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People's Democratic Revolution in Nepal is now passing objectively through a gateway of great victory accompanied by a danger of serious defeat. A sharp and thoroughgoing 2-line struggle on the ideological and political questions and the need to develop through it an acquiescent plan to transform the challenges into opportunity is essentially a way to acquire necessary subjective strength that the objective condition demands. With a deep sense of responsibility, our party's Central Committee Meeting, which continued for about three months amid intense ideological and political struggle, ultimately reached to a unanimous position on the questions of line. The document adopted in the very CC Meeting has been produced herewith.

Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)

Present Situation and Historical Task of the Proletariat

Dear Comrades,

Today, our great and glorious party, the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), has arrived at a serious and extraordinary juncture of possibilities and challenges.

The way how people's revolution, in the external struggle, is advancing amid immense possibility of victory and serious danger of defeat, in the same manner, party's internal life, as a reflection of the former, also lies in the midst of potentiality of advance and danger of anarchism and chaos as well. The height to which we can create new unity, voluntary discipline, self-confidence and vigour by means of a correct line, strategy, tactic, plan and programme to ensure as far as possible the decisive victory of revolution in this complex crossroads of class struggle, to that level will we be able to make victorious the revolution and party by safeguarding them from the danger of defeat and anarchism. In order to develop that kind of line and plan, we, by abandoning all kinds of subjective prejudices, must be able to have objective estimation of the situation and balance of class force based on the universal theories of MLM. The plan and programme prepared on the basis of objective analysis will enable our party to lead the decisive victory of revolution. Expressing high regard and esteem to the entire known and unknown martyrs of Nepalese people's revolution including those of ten years of people's war and admiring the entire disappeared, injured fighters and their family members, this plenum of the central committee will be able to bring about a new dynamism in our party.

1) A short evaluation of present situation

a) On the international situation

After the dissolution of erstwhile Soviet Union and so-called "end" of cold war, the academic pundits of western imperialism widely propagated that capitalism had become "absolute", communist ideology and communism had "ended" and the "unipolar" world had been established. The premeditated propaganda is going on, but the whole imperialist world order has now entrapped into a dreadful global economic crisis. To have emerged an epicentre of new global economic crisis in the United States of America that had been presenting oneself as a leader of the world imperialism after the Second World War imparts a special meaning and implication.

When the imperialist moneybags were celebrating "victory" of capitalism before the dreadful cyclone of the current financial crisis had come up, right then too it was clear from the statistics of the World Bank itself that the gap between rich and poor had been surprisingly widening. Consequently, after the 90s the living standard of about a 1.75 billion of the people has severely dropped. About a 30,000 children, who could be cured by primary healthcare, are dying daily and about 1 billion people victimized by malnutrition cannot reach their 40. Children ranging from 250 million to 300 million in number from poor countries of the third world are being used as child-slaves for their bread and butter. Millions of young women are being pushed into prostitution daily. Tens of millions of youths of the third world are being forced to be sold as modern slaves in the globalized labour market for their livelihood. It is a short glimpse of so-called victory of capitalism after the cold war.

On top of that the present economic crisis has given rise to a more horrendous outcome. The bourgeois economists the world over are now bound to realize that the present global economic crisis is of several times deeper and

wider nature and of far-reaching significance than the crisis that had emerged around 1930, before the Second World War. Big banks, financial institutions and industries of the United States of America have been declared to be bankrupt over night. In America, about 7 hundred thousand workers had lost their job merely in the last February; 6 hundred 50 thousand workers have been now losing their jobs in every three months. Only after the economic crisis has started, 4.4 millions of people have lost their jobs. The industries that produced about 20 millions of cars before are now forced to produce only half of that. This Tsunami of severe economic crisis is going ahead engulfing not only the United States of America but also the third world countries, including Europe.

The imperialist ringleader who used to publicize that the open market economy was a non-missing target are now forced to take such a policy that provides financial support in different forms including nationalization of banks and bail of out industries by the government. It has been to the extent that some of the bourgeois economists are now referring to adopt some of the aspects of socialist economy to put the instantaneous crisis on hold. From this what has been proved once again is that it is the capitalism that is the main reason to bring crisis one after another for humanity and it is socialism only that can bring about a bright future for the human beings. The dream of unipolar world with which America as a gangster had come forward the world over is now becoming a daydream as a result of inter-imperialist contradictions along with the resistance carried by Russia, which is consolidating internally, and China, which is an upcoming economic super power. However, the proletariat must not minimise imperialist globalization and military strategy of capturing the whole world and the unjust wars which are being imposed upon Iraq, Afghanistan, Middle East, South Asia and the world over and the stratagem of military bases being established there as well. Rather, in order to resist that it is urgent to go forward seriously with immediate and long-term plans to handle inter-imperialist contradictions, to resolve the principal contradiction between imperialism and oppressed people and nations by building, on the basis of proletarian internationalism, a worldwide united front amongst the communist revolutionaries. Finally, the imperialist globalization and hooliganism of the US imperialism is bringing the world revolution closer and proves that revolution is the main trend today.

It is necessary to be clear on the background and reason behind this economic crisis that has exploded after about 70 years in United States of America, the centre of imperialist world order. The capitalism always creates a problem of overproduction because it pays no attention to the basic needs of the masses but always emphasizes on production that produces super profit to investors. The development of huge industries and worldwide apparatus to earn super profit results in creating a socialist base and mechanism and consequently it creates a contradiction with the private ownership of the capitalists; which is the inborn reason behind the fall of capitalism and rise of socialism. A question arises here, what reason caused to stop for so long years the process of fall of capitalism and rise of socialism that was intense during the period of the First World War to the advent of the Second World War? In the advent of the Second World War, one of the main reasons behind it was, in view of economic recession and inevitability of war, to centralize the main strength and investment in war-centred military economy on the part of the United States of America. From Second World War to Vietnam War and the cold war to different levels of wars till now made it possible to sustain capitalist economy in general and American economy in particular. Production of fighter planes, submarines, tanks, rockets and other military equipments in an extensive way and enormous wealth plundered thereof helped maintain that situation. Another important reason behind this is the temporary respite that they gained by expanding finance capital all over the world and increasing domination in the big markets like China, India and Russia. But, as a result of inherent unproductive and speculative nature of finance capital, it was unavoidable on the part of world imperialism to get trapped soon into a new crisis and so got trapped too.

In the period following the collapse of former Soviet Union, the imperialists deliberately developed worldwide mechanism for globalization of finance capital and extraction of profit to exploit and oppress the labourers and working class people the world over. As a result of the development of globalized production and oppressive structures, today the outburst of crisis and unemployment is spreading everywhere whether it be the US or Europe or Asia or Africa or Latin America. Special attention to be paid here is that the capitalist economy, on which war and military industries sustained, is now entrapped into a worldwide severe crisis. In order to protect it from being ruined the imperialists should develop terribly destructive technical weapons and impose qualitatively disastrous genocidal wars. Now, traditional and scattered wars and usual war economy is not sufficient to safeguard capitalism. Right at this point, a danger of imperialism staging a most severe destruction in the history of mankind is hidden behind it. Therefore, it has become especially necessary for the people, who are in favour of justice, equality, peace and independence, to come forward together against the imperialist crisis and terror of wars. In fact, this situation in the final analysis is creating a qualitatively favourable situation to build a people's new world through world revolution.

India is gradually surrendering to the US imperialism. As a result of this, America is intensifying its economic, political and military activities all across the region. Entrapping India in its strategic web, the US imperialism is going ahead along its master plan of suppressing the entire national liberation, new democratic and socialist movements in this region and encircling and dividing China, the strong competent of the 21st century. In spite of this, the need to pay attention on is that there exists contradiction too between the US and India in view of mutual shares in South Asia. In the context of Nepal, India wants to extend its border up to the Himalayas, where as US wants to establish a special base in Nepal and go ahead on its own. The proletariat in this region should determine

its strategy and tactic paying attention to both the aspects i.e. collusion, the principal aspect, and contention, the secondary aspect, existing in between US and India. In general, Asia, Africa and Latin America remain as the storm centres of revolution, but as a result of firstly, the special nature of contradiction against feudalism and imperialism, secondly, the wideness of revolutionary national liberation and democratic movements and thirdly, huge number of exploited and oppressed masses living in South Asia, make it a main storm centre of world revolution in the first decade of the 21st century. In this context, proletarian revolutionaries should take up a policy to go ahead by uniting the entire national liberation, democratic and socialist movements and building a broad united front against imperialism. What is necessary to pay attention here is that the wave of victory of anti-imperialist leftists in Latin American countries in the elections attracts a special significance. The left opinion there will have a special role in developing an anti-imperialist front in the world level.

b) On the International Communist Movement

Aforesaid brief analysis of the world situation clarifies that the objective condition to build up communist parties based on MLM and develop revolution is speedily getting favourable in various countries of the world. However, compared to the objective situation, the subjective condition of the world communist movement is very weak.

MLM, the only scientific and revolutionary world outlook and principle, has developed as an ideological weapon of the proletariat. As a science, communist revolutionaries must grasp the question of defending, applying and developing MLM very seriously. In the context of defending, applying and developing MLM, right revisionism remains as the main deviation and ideological foe of the communist movement even today. Real defence, application and development of MLM is not possible without undergoing strong ideological struggle against right revisionism that backs class collaboration, reformism and national capitulation. While waging this struggle, the proletarian revolutionaries must remain vigilant on the danger of mechanical and sectarian dogmato-revisionism and eclecticism and centrist deviation as well. Finally, in the communist movement, Marxism has developed to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the midst of struggles against all sorts of deviations.

We can correctly accomplish our historical task only by waging struggles against mainly the right revisionism and also dogmatism prevailing in the international communist movement today. For this, maintaining relation with MLM parties in and outside of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM), we should go ahead on the way to building a new international amidst lively ideological struggle. In the context of defence, application and development of MLM, we, as a party that has acquired experiences in the midst of 10 years of people's war and a range of mass movements and as a big force against feudalism and imperialism and also accepting heartily that we have a historical responsibility upon our shoulder to develop ideological struggle and international movement, should step up initiative to that direction.

Present National Political Situation

The main specificity of the present Nepalese political situation is that our country is being pushed towards a matured state of revolutionary crisis from the sensitive state of transition. Consistent with the tactic and demand that the revolutionary communists had put forward, by way of fusion of people's war and historical mass movement, the constituent assembly election has taken place, and through that election the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) has been established as the most popular party in the country, and bringing to an end the 240 years old monarchy, the federal democratic republic has been established as a result of the initiative and the strength of our party. Gaining experience of a very new front to drive the new democratic revolution forward against feudalism and imperialism, this party has already led a nine months long people-elected first government of the Republic of Nepal. Certainly, these are the achievements that have far-reaching importance in the context of Nepali democratic revolution. True proletarians must have high evaluation and regard to these achievements.

But in spite of aforesaid achievements, there has been no basic change in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition of the country. The fundamental problems of the country and people related with nationhood, democracy and people's livelihood are not basically solved. There is no basic change in the class character of the state. Even today, there is a sole control of comprador, bureaucrat and feudal classes in the state. Seizing the achievements of great people's war and historic mass movement or by means of counterrevolution this class wants to retract into status quo. Certainly, these challenges clarify the reality that Nepalese democratic revolution has not yet been accomplished rather its final completion along with decisive struggle still remains waiting. True revolutionaries must take these challenges and realities seriously.

In this way, what is clear from the aforesaid facts is that to devalue the present political change as insignificant or overestimate it as equal to revolution are both wrong. Protecting the achievements, to go forward for the success of democratic revolution is the responsibility of genuine proletarians.

For the feudal monarchy has come to an end, the principal political contradiction of Nepalese people with monarchy has also ended. Now the comprador, bureaucrat and feudal elements that favour status quo have taken that position. Changed political context and the latest political events, in particular, have clarified that a drama of building puppet government comprising of diehard rightist elements has been staged against the spirit of interim constitution, the basic democratic norms of civilian supremacy, people's mandate expressed in the election, peace and the process of constitution building in the naked intervention of foreign reactionaries. What this situation clarifies is that not only has the contradiction of Nepalese people with compradors, bureaucrat capitalists and the feudal classes that favour status quo and national capitulation intensified but also the Nepalese nation's and people's basic contradiction with imperialist-expansionist forces that prop up the aforesaid classes has also been sharpening. Because the status quoist domestic reaction has been proved weaker compared to the revolutionary forces in Nepal, the special situations, on which one should also pay attention is that any time there is a possibility of contradiction of Nepalese people with both the domestic and foreign reactionaries becoming simultaneously principal or the possibility of national liberation becoming principal after there is direct military intervention on the command of foreign power against the Nepalese people, predominantly exists. Party must remain prepared to confront both of the aforesaid eventualities, but right now grasping the fact that internal contradiction is principal it is seriously necessary to build up prerequisites for tomorrow by way of exposing and resisting different forms of ongoing foreign interventions.

Politically, there is a serious debate on two questions now. They are: firstly, which is the main obstructing or inspiring idea and force behind the 12-point understanding? And secondly, whether to limit the present federal republic within the regressive and status quo republic that represents the interest of compradors, bureaucrats and feudal or establish a people's republic of entire patriots including workers and peasants and oppressed class, nationality, region and gender? Now in answer to these basic questions naturally two different ideas are coming up. The proletariat, which defends the interest of oppressed classes, nationalities, regions and genders including workers, peasants, patriotic intelligentsia and national bourgeoisie, claims that the main thinker and inspirer behind the 12-point understanding is the people's war and the mass movement led by itself, where as compradors, bureaucrats and feudal and their foreign masters present themselves as the major force and the inspirer. Likewise, the proletariat is making effort to step up the federal democratic republic to People's Republic and institutionalize it where as the reactionary class is making effort to entrap it into or step down to status quo republic. From the viewpoint of class politics, the key reason behind the present political tussle, contradiction and confrontation lies in it.

It can be understood in another way also. Yesterday, absolute feudal monarchy had come forward as a common enemy of both of the class forces that favoured parliamentary status quo and People's Republic. A common necessity to fight against it created a base for 12-point understanding. The election of constituent assembly and complete democracy (i.e. federal democratic republic) could become a common programme at that time. When this kind of understanding was being made, both the political forces, parliamentary status quoist and communist revolutionaries, had seen advantage on their part. Had not both the forces seen advantage on their part no understanding was possible too. It is a general law of political process.

As a result of limitation in their class outlook, it is in general the specificity of bourgeois reactionaries to underestimate the strength and ability of the masses of the people including workers and peasants and the communist revolutionaries as well. Having concrete analysis of the concrete condition and objective estimation of class forces, to decide correct policy is the speciality of the revolutionaries. Constituent Assembly election and its result have proved the said specificity well. Proving to be wrong the analysis and estimation of imperialist, expansionist and domestic reactions, Nepalese people made the communist revolutionaries reach to the highest position. Although the Nepalese people placed the revolutionary forces in the first position against expectation, effort and estimation of the reactionaries, only after their entire plots to stop that force from leading the government failed, finally the Maoist-led government was formed. Formation of the first elected government of Republic of Nepal under the leadership of Maoist revolutionaries was a matter of surprise for both the reactionaries and democratic forces the world over. The class contradictions of the state power are soundly displayed in this event, which has come up as a particular expression of balance of class forces developed in the course of 10 years of people's war and historical mass movement. In this situation, it is obvious for the leadership to seek its own dictatorship and the dictatorship to seek its own leadership. Clear class difference and speciality is that the proletarian revolutionaries present themselves responsible and honest towards the nation and people where as the reactionary and revisionist elements prove themselves to be very totalitarian, national betrayers and anti-people.

As a partisan force of people's federal democratic national republic i.e. People's Republic, naturally the Maoist-led government, not in any support or gesture of foreign reactionaries or domestic status quoist forces, remaining honest to nation, people's war, mass movement and the mandate of constituent assembly, started going independently and lawfully ahead as to institutionalize and address the changes. All the way through struggles pursued in preparing policy, programme and budget of the government to Prime Minister's formal visit to China, India, America, Norway and Finland, the government tried to address the necessity of the changed situation and Nepalese people's struggle and sacrifice for epoch-making changes. In the process of institutionalizing changes, the

government presented several important programmes as to make the masses avail immediate respite to strategic plans to build a new Nepal and it adopted a policy to gradually transform bureaucracy and security mechanism corresponding to the essence and necessity of the federal republic. In this process, the government lawfully took action upon the "commander", who used to time and again challenge the republic and the supremacy of civilian government, speak against the peace agreement, advocate feudal monarchy and serve the foreign reaction.

It was natural to become government's aforesaid activities intolerable to the reactionary elements that were conspiring not to allow forming the Maoist-led government and making it fail in case it was formed. In spite of innumerable conspiracies to make the Maoist-led government topple down, as well as fraudulent and deliberate propaganda to defame it, when they saw that Maoist popularity was growing and were going ahead firmly along their strategy, then the reactionaries heightened their conspiracies further. By means of deliberate and subjective propaganda like "Manipulating the army, the Maoists are seizing power according to their strategy", "Maoists are implementing one party totalitarian rule" the reactionaries, who talk of constitutional supremacy, democratic values, rule of law, civilian supremacy, finally displayed their real despotic nature. Justifying that democracy is a show tusk of an elephant for the reactionaries; they hatched a midnight counterrevolutionary conspiracy by using the president as a mask.

In the gesture of foreign lords, turning down the decisions of the civilian government in an unconstitutional and despotic manner, not only has the drama of a commander's reinstatement exposed national capitulationist and undemocratic nature of the old parliamentarian and revisionist political parties but also has it shown their defeated and humiliated mentality.

The reality that behind this unconstitutional move of the president lies a ghastly conspiracy, on the part of domestic and foreign reactions, of pushing the country towards war and confrontation, disrupting constitution writing and peace process, slaughtering the throat of federal democratic republic by means of military terror and finally attacking upon the national existence and chastity of Nepal is evident. At this particular historical crossroads, a revolutionary prudence and courage was anticipated from the vanguard of the proletariat to defeat counterrevolutionary conspiracy and show honesty and responsibility towards nation, people and the class. Our great and glorious party and its central leadership proved its prudence and courage through aggressive but balanced attacks in succession against reactionary conspiracies. Raising high the banner of right of national self-determination (i.e. national independence and self-respect) and civilian supremacy, the events from the action upon Katuwal to the resignation of Prime Minister, from the resignation to Prime Minister's last address in the constituent assembly, from the last address to struggle going on in the legislature and street, have exhibited the aforesaid historic truth. Our party rank and file and the broad masses as well are proud of it and should be too.

While making comprehensive objective evaluation of the first coalition government of Republic of Nepal constituted under the leadership of our party, we must humbly admit that we could not attain the expected and possible achievements as a result of, on the one hand, the obligatory situation in which we had to work within the limitation of old reactionary state machinery and our lack of experience to run the state, lack of planned coordination among the tasks of government, legislature and the street etc. On the other, in spite of aforesaid limitations we must not lose sight the key achievements for example our success to raise optimism towards the future and the revolution among the broad masses, make conflict-affected people avail relief even though a few, initiate effective intervention for forward looking transformation in several organs of the old state power and take some positive initiative to protect and promote national interest and self-respect etc. In total, the positive and negative experiences of this short period have provided important reference material to establish and run the state power of the proletariat in the days to come.

As a result of prudence and courage exhibited by the revolutionary party, today the process of polarization of genuine patriotic, leftist, progressive and democratic forces and the broad masses on one side, and a handful of national capitulationist compradors, bureaucrats and feudal elements on the other side is intensifying. A flame of serious debate and contradiction has ignited mainly within Nepali Congress and UML, the political forces that formed a puppet government. Even there, honest patriots, leftist and democratic leaders and cadres are, in an organized and extensive manner, opposing capitulationist character of the national leadership and their act of kneeling down before military supremacy. Right at this time, given the atrocity carried out by the Indian security forces upon Nepalese people along the bordering areas of Dang district and the events of border encroachment in different parts of the country including Bara district, the awareness and initiative of defending national self-respect and territorial integrity has been qualitatively expanding among the entire political activists including the broad masses, except a few compradors. By transforming this awareness and initiative into a material force, to come forward to liberating our country from the semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition is the historic task of the proletariat at present. This liberation will be the completion of democratic revolution. However, it will be a serious mistake to think that this historic task will be accomplished with no trouble. For that, there must be untiring labour, sacrifice, endurance and conviction in all the fields of ideology, organization and struggle; which we will discuss in another chapter. The question to pay attention here is that the reactionaries are now seriously involved in the conspiracy of making Maoist revolutionaries commit a mistake through provocation, alleging Maoists through an

artificial incident, killing political leadership, creating split in the party and movement to disrupt peace-process, weakening the constituent assembly and pushing the country into war. Reactionaries, in and outside of the country, have clearly understood that the ideological, political and sentimental relation of the peace-process and constituent assembly is inseparably related with Maoist people's war and the revolutionary movement. In the special context of Nepal, for the reason that peace-process and constituent assembly are the fruit of people's war and revolutionary movement, victory of reactionaries in this arena is impossible. From the result of constituent assembly election, from the programmes related to nationhood, democracy and people's livelihood that the Maoist-led government had put forward and mainly from the political superiority of the Maoist revolutionaries and also from the increasing popularity proved by the past mid-term poll, the reactionaries have clearly understood this reality.

In this backdrop, without falling in enemy provocation, the urgent necessity to develop independent proletarian policy, plan and programme that defeats their strategic aspiration is evident. At this time, we must not search imaginary and bombastic slogans but centre our attention on the slogans that emerged in the midst of lively struggles against reactionaries and make them reach to the masses in a systematic and planned way. Enemy is trying to isolate us, our slogan must isolate the enemy, enemy is trying to push the country into war, our slogan must be able to rally the whole country around the banner of peace, enemy is trying to make the constituent assembly powerless, our slogan must make it lively, enemy is trying to make the peace agreement and interim constitution a worthless piece of paper, we must respect them as a common mandate of the people's war, 12-point understanding and the mass movement, enemy is abhorrently conspiring to malign people's verdict expressed in the constituent assembly and impose puppet government upon the Nepalese people, our slogan must fully respect people's opinion expressed in the constituent assembly, the enemy is finally and mainly trying to wreck national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Nepal and our slogan, uniting the whole country, must be able to shatter the enemy's ambition. For that, tactically peace, constitution, national independence, 'civilian supremacy' and 'Maoist-led national government' must be included in our slogans. Based on these slogans, the planned struggles carried from legislature and the street, by defeating the reactionary conspiracies, broad masses can be led to the completion of strategic goal of democratic revolution.

2) On the party line and polarization of revolutionary communists

As a result of correct implementation and synchronization of party's clear ideological and political line, strategy, tactic and plan of action, today our glorious party the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) has been developing as a main stream of the communist revolutionaries. The process of revolutionary polarization that came forward with the historic initiation of people's war has now qualitatively attained a new height.

When the great people's war was advancing towards its climax, the party unity with CPN (Masal) organized under the leadership of comrade Dinanath Sharma after rebellion against dogmato-revisionism and the unity, 2 years later, with Kirat Workers Party led by comrade Gopal Kirati set off the process of revolutionary polarization in an organized way.

It is clear that the scientific outlook regarding strategy, tactic and tactical unity has made our party achieve an important and leading role of realizing 12-point understanding, fusion of people's war and mass movement, peace process, constituent assembly and establish federal democratic republic.

From our first position in the constituent assembly election to the popular programmes on the part of the people-elected first republican government under party leadership and programmes of agitation, from prime minister's resignation in order to struggle in favour of national independence, civilian supremacy, peace and constitution to the important decisions taken in the legislatures and the ongoing programmes of mass movement as well have imparted new dynamism for the revolutionary polarization.

From the unity taken place between CPN (Maoist) and CPN (Unity centre-Masal) that were carrying out joint activities ever since the great process of people's war to the unity with CPN (MLM) led by comrade Krishnadas Shrestha, Democratic Front led by comrade Bhim Bahadur Kadayat, CPN (Masal) led by Keshav Nepal, CPN (ML-Revolutionary) led by comrade Tek Bahadur, dozens of cultural fighters, who rebelled in group from UML, dozens of intellectual and political personalities that rebelled from various groups and the ranks of thousands of revolutionary cadres, who joined the CPN (Maoist) before and after the constituent assembly election, all has clarified the fact that the Unified Communist party of Nepal (Maoist) that has a revolutionary line, strategy and tactical thinking to go forward to socialism and communism after the accomplishment of new democratic revolution in Nepal has become a main stream of communist revolutionaries today.

3) From the latest peace process to the present: on party's problems and Weaknesses

From the viewpoint of class struggle as a whole and the objective political initiative there has been a good advance. But, from the subjective and organizational point of view there have been scores of serious problems and weaknesses. If we could not develop concrete policy plan and programme to identify the problems, reasons behind them and the ways to resolve them howsoever bright future may be seen objectively in fact no achievement can be obtained even if these are not implemented in practice. In this context, first of all problems should be discussed.

a) MLM has taught us and we have clearly understood that it is not possible to lead revolution to a decisive victory without the leadership of a militant and disciplined communist party, vanguard of the proletariat, based on the unity of ideology and resolve. In spite of numerous limitations and weaknesses, for the whole period of people's war party's principal aspect was militant political vanguard of the proletariat. There was dominance of high proletarian spirit of ideological consistency, resolute unity, voluntary discipline and sacrifice. But, after the peace process and mainly after the party has come open, unfortunately the party not only did not remain a militant and disciplined political vanguard of the proletariat but also a danger of it being gradually transformed into an anarchic crowd has come into sight. The process of achieving new unity on a new basis by means of ideology-centred debate and unity-struggle-transformation is being gradually replaced by the danger of individual interest-centred unhealthy competition and new factions and splits. Bringing this situation to an end, we must allot utmost emphasis to drive the party forward as a political vanguard of the proletariat in a true sense.

b) Today party committee system is going towards the direction of becoming lethargic, burdensome, chaotic and messy. The committee system of a communist party ought have been swift, orderly and proficient to provide lively leadership to the committee, organizations and masses of the people under one's responsibility, but our committees have become so huge that firstly there can be no meeting and secondly very difficult to take up decisions in case there is meeting. Consequently, the position of collective decision and individual responsibility, the organisational concept of MLM, is being occupied by individual decision and collective responsibility. This situation must be changed. Committee system cannot be improved without reactivating the method of conducting committees based on the organizational principal of democratic centralism and making them lively and strong by way of criticism and self-criticism. In a genuine communist party, in case there is no practice of regular criticism and self-criticism from the central committee to the cell committees, naturally different kinds of confusions, whisperings, propaganda, factionalism and anarchism emerge within the party and they make the party hollow and indolent.

c) Now, there has been rapid deterioration in party's proletarian conduct and working style. The competition of individual concern, interest and return is trying to replace collective concern, initiative and sacrifice for party and revolution. Mutual help, reverence and healthy criticism among comrades is gradually being replaced by the trends of non-cooperation, intolerance and unhealthy criticism. The economic anarchy and opacity, on the one hand, is rapidly making the party slide down from the communist ideals and, on the other, it is making the mutual relation among comrades very much suspicious and unhealthy. A communist system of unconditionally depositing cash or appliances obtained from any source by a comrade of any level of the party has been disappearing and a very bourgeois process of piling up and using them personally by those whoever can is burgeoning. From this, thousands of honest and revolutionary cadres have been victims of desperation, humiliation and discomfort, for they are entrapped in the problems of solving their own daily subsistence, minimum supply of daily necessities, family problems and basic problems of the local people, where as a trend of taking individual benefit by a few party officials and some 'actives' is growing. This situation has created wide dissatisfaction among the revolutionary cadres and it has time and again given rise to natural unrest and fury before the party leadership and the party centre. In order to bring this situation to an end, there is no other way than sorting out plan to develop proletarian conduct and working style and implementing them firmly in the party.

d) Regular ideological and political training and schooling, which is very much necessary, has become messy. Daily political events, parliamentarian tug-of-wars and their ebb and tide and premeditated materials that are publicized by big media houses, controlled by reactionaries, have become the major political training materials for the entire party ranks and supporters. Naturally, as a result of this, proletarian ideology, politics and strategic issues are falling under shadow and everyone is running behind the daily events and is getting confused by it. By bringing this situation to an end, and taking publication, publicity, political training and schooling seriously it is necessary to push the tasks forward in a planned way.

e) The great people's war gave birth to thousands of professional revolutionary fighters. In the course of people's war, a huge number of fulltime and part-time cadres were actively involved in party works, people's liberation army, militia, war front, democratic state, people's courts, communes and democratic schools. Thousands of martyr's families, disappeared fighters, wounded fighters and their families had active participation in either of the aforesaid tasks. After we entered into the peace process, as a result of dissolution of people's power, people's court and militia, and centering of PLA in cantonments and no formation of local bodies after the constituent assembly

election also, thousands of district and local level cadres had to become unemployed. Also the lack of management of fulltime cadres, families of martyrs, disappeared and wounded fighters and regular plans and programmes of mass mobilization and struggle, caused to develop obvious confusion, doubt and dissatisfaction among the cadres. On the one hand, emergence of that situation in absence of plan and programme in the local level and, on the other, differences in opinion among the responsible members of the central committee broadly also caused to emerge symptoms of pessimism. Without raising to a new height the process of management and mobilization through correct policy, plan and programme this problem will have no real solution.

f) Thousands of youths, in the course of people's war, involved in revolution by leaving their study in campuses and schools. Even after the Party-led government was formed after the constituent assembly election academic certificate became compulsory in governmental and non-governmental jobs and when they saw their age-group friends studying in different levels, naturally apprehension about their study and future started growing. Besides, uneasiness has widely grown after some of the cadres, by any means, started reading and taking examinations. Although party had brought forward a concept of Open University and tried to solve it but that has not yet been effective. Now, party has certainly taken up some concrete initiatives on behalf of the government to teach sons and daughters of martyrs and disappeared fighters and it has given a positive impact too. But, party should take up clear policy on education of the whole cadres.

g) Inability to push forward the tasks related to four preparations and that of government, legislature and the street also increased distrust and doubt within the party. In the days to come, it is necessary to carry forward these tasks in a planned way.

Behind the aforesaid problems, the acts like, 'loose talking', 'back biting', 'rude comment' against this or that comrade of the party leadership contrary to the party system of democratic centralism have become in itself a serious problem before the party. It has been urgent to resolve these problems through open discussion and criticism and self-criticism. While doing so, even if there remain differences in opinion in certain issues, there must be commitment to conducting ideology-centred debate in a systematic way and implementing the decision in a unified manner.

Behind increment of the aforesaid kinds of problems in the party, our attention should focus on the following main reasons.

a) To jump into this complex front without developing, as far as possible, clear policy, plan and programme on the organizational and practical problems that could arise while coming from war to peace, seems to be one of the main reasons behind the aforesaid problems. After coming into this front, it was apparent that there would have been compulsion on the part of main leadership to engage in day to day national and domestic works. By having prior estimation of that kind of situation, clear concept and overall work division must have been done on the tasks of party, army, state power, mass organizations, front etc.

b) After party acquired victory in the constituent assembly election in contrary to domestic and foreign reactionaries' analysis, estimation and expectation, our inability to pay adequate attention to maintain uniformity, through thorough discussion in the CC meeting, on the issues like -- whether the party should join government or not, in case it was decided to join what could be the overall plan, what could be the party policy, plan and programme to mobilise masses compatible with the programmes of the government, how to crush conspiracy and encirclement on the part of imperialism, expansionism and domestic reaction after the government was formed etc. caused the aforesaid problems to arise.

Owing to aforesaid main reasons, no concrete plan to resolve aforesaid problems including the management of cadres could be developed. Consequently, a contradictory situation, in which there was enthusiasm among the people but mistrust among the cadres, arose. Chairman should take the main responsibility for such situation to arise in the party and then other comrades respectively, in accordance with their hierarchical status, should do. And, refraining from such weaknesses in the future, planned initiative should be taken up to make the party go ahead.

4) A rough sketch of the immediate plan

Aforesaid analysis and review clarifies the possibilities and challenges before the party. From this it is apparent that the forces of revolution and counterrevolution are going ahead towards the direction of decisive confrontation. The objective situation is allowing neither the people's revolutionary force nor the counterrevolutionary force of feudalism and imperialism to linger in status quo. The reactionary force, domestic and foreign, is now seeing their

superiority in war, autocracy, national capitulation and military supremacy while quite contrary to it the force of proletariat and the revolutionary masses is seeing their interest and superiority in peace, constitution, national self-respect, democracy and civilian supremacy.

It is not so easy for the reactionaries to instigate war owing to our leading position in the constituent assembly, situation of federal democratic republic and growing support, on the part of civilian movement and the broad masses, to our commitment to peace national self-respect, democracy and civilian supremacy, rather a possibility, in which initiative and victory remains in the hands of mainly the proletariat and revolutionary masses, has increased. Yet, we must not minimize the danger of counterrevolution because the restless reactionaries are intensely conspiring to trigger off war. In this sensitive situation, the only basis and condition for the victory of proletariat and masses is to develop strong unity within themselves with clarity towards the goal. Only by remaining united can the proletariat and the revolutionary masses, after completing the historical task of democratic revolution, open the way to go ahead towards socialism and communism.

a) Form and direction of the immediate movement

To develop wide-ranging peaceful mass movement around the issues of civilian supremacy, national independence, peace and constitution and formation of Maoist-led national united government must be our main task at present. Where one must be clear is that national united government means, in the present context, the government of those forces that favour civilian supremacy, national independence and federalism. When carrying out this movement, if the civilian supremacy is established, we must remain prepared to form national united government, but we must be clear on the fact that to participate in the puppet government without civilian supremacy will be a political suicide. Until the situation of civilian supremacy and national government is built up, we should take a policy of raising movement from one height to another.

-- Paying attention to the special political significance of Madhesh, recent conspiratorial division in Forum, sensitivity arisen out of continuous events of border encroachment and the necessity of national movement, we should emphasize to go ahead with a special plan that focuses on the questions of developing strong movement in the whole Terai (Madhesh, Tharuwan and Kochila) in general and Madhesh (Mithila, Bhojpura and Abadh) in particular. Objectively, the situation is getting favourable to develop movement in Madhesh under the leadership of our party.

-- In order to resist foreign intervention upon the national independence of our country, it is necessary to consolidate internal nationhood. For this, autonomy and federalism must be taken to implementation strongly.

-- In the context of solving the problems of people's livelihood, the issue of revolutionary land reform should be carried forward with special emphasis.

b) On the broad united front and mass mobilization

-- A broad united front should be established under the party leadership to effectuate the movement of civilian supremacy and national government. We should endeavour to build up that kind of united front in two levels. First, a front made up of various mass organizations, national and regional fronts inclusive of prominent personalities under the leadership of our party and second, a broad united front comprising of entire leftists, progressives, patriots and other parties, institutions and individuals favouring civilian supremacy should be built up.

-- Mobilize masses to declare Sherpa autonomous region in the east and Bhote-Lama autonomous region in the west along the entire Himalayan range of the north.

-- Develop movement to declare the establishment of national and regional autonomous regions.

-- Take initiative to organize without delay the local bodies in accordance with the spirit of interim constitution.

c) On peace process and writing of the new constitution

Although our party is in opposition, we should play an active role to succeed the process of peace and constitution writing. We must justify through policy and practice that we are honest and responsible to make the peace process reach to a logical conclusion and build a constitution in line with the necessity and interest of the nation and people. The fact that the elements that defame democracy by defying the interim constitution and disregarding the

mandate expressed in the constituent assembly election are against peace and constitution building must reach to the people in a planned way.

-- The army integration and rehabilitation should be carried forward simultaneously in parallel with the task of constitution writing. Party must remain very careful to the reactionary plot of weakening and disarming party by integration and rehabilitation before people's constitution is written.

-- The constitution that is being submitted on behalf of the party must include the essence and concept of anti-feudal and anti-imperialist democratic constitution. Not a constitution for constitution, party must remain clear on the fact that the constitution must be able to protect and consolidate country's sovereignty and territorial integrity along with national independence and self-respect and ensure right of the masses of entire oppressed class, nation, region and sex including workers and the peasants.

-- It must be ensured that the constitution should provide sufficient democratic right to the autonomous regions, however paying attention to the sensitive geo-political location of Nepal, particular state of population distribution and also to the main necessity of the socialism-oriented democratic structure, the system of democratic centralism should be consolidated taking into account of building an appropriately strong executive body at the centre also. In the constitution, federalism with Nepalese particularity and provision of the oppressed class, including the workers and peasants, acquiring priority in representation and leadership must be guaranteed both in the autonomous region and at the centre. In the case of leadership of autonomous region a policy of providing leading right in the first election and then to priority should be taken up.

-- Food, shelter, cloth, education, health and employment including multi-party competition, people's supremacy, rule of pro-people law and freedom of expression in line with the spirit of "Development of democracy in the 21st century" must be guaranteed as the fundamental rights of the people.

d) On party, mass organizations, fronts and departments

-- Considering the situation and necessity of political struggle existing in the country, it is necessary to consolidate party by organising its Congress soon. The Congress is equally necessary to clarify the ideological ambiguity noticed in the party, relatively systematize and consolidate the bulky and chaotic organizational structure and style of work.

-- Keeping at centre the necessity of movement, the task of relatively consolidating mass organisations and departments by means of gathering, training, constitution, reconstitution and other organizational works should be completed till mid-September to prepare and mobilize them in a unified way.

-- Taking seriously the issue of collecting real data of fulltime activists, mobilizing them in a planned way for their management, the upcoming mass movement and the main preparation in the capital, big cities and headquarters and erecting a special mechanism at the centre, initiative should be taken to fulfil it without delay. This mechanism will also sort out concrete programmes to mobilize martyrs' families, families of disappeared fighters, wounded fighters and their families in the movement along with necessary help to them.

-- A special working plan should be chalked out to bring major mass organizations including worker, peasant, student, women, Dalit and culture well in order, expand organizations up to the masses and mobilize the major regional and national fronts in a unified way.

e) On solving the financial problem

-- Make all the state committees and district committees along with collectives involve in production work including labour, and collecting financial support from them.

-- Emphasize to regularize levy and quota.

-- Collect special donation at the centre, states and the districts for the movement.

-- Reactivate the central financial department to chalk out concrete policy and find out ways in relation to collecting funds, accounting and maintaining transparency of the expenditure.

f) On the sketch of programmes of the mass movement and its general routine

-- Central committee will prepare entire programmes and the general routine of the mass movement.

Comrades, we are at a very much glorious but challenging juncture of Nepalese democratic revolution. We have to accumulate energy by remembering the dream of great martyrs and disappeared and wounded fighters. We, grasping the hope and expectation of the millions of people, have to develop unity and confidence within ourselves. Defending, applying and developing the fundamental principles of MLM, we have to serve the world revolution and the internationalist proletarian movement. Finally, as a scientific and revolutionary communist, we, maintaining the high records of patience, prudence and courage, have to crush the counterrevolutionary conspiracies. If we failed to do that Nepal and Nepalese revolution will undergo a big accident. Therefore, let us unite, let us go ahead, people's victory is guaranteed.

Thank you!