

# THE RED STAR

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## Maoist leads from top of the world

Red Star Reporter

After waging a 10 year long armed struggle, and after a stunning victory in the Constituent Assembly election, the Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist hoisted the red flag on top of the world. Pusp Kamal Dahal, aka 'Prachanda', the Chairman of CPN-Maoist, has been elected as the first Prime Minister of Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal, and he is set to lead the government. With 464 votes out of 577, Prachanda leaves his rival Nepali Congress leader Sher Bahadur Deuba far behind with 113 votes.

Born in a poor farmer's family 54 years ago in Kaski, Prachanda was the leader of the 10 year long People's War and the Supreme Commander of People's Liberation Army. Prachanda was the common Prime Ministerial candidate of the CPN-Maoist, the CPN-UML and the Madhesi Janadhikar Forum (MJF); 21 out of the 25 parties in the CA supported him. Although the Maoist attempt to form a government on national consensus failed because of the Nepali Congress; more than 80 percent of the vote went for a government led by Prachanda; it is significant for a government of national consensus.

The victory of the Maoist leader for the post of Prime Minister and the new government under the leadership of the CPN-M has brought great happiness and hope to the majority of the people in Nepal. Nepal suffers from anarchy, food shortage, inflation, and a fuel crisis. There is much hope among the people in the victory of a revolutionary leader who has been involved in politics for 37 years.

The new government has been formed exactly four months after the completion of the Constituent Assembly election. During this period, the CPN-M fought an intense table war with other parties, especially with the Nepal Congress. The Maoist attempt to form a government of national consensus under its leadership failed, and the parties agreed to choose a PM through getting a majority in the CA. The NC tried to form a government under its leadership, by trying to convince the UML and MJF. However, at the last stage, the Maoist got their support, and not the NC. Sixteen small parties who are represented in the CA due



After he was elected the first Prime Minister of Republic of Nepal, Maoist Chairman Prachanda waves his hand while leaving the Constituent Assembly Building.

Photo-Dinesh Shrestha

to the proportional system supported the Maoist unanimously.

Chairman Prachanda, after taking an oath of office from President Dr. Ram Baran Yadav, will form the cabinet immediately and declare the Common Minimum Programme immediately. The CPN-M is taking nine ministries, whereas the UML will get six and the MJF four. Four other smaller parties will get one each.

The United Nations, the European Union, India, and various other countries have sent messages of congratulations to Pra-

chanda on being elected the first Prime Minister of the Republic of Nepal. They have expressed their happiness and wishes that the new government will be able to deliver to the people; to meet their expectations and take the peace process forward. Likewise, the various revolutionary and communist parties and organisations have sent their best wishes and congratulations on the victory of the CPN-M. Here in Nepal, various political parties, organisations and people have congratulated Prachanda and the CPN-M.

Before being elected Prime Minister, Chairman Prachanda declared he is to step down as chief of People's Liberation Army. He was the supreme commander since the establishment of the PLA in 2001. Along with him, other CA members who also hold positions in the PLA will step down from their PLA posts. Furthermore, he has said that the party will implement the agreements made with other political parties in the past.

The CPN-M has achieved a great victory with the trust and hope of the majority of the people of Nepal. Furthermore, the people who desire justice are happy with this result. However, the CPN-M has many challenges in the road ahead. A big danger ahead is that the party may lose the way after the high expectations of the people in the CPN-Maoist. The people are suffering a great deal in Nepal. However, the Maoists reached this situation after overcoming many challenges, and they should work hard for the improvement of the people and nation. The People have chosen the Maoist with the hope that they can solve the problems. The future of Nepal depends upon the Maoist.

The Central Committee meeting of the CPN-M, before the CA election, has proposed its CM as the first President of the Republic of Nepal. A slogan on the walls in Kathmandu and all over Nepal reads 'We salute Com. Prachanda, the first President of the Republic of Nepal'. Although Prachanda did not become the first President, he did become the first Prime Minister. The Maoist election slogan was a 'New leadership for a New Nepal.' The nation now has the new leadership it so desperately needs, and the people eagerly want a New Nepal, a better and progressive Nepal that can be an example to the whole world.

## Hope of relief and respect from the government

During the 10 year long armed conflict, more than 13 thousand people died. The state killed more than 10 thousand. The family of those who died for the revolution as well as the ordinary people killed by the state security forces have not received a single penny as relief or any kind of recognition by the state.

Furthermore, the family members of those 'disappeared' by the state are searching for their relatives; however, the state or security forces have said nothing at all about all those who were 'disappeared'; thousands of those injured during the conflict have not received any kind of proper treatment and are still suffering. Exact numbers do not exist

in any war, but we can say that about ten thousand desperately need urgent medical attention.

After the *Janandolan* or People's Movement in April 2006, the Peace and Reconciliation Ministry was formed to provide relief and help the process of reconciliation, however, this ministry became as a private property of the Nepali Congress party. The cadres of the Congress party received most of the money; the ministry does not even possess the documentation or data of the amounts given and the people who took the money. A huge sum of money has been lost; the money has been misused and the suffering people for whom the money was for have received nothing.

In the past, the families of army and police who died received seven hundred thousand rupees each. Likewise, commoners killed during the conflict received compensation from the government. Hundreds of Nepali Congress and other party cadres stayed in the district headquarters and in Kathmandu and received money from the state. This was an easy living for them.

Within two years of peace-process, most of the 'displaced' have returned to their villages. Even Maoists welcomed them back, and helped them to start a new life. However, there are some who pretend to be 'displaced' and earn an easy living taking money from the state by making a big fuss in the Kathmandu. The Maoists

have not prevented any people going back to their villages and claiming their property, except the land of some big landlords utilised by landless people. Some local people do use the 'abandoned' land or property; however, a few hundred people are used by the Nepali Congress to bargain with the Maoist. We may expect an increase in the protests of the 'displaced'; it is a political bargaining tool of Nepali Congress.

With the government under the leadership of the CPN-Maoist, the masses have hope. The primary agenda of a government after a revolution or a conflict is to provide relief to the injured people, especially those who have contributed for the revolution. The Republic of

Nepal was only possible with the sacrifice of martyrs. The injured must get treatment from the state. The family of martyrs must get relief immediately.

Previous governments have promised to provide hundred thousand rupees to the family of martyrs; this is an insult. The state gives one million Rupees to people killed in road accidents. However, just one hundred thousand rupees for the family of the martyrs who fought and died for the nation? They must be given at least one million, a scholarship for the education of their children, and a special livelihood package for the family etc. to ensure a good future for those who made the ultimate sacrifice for the nation.

# The dominance of Hindi in Nepal

In the last week of July, effigies burnt and slogans chanted against one man on the streets of Kathmandu and throughout Nepal. Who has created so much bitterness in Nepal? It is the first vice-president of the Republic of Nepal, Parmananda Jha. Why? Because he had taken the oath of office in the Hindi, which is not the mother tongue of any community in Nepal, nor is it a national language. Hindi is, however, the major national language of India, and for many Nepalis, symbolises the dominance of India in Nepal.

Nepali Congress (NC), the Communist Party of Nepal-United Marxist Leninist (CPN-UML), and the Madhesi Janadhikar Forum (MJF), an alliance formed by three ideologically very different parties for the sole purpose of defeating the Maoist candidate, proposed Parmananda Jha as a common candidate. The President, Dr. Ram Baran Yadav, who is from the Terai region bordering India, took his oath in Nepali. However, Jha, whose mother tongue is Maithili, took his oath in Hindi. He said he did so following the instructions of his party, the MJF. He chose not to wear the traditional Nepali formal dress or even the suit and tie common to all politicians in the world. Rather, he chose to wear the Dhoti-Kurta, the dress symbolic of Indian politicians. Some Nepali Media, from the left as well as the political right, carried reports that Jha's party received cash for Jha to take the oath in Hindi.

The day after Jha's oath, effigies of him burnt throughout the land, and people from very different sections of society came to street for 'nationalism'. People think that Jha's actions; taking the oath to be the Vice President of Nepal in Hindi is a betrayal of the nation. Lawyers have even filed a case against his action in the Supreme Court; however, the case is yet to be decided. Many Nepali people want to impeach Jha. Jha has exposed the real intentions of the Madhesi leaders, especially those of the MJF.

Moreover, the people know Jha as a notorious and corrupt man. Jha was sacked as a justice in the Supreme Court a few years ago; Jha let a drug smuggler,

caught red handed with more than 600kg of Hashish, walk free. The Supreme Court found Jha guilty; Jha was demoted to the court of appeal because Jha had taken a huge sum of money from the drug dealer. During Jha's period at the court of appeal in Biratnagar, all the advocates boycotted his bench. These facts are not a secret in Nepal, Jha is called by a nickname: 'Charesananda Jha' or Hashish (charas) Jha.

Jha's notorious past became known after he filed a nomination for Vice President. Surprisingly, even 'leftist' parties, such as the CPN-UML and the CPN-ML voted for him. The advisory body of the CPN-UML criticised the party leaders for voting Jha into the position of Vice President. CPN-UML youth and student organisations condemned their party's decision, and came out and burnt effigies of Jha in the streets along with so many other groups and parties.

In the past, there were many attempts to introduce Hindi into Nepal, but these attempts were not well planned or organised as they are in the present. In the past, leaders of the Nepal Sadhvawana Party, who claim to represent the Terai, used to speak Hindi in the parliament. Now there are four parties, including two factions of the Nepal Sadhvawana party, who possess a large number of seats in the CA. They are demanding that Hindi should also be a 'national' language in Nepal, and a 'communication' language in the Terai. In this way, Madhesi leaders, whose mother tongue is not Hindi, but Maithili, Bhojpuri or Awadhi, are asking for Hindi domination in the Terai. They are trying to replace 'Nepali' languages with a foreign tongue. With a well-planned and organised effort to 'establish' Hindi in Nepal, the Vice President Jha has taken his oath in Hindi. The Nepali Congress and the CPN UML have also contributed to bringing this about.

Furthermore, the armed outfits in the Terai region are threatening to stop the use of Nepali or languages spoken in the Terai, such as Maithili, Bhojpuri, and Awadhi, and use Hindi as a language of communication.

Some media houses who publish newspapers in Nepali are threatened, government officials who use Nepali in the offices are threatened.

According to the consensus of 2001, barely one percent of Nepali population speaks Hindi. Even the language of the Vice President is not Hindi, but Maithili. Even Jha says that only about 200,000 people out of the 27 million population of Nepal speak Hindi. Nepali is the 'national' language, and is spoken by the majority of people in Nepal, and Maithili is spoken by about 15 percent of the Nepal population. A significant number of Nepali understand Hindi because of Hindi movies and culture, as well as the fact that so many Nepalis work in India. However, most Nepalis dislike Indian dominance and see the use of Hindi as an instrument of Indian hegemony in Nepal. Hindi language will not destroy Nepal, but it may well kill the original Madhesi languages such as Maithali, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Tajpuriya, Tharu etc. Recognising this, the leaders of the Tharu and other communities who live in the Terai region oppose the promotion of Hindi in Nepal.

There is big Indian dominance and interference in Nepali politics. It is widely felt that Nepal as a nation is in danger of being swallowed by India. Therefore, Nepali people have raised serious questions on the intention of those leaders who are promoting the Hindi language despite the disinterest of the vast majority of Terai people. The 'encroachment' of Hindi is increasing day by day. The majority of Nepali people see the attempt of creating the Terai as one state and imposing Hindi as a language of 'communication' as a serious act against Nepali nationality and integrity; leaders who advocate Hindi are working for Indian interests in some way.

These moves are very dangerous, and can have catastrophic consequences. The particular reason that Jha's oath taking in Hindi is particularly offensive to many Nepalis is that Hindi is the language of India, and a Vice President using Hindi symbolises Indian dominance over Nepal.

## Struggle for historical continuity

CPN (Maoist) and the parliamentary parties do not share the same history. The CPN (Maoist) wants to continue the revolution, and has a history of people's struggle, including the decade long People's War. However, at the same time, the parliamentary parties want to continue and bring the old status quo legacy into the republican period.

When the parliament was re-installed in 1990, GP Koirala announce that it was "the continuation of history". At that time, the CPN (Maoist) and the then agitating parliamentary parties agreed on

abolishing the monarchy and establishing the Republic. The Republic means neither a parliamentary nor a People's Republic. The agreement was to establish multiparty competition on a new model.

Because of the differences of ideology, each path is distinct; the CPN-Maoist will try to forward the People's Republic and the parliamentary parties will try to pull the country towards a parliamentary status quo. Therefore, the struggle to form a new government is the struggle for state power.

If the parliamentary status

quo gets to hold of the state power, they will try to stop the process of federalism and the restructure of the entire state, of army integration and socio-economic transformation. They do not want to end the old legacy and create a new history.

By contrast, the CPN (Maoist) wants to lead the government to restructure the entire state and integrate the armies. By implementing socio-economic transformation, the CPN-Maoist is trying to create a new history. This will require much discussion and political struggle.

## President is overacting

According to the constitution, the office of the President of Nepal is only a ceremonial. On July 22, Dr. Ram Baran Yadav was elected the first president of the Nepalese republic. The principal duties of the President are to receive letters of credentials and approve the bills and decrees passed by the legislature. But, after a short time, Nepalese people feel that the President is not acting according to the constitution and is crossing the limits and heading towards an executive Presidency.

The activities of President during the 'consultation' of forming a new government on the first week of August raised various suspicions. The way of calling political leaders in the office or residence and discussing the formation of the government recalls the style of King Gyanendra. There are no clauses in the constitution that the President can call a 'consultation' with political leaders and call on the parties to form the government. Khimlal Devkota, a Constituent Assembly Member and law expert, says that it is an abuse of the constitution.

Nevertheless, the President's consultations crossed the boundary of the Nepal political leaders, and he 'consulted' a foreign ambassador. To discuss 'mutual' issues, the Indian Ambassador to Nepal, Rakesh Sood, met with the President. In the past few days, Indian ambassadors have had easy access to meet the Prime Minister, and now he can meet the President whenever he wishes. Nepalese are ashamed that high-level government officials and political leaders are not maintaining their portfolio status.

Moreover, Dr. Yadav cancelled his visit to China for the Beijing Olympic inauguration program, after meeting with Sood. This clearly shows that President has surrendered to India and rejected the Chinese invitation. Likewise, the behaviour of the Nepal army officials and over keenness of the President towards the army is proving that Dr. Yadav is not keen on staying within the limit of ceremonial President. On the day of oath taking, the Chinese Rukmangad Katwal abnormally shook his hand with the president and delivered unnecessary commitments. Moreover, the President went to inspect the army barracks in Kavre and delivered a speech. Even King Gyanendra did not deliver speeches while inspecting the army barracks.

Likewise, with the unnecessary provisions for the same old guards and drivers of the king, the NC is trying to show that Dr. Yadav is the 'President in the King's chair'; there has been no real change; the ordinary working people are fed up.

## Journalists protest outside Indian embassy

Journalists and other staff of Delhi-based Nepal-1 Television Channel, who have been protesting against the management for more than a month, have staged a sit-in outside the Indian Embassy gate on August 11. Last month the management of the Television had locked the office after the employees demanded the implementation of the 14-point agreement made last year.

The agitating journalists staged a sit-in to ask the Indian Embassy in Nepal to compel the Television management to implement the agreement, and open the office. After the sit-in, the agitating journalists met the Indian Ambassador to Nepal, and urged him to attend to the matter. The Indian envoy told the journalists that he would convey their demands to the management. However, he said that the embassy had no role to play in the dispute, saying that the matter was a labour dispute between the employees and the Television management.

Before this, the agitators reached the Prime Minister's office to meet the caretaker Prime Minister Girija Prasad Koirala, and urged the government to intervene in the matter and provide compensation. Likewise, the agitating journalists have asked all the cable operators not to transmit Nepal-1 channel through their cable network.

The Delhi-based TV Network has been running an office in Kathmandu, and transmitting news and entertainment programs without any legal permission from the government of Nepal. Many Nepalis see it as another manifestation of Indian hegemony. The Indian Embassy plays an important role to pressurise the Nepal govt. not to ask the owners of Nepal-1 about their legality, but when it comes to speak about the exploitation of the company, the envoy says that the matter is a labour dispute between management and employees.

## Sufferings from starvation

Hilly region of the Western Nepal is facing a terrible situation of starvation. The villages in these hilly regions are not linked with roads. There is limited service of air transport of very small plane like Pilatus Porterin that is in a certain places. Many villages are sliding down by landslides because of a heavy rain. Many people are killed in those landslides and hundreds of others are affected. The caretaker government neglected the voice of these suffering people of the west.

The suppressed voice of the west was truly addressed by the people's war. Therefore, millions of the people from the west took part in the Nepalese Revolution. Because of the lack of good government the people of those rural areas are suffered from the same problems.

Addressing these, Lekhray Bhatta, leader of CPN-Maoist and member of the Constituent Assembly has denounced the irresponsibility and negligence of the status quo care taker government and said, "Hundred thousands of the people of Seti-Mahakali (west) who are under the threat of starvation, are paying a very serious concern on the negligence of Nepal government".

The caretaker government is trying to entangle this issue with other problems and underestimating it. Giving stress in providing relief to the effected lives of the people of the west, Bhatta further says, "We are being always in favour of people in the struggle before. We humbly request political parties, organizations, institutions, civil society, human rights activists and journalists to pay solidarity in this campaign". The government, bureaucrats and even the private sectors are not making effort to take step to solve the problem of starvation.

# The principal aim is to write constitution

– Ram Bahadur Thapa 'Badal'  
Senior leader  
Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

**The CPN- Maoist has been able to elect the party chairman to the post of the first Prime Minister of the Republic of Nepal. What do you think about leading the country after the formation of the government?**

We have elected our Prime Minister with the support of most of the parties in the Constituent Assembly (CA). The collective votes of the House are more than 80%, which represents the essence of national consensus.

There are two types of challenges before the new government. The first one is to create a new constitution, and the other is to provide immediate relief and maintain peace in the country. We will carry them ahead as the commitment to the people.

**How will you face those challenges in coming days?**

We will be able to face those challenges in support of the people all over the country and in collective effort of all the forward going forces. We will be successful in building a new Nepal and establishing the peace.

**There is no budget to solve the daily problems of the people and to develop the country. Where will you collect the means and the sources from?**

Means and sources are available in Nepal. Only the man-power, capital and the technology is needed for us to mobilize it. We are sure that we will mobilize these resources and means; through the proper utilization of domestic efficiencies and the assistance of the foreign friends and technology.

**Why were you unable to involve the**

**Nepali Congress (NC), the co-alliance party for two years, in the government? What was the obstacle that happened at the end?**

We requested the NC to form the government of national consensus up to the last hour. However, they didn't change their consistency and their bias. They expressed their commitments to assist in writing the new constitution rather than review their decision taken before.

The obstacle that happened at last was nothing other than the prejudice of the NC. They remained constant in their 7-point preconditions that they had put forward before. The essence of the 7-point precondition was to form the government under the leadership of the NC by isolating the CPN-Maoist, which was quite impossible. The principle issue was the question of leadership and power sharing was secondary.

**Ambitious plans for the new Nepal have already been declared in your commitment paper. How will you implement it in practice?**

We have publicised two types of programme in our commitment paper at the time of election: one immediate and the other is strategic. The immediate programme will be carried ahead through the instant common minimum programme, built into the agreement of all the political parties. The policies and the plans, that we have publicised in the commitment paper, will be submitted there. We have our responsibility to provide immediate relief to the people and make them conscious towards the strategic plans.

**The people out of the country suspect that there will be a price hike and a**



**threat of starvation in the country, then how will you lead the country forwards if the neighbouring countries do not assist?**

Certainly, not only the enemies but also our friends are in our neighbouring countries. Therefore, we will fight against the challenges created by enemies, and we will try to collect assistance from our friends. We can solve all these problems by mobilizing the people, applying the mass-line, providing immediate relief to the people and using the sources and means properly.

**It took a long time, more than four months, even to form a new government according to the mandate of the election of CA. So, how will you be able to write a new constitution within**

**two years?**

We are aiming to write the constitution within one year, and another one year will be for accomplishing the task of election according to the new constitution. Our responsibility will be to complete the election after building a new constitution as soon as possible and form a new elected government.

At that time, the enemies of the people will create ceaseless obstacles in the process of making people sovereign and self respecting through writing the new constitution. However, we are confident that we will be able to defeat enemies by uniting the people and providing proper leadership. The People will always fight against anti-people elements and will be victorious.

## The ICM and the Nepali revolution

Ongoing revolution in Nepal is raising many reactions within the international communist movement. Many are positive, others positive with reservations, and some negative. These many reactions demonstrate the importance of Nepali revolution, and it is best they will develop and relate each other, and that an open and frank debate will develop within the many forces of the International Communist Movement. The open and frank debate is a necessary means for overcoming sectarianism, that is, in this case, the attitude to ignore each other, each one shut in its ideological or national ambit.

Sectarianism is a weakness of the International Communist Movement, persisting in this beginning of the new wave of proletarian revolution. Concomitant expression of this weakness is the attitude of the great coordinations of the International Communist Movement towards Nepali revolution.

In fact, for decades, some great coordinations or aggregation have been existing, constituted in con-

trast with modern revisionism, that are collecting Communist parties and organizations all around the world. The Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) itself joins one of these coordinations, and our Party joins another. These coordinations or aggregations do not yet clearly express themselves on the meaning of Nepali revolution. The only one that did it was the International League of People's Struggle, (ILPS), that, however, is an aggregation of mass organizations, and not of political parties and organizations.

The fact that the existing coordinations and aggregations of the International Communist Movement do not yet express themselves on the meaning of Nepali revolution is important. According to us, it shows their limit.

All these coordinations, in fact, set themselves up and got importance as means of struggle against modern revisionism. They have been useful in fighting this enemy of the Communist movement that, however, in many countries has ended its days. It keeps up strength

in the international ambit, and in many nations (i.e. in India, where it slaughters the people's masses, as it did in Nandigram, or in China, where it rules the country). However, elsewhere, revisionists are no more or hardly existing. Some are vanished with the collapse of the first socialist countries. Some are vanished in the imperialist countries, as it happened in Italy with latest elections. Some keep on existing but they have been crushed, as it happened in the elections for the Constituent Assembly in Nepal. The more revisionists withdraw, the less anti revisionism is a sufficient means for uniting the various communist forces.

The many existing international aggregations are ideologically different among them (Marxist - Leninist, Marxist - Leninist with a positive attitude towards Mao Tse - tung's thought, Marxist - Leninist - Maoist). Anyway, they have had anti revisionism as common character and strong point. The more this character loses importance, the more they lose it as a strong point and factor of aggregation.

Today, the various international aggregations of communist parties and organizations cannot say only who they are fighting (revisionism, imperialism, etc.), but they have to say what they are fighting for. They have to mark out a course for advancing. The fact that they are able to denounce revisionists' lies and imperialists' crimes, but they are not able to give their opinion, or stutter about the situation in Nepal, where Communists are advancing, is a sign of their difficulties.

None of the various aggregations of Communist parties and organizations can set itself even as an embryo of a new International if it does not overcome this difficulty, if it just restricts itself to denounce revisionism and imperialism, if it does not propose a course that could lead Communists to victory, in the imperialist and the semi colonial and oppressed countries, according to the specific conditions of the ones and the others.

Such proposals do not rise from some individual genius, nor from the particular qualities of a single party

or organization. They rise from the open and frank debate among the various Communist parties and organizations on the international level. This debate, then, must be united to the practical organizations in all the struggle fronts (against imperialism, for defending the conquests of the working class and the people's masses, the oppressed people and nations, women, young people, environment, etc.), and to mutual solidarity. So doing, the debate cannot be reduced to an empty and abstract talking: the common practice will confirm which positions are right and which are not.

Open and frank debate, common practice and solidarity are the pillars that support the main road of the unity of the International Communist Movement.

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## EDITORIAL

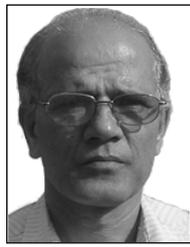
## Challenges ahead

Congratulations to the first Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic (FDR) of Nepal, Comrade Prachanda! The CPN-Maoist, after more than decade long class struggle, has now the opportunity to lead the government of the FDR of Nepal. According to the mandate of the people, given through the election of the CA, the Maoist has the right to lead the government. The largest party in the CA is now going to lead the new government formed according to the mandate of the people. Before this, there was disharmony between the concept of new Nepal and the leadership. A federal republic had been declared, but the actual leader of the new Nepal was out of power; the same old status quo leadership was in the government.

The people of the country have seen a beautiful dream come true with the declaration of republic. They are waiting for their dream to be implemented. On the one hand, people are waiting hopefully; on the other hand, the anti-people elements and the reactionaries are trying to create problems. The real fight for institutionalizing the Federal Republic has begun. The CPN-Maoist has already declared its immediate as well as strategic plans and programme in its election manifesto as a commitment paper. Although the CPN-Maoist has promised to institutionalize the FDR through restructuring the entire state and socio-economic transformation, this is a very difficult task to implement in practice. Furthermore, the CPN-Maoist is in a minority even though it has won a two-thirds majority, arithmetically, in the election of Prime Minister. In this situation, the CPN-Maoist will have to face challenges and obstacles at every step in the implementation of the minimum programme of ordinary social reforms.

For the Maoist government, it will be very difficult to work together in alliance with the revisionist CPN-UML, and the right opportunist Madheshi Janadhikar Forum. Moreover, to transform the administrative mechanism of the old state will be a big hurdle for the new government. It depends on the efforts of the CPN-Maoist, its initiative to make the people conscious, to consolidate its organizations, and mobilize them in institutionalizing the FDR. The question of the integration of the army is a very serious and difficult issue. The Nepal Army (NA) has always been against the people and progress. But, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) has successfully taken the people to victory over the monarchy. We doubt whether the Nepal Army will be ready to accept the integration of PLA so easily. This will be a most risky task for the new government.

Historically, after the Sugauli Treaty of 1950, Nepalese governments have refused to challenge Indian supremacy. This will be very difficult for the Maoist government to break. The mandate of the Nepalese people, through the CA election, demands regulation and control of borders; an end to Gorkha recruitment and the creation of alternative employment; and a review all the unequal treaties-to make new treaties based on the five principles. The Maoist government should finish off all the old feudal structures, the old culture and values, and establish a new Federal Democratic norms and values to replace the old feudal norms and values. The people are waiting for a historic change. And, the biggest challenge facing Maoist is to take peace process to its logical conclusion.



■ Basanta

This is an era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. It is known also as the Leninist era. The specificity of this era has been the spread by imperialism through exploitation and robbery of the world, through the economic base of feudalism and the superstructure of bureaucrat and comprador bourgeois in the oppressed countries. Founded on imperialist interests, bureaucratic capitalism, which develops as a result of an unholy alliance between feudalism and imperialism, is against the nation and also the people. Comprador and bureaucratic capitalism does not allow national capitalism to flourish by ending the feudal relations in agricultural production. The expansion of imperialist capital brings about some quantitative changes in the feudal relations of production, but it does not go beyond the interests of the comprador bourgeoisie and imperialism. In this way, it is evident that feudalism and imperialism must be the targets of proletarian revolution in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries.

Nepal is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. Through the Sugauli Treaty in 1816, the unholy union of British imperialism and the centralised Nepali State that was forcefully unified by Prithvi Narayan Shah, the ambitious king of Gorkha, turned our country into a semi-feudal and semi-colonial one. As a result of socio-economic conditions, feudalism and imperialism and particularly Indian expansionism are the barriers for Nepalese people's democracy, progress and national independence. Without abolishing feudalism and without bringing to an end to external intervention, the Nepalese people cannot clear the way for real democracy and national independence.

The overwhelming participation of the Nepalese people in progressive struggles, in various forms and essences, from around 1949, expresses their firm re-

solve for people's democracy and nationalism against feudal and imperialist oppression. However, the king's patriotic mask is to hide his feudalistic ultra-nationalism, and the Nepali Congress's chatter of democracy serves imperialism and, mainly, Indian expansionism; it has succeeded for a pretty long time to divide and confuse the Nepalese people about patriotism and democracy. History is a witness, even as the Nepalese Communist Movement, which made efforts to develop an independent trend by grasping that democracy and nationalism were inseparable from each other, also failed to keep itself free from siding with the monarchy, whenever there was a threat to the nation, and whenever democracy was challenged, trailing behind the Nepali congress. The political events up to 1990 prove this reality. But it must never forget that the conflict between the monarchy and the Nepali Congress is not to negate one by the other, but only to ensure that the role of each remains decisive in the sharing of power between the two.

The unprecedented supported and participation of the people, in the course of the initiation and continuation of the great People's War, was successful because of our party's ability to develop a strong independent trend in favour of democracy and nationalism. This was a breakthrough in the history of the Communist Movement of Nepal. In the situation, when there was once tripartite contradiction among the ultra-nationalist regressive trend of feudal monarchy, the status quo trend of bourgeois democracy of the parliamentary parties, and our anti-feudal and anti-imperialist progressive independent trend. Our party's grasp of dialectics, to handle and use the conflict already existing between the monarchy and the parliamentary parties was one of the main reasons behind the development of People's War. However, without changing the state of tripartite conflict into a bi-polar contradiction, no path would have been open to accomplish new democratic revolution in Nepal.

The development of People's War, the palace massacre and Gyanendra's autocratic actions, created an environment that helped bring the revolutionary and status quo forces together. Only after the design, mainly by

US imperialism, of building agreement between the regressive and status quo forces, and of using that coalition against the C. P. N. (Maoist) failed, the 12-point understanding between the status quo and progressive trends was reached. In this way, the unprecedented mass movement of April 2006 that developed upon the base of 10 years of People's War, with the support of the 12-point understanding, has finished off the monarchy in Nepal and made Nepal into a Federal Democratic Republic. It must be understood that the end of monarchy was not the end of feudalism, but the end of the central role of the monarchy in the reactionary power. This is an extraordinary achievement made by the Nepali people.

However, in this situation, a right opportunist trend that understands the democratic republic as the final success of revolution, and a left sectarian trend that minimises this achievement can sometimes be noticed in our party and in the society as well. In the present situation of the International Communist Movement, where right revisionism is the main danger, it is urgently necessary to emphasize struggle against the right trend, in and outside of the party, and to remain attentive towards the loss that the left sectarianism and centrist opportunism can impart to the revolution. Only by struggling against various wrong trends can the revolution be defended and led to victory.

Even though the feudal monarchy ended, there has been little change in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial socio-economic conditions of Nepal. Feudalism and imperialism, the targets of New Democratic Revolution, still exist. The comprador and bureaucrat capitalist class that dominates the Nepalese State represents, internally, the interests of feudalism and externally that of imperialism. Therefore, the Central Committee meeting of our party held last June at the Garden Hotel in Kathmandu has decided that the principal barrier at present for the new democratic revolution in Nepal, are the comprador and bureaucrat bourgeoisie.

Even in this situation, when our party emerged as the largest party, through the Constituent Assembly election, the encircle-

*Continued on page 7*

## FROM THE HISTORY

# The democrats and social republic

To the People  
 Democratic and social republic  
 Citizens:

The destiny of the Republic is in your hands. The approaching election will show France and the world if the Revolution must retreat before intrigue and egoism, or prove its might by a stunning manifestation of number and right.

Remember that unity and discipline alone lead to the triumph of great causes.

Like one man, all of you must carry the three names offered for your suffrage.

May Cabet, Raspail, and Thoré, accepted by all by acclamation, come from the electoral urns as your Representatives.

Don't listen to those who speak to you so that you have as your representatives a prince or an heir of the Emperor. It is the people who are responsible for the glory of the heir of the Emperor. Weigh opinions and actions if you are republicans, but don't allow yourselves to be blinded by the glow of a name.

Firmly establish the revolution, immutably found the democratic republic

with all of its social consequences: this Citizens, it what should be the goal of our common efforts. Ours are the struggles in the Assembly, yours are the struggles on the electoral terrain. All of ours is the never-ending task of realizing these three great principles; Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

Citizen friends, in the name of your desolated mothers and wives, of your starving children, reinforce the decimated phalanx of the Representatives of the democratic and social republic and prove

to the world that if the people of France know how to conquer rights, they also know how to keep them.

The Representatives of the People, Members of the Central Electoral Committee of Democratic Associations and Worker Corporations,

Gambon, Greppo, Pelletier, Deville, Brives, P-J Proudhon, Benoit (of Lyon), Amédée Bruys, Doutre, P.l.e.R. Lagrange, abs, Fosseyeux, sec.

- *Marxist Internet Archive, www.mia.org, 1848 Revolution*

# Prachanda: leader of the new era



■ Baburam Bhattarai

Today, the history of Nepal will be written in gold. We have ended the epoch of the rule of feudalist monarchy, and entered into the era of Federal Democratic Republic. Unfortunately, for four months we were unable to elect our chariot driver for the new era. At the moment, we can hear the cries and excuses of the defeated. We know that the old train driver who drove the train for many years had become too old to drive. But he refused to hand over the authority to the new younger driver. Instead, he tried to pull the train back.

It was not that the Maoist could not assemble a national consensus; rather they were denied the possibility of forming a national consensus. Who were creating these obstacles? Yet, by overcoming these obstacles, the process is moving ahead. The march of history cannot be stopped. Listen, friends from Congress; this is not the time to weep and cry, instead it is time for all to

respect and follow the verdict of history. During a certain period of history, the NC also was also more or less against the monarchy; the NC also struggled for democracy. Therefore, we worked together with the NC since the 12 point understanding; the Comprehensive Peace Accord; and the election of the CA up to the declaration of the Federal Democratic Republic. However, a new era demands a new leadership; the Nepalese people have demanded a new leadership for a new Nepal through the electoral mandate. The new leadership should have come into being right after the people's verdict, but it was prevented from doing so. Because of this, we were forced to live without any leadership for four months.

We wanted to move ahead with the NC, but they would not agree. The issue over the Defense Ministry was only a pretext to stall the process. Essentially, the NC wanted to form a government excluding the Maoist. After becoming aware of this, friends from other parties also became aware of it and working together became possible. To some friends, working together has been caustically called 'unholy'. The definition of 'holy' and 'unholy' is not absolute, rather it is relative. If the cooperation

that of the King. Instead, they are trying to go along it. We tell you not to go with the fallen King, but rather, let us together create a new Nepal.

We have to build a new Nepal, a Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal. We had even called on Royalists to unite on the issues of nationality, the Republic and socio-economic transformation. We have no regrets. But, if you do not change yourselves, and remain reactionary and status

quo, history will not wait for you, and you will be left out.

We are ready to work together for creating a government of national consensus. The Maoist party is not arrogant. We are trying every effort to let all the parties be in the government. Now, the 24 parties, except the NC, are ready to work together. We are happy that we are making a government of national consensus among 24 parties. The NC has only 19% of the vote while 81%

of the vote is not with the NC. If all of them unite, there will be more than a two third majority. The house is capable of advancing the peace process and creating a new constitution. The vote percentages show that the vehicle of history is ready to move. The CPN-Maoist desires this most heartily. After the formation of a new government under the leadership of Com. Prachanda, the principal agendas will be of nationality, people's power and socio-economic transformation. For this, we have built a common programme and code of conduct.

We are going to elect Com. Prachanda, the first Prime Minister of the Republic of Nepal. In actuality, Nepal has its true leadership. Every era gives birth to its leader. Europe gave birth to Napoleon Bonaparte in the capitalist era. Lenin was born to institutionalize socialist revolution. Nepalese people have given birth to Com. Prachanda to institutionalize the Federal Democratic Republic on the firm-basis of a decade long People's War and the People's Movement. We believe that he is the leader of the new era. A genuine new Nepal will be created under his leadership.

*This is an unofficial translation of Bhattarai's speech given in the Constituent Assembly before the election for the Prime Minister.*

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is for the people and progress, it is holy, and if it is for the status quo and reaction, it is unholy. If cow-dung is mixed with potato, it is unholy, but if ghee is mixed into potato it is holy. We want to remind our NC friends that their great leader BP Koirala said that his neck was conjoined to the

neck of the King. We have been trying to break this link. We have been working together with the NC since the 12 point agreement until now, all the while trying to separate the neck conjoined to the neck of the King. The King has left the throne, but the NC has not tried to separate their neck from

## The status quo is the main obstacle



■ C P Gajurel

The first president of the Republic of Nepal notified the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) to 'form the government of national consensus' within seven days. Until this moment, the CPN-M had carried out a thorough discussion with most of the parties, big and small, that are represented in the CA to arrive at a consensus in forming the government. There has been comprehensive discussion among the four major parties; the CPN-M, the Nepali Congress (NC), the CPN-UML, and the Madhesi Janadhikar Forum (MJAF) for the last three days. The meeting has decided to form a task group from all the four parties to prepare a draft of consensus regarding the 'policy and programme' of the future government. Until this moment arrives, the parties have a common understanding that 'in principle,' the government should be headed by the CPN-Maoist. It is well-accepted that the Maoist party has the right to form the new government by virtue of being the single largest party in the CA. Therefore, this understanding cannot be considered as a significant development in the process of forming the government.

There are still two contentious issues left to be discussed and decided: firstly, arriving at a common understanding in 'policy and programme'. Secondly, the division of portfolios amongst the major parties; commonly known as 'power sharing'. This question seems to be more important than

any other in Nepal.

*What is the People's mandate?*

The great people of Nepal have given their clear verdict: - to lead the process of the formation of a new constitution; to bring the peace process to its logical conclusion; and to provide some respite in the well being of the Nepalese society in favour of the CPN-Maoist, which is the single largest party in the CA. The NC was considered the largest party before the CA election, but has now been reduced to second, after getting only 37 seats against the 120 seats of the CPN Maoist in the first past the post system (FPTP). The CPN UML, which had an equal number of seats before the CA election, has now been relegated to the third position, winning barely 33 seats in the FPTP system. Based on the mandate of the Nepali people, the CPN Maoist has claimed the right to form the government. According to all democratic norms and values, it was the responsibility of Mr GP Koirala to step down voluntarily and to respect the mandate of the people and pave the way to let the new government be formed under the leadership of the CPN-M. However, true to the character and values of the NC, Mr Koirala preferred not to resign, but to stick to the government like glue.

This is a gross disrespect of the people's verdict and the peoples' mandate. There were people who blamed our party before the CA election saying that the CPN-Maoist was going against the people's verdict and not taking the mandate of the people through election. But when there was a real election and the heroic people of Nepal gave us a landslide victory, the same people chose to completely disrespect the verdict of the people. The people

of Nepal are responding with anger when the process of the new government is not moving ahead. Not knowing fully about the real reason for this delay, many people are blaming all the political parties equally. But the main reason is that the NC did not respect the verdict of the Nepali people, and Mr Koirala chose to cling onto the Prime Ministerial post. If the NC had decided to vacate the party post for the winning party, we could have definitely overcome this excessive delay.

*Non political and unnatural grouping*

During the election of the first president of the Republic of Nepal, two major parties (CPN-M and CPN-UML) had almost arrived at a common understanding; for the post of president to go to CPN-UML, and the CPN-UML would support the CPN M to form the new government. But this understanding encountered a big jolt when it was broken at the eleventh hour. Who is responsible for the breach of this understanding is a matter of dispute. The recently held Central Committee meeting expressed its grief at this unhappy event.

When the CPN-M supported the septuagenarian independent Republican leader of Madhesi origin, Mr Ramraja Prasad Singh for President, and a Janajati female leader Ms Sashi Shrestha for Vice President, political events took a new turn. The irritated CPN-UML joined hands with the NC and MJF to cobble a grouping quickly against the independent and inclusive presidential and vice presidential candidates forwarded by the CPN M. With the sole aim of creating a block against the Maoist party, this grouping between three political parties belonging to three different poles was formed.

The grouping succeeded in winning both the constitutional posts

of president and vice president and showing its majority in the house. It added one more obstacle in the formation of the new government. The Maoist party, as the single largest party with the right to form the new government, gave up this idea when it was reduced to a minority and the grouping showed its majority.

*Main obstacle, the status quo*

The status quo idea, line, habit, and behavior are the main obstacles in the progress and development of Nepalese society. There are two different ideas, forces, classes, behaviors, and habits which are facing off in various ways. Firstly, the progressive and forward looking ideas, forces, classes, behaviors and habits on the one hands, and second, the status quo ideas, forces, classes, behavior, and habits on the other hand. These two opposite tendencies will definitely cause differences in various areas, including in the formation of a government. The Status Quo forces are stubborn and always resist the new changes, new developments, and the progressive transformation of society. If progressive forces do not prevail, its opposite will prevail, thus destroying the dream and possibility of a New Nepal.

There are some forces which vacillate in between the two opposite poles. When the revolutionary forces seem to be winning, they start to project themselves as radicals. When, apparently, the status quo forces seem to be winning, they keep close to the status quo and support them. This process may continue for some time, until there is a complete polarization. It is quite clearly being demonstrated in the present political climate of Nepal.

At this moment, the formation of the new government is the immediate task to be fulfilled. According to

the mandate given by the people, and accepted by all the political parties; our party, the CPN-M, has the right to form the government in its capacity of being the single largest party. The NC also pretends to support this process, and is involved in it. But it has been learnt that the supreme leader of NC, Mr. Koirala, is actively involved in trying to form a government under his leadership. It was disclosed by some Madhesi leaders who met him in his residence. In this political situation, when progressive and status quo forces are struggling, there is a significant force in between that cannot be ignored. They have become the King maker in formation of government.

As according to their political character, the status quo forces have relations with international reactionary forces. They are being influenced and used by the foreign forces. So, the formation of the new government in Nepal also depends on the interests of foreign forces. In quite recent days, there is regular news in the Nepali media, which shows that there is increasing political intervention in Nepal from outside. It seems to be true to a large extent. These foreign forces realize that their interests will be jeopardized if there is a progressive and revolutionary transformation in Nepalese society. So, they are supporting the status quo forces in order to stop the political development in Nepal so that there will be no revolutionary transformation and the status quo can be maintained constantly. When the political parties in Nepal are involved in the process of formation of the government, there are always rumors that the list of cabinet have come from outside. The increasing political intervention from outside has become an alarming problem in Nepal.

7th August 2008

# Configuring Maoist writings in the national literature of Nepal



■ Florentino A. Iniego, Jr.

"National Literature" refers to the totality of works found within the national territory called the "Federal Republic of Nepal." It implies that there is a unifying thread binding all works found within the said territory. This unity was derived from the multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-social/political beliefs of people producing literary works. From these diversity, derived a common experience of history binding the works of authors residing in-and-out of the country. Highlighted in the term "National Literature" is the presence of class-based and political character of literature. Overall, there is the assumption that these writings were part of the nation and advocating the nationalist, democratic and republican aspirations of "New Nepal."

This plural terrain of literary coexistence is called the "literary mode of production (LMP)" – "a unity of certain forces and social relations of literary production in a particular social formation." There exist distinct modes of LMPs that are "...mutually articulated in varying relations of homology, conflict and contradiction ...will constitute an asym-

metrical totality" (Terry Eagleton, 1976) In a particular cultural formation of a class society -- residual, emergent and dominant literary traditions and movements exist side by side (Raymond Williams, 1977). These formations provide a framework for understanding the complex and dynamic ways in which a culture operates as it continuously attempts to maintain stability and balance in the face of changing views and positions in literature.

The dominant LMP towers above forcing other modes into positions of subordination and partial exclusion and giving conditions to the emergence of novel trends and movements in literature. It controls most of the field, but never all of it. Usually called "mainstream," it is where the hegemony of the ruling class and its dominant ideology determines the production, distribution, exchange, and consumption of literary production. Residual formations are carried over from the past and are usually rooted in religious and indigenous practices. While emergent literature are those that are being developed, out of a new set of social interactions and relations as societies change. They are often very different and progressive (e.g. feminist, modernist, protest, progressive literature) and actively challenge the dominant. Residual and emergent formations can be either 'alternative' or 'oppositional'. Alternative cultural suggestions seek to adapt or appropriated to the general framework of the existing dominant formation, while oppositional trends seek to

challenge and replace dominant literary practices.

As people demand for socio-economic changes, political and cultural movements evolved demanding reforms in the society. Basing itself on the wellspring of living cultural traditions writers express their beliefs and convictions, their delight and sorrow, relief and grief while interacting with the social environment. As literary skills and aesthetics develop, a break on the tradition and literary conventions gave way to the modernist writings. On the political level, the upsurge of nationalism and the birth of people's democratic movement have a dialectical relation in the emergence of protest, progressive and revolutionary writings in a society.

Protest literature is the "nation's voice of conscience." In Nepal they are the social and political breed of writers who "fought the good fight" against discrimination, oppression and exploitation of any kind (Ananda Shrestha, 2000). Progressive writings exemplifies the "new left" which critiques injustice in broad social terms, and opts for a gritty realism over the romantic revolutionary style favoured by Nepal's traditional Marxist writers (Manjushree Thapa, 2002). In unison, both of them arise "...when the time does not favour the oppressor."

As an emergent literature, Maoist revolutionary writings belong to one of these literary modes. It contends that in a class-divided society all literature and art belong to certain classes and are geared to definite political

and ideological lines. In this way, class struggle extends up to the literary and cultural field. Maoist aesthetics were not incarnated from heaven and fell from the sky to the roof of the world. Writers like Ninu Chapagain, President of the Progressive Writers Association admitted that Maoist literature is a "continuation of the people's struggle that started in the 1950s." Khagendra Sangraula, novelist and columnist, said that it is "...the extension of a more vocal and louder tone and a more aggressive form of the Marxist progressive literature in Nepal which emerged ever since the establishment of the Communist Party of Nepal in 1949."

While fictionist and critic Dr. Rishi Raj Baral, cited explicitly that "...Maoist literature had been introduced into the Nepal revolutionary cultural front since 1950. Most of the revolutionary writers are inspired by this and even some bourgeois writers in Nepal are influenced by it. It is the basic text for us. Gorky, Howard Fast, Lu Xun, Premchand (from India) is also influential among revolutionaries in Nepal. During the 1960s, artists in Nepal were also very inspired by revolutionary writers who became martyrs in the Maoist Naxalbari movement in India and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China."

This tripartite view among veteran writers and critics had confirmed that Maoism in Nepal traces its roots to the critical decades that gave birth to the democracy movement. As a dynamic mode of literary production, it emerged on the literary scene due to the

rising tide of nationalist sentiment guiding the people's democratic movement. In the formation of national literature, Maoist literature had contributed to the dismantling of the monolithic enclave of feudal patronage and dominance of bourgeois aesthetics.

In the project of nation-building, Maoist literature asserts an advance form of cultural nationalism. It transcends varying degrees of differences: class, race, gender, linguistic and ethnicity. It is based on the leadership of the advance representative of the working class -- the proletariat -- and geared towards the building of socialism. A nationalism that critically approaches the challenges of the "borderless world" by advocating internationalism against imperialism, expansionism, and all forms of exploitation and oppression.

Together with the literature written in various languages of ethnic and marginalized groups (janajatis, dalits, etc.), gender, diaspora and writings from social-political movements -- Maoist literature has a distinct and legitimate place in the historical construction of national literature. It has articulated the revolutionary aspirations of the people longing for a lasting peace based on social justice. Struggling towards genuine national and social liberation, its words, verses, metaphors, and wisdom truly stand for freedom, democracy, creativity and dignity of humanity.

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■ Bhim Regmi

The 15th SAARC summit concluded with the same tedious remarks as previously. It passed a note of thanks and the delegates reaffirmed their sincere commitment to the principals and the underlined objectives in the SAARC charter. The leaders once again revived their commitments for collective efforts to achieve economic growth and bring about social progress that would improve the lives of the majority poor people living in the region. Perhaps the political leaders are optimistic about this oft-repeated diplomatic language, but the common people are far from receiving any real benefit from the summit.

More interestingly, except for the seven original seven members that initiated the SAARC two and a half decades ago, the Afghan puppet government was also present as the latest member since the last summit held at New Delhi. Further-

## SAARC: A talking shop

more, there were 'observer nations' such as China, Iran, Japan, South Korea, Mauritius, USA, and European Union. Moreover, Australia and Burma were also invited as observers this year. The geo political importance of SAARC is quite evident.

The SAARC region has an area of 5,131,000 sq. km., where around 25 percent of the poorest people in the world live. All these countries are fighting the same problems, such as poverty, women and child trafficking, high illiteracy, unemployment etc. Now the escalation of the price of gasoline has created various problems just to sustain economic growth and promote the welfare of the people of this region. The scarcity of food and the rise in price has put questions on the future of this region. However, there is no single agenda to fight these problems collectively. Other regional organisations, such as ASEAN and the EU have contributed a lot to uplift their respective regions and promote the welfare of their people.

However, the SAARC declaration this year talks about women and children under point 32, but it clearly does not identify the root cause of the oppression of women

and children. They focus on 'women's economic empowerment and skill development, while addressing key health issues and violence against women'. It is a great political irony; this point comes under the sub-topic of women and children but there is not single word about children to elaborate this point. It means they are not sincere about solving the problems of children as well as women. Now, many of the women are forced to work as prostitutes. Children live on the streets, but the strategic plan of this regional organization is so poor it cannot seriously address these problems.

Bhutanese refugees have spent almost 18 years time outside of their country; now their country is nowhere. However, the SAARC does not hear their voice. They feel that neither India nor Bhutan is ready to address their problems. Unfortunately, the host country of most Bhutanese refugees, Nepal, is too weak to raise this issue in the SAARC forum. Social inclusion of minorities, marginalised group, backward group, untouchable, and people of low castes is a fundamental need. However, there is not a single word addressing these issues in the writ-

ten 41 points SAARC declaration of this year.

If we read the SAARC declaration regarding poverty alleviation, it could scare us. On one side, one out of four of the poorest people in the world lives in this region. On the other side, the effects of poverty reduction cannot sufficiently address these regional issues. The sixth summit held in 1991 addressed this problem, and after seventeen years, the same problems are being addressed. How can the people of this region trust the sincerity of this organisation of 'poor countries'.

The SAARC declaration condemns 'all forms of terrorist violence' as all of these countries are threatened by terrorism and insurgencies. However, this summit does not identify the root cause of the threats that affect the peace, stability and prosperity of the region. In other words, these countries appear united but are in reality divided.

In this region, India and Pakistan are two atomic countries. SAARC functions as a puppet of either India or Pakistan. This Indo-Pak relation and tussle is the main issue of SAARC. The success or failure of SAARC depends on the decisions

of these two giant countries. Other countries tend to strengthen the SAARC to deal at an international level. However, India and Pakistan lobby individually and strengthen their economic and diplomatic relations with other countries.

Historically, India was not happy with the initiation of this regional organisation. Perhaps India was thinking Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka would use this forum to sideline India. At the same time, India has an agreed role in this region. Even at present, India has the same opinion. If this organisation gets strong, the supremacy of India over this region will be gradually eroded. If India does not get rid of this bad opinion, the success of this regional organisation is uncertain. Thus, the other remaining countries should raise their collective voices to pressure India and Pakistan. The tussle between India and Pakistan regarding the disputed region of Kashmir is a main hindrance regarding the future of this organisation. Now, it is time to bring structural change in SAARC. All countries should get a chance to use this forum to raise important issues. This organisation should be the member of other organisations. Otherwise, only India and Pakistan, the two giant countries of South Asia, will benefit from SAARC.

# Prachanda, from commander to Prime Minister

Prachanda, Chairman of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (CPN-M), was elected the first prime minister of Republic of Nepal by the Constituent Assembly (CA) on Friday evening.

He defeated former Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba, the Nepali Congress candidate in the CA voting. Prachanda, meaning "the fierce", is Pushpa Kamal Dahal's party name in the single largest CA party, CPN-M.

In February 1996, the CPN-M tendered its 40-point demands to Deuba-led government and launched an "armed revolution" against the government after its demands were rejected.

Later, the government led by Deuba declared the CPN-M as a terrorist group and fixed heavy cash reward to those who could produce the head of the CPN-M leaders, especially of Prachanda.

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The CPN-M became the single largest party in Nepal after a surprising victory in the CA election held in April this year. Prachanda won two constituencies, namely Kathmandu and Rolpa, where his party began the armed revolution.

As his party changed its policy, Prachanda, who waged "the people's war" in the hills and plains of Nepal demanding republic and restructuring of the country, has also turned into a charismatic leader while shifting his political ideology of bullets into ballots.

Although he never fought himself, Prachanda became the chief military strategist and Supreme Commander of his armed forces, "the People's Liberation Army" (PLA). However, before the prime minister election voting in Friday afternoon, CPN-M leader Baburam Bhattarai declared in the CA that Prachanda, among other CPN-M CA members, have given up PLA posts.

Prachanda ended his nearly three-decade-long underground politics in 2006 when the CPN-M and other mainstream parties became successful to compel the

former King Gyanendra to end his direct rule after a successful April uprising.

Prachanda said he would lead the Himalayan country to a new and prosperous future. "The new government will focus on writing the new constitution within two



years and lead the peace process to a conclusion," he said after filing his nominations for the post of prime minister on Thursday.

"Nepali people have given us a great responsibility. We will do a miracle in this country by doing economic revolution," he said after the CPN-M won the elections in April, promising that his party would transform the poor country into a new Nepal.

"It's an epoch making day that has become possible after a long struggle of the Nepali people," Prachanda said after the newly elected CA declared to abolish the Shah monarchy and declared republic in the country on May 28.

Before CA election, Prachanda said that he was ready to be the president if the people voted for his party. But his party made a make-shift in policy after the constitution

was amended giving president only ceremonial duties and the prime minister with the chief executive of the state.

Married and with three children, Prachanda was born into a high Brahmin caste family on Dec. 11, 1954 in the Kaski district, some

140 km west of Nepali capital Kathmandu.

A former school teacher, Prachanda once was a brilliant student and gained a bachelor's degree in agriculture. He was attracted to communism after he witnessed extreme poverty in rural Nepal and joined the left communist parties in his youth, Prachanda told Xinhua in former interviews.

But his party has a long list of challenges and problems to be solved in the new republic.

The challenges include making new constitution, fulfilling the promises given to party supporters during war, giving economic relief to the people, integrating the CPN-M army in the national armed forces, ending the flood of protests continued in the improvised nation and so on.

*Story and Photo Xinhua News Agency*

## Police murder a Bangla revolutionary leader

The Bangladeshi police have murdered Mizanur Rahman Tutul, a leader of the Purba Bangla Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) Lal Pataka [Red Flag].

The police Rapid Action Battalion (RAB) arrested the 42-year-old Tutul, also known as Mijan, on 25 July in the Uttara area of Dhaka, the country's capital, according to a press conference given by his mother Novera Khatun at the Jhenaidah Press Club on the evening of 26 July. The 80-year-old woman demanded that the government not kill him and instead follow the process of law and bring him to trial. She also said her physician son had not committed crime any except membership in the clandestine party. The Bangladeshi newspaper Jugantor also reported that day that Tutul had been arrested on 25 July.

Nevertheless, on 27 July, the authorities claimed that Tutul was killed in a "crossfire" in a field in the northern area of Naogaon at around 4 am that morning—two days after his arrest and about

eight hours after the press conference – in what was described as a police raid on a secret meeting of members of the outlawed party. Although the police claimed that the meeting had involved 50-60 armed revolutionaries and 80 police, they said that Tutul was the only casualty and that all the others escaped. Raninagar Medical Complex doctors pronounced him dead on arrival. A picture of his bloody corpse was triumphantly displayed in the press.

Tutul was a co-founder of the PBCP ML Lal Pataka in 1997 along with Quamrul Islam Mastar, killed in a police "crossfire" in 2004.

On the same day as Tutul's death, the police announced that they had killed another party member in Natore under similar circumstances. This time the police admitted that they had arrested Ansar Ali alive on 25 July, but insisted that he was killed in a "firefight" when they took him back to a village to find and capture other comrades.

In denouncing the killing of Tutul, the Bangladeshi human rights orga-

nization Odhikar demanded that the government cease the extrajudicial killings that have cost the lives of 197 people in police "crossfires", "shoot-outs", "gunfights" and "encounters" since 11 January 2007, when the military took over and declared a national state of emergency. It said that this killing represented "a marked shift from previous such killings, in that the victim was reportedly not involved in any violent means to propagate his political beliefs."

In a 1 August report, Odhikar further warned, "This killing has threatened the lives of persons believing in specific political ideals." Police killed 16 people under similar circumstances in July alone, it said.

The Bangladeshi military and police have used similar means against revolutionaries ever since the country came into being in 1971. The recent slayings echo the murder in that year of Siraj Sikdar, a Maoist leader and founder of the Proletarian Party of Purba Bangla (PBSP).

*A World to Win News Service*

## CPP-NPA Military Offensives

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) praised the New People's Army (NPA) in Eastern Visayas for successfully frustrating the efforts of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) to suppress the people's revolutionary armed resistance.

CPP spokesperson, Gregorio "Ka Roger" Rosal, said: "Red fighters under the Efrén Martires Command (Eastern Visayas NPA Regional Operational Command) have for the past several months demonstrated with consistent brilliance the superiority of the People's army over the ineffective terrified and moribund fascist armed forces of the reactionary puppet regime."

"With the vigorous support of the people, the NPA in Eastern Visayas has maintained the upper hand in practically all battles against the despised and miserable troops of the AFP," said Rosal. "The NPA has responded to the AFP's widespread military offensives in wide swathes of Samar and Leyte islands with a series of successful tactical offensives against the enemy forces."

In carrying out the revolutionary armed struggle, the NPA follows the general line of the New Democratic Revolution through protracted People's War. It is the principal instrument in implementing the revolutionary program for land reform, the main democratic agenda of the people's revolution. The NPA was established in March 29, 1969, with 60 Red fighters armed with 9 automatic rifles and 26 single-shot rifles and handguns. By carrying out tactical offensives, the NPA is able to accumulate arms and weaken the reactionary mercenary troops.

Currently, the NPA has a sum total of at least three divisions or nine brigades or 27 battalions of full-time Red fighters with high-powered rifles. These are augmented by tens of thousands in the people's militias and further on by hundreds of thousands in self-defence units of the mass organizations.

Both in the legal democratic movement and in the armed mass movement, the CPP now leads millions of people and operates in all regions of the country, in more than 70 provinces out of the 81 provinces, and more than 800 cities and municipalities. The New People's Army operates in 120 to 130 guerrilla fronts under the absolute leadership of the Party.

*Sources: July 11, 2008 Press Release, Information Bureau - Communist Party of the Philippines*

## US schoolteacher arrested in India

The Orissa police has detained Mr. David Pugh, a teacher from US on 12th August along with advocate Miss Protima Das and an anti-displacement activist Mr. Pradeep who accompanied him assisting in translation and showing the area in Kalinganagar and Sukinda on their way back to Bhubaneswar.

According to the Visthapan Virodhi Jan Vikas Andolan, they were taken to Badchan Police station near Chandikhol. Mr. David Pugh was kept for 5 hours in the police custody from 8 p.m. to 4 a.m. in night. He was mentally tortured illegally. After that they released him and asked to stay back for interrogation again on 13th August in the afternoon. Miss Pratima and Mr. Pradeep are being kept under detention.

Mr. David Pugh visited Kalinganagar and Sukinda to see the Industrialization and its effects on the people and the movement against industrialization and mining. Miss. Protima Das was requested to help Mr. David Pugh as translator and Mr. Pradeep as guide as he belongs to the Sukinda. They all had gone to Kalinganagar after attending a People's Tribunal on Displacement, Sez and Corporate Violence in Orissa organized in Bhubaneswar by Visthapan Virodhi Jan Vikas Andolan, an anti-displacement front of movements from various parts of India including that of Orissa. Activists from all areas in Orissa had come to explain their conditions of destitution and destruction at the People's Tribunal.

## Present situation .....

ment that imperialism and Indian expansionism and their Nepalese puppets to not allow the CPN Maoist lead the government manifests the intensity of this very contradiction. The conspiracies that are being hatched not to allow our party to lead government are nothing other than a different type of class struggle between bureaucrat and comprador bourgeois and the Nepalese proletariat. Now, under the leadership of the Nepali Congress, which represents comprador bourgeois, the reactionaries have been working vigorously to develop a status quo coalition against our party. There is no doubt that all of this are done under the master plan of US imperialism and Indian expansionism. Thus, it is clear that it can be nothing other than a domestic and foreign reactionary design to prepare for the final offensive against the Nepalese people's aspirations of real democracy and independence.

Put forward by the second national conference and concretised by the Chunwang Meeting, the tactic of Constituent Assembly, and through this the establishment of Federal Democratic Republic has been accomplished successfully. However, this process has placed the comprador bourgeois class in the dominant position of the reactionary state power. In this situation, to build up a front composed of the entire democratic, patriotic and left forces under the leadership of the party of the proletariat, and move ahead for the final offensive; this is the need of the hour. This and only this can open up the door to eliminating feudalism and imperialism from Nepal, and thereby accomplishing the New Democratic revolution. This is how our party, the CPN (Maoist), a part of the internationalist proletariat, can fulfil its internationalist duty of opening the door for the world proletarian revolution in the first decade of the 21st century. August 12, 2008

*- Writer is a central committee member of CPN-Maoist.*

# Nepal and Beijing Olympics

Rajendra Chapagain

At 8 o'clock, on the 8th of August, China celebrated its role as the Olympic host for the first time, with a stunning display of pageantry and pyrotechnics to open the 29th Summer Olympic Games, unrivaled for its mix of problems and promise.

Newly ascendant as a global power, China welcomed most of the major world leaders to an opening ceremony watched by some ninety thousand people at the spectacular Beijing National Stadium, the 'Birds Nest'. A potential audience of some four billion people throughout the world watched it on television.

The athletes from the various countries paraded around the stadium, and the climax was with the entry of the 639 strong Chinese team, led by flag-bearer and basketball star Yao Ming, alongside a 9-year-old schoolboy who survived the devastating earthquake in May in the Sichuan Province.

The atmosphere around Beijing sparkled as China's

first Olympic superstar, the 1984 six-time gymnastics gold medalist, Li Ning, sent a torrent of flame spiraling upward to the light of Olympic flame. He was raised by wires to the top of the stadium, and circled the circumference of the 'birds nest', as though he was spacewalking. It is the largest, most expensive extravaganza in Olympic history; the ceremony ended with a spectacular firework display, with over thirty thousand fireworks.

The number eight is considered lucky by the Chinese, and the opening ceremony started at 8 seconds and 8 minutes past 8 o'clock on the 8th day of the 8th month of 2008. The US imperialist President George W. Bush, along with five members of his family attended the opening ceremony. The Russian Prime minister Vladimir Putin also attended the opening ceremony in the 'Birds Nest' stadium.

These heads of the states encouraged the players of their respective nations as they paraded around the stadium. As the Nepali team, led by Deepak



Nepali players marching during the opening ceremony of Beijing Olympic

Bista, was parading around the stadium, there was no one to shake hands and clap from the stage for them. There was no excitement in the players when the Nepali team raised the national flag. The former Education and Sports Minister, Pradip Nepal, went to Beijing to lead the team. However, he had no capacity and right to attend the opening ceremony, as he is not a head of the state. Pradip Nepal left in secret to attend a cabinet meeting.

This year's Olympics are the largest ever; 10,708 players from 204 countries are competing for 302 gold medals in 38 events. The highest numbers of gold medals that are up to be won are in athletics-47, followed by swimming-34. The least number of gold medals are in baseball and softball-1.

Nepal has so far been par-

icipated in ten Olympic Games. Seventy-five Nepali sports men and women have already competed in the Olympics. Nepal first took part in the Olympics from the 18th Olympic games of 1964, held in Tokyo, Japan. Although Nepal did not participate in the 19th Olympic games of 1968 in Mexico, Nepal regularly sends players to compete in the Olympics. However, Nepal has not won any medals so far.

Nepal will compete in six different events; in Taekwondo, Athletics, Weight Lifting, Swimming, Judo and Shooting. The players of Nepal are Deepak Bista (Taekwondo), Arjun Bahadur Basnet (Athletics), Kamal Bahadur Adhikari (Weight Lifting), Debu Thapa (Judo), Phoolmaya Kyapchhaki (Shooting), Chandrakala Thapa (Athletics), Pra-

siddha Jung Shah and Karisma Karki (Swimming).

As Nepal has never won an Olympic medal, many Nepali people dearly wish to see Nepal win a medal. The people are very much optimistic. People think that Deepak Bista, the Taekwondo martial artist can win a medal. He is the only player in the national team who is completing in the selection round. Historically, he is the second player to compete in the Olympic who has made it to the selection round. In the Athens Olympic of 2004, Sangina Baidha also made it to the selection round.

If Bista can win even a bronze medal, it will be Nepal's first Olympic medal. As four players; Kyapchhaki, Adhikari, Shah and Thapa were not able to win, people hope that the other five can do better.

## PLA: awaiting solutions

The situation of the PLA has been dire during the last two and a half months. The regular rations and monthly stipends were not received by the lower and middle rank cadres for months. It was rumoured that the Nepal Congress leadership in the Peace and Reconstruction Ministry, with the collaboration of higher echelons of the army, have been conspiring to demoralize and weaken the People's Liberation Army. The purpose was to weaken the Maoist leadership during their ongoing struggle.

As it was agreed during the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, signed on November 22nd 2006, the Maoist combatants kept their arms in UN monitored cantonments and stayed in the cantonments in order to facilitate the peace process and bring about a permanent resolution to the ongoing conflict. However, the Maoist combatants faced severe difficulties and hardship. Repeatedly, the army leadership and the Nepal Congress expressed their doubts over integrating them into the Nepal Army, to take the peace process to its logical conclusion.

The CPN-Maoist fought the ten years People's War, with the sacrifice of tens of thousands of young men and women in order to destroy the feudal order and to build a new democratic republic. The people's mandate in the historic Constituent Assembly elec-

tions reaffirmed that the masses were firmly behind the party. However, the old political powers represented by the Nepal Congress, firmly backed by the reactionary army leadership, completely disregarded the people's aspirations; and if their plans were carried out to the end, the reactionary leadership would not stop short of destroying the Maoist leadership as well as the party.

None of the achievements of the CPN Maoist would have been possible if not for the People's Liberation Army. The story of the Nepali revolution is the untold story of tens of thousands of comrades who valiantly came forward to fight against the injustice and exploitation. Now, finally, that the party is able to form a government under the leadership of Com. Prachanda, the necessary steps to solve the problems of the People's Liberation Army must be taken. Salaries that have not been paid for the last eighteen months should be paid immediately. Necessary facilities must be provided for their maintenance and advancement.

Furthermore, with the difficult but necessary task of restructure of the security sector as part of the restructure of Nepal is lies ahead, and their role as the 'forward detachment of the proletarian revolution' should be rethought and new models should be developed to progress.

## YCL in collective production

After an important campaign to broaden a road in Kathmandu Valley, the Young Communist League (YCL) Nepal is now engaged in collective production. The campaign for production is being taken all over the country.

In the context of changing the structural form



YCL cadres standing by a collective fishpond in Kathmandu

of the organization into a mass organizational structure, the YCL is making a collective effort to serve the people and the society. Hundreds of the thousands of youth are voluntarily taking part in these creative developments.

One of the local sectors of the YCL in Kathmandu is working day and night in a newly created collective fishpond, where there are about 25000

fish. The pond is next to a local higher secondary school. The chief of the fishpond, Kiran Majhi, says that the scheme has the support of the local people, the village development committee, and the teachers of the school. The YCL has agreed to pay 25000 Nepali Rupees each year for improving the

physical condition of the school. The fishpond is also part of a practical field study for students.

The YCL organises many programmes to serve the local people. The local people happily take part in those programmes and discuss the problems they have. Before their arrival in that area, criminals, drunks, and thieves plagued the local people. Now they feel safe walking home at night.