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Nepal's National Magazine

The fight begins

Red Star Reporter

After five and a half months of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly, the long-awaited drafting of the new constitution has begun. The CA meeting held this week has prepared the draft schedule for writing the new constitution. According to the draft, the new constitution will be declared on 28 May 2010.

According to draft schedule, the process will conclude within coming 82 weeks. The interim constitution had provided two years time to draft the Constitution; the CA has made the schedule within this time frame.

The CA will elect its vice-president within November, according to the draft schedule. During this time the fourth session of the legislature will be concluded. Various committees in the CA will be formed, chairpersons for those committees will be elected and concerned committed will draft terms of references for hiring experts in specific areas before December 15. The committees will draft their working schedule and launch civil education and orientation programs within December 15-30.

The CA will enter in drafting constitution from last week of December. During the next seven weeks,

the thematic committees will collect suggestions and opinions from the civil society, concerned experts and commoners after vigorous discussions and interactions. Within two months after Feb 13, the thematic committee will prepare preliminary concept of the new constitution and submit it to CA. The CA will hold deliberations on each concept paper for nine weeks.

The first draft of the constitution prepared after merging suggestions of constitutional and thematic committees, will be presented in the CA in mid August for further discussions. Then it will be sent to constitutional committee for necessary amendments.

The draft will be published to find out the feedback and inputs. For about 11 weeks, public hearing, interactions, seminars will be held across the nation to collect public opinions.

With all the procedures that include collecting opinions, incorporating it in the draft, the CA will have clause-wise discussions and amendments from March 14 to May 12, 2010. The CA will endorse the final draft and all CA members will approve it by signing it. On May 28, 2010 the President of Nepal will declare the constitution.

As the process seems quite easy and well-organized, various big



Prime Minister Prachanda with the leaders of member nations of BIMSTEC (Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Scientific, Technical and Economic Cooperation). The second summit of BIMSTEC concluded in New Delhi on Thursday with the member states recognising a range of areas of mutual cooperation including economic development, climate change and combating transnational crime.

problems lie ahead of this historical process. Issues such as army integration, problems of armed outfits in Terai, land reform, forming various commissions are sure to affect the time frame of drafting constitution. Moreover, the parliamentary parties have a habit of disrupting the CA meetings for minor issues.

The other major issue is of the federal structure and the decentralization of power to those federal regions, which is going to take a lot of time. Although most of the parties have agreed to go to the federal structure most of

the political parties have not even publicized their proposals.

One of the major characteristic of the present power balance is none of the classes dominates the other. This will be clearly reflected during the time of drafting the new constitution. A large force represents the peasants, workers and proletariat class whereas the other represents feudalists, comprador bourgeoisie and reactionaries. The foreign powers who have mean interest in Nepal will not enjoy staying aside of this process. As the process begins a crucial fight is to start soon.



■ Puspha Kamal Dahal 'Prachanda'

We Nepali people have made a great political change after a decade long People's War (PW) and a historic popular movement of 2006. This change has become possible after forging alliance among the three political forces of CPN (Maoist), the Seven Party Alliance and the Civil Society. We need to continue

We have the ability to bring about change for the better

this alliance until a new constitution is drafted and New Nepal is built.

Basically, the issue of development, democracy and peace, that is, the theme of this conference, are intricately linked. In the absence of one, the other two cannot be realized. Without democracy, we cannot dream of development and peace. Democracy must include participation, representation, accountability, transparency, responsiveness and unity of the people. In fact, these are the pillars for democracy to institutionalize and sustain. Likewise, development ensures pros-

perity and people's progress, which eventually contribute to strengthening democracy as well as sustainable peace. We all know that a peaceful environment is a pre-requisite for democracy to flourish and development to occur.

Asia witnessed an unparalleled rise of democratic and nationalist governments through the 1940s to 60s. The European colonial regimes, which perpetuated systematic exploitation of human and natural resources in most of the countries in the region, were overthrown by the upsurge of national liberation movements across the region. The

success of anti-colonial movements in the region generated high hopes among the working class and expectations for a rapid change in their social and economic lives. However, those newly established nationalist regimes failed to initiate development, consolidate democracy and provide socio-economic empowerment to their citizens which had eroded their popular support bases and credibility rapidly. As a consequence, many elected regimes in various countries of the Asia Pacific region were replaced by the authoritarian and military dictators. People

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PM asks to release his comrades

Prime Minister and Chairman of CPN (Maoist) Prachanda has asked the Prime Minister of India Dr. Manmohan Singh to release the Nepali Maoist cadres who are detained in Bihar jails. Speaking with the journalists upon arrival to Nepal from participating BIMSTEC meeting in India, PM Prachanda said that Dr. Singh has given positive commitment.

Maoist cadres who had been to India for treatment were arrested and put in various jails of Bihar. PM Prachanda also informed that he emphasized on the need to resolve border disputes and curtail criminal activities along the bordering areas.

Earlier addressing the BIMSTEC summit, PM Prachanda called for international investment in Nepal's hydro-power sector.

Co-operative movement within people's war in Nepal

Thakur Prasad Devkota

The historical initiation of the People's war (PW) in Nepal brought drastic changes in social, cultural, economic and political aspects. In the international communist movement that initiation adds an important step to build and develop the ideology in communist international. This article is about the "co-operative movement within people's war" in Nepal during the war period. When the CPN (Maoist) planned and proclaimed the "establishment the base area", people and party cadre became aware of co-operatives. Co-operative management and mass-mobilization is the major part of the PW in Nepal. To manage the red army, war preparation, weapon management, war-wounded treatment, feeding, clothing etc. were the major tasks of the base area. The major works to do in this area were: 1. Service and Production 2. Management 3. Construction and 4. Security. To meet these challenges without the mobilization of the people was not possible. Therefore, to meet these challenges, CPN (Maoist) planned to organize and mobilize the people collectively.

After declaration of the base area, through construction and production, Party decided to form different departments to fulfil the needs of the people and the war. Like the department of agriculture and co-operative, public health, education, industry etc. were given priority. Thousands of great martyrs sacrificed themselves for the liberation of the people and the nation. The great people's war brought a great change in Nepalese society, culture and economics

and, politics. Within the PW, party planned for the socio-economic development, construction, and fulfillment of people's requirement. Preliminary needs of the base areas were management, construction and security. To fulfill the needs, the party built many of the organizational structures in the rural areas.

The important things done are mass-mobilization in a greater scale, formation of co-operative and commune as the experiments and the bases for communism, construction of infra structure like roads and hospitals, establishment of co-operatives, agro-farm etc. On the basis of the above mentioned things, People's Liberation Army (PLA) was formed for the security of the people and the base area. Now a days, the reactionaries are raising questions to dissolve PLA, co-operatives and communes made and established in the base area.

After declaration of emergency by the reactionary government, in December 2001, the importance of the co-operatives mostly increased to combat against reactionary army also. The initiation of commune and co-operative in the rural area is the embryo of the communist society. Therefore, in this article I'm going to explain about co-operative under the people's government during the war period. Theoretically, the co-operative is the first step to reach to the socialism and communism. It played an important role in socio-economic transformation. Theoretically and practically, it was divided in to three categories:

- 1) Labour co-operatives
- 2) Semi-social co-operatives

3) Social co-operatives

That is the step wise division of the co-operative development process. At the time of PW, we applied all types of cooperatives. Nowadays, some of the cooperatives are progressing in a lucrative ways. We can see these types of co-operatives in rural areas of the base area.

However, we can divide the co-operatives, economically, in the following way:

- 1) Financial co-operatives e.g. small saving & credit co-operative bank, co-operative bank etc.
- 2) Consumer/service co-operative e.g. marketing co-operative, community/co-operative school, community/co-operative hospital etc.
- 3) Production co-operative e.g. agriculture production co-operatives, industrial co-operative, construction co-operatives etc.

All these types of co-operatives were and are in practice in base areas. We gave emphasis in the production co-operative for the independent economy. To support the production, the other type of co-operative also established. Not only co-operatives we introduced and developed, but also the new technology we used increased in production. We established the co-operative system connecting with the daily life of the people, mainly the peasants, which brought socio-economic change in peasantry life. To protect from the food scarcity in the base area, we started the production system to change those areas. The co-operative system helped in production, distribution and consumption. The materials and requirements were mostly fulfilled by co-operatives.

In the base area, we established the different types of

co-operatives for the experiment. Mainly the models of the commune, social co-operative and semi-social co-operative were applied and they have been the important achievements of the PW in socio-economic sector. These are the most important things in the history of the Nepalese co-operative. Ideologically, it is the way of socialisation of the production to transfer the society and also the development of war economy in new model of revolution. In new democracy of 21st century, it adds the major concept in socio-economic field. The reactionary camp argues to dissolved or destroy the communes and co-operatives. The duty of revolutionary is to protect and enrich the achievement.

One of the war period structures for socio-economic development is co-operative. These helped in the mobilization of the people and organize them into co-operative frame. The main communes and the co-operatives are given below:

- 1) Juni commune (in Jajarkot district)
- 2) Balidan People's commune (In Rukum)
- 3) Ajambari People's commune (In Rolpa)
- 4) Jaljala People's commune (In Rolpa)

And the social People's co-operative are the following

- 1) Tamali People's co-operative
- 2) Mirul people's co-operative

And other type of co-operative also practiced in rural area during the war period. Those co-operatives are the base of the communist society. Therefore, we can say that it carries ideological important for the revolutionary communist in worldwide.

In Nepalese co-operative

movement, it is the strong blow to the reactionary's co-operative sector. It leads the co-operative movement of the revolutionary socialist camp. It is the great challenge to the imperialist, capitalist and all the reactionaries of Nepal and the world. It is necessary to study about the socio-economic structure build within war period. Therefore, ideologically, we can conclude that in the field of socio-economic sector we practised and developed: 1) war economics i.e. production, management, conservation of bio-diversity, people's banking etc. 2) planting and introducing the highly nourishing crops and minor uncultivated plant found in jungle. 3) Search and introduction of the indigenous knowledge of rural people 4) establishment of the co-operative system in working, production, transportation, distribution, and security etc. 5) establishment of the communes and co-operatives in base areas for the socio-economic transformation of the society. 6) Introduce and experiment the newly improved technology to developed the base area like improve seed, medicine, farming technology, treatment technology etc. The other type of community welfare functions like community health, school etc.; the co-operative sector was introduced within peoples war. That adds a new concept in sociology and economics to develop the ideology. That gives a new and creative message to the world. Principally, we can say that it is an important property of the revolution. From this, we can get lessons about the war period communes and co-operatives and economy of the Peoples War.

We have the

in many Asian countries including Nepal are trapped in a vicious circle of injustice, underdevelopment and poverty. Due to the feudal system and an exploitative international financial and capitalist system, they could not achieve proper economic growth and productivity.

The ongoing market-led neo-liberal economic policies under the disguise of globalisation have further marginalized the poor and the helpless. The developed countries are now realising the drawbacks of complete deregulation of the financial sector and free market economy. Also the issues of financial, food, and energy crises and the natural devastation and catastrophe of global warming and climate changes are directly related to the market led capitalist globalisation system. The recent financial meltdown in the United States and the chain reactions causing market wreckage all over the world has had a tremendous negative effect on our countries in the south.

For the first time in decades the people of Nepal have reason to be hopeful about peace prevailing and rooting of a federal democratic system. The govern-

ment, and political parties along with the UN's facilitation, peace process is striving towards a logical conclusion by completing the integration of the People's Liberation Army based on the prior accords and understandings amongst all the major stakeholders. Our next crucial task is to draft a new constitution with federal components, which represents the hopes of all the people. We are committed to accomplish this very important task within the stipulated time frame of two years. This will be the document that will guarantee all the fundamental rights of the people as enshrined in the UN charter. We are confident that this will lay a foundation for a democratic and peaceful Nepal.

Realizing the heightened expectations and aspirations of the people, an economic recovery package including the relief efforts has been planned to focus on those affected by the conflict. We believe that other nations and international financial institutions and our immediate neighbours will support us in our noble endeavour of nation building. We also plan to utilize the internal and external resources effectively in our history. Our efforts, we believe, will pave the way for a new socio-economic transformation in the country.

The newly elected government of Nepal is fully committed to protect and promote the human rights of its people under all circumstances with constitutional and legal guarantees and implementation of the international human rights instruments to which Nepal is a signatory party. The government is committed to end the culture of impunity. We are committed to go ahead with forming a Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

It is a well established fact that the lack of normative jurisprudence in any country makes the electoral based political governance a mockery and a sham in the name of democracy. A real and functioning democracy must have jurisprudence in place and implemented ruthlessly against any forces that try to thwart the gains in political and other arenas brought about by the sacrifices of the people. Therefore, the rule of law needs to be obeyed by the citizens without which democracy; development and peace become a distant dream. We are very much committed towards restoring law and order and maintaining peace. Hence, we have taken various initiatives in this direction.

A careful analysis of the genesis of our past struggles indicates that we, Nepali people have the ability to bring about

change for the better. I strongly believe that the peace process exercised in Nepal has been a unique example and may be a reference model for the rest of the world. The UN, international community and other friendly countries have supported these home-grown processes, which we plan to base on multiparty democracy, inclusiveness, and equity based social system. It is thus, very imperative at this historical juncture that we must pause and ponder about our next move.

There are many threats and challenges against the realization of the opportunities and the potential created so far. The oligarchy, the remnants of the defeated feudalists, and the people who want to maintain status-quo will try to thwart the gains made possible by the heroic struggles of the people. The people have suffered a lot in the past and now they cannot afford to see the spoils of the achievements. Any deviation from fulfilling the reasonable aspirations of the people is sure to breed frustrations among the masses which will detriment democracy, development and peace in the country.

This is a speech Prime Minister Prachanda had delivered to the conference 'Democracy, Development and Peace in Asia' on 10th Nov. in Kathmandu.

We need a new international

– Prof. Samir Amin

Marxist Economist

Can you tell us about yourself briefly and your views on Marxism?

I qualify myself as an activist, maybe an intellectual activist. My whole active life was deeply connected with the liberation movements in Africa during the late 40's, 50's and 60's and the after; that is roughly I could say the Bandung period, starting from 1955. That struggle has changed more than any other struggle, possibly, in the last 50 years.

I was and I am an economist and therefore also a Marxist. And, I don't recognize the qualification of neo-Marxist. I consider a Marxist as starting from Marx but not stopping at Marx. That is considering that Marx thought, laid the foundations for understanding how to analyze and how to change the world. And in that the long history, as of Marx I consider that of course Lenin and especially Mao wrote and made fundamental contributions for understanding how to change the world, taking into account the fact that imperialism has divided the world into centers and peripheries. And, created the polarization at a global level and deepened it from one period to the other. And the question of the long transition to socialism had to be dealt with in a very different way from the Eurocentric, workers vision; the traditional vision of the 3rd international.

That is about myself; I'm currently the chair for the World Forum for Alternatives. Which is a network bringing together thinkers of the world from all regions of the world, north and south, whose qualifications are to be anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, of course, but anti-capitalist more than that, however, in a non-sectarian way. i.e. admitting variety of visions of what are the efficient strategies of moving ahead beyond capitalism.

In your book "The Future of Maoism" you exchange polemics with Indian Marxist V. Nandy on Marxism. Tell us something about this:

You see, the main challenge which has been probably to raise the things overlooked in what I call historical Marxism i.e. Marxism as understood by Marx. The main weakness of that historical Marxism is that it has not ever considered the consequences of the very fact that capitalism in its global expansion from the very start, because capitalism from the beginning tended to be a global system, has created the polarization of the dominant centers and dominated periphery. And that, from periods, of course, the imperialist reality has itself changed from period to period in the sense that the way it used to be defined, it has operated, has changed from place to place. That the fact is, that polarization

has continuously been created, recreated and deepened from one period to another. That fundamental fact was overlooked. I think that Marx, because he was really an exceptional person, had a feeling of that reality; however, not much more than that.

Lenin started taking into account this reality, at least partly. One; by qualifying the system as becoming imperialistic, as if it had not been imperialistic before. And, one would not understand how the Americas were conquered without the vision of the imperialist expansion characteristic of the capitalist expansion. How India was colonized long before the modern monopolies of the end of the 19th century. But he had also started understanding that the polarization meant a strategy for the socialist revolution in a global level different from the one which he had inherited from the historical Marxism before him. Now, the 2nd international was terribly Eurocentric and based on exclusively the working classes, without considering the peasantry. Because, indeed, in the case of Western Europe, at least, the capitalist development had solved the agrarian question in its way. But they projected that in to the future for the others, imagining that the path that Europe has gone through will be the path laid to the other regions of the world. And, therefore, they have this Eurocentric vision, the 2nd international, which associated with pro-imperialism. We can call it social imperialism or social colonialism. Because, they considered that colonization and imperialism was bringing in ingredients for change and progress; and for peripheries catching up to becoming like centers and putting the question of the socialist revolution later in the agenda.

Lenin started understanding that this was not the case and that he was expecting a lot from the working class of the west, particularly from Germany. That the Russian revolution has started in the weak link, as he says which was in the periphery. Russia was at that time in the periphery, it was a non-industrialized country, only starting industrialization, with a vast majority of peasants, still. And he understood the fact that, he was in a way disappointed by the fact that, the (Russian) revolution was not followed by a German revolution. However, he drew the conclusion from that the revolution in now moving to the east. Remember Baku, it's a turning point. And it's an alliance between the workers from the Russian revolution and the peasants of the east, which will bring the 2nd wave of the revolution. And that is what actually occurred i.e. revolution moved in to



the east to China, later to Vietnam, to Cuba etc. It moved to the east. And as a result of the polarization, the revolution in the east could not be a socialist revolution led by the working class. That was a revolution of a national, popular, democratic block led by the working class and the majority of peasants and less than poor peasants with the support of strata of middle classes, the revolutionary intelligentsia and possibly with some neutralization of some segments of bourgeois or capitalist class.

Mao was not only the 1st to do it but also analyze it, which was his specific contribution to Marxism, to living Marxism. And we are still confronted with the same challenge today in all of the rest of the south i.e. Asia, Africa, Latin America. These are societies which are, as a result of imperialist expansion, maintained in a state of peripheral capitalism with a majority of peasants. And, therefore, the revolution, which is on the agenda, will not be effective if it does not enroll the majority of those peasants in alliance with popular classes, working classes, more or less developed according to the country and with revolutionary intelligentsia and so on. That is the Maoist strategy remains the only necessary strategy, for moving ahead on the road to socialism. That is what the Indian Communists have not understood and that is what the Nepal Communists have understood. That is the Indian communists, and not only the Indian Communists, but I would say similarly the Arab Communists, similarly the Communists from South Africa, from Latin America as of the 50's abandoned the Leninist-Maoist vision and strategy of revolution based on a strong peasant revolution, revolt; abandoned it to the benefit of supporting the national bourgeoisie, anti-imperialist block which came out of the Bandung, i.e. the type of Nehru in India, of Nasser in Egypt etc. And, abandoning that, they became the left

wing of the national bourgeoisie movement defending the interests of the working classes, but not more than that, and abandoning completely the strategy of mobilizing poor peasants and starting the revolution from that end. That was corrected partly in India with the Marxist-Leninist, and some of Maoists are participating in the peasant, naxalite movements.

However, for variety of reasons that we can't analyze in one or two sentences, I wouldn't say that they have failed but they have not succeeded. They have not failed in the sense that the ingredient is there, the problem is there, and peasantry is there in many cases. Nevertheless, they have not succeeded in the sense that they haven't been able to mobilize those movements to have them spreading throughout the Indian sub-continent and to establishing the links with the victims of the capitalist expansion, to working classes, to lower strata of middle classes and so on. While the Nepalese have, at least, succeeded at the first chapter of basing their struggle in peasant revolt and then making, becoming, a force able to overthrow the regime, the King and his comprador servants; and then coming in to negotiation, agreement, with other possible partners in the building of a national, popular, democratic, hegemonic alternative block; alternative to the comprador ruling class submitting to imperialism and neo-liberalism. Now that means also another point should be added.

Can you explain the Communist vision for the 21st century?

This is a vision of the long transition from capitalism to socialism. Now, the vision of the third international was a vision of a short transition i.e. the revolution, even if the revolution is not a pure socialist workers revolution, involving the peasants and other strata, it moves on quickly to a socialist revolution, and then building socialism in a very short period; whether ten

years, twenty years or thirty years, it is a very short period. That was the pattern in the mind of third international. De facto, without breaking from the third international, Mao took his distance. And the theory of the new democracy was published in western languages in 1950 or 52 but which was known to the Chinese revolutionaries from the late 40's. It was based on that new understanding of the long transition i.e. not building socialism immediately.

Many of the Chinese communists, including Mao, in the name of Mao, said they were building socialism. But, Mao himself was very careful about that, and was always saying no, we are still in the very early stages of a long-long road; he even used the typical Chinese way of expression "it will take 1000 years", which means a long time, which means don't be in a hurry! Don't think that socialism is around the corner of the streets! And, this is fundamentally correct; I think, we should think of a strategy i.e. a strategy for socialism for the 21st century. The fact that the wording is popular is we are in 21st century. That is my reading of our history i.e. the 20th century was the 1st wave of successful struggles and revolutions for the emancipation of labor and of people. And the two cannot be disassociated. Because, there are labor; however, the very fact of polarization on a global scale created by capitalism, by really existing capitalist imperialist systems, has produced a situation in which is wider than the working class, the people, the working people of the south are the victims as well as the working classes. Stricto sensu, in the narrow sense of the term, the industrial working class. And, therefore, what is on the agenda is a long period of national popular democratic series of stages, not really one stage, a series of successive stages, in which there is a combination of some dimensions, some as-

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EDITORIAL

Forthcoming National cadres meeting

The postponed national cadre meeting will take place on the 3rd week of November. The meeting will be very different from former meetings. All the responsible cadres are waiting for the meeting enthusiastically.

Many are keenly interested in the meeting, all the parliamentary and revolutionary parties, the common people, as well as foreign powers are awaiting the outcome of this meeting.

Regarding the overall situation, it appears different depending upon the political perspective. From the revolutionary and the progressive point of view, there are positive expectations; from the point of view of the status quo, they expect stagnation and confusion. They are all trying to affect the meeting.

This historical cadre meeting has more important specific responsibilities than previous meetings. This meeting will give a strong feedback to the central committee to determine the way ahead.

The party has already sent a circular with a document to the lower channels or to the members of the state committees to prepare for the debate. Probably in the history of the international communist movement, the national cadre meeting is going to take place with open differences of opinion.

The importance of the debate is on whether to go for a democratic republic or a People's Republic, and it essential to the building of the political line for the party. The building of political line in a specific country or even in a place is the task of creating a political line for the proletarian class around the world; and this needs a creative and a live debate utilizing democratic centralism.

Addressing all these expectations, the CPN-Maoist will clearly determine its political-line, policy, plans and program through the coming national cadre meeting. All reactionary plots against the meeting will be smashed. The CPN-Maoist will be able to take a scientific decision according to its class interest as the forward detachment of the international proletariat.

The differences of opinion within our party



■ Netra Bikram Chand 'Biplap'

We should say honestly that there is a difference of opinion on how to accomplish the Nepalese Revolution. Mainly, the difference of opinion is about the party line, political program and tactics in our party. This clearly justifies that a serious u-turn has occurred before the Nepalese Revolution. The responsibility of carrying the revolution ahead successfully has fallen upon the shoulders of the revolutionary communists of Nepal and the revolutionary communists of the world. We all should direct our attention to it.

1) The difference of opinion on political program:

The main bone of contention is whether the party should advance ahead for People's Republic or stay in the stage of democratic republic. In our central committee meeting held from 4 to 6 October 2008, Party Chairman, Comrade Prachanda put forward a program to remain in the Democratic Republic. His spoken proposal pointed out the necessity of the tactics of democratic republic; there is no favorable situation to advance into the People's Republic. On the contrary, he pointed out the need to synthesize the ideology based on the achievements gained up until democratic republic. After the proposal of Com. Prachanda, Com. Kiran disagreed with the program of democratic republic, and put forward a written proposal for a People's Republic. Com. Kiran proposed that the appropriateness of the democratic republic is over and the party should advance ahead towards the People's Republic.

We must understand some

of the aspects that the declared and authentic political program of our party was from the beginning a new People's Democracy. According to the validity of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the central question of the People's War is to achieve people's state power and that is the new people's power. This objective has not changed until now. An interesting aspect is that the Nepali Congress (NC) and the Unified Marxist and Leninist (UML) are more active in the operation of the state than during the period of the monarchy, when the PW began. The Parliamentarians carried out barbaric repressions against us. Viewed from this aspect, the People's War was against even the multiparty parliamentary system. Our slogan was, "Let's not remain under the illusion of parliamentary system! Let's prepare for a new people's democratic revolution!"

When the PW was advancing ahead to its climax, King Gyanendra took power in his hands through a 'coup' over the parliamentary parties. Let us remember that this was a fascist step to reverse the defeat of parliamentarians and the victory of the people through PW. The 'coup' of Gyanendra polarized the situation. The Democratic republic was the outcome of this polarization. At that time, we had a clear conception that the democratic republic will only be a transitional tactic for a united front with parliamentary parties against the monarchy.

The transitional tactics show that the tactics for the democratic republic are not the tactics to replace the new People's Republic; rather it was the tactics for the new People's Republic that has ended along with the abolition of monarchy and the establishment of republic in the country.

The class character of the democratic republic is of a bourgeois class character. After the constituent assembly, the monarchy has been abolished and the republic has been es-

tablished, however, there is no change in its class character. The party has reached up to the super structure of the state power, the constituent assembly government; but all of the bases belong to the old class power. The economy, military organization, administrative structure and the laws are of the old power. There is no possibility to hand those bases over to the people by a simple process or by peaceful means. For this, a new political program is necessary to be taken among the people. It is clear that remaining in the democratic republic instead of advancing forward to the People's Republic is to distance the goal of building the people's power according to the basic programs related to Marxism under the leadership of the proletarian class; and stumbling and being stuck into the parliamentary morass under the bourgeois class state power. These are the main differences between democratic republic and the People's Republic.

2. The strategic difference:

The second difference is on how to accomplish the Nepalese revolution; by insurrection or by peaceful struggle. Although our party has reached to this stage through the line of the people's War, armed struggle and the strategy of insurrection, we had said that there was a little possibility of a peaceful development of revolution as we had entered into the peaceful process 2 years ago.

Even though we accepted that type of possibility in a specific time, however, it is impossible in such a country like ours. However, some of our comrades in the leadership are in favour of peaceful transition through the democratic republic. This tendency is talking about insurrection while at the same time it is breaking down the bases of the insurrection (the fusion of PLA, sending the professional revolutionaries back to their homes, sending them to hold jobs, giving em-

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FROM THE HISTORY

The question of the future of the revolution

Some comrades have raised this question, and here I can only give a brief answer.

In the writing of an article the second half can be written only after the first half is finished. Resolute leadership of the democratic revolution is the prerequisite for the victory of socialism. We are fighting for socialism, and in this respect we are different from those who confine themselves to the revolutionary Three People's Principles. It is the great future goal to which our present efforts are directed if we lose sight of the goal, we cease to be Communists. But equally we cease to be Communists if we relax our efforts of today.

We are exponents of the theory of the

transition of the revolution[10] and we are for the transition of the democratic revolution in the direction of socialism. The democratic revolution will develop through several stages, all under the slogan of a democratic republic. The change from the predominance of the bourgeoisie to that of the proletariat is a long process of struggle, of struggle for leadership in which success depends on the work of the Communist Party in raising the level of political consciousness and organization both of the proletariat and of the peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie.

The staunch ally of the proletariat is the peasantry, and next comes the urban petty

bourgeoisie. It is the bourgeoisie that will contend with us for leadership.

To overcome the vacillation of the bourgeoisie and its lack of revolutionary thoroughness we must rely on the strength of the masses and on the correctness of our policy, or otherwise the bourgeoisie will come out on top.

A bloodless transition is what we would like and we should strive for it, but what will happen will depend on the strength of the masses.

We are exponents of the theory of the transition of the revolution, and not of the Trotskyite theory of "permanent revolution".[11] We are for the attainment of so-

cialism by going through all the necessary stages of the democratic republic. We are opposed to tailism, but we are also opposed to adventurism and impetuosity.

To reject the participation of the bourgeoisie in the revolution on the ground that it can only be temporary and to describe the alliance with anti-Japanese sections of the bourgeoisie (in a semi-colonial country) as capitulation is a Trotskyite approach, with which we cannot agree. Today such an alliance is in fact a necessary bridge on the way to socialism.

Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Foreign Languages Press, Peking 1967, Vol. 1, pp. 285-94.

People's Republic is the fundamental goal of a Communist Party



■ Agni Sapkota

Nepal is establishing a new model of peace and change, under the leadership of the CPN (Maoist). The political line of Nepali revolution determined by the Unity Congress held in 1992 after a scientific and objective synthesis of the experiences of the 20th century revolutions and counter-revolutions; the third expanded meeting determined the strategy and tactics of the People's War based on the party line of the Unity Congress. The People's War began on 13 February; the preparation, initiation and the development of the People's War was quite original and carried forth in a creative way. After five years of the initiation of the people's war, the party synthesized the ideology as Prachandapath, as a developed ideology to lead the revolution.

From that point, the party realized the importance of a new synthesis for all the achievements, developments, experiences and lessons. Now, an ideological and political debate is going on inside and outside of the party. The debate is going on sharply in the form of a discussion to synthesize the

ideological, political, organizational as well as the military sectors. The issue of the Federal Democratic Republic is at the centre of the debate. The party had put forward a new proposal in "The development of democracy in the 21st century" in 2004 by developing the newly synthesized ideology of Prachandapath, developed from the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the soil of Nepal. The new proposal was forwarded through a 12-point understanding to the Constituent Assembly and the people have ratified it. Our party has become the largest party in the Constituent Assembly through multi-party competition. It has already been agreed, in essence, for 'the development of democracy in the 21st century': things such as the republic, multiparty competition, federalism etc. However, there are efforts to overturn the decisions that have already been reached by the agreement and are ratified. I am trying to synthesise the main issues to advance the discussion ahead.

Our party is advancing through the strategic offensive by crossing the stage of strategic defensive and equilibrium. Our party has already clarified that the main aspiration of the political strategy is to accomplish the new people's democratic revolution by carrying out the strategic offensive in an original and creative way. It is obvious that the People's Republic will be established after the accomplishment of a new people's democratic

revolution. However, the party is moving ahead with the ideology of MLM. Likewise, the party is creatively developing the political power. A new proposal regarding to the relation between state power and the communities of the people has been put forward in the proposal of 'the development of democracy in the 21st Century'. Instead of formal democracy and bureaucratic centralism, the actual democratic dictatorship can be strengthened through a broad live process of democratization. There is no difference of opinion within the party to go ahead to the People's Republic. However, the republic that is going to be institutionalized in Nepal will not be a copy of other countries. Major emphasis will not be given to the mechanical relationship to assist only communist parties among the anti-feudal and the anti-imperialist parties, but also emphasis will be given to the dialectical relationship which creates the environment for a democratic political competition to serve the people.

The current debate is not about a democratic republic or a People's Republic, but it is rather centralized between the Parliamentary Republic and People's Republic. Hence, there is not even a single debate about whether to go ahead to the People's Republic in our party. Rather, intensive efforts are being undertaken to weaken party unity by stretching the issues unnecessarily. Our party has frequently stated that we have not come to the

mainstream of the traditional parliamentary system. We are fully committed to institutionalize the Federal Republic according to the necessity of 21st century and the Nepalese conditions. Politically independent, economically prosperous, advanced and progressive is the vision of the new Nepal. Based on these assumptions, our party has developed a new conception of the acceptance of the multi-party competition not only in the People's Republic but also in the stage of socialist system. Our party has clearly stated that an independent and people-oriented republic with multi-party competition should be developed instead of the old parliamentary system that is worthless to the people. The party has moved ahead by introducing an optional model of People's Republic rather than the model developed during the period of Mao in China. There was no federalism in Mao's democracy; but we are talking about a new federal republican system in Nepal. Hence, the democracy that we are trying to develop is a more advanced democracy than the Chinese Republic.

The new conception of our party is to establish the system with multi-party competition that protects the interest and the well-being of the majority of the people. The current federal republic has been established not only through debates and discussion, but also through the foundation of People's War by the proletarian class under

their own leadership, after destroying the old feudal system. Hence, it will be regressive notion if somebody imagines the reestablishment of an already demolished state system.

In the state power with multi-party competition, the fundamental norms and values including civic freedom, fundamental rights, human rights, voting rights, child rights, periodical elections, freedom of press etc will be maintained according to characteristics and necessities of the 21st century. Furthermore, in the new state power, there will be a competition to justify the commitment towards the class and the people through dedication, devotion and sacrifice uniting with the people.

The basic pillars of the new state power will be liberation of people from class, caste, regional and gender repression, federalism with the right of self-determination and freedom for anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist parties. The revolution is not yet complete. The historical responsibility of true revolutionaries is to establish a new Republic Nepal, which will be politically free, economically prosperous, culturally advanced and progressive. Therefore, the People's Republic is the fundamental goal of a communist party; however, the People's Republic will be according to the needs and specificities of the 21st century, and not a traditional one.

Writer is a central committee member of CPN (Maoist).

Struggle: the identity of Dalit people

■ Santoshi Bishwakarma

The Nepalese People's War (PW) is an important turning point in the history of the Nepalese Communist movement. Actually, a new era began after its initiation. There has never been such mass awareness and the participation of the people. Never have so many tribes, communities, castes, dalits, gender, region and the marginalized ever come into power.

The PW has brought so many changes in the lives of all people in the country. They all have started honourable lives in the society where before they used to be treated without any respect or dignity. Before the PW, the life of dalit people was miserable and poor. Dalits had to spend their lives in awful conditions despite the fact that they possess skill, efficiency, art and professionalism. Dalit women had to bear torture and harassment in the society.

The Aryan rulers ruled over the Indian sub-continent with the help of the superstitious beliefs invented and founded by Manu as the tools of repression. Kings and the Emperors were considered were considered to be sent to rule on Earth from heaven by God.

The feudal kings and the great kings declared themselves the incarnation of Gods on the Earth. They lived a very luxurious life and the people spent their lives as slaves. The kings and their helpers ran the supreme state powers. The people were forced to live stateless, property-less and right-less. According to the caste division, dalits were put in the hierarchy of the lowest caste. It means that they had to serve all the people of the upper castes.

The long practice of this type of discrimination erected a high boundary between the man-made different castes of human beings in the Indian sub-continent. Deception, intrigue, cheating and dishonesty became the religion of the high Brahmin caste, and to obey and follow the ruling class, to be weak and dependent, to be slaves was the religion of the poor Dalit people.

All the oppressed people, including Dalits, were taught to accept exploitation and repression as their fate because of sins committed in a previous life. Until the PW was initiated, the identity of the Dalit caste was backward, illiterate. To liberate themselves from repression and exploitation, dalits need to break the fetters of feudalism.

The historical participation and representation of the Dalit people in the leadership in all the sectors of the PW brought a drastic change in the life of the Dalit people and the traditional conception of the people. As the people broke the "norms and values" of the feudal tradition, they changed their way of thinking. They took the initiative to decide their own fate and became the captain of their path forwards.

Since the initiation of all the people's movements and especially from the beginning of the Peoples War, Dalit people participated in the struggle of death and life to achieve liberty and the equality. Along with learning the scientific socialist ideology during the PW, Dalit women dwelling in those remote villages like Kotbada of Kalikot district seized rifles from the armed police by fighting with their bare hands.

Only the organized power of the people can 'drop the emperor from the horse'. As people of the remote villages realized this, they were ready to sacrifice members of their own family and their property. Many of them have lost their husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers and many of their relatives. Most Nepalese

families are martyrs families. They fought a historical fight in the war. The women carried their children on their back and gun in their hands. Really, it was the fight for liberty and equality. In the context of the PW in Nepal, we cannot separate liberty and equality from each other. They are closely related.

The motive power of the history is people. After the ending of feudal regime from Nepal, the oppressed class, marginalized and the ethnic groups have sent their representatives to the Constituent Assembly. The Maoist party has said that a nation cannot be a nation until and unless the exploited, the carrier forces of the civilization, are given full democratic rights to create a stronger national unity. According to this concept, we can build a beautiful garden of the different flowers in the 21st century only after the implementation of the dream of liberty and the equality.

Adopting and following these ideas, the Dalit people have sent their representatives to the Constituent Assembly. The representatives of all types of the oppressed people and the marginalized are now trying their best to write the constitution in favour of those people to build a new Nepal.

On the question of army integration



■ Maheshwar Dahal

Anti-people powers inside and outside the country have not taken the important issue of army integration seriously.

The question of the integration of the PLA and the NA must be seen from a political point of view. The first thing is that the concrete achievement of the FDR was achieved through the PW by the PLA and the PLA has been established as the principal power to address the political, economic and cultural causes of the revolution.

The second thing is that the CPN-Maoist has postponed and deactivated all the other achievements to make the peace process a success, through the establishment of the FDR and the process of state restructuring. If Maoist is ready to forsake the agenda of Army integration, it will give the message that the CPN-Maoist came to the peace process to surrender.

The third is that the Nepal Army is the main pillar of state power. Without the transformation of the army, the restructure of the state is impossible. Therefore, the formation of a new Army is inseparably connected with the

building of a new Nepal. This task is impossible without the integration of the two armies.

The fourth is that the then eight political parties have already agreed upon this agreement. If the agreement is not implemented, then the whole process from the 12-point understanding to now will have broken down.

Fifth, the question of the integration of the army is closely related to abolishing discrimination in the state and making it inclusive. A national army, representing the national interest, cannot be made without the integration with PLA that has the inclusive representation of women, Dalit, Madhesi and other nationalities and marginalized groups.

Sixth, actually, the revolution was to provide space and responsibility for them in the state and in the society. Some are expressing contradictory statements that, on the one hand, they plead for the addressing of Maoist revolt and, at the same time, they reject the integration of the armies. This type of contradictory expression is conspiratorial.

Seventh, the old army is the army built to protect feudalism. Obviously, the old army could not even oppose the foreign interference over nationality. Just opposite, the formation and development of the PLA was for the protection of the independence of the nation, political rights of the people against repression and the injustice of feudalism

and imperialism. Therefore, the appropriate structure of the national army cannot be created without the PLA, the army dedicated and devoted to the nation and its people. However, it was never for the jobs.

Some others are seeking to deal with the PLA through alternatives to integration. The talk about the PLA joining the Industrial Security Force (ISF) by using them as security guards in industries to suppress workers in the factories is a great dishonor to the PLA. Many different alternatives have been given such as foreign employment, trades and business or returning home. The PLA did not fight in the People's War for jobs or for economic relief. This tendency is a status quo and regressive tendency, and leads the PLA to its dissolution.

The people who consider the PLA to be an obstacle on the way must answer the question; what is the address of Maoist revolt if they are not in favor of creating a national army by integrating the two armies? What is the meaning of restructuring the army? What do they mean by new Nepal? What is inclusive in state system? What is the purpose of the comprehensive Peace Accord? And then, what is the outlet for a progressive political exit?

The different types of reasons, which are being debated, are emerging from idea of dissolving it. It will ambush the progressive agenda of the

restructure of the state. The integration of army should not be taken arithmetically or mechanically. This should be transferred into the recognition of the changed national political environment, role and responsibility of national independency, the fulfillment of the measurement of professionalism and the force to be recognized as the identity to all the Nepalese People. The army cannot play its role as the national army until and unless there is unity in the aforementioned subjects in understanding and behavior.

Therefore, in the beginning of the integration of the army, the two armies should be under a single command and it will be the only scientific procedure, and because of their different backgrounds, there will be some inconvenience.

The question of the integration of army is a serious question connected with national interest. Only a few persons should not take any decision in a hurry. The decision should be taken by putting the national interest into the top-priority instead of the ambition of a few persons. Otherwise, who will be responsible for the result of the lack of foresight? Therefore, this question should be solved according to the modality of a new constitution, or it should be concluded from the referendum through a civil debate and verdict.

Writer is chairman of revolutionary journalists Association.

The differences.....

phasis only in the economic reform and the economic willfulness within party clearly show it). It has brought the peaceful transition before in practice. We have our opinion that the specialty of the Nepalese revolution is necessarily armed and, in this way, the revolution will succeed.

For that, the PLA should be consolidated instead of fusing them, and the full-timer cadres should be given political work instead of sending them back home.

In the strategic issue, Chairman Comrade Prachanda and some other comrades say that the revolution is possible from the top-level through the government and the legislative-parliament. However, in our opinion, it is only the minor aspect, and the main aspect is a People's revolt; and it should be so. The government and the legislative-parliament should change what they can, but it is not possible to shatter the old state power, which has army, administration, law and capitalism. There is possibility of a simple reform; however, the birth of a new power is impossible just through simple reform. Therefore, the strategy of top-level intervention is connected with peaceful strategy and it is not a matter over simple tactics. This is the second difference of opinion.

3. The tactical difference:

The third difference of opinion is on whether we should apply the tactics of class struggle or the tactics of reform. Chairman Comrade Prachanda has presented the tactics into 4-points: 1) the writing of a new constitution, 2) building new army by fusing the two armies, 3) extension of the publicity of the budget, 4) development and construction. He argues that the insurrection will be in the struggle of writing constitution or in the fusion of the army etc.

Our opinion is that these aforementioned points are the points to be used in tactics, however, these points are not revolutionary but reformist in essence. These points can be the points of reform and compromise; but these are not the points to ensure the insurrection. These points have governmental specialty, but they are not unique to the party.

Along with it, it is necessary for a strong People's Liberation Army, a large scale of the devoted cadres and a clear plan for the struggle. In our opinion, these points can be used only to show, but the party should fix the revolutionary tactics. Mainly, the tactics should be to hit strongly upon the bases and the bodies of the comprador capitalist power and shatter them. To do so, the struggle should be oriented to shatter the old economic base, the arenas of the comprador capitalist

and the old cultural structure. Simultaneously, the tactics should be to raise the peasant movement, dissolution of the old army from inside and outside; to hand over the power to the people. Likewise, the tactics should be applied to make united front among patriots and communists and run the struggle by giving top priority to nationalism. These points will fulfill the role of revolutionary tactics. Recently, we have our opinion that some of the tactical-points can be implemented through the government's side by putting the revolutionary tactics at the front. Otherwise, the implementation of the tactics, separated from the revolutionary tactics, will necessarily be trapped in reformism and will be dissolved into negotiationism.

In totality, we have our own opinion that the political program, strategy and tactics proposed by the Chairman Com. Prachanda represent reformism. If we advance ahead through these tactics, it is clear that our party will be drowned into the swamp of reformism up over its head. The only solution is that the party should advance ahead through the political program of the People's Republic, the strategy of insurrection and the tactics of class struggle. It will accomplish the Nepalese people's revolution, although it is risky.

Writer is a central committee member of CPN (Maoist).

Pakistan assists Nepal

Kathmandu: Ambassador of Pakistan for Nepal Syed Abrar Hussain, has presented a consignment of medicines to Nepal. In a ceremony held at the Ministry of Home Affairs on 11 November, the Ambassador handed it to the home minister Bamdev Gautam.

On the occasion, ambassador Hussain expressed that this gesture of goodwill was the reflection of excellent bilateral relation between Pakistan and Nepal. He also said that it was the gift from the government of Pakistan and the people there.

The medicine consignment contains a wide range of applications that can be utilized in emergency situations.

Earlier on the last week of October, the embassy of Pakistan in Kathmandu organized a talk program where ambassador Hussain presented Pakistan's perspective on socio-economic development and stability in the region. He expressed that 'regional security and stability is of greatest importance if we are to achieve socio-economic progress of our people'.

Emphasizing the need to address the historical issues that have been stopping the progress of the region, he further said-"We will have to set our priorities right and sincerely act to find solutions to those problems which hinder progress of our countries."

Speaking about the relation between Nepal and Pakistan, he said the relations between two nations are based upon the principles of territorial sovereignty and independence and non-interference in each others internal affairs. On the different forms of assistance Pakistan has been providing to Nepal, he assured that Pakistan would enhance them in coming days.

We need

pects of capitalist accumulation; and, therefore, of capitalist relations of production and capitalist exploitative relations. There are also tendencies of, creating and developing new relations, tendencies towards new social relations which go beyond capitalism, which are socialist in nature and that go far beyond the distribution of income and so on.

It means a very complex combination of capitalism because there is a need to develop productive forces. Our communism cannot be communism of the poor; maintaining the society in a state of outrageous poverty. Productive forces have to be developed. And by accepting it, you are bound to accept, partly at least, capitalist ways of developing. Therefore, this is the vision of long transition which is new. It's not Samir Amin. That's why, I consider myself a Maoist. Because, there's nothing more than making more explicit what is already implicit in Mao; but in Mao, with respect to China. And expanding it, despite the variety of conditions of the entire South i.e. Asia, Africa and Latin America, and this is why we need a new international.

My reading was that the 20th century was the first wave that took the shape of Russian revolution, the Chinese revolution, plus Vietnam and Cuba and the national liberation of Africa and Asia which was to various degrees anti-imperialist with a class content ambiguous, usually with a bourgeois leadership or a potential bourgeois leadership; associating in some cases popular classes. Now, we are in the process of having a 2nd wave. And, it cannot be a remake of the first one and it should add to it not by renouncing the target of socialism by replacing it with capitalism with a human face or so called 'democracy'.

However, socialism as the target and, simultaneously, taking into account the shortcomings of the first wave as lessons; particularly, the question of democracy. Democracy understood, not as multiparty elections, but as process of democratization of society, which is a far more holistic concept associated to social progress and I'm measuring my words. I'm saying social progress, it's not socialism, is a 'perspective' of socialism.

Interviewed By Roshan Kissoon and Chandra.

(To be continued on following issue)

The meaning of victory

■ Abu-Jamal, Mumia

The count has been called and Barack Hussein Obama, Jr. has become the 44th President of the United States of America.

But, in truth, history will record him as #1 - the first African-American president.

It is undeniable that this is a singular political achievement, a work of impressive political skill, and (we must admit) a gift of the political gods.

Among friends, in the privacy of a prison visiting room I've often made the following half-joke. Obama wins handsomely, and in his acceptance speech, flush with victory, loaded with 'political capital', he would open by saying, "My fellow Americans -- first and foremost, I want to thank the one person who made my election possible (if not inevitable): George W. Bush!"

I always got a laugh, for like all good jokes the truth makes it happen.

And the truth is, without the blunders of Bush, Obama would've been an also-ran. His fundamental issue, which set him apart from the rest of the Democratic pack, was his early opposition to the Iraq War. That gave him a wind that carried him far and long beyond his competitors, who were, for the most part, half-hearted war supporters -- or worse, people who supported the war only because to not do so, would've harmed their political careers (or so they thought).

That wind carried him to the

Oval Office, the grandest prize in U.S. politics.

But what does it mean?

We cannot deny its symbolic value. In millions of Black homes, his picture will be placed on walls, beside Martin, John F. Kennedy, and a pale painting of Jesus. I'd bet that quite a few African homes (especially in Kenya) will also boast his smiling visage.

But beyond symbol is substance, and substantively, some scholars have defined Obama as little different from his predecessors. Political scientist Clarence Lusane, writing in a recent issue of *The Black Scholar* pointed to the money men behind both Obama and the Democratic Party, and noted the following:

The promotion of U.S. hegemony, expansion of markets for U.S. corporations, security-based multilateral relations, protectionist trade policies, and a focus on terrorism will likely be key priorities demanded by the major political and financial backers of the Democratic Party. In other words, in a number of key areas, an Obama administration would echo the policies of both George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton." *

Yet, symbols are powerful things. Sometimes, they have a life all their own. They may come to mean something more than first intended.

History has been made.

We shall see exactly what kind of history it will be.

November, 10 2008

www.prisonradio.org/mumia

Russia is back and Latin America is its new play ground

■ Stanislav Mishin

For almost two decades, even long after its turn around in 1999, the Russian elites continued to believe in the West, much longer than they ever should have. To that end, Russia refrained from encroaching on the American play ground, Latin America. With the Monroe Doctrine, the US has seen to Latin America, especially to Central America, as it's personal play ground, where national governments are overthrown as would be and policies are shoved down everyone's throats as desired. The area was kept hands off by Russia, even while the West continued, driven primarily by the Anglo-Americans, to surround and encapsulate Russia from all sides. Outside of some weapons sales to Venezuela or some nice words to Cuba, Russia was gone from Latin America and with no plans on returning.

That all changed, of course, as so many other things did, when the Anglo-American Trotskytes, the Neocons, attempted to restart the Cold War and to renew their sagging fortunes. They poked the bear, not directly, but by using their proxy Saakashvili. What they found was not a hibernating bear but the renewed Russian Imperial eagle of the Holy Third Rome. That point was driven home all the more by the endless stream of relentless lies that flowed forth. With the lies came the malice that had previously been ever so lightly disguised, except that it was disguised no longer. Now even the Russian liberals were shocked and dismayed by what they found that the West, particularly the Anglo-Americans really were, once the fairy dust settled from their eyes.

Now no sphere is off limits and Russia has roared back into Latin America. The response? The response both from the Anglo-Americans and the Latin Americans has driven one thing home clearly not only to Moscow but the world:

the Anglo-American Empire is teetering. It is not over, it is not dead but it will cede territory as it starts its long retreat. In other words, except for some words and confusion there has been no response from the Trotskyte Neocons.

From the Latin Americans, the response is loud and clear.

1. Cuba is in talks about setting up air defense, new Russian bases and a space center.

2. Mexico is Foreign Minister Patricia Espinosa for trade talks and political cooperation.

3. Nicaragua has come out in support of Russia's recognition of Abkhazia and S.Ossetia by also recognizing them, as it too seeks to get closer to Moscow.

4. Columbia has sent Defense Minister Juan Manuel Santos to discuss combined military efforts against terrorism, drugs and possible equipment deals. Columbia is looking at fighters and helicopters and radar systems, just like the ones Venezuela bought.

5. Venezuela, not only purchasing equipment, but it has now hosted Russian bombers and navel assets on maneuvers and is in talks about permanent facilities.

6. Bolivia is following Venezuela's lead and in return Gazprom will invest in Bolivia's infrastructure, along with Total.

7. Brazil has invited Gazprom to invest in their pipelines.

More is on the way, of course as more nations in Latin America sense weakness and defect.

The point to Washington has always been the same and has always been ignored: do not provoke fights you are not prepared for. Be it the War of 1812, be it Iraq, be it a new Cold War it is hell bent on igniting. Washington as always knows the thrill of adventure, never once contemplating how much the ticket for the ride will cost.

www.mat-rodina.blogspot.com

Juche ideology

in their "democratic" countries. The Korean people strongly deny these kinds of imperialist propaganda.

I got opportunity to see some historical and cultural programs held there. We watched sports, cultural fairs and festivals. There was a huge volunteer participation of the people. We saw that the political power of Korea has not created any compulsion or obstruction against the will and aspiration of the people. They are free to think and advance ahead to develop their talent and skill. The government has given priority to their fundamental view point. The government respects and addresses public opinion and aspiration.

The government honors the qualification and capacity of the doctors, scientists, professor and scholars. We observed the Grand People's Study Center. The young have good opportunities to develop their talent.

There is no demarcation of class division from common people to the level of the government. All have the opportunity for employment. The government has addressed the preliminary needs of the people appropriately and scientifically.

Economic condition:

The most important thing is that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has its ultimate goal to reach to socialism. The state power has developed its economic plans and programs following the track to the socialism. The first basic thing for it is that nobody is unemployed and everybody is contributing to secure a

socialist goal. The second is that the work of building infrastructure is rapidly progressing. America and Europe are now in the whirlpool of economic crisis. They attack Korea only to conceal their faults and failure. The state power has made a 4-year plan to connect its national railway links with the remote villages of the country. The government has extended its internal communication throughout the country. Publication and publicity is on a broad scale. However, in Korea, people are very hopeful about their future and the full prosperity of the nation.

The economy of Korea is neither backward nor advanced. However, there has been a lot of economic development and it is continuously progressing. It is false that the Korean people are dying without food. The base of the economic progress is a cooperative system. These cooperatives are small, mid and large. People work in these cooperatives for their own livelihood and for contribution to the nation. Even private sectors are working there. There are big hotels. The government has applied a measurement for the investment of private sector.

I have seen that the socio-cultural transformation is progressing rapidly according to the need of Korea. From our 5 day visit to Korea, we have come to know that the government has adapted to the speed of the world along with science and technology. The people are in favor of progressive socio-cultural transformation. There is no inequality and discrimination.

Juche ideology and the aspiration of the People

Two things have deep influence over people: one the question of leadership and the other the question of ideology. People have unfathomable affection and honor to com. Kim Ill Sung. They address him "Father of the motherland". The immortal contribution to the nation and its people by Kim Ill Sung is directly related with the liberty and independence of the Korean people. The Korean Labor party has adopted the Juche ideology as its guiding ideology.

The ideology has four aspects. First, Juche ideology gives emphasis to the unity among the workers, peasants and intellectuals. There is sickle, hammer and pen in the flag of Korean Labor Party. Second, they have held ideology strongly and concretized it into formula that 'Man is the master of everything and can decide everything.' It strongly grasps the conception and spirit of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that 'only the people are the creators of history'.

Third is the principle of Independence means 'standing on ones own feet'. The fourth one is the strong sentimental unity between leaders and people. An ideology without mass sentiment is worthless. It cannot serve the nation and its people. Korean people say that Kim Ill Sung was progressive ideologically and he has a deep love to the people.

Military policy

In course of our visit, we talked about the People's Army. Korea calls its military strategy the "Sangun Policy". The essence of the policy is to make the People's Army strong for the protection of social-

ism. The People's Army should always be strong for national independence and its people.

Korea has a long history of fighting against Japanese and American imperialism. If we review this history, the policy of the security of the nation is the obligation of Korea and the Korean people. Making a strong People's Army is a necessity for the Korean people. This is necessary due to the war imposed by imperialism because there is a long history of inhuman massacres by imperialists. More than 10 million people lost their lives in such imperialist interventions. Each Korean family is a family of martyrs. We went to the War Museum there. After the seeing the War Museum, everyone is confident that the military policy of Korea is objectively correct.

International relationship:

In the course of our visit, we viewed the International friendship Exhibition. There were innumerable gifts and prizes given to Kim Ill Sung by the international friends and institutions and the people. If we take one minute for each item, 1 minute, it would take one and a half years to look at all the items present. Not only from international friends, but also Kim Ill Sung has met people from all over Korea. He has visited many places inside the country. Tourists in large numbers are visiting Korea. We found that tourists wandering over many areas in the country. The tourists are from Europe, America and other continents as well. There is always a crowd of tourist to see the international friendship exhibition. Korea has adopted a peaceful and friendly international diplomatic policy.

(As told to Red Star reporter)

Juche ideology leading to socialism

■ Krishna Bahadur Mahara

After meeting with the Ambassador of Democratic People's Republic (DPR) of Korea in Nepal, I accepted the invitation to go to Korea in September 2008. I was specially invited by the department of Information and Communication of DPR Korea to share bilateral experiences in information and communication.

The Korean political power was established through the accomplishment of a historic revolution and the continuous struggle against the remnants of the domestic feudalism inside and against imperialism outside.

In our visit, we met with the president and four vice presidents of the department of Information and Communication of DPR of Korea. One of the four vice presidents assisted us during our visit there. We formally talked with president and after we visited the Deputy General Director of International Department of the Labor Party of Korea. Our further visit was with the president of the Presidium of People's Assembly.

The Korean people have their own history established after a protracted People's war. We have our own clear understanding that Korea is strictly fighting against the intervention of imperialism. Therefore, we were curious to learn about Korea. It's a natural thing to have

friendly relationships between a country advancing ahead to build socialism and our party the CPN (Maoist). Although the situation of the two countries is quite different, we felt that we are similar in our agendas of independence, nationality, People's Liberty and in building a prosperous nation with a strategic vision. The government of the People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people has positive views towards Nepal and the Nepalese People.

Political Situation of DPR of Korea:

Some of our friends were telling us that the visit of Korea would not be so fruitful. They told us that Korea is a country isolated from the world. They have negative views towards Korea. However, as we reached Korea, we did not see this was the case. On the contrary, we found People's Republican Korea prosperous and widely connected with world.

While viewing the political situation of any country, we should pay attention towards the leadership and the ideology that has been developed. Kim Ill Sung has developed the Juche ideology as a unique contribution to the international communist movement. The political system is under the command of the Korean Labor Party. Many institutions and organizations are freely operating there. Some



Maoist leaders Krishna Bahadur Mahara and Netra Bikram Chand in North Korea (Second and third from left)

of the institutions and organizations have neutral ideas. The Korean Labor Party has secured its position in the power. Under the Presidium of the People's Assembly, there is a People's Army and people's powers. From the point of view of multiparty competition, the political system of Korea seems a closed system; however, there is no feeling of it being a closed system as we enter into the inner part of the political system. There is a committee system from top to grass roots level; citizens have authority of fundamental rights. There is a full democratic tradition to take part in discussion and debate openly. There is a systematic process to exercise democracy and synthesize the opinions of the people. In our visit and talks, we felt that

a harmonious environment has been created between the state power, party, institutions and organizations for discussion and debate. The people have accepted the political power heartily. The political power has always accepted and given priority to the sentiment of the people and their necessity.

The state has provided free education and health. Everybody is employed. The government has given its priority on the fundamental rights of the people. It is fully responsible towards the people. The Korean people want to end the demarcation of North and South. They are in favor of the unification of Korea. The Korean people want the US army to leave the South. They desire the unification of Korea without ex-

ternal intervention.

Political Power: authoritarian or democratic?

In our point of view, the government that is imposed on the people against the interests, ambitions and aspirations of the people is authoritarian. The government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is more democratic. If the political power is run following the aspirations of the people, it is not totalitarian. The political power cannot be totalitarian. The government is responsible to all the sectors of the Korean people. There is a close relationship between the government and the people. The charge of 'totalitarian' is the propaganda of imperialism to conceal their misdeeds

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Cycling adds possibilities in Nepal

Nepal proved to be the destination for the Heroic Game with the successful completion of the 'XIV Asian Mountain Bike Championship-2008'. It was the first time that Nepal got such a golden opportunity to become the host country. The credit to make the event successful goes to Nepal Cycling Association.

It has also been proved that such types of game can be successfully completed in Nepal from different perspective. The active participation of the spectators in Nepal was highly appreciated from the winner of the events. The competition was held for four Golden Medals. China and Japan dominated the medal. They shared two medals each. China became first in Cross Country Race category whereas Japan dominated the gold as well as Silver Medal in Down Hill events.

Chinese rider Jiang Xue Li won the gold medal in Cross Country Race. Two time Asian Champion Li completed the 5.09 km per lap race track in 1 hr 54 min. The total length of the race was 35.63 km. In the hill of the Chovar, the participants seemed very happy and interested too.

Everyone could see a kind of joyful motion in the participants. "The crowd was excellent" Li said appreciating the support and shouting of the spectators during the competition.

Though four Nepali riders were

participating in this event, only Padam Limbu completed the course. Medal was expected from him but he was in the 17th position. Another Nepali rider Dhanjit Rai gave up the race. Not only Rai, Three time National Championship Suresh Kumar Dulal also continued the same performance before completing the second lap. Deependra Bajracharya hardly completed the third lap but he was lap out. "My position was hampered as I encountered a technical problem in the fourth lap but I'm happy as I was able to complete and got a chance to complete with Asia's best cyclist," Nepali Riders Limbu said.

China captured all the medals of Cross Country Elite Women Race. Ren Chengyuan of China, who had finished fifth in the Beijing Olympics, won the Cross Country Elite Women Race of 25.45km, beating 11 other participants with a timing of 1 hr 34 min 24 sec. Nirjala Tamrakar, the only female participants in women's cross country race depressed her domestic spectators. She was lapped out on the third lap out of the total five laps.

Japan dominated the gold and silver medal of both men's and women's category of Down Hill event. Mio Sumesa of Japan occupied the Down Hill Elite Women's gold medal. Defending Champion as well as nine time Asian Championship Sumesa finished the 1.2 Km's

race in 2 min 24.60 sec.

Naoki Idegawa of Japan was declared as the first finishing the allocated distance in 2 mins 3.35 secs beating 20 participants.

Nepali rider Sajjan Rajbanshi had drawn the eyesight of all Nepali spectators. But unluckily, he became the 7th in the race. "Though I'm not able to bring medal to the country, I'm happy to compete with the Asian Cyclist," said Rajbanshi. Adding he told "I will bring the medal for the country if I got an opportunity to participate in the 15th Asian Mountain Bike Championship".

It must be considered as an important opportunity to organize such a big tournament. It has added more possibilities in the cycling like adventures game in Nepal. If such types of game can be organized in Nepal in the future, it can be predicted that Nepal will be the destination for such heroic game. Chovar is just an example. There are a number of Hills far better than Chovar which are the attraction for domestic as well as international tourists. The successful completion also has suggested that if there will be a tournament in a area, the local people of that area are ready to help and are found very much cooperative with the host to make the event remarkable.

■ Rajendra Chapagain



Photo courtesy: Kaushal Adhikari