "the orthodox Bolsheviki in the resolutions of 1908" propose an *identical* "scheme". This is a downright distortion of the facts worthy of this author of scurrilous effusions. The same Martov, pretending to argue against Larin, declared in print that he "of course" did "not suspect Larin of reformist tendencies". Martov *did not suspect* Larin, who expounded *purely* reformist views, of being a reformist!

This is an example of the tricks to which the diplomats of reformism resort. The same Martov, whom some simpletons regard as being more "Left" and a more reliable revolutionary than Larin, summed up his "difference" with the latter in the following words:

"To sum up, the fact that the present regime is an inherently contradictory combination of absolutism and constitutionalism, and that the Russian working class has sufficiently matured to follow the example of the workers of the progressive countries of the west in striking at this regime through the Achilles heel of its contradictions, is ample material for the theoretical substantiation and political justification of what the Mensheviks who remain true to Marxism are now doing."

No matter how hard Martov tried to evade the issue, the result of his very first attempt at a summary was that all his evasions collapsed of themselves. The words quoted above represent a complete renunciation of socialism and its replacement by liberalism. What Martov proclaims as "ample" is ample *only* for the liberals, *only* for the bourgeoisie. A proletarian who considers it "ample" to recognize the contradictory nature of the combination of absolutism and constitutionalism accepts the standpoint of a *liberal labour* policy. He is *no* socialist, he has not understood the tasks of his *class* which demand that the masses of the people, the masses of working and exploited people, be roused against absolutism in all its forms, that they be roused to intervene *independently* in the historic destinies of the country, the vacillations or resistance of the bourgeoisie notwithstanding. But the independent historical action of the masses who are throwing off the hegemony of the bourgeoisie turns a "constitutional" crisis into a *revolution*. The bourgeoisie (particularly since 1905) fears revolution and loathes it, the proletariat, on the other hand, educated the masses of the people in the spirit of devotion to the idea of revolution, explains its tasks and prepares the masses for new revolutionary battles. Whether, when and under what circumstances the revolution materializes, does not depend on the will of a particular class; but revolutionary work carried on among the masses is never wasted. This is the only kind of activity which prepares the masses for the victory of socialism. The Larins and Martovs forget these elementary ABC truths of socialism.

Larin, who expresses the views of the group of Russian liquidators who have completely broken

with the R.S.D.L.P., does not hesitate to go the whole hog in expounding his reformism. Here is what he writes in *Dyelo Zhizni* (1911, no.2) and these words should be remembered by everyone who holds dear the principles of social-democracy:

“A state of perplexity and uncertainty, when people simply do not know what to expect of the coming day, what tasks to set themselves—that is what results from indeterminate, temporizing moods, from vague hopes of either a repetition of the revolution or of ‘we shall wait and see’. The immediate task is, not to wait fruitlessly for something to turn up, but to imbue broad circles with the guiding idea that, in the ensuing historical period of Russian life, the working class must organize itself not ‘for revolution’, not ‘in expectation of a revolution’, but simply (note the but simply) for the determined and systematic defence of its particular interests in all spheres of life; for the gathering and training of its forces for this many-sided and complex activity; for the training and building-up in this way of socialist consciousness in general; for acquiring the ability to orientate itself (to find its bearings)—and to assert itself—particularly in the complicated relations of the social classes of Russia during the coming constitutional reform of the country after the economically inevitable self-exhaustion of feudal reaction.”

This is consummate, frank, smug reformism of the purest water. War against the idea of revolution, against the “hopes” for revolution (in the eyes of the reformist such “hopes” seem *vague*, because he does not understand the depth of the contemporary economic and political contradictions); war against every activity designed to organize the forces and prepare the minds for revolution; war waged in the legal press that Stolypin protects from a direct retort by revolutionary social-democrats; war waged on behalf of a group of legalists who have completely broken with the R.S.D.L.P. —this is the programme and tactics of the Stolypin labour party which Potresov, Levitsky, Larin and their friends are out to create. The real programme and the real tactics of these people are expressed in exact terms in the above quotation—as distinct from their hypocritical official assurances that they are “also social-democrats” that they “also” belong to the “irreconcilable international”. These assurances are only window-dressing. Their deeds, their real social substance, are expressed in this programme, which substitutes a liberal labour policy for socialism.

Just note the ridiculous contradictions in which the reformists become entangled. If, as Larin says, the bourgeois revolution in Russia has been consummated, then the socialist revolution is the next stage of historical development. This is self-evident; it is clear to anyone who does not profess to be a socialist merely for the sake of deceiving the workers by the use of a popular name. *This* is all the more reason why we *must* organize “for revolution” (for socialist revolution), “in expectation” of revolution, for the sake of the “hopes” (not vague “hopes”, but the *certainty* based on exact and growing scientific data) of a *socialist* revolution.

But that’s the whole point—to the reformist the twaddle about the consummated bourgeois revolution (like Martov’s twaddle about the Achilles heel, etc.) is simply a verbal screen to cover up his *renunciation of all revolution*. He renounces the bourgeois-democratic revolution on the pretext that it is complete, or that it is “ample” to recognize the contradiction between absolutism and constitutionalism; and he renounces the socialist revolution on the pretext that “for the time being” we must “simply” organize to take part in the “coming constitutional reform” of Russia!

But if you, esteemed cadet parading in socialist feathers, recognize the inevitability of Russia’s “coming constitutional reform”, then you speak against yourself, for thereby you admit that the bourgeois-democratic revolution *has not been completed* in our country. You are betraying your bourgeois nature again and again when you talk about an inevitable “*self-exhaustion of feudal reaction*”, and when you sneer at the proletarian idea of *destroying*, not only *feudal reaction*, but all survivals of feudalism, by means of a *popular* revolutionary movement.

Despite the liberal sermons of our heroes of the Stolypin labour party, the Russian proletariat will always and invariably put the spirit of devotion to the democratic revolution and to the socialist revolution into *all* that difficult, arduous, everyday, routine and inconspicuous work, to which the era of counter-forces for revolution has condemned it; it will organize and gather its force for revolution; it will ruthlessly repulse the traitors and renegades; and it will be guided, not by “vague hopes”, but by the scientifically grounded conviction that the revolution will come again.

September 14(1), 1911 vol.17

Forward Along the Path Chartered by Great Lenin

(In the context of struggle against rightist-opportunism)

Ajay Sharma

At present the communist movement of Nepal is being suffered by adverse current of opportunism. Certainly, this situation has created some serious difficulties to this movement. But, revelation of the true feature of the main leadership of CPN (Maoist), I mean Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai, is very positive thing.

-1-

Varied stages in development of the opportunism of Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarai

A general glance at the development of the opportunism of Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarai of last eleven years will show a real picture of Party. Their journey of high speed towards revisionism remained unchanged.

Let us enumerate the principle stages:

1.1 The Second National Conference which has held after five years of the initiation of people's war of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), adopted non-proletarian tactical line. This was the first foundation stone which was laid by Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarai to liquidate people's war and New Democratic Revolution in Nepal. Document writes: "It is necessary to guarantee the constitution of the people by elected interim government and for this we should forward the proposal for all-party conference and election of interim government by this conference."¹ Latter-years proved that this type of tactical line, in the height of people's war has consisted of embryo of opportunism of party leadership.

1.2 Central Committee Meeting had held after three years of the Second National Conference

has passed a proposal related with democracy. It is the 'development of democracy in 21st century.' The main contents of this document are:

"In spite of a lot historical and theoretical reason of success of capitalist imperialism to confuse world opinion on its democratic essence, not being able to strengthen its hold, problem of development of democracy is standing in front of us as a burning issue. What are main problems of settling proper balance between the need of dictatorship against defeated enemy and need of exercise of people's democracy? Why did people's democracy or proletarian democracy became formally mechanical and sectarian under people's democratic dictatorship or proletarian class democracy?... There cannot be other meaning of the great scientific principle of democratic-centralism that at last true democratic dictatorship as proletarian dictatorship can be strong in process of broad and live democratization of state power. Why did parties successful to capture state power with correct exercise of democratic-centralism before capturing state power come to prey of formal democracy and bureaucratic centralism? Only the argument because revisionism dominated the party is not sufficient.

"A party that had been revolutionary in a certain time or situation can change to be counter-revolutionary in another time or situation... But thinking of once under the leadership of a certain communist party democratic or socialist revolution has become established that remains revolutionary and not being available situation of free democratic as socialist competition by masses politically against the then revolutionary party, no arrangement of any restriction over it, on one hand, as there is no political competitor in masses becomes gradually changed into comfort seeker, mechanized or bureaucratic and state power under it also may become mechanized and bureaucratic and on the other hand, danger of being a prey to formal democracy, its unlimited creative and dynamic blade becomes rough. It has been marked in history."

1 Historical Documents of the communist party of Nepal (Maoist), Mechi-Koshi Regional Bureau Eastern Command, First ed. 2063, P.206.

“For this, by organizing political competition within constitutional boundary of anti-feudal, imperialist, democratic state authority, creation of situation for continuous proletarianization and revolutionization of communist party is essential. If the party cannot revolutionize it continuously, only by institutionalizing right of masses to establish another revolutionary party or leadership to state power, counter-revolution can be stopped effectively. There should be emphasis on competition to serve people under democratic political competition among different anti-feudal and imperialist political parties and organizations that accept constitutional boundary of state authority not only to co-operate communist party in mechanized way but ready to compete.

“Once after capturing state power, party leadership has to prove its position of correctness, need of getting mixed with welfare of masses and there should be emphasized on end of trend of no need of situation to prove sacrifice, devotion and loyalty to masses. There should be special attention to allow situation of deduction in right of self decision of people because of centralization of thought and leadership.”

“Experience also proves with reference to people’s army that proved invincible at was front against enemy through getting united on the ground of sacrifice, devotion and ideological honesty ever in weak and difficult situation before revolution, there appears physical situation to stay in confined special management in barrack after revolution waiting with increasing attitude to get appointed under bourgeois modern regular army. Its procedure and structure could not be developed to settle guarantee proletarian thinking and supervision, control and certainly in service going ahead spreading in growth and reaching a point, army will naturally change into tool for service to counter-revolution. To stop retreat, there should be emphasized on mobilization of people’s army with importance to ideological and political aspect of army. From the very beginning, equipped general mass of people and the whole party rank with consciousness of revolt against counter-revolution move their pace. Along with this, to say people’s army of twenty-first century is not to be in procedure to become modern through special training and arms, staying in barracks after capturing state power but to guarantee the things of remaining revolutionary carrier to militarize general masses. It should be emphasized in army rank with clear point of view there can be foreign reactionary intervention and counter-revolution stopped. Main responsibility of people’s army in twenty-first century should be

developing conscious armed masses to use right to revolt.² Although, Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai have not still left like revolution, new democratic revolution, socialist revolution, imperialism, class struggle, leadership of communist party, two-line struggle, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Maotse-Tung, Great proletarian cultural revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat, etc. words. These are their showy teeth. They chewed their food by other’s teeth. Those other teeth are nothing else than rightist opportunism. In defense of ‘Development of Democracy in Twenty-first century’ document what logic Prachanda-Baburam Bhattarai has presented, it clears very explicitly about their class position. Latter years, elaborating and defending above views they have said in various occasion:

Prachanda Says:

“Proposal of our party in relation to development of democracy in twenty-first century is a proposal brought ahead on the basis of study of positive and negative experience in relation to dictatorship and democracy of 20th century. According to that proposal, party is confident that only by organizing party competition within constitutional framework against feudalism and imperialism to strengthen proletarian dictatorship by making control, supervision and interruption of masses in state power lively, counter-revolutionary force can be stopped to raise head. Only strengthen dictatorship, on the basis of development of democracy can prepare base of pre-requisite disappearance of classes, parties and state can go being prepared. This, process that enhances political consciousness of masses continuously through multiparty competition by form will enliven socialist competition in its essence as Lenin, the Great says.”

At another place he says:

“Main substance of new democracy of Mao is bourgeois democratic revolution itself. But, as it occurs under leadership of proletarian, it is called new democracy. So far as democracy of twenty-first century we proposed is concerned, it is a system to organize political competition under leadership of proletarian, gone a step ahead to that new democracy as well. We have defined democracy of twenty-first century as democracy with political competition under proletarian class leadership as well. This is why it is an accreditation developed with changes after Stalin in Russia and death of Mao in china in

2 Prachand, “Whole Documents on Development of Democracy in Twenty-First Century”, Selected Works, Jana Disha Prakashan, Nepal, Nepali ed; First Publication, Ashad 2064, Vol.2, P. 411-16

mind to represent the need of twenty-first century.”³

Further he says:

“A political party represents a certain theory and a certain class. That type of party when weak to mobilize people from organizational point of view, takes and should take line of all round exposure. Only by theoretical and political exposure, a party that represents a class established its political strength. Going ahead like this, when the party established itself as a leadership of all classes and people in general, it should take responsibility of going ahead with all and unity with maximum forces for creation of a new society. What we did at present, we did with stand on foundation of ten years people’s war ... The new situations that is ready through exposure of people’s war. Responsibility falls on us to polarize all possible forces for leadership and unify the whole country out of it.”⁴

Likewise, Baburam Bhattarai writes in relation to development of democracy:

“Although, concept of new democratic state power, developed by Mao is correct and reasonable in general, Party has been thinking of some additional development in concept of democracy with attention to experience of counter-revolutions of past and continuously changing world and national periphery.”⁵

“In spite of tremendous amount of sacrifice and dedication of people, being urged by the spirit of responsibility that these should not appear a situation for foreign forces to play on under extremely increased civil war and adequate political solution to the problem and keeping program of new democracy, come down to capitalist program of constitution assembly for that... it is our opinion that in the specific situation of the present, bourgeois democracy can be given fullness only this very way and going ahead along the path of new democracy and socialism only by giving fullness to bourgeois democracy.”⁶

On questions of development of democracy editorial of ‘Jana Parishad’, organ of United

Revolutionary Council (Issue 1, Ashar, 2061) writes:

“It is necessary to take and discuss in relation to development of democracy in two stages and meanings. One is spatially and temporally instant, i.e., in the meaning of bourgeois democracy and the other is long time consigning or in meaning of proletarian democracy.

“First of all we have to take with seriousness the one that means instant or bourgeois democracy. It is because in a country like ours of semi-feudal and semi-colonial structure and of long tradition of absolute feudal system, progressive transformation and fast development of society is not possible without uprooting all forms of feudal absolutism and exercising development of bourgeois democracy to a certain extent.

“In the present era of imperialism, there is an objective problem that on one hand, development of capitalism is not possible and bourgeois democracy cannot easily be active in a country like ours and on the other hand, there are models of in practice in Switzerland and Scandinavian countries and we must pay attention to the fact that of her models are also possible. Thinking on all these on the whole CPN (Maoist) has been bringing forward of searching for a new model of bourgeois democracy with reference to our country.

The editorial further writes to the second stage of development of democracy:

“Taking lessons from the way serious events that took place in past in all proletarian state powers including Russia and China immediately after revolution such as development of bureaucracy, development of new bureaucratic class in those themselves who undertook responsibility of authority mobilization, understanding state power as monopoly of party and individuals instead of decisive revolution of proletarian class, counter-revolution out of proletarian state power itself, we must take courage to develop proletarian cultural revolution that took place under the leadership of Mao, did important job of establishing right to revolt of proletarian and people theoretically, but being short and specific in durations, there could not be development of agreeable procedure and system of continuous revolutionization of state power and organization of right to revolt. Along with this, what the experience of counter-revolutions by now is that those who played important role during revolution and who reached high leadership of party and workers and people could not appear at organized revolt to them. Therefore, instead of taking any chain of events to be mistake of any persons as group, it should be accepted as mistake in exercise of

3 Prachanda, “I want to give new message of liberation (interview)”, Selected Works, Jana Disha Prakashan, Nepal, Nepali ed; First Publication, Magh 2063, Vol.1, P. 480

4 Prachanda, “I want to give new message of liberation (interview)”, Selected Works, Jana Disha Prakashan, Nepal, Nepali ed; First Publication, Magh 2063, Vol.1, P. 507-8

5 Baburam Bhattarai, “Questin of the building of new type of state power”, Jana Parishad, United Revolutionary People’s Councils, Nepal, Ashad 2061, P. 10

6 Baburam Bhattarai, “Crisis invited by war and the fundamental immediate political exit”, War and Talk, Jana Dhoni Publication, Kathmandu, Jestha 2066, P. 22

proletarian state power or system of democracy... In this very reference, all revolutionaries must take 'question of development of democracy in twenty-first century' brought forward by CPN (Maoist) much seriously and it is not only to give oral support, we must take courage to implement in practice."

Presenting Paris Commune and Soviets in the beginning as genuine proletarian democratic practices, editorial writers:

"The main characteristic of Paris Commune and proletarian democracy seen in Russian Soviets in the beginning is exercise of direct democracy of working class and masses, that is and should be expressed in form of direct participation, supervision and interference of all organs of state power."⁷

Basically this proposal rejects practice of democracy in all spheres of new democratic and socialist state powers by Lenin, Stalin and Maotse-Tung. This type of thinking of Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarai is not development of democracy in twenty-first century but continuation of old and modern revisionists' rotten thinking on the question of democracy. Ideologically this was the first visible and fundamental departure of Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai from Marxism-Leninism on the question of democracy in general and proletarian democracy in particular.

1.3 The meeting of Central Committee held on Aswin-Kartik, 2062 at Chun Bang was a turning point generally in the Nepalese communist movement and particularly on the history of ten years of Great people's war. Prachand, Baburam Bhattarai liquidating revolutionary proletarian ideology, tactics and organizational line and accepted bourgeois ideology, tactics, and organizational line; capitulating class stand they accepted class capitulationism; capitulating stand on the struggle for national sovereignty, and they accepted national capitulationism commenting on Lenin's analysis on imperialism and proletarian strategy and tactics formed on that base, Chun Bang meeting says:

"The analysis of imperialism made by Mao and Lenin and the norms related to proletariat tactic constructed on the base of this analysis has been irrelevance on present situation on which the attention of the revolutionaries of the twenty first century should be centered. The analysis of Lenin regarding the inner-competition within the imperialists and the wars among the imperialists for division and re-division of certain territory and the

7 Editorial, "Questin of the development of Democracy", Jana Parishad, United Revolutionary People's Councils, Nepal, Ashad 2061, P. 2,5

proletarian tactics based on this analysis has been out dated after WW-II and merely just for party-line the analysis which Mao has made is not relevance after the end of cold war. The analysis of imperialism made by Lenin and Mao and the proletarian strategy formed on the base and belief of this analysis is far behind then present situation."⁸

Evaluation of domestic situation and on tactical line Chun Bang meeting says:

"Remaining constant on the objective for tactics to serve strategy, the party takes democratic republic (Loktantrik Ganatantra) neither as bourgeois parliamentary democracy, nor a direct new democratic republic. This republic will play the role of transitional multiparty republic along with the deal of broad restructurization to solve the problems related to class, national, regional and sex, present in the country."

Further it says:

"After end of Monarchy dominant in the old state power, this slogan will play the role of giving exit to peaceful solution of the civil war. Capable of opening the door to peaceful solution of civil war, this slogan will rightly afresh the aspiration of people for transformation and peace and indirectly will play the positive role for preparation of general insurrection."⁹

At another occasion, basing own self on three year prior's development of 'democracy of twenty-first century' proposal, Prachanda tries to justify the slogan of 'Loktantrik Ganatantra':

"We have been busy with analysis to identify what mistake has our class made in 20th century. We have summed up that the process of mobilization of the state machinery after the death of Lenin could not be democratic anymore; it become mechanical; and public has become slowly engrossed with monotony. Life should be green and grey. Three years before, we have come to conclusion in our central committee; there has been mistake in the past. We have reached the conclusion about the democracy of twenty-first century. We have raised the slogan 'Loktantrik Ganatantra' not all round only. We have reviewed the 20th century."¹⁰

1.4 The twelve points understanding which

8 Prachanda, "Political and Orginizational Proposal" Selected Party Documents. Selected Works, Jana Disha Prakashan, First Nepali ed. Ashar 2064, Vol.2, P.463

9 Prachanda, "Political and Organizational Proposal" Selected Party Documents. Selected Works, Jana Disha Prakashan, First Nepali ed. Ashar 2064, Vol.2, pp.467, 468)

10 Prachanda, "We want stop this blood shed (*interview*)", Selected Works, Jana Disha Prakashan, Nepal, Nepali ed; First Publication, Magh 2063, Vol.1, p. 413

was held between seven political parties and CPN (Maoist) on November 22, 2005 was the continuation of bourgeois ideology and tactics of Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai. It was more firm and systematic towards class capitulation and national betrayal. The essence of 'understanding' is "The commitment to establish the permanent peace by concluding the armed struggle" and "Competitive multiparty system". Indian expansionist rulers were the master mind of this so-called understanding.

When party leadership compromised with imperialism, expansionism, comprador and bureaucratic capitalist class accepting their conditions, they welcomed them in Kathmandu. On the first open meeting organized by Government-Maoist talk team on June 16, 2006 at Prime Minister's official residence Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai made their commitment on multiparty system once again and agreed to "dissolve all the people's government which was formed by the CPN (Maoist) in people's war period.

1.5 Government of Nepal and CPN (Maoist) on November 21, 2006 signed comprehensive peace accord (ahead just CPA) Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarai accepted CPA's "Giving the permanent form to the ceasefire, the armed war which was continue since 2052 ended" Saying and sign on it. This acceptance is the severe violation of the commitment made at the people's war with the proletariat class and oppressed masses of Nepal and world as well. Let us see what commitment party had made that time:

The Commitment says "(a) our plan will be based on lesson of Marxism- Leninism in revolutionary violence. Once again, our party promises to remain firm with the theory of People's war in the form of universal and invincible Maoist military principle of proletariat class, with reference to initiation of planning of this process to go ahead in form of protracted people's war based on strategy to surrounded city with countryside according to specific characteristic of our country

"(b) Our this program of starting people's war will be base on accreditation," Except state power, all is illusion" Major objective of armed revolution to capture political power for people. Remaining firm to this fact, our party expresses its pledge to struggle continuously against all types of deviationist thinking and attitude including economism, reformism, and anarchism.

"(c) Our this plan is to destroy the feudalism and imperialism to complete the people's revolution, on the basis of the theory of going forward on the

direction of socialist revolution and keeping on the revolution within proletariat dictatorship mobilization of cultural revolution it will base on the objective of reaching on the golden future with the establishment of communism. We are confirmed on the think that without to carry the arms once entered upon the end, it is crime to proletariat class and people to start armed rising. This struggle will not, at all, be let it be a tool to end on partial reform in condition of people or compromise by exerting pressure on reactionaries. This way, our armed struggle will be free all types of petty-bourgeois, sectarian, nationalist, religious, communal and castism confusions."¹¹

Anybody can see, without confusion, how far Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai have gone away from commitment made at the time of initiating people's war. Actually, they use very well armed struggle as a tool to achieve partial reforms or compromise by exerting pressure on world imperialism, Indian expansionism, comprador and bureaucratic capitalist class to reach in cabinet. Contrary 'commitment' they surrounded glorious armed struggle by all evils, like petty-bourgeois, sectarian, class capitulation, national capitulation, religious, communal and castism. Abandoning people's war, they have made severe crime to proletariat class and people of Nepal, as well the proletarians and oppressed masses and countries of world.

In another 'understanding' of June 18, 2008, Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai agreed to integrate, rehabilitate the certified fighter of Maoist Army, management of the arms, and return captured properties within six months period without the guarantee of people's constitution, formation of national army (Integration of People's Liberation Army and Nepal Army) and national security policy, solution of landless people's problems.

Very naked policy and activities in against of even on the fossils of people's war of Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai are:

- i) policy to return property using governmental force;
- ii) capturing PLA Cantonments and their weapons abruptly using Nepal Army.

1.6 As we saw from the Second National Conference (26 Magh- 1 Falgun 2057) party had entered into wrong way. After that it starts to introduce one after another non Marxist – Leninist-Moist policy, tactics and organizational line. But more than half decade there was not any two line

11 Prachanda, "The First Plan of the Historical People's War" Selected Party Documents. Selected Works, Jana Disha Prakashan, First Nepali ed. Ashar 2064, Vol.2,P.46

struggle in the party. Around that period there were a fair amount of metaphysical, fideism and liberalistic mistake in our party. Especially these types of mistakes were seen in course of debate on centralizing of party leadership. These blunders reached its peak on the Second National Conference of the Party. Authorizing Prachandapath, party established personality cult of Prachanda. Conference wrote: "developed thought series of the centralized presentation of the collective leadership is named by party as Prachandapath." After this two lines struggle was deceased for long time. Actually, Party became lifeless, no life, no struggle was there. In that context, we couldn't expect two line struggles. Whatever Prachanda said, that was Party's single line. Party was Prachanda, Prachanda was Party. Self-criticizing that mistake, this pushed party in lifeless situation. National Conventional of revolutionary faction writes:

"There are several weakness, lack and limitation in the revolutionaries in the process of making party policy, decision and line. Such weakness was happened in course of debate on centralizing of party leadership and giving name to the Prachandapath and even in post Chun Bang meeting. The mistakes are mainly: metaphysical, fideism and liberalism. Metaphysical means the thought in which the subject always observes the things events and process only by one angle. It observes only either positive or negative parts but not as a whole. Fideism means to believe any power or individual with full devotion. We believed that the faith on the leadership of Prachanda which we had shown is our weakness. Liberalism means to remain indifference with any negative aspect. We have to be self-critical on such mistakes and should be serious to correct them."

When we talk on two lines struggle in the party, its history is not more than of just a half decade. Only from Kharipati National Convention a part of our leadership came against rightist opportunist trend of the main leadership. After that it developed sometimes on slow motion and sometimes on fast speed. On the initiation of two-line struggle, National Convention of revolutionaries writes:

"Since before the Central Committee's meeting at Balaju, there is a debate on the Party line and at Kharipati that has developed in a new way. In the history of party the National Convention concluded at Kharipati is a signal of bend. It has tried to raise a voice against rightist opportunism and to protect the revolution and principle."

Hence, in the concrete form, two-line struggle within UCPN (Maoist) covers Kharipati National Convention to Bouddha National Convention. This period has gone through various stages. Before and post Palungtar Extended meeting of the Party revolutionary line presented own self aggressively against rightist opportunist, revisionist line of Prachanda-Baburam Bhattarai. Highlighting on the history of two-line struggle Kharipati to Boudha National Convention Document writes:

"Kharipati to present in this whole process the subject matter of this two-line struggle was based on: whether sticks on democratic republic or go forward on people's federal democracy, whether wage struggle against internal comprador, bureaucratic and feudal class and external specially against expansionist intervention for the preservation of sovereignty or surrender with them whether be prepared for people's insurrection or adopt the peaceful parliamentary way; whether organize united front with the patriotic, republic and leftist forces or making alliance with capitalist class; whether integrate the PLA in Nepalese army with respectful condition or liquidate this force after disarming them; whether drafting the constitution in favor of workers, tillers, and all peoples by preserving the rights and identity of women, Dalit, Muslim, peoples from marginalized sector or drafting status quoist and regressive constitution in favor of comprador bourgeois and feudal class."

-2-

Prachanda and Baburam Bhattatai are the greatest opportunists of our times

Prachanda and Baburam Bhattatai are the greatest opportunists of our times. It is as daylight clear that their opportunism is rightist-opportunism. They have departed from the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, from the minimum program of party. They have retreated from the path they had committed and marked out- the completion of new democratic revolution accepting with violent path, party leadership, proletarian dictatorship, class struggle. To organize class struggle of the proletariat and to lead that struggle for conquest political power by proletariat is changed them into meaningless.

As Lenin has said. "The question of the class struggle is one of the fundamental questions of

Marxism.”¹² Contrary to Lenin’s view on class struggle Prachanda, Baburam Bhattatai substituted liberal conception of class struggle. On this question they have followed liquidationism from top to bottom.

There are various types of opportunist but they have almost same social and political content. But it always reveals in a variety of ways. To know Prachanda-Baburam Bhattarai’s opportunism, it is better to know expression of opportunism’s different ways in different country. As Lenin has said in this regard:

“The same social and political content of modern international opportunism reveals itself in a variety of ways according to national peculiarities. In one country the opportunists have long ago come out under a separate flag; in another, they have ignored theory and in fact pursued the policy of the Radicals-Socialists; in a third, some members of the revolutionary party have deserted to the camp of opportunism and strive to achieve their aims, not in open struggle for principles and for new tactics, but by gradual, imperceptible, and, if one so put it, unpunishable corruption of their party; in a fourth country, similar deserters employ the same methods in the gloom of political slavery and with a completely original combination of “legal” and “illegal” activity, etc.”¹³

Amongst four different ways Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai mainly lies on third way. It should not be taken that they are free from other ways. Actually, they are dummy of all four ways. But till today mainly they lie on this type. Under the leadership of Prachanda, Baburam Bhattatai some members of revolutionary party UCPN (Maoist) have deserted to the camp of opportunism. Still Prachanda, Baburam Bhattatai have not come out under a separate flag. Although which flag they are raising, it is not Marxist-Leninist flag, it is bourgeois flag. They have presented “new” tactics; imperceptibly they are corrupting party and a large number of party leaders and cadres. They are that type of opportunists whom a large number of leader, cadres and masses cannot catch them easily. Because of, within hours they can change their colors so many times. It is difficult to catch them in a definite color. Lenin has rightly said, referring the observation of Parvus: “Once again Parvus’ apt observation that it is difficult to catch an opportunist with a formula has been proved correct. An opportunist will readily

put his name to any formula and as readily abandon it, because opportunism means precisely a lack of definite and firm principle.”¹⁴

On the question of winning power, Prachanda, Baburam Bhattatai adopted the petty-bourgeois idealist and not proletarian materialist point of view. Whenever we go through their present political line, it is very clear that the whole series of their ideology and tactics are a chain of the petty-bourgeois idealistic. From the tactics of Second National Conference—development of democracy in twenty first century—Loktantric Ganatantra—Twelve points understanding—Eight point agreement and others—Comprehensive Peace Accord etc., are different links of living examples of their bourgeois idealist outlook. Actually “It deduce ‘Natural succession’ to power from the most widespread” ideal (“in the eyes” of the People), and not from the realities of the struggle, It fails to understand that the “natural successor” will not be the one who, in somebody’s “mind”, “Plays Such a role,” but the one who will really *overthrow* the government, who will really *win* power, who will be *Victors* in struggle., The Issue will not be decided by the “mind of the people” but by the *strength* of the respective *classes* and elements of society.”¹⁵

To arrive in that conclusion and follow line according to that conclusion it was necessary to discard the whole Marxist-Leninist methods by Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai. Having taken the wrong path of revolution they went further and further astray in their prior commitment of Marxism and new democratic revolution.

Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai’s opportunism have belittled theory of Marxism-Leninism and the violent path to complete the commitment of the past. They are constantly working under the illusion that last changes are of important equal to revolution. They totally failed to understand the inevitability of the fundamental change of existing semi (or neo) colonial, Semi-feudal socio-economic structure of country. Lenin has rightly said, “Opportunism for the very reason that it scarifies the *fundamental* interests of the movement to momentary advantages or considerations based on the most short-sighted superficial calculation,”¹⁶

Prachanda, Baburam Bhattatai did the same. They sacrificed the fundamental interests of ten

12 V.I. Lenin “Liberal and Marxist conceptions of class struggle”, *Collected Works*, Eng. Ed., Progress Publishers Moscow, Fifth printing 198, Vol.19, P 121

13 “V.I. Lenin, “what is to be done?”, *Collected Works*, Eng. Ed., Progress Publishers Moscow, Fifth printing 1977, Vol.5, P.360

14 V.I. Lenin, “what is to be Done?”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers Moscow, Fifth printing 1977, Vol.5, P. 525

15 V.I. Lenin, “Political Crisis, bankruptcy of opportunist Tactics”, *Collected Works*, eng. Ed. Progress Publishers Moscow, Fourth printing 1978, Vol.11, P.154-55

16 V.I. Lenin, “Two worlds”, *Collected Works*, Eng. Ed. Progress, Publishers Moscow, Forth printing 1977, Vol. 16, P 309

years people's war to momentary advantages. Republican system, Constituent assembly and its election, premiership of Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarai were that type of momentary advantages for whom they sacrificed the whole series of new democratic revolution. Actually the whole strategy and tactics of Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai is spineless and short-sightedness.

Prachanda is not exception, not an isolated individual from society, but a representative of world-wide spread opportunist trend. But it is a bitter truth and we should accept that there is hardly in the history of the world communist movement in which there has been such a rapid "swing" from revolution to devotion for counter-revolution as that performed by Prachanda.

To divert the Nepalese proletariat and exploited masses from new democratic revolution thorough people's war, Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai, who are the captives of bourgeois ideas, are teaching them to substitute revolutions by some reforms. Lenin has rightly said, "So-called social reforms as opposed to the idea of revolution."¹⁷ Renunciation of revolution and its replacement by liberalism is one of the main essences of their opportunism. Actually, they have succumbed to the intoxication of counter-revolution, and are the ideological slave to liberalism in working class movement of Nepal.

Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai is fighting for reformism. i.e., individual improvements of political and economic conditions, kept forgetting the great goal of ten years Great people's war and party's prior commitments to people. They advocated blocks and alliance with world imperialism, Indian expansionism, comprador and bureaucratic class and revisionists to the point of entering comprador-bureaucratic cabinet or take a lead of that cabinet, of renouncing consistently Marxist-Leninist convictions.

In context of the ten years successful people's war party should had advanced a calling making an alliance with patriotic and democratic forces, for the conquest of political power by the patriotic and democratic forces to establish new democratic state. But, Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai not giving that slogan, they gave and are still giving reformative slogan Loktantrik Ganatantra. What logic they are giving to justify their political line is nothing, but the logic of opportunism. It is a fall from Marxism-

Leninism into rightist-opportunism.

Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai renounces revolution in Nepal in general, and particular they renounce what the world imperialism, Indian expansionism, comprador and bureaucratic capitalist class hate. Communists must teach proletarians and oppressed masses that revolution is inevitable, must take advantage of existing contradictions in society, launch revolutionary struggle and to make it broader. But Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai is teaching that the revolution is unnecessary and even harmful to the country's existence and workers, peasants. They have suggested, in the present context, we must not shove towards revolution, but we must work sincerely just for reforms within bourgeois boundary.

Prachanda-Baburam faction has been soaked in the spirit of liberal-bourgeois policy. Opportunism of this faction is a very clear example of how opportunism leads to the betrayal of Marxist-Leninist ideology, tactics, organizational line, revolutionary cause. Condemnation of the treachery of Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai must be spread even wider in international and national level. We should expose how fatal is their opportunism and liberal-bourgeois policy.

The proletariat and oppressed masses are struggling against imperialism, expansionism, compradors and bureaucratic capitalist class, feudal class to build new democratic Nepal, But, Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai are building Nepal Compromising with those classes and elements, who are the target of the Nepalese proletariat and oppressed masses. What type of compromise Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai having made with imperialism, expansionism, comprador and bureaucratic classes that is really tantamount to the worst kind of opportunism, treachery and betrayal. We should give full attention Lenin's view regarding this problem. As he says: "A political leader who desires to be useful to the revolutionary proletariat must be able to distinguish *concrete*, cases of compromise that are inexcusable and are an expression of opportunism and *treachery*."¹⁸

Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai have always been and still are wholly concentrated on inventing theoretical and practical compromises with imperialism, expansionism, comprador and bureaucratic capitalist class and not on the revolutionary overthrow of their state power in the country. In the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution it is purely a variety of opportunism.

17 V.I. Lenin, reformism In Russian Social-Democratic Movement", *Collected Works*, Eng. Ed. Progress Publishers Moscow, Fourth printing 1977, Vol.17, P. 229

18 V.I. Lenin, "Left wing communism-An Infantile Disorder", *Collected Works*, Eng. Ed. Progress Publisher Moscow, Third printing 1977, Vol.31, P.37

Therefore, the working class movement cannot exist or develop successfully until Prachanda-Baburam Bhattarai's so-called social reform theory and tactics are not refuted. It means genuine working class movement in Nepal can go ahead in right direction only in an uncompromising struggle against all brands of opportunism, in the present, mainly Prachanda- Baburam and company's rightist opportunism.

While we are talking about the opportunism of Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarai, it is better to synthesis the ideological foundation of their opportunism. The ideological foundations of their opportunism are; abandonment of new democratic revolution, proletarian tactics, Leninist organizational principle and revolutionary method of struggle; adaptation of bourgeois democratic republic, i.e., Loktantrik Ganatantra; making a fetish of bourgeois democratic; renunciation of class view point and class struggle and advocacy of class reconciliation; abandonment of the proletarian internationalism; national capitulationism.

Above noted ideological foundations of Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarai undoubtedly clears that now their opportunism is not just in preliminary stage, I mean, it is not just a deviation, it has developed in rightist liquidationism. Now their opportunism has become more open and broader. On viewpoint of the level of development it has reached in its peak. Describing on fall of opportunist trend into liquidationism, Lenin writes:

"Liquidationism is ideologically *connected with renegacy with the renunciation of the program and tactics*, with opportunism ... liquidationism is not *only* opportunism. The opportunists are leading the party onto a wrong, bourgeois path, the path of liberal-labor policy but they *do not renounce* the party itself, they do not liquidate it. Liquidationism is *that brand* of opportunism which goes to the length of *renouncing* the party"¹⁹

Lenin's definition of liquidationism helps us to understand the falling process of the opportunist deviation and trend of Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarai into the level of reneges very well.

Prachanda, Baburam are encouraging bourgeois view on democracy. They are attempting to translate that ideology (bourgeois view on democracy) into present era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, which is entirely different era. Rise of this era proletarian democracy substituted to bourgeois democracy. Bourgeois

democracy has lost its progressive character, which it has played in long struggle in against of feudalism. They have presented 'development of democracy in twenty-first century' most developed form of proletarian democracy till now. Actually, they are abandoning the instant point of proletarian democracy, which is exclusive democracy in the present era, and are shifting over to that of old (bourgeois) democracy. Like other opportunists they are trying to pull back the wheel of history. Doing so, they are dragging Nepalese proletariats are masses back more than hundred years. It is a simple tendency that opportunism inevitable lead to the conversion of the working-class movement into old type of democracy not into new type of democracy.

Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai have failed to notice (or knowingly they are ignoring this truth) that Marx was working on the problem at time when the progressive bourgeois movements were in frontline of the historical process in the leading state of Europe and like a flame it was extending outside Europe too. In today's world when the world more than one hundred years before has entered into the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, it would be totally wrong even to imagine a progressive bourgeois movement. On the world level old type of bourgeois democracy has turned into reactionary. Forgetting this fact, Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai have substituted the standpoint of the old bourgeois democracy to the democracy of present era. It is their naked shift to the stand point of capitalist class. Abandoning proletarian class stand point and to accept the stand point an old and outmoded class is nothing than opportunism. It is not pardonable.

Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai's opportunism, liquidations can be seen on the question of state and state machinery. They have presented the state as an organ for reconciliation between classes. Their Loktantrik Ganatantra is that type of state. They have put Loktantrik Ganatantra above class. This type of thinking on state goes against the basic idea of Marxism-Leninism in regard to the historical role and the meaning. According to Lenin, "The state is an organ of the rule of a definite class which *cannot* be reconciled with its antipode (the class opposite to it). He has said very clearly state reconciles classes thinking is a "petty-bourgeois and philistine reconciliation" theory. Elaborating, He writes:

"The state is a product and a manifestation of the *irreconcilability* of class antagonisms. The state arises where, when and insofar as class antagonisms objectively *cannot* be reconciled. And, conversely, the existence of the state proves that the class antagonisms are irreconcilable."

19 V.I. Lenin, "Controversial issues", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, Fifth printing 1980, vol. 19, p.151

Further he says;

“According to Marx, the stage could neither have arisen nor maintained has it been possible to reconcile classes. From what the petty-bourgeois and philistine professors and publicists say, with quite frequent and benevolent references to Marx, the state is an organ of class *rule*, an organ for the *oppression* of one class by another; it is the creation of “order”, which legalizes and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the conflict between the classes. In the opinion of the petty-bourgeois politicians, however, order means the reconciliation of classes, and not the oppression of one not depriving the oppressed classes of definite means and methods of struggle to overthrow the oppressors.”²⁰

Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai’s approach over the question of the relation of revolution (new democratic revolution and socialist revolution) to the state is a serious distortion of Marx and Lenin’s ideas on the subject matter. They want to alleviate conflict between class means they want to reconcile between classes. Their whole political line does not deprive the oppressed classes of definite means and methods of struggle to overthrow stage power of comprador-bureaucratic capitalist class and feudal class. Doing so, they have completely abandoned the Marxist-Leninist position and went over to liquidationism.

Likewise, on the question of state machinery, Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai have completely abandoned the Marxist-Leninist position and went over to rightist opportunism. They have totally vulgarized and distorted Marxism-Leninism on this cardinal issue. Carrying on Marxist position on this issue, Lenin says, “The proletarian revolution is impossible without the forcible destruction of the bourgeois state machine and the substitution for it of a *new one*.”²¹

Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai has preached peaceful development of revolution. It means no need to destroy forcibly old state machinery; peacefully it can be transferred from comprador-bureaucratic capitalist and feudal state power to new democratic state power and from imperialist state to socialist state power as before.

Why they are doing this?

Because!

The Marxist-Leninist position on the state

and state machines is completely unacceptable to the opportunists and imperialists. If they accept Marxist-Leninist position on that question, they cannot enter into opportunist and imperialist camp. That is why leaving loophole for opportunists and imperialists they said that new democratic revolution can be achieved as the simple acquisition of a majority. Finally, they became success. Ideologically, philosophically they substituted eclecticism and sophistry for dialectics on the question of state and state machinery. Thus two-line struggle within UCPN (Maoist) between petty-bourgeois eclecticism versus Marxism-Leninism, sophistry versus dialectics, philistine reformism versus proletarian revolution on the question of state and state machines has been ended.

Imperialism, expansionism, comprador and bureaucratic capitalist class, feudal class and revisionists want ten years people’s war be aborted, PLA be dismantled, revolutionary base areas and revolutionary local people’s government be dissolved, proletarian and oppressed masses be diverted from the people’s war and other revolutionary struggles by means of hypocritical, idle and non-committal phrases about peace, CA, and constitution. By planting the hopes of ‘peace and constitution’ as tactics, Prachanda-Baburam Bhattarai lulled and soothed people. They are trying to justify this tactics by arguing, for example, that this tactics does not excludes new democratic revolution and commitments which were done in the imitation of people’s war. Their claim is that ‘peace and constitution’ with certain achievement in establishment of republican system, etc., is possible side by side with revolutionary struggle. Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai’s ‘peace and constitution’ “tactics” must be unmasked by fundamental point of a new democratic peace and constitution program. Their ‘peace and constitution’ “tactics” is a bourgeois lie. The objective of this “tactics” is to divert the proletarians and oppressed masses from the revolutionary struggles for new democratic revolution in country.

Like all other opportunists, Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai like very much Lenin’s these saying: (a) “Reforms do not, of course, exclude revolution”.

Basing themselves on Lenin’s above saying, Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai are trying to justify their reformist policies. Actually, this would be a falsification of Leninism on the question of reform. They have seen just a tree in jungle. Next lines from above quoted statement clears, Lenin’s overall views on reform, he says, “But this is not the point at issue.

20 VI. Lenin, “The state and Revolution”, *Collected works*, eng. ed. Progress publishers Moscow, Fourth printing 1980, Vol.25, P.392-93

21 VI. Lenin, “the proletarian revolution and the renegade Kautsky”, *Collected works* eng. Ed, progress publisher Moscow, third printing 1981, vol. 28, p. 237

The point is that revolutionaries must not exclude *themselves*, not give way to reformism, i.e. that socialists should not substitute reformist work for their revolutionary work.”²²

In the correct assumption of Marxism “reform do not exclude revolution” Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai are excluding themselves from revolution, they are giving way to reformism, they are substituting reformist work for party’s revolutionary work. The transition from people’s war to the peaceful development of revolution will not necessarily eliminate the revolutionary path of revolution. This does not mean the revolutionary base areas, revolutionary local people’s state power, people’s liberation army and their weapons in their hands will necessarily permit themselves to be peacefully disarmed and dismantle. Those achievements of ten years of people’s war should have turned against world imperialism, Indian expansionism, comprador and bureaucratic capitalist class, and feudal class to success new democratic revolution in country.

Lenin has written very well in his short, but by content very powerful article “Once Again About the Duma Cabinet” on 1906 on opportunism. Opportunists always attempt to justify themselves giving some typical type of arguments. According to Lenin opportunists argue to justify their line is that “*we must choose* –between the existing evil and *very small* rectification of it, because the largest number of those who are in general dissatisfied with the existing evil are in favors of this “very small” rectification. And by achieving the small thing, we shall facilitate our struggle for the big one.”

This argument is not trend of any particular opportunist. According to Lenin “this is the fundamental, the typical argument of all opportunists of all over the world”.

Undoubtedly Marxist-Leninists support reforms. But there is basic difference between revolutionary Marxist and opportunist on this question. As Lenin writes: “according to the theory of socialism, i.e., of Marxism ... the real driving force of history is the revolutionary class struggle; reforms are subsidiary because they express unsuccessful attempts to weaken, to blunt this struggle, etc. According to the theory of bourgeois philosophers, the driving force of history of progress is the unity of all elements in society who realize the “imperfections” of certain of its

22 V.I. Lenin, “Bourgeois Pacifism and Socialist Pacifism”, *Collected Works* eng. Ed, progress publisher Moscow, fifth printing 1981, vol. 23, p. 193

institutions. The first theory is materialist; the second is idealist. The first is revolutionary; the second is reformist.”

Further he writes:

“A logical deduction from the second theory is the tactics of ordinary bourgeois progressives: always and everywhere support “what is better”; choose between reaction and the extreme right of the forces that are opposed to reaction. A logical deduction from the first theory is that the advanced class must pursue independent revolutionary tactics... we pursue on independent policy and put forward *only* such reforms as are *undoubtedly* favorable to the interests of the revolutionary struggle.

“Reformist tactics are the *least* likely to secure real reforms. The most effective way to secure real reform is to pursue the tactics of the class struggle. *Actually*, reforms are won as a result of the revolutionary class struggle... they are real only in proportion to the intensity of the class struggle. By merging our slogans with those of the reformist bourgeoisie we weaken the cause of revolution and, Consequently, the *cause* of reforms as well, because we thereby diminish the independence, fortitude and strength of the revolutionary classes.”²³

(b) Once Lenin had said, “the revolution would proceed differently in different countries.”²⁴

The mentioned saying is absolutely correct. Not in the same way revolution can proceed and complete in all countries. According to different socio-economic conditions and level of development, we should determine different strategy and tactics. Imperialists always play with this correct saying of Marxism-Leninism. As Lenin has said opportunists are “a political-detachment of the bourgeoisie, conductors of its influence, and its agents in labor movement.”²⁵

Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai have proved that opportunists are a political detachment of imperialism, expansionism and conductors of their influence in working class movement. Using above view they have distorted Marxism-Leninism and are serving imperialism, expansionism.

(c) Presenting the Marxist view point on relation between ultimate aims and immediate aims, Lenin writes:

23 V.I. Lenin, “once again about the Duma cabinet”, *Collected Works* eng. Ed, progress publisher Moscow, fourth printing 1978, vol. 11, p. 69, 71, 72

24 V.I. Lenin, “First Congress of Working Cossacks”, *Collected Works* Eng. ed., Progress Publisher Moscow, Third printing 1977, Vol. 29, P. 384

25 V.I. Lenin, “The Collapse of the Second International”, *Collected Works* Eng. ed., Progress Publisher Moscow, Third printing 1980, Vol. 21, P. 247

Social basis of opportunism

“We shall not for a moment conceal from him that we stand and will continue to stand for the irreconcilable class struggle against the “masters” of modern society. But a political alignment is determined, not only by ultimate aims but also by immediate aims, not only general views, but also by the pressure of direct practical necessity.”²⁶

All opportunists like very much last sentence of above quoted Lenin’s saying. This is absolutely true to Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai too. Paying lip-service to ultimate aims, they are trying to justify their rightist opportunist line is the product of objective situation, i.e., “pressure of direct practical necessity”. Actually, their claim of the product of objective situation, “pressure of direct necessity” is nothing else than abandonment of ultimate aims, sacrifice of fundamental interests of revolution.

(d) Once criticizing Kamenev and some others Lenin had said, “our theory is not a dogma, but a guide to action”, Marx and Engels always said rightly ridiculing the mere memorizing and repetition of “formulas” that at best are capable only of marking out *general* tasks, which are necessarily modifiable by the *concrete* economic and political conditions of each particular period of the historical process... it is essential to grasp the incontestable truth that a Marxist must ... not continue to cling to a theory of yesterday ...”²⁷

Referring Marx and Engels, what Lenin has said and what he has emphasized here is absolutely correct. But, opportunists always try to discard this truth of Marxist-Leninist theory, not to enrich it by practice. The same Parchanda-Baburam is doing. They are not in against of continue to cling to a theory of yesterday, but to discard theory of today they are using this truth. In the name of globalized imperialism, they have discarded Lenin’s analysis of imperialism, they have discarded Lenin’s proletarian strategy and tactics based on that analysis, they have discarded the historical task of national liberation. In the name of international and domestic particular situation they ended ten years glorious people’s war, dissolved revolutionary base areas, dismantled revolutionary local state power, dismantled people’s liberation army etc. In the name of the concrete economic and political conditions they abandoned new democratic revolution, and accepted bourgeois republic with multiparty system.

Nothing can come into existence or grown up in society without strong and dependable social base. This is absolutely true to the rise of opportunism in the communist movement. The rise of opportunism in the working-class movement is imperialism. Imperialism is the social basis of opportunism. Whenever economically became possible, giving a small part from their high monopoly profits to bribe certain sections, especially a part of higher strata of the working-class, gradually opportunism arose in the working-class movement. Lenin has given a historical materialistic analysis on this problem. As he says:

“For forty years, from 1852 to 1892, Marx and Engels spoke of part (i.e., the top strata, the leaders, the “aristocracy”) of the workers in Britain, *becoming increasingly bourgeois, owing to* that countries colonial advantages and her monopolies. It is clear as daylight that the twentieth-century imperialist monopolies in a number of other countries were bound to create the same phenomenon as in Britain. In all the advanced countries, we see corruption, bribery, desertion to the bourgeoisie by the *leaders of the working class* and its *top strata* in consequence of the doles handed out by the bourgeoisie, who provides these leaders with “soft jobs”, give crumbs from their profits to these upper strata, shift the burden of the worst paid and hardest work to backward workers brought into the country, and enhance the privileges of the “Labor Aristocracy” as compared with the majority of the working class.”²⁸

On the social basis of opportunism, Lenin writes:

“The fundamental *Idea* of opportunism is an alliance or a drawing together...between the bourgeoisie and its antipode... we must take as our basis, not individuals or groups, but a *class* analysis of the content of social *trends*, and an ideological and political examination of their essential and main principles.”²⁹

Likewise further he says:

“It is generally agreed that opportunism is no chance occurrence, sin, slip, or treachery on the part of individuals, but a social product of entire period

26 V.I. Lenin, “Review of Home Affairs”, *Collected Works* Eng. ed., Progress Publisher Moscow, Fifth printing 1977, Vol. 5, P. 301

27 V.I. Lenin, “Letter on Tactics” *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishes, Moscow, Fourth printing 1980, Vol. 24, Pp.43, 45

28 V.I. Lenin, “How the Bourgeoisie Utilizes Renegades”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Third printing 1977, Vol. 30, P.34

29 V.I. Lenin, “Under a False Flag”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, Third printing 1980, Vol. 21, P. 154

of history. The significance of this truth is not always given sufficient thought.”³⁰

There is another strong social-economic base to rise to opportunism in the working-class movements. Like our semi (or neo) colonial, semi-feudal countries petty-bourgeois mentality, in the strength of small production is a reality. Small production is still very very widespread and deep rooted in such type of countries. Inside party or in society, this type of production, system continuously engenders petty-bourgeois mentality and that type of thinking in persons or in blocks. For the abolition of that type of thinking, promise and take a party membership is not enough. Comparatively it is easy job. Taking party membership and promising on Marxist-Leninist principles, petty-bourgeois way of thinking cannot be driven out; party member should live in harmony with petty-bourgeoisie way of thinking and its strength of small production for a long time. That is why, in such a petty-bourgeois country as Nepal, in the period of New Democratic Revolutions, inevitable emerges different thinking which, in its views, tactics, and organizational line reflects the opportunist tendencies of the petty-bourgeoisies.

The deviation in its views, tactics, and organizational line from Marxism-Leninism-Maoism of Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarai is not accidental, not of their evil will, but of the historical situation of the working class movement in imperialism, we should see class origin and economic reason of this deviation. Actually, the deviation of Prachanda, Baburam Bhattarai from Marxist-Leninist-Maoist views, tactics, and organizational line is generated by bourgeois influence over them, and petty-bourgeois condition of our country. Lenin has given a Marxist analysis on the causes that periodically give rise to difference on the Marxist analysis theory, tactics, and organizational line in like our countries. In this regard, he has emphasized on two constant sources: firstly backward economic relations. Lenin views that backward economic relations always lead to most of party members to assimilate any certain aspects Marxism. As he says:

“Economic relations which are backward, or which lag in their development, constantly lead to the appearance of supporters of Marxism, only certain parts of the new world outlook, or individual slogans and demands, being unable to make a determined break with all the traditions of the bourgeois world outlook in general and the

bourgeois-democratic world outlook in particular.”

Secondly, the fundamental nature of social development is dialectical. Marxism is a theory of Social practice in general and the theory of the living history of capitalism and the working class movements in particular. It is very difficult to learn from the basic contradictions of capitalism, imperialism for everyone. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is a teaching of these contradictions. It is developed in contradictions and through contradictions. We should not expect supporter masses learn from (Marxist) theory, actually they learn from life. This situation is contradictory itself. This is the second cause which gave and gives to difference on theory, tactics, and organizational line in the working class movement. Lenin sheds light on the second source:

“Again, a constant source of differences the dialectical nature of social development, which proceeds in contradictions through contradictions. Capitalism is progressive because it destroys the old method of production and develops productive forces, yet at the same times, at certain, at a certain stage of development, it retards the growth of productive forces. It develops, organizes, and disciplines the workers and it crushes, oppress, leads to degeneration, poverty, etc. Capitalism creates its own grave-digger, itself creates the elements of new system yet, at the same time, without a “leap” these elements change nothing in the general state of affairs and do not affect the rule of capital. It is Marxism, the theory dialectical materialism, than is able to encompass these contradictions of living reality, of the living history of capitalism and the working-class movement. But, needless to say, the masses learn from life not from books, and therefore certain individuals or groups constantly exaggerate, elevates to a one sided theory, to a one sided system of tactics, now and now another feature of capitalist development, now one and now another “Lesson” of this development.”³¹

-4-

Building of a new Party: A historical responsibility of Nepalese proletariat

Basing own self on above analysis, we should realize this fact that Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarai liquidated a proletarian party into a bourgeois party, class struggle into class capitulation,

30 V.I. Lenin, “The Collapse of the Second International”, *Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, Third printing 1980, Vol. 21, P. 247

31 V.I. Lenin “Difference in the European Labour Movement”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, Fourth printing 1977, Vol.16, P.348-49.

national struggle into national capitulation, new-democratic revolution into old type of bourgeois revolution. In this context, what is the historical responsibility of Nepalese proletariat? Correct answer of this question has a strong and dependable relation with revolution in Nepal.

In history of the world communist movement, and as well as in history of Nepalese communist movement; whenever this type of problem arose, revolutionaries have taken a bold and correct decision in guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In the history of international communist movement revolutionary communists have handled this type of problem time and again successfully. We can take Leninism as our guide in this regard. Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Opportunism, revisionism is the product of imperialism. It means, only Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, which is Leninism, can handle perfectly and successfully this problem basically. Under the guidance of Leninism Maotse-Tung had lunched the historical struggle in against modern revisionism.

From the world history of working-class movement we can draw a political conclusion against opportunism is that no concession to it. Lenin has clearly said, "The growth of the working-class movement necessarily attracts to its ranks a certain number of petty-bourgeois elements, people who are under the spell of bourgeois ideology, who find it difficult to rid themselves of that ideology and continually lapse back into it. We cannot conceive of the social revolution being accomplished by the proletariat without this struggle, without clear demarcation on questions of principle between the socialist mountain and the socialist Gironde *prior* to this revolution, and without a complete break between the opportunist, petty-bourgeois elements and the proletarian, revolutionary elements of the new historic force *during* this revolution."³²

Further he says:

"One of the necessary conditions for preparing the proletariat for its victory is along, stubborn and ruthless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social-chauvinism, and similar bourgeois influences and trends."³³

According to Lenin we "Cannot be victorious unless this evil is combated, unless the opportunist,

social-traitor leaders are exposed, discredited and expelled."³⁴

Above quotations from Lenin two main things become clear, ideologically, politically, and organizationally, which are of great importance. Firstly, to be victorious in struggle to attain great aim of communism, uncompromised, stubborn and ruthless struggle against all types of opportunism is the first condition. Secondly, only struggle with that type of elements and trend is not enough to attain great aims, we should accept that struggle necessarily leads to the break organizationally. Synthesizing Lenin's teaching of struggle against opportunism (rightist and anarcho-syndicalist) reformism, social-chauvinism and other bourgeois influences and trend is that, that struggle necessarily leads to the break organizationally. That is why, we can say that those who realize this truth they have been mastered on the essence of Lenin's teaching of the struggle against opportunism.

It does not mean that in every step, in every stage Lenin's teaching on this subject is in favor of split. Only "*in principle*" unquestionably, Leninism advocates of split with opportunism.³⁵ Proletariats are always a close neighbor to the petty-bourgeoisie. In the present world small production is wide-spread and deep rooted. In this context, it is not possible to place separate own self to proletariat from the social bases of opportunism. It mean, in practice we cannot reject temporary alliances with that type of elements. How long opportunism is just a current of opinion, a tendency in the party, it is unwise to demand immediate split. But, whenever opportunism becomes the organized tool of the bourgeoisie within the party than revolutionary leaders and cadres must demand a complete break with opportunism. Giving dialectical materialistic solution to this problem, Lenin says:

"While capitalism persists, the proletariat will always be a close neighbor to the petty bourgeoisie it is sometimes unwise to reject temporary alliances with the latter, but unity with them, *unity* with the opportunists can be defended *at present* only by the enemies of the proletariat or hoodwinked traditionalists of a bygone period."³⁶

Further he says:

"This does not mean that an immediate break

32 V.I. Lenin, "Reformism and the Russian Social-Democratic Movement", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers Moscow, Fourth printing 1977, Vol. 17, P. 230.

33 V.I. Lenin, "Reformism Elections and Dictatorship of the Proletariat", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers Moscow, Third printing 1977, Vol. 30, P. 275.

34 V.I. Lenin, "Left-Wing", communism-An Infantile Disorders", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers Moscow, Third printing 1977, Vol. 31, P. 43.

35 V.I. Lenin, "To David Wijnkoop", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers Moscow, Fourth printing 1980, Vol. 35, P. 197.

36 V.I. Lenin, "What Next", *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers Moscow, Fourth printing 1980, Vol. 21, P. 111.

with the opportunists is possible everywhere; it means only that historically this break is imminent; that it is necessary and inevitable for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat; the history, which has led us from us “Peaceful” capitalism to imperialist capitalism, has paved the way for this break.”³⁷

Following Lenin’s teaching on struggle against opportunism in party, couple of years we stayed together. We did not break relations with them. But we were very clear on that principally, we need to break relation. Whenever the opportunism of Prachanda-Baburam from just a current of opinion, a tendency changed into an organized tool of the bourgeoisie within the party it was unwise to continue prior position of temporary alliances with them. That is why, once again following teaching on struggle against opportunism we decided to a complete break with the opportunism of Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarai. According to the historical needs we formed party –it is named Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist. So many sincere comrades and our supporters think that splitting from the party we went far away. Actually, it was not a split; it was the creation of a new, revolutionary party. Not to have seen this must have been blind.

Revolutionary leaders, cadres and sympathizers join whole-heartedly in this great campaign of disengagement with opportunist faction of UCPN (Maoist) and build the new party CPN (Maoist). This disengagement will surely serve to strengthen the revolutionary Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which alone can guide the patriotic and democratic forces of Nepal towards right direction and resist the attacks of eternally old and modern revisionism that is recurrently making its clumsy appearance in new guise of Prachanda and Baburam Bhattarai. This new party building well serve to strengthen the bonds between the thousand of revolutionary cadres, people’s war veterans where are devoting all their life to the country and people.

In our Party and movement, rightist- opportunism, revisionism in deeds not merely in words, first, theoretical work must be resumed; second, must actively oppose illusions and vacillation in the practical movement, exposing and repudiating every attempt to degrade party program and tactics by opportunist Prachanda-Baburam group; third, Marxist-Leninist organizational principle must be revived; fourth, must revive the independence program and tactics of revolution; fifth, uncompromis-

ing struggle against world imperialism, Indian expansionism comprador and bureaucratic capitalist class, feudal class must be ended and violent path of revolution must be revived. Without such work to defeat rightist-opportunism and success of new democratic revolution is not possible.

Nepalese masses are not intimidate by the terrible intention of imperialism, expansionism. World proletariat and oppressed masses are with them. They do not expect to make deals with imperialism, expansionism, comprador and bureaucratic capitalist class, feudal class. They are not asking for petty concessions. Actually they want to set up a new democratic dictatorship under the leadership of proletariat class in alliance with all patriotic and democratic forces crushing present comprador-bureaucratic and feudal dictatorship. Building of Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist is good news for them in this regards.

Disengagement of leaders, cadres and supporters was a revolt with great vigor against the neo-revisionism to Prachanda-Baburam Bhattarai. Without the exposure evil, working-class aristocracy, the privileges of upper stratum of workers there can be no possibility of revolution. Without the uncompromised struggle against opportunism revisionism which is sided with imperialism, expansionism, comprador and a bureaucratic class, feudal class and against proletariat class and patriotic and democratic forces. To fulfill this historical task it was urgent to break relation with the neo-revisionist faction of Prachanda-Baburam Bhattarai organizationally.

Despite Prachanda-Baburam Bhattarai’s attempts Nepalese working class and oppressed masses will always and invariably put the spirit of devotion to new democratic revolution and socialist revolution.

CPN-Maoist has taken the responsibility to organize and gather its forces for revolution. It will repulse the traitors and renegades of revolution.

At last, the outcome of the dialectical development of inner party struggle has been completed a revolution, i.e., born of new true Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party, Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist. But, we should clear on that it is just a start, not completion. A lot ahead has to be done.

August 10, 2012

37 V.I. Lenin, “What Next”, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers Moscow, Fourth printing 1980, Vol. 21, P. 111.



Communist Party of Nepal–Maoist

Central Committee



Press Communiqué

A national convention of the revolutionary faction of the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) successfully held on June 16-18, 2012 concluded amid inaugural session, closed session and concluding session in the premises of Sherpa Sewa Samaj building in Bouddha, Kathmandu. The programmes run in the historic national convention in which several important decisions have been taken are as follows.

1. Inaugural session:

- a. Conducted by comrade C. P. Gajurel, secretary of the UCPN (Maoist), a grand inaugural session, in which there was a huge participation of the masses along with party general secretary comrade Badal, standing committee members comrade Dev Gurung and comrade Netra Bikram Chand, politburo members, central committee members and members of the central advisory committee, was held under the chair of vice chairman comrade Kiran.
- b. The inaugural session began with lively and enthusiastic singing of the International by Samana cultural troupe.
- c. A one-minute silence was observed to pay emotional tributes to martyrs, who attained martyrdom in the glorious People's War and various other people's movements.
- d. Vice Chairman comrade Kiran formally inaugurated the convention by lighting a traditional oil-fed lamp and delivered a speech shedding light on the need to build a new type of communist party by breaking relationship with the opportunist group.
- e. Standing committee member comrade Netra Bikram Chand (Biplab) delivered a welcome speech and shed light on the significance of the convention.
- f. Chairman of All Nepal Dalit Liberation Front comrade Tilak Pariyar, chairman of Madhesi Liberation Front comrade Krishnadev Singh Danuwar, chairperson of All Nepal Women's Association (Revolutionary) comrade Jayapuri Ghartimagar, chairman of Federation of All Nepal Indigenous Nationalities comrade Suresh Alemagar, chairman of the Association of Families of Disappeared during the People's War comrade Ekraj Bhandari, comrade Parbat on behalf of the association of wounded and disabled fighters during People's War etc. delivered their speeches wishing for the success of the convention.
- g. The inaugural session was, then, declared concluded.

2. Closed Session:

Chaired by comrade Mohan Baidya 'Kiran', the senior chairman of our party, the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), and conducted by the general secretary Ram Bahadur Thapa 'Badal', the closed session of the national convention of the revolutionary faction of our great and glorious party, was started from the early morning. In the closed session, discussion and deliberation were held on the proposed agenda in a democratic atmosphere and the decisions taken are as follows:

- a. Comrade Kiran presented the political report on behalf of the central committee and shed light on it in brief.
- b. Politburo member Pampha Bhusal read out the political report.
- c. Standing committee member Dev Gurung presented the interim constitution of the party.
- d. Politburo member Hitman Shakya 'Suman' announced the central committee decision of dividing the participants in 21 groups to systematise discussion on the political report and party's interim constitution and accordingly group-wise discussion proceeded.
- e. The team leaders of different groups presented the conclusion of the discussion and their suggestions in the Convention. Comrade Prithivi Karki from group one, Comrade Sharada Pokhrel from group two, comrade Mousam from group three, comrade Roshan Janakpuri from group four, comrade Suvas from group five, comrade Dhiran from group six, comrade Laxmi Mudbari from group seven, comrade Sudip from group



Photographs of the Press Conference (CPN-Maoist)

eight, comrade Birgunj from group nine, comrade Gunaraj Lohani from group ten, comrade Ajit Singh from group eleven, comrade Indrajit Tharu from group twelve, comrade Akhanda from group thirteen, comrade Gambhir from group fourteen, comrade Sarad Singh Bhandari from group fifteen, comrade Ishwar Chandra Gyawali from group sixteen, comrade Laxman Pant from group seventeen, comrade Ramdip Acharya from group eighteen, comrade Ekraj Bhandari from group nineteen, comrade Udaya Chalaune from group twenty, comrade Hasta Bahadur KC from group twenty-one presented the views and suggestions of their respective groups on the political report and the interim constitution in which there was general agreement in the basic spirit and essence of the political report.

- f. Following the presentation of suggestions from different groups, a meeting of the central committee of the ideological faction was held and it decided to respect the opinions and views presented by different groups and accordingly enrich the political report and the interim constitution by incorporating important suggestions.
- g. Based on the position of central committee, vice chairman comrade Kiran presented his clarification on the political report. Similarly, standing committee member comrade Dev Gurung presented necessary clarification on the interim constitution.
- h. General Secretary comrade Ram Bahadur Thapa 'Badal' placed the political report and interim constitution for adoption before the national Convention. And the National Convention adopted both the proposals unanimously.
- i) The salient features and the conclusion of the political report can be presented as follows.
 - Firstly, the report has analyzed the present national situation. The main reasons behind the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly without writing constitution are said to be the inaction and incompetence of the principal leaders of the big parties in addition to the domestic and foreign reactionary conspiracy. Admitting that the contradiction between comprador, bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal class and Indian expansionism at one pole and the broad Nepalese people at the other is the principal contradiction, the political report has, thus, stressed on the need to raise strong voice in defence of national independence. Similarly, analyzing the international situation, it is stated that the contradiction between the imperialism and the oppressed nations is the principal contradiction at present. In this course, the report says that the United States of America and other imperialist countries have undergone economic crisis; it has had serious negative impact on the life of the people all across the world and it has hinted that this situation is leading to create a multi-polar world. And accepting that the subjective forces are weak compared to the objective situation, it has laid special emphasis on the need to create that kind of strength on the part of genuine revolutionary communist parties in the world.
 - The report has summed up the events developed after the initiation of great People's War, the party task and revolution. They are as follows:

1. Even though the policy that the Second National Conference had adopted vis-à-vis the all party conference, interim government and writing of the constitution under its leadership was basically correct as a tactic, but the report has drawn up a conclusion that it had opened up the door for the party to get entrapped in opportunism and it has concluded that the naming of the series of ideas developed in the form of centralized expression of the collective leadership in the form of Prachanda Path has been proved to be wrong through practice.
2. In the draft proposal of Democracy of the 21st century, the Central Committee had accepted that the role of friendly parties will be competitive not only cooperative. But in course of peace talk, it seemed that party started to compete politically with the other forces, which are not friendly. So it has been concluded that the main objective of presenting that proposal in the Central Committee was to give up the goal of people's democratic and proletariat state power. Also, it has been concluded that it is necessary to develop democracy in the Communist Party, People's Liberation Army and the New State.
3. In the backdrop when the democratic republic adopted as a tactic by Chunwang meeting has turned into strategy and showing the Chunwang position that the analysis of imperialism by Lenin and Mao has lagged behind, the strategic adoption of the old parliamentary politics by saying that there is a need to develop strategy and tactic in a new way has been concluded to be wrong.
4. Without guaranteeing to establish the achievement of People's War and Mass Movement, the hasty compromise reached in the agreements including 12-point, 8-point, Comprehensive Peace Agreement etc. has seriously hurt at the credence and value of the Nepalese revolution, people's war and the Nepalese people's expectation and aspiration of transformation. In the process of revolution agreements can and should be made. But, while doing so, one must not have betrayed the interest of the proletariat, masses of the people and revolution as well. However, the same has happened.
5. Party's revolutionary faction has been working hard to correct every mistake, weakness and deviation and in this respect the conventions and the meetings including in Kharipati and Palungtar have played important role in this regard.
6. The creation of People's Liberation Army, establishment of base areas and people's government, role played by workers, peasants, women, indigenous nationalities and Dalits; and the awareness developed in this whole process are some of the major achievements we have gained and taking all these in a positive sense a conclusion has been drawn up that we have to move forward by standing upon this base.
7. One of the main decisions made by this historical national convention is that there is a serious right neo-revisionist deviation in both Prachanda and Baburam. Admitting that they had played a positive role in the course of revolution and the great people's war, a conclusion has been drawn up that they have undergone a serious deviation in the later period. This kind of deviation has surfaced in every realm of theory, politics, philosophy, strategy, tactics and conduct as well. In the situation when this deviation has been manifested in rightist liquidationism, class and national capitulationism and when the party has been changing its colour it has been decided that the formation of a new type of the communist party is a must. And, realizing the fact that there are several revolutionary comrades within this neo-revisionist group, we have taken up decision to appeal all of them to be a part of the revolutionary current by rebelling from such opportunism.
8. It has been decided to organise Party Congress on the coming February 12, 2013. Also it has been decided to keep the door for unity open till the Party Congress if the leadership of the neo-revisionist group corrects the mistakes and transforms oneself.
9. The convention has decided to defend the present achievements like republic, federalism and secularism. And in the present situation when the country is still in a semi-feudal, semi-colonial and neo-colonial condition, admitting that the need to make a new democratic revolution in Nepal is a must, the convention has decided to go along the process of revolution. In the present context, the establishment of People's Federal Republic and the question of defending National independence have been adopted as the main political tactics.
10. When the dreams of workers, peasants, women, Dalits, indigenous nationalities and the masses of the oppressed region manifested in the great people's war, mass movements, Madhesh movements and the same conducted by indigenous nationalities and the masses from the oppressed region have not been fulfilled and when the domestic and foreign reactionaries and also the opportunists from the party have betrayed the process of writing constitution, a decision has been taken to march

ahead along the direction of preparation of Nepalese revolution through people's insurrection by taking up the issues of class emancipation, the federalism with identity, inclusive proportional representation, privilege and the prerogative etc.

11. Paying attention to the worthlessness of the reinstatement and re-election of the CA in the present context when the CA has been dissolved, it has been decided that the tactic of All Party Round Table Assembly, United Interim Government and the new political way out through this is the correct tactic and it should be made complementary to the main tactic of People's Federal Republic and the defence of national independence.
12. By way of waging ideological struggle against neo-revisionism, the convention has taken decision of organising a systematic, disciplined and revolutionary party, preparing a code of conduct from the CC and firmly implementing it and systematizing people's volunteers and mass organisations. Also, a decision has been taken to build a united front comprising of the forces including patriots, republicans, leftists and pro-federalism forces.
13. Decisions have been taken to wage struggle for organising Roundtable Assembly, building United Interim Government, developing immediate tactics for the new political way out, defending national independence, providing full respite to the martyr's families, making public the fighters disappeared by the state during people's war, conducting resistance struggle against corrupted and comprador elements, resolving the burning problems of people's livelihood and controlling price-hike and corruption.
14. The main aspects of the party's interim constitution adopted by the Convention are as follows:
 - The guiding principle of party will be Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.
 - The party which is being organised by breaking relations with opportunists will be named as the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist.
 - The tasks related to Party organization, mass organisations, department etc. will be systematised, party will be made well-disciplined and militant on the basis of collective decision and committee system. Financial transparency and audit system will be emphasised.
15. After the political resolution and interim constitution of the party were adopted, the central committee meeting was held with the chairmanship of the eldest member Comrade Ishwori Dahal i.e. Ashare Kaka. The meeting elected Comrade Kiran as Chairman, Comrade Badal as General Secretary, Comrade C. P. Gajurel as Secretary, Comrade Dev Gurung and Comrade Netra Bikram Chand as Standing Committee Members and also decided to continue with the same Polite Bureau Members, CCMs, and the Advisory Committee members who were since before in the revolutionary faction. And, it was decided to float a proposal for the mandate to include more comrades in the CC.
16. Comrade Ram Bahadur Thapa presented the decision adopted by the CC before the National Convention for adoption and all those decisions were adopted unanimously.
17. Comrade C. P. Gajurel presented the proposal on current issues and it was adopted unanimously.

3. Closing Session

- a. Finally, the National Convention was concluded. In this concluding session Comrade Kunta Sharma from advisory committee, Comrade Takma K.C. from the martyr's family, Comrade Bishnu Pukar Shrestha from intellectual, and Comrade Maila Lama from the Cultural Front delivered their best wishes and happiness for the success of the Convention. At last, Comrade Kiran, along with his commitment to firmly propelling the party task and revolution forward, delivered his concluding speech by saying thanks to all who contributed for the success of the Convention.
- b. At the last, the programme was concluded with chanting of the revolutionary slogans in an emotional and animated atmosphere.

Dated: June 19, 2012

With revolutionary Salute!



Ram Bahadur Thapa 'Badal'
General Secretary
CPN-Maoist



Mohan Baidya 'Kiran'
Chairman
CPN-Maoist