

Basanta: On Strategy and Tactics

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The success of 19 days mass movement that had stood upon the foundation of 10 years of great people's war waged under the leadership of our party, the CPN (Maoist), and the support of 12-point agreement has brought the monarchy, which ruled for about 250 years, to an end and Nepal has entered into federal democratic republic. The establishment of federal democratic republic of Nepal is the result of persistent struggle waged by the Nepali people against monarchy since decades, and it is not an ordinary achievement. It is a significant tactical achievement; it is not and cannot be a strategic accomplishment. However, there have been differences on the question of understanding this achievement in the party and the broad masses as well. If this tactical achievement is comprehended as the strategic one, that can be nothing other than following status quo.

The strategic goal of any revolution waged under the leadership of the party of the proletariat is to resolve the fundamental contradictions prevailing in the then society. Among those fundamental contradictions, one of them becomes principal at a certain juncture of class struggle and the party decides the immediate tactic to resolve that principal contradiction. The instantaneous political slogan and the specific form of struggle are decided on the basis of very political tactic. The contradictions related to class, region, nation and sex in the Nepalese society are the basic contradictions originated as a result of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial socio-economic condition of Nepal. Therefore, without getting rid of feudalism and imperialism and Indian expansionism in our particular situation can in no way be achieved the minimum strategic goal of the Nepalese people's revolution.

Our party's formulation in Unity Congress that only by achieving decisive victory upon the domestic reaction comprised of feudal, comprador and bureaucratic capitalist class protected by Indian expansionism can the minimum strategic goal of Nepalese people's revolution be achieved is equally relevant even today. Although the monarchy that had been leading the domestic reaction has been ended and establishment of federal democratic republic has brought about significant changes in the power balance of the reactionary and revolutionary classes in Nepal, but it has not given rise to any change in the strategy of Nepalese people's revolution. However, the change in the power balance within the reactionary and revolutionary classes has demanded the need to develop tactic on the basis of concrete analysis of the concrete condition but not to apply the old tactic in the same way as before. In this situation, whether or not our party can develop tactic on the basis of concrete analysis of the concrete condition decides on whether or not it can lead revolution to decisive victory.

In general, communist party does not make any mistake in determining the strategy of proletarian revolution. To establish people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat after feudalism and imperialism is brought to an end in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries and to establish dictatorship of the proletariat after decisive victory upon the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries are the basic strategies of the proletariat. Those who do not agree with these basic strategies in accordance with the socio-economic condition of the given country cannot basically be communist parties. In this sense, the ideological and political debate, which takes place in the communist movement and a certain communist party, is centred always not in strategy but in tactic. Again, the tactic of a party cannot be an outcome of the academic exercise of a certain leader. It is a question that is decided by concrete analysis of the concrete condition based on dialectical materialism.

In our own context, the tactic of democratic republic that the Second National Conference had indicated to in general and Chunwang Meeting had concretised in particular has been accomplished successfully. This success, establishing our party as the largest one through the Constituent Assembly election, has made us reach to the position of leading the coalition government. The example of a communist party leading revolution from the government is found nowhere in the history of the world communist

movement. Protecting the achievements acquired in this situation, to make the revolution reach to a decisive victory, is in itself a mammoth ideological challenge also.

On the one hand, we have said that the Nepalese revolution is in the stage of strategic offensive and, on the other, we are leading the government also. From this situation, which in itself seems contradictory, it is necessary to develop a series of scientific tactic that can make the Nepalese revolution reach to victory by bringing the feudalism and imperialism to an end.

Only by developing tactic that agrees with international power balance and the domestic ground reality can we reach to the strategic goal of people's revolution. In order to develop that kind of tactic, we have to refrain from two kinds of dangers. First is the danger of going towards reformism that can arise because of the objective situation in which there is intensive and extensive encirclement of imperialism and Indian expansionism, the international communist movement is in defensive condition and right revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement and our own obligatory situation in which we have to implement reformist programmes to fulfil people's expectations to some extent because our party is leading the government. Second is the dogmatic left-sectarian danger that may go, in the name of protecting from the danger of reformism, towards formulating insurrectionary tactic of Lenin's or Mao's style by forgetting the aforesaid ground reality. In the present situation, the first one is the main danger. However, refraining from these two kinds of dangers we can develop objective tactic that can help us seize the central power by means of people's rebellion of Nepalese originality from the present stage of strategic offensive.

We have arrived at a very much piercing and sensitive state of Nepalese revolution. Now, on the one hand, the imperialist plunderers and reactionary forces the world over are encircling from all around to sabotage people's revolution and, on the other, the oppressed classes are looking forward the success of revolution in Nepal to open the door of world proletarian revolution in the first decade of the 21st century. Only by developing Marxist-Leninist-Maoist tactic based on concrete analysis of the concrete condition can we accomplish Nepalese people's revolution and by so doing can the expectation from us of the international proletariat be fulfilled.

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