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Question of United Front, People's Revolt & Tactical Line

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Friend Mao has defined party, people's army and united front to be the three magic weapons for revolution. In the process of developing these three magical weapons in Nepal, the Nepalese communist movement has been victim of 'tailism' instead of developing its proletarian policy and slogans in its independent way to uplift the class struggle in a new way.

An obligatory situation is created before the proletarian class to centralize its target against the main enemy for the protection of class interest and its achievements on account of development of revolution.

For this, the tactical unity becomes necessary to fulfill the task and there remains no option than to make alliance with the relatively friend forces and elements at that time. At this time, the conscious efforts can less or accelerate the speed of the objective situation. However; it can not play a decisive role. The weakness of the communist movement of Nepal is to seek the united front without making an independent current of the proletarian class. However; CPN-Maoist, at that time in 1996, developed its ideological line by fighting against the tides of time.

The parliamentary parties were the main enemies of the People's War. It does not mean that there was not palace; however, the task of palace at that time had to pretend to be in favor of the people to be established and to fight against Singdurbar (parliament); which had confiscated the authority of the palace, and diplomatically it had to fight against Indian intervention.

At the same time, for the then CPN-Maoist the main responsibility was to protect people's war by fighting against main enemy and naturalizing the secondary antagonistic forces. In this situation, the effective efforts were taken to make access to the then King Birendra through his junior brother prince Dhirendra for neutralizing the palace and the elements around it.

This surprising task was not developed in a day and this undeclared tactical unity protected the people war from being crushed in its childhood. When King Gyandendra, after the massacre of the family of King Birendra, took reign in his hand and acted against parliamentary parties.

And, at that time, Maoist analyzed the situation and finalized the changing main contradiction. Then, Maoist party made tactical unity with parliamentary forces. They were eager to come with Maoist because they themselves had no existence without forming the tactical unity with us.

United front between Maoist and parliamentary parties was formed to advance ahead. The achievement of the forming of united front was to abolish monarchy and build Constituent Assembly through the election of CA.

Now the stipulated date CA has been ended and new debates are going on about its legality, and the achievements it has gained. Constituent Assembly itself is the united front of Maoist and the parliamentary parties. This made republic of Nepal to be declared. It established the progressive issues and slogans to carry the nation ahead. Simultaneously, it established Maoist party inside and outside the country. In the situation of the defeat of feudalism, the contradiction has been changed and the main contradiction is between Nepalese people and the comprador capitalist.

This clearly shows that no possibilities have been remained for continuing or making united front between Maoist and parliamentary parties. It is not even necessary because the base for co-work has been ended. That's why; Nepali Congress and UML are insisting not to withdraw the majority system. The base, in principle, for conducting united front is the system of consensus started from the 12-point understanding.

Therefore, the application of majority system, instead of the system of consensus, is its death. The united front has become dead when the parties agreed to go into the majority system. Maoist and parliamentary parties were in the united front that is constituent assembly.

However; the vital posts like Chairman of CA, Prime Minister and President of the nation, all were elected on the basis of majority system. The parliamentary parties were scared when the Maoist agendas were passed in the subjective committees of Constituent Assembly like State Restructuring Committee, Natural Resources Allocation Committee and others.

They vasectomized the subjective committees by demanding to form the commission out of constituent assembly. That was to limit the scope of CA. The suitability of the CA has been ended when the parliamentary parties were not ready to allow discussing over the resolution paper which was against the unconstitutional step of President Ram Baran Yadav.

The comprador capitalist class has its majority in constituent assembly. It has its own leadership, which is the continuation in practice of old state power. Therefore, it is clear that the constituent assembly has been usurped by the comprador capitalist class.

If we go back to international communist movement, the election of the constituent assembly was held after the success of October Revolution in the then USSR; however; the reactionary and revisionist classes got majority in the CA Lenin dissolved and carried the revolutionary process ahead.

In Nepal, republic has been declared through the constituent assembly. It helped to establish the policies and programmes of Maoist party. However; it has ended its possibility to advance ahead from there. Hereafter, the CA has been only a safeguard for status quo. Therefore, it is necessary to build a new type of united front against comprador capitalist by dissolving the old united front.

How the new type of united front can be made? For that, we should put forward our ideological line and the programmes according to it. Along with it, the class struggle should be uplifted. Along with the progress of struggle, the representatives of the Indian ruling class will be defeated.

And, Indian rulers may interfere directly in the internal affairs of Nepal. In that situation, the international communities may make their decision to free Nepal from the direct intervention of India at first. A serious but objective question will rise whether accept Maoist as the leadership or to accept Indian colonial rule.

The debate will spread all walks of life. At that time, handful elements may be against Maoist and they will follow the root of capitulation. However; the majority circle will be ready to make alliance with Maoist. Therefore, the possibility of forming a new type of united front against comprador capitalist will approach only after this type of objective situation is made.

In the present context, the international communities are not preferring the increasing intervention if India ruling class in Nepal. But the intervention of Indian rulers over Nepal has not given bad impact in their interest till now. In this sense, they can support Maoist so long as it follows the bourgeois republic but they will not support to go ahead from there. Likewise, if the interest and ambition of the old army lies in the status quo constitution, there is no objective cause to come them in the united front of Maoist.

Organizationally, there won't be any preparation if the obligatory situation won't occur for rectification within organization due to the need of struggle. The way of forming a new type of united front is possible only after the breakthrough in old continuous process of struggle.

Therefore, to talk to extend the term of CA by showing the un-preparation of organizational, international and material force is only deception. The preparation we have made in the present situation is enough to us. It will develop along with the development of class struggle.

There is a type of debate that, so long as, there are questions related to CA, proletarian class in Nepal. Some say that Maoists should go ahead by using CA as a curtain for the preparation of the struggle. If so, why there has been

no preparation in this period because there is CA. We should evaluate it objectively and correctly. Actually, the preparation will be done in the class struggle when Maoist comes out of the circle of parliamentary legality.

Other new process can not be started if the running process is not broken down. The tendency to see suitability of CA is the tendency to maintain united front with comprador capitalist and Indian expansionism for a long time. That is to say that the tactical series of the Chunwang meeting is still to be implemented.

In our Kharipati meeting, the party had decided to go into insurrection by making a conclusion that comprador capitalist class has become main enemy and tactical series of Chunwang meeting has ended. The main problem in this era is to try to see the possibility of revolution through the eye of reformism and parliamentarism.

The new constitution has not been proclaimed due to the lack of time but due to the disagreement among comprador capitalist and proletarian class. Like this, the decisive movement has not taken its root due to the dualistic view of the party either to go ahead for insurrection or to go to the way for writing constitution of consensus. This is happening due to the lack of ideological preparation.

So far the question to use CA as safeguard for the preparation of insurrection is concerned, the CA will be an ambush instead of safeguard for proletarian class, in which, proletarian class may be ambushed. The attack and counter attack between two antagonistic forces will not be held within the boundary of law and legal bondage, rather it will happen on the basis of power balance. The enemy will take any step and will crush any of the legal safeguard if the balance of power will be in favor of its class.

Therefore, the proletarian class should pay its attention to look and study on the situation of power balance instead of searching for a legal safeguard. The ideological concept is wrong that the enemy may attack over the revolutionary party and people at once if there will be no CA and it can not attack over people if there is CA. This concept is against the synthesis of dialectical materialism.

The question of CA is a tactical. However, it is not a simple tactical question. Some of the tactical questions have strategic importance. This same question was seriously discussed in the period of 50th decade. There was a historic conclusion that to take part in election or not to take part in election in the communist movement will have its far reaching effect even in its strategy. Therefore, the question of CA in Nepal is very serious type of tactical question.

At the moment, some of the people say that the process of extending the term of CA or not to extend it is the same. This is apolitical logic. Expanding the tenure of CA is to prolong the united front with comprador capitalists. Class unionism continues. The parliamentary form of struggle continues which makes the danger of reformism more dominant. Anti-parliamentary way will be its option which will have its deep influence in the politics of Nepal.

The next term and condition for people's revolt is the organizational preparation. A favorable physical environment is needed for its preparation. Maoist party was inactive and slow before the initiation of people's war (1996). The party

organization became active and warrior after the initiation of PW. The active and combatant party organization can lead the people's revolution.

It is impossible for the party to go ahead in the revolution without un-uplifting its essence. Therefore, to prolong the period of CA is capitulationism politically, ideologically parliamentarism and organizationally dissolution.

Which one is the suitable from the point of view of programme? One sector of the people are in expectation to prolong the term of constituent assembly. The other big sector of the masses has understood that CA has no more suitability. It is very necessary to be the same reflection within party organization.

Therefore, there are two different opinions. One to prolong tenure without terms and condition; and the other is not to prolong the period at any cost. If the term is added without terms and conditions, it will be capitulation; which will bring dissolution within party. That will be the political death.

On the other hand, the international communities, middle class and one sector within our party will be disappointed and distressed if the tenure is not added in this situation. The tactics to add tenure of CA with the fulfillment of the two aforementioned conditions will be more correct relatively. Both of the options are justifiable.

What is the contemporary problem with proletarian class? In the context of Nepal, the co-working with the representatives of comprador bourgeois class like Nepali Congress and UML has been ended objectively. However, there is still search for the possibility for union with them subjectively. This is the main problem of Nepalese revolution.

The tendency that claims the suitability of CA has been divided into two. One fraction wants to drag the party into an extreme rightist and reformist way and the other wants to go to revolution by preparing through CA. If we analyze politically, one fraction has its bad intention and other has reached to the wrong conclusion.

There is still a debate why Maoist came into peace process? We are questioning why we came to the peace process? How we come to peace process? – For the safe landing of people's war.

The comprador class and some of the revolutionary sectors have understood the arrival into peace process is surrendering before exploiting class. Actually, the revolutionaries had come to the peace process to accumulate strength and make a united front inside and outside of the country for further revolution. That task has been fulfilled in a certain level and there is no possibility left to advance ahead. Therefore, to take hold independent decision is in favor of the proletarian class.

The main contradiction is between Nepalese people and Nepali Congress. Making front with Nepali Congress is to make unity with which we have to fight. To prolong the period of CA is to prolong the unity with Nepali Congress. This type of tactical line will end the independent current of proletarian class. It will carry the party organization to its dissolution.

The present situation shows that Nepali Congress will form a united front against proletarian and UCPN Maoist will make a front against comprador bourgeois class from the different poles. The united front can not be formed without fighting against congress. The other reformist bourgeois forces are only tail of NC.

Some others are trying to create rumor and horror by propagating that conflict and chaos occurs if CA remains no more. The reformists have their typical character; which creates horror and terror in this way during PW. After May 28, party should declare people's constitution from the street. That will prepare a base for people's revolt. At the time, our tactics will have more influence over the tactics applied by the bourgeois. Then, we will be able to bring enemies within our tactics and fight and defeat them.

So far as the question of leadership is concerned the agents of Indian expansionism have proposed the option of Com Prachanda. There is a hidden conspiracy to spoil the independent division making efficiency of Maoist party and make Delhi as the centre of the political parties.

Therefore, we should be very much aware that the division of responsibility is the internal affairs of the party. However, it is non proletarian tendency to show dualistic mentality and change the version frequently. It is necessary to protect own class and leadership. If it does not happen, it is to be a subservient pimp of Indian ruling class. It is to be a plaything of the enemy to take support, blessing and trust from the outside of the party to make its own position dominant and influential in the internal affairs of party.

Imperialism is always exploiting through its agents and puppets. Imperialism attacks not like a tiger but like a wolf from back side and applies strategy to murder by making tired and harassed. Therefore, the principal contradiction is between Indian ruler (its expansionism) and Nepalese people. NC and UML are working as their agents and puppets. This situation will continue until and unless the puppets and agents of Indian ruling class are defeated.

Therefore, the present political outlets lies in the objective analysis of the present situation and fight and defeat the agents of Indian ruling class by targeting Indian expansionism itself. For it, the authority should be given to the party standing committee to take concrete decision. Hence, we can make the contemporary action plan by lifting the tactical line of Peoples Revolt in its level of implementation from the level of ultimatum.