

# MAOIST OUTLOOK

## Central Organ

Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist)

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### Editorial

#### **Let us take an initiative to form an international centre!**

In the particular period of world history, especially in Russia, under the leadership of Lenin, the socialist revolution was accomplished in 1917, and the communist movement continued. The process of establishing the socialist system was progressing. The new democratic revolution in China under the leadership of Mao made a significant contribution to this great campaign to advance the world revolution further.

After Stalin's death, Khrushchev captured the leadership of the government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In 1956, the Khrushchevite clique reversed socialism in Russia to restore capitalism. This clique also tried to drown the world communist movement in the right revisionist swamp. In opposition to this, Mao, the Chairman of the Communist Party of China, raised the banner of Marxism-Leninism higher. Following this, the world communist movement got divided into two camps. Despite various efforts, an international centre of the communist parties and organizations could not be established, for nearly three decades.

In the meantime, however, many efforts were made to build an international centre. The international conference of communist parties and organizations, organised in 1984, established the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, the RIM. At that time, parties and organizations that accepted the same opinion and views on fundamental issues like Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought as guiding principles opposed all kinds of revisionism and agreed with the principle of using force in socio-political change were involved in it. It was a notable success in the international communist movement. One of its weak points was that it failed to include some genuine revolutionary communist parties with it. However, efforts continued to bring them in till the last. On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Mao, the great leader of the world communist movement, an extended meeting held by the RIM Committee in 1993, highly evaluating Mao's contributions, decided to adopt Maoism in place of Mao thought. Maoism was accepted as the third stage of Marxism and the qualitative development of Marxism-Leninism, not merely as a change of terminology. Thus, Marxism-Leninism-Mao thought was raised to a higher level, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, as an integrated guiding principle. Today, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism has been established as a guiding principle of all communist parties. In addition, RIM also played a

significant role in internationalising the people's wars waged then under the leadership of communist parties in Peru, Nepal, India, Philippines, Turkey, Bangladesh and other countries. Due to all these, the process of building the Communist Party in different countries in the world also progressed. RIM played a vital role in the world communist movement for about 22 years.

In the later part of the time, the top leaders of the CPN (Maoist) and the RCP, USA, which had played a very significant role in the RIM, pursued the path of degeneration. Prachanda, the erstwhile chairman of the CPN (Maoist), followed the path of national and class capitulation and led the party to the right revisionism. Bob Avakian, the chairman of the RCP, USA, followed the right opportunist and liquidationist line of New Synthesis, arguing that MLM has become obsolete and so cannot lead revolutions in the given situation. These two events directly or indirectly affected the RIM. As a consequence, RIM liquidated without any formal decision. There were some attempts to reconstitute RIM, but they also failed.

After that, efforts were made to build a new international centre of communists from a new axis. There was an initiative to form a preparatory committee for holding an international conference of communist parties and organizations. However, the situation was not ready to hold such a conference owing to insufficient effort, homework and basic agreement. The publication of a joint statement signed by those organizations with which they had contact and a common understanding, in reference to May Day, proceeded. But a strange, the communist parties that uphold the clarion call: "Workers of the world unite!" have started issuing two joint statements every year. It has created a doubt are the communist parties going to divide again before an international centre has been constituted?

We believe the debate and discussion should be carried out for unity and convergence, not for division and divergence. Some positive signs have appeared in the debate and discussions that have taken place in the later part of the time. It is understood that there is a conscious effort to make a unity-oriented debate, not the split-oriented one. We should welcome this effort. Even today, there is a need for unity and an ideologically and politically clear international among the communist organizations scattered around the world. Let us all move in this direction.

## **Our position on the International Communist Organization**

International Department  
CPN (Revolutionary Maoist)

The International Communist Movement is now without a centre after the undeclared dissolution of the Committee of Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, the CoRIM. As a result, the movement has dispersed now. Most revolutionary communist parties that were or were not part of the RIM are active in their mission; some have ideologically deviated, and some have even degenerated into neo-reaction. And many other parties and organizations have emerged. By fighting against imperialism, the international communist movement is advancing in its relativity. The objective situation is developing in favour of the proletarian revolution. But the lack of necessary ideological and political unity and an international communist centre have weakened the unified and centralized offence on imperialism and domestic reaction on the part of the revolutionary communists. Imperialism has sustained its life in the weakness of revolutionary communists. It is a bitter reality today.

In the meantime, some of the Maoist communist parties have taken initiatives to build an international organization, and two coordination committees have been constituted to organize the conference. One has proposed a **Unified Marxist-Leninist-Maoist International Conference**, and the other has a **Unified Maoist International Conference**. Noteworthy is that both initiatives have proposed a unified international conference. Though it failed to appear as a joint statement, they are positive steps forward.

However, there is no uniformity in the grasp of many important ideological and political issues between these two coordination committees and the parties close to them. Even then, there exists unanimity to build an international communist centre among the revolutionary parties through a unified conference. It is a good thing. Stepping at this, we should systemize the two-line struggle among the parties and build a united international organization amid the two-line struggle. It is an imperative need of the day.

After these initiatives in the international communist movement, the ideological and political positions of various communist parties also started coming out. It has initiated a new debate. Many questions of unity and disunity have also surfaced in these debates. One has sharply criticized the other. It is not wrong. However, it must be handled properly. Hunting for ideological rifts in the movement and trying to insert a wedge in it in the name of struggle or searching for compromise on the fundamental theoretical questions of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the name of realizing unity will not lead us to the right place. The ideological fight we conduct must base on principle, and its method must be scientific. It paves the way for the basis of unity.

Marxism has taught us that the communist movement is the unity of opposites. There is a non-stop ideological struggle between Marxist and non-Marxist outlooks, trends and lines. It is known as a two-line struggle. No communist party or any movement can escape from it. It is the motive force of the communist movement. Actors and trends may change, but the struggle continues. That is why Mao has said that the struggle is absolute and unity is relative. It is a fundamental question of the Marxist philosophy that the Communist Party needs to grasp. We must strive to build a strong but relative unity amid absolute struggle. There can be no absolute unity between the opposites.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the Great Debate, Mao correctly synthesized the dialectics of unity and struggle in the communist movement. According to him, the basis of unity is ideological struggle, and it must be guided by revolutionary transformation and a higher level of unity. In short, he synthesized it as unity-struggle and transformation. Only the revolutionary transformation undergone after struggle creates a new basis for a higher level of ideological unity. To keep in mind is that the objective of the two-line struggle must be transformation, not negation.

Two statements that we simultaneously published in May Days in the past years show how weak the theoretical basis of unity is in the Maoist movement. We are in such a shameful situation that we seek to determine which side is stronger by counting the number of signatories on both sides. It shows the ideological status of all of us. We must rise above it. Self-struggle is its first condition. Right for this, Mao said that revolutionary communists must be ready to blaze their heads. We must grasp this spirit of Mao.

At the moment, we are in the process of building an international communist organization. There is unity among us on many issues, and our understandings and positions on some issues differ. In this situation, we should determine the minimum necessary conditions and proceed based on them. The minimum principles one must adhere to are Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the necessity of violence in social revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, that is, the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. And those one must oppose are imperialism, all forms of reactions, parliamentarism, revisionism, Prachanda Path, and New Synthesis. These conditions as a whole alienate one from the present main danger, right-wing revisionism. We should constitute an international body by holding a joint conference or convention among communist parties with similar views on the fundamental questions above. When the CoRIM is already non-existent, it is not appropriate to insist on who was in the RIM and who was not.

Also, among the communist parties who share the same views on the fundamental questions above, there are contradictions on some other issues. Some of them will get resolved during the two-line struggle, while the class struggle will solve some others. New contradictions will also emerge again. This is what the universality of contradiction means. Once there is a common understanding of the fundamental

questions of ideology and politics, to go ahead by building relative unity through unity-struggle transformation and the new unity on a new basis is the lesson Mao has taught us.

In the contemporary international communist movement, there are many friendly contradictions as well. Some of them are Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and principally Maoism, the universality of people's war, the fundamental and principal contradictions of the world, the question that the international communist movement at present is in the stage of the strategic counter-offensive, Gonzalo thought, the evaluation of the Comintern and Stalin, the evaluation of RIM, etc. It is good to strive for a common opinion on these questions in the movement. However, it is not correct that the building of an international organization should begin after a common understanding reaches them. They are questions that can be resolved in the course of a two-line struggle and class struggle.

Right here, we will not carry out an extensive debate on the disputes said before. We will debate when it is necessary. Now we take on a brief discussion about what is our preliminary opinion on the questions mentioned above. It is as follows.

One, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is an integrated whole and a comprehensive principle. It is not simply an arithmetic sum of Marxism, Leninism and Maoism. Leninism developed on the base of Marxism and elevated to Marxism-Leninism. Likewise, Maoism emerged on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and our guiding principle Marxism-Leninism-Maoism developed. Thus, Marxism, Leninism and Maoism are mutually inseparable and interrelated; they are not separate doctrines. Of those three doctrines, the latter one is undoubtedly more advanced than the former but cannot be delinked from the latter. It is what implies by saying that no party or an individual can be a Marxist without becoming a Maoist in today's world. The understanding of principally Maoism leads to the danger of separating Maoism from Marxism and Marxism-Leninism and reducing their weightage. That's why they are linked by a hyphen, not by commas. So, our party does not agree with the concept of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is a comprehensive principle in motion and is developmental. It is correct for future developments as well.

Two, the question that people's war is universal. It demands an explanation. The term people's war generally hints at the protracted people's war, the theory developed by Mao. It advances through three stages. They are strategic defensive, strategic equilibrium and strategic counter-offensive. In addition, the base area is the backbone of the protracted people's war. Protracted people's war and building base areas are not practicable in the developed capitalist countries where transportation and communication technology are highly developed and the revolutionary class concentrates in cities. In this situation, what will the people's war be like without a base area? Why will not it be roving rebel guerillaism? No satisfactory explanation has appeared in any documents received so far.

The use of force, that is violence, is universal for the seizure of power. So, it is mandatory in social revolution. It is a war waged by the people under the leadership of the party of the proletariat. Two models of violence have been used in successful social revolutions so far. They are protracted people's war and armed people's insurrection, that is, the Chinese and the Russian models. Both of these models of war were fought by the people. If one calls the war fought by people the people's war, then both of these models of war are people's wars. However, it is a very simplistic interpretation. It cannot arrest the crux and the content of the subject matter. Again, in the present situation, these models of war cannot be replicated. We need to develop them. A hair-split analysis of how much the terminology people's war used now agrees with and where it differs from the two established models said before is necessary. Otherwise, though the word people's war seems lovely to hear, if there is no clarity on how it applies in the field, there is no other way forward for the communist movement except to move around the same cycle.

In the past few years, there have been many spontaneous uprisings. They disappeared as the high waves do on the seashore because there was no revolutionary party leadership in those countries. We have recently witnessed a spontaneous uprising of the people in Sri Lanka, which is deeply in debt, the

international monetary reserves have run out, and even daily operations have come to a standstill. The government army and police sat as mute spectators. People's rage in Sri Lanka also is going to wane. Let's imagine if there was a genuine communist party and a committed armed troop under its leadership; what could have happened in Sri Lanka then? When we talk about the universality of violence in revolution, it demands to focus our attention here too.

Three, another point of contention is about the fundamental and principle contradictions of the world. The contradictions between labour and capital, the inter-imperialist contradictions between imperialist powers and the contradictions between imperialism and oppressed nations and people are the fundamental contradictions of today's world. Out of them, the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations and people is the principal contradiction. The failure of the neoliberal economy, in the main, and the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, the Russia-Ukraine war and the Taiwan crisis between the US and China have all caused the global economic recession to escalate. As a consequence, all the fundamental contradictions of the world have intensified. Although the danger of the Third World War has increased given the sharpening of the inter-imperialist contradiction, the main trend of the world is revolution today.

Four, the question of whether the contemporary international communist movement is in the stage of counter-offensive is another subject of debate. Some parties seem to have analysed the period from the publication of the Communist Manifesto to the establishment of the Paris Commune as the stage of strategic defence, from the October Socialist Revolution to the Chinese New Democratic and Proletarian Cultural Revolution as the stage of strategic equilibrium and then began the next stage of strategic counter-offensive. We disagree with this. Though it may be considered correct given the theoretical superiority of Marxism over capitalism, it is not an objective analysis in a situation where there is no socialism in any country in the world, and the subjective strength of the revolutionary communists is weak. We believe this interpretation is the result of the mechanical imitation of Chairman Mao's statement that the days of the next 50 to 100 years will be very turbulent.

Five, another issue of debate is Gonzalo thought. To synthesize Chairman Mao's contribution to Maoism and serve the world revolution by opening a new front of the new democratic revolution in Peru after the counter-revolution in China are comrade Gonzalo's very important contributions. But we don't think it is a mature decision to synthesize Gonzalo's contributions as Gonzalo thought. Again, we do not consider this synthesis is wrong, and the defence, application and development of Gonzalo's contributions should stop. The truth of the synthesis will get proved in the course of the intensive debate at the international forum, work with the comrades upholding Gonzalo thought and principally its application in the field of class struggle. We believe that nipping the sprout of new ideas in the bud hinders its development.

Six, there are also disputes regarding the evaluation of the Comintern and Stalin. There is a dispute as regards the formation of an anti-fascist front at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the instruction given to the Communist Party in the respective countries to support the said front. Our position is that the formation of an anti-fascist united front aimed at defeating fascism and protecting the Soviet power, the base area of the Communists at that time, was correct. Again, we take Mao's evaluation of Stalin that although Comrade Stalin was a great revolutionary, the international communist movement suffered some losses due to his metaphysical weaknesses as correct.

Seventh, there are also differences regarding the evaluation of RIM. The establishment of RIM was a revolutionary step of far-reaching significance when there was a counter-revolution in Russia and China, and the apologists of imperialism were trumpeting the end of history and the failure of Marxism. The document entitled "Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism" and the Manifesto of RIM provided a correct orientation and revolutionary energy to the communist movement at that time. The RIM Committee, established as an embryonic centre, played to a great extent a commendable role in promoting the people's war in Peru and Nepal and in building communist parties in other countries. However, a question has come up that the two-line struggle within the RIM was not healthy and, as a consequence, it caused losses

in the contemporary communist movement due to the sectarian and hegemonic role of the RCP USA. It had limitations and weaknesses. It is a matter to review seriously.

Apart from the questions above, there are other questions of disputes and disagreements in the communist movement. It is not a bad thing. But an appropriate method of conducting the two-line struggle should be developed to resolve differences and enhance the communist movement. And the class struggle itself dissolves some disputes.

Now a problem has arisen, where should one participate in the unified international conference organized by which coordination committee? Looking at the present level of unity in the world communist movement, it is unlikely that a party supporting one initiative will participate in the conference called by another one. In this situation, organizing parallel conferences is a declaration of the split in the movement. Such a split in the communist movement serves imperialism. The differences communist parties have are such that they can be resolved by comradely means under Maoist principles. For this, it is necessary to establish a single international centre. In this situation, it may be a suitable option to form a new organising committee to realise a joint international conference by dissolving both coordinating committees in a mutually agreed manner. We think that the parties on both sides will participate in the joint conference or convention called by it. Our party is ready to participate in it.

Some may consider our position as collaborationist or eclectic. But that is not true. If we stand together with the basic principles of MLM, then we must be ready to move forward unitedly by waging a two-line struggle in the subsequent contradictions. The thinking that demands absolute unity in ideology and opts to build an organization according to it does not agree with Marxism. Marxist world outlook is a philosophy of the absolute struggle and relative unity of opposites. Therefore, relative compromise is made and should be made on some issues of the organization, but not in fundamental principles. It is true not only for today but for the future as well. We must not overlook the unity and struggle that existed between Marx and Blanqui in the First International and Lenin and Kautsky in the Second International.

Now a question of whether the conference needs to form a loose international platform of communists or a relatively strong centre arises here. Given the present level of unity among us, the appropriate organization is now a platform. Even if the joint conference or convention decides to form the International Communist Centre, we will not disagree with it. However, the decisions of the centre should be taken by consensus. We must not go for democratic centralism and the method of majority and minority while taking decisions.

Finally,

Owing mainly to the failure of the neoliberal economy, the economic condition all over the world is worsening. And the covid-19 pandemic, the Russia-Ukraine war, and the Taiwan crisis have all added fuel to it. All the fundamental contradictions of the world are getting explosive, and the threat of world war is looming. Given all this, the days to come will be those of global economic and political crisis, and the possibility of the people going into a spontaneous rebellion has considerably amplified. Many countries of the world are on the line of Sri Lanka. When the masses of the people are looking for revolutionary leadership for their emancipation, a severe challenge has arisen whether the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties are unitedly prepared to fulfil this responsibility. Only with a conscious, united and planned drive, we can defeat imperialism and its running dogs. It is the need of the day to resolutely go ahead, for all of us.

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

Long Live Proletarian internationalism!

Down with Imperialism and all kinds of Reactions!

Down with all kinds of Revisionism!

Long Live World Socialist Revolution!

# Regressive Journey in a Communist Guise

Com. Kiran

## 1. Context of subject matter

The CPN (ML), which was born from the historic Jhapa rebellion of 1972, announced that it would complete a new democratic revolution in Nepal through a protracted people's war. But in the next period, it changed to CPN (UML) by adopting right revisionism and the parliamentary political line based on multi-party democracy. And in order to complete the new democratic revolution in Nepal, the CPN (Maoist) went forward by declaring the Great People's War in 1996 and calling the CPN (UML) a shield of reaction. After about a decade, a section of the CPN (Maoist) led by Prachanda pursued the path of neo-revisionism and parliamentarianism and turned into CPN (Maoist centre).

Two revisionist groups, the CPN (UML) and CPN (Maoist Centre), merged on May 17, 2018, and named the unified Party the Communist Party of Nepal (CPN). The Prime Minister of the Nepalese government was Oli. Prachanda and Oli agreed to run the government alternately. Both Oli and Prachanda became the Chairmen of that party. Ordinary people asked, why two chairmen in one Party? Answering the question, Oli said – it is not a matter of driving a tempo or a taxi; it is a matter of propelling a jet plane, so two pilots are necessary; it is a matter of two chairmen in the Party. Oli kept on babbling – trains will run in Nepal, ships will come, the country will move forward on the journey of prosperity, and no one has to die of hunger. People started getting baffled after hearing this.

Days passed. The debate started that one chairman would run the government, another chairman would run the party, and the PM would also change his turn. But, Oli did not soften his stand, and disputes continued to rise. As Oli dissolved the House of Representatives and began to act alone, the controversy grew further. Due to position, prestige and personal ego, the conflict became intense. At the same time, both Oli and Prachanda lost the petition filed in the Supreme Court about the double CPN. As the proverb goes, "be a rat again"; the Supreme Court, invalidating their unity, resurrected both UML and Maoist Centre (henceforth MC). They woke up from their daydream. Later, the Nepalese parliament formed a coalition government along with Prachanda under the leadership of Deuba.

Even after losing the government, Oli has not given up roaring. However, even more than that, Prachanda started yelling. He has again started creating much confusion by calling himself a real Maoist. After all, they followed the path of neo-reaction before unification and after. Even after the resurrection, they are walking along the same track.

Analysing the politics of Double CPN and its principal leader, the article Revisionism and Regression wrote, "The history of the Nepalese communist movement is the history of a fierce two-line struggle between Marxism and revisionism. In this struggle, sometimes Marxism and sometimes revisionism has turned stronger. Right revisionism that sometimes seems strong in form and number is, in fact, a neo-reaction. Although it is trying to mislead the world by wearing Marxist costumes and ornaments, but it is only temporary. It is certain to get revisionism exposed as neo-reaction in the public eye. Facing severe challenges and many complications, Marxism must forcefully present itself in the course of revolution amid great possibilities to emancipate the working class people. The dialectics of the history of the world and Nepalese communist movement tells us this." (Kiran, Revisionism and Regression, p. 17). They are true in the present context as well. In the present article, we will pay attention to CPN (MC) and its principal leadership. We have been writing his ideas, views, policies, programmes and lines in previous works, and it is not so necessary to talk much about it now. We have attempted to briefly study the latest situation related to their world outlook, politics and activities.

## 2. World Outlook

World outlook acts as a guide in determining the policy, programme and line of the Communist Party. Marxists pursue materialist dialectics as opposed to metaphysics. But revisionists take shelter in

metaphysics against materialist dialectics. MC and its principal leader have followed a revisionist world outlook under the shade of metaphysics.

The fundamental law of materialist dialectics is the law of unity and the struggle of opposites. According to Lenin, this law rests on the concept of "one divides into two". Mao also made a detailed explanation of this law and concept. But the revisionists pursue the doctrine of two combining into one as opposed to that of one dividing into two. The law of one dividing into two emphasizes unity-struggle-transformation, whereas that of two combining into one does in unity-struggle-compromise. Accordingly, the revisionists compromise between the bourgeoisie and the working class, the opportunist and the Marxist lines. MC has been doing this for a long.

Similarly, the revisionists have been adopting dualism, eclecticism and pluralism against the materialist dialectics. Accordingly, they work to create permanent harmony between opposites, mix different alien ideas and create obstacles in building an integrated world outlook. It is exactly what MC has been doing.

One of the major ways of thinking that the metaphysicians and revisionists pursue is sophism, also called casuistry. They resort to sophism to unease their opponents and present false as truth. Sophists work very hard to prove white to black and black to white, right to wrong and wrong to right, and true to false and false to true.

About the opportunists of the Second International Lenin says "The development of science is providing more and more material that proves that Marx was right. This makes it necessary to fight against him hypocritically— not to oppose the principles of Marxism openly, but to pretend to accept Marxism, while emasculating it by sophistry and turning it into a holy "icon" that is harmless to the bourgeoisie.." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 21, Page 222)

The main leader of the MC has been very adept at using hypocrisy. Lenin's words apply well in the case of the MC. A study of its documents reveals many false statements.

### **3) Guiding Principle**

MC's political report says, "The guiding principle of the party is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The party is committed to defending, applying and developing it according to today's historical situation." (Political Report adopted by Eighth Congress of the MC, page 35). Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which is said here as a guiding principle, is not real, it is just pretence. What is the real thing? The political report writes, "The need of the day is to study, research, thinking, contemplation, debate and struggle to synthesize new ideas under the strategy of socialist revolution. Prachanda Path and the democracy of the 21st century developed by the Maoist movement will be important experience and reference material for that." (Ibid. P. 31). The attraction towards Prachanda Path still reveals here. Taking Prachanda Path and twenty-first-century as reference materials, it seems that MC's leadership is trying to devise a new path and synthesize new ideas as an alternative and opposition to MLM.

#### **4) The so-called originality of the democratic revolution**

The political report says, "The process of class struggle and political struggle did not go as we wanted, but the bourgeois-democratic revolution, in the main, completed pursuing its unique path. As Lenin and Bolsheviks said the Russian February Revolution, which ended the tsarism in 1917, could not be completed as an interim revolutionary government under the leadership of the working class. Comrade Lenin had concluded that the end of tsarism and the coming of power into the hands of the bourgeoisie was essentially a complete bourgeois-democratic revolution, even if it was not completed as they said, and Party concluded that preparations for the socialist revolution should now be carried forward." (Ibid., p.31÷32) Here, compared to the ideas expressed by Lenin about the Russian February Revolution, the so-called originality of the Nepali People's Revolution is discussed. In fact, there can be no comparison of this type.



Firstly, according to Lenin, the first, major and fundamental characteristic of revolution is the transfer of state power from one class to another. Before the February Revolution, the state power in Russia was in the hands of the serf owners, the elite class and monarchy represented this class. After the February revolution, the state power of Russia had come into the hands of the bourgeoisie. Before the establishment of the Nepali Parliamentary Republic, state power was in the hands of the feudal, broker and bureaucratic bourgeoisie. Even after the establishment of the parliamentary republic, the state power is in the hands of the same class. And how did the bourgeois-democratic revolution take place in Nepal?

Secondly, the pre-revolution Russian revolution was directed only against the serf owner, aristocratic landlord class and the monarchy represented that class. But since the Nepali society was semi-feudal and semi-colonial, the Nepali Revolution was directed against both domestic feudalism and foreign reaction. And how do the fall of the monarchy in the country and the establishment of the republic complete the bourgeois-democratic i.e. new democratic revolution?

Thirdly, in Russia, Lenin also talked of the "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" to complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Although that type of dictatorship could not be established in Russia as a whole, there was a dual power and in that sense "the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry was realized." However, in the context of Nepal, in the process of the Great People's War, the country's vast rural-based people's governments were dissolved in collusion with the representatives of the old state power.

Fourthly, in the April Thesis presented immediately after the February revolution, Lenin said - "Not a parliamentary republic – to return to a parliamentary republic from the Soviets of Workers' Deputies would be a retrograde step – but a republic of Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country, from top to bottom." (Lenin, April Thesis, Vol 24, page 23). However, on the contrary, the parliamentary republic was accepted in Nepal immediately after the end of the monarchy and all efforts were made to protect, establish and strengthen it.

In this way, considering all these things, there can be no comparison between Russia's February Revolution and Lenin's great ideas, the capitulation to the reactionary class and state power in Nepal and the betrayal of the revolution. Trying to compare this way resembles trying to compare revolution and counter-revolution.

## **5) Concept toward the current constitution**

The political report adopted in the 8th Congress of the MC writes, "The new constitution has made clear that it will be committed to a people's competitive multi-party governance system and socialism based on it. In addition to universally accepted basic questions of democracy, the constitution has guaranteed human rights, independent judiciary and separation of powers. Likewise, the state has been clearly defined as an inclusive federal democratic republican state oriented towards socialism. It has defined the character of our change, state and society." (Ibid p. 34)

Here, the so-called new constitution based on a democratic republic has been commended. A democratic republic has been supported. And it is said that the constitution will remain "committed to socialism" and has expressed pleasure to have the state defined to be "socialism oriented". Also, it is said that it has specified the character of change, state and society.

MC has jubilantly accepted the democratic republic. And what kind of socialism is it? It is not and cannot be other than socialism without the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is acceptable to comprador, bureaucratic capitalists and feudal classes. Do the genuine Marxists stick to parliamentary republics? Referring to the experience of the Russian revolution and the Leninist concept, Stalin says - "As a result of a study of the experience of the two Russian revolutions, Lenin, on the basis of the theory of Marxism, arrived at the conclusion that the best political form for the dictatorship of the proletariat was not a parliamentary democratic republic, but a republic of Soviets. Proceeding from this, Lenin, in April 1917, during the period of transition from the bourgeois to the Socialist revolution, issued the slogan of a

republic of Soviets as the best political form for the dictatorship of the proletariat." (History of the CPSU page 356).

### **6) Policy, programme and line**

The policy, programme and line of the former MC period, the double CPN period and the latest MC period are almost the same. MC's political report states, "In today's particular capitalist stage of the development of the Nepalese people, Party's strategy is to establish scientific socialism. But given the weak position of the national capital, the strong grip of comprador and bureaucrat capitalism on the economy, and the necessity of struggle against feudal remnants and foreign interference, it is not possible to immediately go to socialism and then apply the socialist programmes. From the instantaneous point of view, the party will pay attention to creating the basis of socialism through peaceful competition and legal means. That is why today the party's basic policy is 'socialism-oriented prosperity'. (Political Report, p.35).

Here it is said that Nepali society is in a specific capitalist stage. The establishment of socialism has been taken as the strategy of the party. And it is mentioned that it is not possible to immediately go to socialism and implement the socialist programme. And it has been talked about preparing the basis of socialism through peaceful competition and legal ways and socialism-oriented prosperity is said to be the main strategy. On the one hand, they say that Nepal is in a special capitalist stage and on the other hand, it is not possible to implement the programme of socialism. What is this? It in itself is an expression of a very vague and contradictory political thought.

In addition, it is said here to prepare the basis of socialism through peaceful competition and legal means. The document writes, "Is it possible to build the base of socialism through the electoral path of peaceful competition? It is impossible in accordance with the concept established in the communist movement of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, we have said it is possible on account of the experience of past counter-revolutions, the characteristics of the 21st century and mainly the role played by the people under the leadership of the Communist Party in the bourgeois-democratic revolution of Nepal." (Ibid., p. 36) No matter how much it is twisted, to believe that one can go to socialism through peaceful competition and legal electoral means, in explicit language, is to nakedly follow the footsteps of extreme right revisionist and reactionary ideologues, including the traitor Khrushchev.

### **7) Delusion of Mixed Economy**

The process of systematic liberalization began in Nepal around 1992. From 1992 to 2009, more than 30 public industry and business sectors were cancelled and dissolved. The hegemony of Neoliberalism grew in the Nepalese economy. The mixed economy began coming to an end. However, the MC says, "By accepting a mixed economic policy including public, private and cooperative, the approach of making not only politics but also the economy inclusive and participatory has been put forward." (Ibid, p.34)

Today Nepal's economy is dominated and led by the private sector. Comprador and bureaucratic capital are effective in the Nepalese economy. The Nepalese economy is dominated by neoliberal imperialism. Privatization and commercialization are rampant in education, health and other sectors. However, on the one hand, the MC is still creating confusion about mixed economic policy and on the other hand, it is dreaming of socialism under the guidance of neoliberal imperialism.

### **8) Dualism and eclecticism**

The entire document of the MC is full of various contradictions, dualism and eclecticism. It is dualism to say that this is correct and that is correct too to the mutually opposite things. Mixing various incompatible ideas and trends to prepare a hotchpotch is eclecticism. The leadership of the MC has been doing exactly this. While analysing the current Nepalese society, on the one hand, the MC says, "Today's typical capitalist phase" and on the other hand, it goes to the extent that "Today's situation in which the Nepalese

people's internal conflict against the crony bureaucratic capitalism nurtured by foreign reaction and the remnants of feudalism is being manifested." (Ibid, P. 35). It is a peculiar and contradictory analysis.

If the Nepalese society is in a "special capitalist stage today" according to MC's analysis, then the main contradiction in the Nepali society should have been between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In that case, the socialist programme to solve that kind of principal contradiction could be correct. However, in the same document, when the MC analyses that the principal contradiction of the Nepalese society is manifested as "the contradiction between Nepalese people against the comprador and bureaucratic capitalism nurtured by foreign reaction and the remnants of feudalism, then socialism cannot be an appropriate programme to solve that contradiction. Instead, in that situation, the new democratic programme will be appropriate. But MC does not seem to think so. There is a serious discrepancy and contradiction between the analysis of society and the programme for solving internal contradictions. Similarly, the MC says in another place - "In fact, the question of national independence against imperialist intervention is a fundamental question of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. In the specific context of Nepal, although the bourgeois-democratic revolution has been basically accomplished, the basic question of foreign intervention and national independence has not been resolved. (Ibid., p. 39).

Here, on the one hand, the leadership says, "The question of national independence against imperialist interference is a fundamental question of the bourgeois-democratic revolution." And, on the other hand, it says that "the bourgeois-democratic revolution has been basically accomplished in the specific context of Nepal". And again it says - "Foreign intervention and the basic question of national independence has not been resolved." What a contradictory thing!

Clearly, the question of national independence is the fundamental question of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. If the bourgeois-democratic revolution has been accomplished, then the basic question of national independence should also be resolved. The bourgeois-democratic revolution has been completed in Nepal but the basic question of national independence has not been resolved – is strange.

Mao says – "The two fundamental tasks, the national revolution and the democratic revolution, are at once distinct and united..... It is wrong to regard the national revolution and the democratic revolution as two entirely different stages of the revolution. (Selected Works, Mao, Vol. 2, Page 318). The leadership of the MC has done exactly this wrong thing. According to the Maoist concept, the national revolution and the people's revolution should be understood as a revolution that will be accomplished in one stage, not two different stages. That's exactly what MC could not understand. That is its grave mistake. But the strange thing is that the leadership of the MC does not accept that kind of mistake. But, on the contrary, MC has fallen into the swamp of dualism and eclecticism by placing contradictory logic.

### **9) Brokerage of foreign reaction**

The leadership of the MC has been brazenly brokering Indian expansionism and US imperialism. Lenin said that in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, imperialism and revisionism remain inextricably linked. It has been well characterised in the context of MC and the entire right revisionists of Nepal.

It was clear that the MCC imposed by US imperialism was an anti-national and an integral part of the Indo-Pacific strategy. Various leftist and patriotic forces had been agitating against that agreement for a long time. In complete disregard and disobedience of all these matters, MC Chairman Prachanda played a very despicable role to approve it from the parliament by weaving a false web of so-called interpretive declarations to appease US imperialism.

The first clause of the so-called interpretative declaration states - "Nepal declares that by being a party to the Compact, Nepal shall not be a part of any United States' strategic, military or security alliance including the Indo-Pacific Strategy." (Point No. 1, Interpretative declaration proposed by MC and adopted by Nepalese parliament). It is well known that any treaty, agreement or agreement is bilateral. In this

situation, this unilateral declaration made by Nepal cannot have any legal meaning and value. After all, it is clear that this declaration is nothing but a paper scrap on the one hand and an illusion on the other.

Immediately after the MCC agreement was ratified, Prachanda told the journalists - "After the approval of the MCC along with the interpretive declaration, I am very happy that the country has been saved from an accident." (Kantipur Daily Feb. 28, 2022). How shameless it is to claim that the country has survived an accident by ratifying MCC that causes such a severe threat to the country's sovereignty and national independence! It is an ugly and hateful example of brokerage of the US imperialism.

There are many instances where the leader of MC Prachanda has been brokering Indian expansionism and we have been mentioning them in various places. Recently, he has played a very despicable role in getting the anti-national Citizenship Bill (2022) passed by the Parliament. He also shamelessly said that he had passed that bill on his own initiative when he visited India recently. It is also a contemptible example of brokerage of Indian expansionism.

### **10) Drama and delusion**

The MC and its core leadership have created many gimmicks and illusions in several theoretical and political issues. A little discussion is necessary for this context:

First, the question of creativity. Revolutionary communists take seriously the question of creative application and development of Marxism. However, revisionists distort and vulgarise Marxism in the name of creative application and development of Marxism. MC's original leadership has been doing exactly this. The misdeed of submerging into parliamentarism the CPN (Maoist) that waged a ten-year people's war to accomplish a new democratic revolution in Nepal has become a creative application of Marxism for Prachanda.

Second, the question of originality. Marxists try to advance the revolution in a unique way. But, for the opportunists, that originality is an ugly imitation of reactionaries. MC has said that the end of the monarchy and the establishment of a parliamentary republic in an alliance of the Nepali Congress was the fundamental characteristic of the Nepalese bourgeois-democratic revolution, which was carried out by giving the bourgeoisie a share of leadership. To talk of the termination of monarchy and establishment of a parliamentary republic the completion of a new democratic revolution without bringing to an end the semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition of Nepalese society and establishing a new democratic state is nothing but ridiculous and regressive thinking. Here, the concept of uniqueness has been shamelessly distorted.

Third, the deception and trickery. There should not be any deception and trickery within the Communist Party on questions of vital importance, including those of theory and politics. Mao said – "Practice Marxism and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire. (Basic understanding of the communist party of China, page7). But, revisionists do not do that.

MC document says - "Even though the Chunwang meeting of the Central Committee had given general theoretical and political orientation to the very serious and sensitive decisions such as the signing of the peace agreement and placing of the People's Liberation Army and weapons in cantonments must have been taken only by going through an open debate and discussion in the central committee. Though it was objectively correct, the above-mentioned decision-making process of the leadership gave rise to mistrust and apprehension somewhere within the party. The subjective weakness of reflecting overconfidence on the part of Chairman Comrade Prachanda that outdid the democratic centralism of the party has been manifested in it. (Political Report, Ibid., p. 29). Here, it has been revealed that serious issues such as the signing of the peace agreement and keeping the People's Liberation Army and weapons in cantonments were not placed in the Central Committee and were decided in an individualistic manner. However, Prachanda's subjective weakness and the mistake of outdoing the democratic centralism of the party have been reduced to a "weakness reflecting overconfidence". It is an ugly example of deception and trickery of a serious nature.

Similarly, the document states "In some contexts, things like the talking of drafting constitution in words but thinking of rebellion in mind created a big loss in drafting a maximum progressive constitution through the Constituent Assembly, because the rebellion was not possible after the peace agreement was signed and the army and weapons were placed in the cantonment." (Ibid p. 29). Here, the dualism, on the one hand, of writing a parliamentary constitution, and on the other, deceiving the revolutionary comrades by talking of rebellion has been completely exposed.

It is a positive thing to self-criticize any shortcomings, weaknesses and mistakes. But here, in the name of so-called self-criticism, efforts have been made to purify such serious mistakes, deceptions and tricks. It is an irony of serious nature.

Fourth, socialism in words and reactionary in deeds. Marxists maintain consistency between what they say and what they do on the questions of policy, programme and line. But, on the contrary, the revisionists say one thing and do another. Referring to Kautsky and other right revisionist leaders of the Second International, Lenin termed "Social Imperialism" a way of thinking that favours socialism in word and imperialism in deed. Prachanda's socialism, on the one hand, does not have the dictatorship of the proletariat, and on the other hand, it is based on the concept that it can be achieved through peaceful parliamentary electoral competition. According to Marx-Engels in the Communist Manifesto, there are different forms of socialism, and reactionary socialism is one of them. Thus, it is clear that the socialism promoted by Prachanda is nothing but reactionary socialism.

Fifth, the practice of sophism. We have quoted above Lenin's statement about sophism. Its essence is to pretend to be Marxism and change it into like an idol of a harmless god for the bourgeoisie by making its contents ineffective. Prachanda and MC under his leadership are doing exactly the same thing. In the very report, this very sophism has been practised from the beginning to the end. For example, in this political report, they have pretended that the party's guiding principle is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In another place, they have put forward the concept of the Prachanda Path and twenty-first-century democracy as the basis for "new ideological synthesis". Likewise, in the report presented by Prachanda, on the one hand, it has been talked of emphasizing "grasp the basic principles of Marxism" about dictatorship and violence, while on the other hand, it has weakened its content by stating that "in today's current situation, there is a possibility of preparing the base of socialism through peaceful struggle and competition in the present transitional state oriented towards socialism." As a matter of fact, MC leader Prachanda is very skilled in practising sophistry. And we need to root out that kind of sophism.

Sixth, illusion of the unity of former Maoists. After the dissolution of the Double CPN and the restoration of the MC, Prachanda has said on various occasions – that all the former Maoists should be united now. In this context, Prachanda's staunch followers say – Prachanda has now corrected his mistakes. The party is named as Maoist Centre. In the same way, the guiding principle is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is also said that a socialist revolution will be carried out while completing the remaining tasks of the democratic revolution. Therefore, former Maoists should unite and form a single Maoist party.

It is precisely in this context that the story of an old tiger mentioned in the Panchatantra is particularly memorable. Taking a seat in the middle of a forest near a water pond, the tiger said, dear forest dwellers, I am now old, I have taken non-violence fast, now you can come to this pond and fearlessly drink water. All the animals in the forest were surprised; they came to the reservoir and started drinking water. But what was to happen happened. The tiger showed its inherent nature. Many forest-dwelling animals lost their lives.

It is the real essence of the unity among the former Maoists. It is not their resolve but the verdict of the Supreme Court that obligated Prachanda and his party to use the term Maoism. In a real sense, they have nothing to do with Maoism. It is necessary to remain alert to this type of unity and shatter those illusions that are concocted to trap the revolutionary communists in a revisionist net.

The political report passed by the Central Committee of our party about the MC states that - "Though the intention was to get dissolved in the UML and become a double CPN, the MC, which was reinstated by the court and forced to appear in its old guise, suddenly jumped at the congress even though it was said to hold a conference. Even though it has talked of a new ideology and a new party by pretending to have self-criticised, it has shamelessly accepted parliamentarism and pluralism, resolved to defend the old state power and constitution and followed the right revisionist line of going to socialism through peaceful means. The Twenty-first-century democracy of the past made the Nepalese revolution submerge in parliamentarism, while today's Twenty-first-century socialism will surely lead to social fascism farther than that. The leadership of this group has also been making extreme brokerage of imperialism and expansionism." (Current political situation and our Task, February 2022). The aforesaid sayings of our Party CC are noteworthy.

### **Conclusion**

CPN (MC) and its main leader have been broadly discussed. Now, based on the same context, let us mention something about the origin and development of revisionism in the communist movement and the responsibility of revolutionary communists against it, giving a necessary perspective on the peculiarities of the current era.

First, there is a majority of the petty bourgeoisie in Nepal. Although the Communist Party is a political party of the proletariat, it has been heavily influenced by the petty bourgeoisie. In the Communist Party, there was no consolidation, rectification and proletarianization as expected. The petty bourgeois class vacillates in class, ideological and political aspects. This class is one of the basic foundations and sources of revisionism.

Second, in the present era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, there is a close relationship between imperialism and revisionism. Within the Communist Party, the opportunists, who are habitual of eating crumbs from the imperialists, devote themselves to the service of imperialism and reaction. In that situation, revisionism is born and developed and division becomes inevitable in the revolutionary communist party.

Third, when the revolution takes a specific turn or the development of history enters a specific turn, the enemy class changes its tactics. On the one hand, it tries to prolong its life by adopting a strategy of throwing a great net of reform and on the other hand, attracting the opportunists within the progressive or communist party to itself.

Fourthly, Nepal also cannot and has not been able to remain isolated from this situation. In the specific context of Nepal, the monarchy cannot hold on to the old state power by waking itself up in the old way. Similarly, the Nepali Congress, which is getting old, does not have any style and ability to think in a new way, except to use the name BP. In that situation, Nepalese reactionaries have been trying to prolong their life by getting the blessings of imperialism/expansionism and pulling the opportunists within the Communist Party to themselves by casting a big net of strategy and are still doing so. Opportunists and revisionists within the Nepali Communist movement have also become the characters and heroes of this drama. Prachanda, who has been in the principal leadership of MC, is at the forefront of playing this kind of negative role.

Therefore, at this time, taking necessary lessons from the history of the Nepalese revolution and the communist movement, on the one hand, we have to make necessary preparations to complete the new democratic revolution against reaction on the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and on the other hand, it is necessary to strongly advance the ideological struggle against all kinds of revisionism in general and in particular the right neo-revisionism that is taking a retrograde journey.

# On Russia-Ukraine War

– Com. Gaurav

## Historical Background:

Under the leadership of the working class, the world's first proletarian revolution was accomplished in France in 1871, which is inscribed with golden letters named the Paris Commune. It lasted only 72 days. The world communist movement has deeply studied, analysed and synthesized the reasons behind this happening. The socialist revolution that had developed with the correct guiding principle, line, strategy, and tactics led by Lenin, succeeded in October 1917 in Russia under the leadership of the Revolutionary Socialist Democratic Labour Party of Russia (Communist Party of Russia). This revolution of far-reaching significance not only confirmed the correctness of Marxism but also prepared the base for Leninism. After this, this revolution has been regarded and used as a model of the socialist revolution in the world communist movement. Apart from leading this socialist revolution in Russia, Lenin also led the first socialist government.

After that, new democratic and socialist revolutions were accomplished in different countries. Soviets were formed. By the end of 1922, the Soviet Union was constituted by merging the then Soviets including the present Russia and Ukraine. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was established. The Soviet Union became a powerful nation. In the meantime, Lenin died, and Stalin led the party and the government. He basically followed Lenin's footsteps. Meanwhile, the Second World War broke out. The German fascists, under the leadership of Hitler, started World War with the ambition of imposing their hegemony over the entire world. The erstwhile Soviet Union was Hitler's main target. It was not possible to defeat German fascism by fighting separately. Paying attention to this situation, an anti-fascist united front was formed at the initiative of the then Soviet Union. In the end, the fascism led by Hitler was defeated. After this event that shook the whole world, Stalin, the leader of the world communist movement at that time, established well in world politics. In this kind of world environment, there was a kind of wave of new democratic and socialist revolutions in different countries.

After Stalin's death, Khrushchev captured the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet Union. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held in 1956, adopted the policy of peaceful transition and peaceful coexistence presented by Khrushchev. A policy of class conciliation was adopted by abandoning the class struggle. The policy was announced that socialism can be brought through parliamentary elections and peaceful processes. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union changed its colour. Capitalism was restored by replacing socialism.

Owing to the internal contradictions within the restored capitalist system, and the external incitement and support of US imperialism, the countries of the former Soviet Union disintegrated one after the other in the 90s. The powerful Soviet Union started disintegrating. In this course, Ukraine also separated from the Soviet Union in 1991. A fierce war has been going on for some time now between Russia and Ukraine, which broke away from the former Soviet Union.

## The war between two imperialists

Superficially speaking, it seems that the decisive reason for the outbreak of this war is the mutual hostility between Russia and Ukraine. However, its crux is not only that. The role of the United States has been important to break out of this war. Although there were contradictions between Ukraine and Russia on some issues, it had not turned into a war for long. Had not the government of Ukraine led by President Zelensky decided to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a military organization led by the US imperialism, at the US instigation, there was a possibility that this war might not have erupted at this time. So far as the Ukrainian people are concerned, they are innocent. They neither wanted Ukraine to become a member of NATO and join the US military alliance nor did they want to surrender to Russia. The

Ukrainian people have been sandwiched between the US and Russian imperialist interests. They are the victims of a terrible war. They have been forced to live a life of extreme pain and suffering. They are forced to leave their country and seek refuge abroad in the hope of saving their lives. It is an unjust war. We have been demanding that it must stop immediately. Even now we want to repeat the demand that this unjust war must end.

From the outside, it looks like a war between Ukraine and Russia. Russia and Ukraine seem to be fighting face to face. But in reality, it is an indirect war (Proxy war) between the US and Russian imperialism. The US is waging war against Russia by provoking Ukraine. Lenin has said that imperialism means war. This statement is equally true even today. There are hardly any years and days when there is no war somewhere in the world. It is true that the Second World War took place within 25 years of the First World War. However, even 70 years after the Second World War, the Third World War has not happened. One of the main reasons behind this could be that the imperialist powers today have so many advanced destructive weapons that if a third world war were to break out, would certainly be many times more destructive than the second world war. No one can escape from this. It can be said clearly that the Third World War has not happened because the imperialists did not want it. But did the war stop? Regional and indirect wars are going on. The major imperialist powers are fighting wars, not directly, but through their agents. This is how US imperialism is waging a war against Russia in Ukraine. The US is not only providing arms and financial support but is mobilizing the entire NATO in this war against Russia. The US troops have not been sent yet directly to confront the Russian army. These imperialist nations have not come face to face fighting. They are fighting a Proxy war.

There are some people, who are confused that this is a war between the socialist and imperialist countries because the Soviet Union was once a world-famous socialist power, and China and North Korea, which claim to be socialists even today, support Russia in this war. Russia has left socialism and has turned social imperialism through state capitalism. Capitalism was restored after the counter-revolution of 1976 in China and North Korea also is no more a socialist country. This is the truth. So far as the question of China and North Korea supporting Russia is concerned, it is an alliance formed between them to face US imperialism. It is another front formed to counter the front formed by the European countries, Japan, etc. led by the US. Present Russia is not a socialist country and there is no question that this front was created to protect the non-existent socialism.

### **The immediate threat of world war**

Some people speculate that it may lead to a World War because the war between Russia and Ukraine is going on and military alliances have been formed internationally. It cannot be said that this estimate is 100% wrong. There is a possibility of World War III. But it has been said above that the imperialist rulers do not want a World War to happen now. It is unlikely that the imperialists will benefit from the World War if that happens soon. That is why the World War has not erupted. If the balance of power between the big and powerful imperialist countries, particularly the US, Russia, China, France and Great Britain, is disturbed, if the interest of a powerful country is directly hampered, or if a major event that unexpectedly affects the world happens, then the possibility of a World War cannot be denied. In that case, the deadly consequences of the destructive war would be unimaginable. It is difficult to predict its fatal consequences. As said before, this war does not seem right now leading to World War III.

The Russia-Ukraine war is an unjust war. It must end. The deadly effects of this war are rampant all over the world. Our country has not been spared from this. The life of the people of our country is becoming more and more difficult. In order to end this war and to prevent a possible World War, there is a need to organize peace-loving people internationally against war.

The communist revolutionaries must not get distracted from this; they must go for accumulating their strength. In this context, it is important to remember a statement by Mao. Analysing the contradiction between war and revolution, Mao said, "Either revolution will prevent war, or war will give rise to revolution."



## Sino-US Conflict and Taiwan

– Com. Basanta

After Nancy Pelosi visited Taiwan on August 2, the unpleasant relationship between China and the United States is rising to its climax. People have started saying that war between Taiwan and China is inevitable, this time, at the instigation of the US. The situation is becoming so tense that no one can say when war will break out between the two countries. The entire world has polarised into two poles on this issue. Some people even say that the war between China and Taiwan is heralding the Third World War. This short article, prepared in this background, will focus on the mutual relationship between Taiwan and China, the causes of the conflict between China and the US, and the various aspects of this conflict.

Taiwan is a small island located East of Fujian Province, China. There is a mention of Taiwan in Chinese records dating back to 239 BC. Its total area is 36,197 square kilometres. About 24 million people live in Taiwan, where more than 95 per cent are Han. As in mainland China, the language spoken by most people in Taiwan is Chinese Mandarin. It is the official language of the Taiwanese government. Although China and Taiwan had been under the rule of different powers during the colonial period and existed as separate countries, the people living in mainland China and Taiwan represent the same nation, Han.

Taiwan, known before as Formosa Island, was a colony of the Dutch Republic for more than four decades, from 1624 to 1668. The Chinese kings of the Qing Dynasty ruled Taiwan from 1683 to 1895. After Japan defeated China in the First Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese rulers handed over Taiwan to Japan in 1895. Japanese military attacked China again in 1937. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Chinese people waged a war of national resistance against the Japanese invader and its agent, Chiang Kai-shek. When Japan lost in World War II, which lasted from 1939 to 1945, the Chinese national war turned into a civil war. After the civil war that lasted for about four years, the new democratic revolution in China was accomplished in 1949, and mainland China became the working ground of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal people under the leadership of the Communist Party. The US and British imperialism plotted to send Chiang Kai-shek and his followers, who lost in the civil war, to Taiwan. Thus, Taiwan fell into the hands of imperialist agents who were defeated in the new democratic revolution in China. Kuomintang leader Chiang Kai-shek and his son carried out military rule in Taiwan for 38 years.

The victory of the new democratic revolution in China was a grave challenge for the imperialists. On top of that, the development of proletarian revolutions in countries like Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Malaya, Cambodia and others in East Asia escalated the threat to the imperialist countries more. That was not tolerable for the imperialist marauders. They started making Taiwan their base to stop the process of revolution developed in China and that region in the name of democracy, human rights and the rule of law. Since its inception, the United Nations did not recognize the new democratic government of mainland China with a population of 600 million, but Taiwan, with a population of 60 million only, as the Republic of China. It was their prejudiced thinking and practice against the communist system. One can easily understand that this decision was adopted to stop the increasing influence of the communists in East Asia by making Taiwan an imperialist base. It clearly shows the diehard anti-communist stance of the United Nations.

Imperialism, mainly the United States of America, has been making Taiwan a cannon fodder to point the gun toward China since 1949 in the name of her security. The Sino-American Mutual Security Treaty signed in 1955 between the Taiwanese and American rulers was an authority bestowed upon the US imperialism to "Protect Taiwan from the Chinese threat". After the United Nations recognized the government of the People's Republic of China, on October 25, 1971, Taiwan withdrew its representative from the UN, and the security treaty began to turn ineffective.

After the counter-revolution in 1976 in the People's Republic of China, the United States established diplomatic relations with China based on the One China policy in 1978, when Jimmy Carter was the president of America. But the American ruling class has not stopped provoking and pitting Taiwan against China. The US House of Representatives Speaker Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan on August 2, 2022, is the latest link in the US war business of provoking China and selling advanced weapons to Taiwan under the pretext of resisting China. In the past two decades alone, the US has sold arms worth about 50 billion dollars to Taiwan.

The United States Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) estimates that about two-thirds of the global maritime trade passes through the South China Sea. China accounts for 26 per cent, South Korea for 7 per cent, Singapore for 6 per cent, Thailand 5 per cent, Vietnam 5 per cent, Indonesia 4 per cent, Japan 4 per cent, Hong Kong 4 per cent, Malaysia 3 per cent, and other countries 36 per cent. China alone exported goods worth 874 billion dollars through this route in 2016. Most of the ships plying this route pass through the Taiwan Strait. One can easily guess how sensitive the South China Sea, Taiwan Strait, and their security is for China, which has the second largest economy in the world and carries out 60% of its trade through this sea route.

In addition, reports say that 190 trillion cubic feet of natural gas and 11 billion barrels of mineral oil remain under the surface of the South China Sea. Scientists believe there is still a large volume of gas and oil in this area to be explored. The rulers of Vietnam, China, Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Taiwan and the Philippines around the South China Sea have begun to claim the islands in this area, especially since the last 70s. China has not only occupied the islands claiming sovereignty of this area, but it has also built artificial islands and large naval bases in the South China Sea. One of the many reasons China is eyeing the South China Sea is its rich natural resources.

Now, America is well aware that China is not a communist country but a developed capitalist country that has adopted neoliberalism. Both America and China are big trade partners. In 2021, there was a mutual trade of more than 656 billion dollars between these two countries. The US calls China a communist country merely to misguide people and defame communism and its ideology. Intense political and economic competition is the current reality between these two countries. Among these two, China is the rising power, and America is the declining one. That the western imperialist countries described China as a strategic threat at the last G-7 summit also indicates this fact.

US imperialism has been increasing its military activities in this region for its political, economic and commercial importance. In the fourth decade of the last century, the United States first set up a military camp to monitor this area in Guam, which is under its control. It continues even today. During the Cold War, the US military bases were established in many countries of the South Pacific region. Even now, the US has established permanent camps in South Korea, Singapore, Japan and other countries. US President Joe Biden signed an agreement to sell arms worth 14 billion dollars to Indonesia at the beginning of this year to counter Chinese hegemony in the South China Sea.

In this context, the US publicly released a document called the Indo-Pacific Strategy on June 1, 2019. In his message published in the report, the US Secretary of Defence said, "The People's Republic of China, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, seeks to reorder the region to its advantage by leveraging military modernization, influence operations, and predatory economics to coerce other nations. In contrast, the Department of Defence supports choices that promote long-term peace and prosperity for all in the Indo-Pacific. ... We are committed to defending and enhancing these shared values. ... Achieving this vision requires combining a more lethal Joint Force with a more robust constellation of allies and partners." Under this strategy of encircling China, the United States has also formed military alliances called the Quad (United States, Japan, Australia and India) and AUKUS (Australia, Great Britain and the United States) under the pretext of security of the Pacific region. From these facts, one can clearly understand how the US eyes have focused on this region.

The above facts show the clash of economic and political interests between the US and China in the South China Sea region and the contradictions developed from this. Against the backdrop of the escalation of these contradictions, Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan has added fuel to the burning fire, and the world has been polarized in this context. Not only this, former US President Donald Trump said that Nancy Pelosi is a chaotic woman and she should not have gone there. His public criticism of Pelosi – what she says and wherever she goes does wrong – shows that the American society is also fractured in this regard.

In the meantime, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has halted live military exercises around Taiwan for four days, and the Chinese government has issued a white paper on the Taiwan issue. In this situation, some people seem optimistic that the war between China and America will not erupt for the time being. Generally speaking, it seems that the possibility of a war between China, guided by Sun Tzu's military strategy, and the United States, which provokes others but does not go to war itself, is diminishing. However, the issue of Taiwan has become a matter of prestige for both countries. Due to the Chinese policy expressed in the white paper that Taiwan will be unified anyway, except for the situation when the US raises its hands, a Sino-US war centred on Taiwan seems inevitable.

In general, the unification of these two geographies is a process of founding a nation-state, for the people of Taiwan and China are of the same nation. It is their internal matter, so it is not a thing that anyone should oppose. But the current conflict between China and Taiwan is not limited to this much only. The main reason behind this conflict is the clash of capitalist interests, that is, an inter-imperialist contradiction. It shows the rivalry between Japan, Australia and other western imperialist countries, the US pole, on the one hand, and the Russian-Chinese pole on the other. None can understand the Taiwan problem without grasping this fact.

At present, the Russia-Ukraine war continues. This war is essentially an inter-imperialist war between the US-led NATO alliance and Russia. Given the Taiwan crisis and the Russia-Ukraine war, some people urge that the cloud of world war III is smouldering on the horizon. Given the characteristic of US imperialism, which does not go to war itself but retaliates against the enemy by pushing its puppet rulers into war, it seems that various war fronts at the regional level will open, and the world war will not begin soon. But on the contrary, the world war cannot be a planned initiative of any imperialist power. It is a result of the coincidence of necessity and chance. World war happens when inter-imperialist antagonism is beyond the solution by other means. So, it would be wrong to conclude that the danger of world war is over now.

At present, the US and China are standing face to face. The US has been manoeuvring against China not to let loose its global dominance, while China is actively working to replace the US hegemony on its own. The current world is guided by the conflict between the American pole and the Chinese pole. These two superpowers have been working hard to sway world public opinion in their favour. The US is competing for world domination through military and China mainly through economic means. American projects MCC and SPP and Chinese BRI are their weapons in this regard. US imperialism is exerting heavy pressure on the Nepalese government to join the anti-China military front by including Nepal in the Indo-Pacific strategy.

In this way, the days to come will undergo intense contradiction between the US Pole and the Chinese Pole, and the danger of the conflict changing into the Third World War cannot be denied. In this situation, not by holding one's tail against the other, the communists of every country, including Taiwan, must develop revolution in their respective countries and try to prevent the imperialist war before it breaks out. But if it erupts, they should move forward by adopting the policy of changing the imperialist war into a revolution.

## Press Communique

From 26 to 28 August 2022, a special meeting of the Central Committee of our party was held under the chairmanship of General Secretary Comrade Kiran. The necessary and important decisions taken in the meeting have been made public through this press statement as follows.

1. In the meeting, first of all, a one-minute silence was observed in memory of immortal martyrs who were martyred in various class struggles including revolution, mass movement and people's war at the national and international level.

2. A political report presented by GS Comrade Kiran in the meeting was widely discussed and then passed with necessary amendments.

3. Parliamentary election at both the federal and state levels that is going to be held on November 4, 2019,

(a) is seen that it will not be carried out in a clean, fair, unrigged and liberal manner, but will be carried out in a fascist manner by the representatives of the current state power and system,

(b) is being held with flooding of money by reactionary, opportunist and corrupt elements, extreme misuse of resources, a show of strength and extreme measures and the masses are in a state of extreme panic, terror, fear and under siege,

(c) in which many parties and organizations that claim to be communists do not only utilize or participate in the parliament but capitulate to the reactionary state and system, join the government and practice Millerandism in the name of utilizing the parliament, support the old state power and system and submerge in it, lose one's political identity by taking other parties' election symbol, get utilized by the election in the name of utilizing it and plenty of such bad examples have made it necessary to learn the lessons from them and move forward,

(d) in such a situation that the current state power, system and government have turned extremely critical from the economic, political and cultural point of view, the executive, legislative and judicial organs of the government have failed day by day, the current coalition government has continued with all the unequal treaties signed with Indian expansionism, the regime is silent on population encroachment in various territories, it brazenly presented the anti-national MCC by brokering and capitulating to the US imperialism and all this has necessitated exposing, and

(e) at which time, it has been necessary and inevitable from the historical and political point of view to establish a new democratic state power to replace the current state power and parliamentary system and move forward in the direction of scientific socialism to solve the problems of nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood,

Given this, our party the CPN (Revolutionary Maoist) has adopted the policy of actively boycotting the elections and has decided to organize and conduct various programs to firmly apply this policy and decision in practice.

4. In the process of uniting the genuine revolutionary communist party, groups and personalities, the formation of the Party Unity Coordination Committee between our party and the CPN (Bahumat) has delivered a positive message to the people and communist ranks, and has encouraged them. The meeting has concluded that our party is committed to carrying forward this process with other genuine communist parties and groups in an effective way and unifying the revolutionary communist forces in a principled manner.

With revolutionary greetings!

Central Committee  
CPN (Revolutionary Maoist)