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## **Consensus efforts fall apart Country to get majority govt**

The parliamentarian parties' rigidity against the Maoist flexibility implies that they are bent on nagging the largest party so that the revolutionary party gives up all agenda of peace and progress, state restructuring and socio-economic transformation.

#### **Dipak Sapkota**

With the failure of the discussions among the three major parties to form a national consensus government, the monthslong efforts have gone in vain. The hopeless situation developed as Nepali Congress and CPN (UML) put one after another conditions to support the single largest party, UCPN (Maoist), to lead the consensus government. The efforts for reaching consensus came to an end on January 31 when the leaders met for the last time to forge agreement and came out emptyhanded, even without another scheduled meeting.

After series of talks, the parliamentarian parties like NC and UML had assured the Maoists that they would support the largest party to lead the consensus government if the latter took initiatives to bring the People's Liberation Army (PLA) under the Army Integration Special Committee. The largest

party responded positively and a formal ceremony was organized in this regard on Jan 22 at the headquarters of PLA third division, Shaktikhor, Chitwan, which was addressed by caretaker Prime Minister Madhav Kumar Nepal, Maoist chairman Prachanda and PLA chief Nanda Kishor Pun 'Pasang' and attended by chiefs of state security forces and heads and representatives of various diplomatic missions in the country.

However, the parliamentary parties backtracked and put forward other issues including modality and PLA number for army integration to bargain for the support, which ultimately failed the discussions.

As the single largest party, a sole champion of national agenda and a party to the overall peace process, UCPN (Maoist)'s claim for the leadership of the consensus government was valid, and as per democratic norms, values and practices. The party had also assured NC and UML that formation of

such a government would ease the completion of peace and constitution writing process in time.

The ball was on the court of the parliamentary parties when the Maoist party substantiated its commitment by handing over the PLA to the Special Committee. But the old parties' response came against the people's expectation.

The parliamentarian parties' rigidity against the Maoist flexibility implies that they are bent on nagging the largest party so that the revolutionary party gives up all agenda of peace and progress, state restructuring and socioeconomic transformation. Moreover, they are hatching conspiracies to imperil peace and constitution by prolonging the duration of the caretaker government.

Maoist had suggested three options before the political parties regarding the formation of government. The formation of the

Continued on page 2

## **Conspiracy continues** against integration

#### **TRS Reporter**

Along with the ceremony to bring the People's Liberation Army (PLA) under the supervision of Army Integration Special Committee, a new debate has cropped up. The debate, obviously, is on the issue whether a new national army will be formed or not. It is because some of the AISC members from government side have publicly said that the AISC will monitor only the PLA soldiers and not the Nepal Army (NA). Some of the leaders of the Nepali Congress (NC) and CPN-UML have said that the number of the PLA should be fixed again against the fact that 19,602 is the number as verified by the UNMIN.

in the campaign to create rumour on the modality by entangling the principal issue in some other futile provocations. It is clearly written in all the understandings, agreements and the Comprehensive Peace Accord and the Interim Constitution that integration of army is the part and partial of the peace and constitution building.



Now, an objective modality for the integration of army is necessary for discussion. Integration of army is the interrelated issue of the new federal constitution that is going to be written. However, the leaders of the status quo forces are

Before that, there is clear explanation on the political understanding to resolve the problems. High Level Political Understanding will be the directive and the guide to resolve the problems. Actually, the transitional situation needs a mature decision to lead it positively. There is only an interim constitution in the country, which is incomplete even to address the political and the other related challenges that develop any time. Therefore, the political agreement is the main remedy for the solution of all the complexities.

The pro-status quo leaders and the trends are repeatedly projecting the old



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#### THE RED STAR

## **Book on Marxist philosophy**



Maoist Chairman Prachanda releasing a book written by vice-Chairman Mohan Baidhya 'Kiran' entitled 'Marxist Philosophy' in the capital in the last week of January. Divided into seven chapters, the book deals with overall aspects of Marxist philosophy. Other vice Chairman Dr Baburam Bhattarai and senior literary figure Khagendra Sangraula had commented on the book. The book is published by the Progressive Study Centre. Photo- Dinesh Shrestha

#### Country to .....

government at this juncture is to guarantee the peace and constitution writing. The Maoist-led consensus government would fulfill this timely need. Forming the government under the leadership of the largest party that carries the potential of concluding peace process and lead the constitution writing would be the most democratic exercise. But, the parliamentary parties like NC, UML and others which never feel tired of claiming themselves to be democratic parties failed to understand the need of the hour.

The parliamentary parties fear that if the peace process concludes to the logical end, if the constitution is written in favor of people and progress, their position will fatally erode and ultimately vanish. past and thus defeated by the people during the Constituent Assembly election. They fear that people will vote for the Maoists that raised the issue of Constituent Assembly, Republic, Secularism, Federalism, right to marginalized and oppressed class, gender, region and nationality.

The Parliamentary parties are obstructing the writing of constitution creating many hurdles. They are now putting forth unnecessary debate to insert 'Pluralism' in the constitution. Constitution is the politico-legal document of the nation. It is not a vague document of philosophical wordings. This is just an example. The deliberate attempt to prolong the term of caretaker government and unwillingness to give the Maoists the leadership of the government proves that the

against people's aspirations for change and progress.

The Maoist party has strived to overcome all the hurdles created by parliamentary parties. In the past, the high level committee headed by the Maoist Chairman Prachanda finalized several disputed issues related to constitution making. PLA has been brought under the Special Committee. The Maoist has already decided to try its best to form majority government under the leadership of party chairman Prachanda. All along the party has been expressing its readiness to stay in opposition and contribute to peace and constitution. At the backdrop of domestic and foreign conspiracy against peace and constitution, the party has also made clear that it will appeal the people for movement if the

#### Rao presses to make treaty for extradition

Indian Foreign Secretary Nirupama Rao, while in three-day Nepal visit, created pressure over the caretaker government to make treaty on the extradition. During her visit, her principal aim was to make treaty anyhow. To lure the leaders of the political parties and specially, to UCPN-Maoist, she had thrown an artful card of the forming of a government under any party leadership, which is acceptable to Delhi government.

It is clear that Delhi wants government without Maoist in Nepal. The prolonged peace process and the impasse in writing a new constitution are due to the vested interest of Indian ruling class.

She frequently talked about the treaty and urged the heads of the state and the different political party leaders to be agreed for the treaty. After the departure of UNMIN, India has dangerously enhanced its move.

#### Deadly weapons from India

Along with the increasing move of Delhi in Nepal, a feeling of threat and horror is spread in the internal security affair of the nation. Deadly weapons are being brought from India. Importing weapons breaches the aspirations of all the agreements that are committed for the peace process.

India, a big neighbour, was dissatisfied with the arrival of UNMIN in Nepal. India tried its best to remove UNMIN from Nepal from the beginning. As a consequence, the southern neighbour created hurdles to make UNMIN's presence effective. After UNMIN's, India has become the sole power to interfere arbitrarily. It is sending dangerous weapons to the Nepal Army through the caretaker government.

The weapons are being imported in the situation when Indian ruling class is trying to make a treaty for settling its Indian Air Marshal in the international airport of Nepal and in the situation creating pressure for a treaty of extradition. The current mission of Indian government is to derail peace process and to push Nepal into a long conflict and take advantages for its strategic mission to besiege

They had been failed in the parliamen

parliamentary parties are

conspiracy continues.

China raising the issue of Free Tibet.

#### Conspiracy...

standard norms as the solution to all the problems related army integration. Nevertheless, entire agreements to the interim constitution talk about the transformation and a new restructuring of the state power. The mandate and the aspirations of the people's wars and the people's movements are in the written form in the documents of the nation. They read- a new national army will be made by merging both the PLA and Nepal army.

Moreover, UCPN-Maoist has publicly put forward the modality on army integration. The Maoist party has agreed to merge both the armies. If it is indigestible to the status quo or the old mentality, the party, secondly, is ready to make a special force of PLA only under unitary command. And, even it is not favourable to them, the Maoist party, thirdly, is standing by merging the equal number of NA, Armed Force and Regular police force to the PLA soldiers to form a special type of force for the nation.

The caretaker government and the old political parties are still silent. They are twisting the principal issues according to their deliberate conspiracies. The external forces are backing them directly. Indian military experts and diplomats are directly encroaching over sovereignty of Nepal. They are taking pride in speaking against Nepal's interest and the homegrown peace process. Mainly the Indian expansionist players are responsible for uncertainty and instability in Nepal to serve their interest.

An inside account of Maoist People's War in Nepal



DIPAK SAPKOTA

#### THE RED STAR

#### Interview

## Peace process, internal affair of our country

CP Gajurel 'Gaurav' is Secretary of Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), the single largest party in Nepal. Despite the fact that it is the largest party, a champion of national agenda at present and a party to the overall peace process, the other parties are against supporting it to lead the new government. The party is also undergoing a two-line struggle. Given this, Editor of The Red Star, Kumar Shah, talked with Maoist Secretary Gaurav. Excerpts:

How is the possibility of the formation of the new government in your party leadership accepting all the preconditions set by Nepali Congress and CPN-UML?

Our party's standing committee meeting has already discussed the matter and concluded that it is illogical to deal with the issues related to army integration in such a way that means an exchange of the government leadership with the integration of the two armies. Our party has decided to reject any such conditions for securing support from NC or UML for our party to lead the new government.

India claims to be the guardian of the Nepalese peace process. Will the peace process reach its logical end without 'give and take' with the South Block?

Definitely, India is trying to play a role of a Big brother and, in this sense, a guardian. India has its hegemonic attitude toward Nepal, which is unacceptable for us. In peace process, there is incessant interference from our southern neighbour. Due to this, the peace process is not moving smoothly. We neither expect nor accept any bossy role of the foreign powers because the peace process is the internal affair of our country, a homegrown process. Political parties of Nepal will decide its course and no external forces should try to play an unwelcome role.

UNMIN was made to exit.

As the other parties including NC and UML had been accusing us of not being sincere to peace process and unwilling to bring the PLA under the SC due to what they termed our charm with arms and armies, we agreed to take the step to prove them false, specially at this specific situation created by the departure of UNMIN, and to make it more clear to all the concerned that our commitment to peace process is firm. Actually, in principle, we had long before agreed to keep the PLA under the SC and made an announcement accordingly. Now, NC and UML, as their habits and tendency, have come up with newer allegations

On army integration modality, we forwarded two options - either make a separate security force of the PLA or constitute such a body comprised of equal number of the PLA and the state security organs.

to undermine the significance of the act of keeping the PLA under the SC. They are making clamor that nothing has happened and our party has no role or contribution in that. This is unwillingness on their part to build on the achievement and move ahead.



because it was thought to be partysplitting activity.

We follow Leninist way to exercise the correct and democratic centralism - freedom of opinion, freedom of idea and unity in action. That is the basic principle of Leninist theory of democratic centralism on two-line struggle. So, every body has to accept this principle.

Let me add one thing here. The differences within the party, which do not correspond to the opinion of the majority, should be, as decided, discussed within the party through the inner-party magazine "Bichardhara" (ideology). Opinions will be propagated in the party through the magazine.

#### However, the debate seems to be continued. Did the latest meeting develop some other propositions to enhance the inner struggle?

Issues of two-line struggle should be decided upon as they cannot go all the way and every time overriding the actions of the party and turning the party into a debating club. Lenin has all emphasized on two very significant points: one, the difference of opinions should be carried out in the inner party democracy; two, when the opinions are decided upon, the decision should be implemented. Otherwise, there is a danger in the party that it will become meeting club. If we carry on two-line struggle all the time, we are always talking and talking and we are not implementing it. Now as we have taken decisions upon the differences, it is the responsibility of all the party members to implement the decisions.

separate security force comprised of equal number of PLA, Nepal Aarmy, Armed Police Force and Nepal Police. We demanded that the leadership role of such a separate force should be given to PLA. We also proposed to fix the number of PLA for integration through a process to collect data as to how many PLA members want to join integration or go for rehabilitation including joining politics or doing business. Now, it is up to the other parties to make the choice or come up with acceptable proposals. ON army integration modality, we forwarded two options - either make

our favour when PLA and NA were

integrated. This proposal was meant

for riding them from their suspicion.

Secondly, we proposed to form a

forwarded two options - either make a separate security force of the PLA or constitute such a body comprised of equal number of the PLA and the state security organs.

#### Would you tell us about the newly developed procedures in handling the two-line struggle in your party?

Yes, definitely, we think that our party has developed ideologies and politics because revolution can not be replicated rather it can only be developed. So, to advance revolution and implement it in our society, we should develop our ideology, political line, and also the methods of two line struggle.

Learning from the experience of

PLA has been brought under the Special Committee. However, NC and UML seem to be unwilling to build on the latest development and move ahead. How do you assess it?

The act of bringing the PLA under the Special Committee (SC) is a significant step forward toward army integration process because army integration is one of the compellingly important steps that has to be taken up for completing the peace process. Previously, because of different reasons, when the UNMIN was playing a significant role in the assistance of the integration process and monitoring of the two armies, this could not happen. Our party always advocated for keeping the UNMIN, and not sending it back right at this point of time. However,

#### Modality of army integration has been hotly debated recently. What proposal has your party made in this respect?

On army integration modality, we made our positions clear a couple of months back with decisions from our party's standing committee meeting. First, we proposed to make a separate force of the PLA as we knew that the NC and UML had been apprehensive that the politically indoctrinated PLA could influence Nepal Army into

two-line struggle in our party, we have upgraded the methods to handle it, as you know, the intra-party struggle has been vigorous since the extended meeting in Palungtar. Recently, we have formulated a 5-point method in this regard. As per the methods, several questions related to the communist movement can be debated openly; for example, the question of the nature and the characteristics of imperialism in the 21st century. It is a purely theoretical question. So, this debate can be carried out openly. Secondly, a meeting of the likeminded leaders, and the comrades, is quite natural. Moreover, the leaders of equal level can also hold informal meeting with regard to two-line struggle. This is new development. Previously, it was not accepted

Everybody should be ready to implement whatever may be his/her opinions. The opinion of the minority will be discussed in the party and the opinions will not be suppressed. And, when there is a party congress or national conference, party will carry on the discussions as a forum and the dissent opinion will come up and again will be discussed and finally decided. The two-line struggle works in this way. If any member comes to the public to discuss the differences that have been decided upon, he or she is a subject to disciplinary action. Otherwise, there will be anarchism in the party.

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Advisors :

Suresh Ale Magar, Maheshwar Dahal

Editor :

Kumar Shah

Assistant Editor :

Dipak Sapkota

Office Address :

Anamnagar, Kathmandu Phone : 01-4771775 Fax : 01-4771666 Email : trs.nepal@gmail.com Web : www.krishnasenonline.org/redstar

#### EDITORIAL

## Be unanimous in action plan

UCPN(Maoist) has been holding its central committee (CC) meeting very frequently these days. Some of them have also become quite extraordinary. As the largest party of the Constituent Assembly (CA) in the country and the revolutionary party of the international communist movement, the party has twin historical responsibilities to perform. There are, certainly, some commitments to live up to, which the party has expressed before the people. The party has to overcome all these complexities, which make up a historic test, and lead the nation victoriously.

At this period of critical challenges, some differences of views within the party on dealing with the situation are natural and obligatory. The party has based its moves on two different grounds: the foundation of armed struggle and the peace process. Neither of the grounds is thought to be subordinate; rather, they have struck equilibrium, which may help to move the nation forward and contribute to the movement. However, there have been plots by the reactionaries to negate the equilibrium and abort any positive developments that correspond to aspirations of the people. The inner party struggle is on how to utilise the equilibrium and move the nation ahead.

Objectively, crossroads create more confusion. Such a situation necessitates development of scientific and advance procedures with regard to handling of the intra-party struggle. The Maoist party developed 5-point policies and procedures related to the issues of inner struggle and its management by the party's first CC meeting after Palungtar Extended Meeting.

# We want to build a strong national security force

#### Prachanda

Editorial

The country is going through a serious political bend at present. Nepali people had taken part actively in the 10-year long great People's War and 19-day historical united people's movement with belief and aspiration of building new Nepal through radical transformation. As a result of struggle and sacrifice of the people, Republic has been established eliminating monarchy that had been ruling Nepal for 240 years. On this occasion, I pay heartfelt tribute to the great martyrs who sacrificed themselves and express my hearty respect to the disappeared fighters, injured and disabled.

The credit goes to you all also (PLA members, ed.) for your extremely great role to liberate Nepali people from the autocratic monarchy. You all have been playing your role to make the peace process a success by remaining discithe process of army integration and rehabilitation. To ease this process along with the international support and conclude the peace process in a meaningful manner, we had written to the United Nations a five-point joint letter appealing for help by sending a peace mission. However, a situation was created due to which the UNMIN went back a few days ago before it performed the task for which it was called for. This had certainly created some confusion and hurdles. However, due to the fact that our party is fully committed to taking the overall peace process to its logical end, we reached a newer agreement with the government, and now we are here in this ceremony.

People also have serious doubts whether peace process reaches to the logical end, whether army integration and rehabilitation would be taken forward properly for building a capable national defense and for protecting our national sovereignty. We are confident that we can deal with all these challenges with the unity of Nepali people, truly patriots and republican forces.

It is clear that we have always been ready to keep People's Liberation Army under the Special Committee while remaining committed to the articles 146 and 147 of Interim Constitution-2007, Comprehensive Peace Agreement-2007 and Agreement on Monitoring of the Management of Arms and Armies-2007. This was generally announced by the first elected government of Republic Nepal that was formed under our leadership. This program is being organized in a changed context to give a practical form to the previously declared plan. Several tasks related to completion of army integration and rehabilitation do still remain. Those tasks, we feel confident, will be performed



plined, patient and courageous whether the making of New

with the efforts of all, the political parties, masses of people, People's Liberation Army and all the security organs including Nepal Army.

#### THE RED STAR

The inner struggle running in the Maoist cannot be exception to it. Following the Palungtar meeting, two documents of party chairman Com. Prachanda and vice-chairman Com. Kiran have been merged on the basis of common ideological issues and of tactics. Some of the issues have, however, been sorted out for presenting in Party Congress. Another vice-chairman Com. Bhattarai has registered a note of dissent over the CC approved document.

The latest CC meeting has taken the decision to disseminate the note of dissent from top to bottom - central to cell committees - with a clarification note by the party majority. As situation stands today, the debate will take long time to be concluded logically. But, the ongoing debate should not be an excuse for any vacillations in relation to implementation of the approved action plan, which will naturally nag the party into the quicksand. Hence, it is imperative for all the party members to be united to carry out the action plan. for four years since the peace process started as the way you played an essential role in the revolutionary movement.

Our nation has come to the final stage of the transitional political situation. Until the integration and rehabilitation concludes as per the provision of the CPA and interim constitution, the situation of one state two armies will continue as a matter of fact. We want to build a strong national security force by carrying out integration and rehabilitation. This is the historic need of the nation. To fulfill this objective, we are taking forward Nepal would be taken forward through promulgation of a new constitution that enshrines people's interest by Constituent Assembly), which will materialise their aspirations. For the formation of the Constituent Assembly, we have shed a lot of blood and sweat in the latest phase of Nepal's history. We did all this struggle and sacrifice to make people's constitution by the CA. We are firm in our commitment to making new constitution through the CA.

Likewise, along with the challenges of building peace and constitution, we are faced with another challenge I would like to thank to all the political parties, orgnisations, United Nations, UNMIN and friendly nations for their support for the peace process and constitution making process. Let me conclude my speech wishing fulfillment of our aspirations for peace, constitution and prosperous Nepal. Thank You.

This article is based on speech delivered on the occasion of handover of PLA to the Special Committee for Army Integration .

## Maoist University in Nepal: struggle and continuity



Surya Prakash Subedi 'Pathik'

Maoist University in Nepal should be understood to the Maoist school of thought. The article demands an intense debate because it is only a brief note on 25 years long struggle and all the characters and the tendencies explained here to be the heroes and assistant heroes as well as villains of the recent big debate in the leftist history of Nepal. in the context of this decisive phase of Nepalese revolution, it has been the liabilities of the revolutionaries to establish heroes and defeat the villains for the completion of the revolution.

#### School of Thought in Communist Party of Nepal-

#### Traditional school of Pushpalal:

Pushpalal Shreshtha, founder of the communist party of Nepal, Propagator of New People's Democratic Revolution, initiator of the struggle against Russian revisionism and the incessant fighter against feudalism, kept impression in the nation and the people during his life. He reorganized the factional parties since 2017 BS and accelerated the party quantitatively with the development of some ideas and the procedures coming until 2025.

#### UML School of extreme Rightist Revisionism:

This school of thought, having initiated armed struggle against the rightist revisionism under the flag of Mao and the great proletarian cultural revolution, was deviated towards the way to the extreme rightist revisionism due to the false trends and the thinking of its leaderMAOIST University in Nepal was established and developed in course of the struggle against traditional School of Pushpalal, extreme rightist school of UML and fabricated and eclectical school of Mohan Bikram Singh. Moreover, Maoist University was, mainly developed and brought up against the struggle of eclectical school of Mohan Bikram Singh.

action over him and exiled him from the party.

#### **Establishment of Maoist School:**

After the action taken over Mohan Bikram Singh, the revolutionary leaders from young generation Com. Mohan Baidya "Kiran", Com. Prachanda, Com. Badal, Com. Gaurav etc. established the Maoist school of thought (in 2041-047) by analyzing the political, economic, cultural, military and other aspects from different revolutionary angle. They developed the conscience of fighting against existing revisionism with revolutionary weapons Maoism, Protracted People's War (PW) etc. They led PW in its last stage; however, the 19-day People's Movement brought a curved way ahead.

#### Ideological Period of Test of Maoist School (2047-052):

In the period of emerging a new objective situation after the abolition of Panchayat System and the establishment of the parliamentary democracy, the then representative party of UCPN-Maoist- CPN-Mashaltook a far sighted decision for not to initiate the PW at once; rather try to utilize to take maximum benefit from the new situation, make preparation and party unification. Consequently, CPN-Unity Centre (UC) was established. An intense inner struggle ran since the establishment of UC. In the long inner struggle, one faction seemed to be the rightist and came against the initiation of the PW. They wanted to make the party only an election forum. Through a four-year long inner ideological struggle, the

Chunwang Meeting of Maoist party, this school has been developed. PW becomes very fruitful at this time. Second National Conference (SNC) has tried to synthesize some newly developed aspects of PW and the Nepalese revolution. Then, PW becomes the core of the Nepalese politics and the Maoist party becomes the leader of the entire Nepalese politics.

#### Suspicions and the questions in Maoist University (2062-067):

The suspicions and the questions are seen in the following points:

1). Did the problem start from somewhere by making compromise unknowingly coming to the SNC with the tendency that struggled by raising the issues of ideological centralization and the authority at a time in the fourth plenum while taking decision on the centralization of the leadership?

2). Did the party went into the vessel of eclecticism in an unknowing manner while putting forward the international communist movement, the line of original fusion of Nepalese revolution, and, mainly, political tactics and the military tactics in an equilibrium way even though many revolutionary decisions were taken at that time? Even putting both the tactics in an equilibrium, did the party drag into the jujharu Arthawad, as the military tactics came just under the revisionism oriented political tactics up to Chunwang?

3). The blunder by Mohan Bikram School is to make the issue of the revolution very far by saying the people's movement to be primary with creating the other tactics of "government of patriots and the people's democratic forces" or "Transfer of power to the people" as the synonymous of the new people's democratic power. In the past, Maoist School seems to be developed struggling against it and putting the tactics of PW in the centre by putting all the other tactical series. However, since the SNC, symbolically, Democratic republic and the round table conference, interim constitution and the constituent assembly was considered as the equal tactics to PW instead of considering it a subordinate.

developed the revolution rapidly. However, in the later period, some signs deviation are seen in the protection, implementation and its development. Specially, the provisions developed by Lenin and Mao were declared to be lagged behind after the development of original ideological series and the false provisions were brought in place of those, which were against the sovereign provisions developed by Lenin and Mao. This created the situation to assimilate with the modern revisionists unknowingly by slipping from the Maoist University that was founded on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

5). The decisive weaknesses are the maximum loss in the trust in self and with the co-warriors, search of friends from outside of the party in place of inside the Maoist University. Due to these all, the false people and tendencies, which are already declared rotten in the history, are brought to stand them against the co-warriors by throwing the true and objective synthesis during PW. In the present context, it is false even to think that the members of the Maoist University are not scattered out of the party. However, the hasty party unity, generosity towards their demands, unnecessary compromise in ideology justifies the aforementioned things by avoiding Kaharipati decisions.

6). Mistrust, suspicion, and some of the false provisions have been corrected recently. But, surprise! Big suspicions and the mistrusts are being developed. After coming to the peace process, the problems created within the party are not in the situation to be solved by any effort of a single leader or leadership only. Maoist University has been the biggest movement, therefore, all the reactionaries and the revisionists from inside the country and the Indian Expansionism and the American Imperialism from outside are fighting life and death struggle against UCPN-Maoist. Enemies are trying to enter in the party in various ways. Our party will be weaker and weaker if we can not check the admission of those false elements on time.

ship although three was a possible fertile ground to give continuity to it. Disguised and eclecticist School of Mohan Bikram Singh:

Mohan Bikram, raised after the formation of Nucleus, appeared to represent the fabricated and eclecticist opportunism school of thought. He gathered the revolutionaries around him by showing the dream of revolution. In the period of Fourth Congress, the revolutionary leaders like Mohan Baidya, Bhakt Bahadur, Prchanda fought against his fabrication of the ideology and defeated and unmasked him after along ideological struggle. As the result, Maoist School of Thought has been found to be established in its climax by taking extreme rightist line was defeated and the rightist faction was excluded from the party. It was the period for the preparation of subjective force.

#### Practical Test of Maoist University (2052-055 B.S.):

PW was initiated. Except the members of the Maoist University, other political parties and some other individuals also criticized unbenevolently; however, PW developed in spite of bitter criticism and advanced ahead. PW established its base areas coming to the year 2055. It established as the most powerful movement in Nepal.

#### **Development of Maoist University:**

After the fourth plenum to the

4). There was a true understanding on MLM in the past and it had

#### Unity and Struggle between Maoist University & International Communist Movement:

Continued on page 7

## International

#### THE RED STAR

## **The Egyption Revolution:** a very fine thing

Gary Leupp

Feb. 1-15, 2011

January 29th, 2011 — I'm watching live coverage of the Egyptian revolution on Al-Jazeera TV. Cairo is swarming with hundreds of thousands, defying the curfew, hurling stones at the police. The images recall the Palestinian youth waging their Intifadas. The National Democratic Party headquarters is in flames. Downtown Suez has been taken over by the people, two police stations torched. The security forces are out in strength and shooting into crowds. But the people have lost their fear.

Reporters and commentators on Al-Jazeera and other channels have no choice but to note that Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak is widely hated, and that those in the street are seeking freedom from a dictatorship. But they also keep saying "The situation is getting worse."

#### Worse?

I think of Mao Zedong's response to critics of peasant rebellion in China in 1927. He noted that "even progressive people" saw uprisings as "terrible." "But it's not terrible," he declared. "It is anything but 'terrible.' It's fine!"

Watching the live coverage, I see the people of Egypt, fed up with their oppression, and inspired by the revolution in Tunisia, doing something very, very fine. It is inspiring. It is profoundly hopeful.

The Obama administration line (as summarized by Joe Biden, interviewed by Jim Lehrer on PBS), can

be summarized as follows: Egyptians have the right to protest. Many are middle class folks, with legitimate concerns. But we should not refer to Mubarak as a dictator. It's not time for him to go. He has been a key ally of the U.S. and Israel, in the "Middle East peace process" and the War on Terror. Egypt is dissimilar to Tunisia, and it would be "a stretch" to suggest that a trend is underway. The U.S. should encourage those protesting and Mubarak to talk. Everyone should avoid violence.

The mainstream infotainment media spin can be summarized like this: The "unrest" in Egypt puts the U.S. in a difficult position. On the one hand Mubarak has abetted U.S. "national interests" and been Israel's only Arab ally. (These two are always assumed to be closely linked; the notion that an Arab leader is a friend of the U.S. to the extend that he kisses Israel's ass is never questioned.) On the other hand, U.S. officials have been saying for years that the Middle East needs "democratic reform."

This puts in the U.S. in bind, we are told. The U.S. confronts a "dilemma." The talking heads depict the U.S. as somehow a victim in this situation. (Isn't it terrible, they're implying, that the Egyptian people by their militancy in favor of supposed U.S. ideals are trying to topple the USA's best friend in the Arab world? What a headache to have to deal with!)

Seems to me, however, that this is another of those instances of chickens coming home to roost.

The U.S. has supported Mubarak primarily in appreciation for his



stance towards Israel. (The mainstream media is referring to him as an "ally" of Israel.) It's not really because he's been a "partner in the peace process"-because there is no real peace process. Relentless Israeli settlement activity on Palestinian land supported by the Lobby in the U.S. has insured that.

Wikileaks documents indicate that Mubarak has been content for the "process" to lag indefinitely so that he could represent himself as the vital Arab middleman while enjoying two billion in U.S. military aid per year. But Palestinians hate him for cooperating with the demonization of democratically elected Hamas and the embargo imposed on Gaza. And Egyptians hate him for, among many other things, betraying their Palestinian brothers and sisters.

Rather, the U.S. has supported Mubarak because he's provided an Arab fig leaf for the unequivocal support for Israel that the U.S. has provided for decades. U.S. diplomats have, as Wikileaks reveal, at times expressed concern that the dictator might be causing some problems by his "heavy-handed" treatment of dissidents. But this is not a matter of moral indignation, or concern about the lives of Egyptians. It's nothing more than an expression of concern that his fascistic rule might jeopardize his ability to help U.S.-Israeli policy in the region and keep the Suez Canal open.

And now that brutal rule has caused an explosion. The reaction from U.S. officials and political commentators is, "We never expected this."

Well surprise, surprise! (These folks were dumbfounded by the Iranian Revolution of 1979 as well. Don't they understand that people eventually fight back?)

I think of that old Langston Hughes poem:

What happens to a dream deferred?

- Does it dry up
- like a raisin in the sun?
- Or fester like a sore-
- And then run?
- Does it stink like rotten meat?
- Or crust and sugar over-
- like a syrupy sweet?
- Maybe it just sags
- like a heavy load.
- Or does it explode?

Egypt is exploding. The deferred dreams of the Arab world are exploding. And even the corporate media acknowledges that the people are jubilant (while warning that none of this might be in "our interest"). But for people with some basic morals, concerned about the happiness of humanity in general, is this not totally fine?

Gary Leupp is a Professor of History at Tufts University, USA.

Source: dissidentvoice.org



### Vinayak Sen's hearing starts

A suit filed over child disease expert and the reverent human rights activist Vinayak Sen has entered into the process of hearing in the high court at Bilaspur in Chhattisgarh, India. The issue of the Sen has already been internationalized when he was arrested.

An international delegation from European Union has arrived there at hearing in the high court. In spite of protest of some of the

cadres of Bharatiya Janata Party, the delegation of EU is present in the hearing. The eight-member Delegation of EU is from Belgium, Germany, Sweden, France, Hungary and Britain.

The cadres of the BJP has unmasked their democracy and the democratic values by chanting the slogan "Go back EU delegation!" It has reflected the democratic impression of

'big democratic' country in the south Asia.

The lower court had given its verdict to take Vinayak Sen, Narayan Sanyal and Piyush Guha life-long imprisonment in the case of traitor on 24 December. This verdict was denied from the national and the international area. Vinayak Sen was working among the people of the rural and town areas since three decade.

## THE RED STAR Miscellaneous Feb. 1-15, 2011



Paolo Babini

Kathmandu, 19th December 19, 2010 - A delegation of the CARC Party was invited here in Kathmandu to join the 18th Conference of All Nepal National Independent Students' Union (Revolutionary) {ANNISU (Revolutionary)}, the most strong student organization in the country, collecting hundreds of thousands of revolutionary students and which is linked to Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) {Unified CPN (Maoist)}.

There were present at the conference the representatives of revolutionary student movements in Punjab and Tamil Nadu (India), of Bangladesh, Bhutan, the Philippines, Norway, Australia, Greece. There were delegates of the Marxist Leninist Communist Party of Turkey and North Kurdistan and from Basic, a revolutionary and progressive magazine in Canada. The delegations remained until 18th December, with the exception of the delegation of Punjab, returned home because of the sudden illness that has killed one of its components.

The Conference showed that the revolutionary movement in Nepal can count on the youth of the country to defend and make advance the revolution. The large support by young people to the revolution and to the Unified CPN (Maoist) that guides it shows that the Party has so far followed the just line. The ability of a communist party to collect the support of the young people of the popular masses is a sign of its vitality and of the rightness of its own line.

Is the Unified CPN (Maoist) continuing to follow the just line? Given the importance this party and the revolution in Nepal have in the international communist movement there are many people who In fact, we can speak of stalemate only in the sense that the Maoists and the reactionaries are facing each other so that for a long time no one of them has been able to advance, and the political activity in the country is essentially blocked. We cannot speak of stalemate for the Maoist party, which is developing a two lines struggle at higher and higher levels. The latest developments before the Conference of ANNISU(r) Chairman, Krishna Bahadur Mahara-incharge of international bureau, Ananta- Standing Committee member, Dharmentra Bastala-politburo member, Basanta-of the International bureau, Rashmi-president of the Young Communist League gave the same explanation of the tactics adopted, indicating that the party is not divided on key issues, so as some revolutionary forces fear and as the reactionary forces hope. As still a part of



The inauguation ceremony of ANNISUR (Revolutionary)'s 18th national conference

ask it. Many think that the Unified CPN (Maoist) is in a stalemate. Some think that the road taken with the interruption of the armed struggle in 2006 was wrong, even if it led to great popular movement of April 2006, to the subsequent fall of the bloody king and to the end of the monarchy, to the victory of the Maoists who won 40% of seats in the Constituent Assembly. The present stalemate, according to these critics, would confirm their reasons.

have occurred in the expanded Central Committee meeting that was attended by 6,000 party members in Gorkha in late November and early December. After the meeting, the unity has not been reached, and indeed three documents were approved, one of the Chairman Prachanda, the others of two vice-Chairmans, Kiran and Battharai.

In the face of criticism and doubts, some of most important leaders of Unified CPN (Maoist), Prakesh- vice the masses is convinced that the change can be achieved through a peaceful process, the tactic is to bring to exhaust all the possibilities in this sense, practicing all the ways of peaceful mobilization that the masses suggest and follow, showing in practice that "the political power grows from the barrel of a gun", that only revolution can bring progress in the country, freeing it from the chains of feudalism and oppression.

The stalemate between

revolutionary and reactionary forces cannot be maintained forever, and indeed must be unlocked in the coming months. Above all, the two lines struggle in the party could not go on indefinitely, putting the party in terms of not being able to intervene timely when, thanks to its action, situation is ripe for a revolutionary passage.

On 17th December there was a meeting of the Party Central Committee that some Politburo leaders have described as very important, marking a qualitative leap in the history of the country as was the passage in 2006, from armed struggle to the struggle with peaceful means. The meeting concluded approving a single document, Battharai's line was in the minority, Prachanda and Kiran converged and were majority. Their line plans the development of the revolutionary process with all the means that will be needed to move towards the establishment of the Federal People's Republic in Nepal and to face the conspiracies and plots that Nepalese reactionaries are weaving supported and pushed by the Indian government.

In this 17th December, then, it has been done an important step, a leap in quality in the process of construction of the revolution that the Nepalese Maoists demonstrated to be able to lead, as they say, with science and art. We are pleased to have witnessed it and we will do our best to understand its importance, for make it known by the international communist movement, and to make the masses of our country know that Communism is being reborn in the world like is being reborn here in Nepal.

#### Maoist University .....

International Communist Movement has a big contribution in the communist movement of Nepal. The contribution approached after the "counter revolution" in China by the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) and the communist revolutionaries of India, which made the PW more convenient. Along with the initiation of PW, an intimately qualitative relationship was established with RIM and CPI-Maoist. The leaders of Maoist were established in the centre of internal communist movement and the maoist party as the guide of it. But, after Chunwang or the peace process, the relationship has been frozen. Some serious questions are raised by the parties, affiliated to RIM, which are to be answered by Nepalese Maoist. Maoist party is still unable to answer them ideologically and practically.

#### **Conclusion:**

Maoist University in Nepal was established and developed in course of the struggle against traditional School of Pushpalal, extreme rightist school of UML and fabricated and eclectical school of Mohan Bikram Singh. Moreover, Maoist University was, mainly, developed and brought up against the struggle of eclectical school of Mahan Biram. The true revolutionaries, from Pushpalal School and from School of UML, have played important roles to enrich it by being centralized in it.

The most important achievement of this school is to initiate and run a decade long PW. It practically justified that "revolution is possible" and "socialism is possible" even in the 21st century by attracting the attention of the oppressed and the exploited people around the world.

Serious dangers of deviation are revolving around the Maoist University due to peace process without logical end. The international communist movements and the revolutionaries of the world have become big critics of it now. Serious debates are running from the external and the internal sides over the Maoist University for the protection and the development of revolutionary ideology. The University is making its best efforts to protect its history and to revive the lost credibility in between. The revolutionary document presented by Com, Kiran in the sixth plenum is the recent evident of it. Let's hope, the glorious Maoist University would identify its revolutionary goals and objectives correctly and would make itself capable to lead the Nepalese people and the people of the world.

Pathik is central committee member of Unified CPN (Maoist).

THE RED STAR

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## hairabkunda : An adventure destination

The Bhairabkunda trek, the bungee-jump, the hot-spring and rafting makes a superb package.

#### • TRS Reporter

Tourism has proven itself to be a major sector for the development of Nepal. The country has hundreds of destinations for tourists and travellers. The country is celebarting Nepal Tourism Year to boost tourism industry.

Nepal is a trekker's paradise. A large section of tourists and travellers who visit Nepal go trekking. Many of the trekking routes are around Mt. Everest and Annapurna. But some destinations around Kathmandu Valley are also attracting trekkers. Among many of such kinds, there are some in Sindhupalchowk district. The district has many interesting things to do, including trekking, rafting, hot-springs, bungee-jumping, as well as historic and religious places of interest. Bhairabkunda trekking route is one of them.

Bhairabkunda is to the north-east of Kathmandu, and close to Nepal-China border. It is a holy lake named after a terrifying Tantric form of the Hindu deity Shiva. The lake is also sacred to Buddhists, who call it Chhomen. The lake is at 4250 metres height (13,943 ft.). A typical trek from Kathmandu to Bhairabkunda would be like this:

After breakfast we take a bus ride out of the Kathmandu Valley on the Araniko highway up through the hills. After a five

for the trek -'Dhande'. We spend the first night at this serene and beautiful spot. Trekking starts the next morning. During the trek, we will see the different ways of life and culture passing through the forestations and the grazing lands. In the late afternoon, after about five hours walk, we will arrive at Chanaute. Likewise, on the third night we stay at Golchhe (Pangtang), on the fourth at Daleenche Kharka, fifth on Charmu Pati. On the sixth day after a walk of about five hours, we arrive at Bhairabkunda. From the top of Bhairabkunda, we can see the Rolwaling mountain range, the Jugal Mountain, and mountains in Tibet. This is an impressive sight.

The above trek is at a comfortable pace, consisting of walking about 5 to 7 hours a day, 10 to 13 km of ascents and descents. But for domestic tourists and pilgrims, and those trekkers who want to walk harder and faster; it is possible two reduce few days. The organic rhythm of walking on foot to Bhairabkunda is a wonderful experience. The immense contrasts in altitude and climate support a spectacular mix of lifestyle and wildlife. There are superb panoramic views of mountains, diversities of landscape, all kinds of flora and fauna, and friendly locals.

Returning from Bhairabkunda, we return a different way. We can take the Araniko Highway by climbing down from the sunrise from Baghmara, just before leaving for Nayapul. It is the site of the only bungee jump in Nepal, and is one of the best bungee-jump spots in world. We can have a lot of fun with bungee-jumping or bungee-swing. After this, there is the pleasure of a hot-spring bath in the nearby town of Tatopani (literally hot water). Tatopani is on the border with China. After the hot-spring, we can either return to Kathmandu or go rafting in Bhotekoshi River. This is an hour away by bus. Rafting for three hours is a lot of fun.

The Bhairabkunda trek, the bungeejump, the hot-spring and rafting makes a superb package. Moreover, it is close to Kathmandu valley. This destination is for an adventurer- trekking up to 4250 metres, bungee-jumping and rafting. This destination can be developed as a 10-12 days package destination.

Bhairabkunda is a new tourist destination, which needs proper publicity, and the development of infrastructure on the trekking route such as hotels, lodges, water and toilet facilities, information boards etc. A Bhairabkunda Conservation and Tourism Development Committee has been formed for this purpose. The committee seeks assistance from the government and non-governmental organisations for the development of this destination. The Committee helds publicity

#### Nepal Tourism Year promoted in Germany

Nepal Tourism Board, in co-ordination with Nepal German Chamber of Commerce & Industries (NGCCI) and Nepalese Private Travel Trade Sector Companies participated in Caravan, Motors & Tourism (CMT) from 15-23 January 2011 in Stuttgart, Germany. CMT is one of the Europe's largest leisure, and tourism consumer fairs with a combination of motor and caravaning show held in Stuttgart, Germany every year.

Nepal's stall with an area of 35 sq. meters and with an advantage of prime vantage location in the exhibition hall, attracted huge number of visitors keenly interested in travelling to Nepal. There was a good destination awareness of German population towards Nepal. Trekking in the mountains of Nepal was the main subject of the query of the visitors to Nepal stall. Nepal promotional collateral and souvenirs with the theme of Nepal Tourism Year - 2011 were widely distributed during the exhibition. Nepali Tea & Coffee was also promoted during CMT 2011.

A special Nepal Event, "Together for Tourism : Nepal Tourism Year 2011" was organized in the CMT venue on 18 January



2011. Ambassador of Nepal to Federal Republic of Germany , Mr. Suresh Prasad Pradhan highlighted on tourism development and achievements in Nepal and called upon the German people to visit Nepal during Nepal Tourism Year -2011.

Nepal Tourism Board Newsletter